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Special Sections:

Recent Research in Tantric Studies

Bernard Faure's *Gods of Medieval Japan*

Mochizuki Shinkō's *Pure Land Buddhism in China*



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## The Process of Establishing and Justifying the Thirteen Patriarchs of the Lotus School

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

[p. 22]<sup>1</sup> China's Lotus school (*liánzōng* 蓮宗) is also called the Pure Land school (*jìngtǔ zōng* 淨土宗). The term "Lotus school" evolved from the name of the Lotus Society (*liánshè* 蓮社) founded by the Great Master Huiyuan of Mt. Lu in China; the term "Pure Land school" was recently imported into China from Japan.<sup>2</sup> The patriarchal masters (*zǔshī* 祖師) of China's Lotus school were recognized posthumously by those who came later, and by 1940 a common list of thirteen was established. Their names and sequence are as follows:

1. Huiyuan of Mt. Lu 廬山慧遠, 334–416
2. Guangming Shandao 光明善導, 613–681?
3. Banzhou Chengyuan 般舟承遠, 712–802
4. Zhulin Fazhao 竹林法照, ca. 740–838<sup>3</sup>

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1. Bracketed page numbers correspond to the original essay: Chen Chienhuang 陳劍鎧, 蓮宗十三位祖師的確立過程及其釋疑 (The Process of Establishing and Justifying the Thirteen Patriarchs of the Lotus School), from *Wúshàng fāngbiàn yǔ xiànxíng fǎlè: Mítóu jìngtǔ yǔ rénjiān jìngtǔ de bāngguān guānxì* 無上方便與現行法樂：彌陀淨土與人間淨土的周邊關係 (The Highest Expedient Means and Enacting of Dharma-Joy: The Common Boundary of Amitābha's Pure Land and Humanistic Pure Land) (Taipei: Xianghai wenhua 香海文化, 2016), 22–33.

2. See Shi Shengyan 釋聖嚴, *Míngmò fójiao yánjiū* 明末佛教研究 (Taipei: Dongchu Publishing 東初出版社, 1987), chap. 2, 85.

3. Fazhao's birth and death dates have hitherto been unclear. Recently scholars have examined documents unearthed at Dunhuang for evidence, and their theories are enumerated here:

5. Wulong Shaokang 烏龍少康, 736–806
6. Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽, 904–975
7. Zhaoqing Xingchang 昭慶省常, 959–1020
8. Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲祿宏, 1535–1615
9. Lingfeng Zhixu 靈峰智旭, 1599–1655
10. Puren Xingce 普仁行策, 1626–1682
11. Fantian Xing'an 梵天省庵, 1686–1734
12. Zifu Chewu 資福徹悟, 1740–1810
13. Lingyan Yinguang 靈巖印光, 1861–1940<sup>4</sup>

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(1) Liu Changdong 劉長東 believes that Fazhao was born in 746 and died in 838 at the age of 93. See Liu Changdong, *Jin-Tang Mituo jingtu xinyang yanjiu* 晉唐彌陀淨土信仰研究 (Chengdu 成都: Bashu shushe 巴蜀書社, 2000), 383; Liu Changdong, “Fazhao shiji xin kao” 法照事蹟新考, in *Dunhuang wenxue lunji* 敦煌文學論集 (Chengdu 成都: Sichuan renmin chubanshe 四川人民出版社, 1997), 38–45.

(2) Shi Pingting 施萍婷 thinks that Fazhao was probably born around 751 and died in 838 at the age of 88. See Shi Pingting, “Fazhao yu Dunhuang wenxue” 法照與敦煌文學, in *Sheke zongheng* 社科縱橫, no. 4 (1994): 12–15; see esp. 13.

(3) Gao Guofan 高國藩 believes that Fazhao was born in 747 and died in 821 at the age of 75. See Gao Guofan, “Dunhuang qu Fazhao ‘chujia yue’ ji qi yi shengxue de linian” 敦煌曲法照‘出家樂’及其依聖學的理念, in *Ningxia shifan xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue)* 寧夏師範學院學報(社會科學), no. 4 (2009): 62–65; see esp. 62.

(4) From the travel diary that the Japanese Tendai monk Ennin (圓仁, 794–864) kept when he went to China in search of the dharma, Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨 calculated that Fazhao died in 822, but he did not propose a birth date. See Mochizuki Shinkō, *Zhongguo jingtu jiaoli shi* 中國淨土教理史, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., trans. Shi Yin Hai 釋印海 (Taipei: Zhengwen chubanshe 正聞出版社, 1991), 186.

(5) Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 thought that Fazhao was born in 741 and died in 838 aged 98. See Tsukamoto Zenryū, “Daisan : Tō chūki no Jōdokyō : tokuni Hōshō Zenji no kenkyū” 第三：唐中期の淨土教——特に法照禪師の研究, in *Chūgoku Jōdokyō shi kenkyū* 中国淨土教史研究, compiled within *Tsukamoto Zenryū chosakushū* 塚本善隆著作集, vol. 4 (Tōkyō: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社, 1976), 359–371. [Translator’s note: Online versions of this chapter omit this note.]

4. See Shi Miaozhen 釋妙真 and Shi Desen 釋德森, eds., and Shi Yinguang 釋印光, supervising ed., *Lingyan shan si niansong yigui* 靈巖山寺念誦儀規 (Hong Kong: Xianggang fojing liutongchu 香港佛經流通處, 1997; rpt. Suzhou Lingyan shan si zangban 蘇州靈巖山寺藏版), 173–189.

This listing of thirteen patriarchs has penetrated the Chinese Buddhist world since 1940. Throughout mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan a booklet called *Brief Biographies to the Thirteen Patriarchs of the Lotus School* (*Lianzong shisan zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗十三祖傳略) has been in circulation, bringing together brief biographies of these thirteen figures into a pamphlet based on this theory. [p. 23] This pamphlet has been reprinted and circulated widely by the Buddhist Studies Bookstore in Shanghai (上海佛學書局), the Buddhist Sutra Propagation Office in Hong Kong (香港佛經流通處), and by every Pure [Land] School Society (淨宗學會)<sup>5</sup> and major sutra printing and distribution office. Everywhere that it has enjoyed influence it has put the theory of the thirteen patriarchs into wide circulation. However, before this list of thirteen patriarchs was established, several views had already been set forth for establishing a list of patriarchs from the Song dynasty onwards. In what follows, I will try to address two topics: the process by which successive lists of patriarchs were set up, and the questions that they engendered.

## 2. A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO PATRIARCHAL LISTS SINCE THE SONG DYNASTY

The process whereby a system of patriarchs was established for the Lotus school is quite complicated, and the various lists do not completely agree. The first to bring out a scheme of patriarchs was Shizhi Zongxiao (石芝宗曉, 1151–1214) of the Southern Song (1127–1279). In his *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類, he named Huiyuan of Mt. Lu (Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠) as the first patriarch, followed by the following five figures: Shandao (善導), Fazhao (法照), Shaokang (少康), Xingchang (省常), and Changlu Zongze (長蘆宗蹟, dates unknown) for a total of six patriarchs.<sup>6</sup> Later, Siming Zhipan (四明志磐, dates unknown) changed this to a list of seven in his *Fozu tongji* (佛祖統記): Huiyuan, Shandao, Chengyuan (承遠), Fazhao, Shaokang, Yanshou (延壽), and Xingchang.<sup>7</sup> He differed from Zongxiao in some places

5. [Translator's note: According to a web search, the phrase 淨宗學會 often translates as "Amitābha Society" or "Amida Society."]

6. See Shi Zongxiao 釋宗曉, *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類, T. 47:192c–193c.

7. Shi Zhipan 釋志磐 of the Song 宋, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記, "Jingtu lijiao zhi" 淨土立教志, T. 49:260c. Note: According to Zhipan's explanation, this list of seven patriarchs follows the views of Zongxiao. He says, "The master Siming

by adding Chengyuan and Yanshou while removing Zongze. After this, other schemes for setting up lists of patriarchs appeared from time to time. In the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), both Anqu Dayou (庵蘧大佑, 1334–1407) in his *Jingtu zhigui ji* 淨土指歸集 and Zhengji (正寂, dates unknown) in his *Jingtu sheng wusheng lun zhu* 淨土生無生論註 listed eight patriarchs,<sup>8</sup> while Zhengji's contemporary Shoujiao (受教, dates unknown; dharma-grandson of Youxi Chuandeng 幽溪傳燈), in his *Jingtu sheng wusheng lun qinwen ji* 淨土生無生論親聞記 [p. 24] listed seven.<sup>9</sup> In the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), the *Xifang huizheng* 西舫彙征 compiled by Ruizhang (瑞璋, dates unknown) listed nine patriarchs.<sup>10</sup> The mid-Qing figure Wukai (悟開, ?–1830) also lists nine patriarchs in his *Lianzong jiu zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗九祖傳略.<sup>11</sup> At the end

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Shizhi Xiao (四明石芝曉) picked men from different eras who practiced the same pure karma, whose virtue was high and lofty, and listed them as the seven patriarchs, so now we revere them, and regard them as the masters of the Pure Land teaching gate” (ibid., 260c). Actually, Zongxiao only named six patriarchs. When Zhipan says “listed them as the seven patriarchs, so now we revere them,” he might mean to say that he respected Zongxiao’s intention to “pick men from different eras who practiced the same pure karma [and] whose virtue was high and lofty” in his own selection of patriarchs for the Pure Land school who enabled later generations of Pure Land students to have models to emulate. Thus he himself picked out seven patriarchs.

8. See Shi Daoyou 釋大佑 of the Ming, *Jingtu zhigui ji* 淨土指歸集, “Yuanjiao men 1” 原教門第一, *Wanzi xu zangjing* (hereafter XZJ) 108:60b; Shi Zhengji 釋正寂 of the Ming, *Jingtu sheng wusheng lun zhu* 淨土生無生論註, XZJ 109:2b.

9. See Shi Shoujiao 釋受教 of the Ming, *Jingtu sheng wusheng lun qinwen ji* 淨土生無生論親聞記, XZJ 109:20a–b.

10. See Shi Ruizhang 釋瑞璋 of the Qing, *Xifang huizheng* 西舫彙征, XZJ vol. 135. The patriarchs appear individually on the following pages: first patriarch Huiyuan, 235b; second patriarch Shandao, 240b; third patriarch Chengyuan, 241b; fourth patriarch Fazhao, 242b; fifth patriarch Shaokang, 242b; sixth patriarch Yanshou, 244b; seventh patriarch Xingchang, 245a; eighth patriarch Zongze, 246b; ninth patriarch Lianchi 蓮池, 250b.

11. See Shi Wukai 釋悟開, *Lianzong jiu zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗九祖傳略 (Jiangbei 江北: Fazang Temple Scriptural Press 法藏寺刻經處, 1927; repr., Taipei 臺北: Guanzhao fojing shu yinzeng chu 觀照佛經書印贈處, 1995). Note: The title of this book is sometimes *Lianzong shi zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗十祖傳略 (*Brief Biographies of the Ten Patriarchs of the Lotus School*) because people subsequently added Chewu 徹悟 as the tenth patriarch to the nine described by Wukai. The Fazang Temple Scriptural Press gives the reason for this is an epilogue (*ba* 跋) on 72. See also Su Jinren 蘇晉仁, “A Summary of Buddhist Biographies”

of the Qing, Yang Renshan (楊仁山, 1837–1911) listed six patriarchs in his *Shizong lüeshuo* 十宗略說.<sup>12</sup> In the modern period, the great master Yinguang (印光大師) enumerated twelve patriarchs in his *Lianzong shi'er zu zansong* 蓮宗十二祖讚頌,<sup>13</sup> while the *Niansong yigui* 念誦儀規 published by the Lingyanshan Temple 靈巖山寺 in Suzhou lists thirteen patriarchs.<sup>14</sup> The following chart [see table 1] summarizes all of the patriarchal lists of each author described above. [p. 25]

### 3. ANSWERING QUALMS ABOUT THE SUCCESSIVE SCHEMES FOR IDENTIFYING PATRIARCHS

1. As the above table demonstrates, after the appearance of the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, the identification of Huiyuan, Shandao, Chengyuan, Fazhao, Shaokang, Yanshou, and Xingchang as the first seven patriarchs did not undergo much change. Only Zongze's place appears unsteady; sometimes he was included and sometimes he was left out. For instance, Dayou, Zhengji, and Ruizhang all counted him as the eighth patriarch, but Shoujiao, Wukai, Yang Renshan, and Yinguang did not put him on their lists at all. This may be for the same reason that Tanluan (曇鸞, 476–542) and Daochuo (道綽, 562–645) were not included among the patriarchs of the Lotus school. As Ven. Yanpei (演培法師, 1917–1996) pointed out in his essay “Tanluan and Daochuo” (曇鸞與道綽), the fact that Tanluan and Daochuo were not listed

(“Fojiao zhuanji zongshu” 佛教傳記綜述), in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, no. 1 (1985): 1–28. See esp. 15.

12. See Yang Renshan 楊仁山 of the Qing, “Shizong lüeshuo” 十宗略說, in *Yang Renshan jushi yizhu* 楊仁山居士遺著 (Taipei 臺北: Xinwenfeng 新文豐, 1993), 108.

13. See Shi Yinguang 釋印光, “Lianzong shi'er zu zansong” 蓮宗十二祖讚頌, in *Yinguang dashi quanji* 印光大師全集 (Taipei 臺北: The Buddhist Bookstore 佛教書局, 1991), 2:1323–1327. Note: The *Collected Works of Great Master Yinguang* consists of seven volumes. For this and other multivolume works, the volume and page numbers will be indicated together as here, separated by a colon.

14. “Lianzong shisan zu jiri gongyi” 蓮宗十三祖寂日供儀, in *Lingyanshansi niansong yigui* 靈巖山寺念誦儀規, 175–189.

TABLE 1

	Lebang wenlei 樂邦文類	Fozu tongji 佛祖統紀	Jingtu zhigui 淨土指歸集	Jingtu sheng wusheng lun 淨土生無生論註	Sheng wu- sheng qinwen 生無生論親 聞記	Xifang hui- zheng 西舫彙征	Lianzong jiu zu zhuan 蓮宗九祖 傳略	Shizong liteshuo 十宗略說	Lianzong shi er zu zansong 蓮宗十二祖 讚頌	Lingyan shan si niansong yigui 靈巖山寺念誦 儀規
1	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠	Huiyuan 慧遠
2	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導	Tanluan 曇鸞	Shandao 善導	Shandao 善導
3	Fazhao 法照	Chengyuan 承遠	Chengyuan 承遠	Chengyuan 承遠	Chengyuan 承遠	Chengyuan 承遠	Chengyuan 承遠	Daochuo 道綽	Chengyuan 承遠	Chengyuan 承遠
4	Shaokang 少康	Fazhao 法照	Fazhao 法照	Fazhao 法照	Fazhao 法照	Fazhao 法照	Fazhao 法照	Shandao 善導	Fazhao 法照	Fazhao 法照
5	Xingchang 省常	Shaokang 少康	Shaokang 少康	Shaokang 少康	Shaokang 少康	Shaokang 少康	Shaokang 少康	Yanshou 延壽	Shaokang 少康	Shaokang 少康
6	Zongze 宗臚	Yanshou 延壽	Yanshou 延壽	Yanshou 延壽	Yanshou 延壽	Yanshou 延壽	Yanshou 延壽	Zuhong 株宏	Yanshou 延壽	Yanshou 延壽
7		Xingchang 省常	Xingchang 省常	Xingchang 省常	Xingchang 省常	Xingchang 省常	Xingchang 省常		Xingchang 省常	Xingchang 省常
8		Zongze 宗臚	Zongze 宗臚	Zongze 宗臚		Zongze 宗臚	Zuhong 株宏		Zuhong 株宏	Zuhong 株宏
9						Zuhong 株宏	Xing'an 省庵		Zhixu 智旭	Zhixu 智旭
10									Xingce 行策	Xingce 行策
11									Xing'an 省庵	Xing'an 省庵
12									Chewu 徹悟	Chewu 徹悟
13									Yingguang 印光	Yingguang 印光



as Pure Land patriarchs “is somewhat hard to understand” and “somewhat hard to follow.”<sup>15</sup> In an epilogue to this essay, his teacher Ven. Yinshun (印順, 1906–2005) explained: because Tanluan and Daochuo’s advocacy only emphasized *nianfo* for the attainment of rebirth and did not say anything about the cultivation of morality, meditation, or wisdom, Zongxiao found them lacking and left them off his list of patriarchs.<sup>16</sup> Aside from this, Yang Renshan’s inclusion of Tanluan and Daochuo among the patriarchs in his *Shizong lüeshuo* 十宗略說 largely mirrors the list of five patriarchs—Tanluan, Daochuo, Shandao, Huaigan (懷感), and Shaokang—included in the list of five patriarchs formulated by Jodoshū (淨土宗) founder Hōnen (法然, 1133–1212). Yang’s views have some relation to his personal contact with Japanese people and absorption of their theories. Although in his later years Yang energetically opposed the Jōdo shinshū (淨土真宗) founded by Hōnen’s disciple Shinran (親鸞, 1173–1262),<sup>17</sup> his systematization of the Pure Land patriarchate hewed much closer to the Japanese tradition than to the Chinese, and so he included Tanluan and Daochuo.

2. We do not know when or by whom Zhuhong was first named eighth patriarch. It is generally thought that one of his disciples put him forward after his passing. Nevertheless, the evidence shows that he was universally accepted as the eighth patriarch during the early years of the Qing dynasty. At the end of the Ming, neither Zhengji’s *Jingtu sheng wusheng lun zhu* 淨土生無生論註 [p. 26] nor Shoujiao’s *Jingtu sheng wusheng lun qinwen ji* 淨土生無生論親聞記 included Zhuhong. Only at the beginning of the Qing do we see Zhuhong clearly identified as the eighth patriarch in the *Jingtu quan shu* 淨土全書 (1664) of Yu Xingmin 俞行敏 (dates unknown).<sup>18</sup> By the Daoguang 道

15. “有點不大理解”，“有點想不通”。See Shi Yanpei 釋演培，“Tanluan yu Daochuo” (“曇鸞與道綽”), in Zhang Mantao 張曼濤, ed. *Jingtuzong shilun* 淨土宗史論, Xiandai fojiao xueshu congkan 現代佛教學術叢刊, 65 (Taipei 臺北: Mahayana Cultural Press 大乘文化出版社, 1979), 227–237; see esp. 227, 235.

16. Shi Yanpei 釋演培，“Tanluan yu Daochuo” (“曇鸞與道綽”), 237–238.

17. See Lan Jifu 藍吉富，“Yang Renshan yu xiandai zhongguo fojiao” 楊仁山與現代中國佛教, in *Yang Renshan wenji* 楊仁山文集 (Taipei 臺北: Manjusri Publications 文殊出版社, 1987), 7–33. See esp. 21–24.

18. The *Jingtu quan shu* 淨土全書 of Yu Xingmin 俞行敏 states: “The great master Lianchi (Lianchi dashi 蓮池大師, i.e., Zhuhong) [...] is recognized by the world as the eighth patriarch.” See XZJ 109:232b–233a [translator’s note: see also CBETA X62n1176\_p0171a070–171b14]. Thus we can see that by the

光 reign period (1821–1850), the *Lianzong jiu zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗九祖傳略 by Wukai 悟開 also listed Zhuhong as the eighth patriarch,<sup>19</sup> and later on Yinguang followed this model (see below). Wukai further included Xing'an 省庵 as the ninth patriarch,<sup>20</sup> making this work the earliest text to list Xing'an as a patriarch.<sup>21</sup>

3. Ouyi [Zhixu] 邁益[智旭] and Chewu 徹悟 were recognized very late. Below are two points to help explain this:

A. After having praised Yinguang for receiving the mantle of Xing'an, Ding Fubao (丁福保, 1874–1962) put him forward as the

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early Qing Zhuhong was universally accepted as the eighth patriarch of the Lotus school. However, we noted above that he was considered the ninth patriarch in the *Xifang huizheng* 西舫彙征 of Ruizhang 瑞璋 largely because of the insertion of Zongze 宗蹟, which pushed Zhuhong into the ninth position. Regardless of his numbering on the list, the fact remains that he was widely recognized as one of the patriarchs.

19. See Wukai 悟開 of the Qing dynasty, *Lianzong jiu zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗九祖傳略, 38–42.

20. See *ibid.*, 42–63.

21. See Zhang Wuji 張悟基 of the Qing, “Preface” (*xu* 序), in *The Recorded Sayings of Master Xing'an* (*Xing'an fashi yulu* 省庵法師語錄), XZJ 109:295b; Chen Wuhou 陳悟候 of the Qing, “Preface” (*xu* 序), in *ibid.*, XZJ 109:295b–296a; Bei Yong 貝壙 of the Qing, “Postscript” (*ba* 跋), in *ibid.*, XZJ 109:322a. [*Translator's note*: This text is also found at CBETA X.1179, vol. 62.] All three of these examples mention Wukai's inclusion of Xing'an as one of the patriarchs in his *Lianzong jiu zu zhuan lue* 蓮宗九祖傳略. This should be enough to demonstrate that Wukai's addition of Xing'an to the list of patriarchs received widespread approval, in particular among Xing'an's disciples who revered him and attached special importance to Wukai in this matter. We should also note the fact that Wukai himself considered Xing'an to be important. The answer to the 72nd entry in his *One Hundred Questions about Nianfo* (*Nianfo bai wen* 念佛百問) says, “In action they seek simplicity; but their merit must be considered profound. Spilling over into [too] many different directions, one has the name but not the reality. Nowadays, within the Buddhist gate, [...] there are only these three: Chan master Yongming [Yan]shou, the great master Lianchi, and master Xing'an” (XZJ 109:405b). Also see his answer to the 56th entry: “An incomplete edition of Longshu omitted any statements about generating *bodhicitta*. Yunqi [Zhuhong] corrected this and Master Xing'an, with great zeal on this, wrote the ‘Essay Counseling the Arousing of *Bodhicitta*’ (*Quan fa putixin wen* 勸發菩提心文). He was extremely devout” (XZJ 109:404b). [*Translator's note*: This text is also found as CBETA X.1184, vol. 62.]



foremost figure of the Lotus school. At that time, Yinguang wrote him a letter in which he said,

How could I be promoted as foremost after Xing'an? If I were able to put on Xing'an's shoes, I would not even be able to stumble my way through his way of life; how much less could my writings supplant his? [...] I know that you [i.e., Ding Fubao] hold me in fond regard, but how could you say such a thing about me! You should be aware that after Xing'an there were [other] great and lofty men; one dare not jump to any conclusions about whether they surpass Xing'an or not based on feelings. If there is anyone that could stand shoulder to shoulder [with Xing'an] in terms of scholarship, insight, ability to manage affairs, and moral character, it would be the Chan master Chewu. The tenth patriarch of the Lotus school fully deserves the honor. I cannot even claim to have descended from him; how much less could I say that I am of the same rank?<sup>22</sup>

From the contents [p. 27] of this letter, we may infer that Yinguang still lived in the Fayu Temple (*Fayu si* 法雨寺).<sup>23</sup> Thus we can say that prior to 1928 Ouyi and Chewu had not yet been recognized as patriarchs of the Lotus school. Since at that time Yinguang still thinks that Chewu is the successor to Xing'an, he promoted him as the tenth patriarch.

B. Toward the end of 1932, Yinguang referred to Xing'an as the ninth patriarch in a letter to a disciple.<sup>24</sup> Thus we can say that up to this

22. See Yinguang 印光, "Response to Ding Fubao 2" ("Fu Ding Fubao jushi shu" (2) 復丁福保居士書[二]), in *Complete Works*, 3:83.

23. This letter brings up several laymen who contributed money for the printing of the *Yinguang fashi wenchao* 印光法師文鈔 for free distribution. He says, "Yesterday I received a letter from [Zhang] Yunlei ([張]雲雷) saying that he had printed five hundred copies of the *Wenchao* for me. [...] Today the Great Master Kaixiang of the Fayu [Temple] arrived in Shanghai, and I have asked him to send one hundred dollars to [Zhang] Yunlei." (Yinguang 印光, "Response to Ding Fubao 2" ["Fu Ding Fubao jushi shu" (2) 復丁福保居士書(二)], in *Complete Works*, 3:84.) On this evidence we know that Yinguang was still at the Fayu Temple on Mt. Putuo. Only in 1928 did he leave the Fayu Temple to move to the Taiping Temple 太平寺 in Shanghai. From this we can infer that this letter was written prior to 1928.

24. See Yinguang 印光, "Response to Layman Zhou Shanchang 4" 復周善昌居士書四, in *Yinguang fashi wenchao sanbian* 印光法師文鈔三編, ed. Luo Hongtao 羅鴻濤 (Taichung 臺中: Taizhong lianshe 臺中蓮社, 1992), 181. The letter reads in part: 明道師死, 弘化社亦歸光主持。[...] 賢即蓮宗九祖思齊實賢大師。大師《勸發菩提心文》, 好極。 ("Ven. Mingdao has passed away,

time, Yinguang still adhered to Wukai's nine-patriarch scheme and did not regard Ouyi or Chewu as patriarchs of the Lotus sect.

4. Yinguang's addition of Xingce 行策 to the list of patriarchs probably took place between 1937 and 1939. I offer the following two points of evidence in support:

A. During the Qianlong period of the Qing dynasty (1736–1795), Peng Jiqing (彭際清, 1740–1796) told his nephew 姪 Peng Xisu (彭希涑, 1760–1793) to compile the *Record of Sages and Worthies of the Pure Land* (*Jingtu shengxian lu* 淨土聖賢錄, completed in 1783), which gathered together over five hundred biographies. By the end of the Daoguang period 道光 (1821–1850), Hu Ting (胡珽, dates unknown) collected over 160 additional rebirth stories from after the Qianlong period under the title *Continued Record of Sages and Worthies of the Pure Land* (*Jingtu shengxian lu xubian* 淨土聖賢錄續編). In 1933, Yinguang told his disciple Desen (德森, 1883–1962) to compile another 230 stories of those who attained rebirth after the Xianfeng period (咸豐, 1851–1861) under the title *Sages and Worthies of the Pure Land, Third Collection* (*Jingtu shengxian lu sanbian* 淨土聖賢錄三編). After Yinguang revised and corrected these three *Records of Sages and Worthies*, he published them as a single volume and released them in 1933.<sup>25</sup> The table of contents of this edition has the names of the patriarchs with small characters under each one indicating his place in the order of patriarchs thus [p. 28]:

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and leadership of the Propagation Society has devolved upon me. [...] Xian, i.e., the ninth patriarch of the Lotus Society, is Great Master Siqi Shixian (i.e., Xing'an). The Great Master's *Counsels to Bodhicitta* is extremely good.") Note: Ven. Mingdao passed away on October 19th, 1932; see *ibid.*, 206. At this time Yinguang still considered Xing'an the ninth patriarch, and Yinguang had not yet put Ouyi and Chewu in his list.

25. See Shi Yinguang 釋印光, "Preface," *Record of Sages and Worthies of the Pure Land* (*Jingtu shengxian lu xu* 淨土聖賢錄序) in his *Collected Works*, 2:1171. See also Shi Desen 釋德森, "Account of the Genesis of the Record of Sages and Worthies of the Pure Land" ("Jingtu shengxian lu yuanqi shuoming" 淨土聖賢錄緣起說明), in *Single-Volume Edition of the Record of Sages and Worthies of the Pure Land* (*Jingtu shengxian lu [hebianben]* 淨土聖賢錄[合編本]) (Kaohsiung 高雄: Gaoxiong jingzong xuehui 高雄淨宗學會, 1993), 469–470.

TABLE 2

Volume	Fascicle	Name	Notation underneath name
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 2	Huiyuan of the Jin	1st patriarch of the Lotus
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 2	Shandao of the Tang	2nd patriarch of the Lotus
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 3	Chengyuan of the Tang	3rd
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 3	Fazhao of the Tang	4th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 3	Shaokang of the Tang	5th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 3	Yanshou of the Song	6th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 3	Xingchang of the Song	7th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 5	Zhuhong of the Ming	8th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 6	Zhixu of the Qing	9th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 6	Xingce of the Qing	No notation
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 6	Shixian [Xing'an] of the Qing	10th
<i>Jingtu shengxian lu</i>	fasc. 1	Jixing [Chewu] of the Qing	11th

The small notations under each name indicate that the ordering of the patriarchs was Yinguang's idea.<sup>26</sup> That is how we can know that by 1933, the list of patriarchs as conceived by Yinguang still consisted of only eleven names. Xingce had not yet been entered, while Ouyi (Zhixu) and Jixing (Chewu) had.

B. Within Yinguang's *Wenchao* there is a text entitled "Praises for the Hall of the Patriarchs of the Pure Land Lineage" (*Jingtu zong zutang zan* 淨土宗祖堂讚) with a note indicating that it was composed in 1938.<sup>27</sup> There is also a text called "Eulogies for the Twelve Patriarchs of the Lotus Lineage" (*Lianzong shier zu zansong* 十二祖贊頌), and although there is no indication of its year of composition, we may infer from a letter written to Zhang Jueming 張覺明 that the "Eulogies" was composed around the end of 1938 or the beginning of 1939.<sup>28</sup> We can see from this that Yinguang finalized his list of twelve patriarchs somewhere between 1938 and 1939. As he states clearly in his letter to Zhang Jueming,

The twelve patriarchs [p. 29] consist of the nine patriarchs generally recognized, but after the eighth patriarch Lianchi [i.e., Zhuhong] I add Ouyi as the ninth, Jieliu 截流 as the tenth, take the previous ninth patriarch Sīqi (Shi)xian 思齊(實)賢 [i.e., Xing'an] as the eleventh patriarch, and add Chan master Chewu as the twelfth.<sup>29</sup>

When he says "the nine patriarchs generally recognized," his basis is the nine patriarchs selected by Wukai in his *Lianzong jiu zu zhuanlüe* 蓮宗九祖傳略. When he says "I add Ouyi as the ninth, Jieliu as the

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26. The version of this text in the XZJ (卍新纂續藏經) does not include these phrases. See the *Jingtu shengxian lu* 淨土聖賢錄, XZJ 135:96a-97a; *Jingtu shengxian lu xubian* 淨土聖賢錄續編, 135:194b. Ven. Shengyan has stated that the Japanese scholar Ogasawara Senshū 小笠原宣秀 (1903-1985) said in his *Chūgoku kinsei Jōdokyō shi no kenkyū* 中國近世淨土教史の研究 that Ouyi was listed as the ninth patriarch in the *Jingtu shengxian lu*, but he found no evidence of this when he looked at the text. See Shi Shengyan 釋聖嚴, *Mingmo zhongguo fojiao zhi yanjiu* 明末中國佛教之研究, trans. Guan Shiqian 關世謙 (Taipei 臺北: Taiwan xuesheng shuju 臺灣學生書局, 1988), 159. In reality, Ven. Shengyan consulted the XZJ edition, while Ogasawara might have been looking at the combined edited by Yinguang.

27. See *Jingtu zong zutang zan* 淨土宗祖堂讚, in CW, 2:1323.

28. See "Fu Zhang Jueming nü jushi shu qi" 復張覺明女居士書七, in *Third Collection*, 510.

29. See *ibid.*, 514.

tenth...,” this shows very clearly that Xingce 行策 (i.e., Jieliu) now has a definite place among the patriarchs.

5. Yinguang’s listing of Ouyi Zhixu as the ninth patriarch has already been called into question. Ven. Shengyan (1930–2009) raised doubts when he said:

At present, the theory of thirteen patriarchs circulating throughout the Chinese Buddhist world consists of the following figures: (1) Huiyuan, (2) Shandao, (3) Chengyuan, (4) Fazhao, (5) Shaokang, (6) Yanshou, (7) Xingchang, (8) Zongze, (9) Zhuhong (Lianchi), (10) Zhixu (Ouyi), (11) Xing’an, (12) Jixing (Chewu), and (13) Yinguang. In reality, Zhixu is the tenth patriarch here. If we were to remove Zongze from the list in accordance with the *Fozu tongji*, the *Sheng wu sheng lun zhu*, and the *Jiu zu zhuan lüe*, then Zhixu would be the ninth patriarch.<sup>30</sup>

However, this challenge has a few problems of its own. First, it is unclear what Shengyan’s list of thirteen patriarchs is based upon. The currently accepted list of thirteen Pure Land patriarchs should be as described in the first section of this essay. Shengyan left out Xingce and added Zongze. Furthermore, in order to push Ouyi back to the position of ninth patriarch, Shengyan took Zongze out, but Zongze had already been removed, leaving a list of only twelve patriarchs, so this is something he failed to observe. Moreover, the question of whether or not Ouyi should be considered the ninth patriarch was not the main point Shengyan wished to make. His main purpose was to overturn the clause “not within the Tiantai lineage” within a statement made by Hongyi (弘一, 1880–1941): “Great Master Zhixu of the Qing, ninth patriarch of the Pure Land lineage and not within the Tiantai lineage” (清蓮宗九祖非天台宗下智旭大師).<sup>31</sup> He says:

30. Shi Shengyan 釋聖嚴, *Mingmo fojiao yanjiu* 明末佛教研究, 161.

31. Hongyi’s writings include the book *Chronology of Great Master Ouyi* (*Ouyi dashi nianpu* 藕益大師年譜) that has a portrait of Zhixu on its first page with the caption “Great Master Zhixu of the Qing, ninth patriarch of the Pure Land lineage and not within the Tiantai lineage” next to it and a eulogy entitled “In Praise of the Ninth Patriarch of the Lotus School” (*Lianzong jiu zu song* 蓮宗九祖頌) underneath. (See *Anthology of Great Master Hongyi’s Teachings* [*Hongyi dashi faji* 弘一大師法集], ed. Niansheng 念生 [Taipei 臺北: Xinwenfeng 新文豐出版公司, n.d.], 2:1081.) Ven. Shengyan did not accept this statement. (See Shi Shengyan, *Mingmo fojiao yanjiu*, 161.)

The list of Pure Land patriarchs that Zhixu records in his *Ru shi zong chuan qie yi* 儒釋宗傳竊議 is not the same. It consists of these twelve: Huiyuan, Zhiyi (智顛, 538–597), Zunshi (遵式, 964–1032), Feixi (飛錫, ca. 705–806), Weize (唯則, 1286–1354), Fanqi (梵琦, 1296–1370), Miaoye (妙叶, dates unknown), Chuandeng (傳燈, 1554–1628), [p. 30] Zhuhong, and Deqing (德清, 1546–1623).<sup>32</sup> I think it is possible that this [list] uses [these figures’] thought and writings as the basis for selection. If it were done by someone who really admired Zhixu and his Pure Land thought, then they would have taken Zhixu and placed him as the ninth patriarch. Truthfully, this is not an appropriate way of going about it.<sup>33</sup>

This should be the most significant reason for Ven. Shengyan’s disagreement. However, basing his list of patriarchs upon [these figures’] thought and writings was simply Ouyi’s own opinion. It should not conflict with anyone else wishing to list Ouyi as a patriarch of Pure Land. At any rate the list of Pure Land patriarchs has changed right through its history, and everyone who has established a roll of patriarchs has had his own point of view. Hongyi’s views on establishing patriarchs was based on Yinguang,<sup>34</sup> which we may take as one point of view among modern practitioners of Pure Land.

Apart from this, was Ouyi definitely part of the Tiantai lineage? If part of the Tiantai lineage, could he not also be part of the patriarchate of the Lotus school? This is debatable. Ven. Shengyan has offered these comments on Ouyi: “[Ouyi] Zhixu placed the Pure Land dharmagate above all other dharmagates because [...] even if one did not have the *Tiantai zhiguan* 天台止觀, one need only *nianfo* and it would be all right. He thought this would be of primary importance to all the

32. *Translator’s note*: Although in this quotation Ven. Shengyan refers to a list of twelve patriarchs, in fact there are only ten names here. The author has not abridged the quotation; this is how it appears in Shengyan’s book.

33. Shi Shengyan 釋聖嚴, *Mingmo fojiao yanjiu*, 161.

34. This is because the image selected for the frontispiece of Hongyi’s *Ouyi dashi nianpu* 藕益大師年譜 is one that Yinguang asked Zhang Jueming 張覺明 to draw. (Refer to Shi Yinguang 釋印光, “Fu Zhang Jueming nü jushi shu 7” 復張覺明女居士書七, in *Third Collection*, 510–511; “Fu Zhang Jueming nü jushi shu 10” 復張覺明女居士書十, in *Third Collection*, 514–515; “Fu Zhang Jueming nü jushi shu 11” 復張覺明女居士書十一, in *Third Collection*, 515. See also Yinguang’s *Lianzong jiu zu song* 蓮宗九祖頌, in *Collected Works*, 2:1326.

dharma-gates. We should see this as the final crystallization of Zhixu's Buddhist faith."<sup>35</sup> He also says,

The superior skillful teaching of the "lateral escape from the triple world" is simply the practice of the *nianfo* of oral invocation spoken of by the Buddha Amitābha. The *nianfo samādhi* is a "vertical escape from the triple world," a kind of Chan contemplation that depends upon one's own power to eliminate the delusions and defilements step by step. Through it one gains the three bodies and four lands [of a buddha]. The oral invocation *nianfo* leading to the "lateral escape from the triple world" is rooted in the power of the Buddha Amitābha's fundamental vows by which one is conducted to rebirth in the Land of Utmost Bliss. [...] As for Zhixu himself, although he put a lot of effort into encouraging practice of the *nianfo samādhi*, prior to the age of fifty he mainly promoted the joint practice of Chan, doctrine, and precepts. Late in his life, the Pure Land flavor became even more pronounced, and he completely threw himself into the "lateral escape from the triple world" of the supreme skillful means of rebirth through other-power.<sup>36</sup>

As the results of Ven. Shengyan's own research into Ouyi indicate, as Ouyi grew older, his emphasis [p. 31] on the *nianfo* of "holding the name" increased to the point where he dedicated himself completely to the practice. This being the case, then it was appropriate for Yinguang to rank him among the patriarchs of the Pure Land. Moreover, Ven. Shengyan himself has said that the basis of Ouyi's thought was not centered on the *Lotus Sutra*; he simply made use of Tiantai methods in exegeting sutras and discourses while presenting his own distinctive thought. Thus, one should not label Ouyi as part of the Tiantai lineage.<sup>37</sup> Based on this, Hongyi's dictum, "Great Master Zhixu of the Qing, ninth patriarch of the Pure Land lineage and not within the Tiantai lineage," is apropos, and one need entertain no qualms about ranking him among the patriarchs of the Lotus school.

Besides, the Japanese scholar Makita Tairyō (牧田諦亮, 1912–2011) believes that the "seven patriarchs of the Lotus school" established by Zhipan in his *Fozu tongji* represented those who could best pass on Shandao's method of *nianfo* by holding to the name. The eighth patriarch Zhuhong and the ninth patriarch Ouyi were not necessarily of this

35. Shi Shengyan 釋聖嚴, *Mingmo fojiao yanjiu*, 99.

36. *Ibid.*, 443–444.

37. *Ibid.*, "Author's Preface."



kind. The thirteenth patriarch Yinguang was the most insistent about transmitting Shandao's method of holding the name.<sup>38</sup> Yinguang certainly was the keenest on the *nianfo* of holding the name, but we must realize that in his eyes Ouyi was also a true transmitter and promoter of holding the name style *nianfo*. Yinguang had a deep understanding of Ouyi's thought and writings, and often used Ouyi's explanations in his own writings on this form of practice. Ouyi was second only to Chewu in receiving Yinguang's appreciation and respect.

6. How did Yinguang come to be regarded as a Pure Land patriarch? The process by which Yinguang received recognition as a patriarch was very simple. During his lifetime, his lay and clerical disciples often spoke of him and all of the other patriarchs together,<sup>39</sup> and referred to him as “the pillar and guide (*taidou* 泰斗) of contemporary Pure Land,”<sup>40</sup> “the builder of Pure Land school” (*jingtū zongjiang* 淨土宗匠),<sup>41</sup> or revered him as the foremost figure after Xing'an.<sup>42</sup> Not long after Yinguang passed away, Yang Shisun 楊石蓀 of Fujian made the proposal that Yinguang be honored as the thirteenth patriarch of the Lotus school,<sup>43</sup> a proposal that was accepted by a great many people. Because of this, Yinguang's status as a patriarch was virtually assured. However, some people had a different idea at that time and raised the following question to Li Bingnan (李炳南, 1889–1986):

[p. 32] After his rebirth [in the Pure Land], Yinguang should only be listed as the thirteenth patriarch of the Lotus school provisionally.

38. See Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮, “Zendō daishi to chūgoku jōdokyō” 善導大師と中国浄土教, in *Chūgoku bukkyōshi kenkyū* 中国仏教史研究, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社, 1984), 319–371. See esp. the section “The Seven Patriarchs and the Thirteen Patriarchs of the Lotus School” 蓮宗七祖・蓮宗十三祖, 350–366.

39. See Shi Yinguang 釋印光, “Fu Li Deming jushi shu er” 復李德明居士書二, in *Collected Works*, 2:962; “Yu Wei Meisun jushi shu shiliu” 與魏梅蓀居士書十六, in *Collected Works*, 2:1036.

40. Shi Yinguang 釋印光, “Fu Shengzhao jushi shu” 復聖照居士書, in *Collected Works*, 3a:211.

41. Shi Yinguang 釋印光, “Fu Chen Qichang jushi shu” 復陳其昌居士書, in *Collected Works*, 2:956.

42. See Shi Yinguang 釋印光, “Fu Ding Fubao jushi shu 2” 復丁福保居士書二, in *Collected Works*, 3a:83.

43. See Yang Shisun 楊石蓀, “Ni zun Lingfeng dashi wei lianzong di shisan zu yi” 擬尊靈巖大師為蓮宗第十三祖議, in *Collected Works*, 5:2491–2492.



The reason it should not be settled is that the eminent monks Great Master Xuyun, abbot of the Yongquan Temple on Drum Mountain in Fuzhou, and the Great Master Yuanying have not yet passed away. We should wait until after these two eminent monks have attained rebirth and only then let the Buddhist Association of the Republic of China have the final say.

Li responded:

His status has already been agreed and people have made up their minds. How can we say first one thing and then another [朝三暮四], changing our minds on a whim? Furthermore, Master Xu[yun] is regarded as a great contemporary Chan virtuoso, and already has status within his own tradition. Master [Yuan]ying performs the paired practice of Chan and Pure Land like Zibo, Hanshan, and other masters. Later, people will revere him as a patriarch, but without giving him a number in a sequence.<sup>44</sup>

This inquiry indicates that at that time there still were some differences of opinion, but in the end Yinguang's place among the patriarchs came to be established by public acclamation. Apart from this, it is worth noting in passing that Ven. Daoyuan (Daoyuan zhanglao 道源長老, 1900–1988) proposed Ven. Cizhou (慈舟, 1877–1958) as the fourteenth patriarch in 1954,<sup>45</sup> but this proposal was not generally picked up in Buddhist circles. Also, Mao Lingyun (毛凌雲, 1910– ) called on all the followers of the Pure Land teachings to honor Daoyuan as the fourteenth patriarch of the Lotus school,<sup>46</sup> but without gaining widespread approval. From these two examples we can see that anyone desiring to propose someone as a patriarch needs to go through a

44. Li Bingnan 李炳南, "Foxue wenda leibian" 佛學問答類編, in *Jingtu congshu* 淨土叢書, 15 (Taipei 台北: Taiwan yinjingchu 台灣印經處, 1981), 624. (Translator's note: Li Bingnan was a very important figure in the history of Buddhism in Taiwan. For more on him, see Charles B. Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State 1660–1990* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999], 122–124.)

45. See Shi Daoyuan 釋道源, "Jingtu zong yu fojiao zhi shijiehua" 淨土宗與佛教之世界化, in Zhang Mantao 張曼濤, ed. *Jingtu sixiang lunji* 1 淨土思想論集 (一), *Xiandai fojiao xueshu congkan* 現代佛教學術叢刊, 66 (Taipei: Dasheng wenhua chubanshe 大乘文化出版社, 1973), 329–336. See esp. 330–333.

46. See Mao Lingyun 毛凌雲, "Lianzong shisi zu Daoyuan dashi zhuan" 蓮宗十四祖道源大師傳, in *Shizihou* 獅子吼 27, no. 8 (August 1988): 18–19.

confirmation process within the entire community. Only then will he gain acceptance.

Taixu's (太虛, 1889–1947) remarks may be taken as representative of the clergy who honored Yinguang as the thirteenth patriarch. He pointed out in his “Inscription for the Pagoda of Great Master Yinguang, Thirteenth Patriarch of the Lotus School” (Lianzong shisan zu Yinguang dashi taming 蓮宗十三祖印光大師塔銘):

The Master [i.e., Yinguang] was pure and devout in his intentions and conduct, dignified and diligent. One who receives his teaching in person or peruses his writings feels profoundly grateful and is strengthened by the power of his great virtue. He influenced others without speaking and commanded reverence through his amiability. As the thirteenth patriarch of the Lotus school, he was indeed worthy!<sup>47</sup>

[p. 33] Taixu enjoyed profound exchanges with Yinguang<sup>48</sup> and was deeply impressed with him, so when he expressed his veneration of Yinguang by saying, “as the thirteenth patriarch of the Lotus school, he was indeed worthy,” he was not speaking merely of ordinary social interactions. Furthermore, Taixu wrote this text in the fall of 1943, only three years after Yinguang’s passing. That Taixu was willing to affirm Yinguang’s patriarchal status only three years later shows that Yinguang’s place as a patriarch was accepted within the religious community at large.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

Ever since Shizhi Zongxiao 石芝宗曉 set forth the six patriarchs of the Lotus school in his *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類, one person after another has proposed great masters who contributed [to Pure Land] as patriarchs right up to the present day, and in this way the theory of thirteen patriarchs took form. Prior to 1939, the process was in disarray, with

47. Shi Taixu 釋太虛, “Lianzong shisan zu Yinguang dashi ta ming” 蓮宗十三祖印光大師塔銘, in *Collected Works*, 7:4.

48. *Ibid.* In this text Taixu describes the circumstances of his association with Yinguang (p. 4); Xia Jinhua 夏金華, “Yinguang yu Xuyun, Taixu he Hongyi de jiaowang” 印光與虛雲、太虛和弘一的交往, in *Neiming* 內明, no. 288 (March 1996): 34–37; see esp. 36–37; Shi Yinshun 釋印順, *Taixu dashi nianpu* 太虛大師年譜, in his *Miaoyunji* B.6. 妙雲集 (中編之六) (Taipei台北: Zhengwen chubanshe 正聞出版社, 1992), 2–3, 38, 47–48, 73–74.

lists circulating that counted between eight and twelve slots and contained different sets of names. In the end, it was Yinguang who determined the outcome. When Yinguang passed away, his disciples put him forward as the thirteenth patriarch, meaning that the list achieved its final form in 1940, the year of his death.

Moreover, this list of thirteen patriarchs has never consisted of figures with master-disciple relations. For instance, the second patriarch Shandao 善導 is separated from the first patriarch Huiyuan 慧遠 by some two hundred years, and the style and substance of Shandao's Pure Land thought, inherited from Tanluan and Daochuo, differs from those of Huiyuan. The seventh patriarch Xingchang 省常 passed away in 1020, while the eighth patriarch Lianchi 蓮池 was not even born until 1532, meaning that there is a five hundred year gap between them. From this we can see that the purposes of the list of patriarchs was to honor the merit of great past masters and enable people in later times to give them due reverence and receive encouragement in their own progress. Thus, the significance of succession in this list differs from that of other schools (such as Chan and Tiantai).



## Introduction to the Special Section on Tantra

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The study of tantric Buddhism has grown dramatically over the last half century and continues to develop, seemingly at an ever increasing rate. The essays presented in this section provide a sampling of recent work that demonstrates that study has both deepened in some already explored research areas and expanded to include new ones as well.

The first essay, Richard K. Payne's "Study of Buddhist Tantra: An Impressionistic Overview," provides a concise summary of the development of tantric Buddhist studies and at the same time points to some of the methodological issues involved in that development. The summary also points to future areas of research, including the directions indicated by the other contributions included in this section, and extending the perspectives they bring to the study of Buddhist tantra.

Richard D. McBride's essay "Wish-Fulfilling Spells and Talismans, Efficacious Resonance, and Trilingual Spell Books: The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* in Chosŏn Buddhism" builds on the significant work that he has done on *dhāraṇī* over several years. As with other details of tantric praxis, the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* provides a glimpse of how widespread such practices were in the Buddhist cosmopolis. Recent work from Indonesia reveals an active cult of *Mahāpratisarā* as a *dhāraṇī* deity in insular Southeast Asia.<sup>1</sup> In his essay here, McBride's survey

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1. Thomas Crujisen, Arlo Griffiths, and Marijke J. Klokke, "The Cult of the Buddhist *Dhāraṇī* Deity *Mahāpratisarā* along the Maritime Silk Route: New Epigraphical and Iconographic Evidence from the Indonesian Archipelago," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 35, nos. 1-2 (2012 [2013]): 71-157; and Roderick Orlina, "Epigraphical Evidence for the Cult of *Mahāpratisarā* in the Philippines," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 35, nos. 1-2 (2012 [2013]): 159-169.

of the range of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* includes two eighth-century translations of the *dhāraṇī* sutra, its spread in China and Korea, Amoghavajra's associations with the literary record of the *dhāraṇī*, and a translation of a short prose text.

Turning to the contemporary world, Cody Bahir's "Replanting the Bodhi Tree: Buddhist Sectarianism and Zhenyan Revivalism" looks at the development of a tantric Buddhist school in Taiwan that, while drawing on Japanese Shingon praxis, claims to be re-establishing the Tang-era Chinese Zhenyan tradition that had gone extinct. As with the *dhāraṇī* examined by McBride, the religious history connecting Japan and Taiwan in the modern era also demonstrates a web of interconnections. Western religious conceptions regarding the importance of denominational distinctiveness influenced the development of Japanese conceptions in the nineteenth century, and those in turn contributed to the construction of sectarian identity in modern Taiwan.

For a century and a half the study of Buddhist history has been almost exclusively framed in terms of the history of doctrine. Even when sects are taken as the organizing principle, these are usually defined in terms of their doctrinal stances. An alternative history is to be discovered by framing the history of Buddhism in terms of practice. Jiang Wu's essay, "The Rule of Marginality: Hypothesizing the Transmission of the Mengshan Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts in Late Imperial China," is a welcome demonstration of the validity of such an approach. By a detailed study focusing on hungry ghost rituals, he exposes the movement and continuing importance of Tanguts in Asian Buddhism. A similarly important dimension of the essay is that it involves a shift away from a historiography constructed around the centers of social, political, economic, and military power. History seen from the center looking out has been much to the detriment of the study of Buddhism located on the peripheries.

One of the peripheries for the study of tantric Buddhism has long been Southeast Asia, a region so strongly associated with Theravāda Buddhism that the presence of tantric Buddhism there has only relatively recently been recognized. Swati Chemburkar's "*Stūpa to Maṇḍala: Tracing a Buddhist Architectural Development from Kesariya to Borobudur to Tabo*" also addresses issues of center and periphery, exploring the architectural connections between three geographically disparate temples. We are seeing a network of interrelated sites, all

reflecting “a consistent pattern of religious, cultural, and ritual ideas that defy geographical boundaries.”

“The Transmission of the *Grahamāṭṛkā-dhāraṇī* and Other Buddhist Planetary Astral Texts” by Bill M. Mak is a study of a particular *dhāraṇī* text used for rituals involving concerns focused on the planets. Mak provides background on the adoption of such planetary conceptions into Buddhism, as well as the details of different recensions of the text under study. The first translation of the text into Chinese found among Dunhuang manuscripts dates from the mid-ninth century. The *Grahamāṭṛkā-dhāraṇī* continues to play a role in present day Nepal, evidencing the durability of the ritual practices associated with it. The tendency to focus on doctrine has contributed to the neglect of ritual practices such as the ones Mak examines in this essay.

Hudaya Kandaḥjaya has translated the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, written in Old Javanese. Kandaḥjaya describes it as having strongly tantric elements, containing for example verses from the “early cycle of the *Guhyasamāja* texts.” Although first brought to the attention of scholars in Europe in 1910, it is not part of the corpus of canonic and paracanonic works maintained by the Theravāda tradition. At the same time, much of the scholarship on the text has been published in Dutch. Consequently, and despite its importance, work on the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* and similar Indonesian literature has remained largely confined to Indonesian specialists. Like the literature of other marginalized peripheries, it has thus far not been adequately integrated into the wider literary corpus of Buddhism as a whole.

In his “The Development of the ‘Identity of the Purport of Perfect and Esoteric Teachings’ (*enmitsu itchi* 円密一致) in Medieval Tendai School: The Significance of Esoteric Symbolic Objects in *Kōen hokke gi* 講演法華儀” Takahiko Kameyama examines one of the key concepts of Tendai interpretation of tantric praxis. The “perfect” (*en* 円) teachings, those of the *Lotus Sutra*, are “perfect” in the sense of complete. The concept examined by Kameyama frames *Lotus Sutra* teachings as identical with the tantric or “esoteric” (*mitsu* 密) teachings. Kameyama explores the history of this balancing of the two strains characteristic of the Tendai school. We note that the logic of this is parallel to the way that some Tibetan categorizations of Mahāyāna constitute it as a

two-part system: the method of the perfections (*pāramitāyāna*) and the method of mantra (*mantrayāna*).<sup>2</sup>

The new perspectives presented in the essays gathered here highlight a web of connectedness transcending nation-state or sectarian identity as they point us away from received narratives structured by the metaphors of center and periphery, question the hegemonic dominance of doctrinal studies, integrate archeological and art historical sources along with textual, and seek texts that do not fit into the comfortable categories of the established canon of Buddhist studies.

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2. In Tibetan systems, however, the mantra teachings are usually classed as superior to the perfection teachings. See for example, Jeffrey Hopkins, "Preface," in *The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra: Volume 1, Tantra in Tibet*, trans. and ed. Jeffrey Hopkins (1977; repr., Boulder: Snow Lion, 2016), vii–x.



## **Study of Buddhist Tantra: An Impressionistic Overview**

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This is a revised version of a presentation made at the University of Calgary, Monday, 23 March, 2015, as the lecture portion of the Annual Leslie S. Kawamura Memorial Lecture and Symposium. The program was co-sponsored by the Numata Chair Lecture Series at the University of Calgary, established with the support of Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai, Japan. My sincere thanks to Prof. Wendi Adamek for her kind invitation to give this public lecture in memory of my teacher, friend, and colleague, the late Leslie Kawamura. Thanks also to the Department of Classics and Religion.

The subtitle, “An Impressionistic Overview,” is meant to convey two things. An essay of this scope cannot be comprehensive—there are many important works by excellent scholars working in the field that go unmentioned. What is pursued here are a number of methodological points, and the references are intended to exemplify those. Second, the field is very active, with several significant works having been published even in the short three years since this was given as a public presentation. This is in fact an important aspect itself worth highlighting—four decades ago, the scholarly study of tantric Buddhism in Europe and America was in its infancy and very little was available. There were, for example, less than a dozen publications total in European languages on Shingon. Today new works on Buddhist tantra appear frequently, such that there is a danger that overly narrow areas of specialization will inhibit our ability to see the forest.

### INTRODUCTION

For well over a century tantric Buddhism was despised as a religious tradition and dismissed as an area of scholarly inquiry. Significant changes to these views began early in the second half of the twentieth

century. This first section will discuss the cultural assumptions that impeded the study of Buddhist tantra, assumptions that in many cases still inform scholarly inquiry today. The transition out of that attitude was effected by two major events: the exile of Tibetan teachers following 1959, and a change to the intellectual sensibilities guiding Buddhist studies and affecting the study of religion in general.

### I. THE RECEIVED UNDERSTANDING

In order to consider the current state of the art of the study of tantric Buddhism, and to understand the significance and profundity of the changes that have taken place in the last half century, let me begin with a personal anecdote. Several years ago, I was a guest at a large dinner party hosted by a wannabe vineyard owner in the Santa Cruz *appellation* of coastal California. During the dinner conversation, the host learned that my area of study is tantric Buddhism. He found this “truly fascinating,” and much to my wife’s consternation asked if I was planning to lead workshops in tantric sex. The question was delivered with a highly suggestive tone—what is known as a wink wink nudge nudge tone. When I tried with some dismay to explain tantric fire rituals he very quickly lost interest and we were not invited back. More currently, a quick survey of Amazon reveals that the societal association of the words tantra and sex is pervasive. Although generally presented in luridly positive post-sexual-revolution tones today, this association is longstanding though historically with a more negative valorization.

Indeed, what has been called the most formative work for modern Buddhist studies, Eugène Burnouf’s *Introduction à la histoire du Bouddhisme indien*<sup>1</sup> (originally appearing in 1844), establishes for the next century and a half the dominance of the conception of tantra as decadent, that is, as crude, simple-minded, magical thinking, ritualistic, superstitious, immoral, and derivative from Śaivism—a characterization that eventually came to inform the idea that tantra was perhaps primarily responsible for the decline of Buddhism in India. Referring to the collection of works gathered and sent back to Europe from Nepal by Hodgson, Burnouf notes that the tantras were only provided to Hodgson after he had many other texts made available to him.

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1. Very fortunately, the text has been translated quite elegantly into English, making it available for critical reflection.

Burnouf draws the conclusion from this that “If as the title *tantra* indicates...the impure and coarse cult of the personifications of the female principle, as accepted among the Śaivists, found a place in these books, one can understand that an honest [sic] Buddhist hesitated to reveal to a foreigner proofs of so monstrous an alliance.”<sup>2</sup> Integrating both the rhetoric of decadence and the dualistic understanding of religion as only appropriately concerned with the transcendent, Burnouf goes on to characterize the tantras as promising “temporal and immediate advantages; in the end, they satisfy this need for superstitions, this love of pious practices by which the religious sentiment expresses itself in Asia, and to which the simplicity of primitive Buddhism responded but imperfectly.”<sup>3</sup> These presuppositions regarding history and ritual seem to me to reflect a sensibility informed by Christian theology, and Burnouf goes on to apply a similarly theologically informed conception of scripture. This is the conception that to be scripture means that a text is thought to be “inspired,” and, therefore, is held by a tradition to be immutable. Although no longer unchallenged this conception of scripture endures in religious studies. Further preconceptions include assuming a unitary author<sup>4</sup> of a primal text (*Urtext*), and that variations between different extant versions of the text are the consequence of unintentional scribal errors or intentional but disreputable later alterations—both of which are to be corrected. The job of textual studies, under this conception of the nature of scripture, is to engage in the process of textual criticism so as to restore the primal text. Discussing a text written in Sanskrit, but which refers to Nepalese divinities, Burnouf says of it that “where there is this trace of a hand foreign to India, [it] is not regarded as an inspired book, and there is no reason to apply to it the severe rules of criticism to which it is necessary to submit books accepted into the canon of sacred scriptures.”<sup>5</sup> In other words, from the perspective of religious textual criticism, it is not important that this work was compiled so as to include Nepalese deities. Rather, since it is not an “inspired” work (presumably he means that

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2. Eugène Burnouf, *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism*, trans. Katia Buffetrille and Donald S. Lopez Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 480.

3. *Ibid.*

4. See Christian Lee Novetzke, “Divining an Author: The Idea of Authorship in an Indian Religious Tradition,” *History of Religions* 42, no. 3 (Feb. 2003): 213–242.

5. Burnouf, *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism*, 480–481.

it is not *buddhavacana*, though he does not clarify who is making this judgment), it is, therefore, not on a par with other sacred scriptures—those which are considered so holy as to not be changed.

The historical views of tantra that informed perception of the tradition at the start of the last quarter of the twentieth century included two sets of ideas. First, there were the methodological conceptions regarding the nature and value of texts of particular kinds. Second, there was the moralistic evaluation that tantra was decadent and obscene, and therefore unworthy of serious study by scholars of religions. We now turn to some of the category systems and definitions that in the past had motivated the marginalization of tantra from academic study.

## II. DEFINITIONS: SEEKING SOME PLACE TO STAND

One of the ongoing discussions, and sometimes disputations, in the study of tantra is about defining the term. The function of any definition is not only to identify something, but also to draw lines around it so that we know what it isn't. In other words, definitions let us know where we stand and where we shouldn't wander off to.

### II.A. THE INCONVENIENCE OF THE CONVENIENT

Established categories, concepts, and concerns are seemingly more often employed because they are familiar and convenient, rather than being questioned for their relevance. In addition to frequently employing Protestant preconceptions of history, ritual, and text, academic Buddhist studies has also developed its own three-part historiography—Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna (commonly, though mistakenly, referred to as the “three *yānas*”). This same three-part system is frequently reflected in popular Buddhist works under the categories of insight or mindfulness (code for Theravāda), Zen, and Tibetan Buddhism.

The standard three-part model of Theravāda, Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna (as encountered for example in world religions textbooks) is convenient because it is so widely deployed, and structuring our thought along those lines is therefore the path of least resistance. Such categorizations should not be employed unreflectively, that is, simply based on common practice and received tradition.

This classification is problematic for two reasons. First, it is not based in a specifically Buddhist set of categories, that is, it is not emic, and therefore requires its own kind of justification. For example, most

Tibetan systems of classification delineate not three separate traditions, but a system that includes two subsets of Mahāyāna—*pāramitāyāna* and *mantrayāna*, that is, the practice of the perfections and the practice of mantra, the latter being tantric in character. Conversely, *emic* is not in itself automatically authoritative.<sup>6</sup> Both *emic* and *etic* definitions are located in particular discourses, and neither should be allowed to function without the qualification of locating their meaning within those discourses. In other words neither kind of categorization can be simply accepted as universal, since both are usually polemical in some fashion.

Second, in explicating this three-part system, doctrinal claims are often given priority. Consequently the predominance of doctrine shared between Mahāyāna and tantric Buddhism is ignored in favor of a few differences, which are then treated, sometimes formulaically, as definitive of a complex tradition with a long history. Focusing on the idea of awakening in this lifetime as the defining characteristic of tantra, for example, fragments otherwise integrated systems of thought. This is not to say that there are not such doctrinal distinctions, but that the differences that are more informative are those of practice—as mentioned above, for example, differences between the practice of the perfections and the practice of mantra.

## II.B. TANTRA: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC CATEGORY

The difficulty that the field of Buddhist studies is having with terminology in this regard is reflected in two diametrically opposed evaluations, one made by Richard McBride and the other by Hiram Woodward. McBride, in discussing the terminology as appropriate to China, asserts that neither “Tantric Buddhism” nor “Esoteric Buddhism” are unproblematic terms.<sup>7</sup> He rejects “Tantric Buddhism” on the grounds that it is a creation of Japanese sectarian scholarship and it is “nothing more” than a creation of Western scholarship; he rejects “Esoteric Buddhism” on the grounds that the textual record reveals no distinctly separate school that corresponds to that term. He examines text titles

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6. For example, Nichiren’s characterizations of other Buddhist traditions in medieval Japan are explicitly polemical and need to be located in relation to the domain within which his discourse operates.

7. Richard D. McBride, II, “Is There Really ‘Esoteric’ Buddhism?” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 27, no. 2 (2004): 329–356.

and commentaries and concludes that “esoteric” was simply used to identify and valorize the putatively higher teachings of the Mahāyāna.

Discussing this valorization, McBride asserts that

Seen from this perspective, one can see how to many Chinese Buddhists, the esoteric teachings of the *Sūtra on Mahāvairocana’s Attaining Buddhahood*, which emphasize recreating the body, speech, and mind of the Buddha directly as the “esoteric teaching,” are no more esoteric than the teachings of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* or the *Lotus Sūtra*, because one could easily understand that acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas means fundamentally the same thing as acquiring or reproducing the body, speech, and mind of the Buddha.<sup>8</sup>

I find this claim that a Chinese Buddhist would not have distinguished between the *goal* of realizing the emptiness of all dharmas and the *method* of identification between the practitioner and the deity to be a most problematic assertion. While it cannot be a perfect analogy, certainly many self-identified Buddhists in present-day United States would have difficulty seeing the identity of these two teachings.

In denying the existence of Esoteric Buddhism as a lineage, McBride similarly fails to take into account other practices, such as initiation—as noted by Woodward. Before considering Woodward on this topic, it is worth highlighting that Ronald Davidson specifically and purposely used the term “movement” to describe the object of his study, which shifts the conception of what we’re looking for away from a clearly delineated school or a lineage, pointing to something broader and more diffuse than the “Esoteric school” on which the negative aspects of McBride’s critique focuses.<sup>9</sup>

In contrast to McBride’s rejection of both Tantric Buddhism and Esoteric Buddhism as indicating anything other than a polemic claim of superiority, Hiram Woodward asserts that “Esoteric Buddhism and Tantric Buddhism are both valid names, the first because it indicates a body of secret practices, necessarily passed down from master to pupil, and the second because it implies dependence upon a body of texts called *tantra*.”<sup>10</sup>

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8. *Ibid.*, 350.

9. McBride’s opening claim (332) is that *mi* means both esoteric and higher, rather than identifying a sectarian institution.

10. Hiram Woodward, “Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia in the Light of Recent Scholarship,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35, no. 2 (June 2004):

My own conclusion is that, as indicated by Woodward, the securest categorization is bibliographic, as well as descriptive generalizations based on that bibliographic category. That is, there are a number of texts, the titles of which include the term “tantra.”<sup>11</sup> As a bibliographic category, these texts provide us a basis for delineating as a descriptive generalization the characteristic practices, beliefs, deities, etc. found in those texts, and thereby identify “tantric Buddhism”—stylistically using the lower case “t” to avoid any imputation of a unitary metaphysical entity, “Tantric Buddhism,” of which the various kinds are manifestations (i.e., not an Aristotelian category system of genus and species, nor a neo-Platonic one of essence and manifestation).<sup>12</sup> There is, I believe, a certain elegant simplicity to this approach to the question of how to identify tantra.

#### II.C. (NOT) EMBRACING POLYTHESIS

Monothetic definitions are ones that depend on identifying the single defining characteristic of some set of things. One example of a monothetic approach is the focus on ritual identification. For instance, while not specifically promoting his view as a definition per se, Michel Strickmann noted that “...the officiant’s identification or union with the deity, is (in my view) the prime distinguishing feature of tantric

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329–354; 329.

11. We should note that this approach is made somewhat more complex by the fact that the titles of some works when translated to Chinese simply used “classic” (*ching* 經), the same term used for *sūtra*. Also, see Megan Bryson, “Mahākāla Worship in the Dali Kingdom (937–1253): A Study and Translation of the *Dahei tianshen daochang yi*,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 35, nos. 1–2 (2013): 3–69; 6.

12. While it might be possible to compute a multidimensional space within which the various axes are measures of the identified characteristics and locate texts within that space, such an exercise—even speculatively—should not be taken to identify those texts at the center of the space as somehow more tantric than the others. That is, we should avoid any imputation of archetypal status to texts having more of some kind of list of characteristics, a status implying a more central or important status. That could implicitly evoke a hierarchical conception of superiority that runs counter to the goal of a descriptive generalization.



Buddhism.”<sup>13</sup> Monothetic approaches to defining tantra cannot be sustained in the face of greater knowledge regarding the tradition—as our knowledge has expanded, what were formerly sharp edges have become increasingly fuzzy. Too sharp a delineation is an unproductive artifice, conveniently reducing ambiguity. In contrast to monothetic ideas about definition, some theorists, e.g., Rodney Needham, have made more general epistemological arguments in favor of polythetic definitions.<sup>14</sup> Citing Needham, in an essay on the difficulties of defining religion in which Buddhism plays a key exemplary role, Martin Southwold explains the difference between monothetic and polythetic:

A monothetic class is a set of phenomena such that there is some set (or “bundle”) of attributes which is common to all of them—which is possessed by each and every member of the class. With a polythetic class there is again an associated bundle of attributes; but in this case it is not necessary that *all* the attributes in the bundle be possessed by a member of the class.<sup>15</sup>

Frequent recourse is made to polythetic definition by scholars aware of the complexity of such religious phenomena as tantra. It apparently has a *prima facie* appeal, that is, it seems to be intuitively satisfying, as well as carrying the potency of Wittgenstein’s name when equated with his notion of family resemblances.

Frequently, however, the problem with invoking polythetic definitions is that they are only invoked and then the definitional issues are quickly moved past in silence—creating a meaningful polythetic definition is almost never actually done. In most cases the best that is brought forth is a list—what I have called the *mantra, mudrā, maṇḍala*

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13. Michel Strickmann, “The Seal of the Law: A Ritual Implement and the Origins of Printing,” *Asia Major* 6, no. 2 (1993): 1–83; 29. I mention this monothetic definition in particular as it is the one I adopted for several years, depending on Strickmann’s authority. Over the many years of the irregularly scheduled meetings of the Society for Tantric Studies, I came to understand that this one characteristic cannot be equally applied to the full range of tantric forms. As my friend Charles Orzech pointed out to me in relation to the Shingon hungry ghost rituals, ritual identification is also not a universal ritual action for tantric practices.

14. Rodney Needham, “Polythetic Classification: Convergence and Consequences,” *Man*, n.s., 10 (1975): 349–369.

15. Martin Southwold, “Buddhism and the Definition of Religion,” *Man*, n.s., 13, no. 3 (Sept. 1978): 369.



strategy, that is, claiming that these three are characteristic of tantra and then treating this as adequately distinguishing the tradition.<sup>16</sup> This, however, is not in fact an adequate way of employing a polythetic definition, as it does not actually identify what characteristics are not found in all members of the set, and therefore remains indistinguishable from a monothetic definition, as discussed by Southwold above.

In other words, what is generally not forthcoming when a polythetic approach is invoked is either a rationale for identifying the key elements or a demonstration of where the key elements start and end. One of the frequent metaphors used is that of a rope, which is made up of many strands, none of which run the entire length, but each of which contributes to the whole so that all together constitute the rope. However, as should be obvious, a metaphor is not an argument, no matter how convincing. To continue with the metaphor, however, we should ask about each strand, where it begins and ends, and how they came to be woven together to form this rope.<sup>17</sup> In contrast, therefore, is my purposely fuzzy bibliographic definition of tantra. But note that this is not an implicit metaphysical assertion of the existence of some “thing,” but rather highlighting the simple fact of a bibliographic label as a basis upon which certain generalizations may be made.

### III. DUALISTIC PREJUDICES

Since the time of the Protestant Reformation, Western religious culture has been largely dominated by dualistic conceptions—a metaphysics that places the relative, this-worldly, natural, material, embodied on one side of a totalized divide from the absolute, other-worldly, supernatural, spiritual, mental on the other. The tradition of medieval Christianity that was displaced at that time was largely immanent in its religious conceptions, so that rather than the divine being located in some transcendent location outside, beyond, above this world, the divine was present here in our midst. The stark dualism of modern Western religious thought—both popular and scholarly—structures

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16. See for example, Bryson, “Mahākāla Worship in the Dali Kingdom,” 7.

17. The best work I know of along these lines is Henrik Sørensen’s “Spells and Magical Practices as Reflected in the Early Chinese Buddhist Sources (c. 300–600 CE) and Their Implications for the Rise and Development of Esoteric Buddhism,” in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, ed. Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 41–71; 45–47.

popular and academic representations of tantra specifically, and Buddhism generally.<sup>18</sup>

In relation to the study of tantric Buddhism these dualistic prejudices also inform value judgments about the goals of Buddhist praxis, and it is this that makes a critical understanding of those prejudgments relevant to the treatment of tantra. One of the traditional distinctions made in tantric thought is between powers related to the accomplishment of mundane goals (*laukika siddhi*, *shih-chien ch'eng-chiu*) and the attainment of the supreme goal of ultimate enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*, *lokottara siddhi*, *ch'u-shih sh'eng-chiu*, or *ch'eng-chiu hsi-ti*).<sup>19</sup> In English language treatments, this distinction between types of attainments (*siddhis*) is not uncommonly interpreted in conformity with the Weberian this-worldly/other-worldly disjunction. The Weberian disjunction also carries a moral valence, one that induces a disdain for worldly goals in favor of transcendent ones. This distinction has become so well integrated into Western religious culture that it appears natural, although it is the product of the Protestant Reformation. It then prejudices the study of tantra, when scholars only consider the practice of monastics devoted to ultimate enlightenment worthy of consideration—such that non-monastic, folk, or popular practices are ignored, or at least marginalized.<sup>20</sup> This is one of the areas

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18. A pervasive dualistic neo-Platonism contributes to the common misunderstanding of Madhyamaka thought regarding the relation between samsara and nirvana, relative and absolute. Repeatedly in the *Karikas* Nāgārjuna asserts the identity of the two, and yet Western/ized people seem to struggle with this. The very terms used—relative and absolute (*saṃvṛtisatya* and *paramārthasatya*)—seem to contribute to this confusion, and the assumption that Buddhism holds to the same kind of dualistic metaphysics that post-Reformation Christianity holds.

19. Charles D. Orzech, “Seeing Chen-yen Buddhism: Traditional Scholarship and the Vajrayāna in China,” *History of Religions* 29, no. 2 (Nov. 1989): 87–114; 100.

20. Important recent work has called attention to non-monastic practices, such as those of forest-dwelling ascetics, and domestic practices. See respectively, Daniel Boucher, *Bodhisattvas of the Forest and the Formation of the Mahāyāna: A Study and Translation of the Rāṣṭrapālapariṣcchā-sūtra* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), and Jessica Starling, *Guardians of the Buddha's Home: Domestic Religion in Contemporary Jōdo Shinshū* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, forthcoming).

in which anthropological studies of religion in Buddhist societies provides a useful corrective to the prejudices of religious studies.

This is also part of a wider historical preference for “high” religion that makes well-developed and hierarchical institutions, written literatures (particularly those displaying “proper” spelling and grammar), and abstruse philosophies considered to be worthy objects of study.<sup>21</sup> This tendency, long-standing though now less dominant in the field, had resulted in tantric practices being identified as popular or folk religion and therefore being ignored, dismissed, and denigrated, and the historical question of the continuity of these with institutional tantra, such as in East Asia, remaining unasked.

If, however, we do not privilege the “ultimate” along with practitioners and institutions who can be interpreted as taking it as their focus, and instead recognize that an important strain of Buddhist praxis in general and tantric Buddhist praxis in particular is not dualistically divided between absolute and relative, then the integration of realizations (*yuganaddha*) can be understood to involve a hierarchy of values rather than an oppositional dichotomy. “The realization of one’s basic divinity is the realization of one’s own enlightenment and the simultaneous purification of one’s world.”<sup>22</sup> An increasing awareness of the gap between a religion of transcendence and the fundamentally non-dual character of much of Buddhist thought provided one important opening for a re-evaluation of tantric Buddhism. Particularly relevant here is the recognition that tantra has an intellectual basis, one that is broadly based in Mahāyāna thought, and in that way drawing on both Madhyamaka and Yogācāra thinking. The other opening was the dramatic events of the 1959 invasion of Tibet by the People’s Republic of China. This led to the now well-known flight of so many Tibetan leaders, including the Dalai Lama, out of Tibet in 1959. Although much of the scholarly attention focused on the scholastic traditions as a resource for understanding Indian Buddhist thought, evidencing the continuing prejudice in favor of doctrine (particularly in its Indian forms), some scholars did begin to inquire into tantric Buddhist praxis

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21. Historically, this dynamic was informed by missionaries who, with their seminary training valuing their own role in religion, think that theology is essential and look for their peers in other religions.

22. Orzech, “Seeing Chen-Yen Buddhism,” 100.

as well.<sup>23</sup> At around this same time, there was increasing awareness of not only the existence of Buddhist tantra in East Asia, such as Shingon in Japan, but of its pervasiveness and centrality to the development of much of East Asian Buddhism.<sup>24</sup>

#### IV. CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

There are also several issues that can be corrected through the use of alternative conceptions. These include: (1) understanding tantric phenomena as existing not only in clearly tantric settings, but also in penumbral areas in which they are in interaction with other religious elements; (2) shifting from a historiography of linear trajectories to one of networks and nodes; (3) similarly, the use of regional studies instead of the usual default to contemporary nation-states; and (4) thinking not of institutional sects as the primary category of analysis, but instead in terms of discourses.

##### IV.A. FROM INVISIBILITY TO PENUMBRAS

When studying in Japan, I found what I now think of as “the invisibility of tantra.” One exemplary instance is the existence of elements in Zen monastic practices that are quite easily thought of as simply “Zen.” They are naturalized as part of the Zen tradition and therefore no further thought is given to them. For example, I once visited a small Sōtō Zen hermitage that was being taken care of by a Zen student from the U.S. whom I’d gotten to know in the expatriate circles in Kyoto. Upon entering I found a statue of one of the four directional guardians (*lokapālas*) opposite the doorway, together with a *dhāraṇī*. Similarly, in the toilet there was a *dhāraṇī* for protection. Now, while as Richard McBride has warned, we cannot simply equate *dhāraṇī* with tantra, this

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23. Herbert Guenther, Leslie Kawamura, Ferdinand Lessing, and Alex Wayman were some of the leading figures in this reorientation of scholarly attitudes toward tantric Buddhism from the mid-twentieth century on.

24. Celebration of the 1150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of Kōyasan, the training center for Shingon Buddhism in the mountains of the Kii Peninsula of Japan, seems to have been pivotal in this change. One of the many scholars attending those events was Joseph Kitagawa, whose essay “Master and Saviour” appeared as the first essay in Kōyasan University’s conference proceedings volume (1965), but was also reprinted in the collection of Kitagawa’s essays *On Understanding Japanese Religion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

cannot, however, be taken as an ahistorical dictum.<sup>25</sup> The presence of a *dhāraṇī* does not of itself establish that the hermitage was somehow “tantric,” any more than the presence of *dhāraṇī* in the *Lotus Sutra* turn it into the *Lotus Tantra*.<sup>26</sup> However, the history of how the *dhāraṇī* got there does indicate connections with tantra. Another example is the idea of inherent awakening, which although again is not somehow uniquely tantric does form a central tenet of tantric praxis, including that on Mt. Hiei where Dōgen, the founder of Sōtō, was originally trained.

One reason for the invisibility of tantra is the lack of training of scholars. Some, perhaps many, scholars are only trained in one field, that which is their area of specialization. Being unfamiliar with tantra, they cannot recognize that what they’re looking at has a tantric origin, and they may think of it as simply (unproblematically) part of whatever tradition they are looking at, as in this case Zen. So one of the reasons that tantra has not been recognized is that it is invisible to those who, lacking an adequate breadth of training or familiarity, can only accept what they see as a “natural” part of whatever tradition they are examining.

In the case of directional guardians and their accompanying *dhāraṇīs* in Zen temples, there is an explicitly historical question that should be pursued: What in the world are these things doing here? They are not the kind of thing that Dōgen is known to have brought back from China, so how do they wind up in a small Sōtō Zen hermitage in a village outside Kyoto? The answer is that they derive from the tantric dimension of Tendai Buddhism. Does this make Zen tantric? No, but it does put Japanese Zen in what I’ve called the penumbra of tantra.<sup>27</sup> The penumbra is one of two areas of shadow cast when two

25. Richard D. McBride, II, “Dhāraṇī and Spells in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 85–114.

26. Richard K. Payne, *Language in the Buddhist Tantra of Japan: Indic Roots of Mantra* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), chap. 8, 117–125.

27. Charles D. Orzech, Richard K. Payne, and Henrik H. Sørensen, introduction to *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Richard K. Payne, and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 12–13; Charles D. Orzech, “After Amoghavajra: Esoteric Buddhism in the Late Tang,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 330; Richard K. Payne, “From Vedic India to Buddhist Japan: Continuities and Discontinuities in Esoteric Ritual,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 1044, 1047, 1054; also, Payne,

light sources are shining on the same object. Where both light sources cast shadows, that is the darker, inner shadow, the umbra. But where the shadow of one and the light of the other mingle, that is the penumbra. The penumbra of tantra includes such things as directional protectors (*lokapāla*) and their *dhāraṇī* when they show up in Zen temples. Likewise, the idea that just sitting is itself awakening has its own roots in Chinese Chan. However, not only is it at least resonant with tantric ideas of awakening in this very body (*soku shin jōbutsu* 即身成佛) in Japan, but the origin of those Chinese roots themselves need to be reconsidered. The tendency toward a hermetic conception of lineages as distinct, separate, and sources of authority in their purity is historically dysfunctional—despite its service to sectarian claims, both religious and academic.

#### IV.B. NETWORKS, NOT LINEAR TRAJECTORIES

One pervasive style of historiography is to trace a single, linear progression, a movement from some privileged center outward. This is a historiography of “diffusion” and is exemplified in the way that the history of Buddhism is often written. That is, the standard representation is that Buddhism began in India and then spread out from there in a series of separate linear trajectories—India to Sri Lanka, India to Southeast Asia, India to China and then to Korea and Japan, India to Tibet and then Mongolia. And now additional stages are added at the end of these trajectories, e.g., Europe and the U.S. The actuality seems to be, however, that there were networks, and influences moved in both directions along the strands connecting the nodes of those networks.

The historiography of distinct linear trajectories, it seems to me, is often a reflection of sectarian historiography. Sectarian historiography is itself motivated by the desire to conclusively connect a contemporary form of Buddhism with the authority of the source. Such linear treatments then oversimplify complex historical actualities, such as the tantric environment of medieval Tendai being written out of the stories of Dōgen or Hōnen, or being placed under erasure as in the Theravādin history of Buddhism in Southeast Asia.

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“Conversions of Tantric Buddhist Ritual: The Yoshida Shintō *Juhachishintō* Ritual,” in *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond*, ed. István Keul (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2012), 365–398.

## IV.C. REGIONAL STUDIES, NOT CONTEMPORARY NATION-STATES

All too often, our fields of study tend to be defined by contemporary nation-states, which effectively distorts our inquiries in a variety of ways.<sup>28</sup> We need to stop naturalizing contemporary nation-states as the default categories defining our fields of study, and one way to do that is to focus on regional forms of religion.<sup>29</sup> While certainly not the only possible organizing principle that can serve as an alternative to contemporary nation-states, it is a useful antidote to the dysfunctional privileging of contemporary nation-states as the primary category for organizing the study of Buddhism.<sup>30</sup>

One example is the study of tantric Buddhism in the Kingdom of Dali, which lasted from 937–1253 (approx. contemporaneous with the Song dynasty).<sup>31</sup> While tantric practices in Dali do seem to derive primarily from Tang and Song, they take on a unique character of their own, a distinct reformulation. Specifically, while Mahākāla does not appear to have played a significant role in Tang or Song, he did become a central part of Dali tantra. Megan Bryson summarizes the nature of the interactions between Dali and surrounding regions, saying that “Mahākāla worship in the Dali kingdom draws on textual and iconographic traditions from surrounding areas, but also constitutes a distinctive tradition with its own rituals, texts, and images.”<sup>32</sup> Bryson emphasizes the agency of people in the Dali kingdom in forming their own

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28. See Richard K. Payne, “Buddhist Studies beyond the Nation-State,” Oxford Handbooks Online (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016, DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935420.013.13).

29. See Jeff Wilson, *Dixie Dharma: Inside a Buddhist Temple in the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2012).

30. Bryson points out that ethnicity, which might be thought to provide a reliable alternative to contemporary nation-states as an organizing principle, is also problematic. Although the people of Dali are often called “Bai,” this was neither their own self-categorization, nor did it provide an organizing principle for Dali religiosity. “It is as a part of [the] politico-religious dimension of the Dali Kingdom that Mahākāla worship should be approached, not as part of a distinctive ‘ethnic’ religion” (“Mahākāla Worship in the Dali Kingdom,” 13).

31. I wonder how much the choice of identifiers contributes to the privileging of contemporary nation-states. Does the idea of the Song dynasty of China not automatically reify China as the enduring category—in contrast to the Dali Kingdom, which we can easily think “no longer exists”?

32. Bryson, “Mahākāla Worship in the Dali Kingdom,” 10.



religious traditions, rather than simply being derivative from those of the surrounding cultures. She has also argued that it is because Mahākāla was not already a prominent part of Tang or Song Buddhism that he could therefore be appropriated as a protector for Dali.

In addition to recognizing the agency of regional actors and examining the conditions involved in the development of a regional tradition, such as that of Mahākāla in Dali, Bryson has pointed out a pattern of religious development that becomes visible when viewing religious history from the perspective of regions. That pattern of religious development is the creation of groups of gods. In Dali, Mahākāla has seven manifestations. He is also one of a group of five “brother deities,” and there is a complementary set of seven “sister deities” headed by Hārītī. Similar regional patterns of forming groups of deities include the set of seven (sometimes eight) “little mothers” (*mātrkā*) known from pre-Buddhist India, and in Japan the Edo-period development of the seven gods of good fortune—a set that itself includes Mahākāla. While the formation of groups of gods is not unique to pre-Buddhist India, Dali, or Edo-period Japan, the regional specificity of such a process is suggestive and deserving of further research. Treating Dali as just peripheral to China would, however, simply obscure such phenomena. When considered from the perspective of theory, what needs to be avoided when taking the perspective of either nation-states or regions is the mistaken attribution of causality to the category. In other words, being part of either a nation-state or a region is not a causal explanation as to why some form of Buddhism has some particular characteristics.

#### IV.D. NOT “CHURCH, SECT, CULT”

One of the lingering influences of nineteenth century scholarship in Buddhist studies has been a conceptualization of religion primarily in terms of institutional forms (churches) based on and distinguished from one another by doctrinal claims. The history of Christianity is largely written in terms of schisms created by differences in doctrinal interpretation. This is not to say that there are not important studies of the social, economic, and political dimensions of this history, but, for scholars of religious history in the West, these seem to often be instrumental for the establishment of doctrinally distinguished institutions. While historians of religion may acknowledge that other factors are important, representations of religions are usually structured so as to highlight doctrinal matters. Doctrines are usually treated as



the defining characteristics that distinguish one religious form from another.

It is relatively natural, therefore, that Western/ized scholars of religion project the same kind of doctrinally motivated institutional historiography onto the history of Buddhism as well. In other words, Buddhist history as presented in Western treatments is often written in the same fashion, that is, as a series of institutional forms marked by doctrinal positions that distinguish them from one another.

It is now coming up on two centuries of study of that history, and scholars are better able now to call into question that fundamental presumption. Looking at the history of Buddhism as presented, rather than a sequence of doctrinally inflected institutional entities, we may be seeing a wide range of different kinds of organizations that have all been rather magically transformed into institutions by the reductionist presumptions of Western religious historiography.<sup>33</sup>

For example, Aaron Proffitt, discussing how Kuroda Toshio's ideas, which have already revolutionized the study of medieval Japanese Buddhism, suggested that those ideas can be extended:

Kuroda's theory may be employed to suggest, as scholars of Tibetan, Indian, and Chinese Buddhism have suggested, that the traditions often subsumed under the rubric of Esoteric/Tantric Buddhism [were] likely never understood as a thing unto itself, as a "kind" of Buddhism, but was rather a Mahāyāna polemical sub-discourse used

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33. Not only is this artificial, but it leads to mistaken inquiries. Let us take as an example the *abhidharma* (which I now refuse to capitalize). This is primarily a bibliographic category, despite which it seems quite natural for people to speak of it as the Abhidharma school. This is ambiguous enough to work, in that there are self-identified groups in medieval India, such as the Vaibhāṣika, who do seem to have had some institutional coherence. That, however, does not apply so well to the earlier forms (and there is certainly no "founder" in the sense of someone who had a religious realization that transformed their life!).

But the idea that the Abhidharmikas constitute an identifiable institution marked by doctrinal positions leads to questions such as: What was the meditation practice of the Abhidharmikas? This is a seemingly natural question if your view is that institutions with doctrinal identity are primary, and secondly the additional assumption from Western religious historiography that such institutions move toward a state of being religiously comprehensive (churches rather than sects, though note that even the latter is a doctrinally marked institution).

by Buddhists to draw upon and critique other Mahāyāna strategies and technologies.<sup>34</sup>

This fits, then, with Davidson's intentional use of the term "movement" in his work on tantra, as mentioned above. Similarly, there are considerations of how to understand *zong* (Skt. *siddhānta*, Jpn. *shū* 宗) so as not to read Christian religious institutional categories, such as sect, onto the structures of Buddhist organization.<sup>35</sup> This is not to say that all of the institutions discussed in the Western historiography of Buddhism are inventions, rather that each one needs to be critically re-examined, the nature of its institutional status at particular times and places being directly the object of critical inquiry.

#### V. TANTRIC BUDDHISM IN EAST ASIA

Hopefully it will seem odd to say this, but until relatively recently there was little attention paid to tantric Buddhism in East Asia, and not even consensus on something as fundamental as whether there was anything worth studying there.<sup>36</sup> Indeed in 1989, Charles Orzech could state that "Chen-yen (*mi-chiao*, 'esoteric Buddhism') Buddhism was among the most important Buddhist traditions in the history of Chinese religion, yet many historians of religions, sinologists, and Buddhologists have never heard of it."<sup>37</sup> While much has changed in the study of tantric Buddhism in East Asia since then, greater attention needs to be given to the ritual texts, as well as to figures and institutions that have been excluded from scholarly attention. Also requiring rethinking is the question of how to discuss figures such as Dōhan, who wrote an esoteric interpretation of *nenbutsu* recitation. Treatment of figures such as this requires not reifying Pure Land and Esoteric

34. Aaron Proffitt, "Mysteries of Speech and Breath: Dōhan's 道範 (1179–1252) *Himitsu Nenbutsu shō* 秘密念佛抄 and Esoteric Pure Land Buddhism" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2015), 196–197.

35. T. Griffith Foulk, "The Ch'an *Tsung* in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?" *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, n.s., no. 8 (Fall 1992): 18–31.

36. And this despite the work of Michel Strickmann, no doubt largely in part because his published work on the topic was in French and the fact that much of his scholarship was left unpublished at his untimely death. Bernard Faure has made a great contribution to English-language scholarship by his posthumous translations and editing of Strickmann's work.

37. Orzech, "Seeing Chen-yen Buddhism," 87.

Buddhism as distinct from one another—in other words, not as separate lineages whose histories are traced in a unilinear fashion as sectarian scholarship encourages. Such an intellectual framework creates the misleading impression that figures such as Dōhan are engaged in syncretic merging of elements from autonomously distinct traditions.

In addition to the metaphor of a network for thinking about historical relations, the metaphor of saturated solutions may be useful in thinking about works like Dōhan's, as well as those of the other major figures of medieval Buddhism. The elements dissolved in the solution are crystallized by a creative figure and then fall out of the solution as a distinct crystalline form. The various elements floating in the solution are available to be formed and reformed over time in different ways.

While the crystallization metaphor is one I've found useful, in her work on death and dying in medieval Japan, Jacqueline Stone has suggested another metaphor that can be applied equally well to the study of Buddhist tantra in all its forms. That metaphor sees a religious culture as comprising a "repertoire of resources," what we might also call the toolbox metaphor. Like the crystallization metaphor, the toolbox allows for understanding that Buddhism is not a closed system bounded by doctrinal orthodoxies, but instead a highly porous part within the larger system of a religious culture.

Stone notes that a lingering rhetoric of authenticity and purity continues to create pseudoproblems about the

intersection of Buddhism as a pan-Asian tradition with local religious culture.... Thinking of Buddhism as a shifting repertoire of resources, one with porous boundaries, allows us to give due attention to these interactions without getting caught up in clumsy and misleading normative distinctions about which elements constitute "true" or "authentic" Buddhism and which are mere local accretions.<sup>38</sup>

Stone goes on to note that "the notion of Buddhism as a set of resources helps us to understand how, together with local variation, remarkable thematic continuity is to be found across Asia," while at the same time the prominent role of Buddhism "has rested in no small measure on its

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38. Jacqueline I. Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment: Buddhism and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 5.

conceptual capacity to encompass disparate elements with a compelling, if not always internally consistent, ritual program.”<sup>39</sup>

#### VI. TANTRIC BUDDHISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

One of the problems for the study of tantra in Southeast Asia is the relative paucity of written works. The simple ravages of time and neglect alone have led to the loss of written works, which decay more rapidly in tropical climates than elsewhere and for most of Buddhist history have required constant recopying. The shift to Theravādin Buddhist traditions as state religions led to other works, Mahāyāna and tantric, no longer being copied. Probably at least as significant was the purposeful destruction of texts resulting from intra-Buddhist sectarian conflicts supported by kings.

As a consequence of the relative paucity of textual record for Southeast Asia, much of the recent re-evaluation of the place of tantra in the region has depended on archaeology, art history, and epigraphy—sources that classically trained Buddhist scholars have for the most part not been taught even to consider and are therefore not comfortable with. Though anthropologists had been studying Buddhist societies for decades, for Buddhist studies the revolution in this area can be marked by the 1991 publication of Gregory Schopen’s essay “Archeology and Protestant Presuppositions in the Study of Indian Buddhism.”<sup>40</sup>

The dominant model in the field remains philological and textual, with an almost exclusive focus on substantial philosophical and doctrinal works. This reflects the Protestant biases of religious studies that privilege doctrine and the grounding of doctrine in revealed religious texts—sacred scripture. This is the intellectualist fallacy, the idea that thought is the sole determinant of action. This relic of the Enlightenment should have been abandoned after the work of Freud and Marx. It continues to play a role in religious studies, however, as for example in rational choice theory.

What this means for the study of Buddhist tantra in Southeast Asia, despite its paucity of texts, is the felt need to root everything in texts. Discussing the Kelurak inscription (782 CE) from Central Java, for

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39. *Ibid.*, 5.

40. Gregory Schopen, “Archeology and Protestant Presuppositions in the Study of Indian Buddhism,” *History of Religions* 31, no. 1 (Aug. 1991): 1–23.

example, Hiram Woodward comments that it “has been called ‘the first inescapably “tantrist” inscription,’ but in fact the [kind of] Tantrism is not easily characterised without an associated text.”<sup>41</sup> Woodward goes on to describe the inscription, which relates the installation of an image of Mañjuḥṣa, one of the forms of Mañjuśrī, and who is also identified with Vajradhara, clearly a tantric figure. Although the inscription is technically a text, i.e., a paleographic text, Woodward seems to want to definitively connect the inscription with one of the tantras, such as perhaps the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* or the *Hevajra*. In other words, the epistemological assumption is that to “characterise” the tantrism of the inscription means to relate it to one of the major tantric texts. The expectation seems to be that texts are the stable element or provide a stable reference point for defining or understanding what is going on.<sup>42</sup> But what more would we know were we indeed able to say that the Kelurak inscription is related, for example, to the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*? Does that allow us to make any further claims that are of interest or value? Or have we simply been trained to take a text as the end point of inquiry, are we accustomed to being satisfied in our questioning by identifying a text? (These are intended as real questions, not merely rhetorical ones.)

What textual studies have revealed, however, is that texts are not stable, not even the “sacred scriptures” that Burnouf held as the standard of what is deserving of the “severe rules” of textual criticism. Rather than a textual tradition, tantric praxes might better be understood as overlapping, semi-autonomous traditions of different kinds, including traditions of art and architecture, ritual, practice, music, literature, poetry, and so on—and also including, but not defined by, textual traditions. Thus, in Southeast Asia the archeological, art historical, and epigraphic records display one kind of continuity of tantric

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41. Hiram Woodward, “Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia in the Light of Recent Scholarship,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35, no. 2 (June 2004): 329–354; 340. Internal quote is from Max Nihom, *Studies in Indian and Indo-Indonesian Tantrism: The Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana and the Yogatantra* (Vienna: Sammlung De Nobili Institut für Indologie der Universität Wien, 1994), 70.

42. Note, however, that texts are also not themselves stable, providing an unchanging foundation for historical categorization—texts themselves are networks.

practice, sometimes running parallel to and at other times bumping up against the textual traditions.

#### VII. RELATIONS BETWEEN BUDDHIST TANTRA AND ŚAIVA TANTRA

One of the theoretical issues that has emerged in the discussions of the historical relations between Buddhist and Śaiva tantra is how to understand the similarities between the two traditions. How do we explain the similarities between Buddhist and Śaiva tantra? For the most part, answers have been formulated in terms of either assertions of cross-tradition appropriations or substratum theory.

Christian Wedemeyer has noted that cross-tradition appropriation by tantric Buddhist practitioners from Śaiva traditions has been a theme not only from the time of Burnouf as we saw above, but also in the work of Louis de la Vallée Poussin, and more recently in the work of David Snellgrove.<sup>43</sup> Alexis Sanderson is no doubt the most influential contemporary proponent of the theory of cross-tradition appropriation. A section title from one of his most important works summarizes this thesis quite clearly: “The Development of Tantric Buddhism through the Adoption and Adaptation of Śaiva and Śākta Śaiva Models.”<sup>44</sup> It is worth quoting his claims at the beginning of this section *in extenso*. Noting that Buddhism and Śaivism shared royal patronage, he explains that this

was surely facilitated by the fact that the form of Buddhism adopted and developed was one that equipped itself not only with a pantheon of ordered sets of deities that permitted such subsumptive equations [as the equation of Buddha and Śiva, as discussed at the end of the preceding section] but also with a repertoire of Tantric ceremonies that paralleled that of the Śaivas and indeed had modelled itself upon it, offering initiation by introduction before a Maṇḍala in which the central deity of the cult and its retinue of divine emanations have been installed, and a system of regular worship animated by the principle of identification with the deity of initiation (*devatāhaṃkāraḥ*, *devatāgarvaḥ*) through the use of Mantras, Mudrās,

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43. Christian K. Wedemeyer, *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism: History, Semiology, and Transgression in the Indian Traditions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 22.

44. Alexis Sanderson, “The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period,” in Shingo EINO, ed., *Genesis and Development of Tantrism* (Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 2009), 41–349; 124.

visualization, and fire-sacrifice (*homaḥ*); and this was presented not only as a new and more powerful means of attaining Buddha-hood but also, as in the Śaiva case, as enabling the production of supernatural effects (*siddhiḥ*) such as averting danger (*śāntiḥ*), the harming of enemies (*abhicāraḥ*), and the control of rain (*varṣāpaṇami* and *ativr̥ṣṭidhāraṇam*), through symbolically appropriate inflections of the constituents of these procedures.<sup>45</sup>

Those who follow his argumentation regarding cross-tradition appropriation have further propagated the idea that the direction of appropriation was from Śaiva to Buddhist tantra.<sup>46</sup> There are other scholars, however, who disagree with this as a blanket claim. Gudrun Bühnemann, for example, has noted several goddesses who originate as Buddhist and are then borrowed into Śaiva tantra.<sup>47</sup> Wedemeyer has asserted that “there is substantial evidence of sustained and intense interaction between contemporaneous esoteric Śaiva and Buddhist communities. That said, it seems equally clear that the influence was mutual, with each tradition leaving significant traces of their own thought and practice on currents in the other.”<sup>48</sup>

In a very important recent essay, Ronald Davidson has placed the theory of cross-tradition appropriation into a larger theoretical context.<sup>49</sup> He has pointed out four problematic presumptions inherent in the background of much of the scholarship on the origin of Buddhist tantra to date. “First, and most important, there is the supposition that the origins of tantrism are grounded in elite, intellectual formulae.” The second point is effectively the inverse: since by definition there is no extant literature from non-literate traditions, “such individuals cannot be reasonably postulated.”<sup>50</sup> Third, since “authentic tantric sources must be grounded only in literate intellectualist textual traditions, any reports about alternative non-literate groups must be

45. Anderson, “The Śaiva Age,” 124.

46. See for example, Elizabeth English, *Vajrayoginī: Her Visualization, Rituals, and Forms* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2002), 37, 38.

47. Gudrun Bühnemann, *The Iconography of Hindu Tantric Deities*, 2 vols. (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2000).

48. Wedemeyer, *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism*, 31. His arguments in this regard are given in chap. 5, part 3.

49. Ronald Davidson, “Magicians, Sorcerers and Witches: Considering Pretantric, Non-sectarian Sources of Tantric Practices,” *Religions* 8, no. 10 (2017): 2.

50. *Ibid.*, 2.



considered fallacious or inconsequential.”<sup>51</sup> Davidson’s fourth point is very telling for its insight into the nature of some of the current work on the history of tantra. It is that the arguments made by scholars that follow from the preceding three presumptions are also developed on the basis of the “literate traditions that survive to this day,” together with claims to priority made by members of those traditions, and the presumption that other systems are derivative.<sup>52</sup> This latter point recalls a version of what I have termed elsewhere “retrospectivist historiography,” in which history is written in terms of those forms prominent in the present, presuming that what is important today determines what is important for us to know about the past, and that the tradition forms an integral unity from reaching its inception.

In the points made by Davidson above, those relating to the discounting of non-literate traditions connect with the idea of a substratum of Indian religious culture, as described by David Ruegg.<sup>53</sup> As already noted above, it is a long-standing characteristic of religious studies to only value religious traditions that are scriptural in nature, that is, claim to be based on revealed texts.<sup>54</sup> Categories related to religious substratum are those of “folk religion,” “popular religion,” and “lived religion,” though each emphasizes different dimensions of a large field of phenomena. My own understanding of the idea of a cultural substratum of religion is influenced by Anna Seidel’s Evans-Wentz lecture given at Stanford University in 1988.<sup>55</sup> The image she used for describing the cultural bases for the “three religions” of China was islands rising above the waters of the ocean. Above the waves, the three appear distinct from one another. This is the institutionalized realm of professional priests, monks, literati, and so on, who are like life forms dwelling on the surfaces of each island. Each religious group has a vested interest in marking off their own island as distinctly

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51. *Ibid.*, 2.

52. *Ibid.*, 2.

53. David Seyfort Ruegg, *The Symbiosis of Buddhism with Brahmanism/Hinduism in South Asia and of Buddhism with “Local Cults” in Tibet and the Himalayan Region* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007).

54. Richard K. Payne, “‘Japanese Buddhism’: Constructions and Deconstructions,” in *The Dao Companion to Japanese Buddhist Philosophy*, ed. Gereon Kopf (Heidelberg: Springer, 2018), 33.

55. “Corruptible Body, Incorruptible Body, Substitute Body: Modes of Immortality in China.”



separate from the others, and this becomes increasingly important the higher up the institutional hierarchies one goes. Below the waves, however, they are not only all connected at the ocean's floor, but a vast array of other forms—-independent mediums, healers, etc.—swim in the waters that surround all of the islands, waters from which the specialists themselves not only originate (largely) but to which they must constantly refer in order to maintain the support they need. One of the benefits of the metaphor of saturated solutions introduced above is that it need not be taken dichotomously, as several of the categories discussed here are. It is the broadly shared religious conceptions that constitute part of the culture of a society, what as we noted above Stone describes as a reservoir of resources.

Davidson has provided a very insightful critique of Ruegg's formulation of a "pan-Indian religious substratum," calling attention not only to the historical bases of the idea but also to the unsustainable metaphysical claims it involves.<sup>56</sup> While Davidson does not frame his own critique in this way, it is again worth highlighting that metaphors are not theories. Metaphors, such as substrata, reservoirs, and saturated solutions, may serve to make the unfamiliar familiar by analogy, but theories entail causal explanations. Metaphors may play key roles in the constitution of theories, but the two are distinct.

## VI. JAIN TANTRA

While often overlooked because of the dominance of Hinduism in India, the origins of the Jain tradition are roughly contemporaneous with those of Buddhism. And, just as tantric forms of both Hinduism and Buddhism were created in the early medieval period, so also are there Jain forms of tantra.

Paul Dundas gives an explanation for these developments in medieval India, irrelevant of tradition.

Tantric practices have tended to flourish in India whenever a religious establishment that claims a monopoly on purity of behavior has erected boundaries against what it perceives to be the encroaching dangers of society and nature. The response that is generated

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56. Ronald Davidson, review of *The Symbiosis of Buddhism with Brahmanism/Hinduism in South Asia and of Buddhism with "Local Cults" in Tibet and the Himalayan Plateau*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129, no. 1 (2009): 115–117. My thanks to Ron for calling this review to my attention.

would see true religiosity in radically experiential terms, linked to deliberate breaching or ignoring of those boundaries.<sup>57</sup>

As he points out, this is not, however, congruent with the kind of continuing emphasis on purity found in the Jain tradition—“there cannot be found within Jainism any serious claim that conventional social and moral values should be turned upside-down by engaging in antinomian sexual and ritual practices,”<sup>58</sup> and thus challenging the monothetic definitions of tantra that focus on antinomianism. Of what then does a tantric dimension of the Jain tradition consist, and what do those characteristics imply regarding the constraints on possible Buddhist–Jain exchanges of tantric praxis?

According to Dundas, with the increasing dominance of Śaiva forms of practice, “by around the eleventh century the Jains had evolved their own particular brand of *mantrasāstra* and attendant ritual.”<sup>59</sup> Ellen Gough describes the response to the increasing dominance of Śaiva as a “remodeling [which] meant the widespread acceptance of tantric practices such as the use of esoteric *mantras* and elaborate ritual diagrams (*maṇḍala*, *yantra*, *cakra*, etc.)”<sup>60</sup> Specifically, within the Jain tradition Gough explores the influence of Śaiva tantra on the colors employed in the representations of *tīrthaṅkaras* in the Jain *Rṣimaṇḍala*, which has the seed syllable HRĪM at its center.

Like Dundas, John Cort indicates that tantric practices were understood by Jains as solely effective in the mundane realm. “What is not found in Jain Tantra is the development of a full-scale alternative Tantric path to liberation such as is found in some Hindu and Buddhist Tantric schools.”<sup>61</sup> In addition Cort notes that “Jain Tantric rites rarely

57. Paul Dundas, “The Jain Monk Jinapati Sūri Gets the Better of a Nāth Yogi,” in *Tantra in Practice*, ed. David Gordon White (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 231–238; 231.

58. Dundas, “The Jain Monk Jinapati Sūri Gets the Better of a Nāth Yogi,” 231. See also, Paul Dundas, “Becoming Gautama: Mantra and History in Śvetāmbara Jainism,” in *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, ed. John E. Cort (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 31–52; 45.

59. Dundas, “The Jain Monk Jinapati Sūri Gets the Better of a Nāth Yogi,” 232.

60. Ellen Gough, “Shades of Enlightenment: A Jain Tantric Diagram and the Colours of the Tīrthaṅkaras,” *International Journal of Jaina Studies* 8, no. 1 (2012): 1–47; 1.

61. John Cort, “Worship of Bell-Ears the Great Hero, a Jain Tantric Deity,” in *Tantra in Practice*, ed. David Gordon White (Princeton: Princeton University

involve any elaborate form of meditation or visualization; usually the simple repetition of mantra suffices.”<sup>62</sup> The understanding of mantra in the Jain tradition lacks, however, the kind of theorizing found in the other tantric traditions.

Jain metaphysicians throughout the medieval period were to insist that sound, as an atomic modification, could not be eternal, with the consequence that brahman claims for the non-created nature of the Veda, regarded as the ultimate source of all *mantras*, were viewed as spurious. It may well be that as a result of their substance-based approach to linguistic utterance the Jains were unwilling to ascribe to any form of speech an exclusively transcendent role which might otherwise have smoothed the way to a general acceptance by them of a Vedic-style phonic absolute conceived as the central creative force in the universe.<sup>63</sup>

Buddhist philosophical emphasis on the impermanence of sound, well-known in the paradigmatic examples of reasoning given by Buddhist epistemologists, is comparable to the Jain substance theory. Tantric Buddhists, however, negotiated this theoretical problem in a fashion that allowed them to adhere to the doctrinally central teaching of impermanence and still argue for the efficacy of mantra.<sup>64</sup> The metaphysical issues, however, did not create an insuperable barrier to the “mantricization” of Jainism, which eventually accepted “what had become the generalized Indian attitude that the careful manipulation of sanctified sound in a ritual or meditative context could ensure accelerated advancement towards a variety of goals.”<sup>65</sup>

In addition to the use of mantra, there is a potentially important similarity between Buddhist and Jain tantra in the form of ritual identification. Gautama is the disciple of Mahāvīra (fl. early sixth century BCE), the twenty-fourth *tīrthaṅkara*, that is, one who makes a ford across to liberation. Mahāvīra is considered to have reestablished the Jain tradition in the current age. Gautama himself becomes cult figure and in the “Śvetāmbara *sūrimantra* ritual...the presiding guru can

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Press, 2000), 417–433; 417.

62. *Ibid.*, 417.

63. Dundas, “Becoming Gautama,” 34.

64. Richard K. Payne, *Language in the Buddhist Tantra of Japan* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 55–62.

65. Dundas, “Becoming Gautama,” 35.

summon and identify with Gautama, [which] provides a markedly different method of advancing towards the goal, more akin to Tantrism than anything else found in Jainism.”<sup>66</sup> The practices that Dundas describes are limited within the tradition—“it must be stressed that the Jain religion has never entertained the possibility of utilizing ritual manipulation of sexual activity and concomitant varieties of antinomian behavior generally associated with the phenomenon known as Tantrism.”<sup>67</sup> If we look at practices associated with tantra that do not fall within the narrow conceptions of tantra as antinomian and degenerate, it turns out that the Jain tradition includes many aspects in common with tantric traditions.

#### VII. LOOKING OVER THE OVERVIEW

Beginning with the problems inherent in the received conceptions of tantra, we then moved on to consider some of the approaches taken to its definition. Avoiding both monothetic and polythetic approaches, I have suggested a bibliographic approach. There is a corpus of works identified as tantras, and tantric Buddhism can be identified as the praxes found in those texts. This is a definition in the narrow sense of delimiting a field of discourse, rather than the more common ones of listing characteristics or thinking in terms of essence and manifestation, or genus and species. While it is a stipulative definition, it is not arbitrary or idiosyncratic.

Some of the contemporary issues identified include the invisibility of tantra to those who, lacking the necessary background knowledge, fail to recognize it for what it is. Linear historiographies too often streamline our understanding, sometimes even in the service of sectarian ends. The rhetoric of center and periphery, and defaulting to categorizing according to contemporary nation-states, can obscure connections that would otherwise bring tantric aspects into the discussion. And the common approach of religious studies to presume autonomous sectarian institutions, rather than networks and discourses, reinforces the exclusion of tantra from sectarian histories.

While the importance of tantric Buddhism in East Asia has been acknowledged for almost a decade, tantric strains in Southeast Asia have only more recently become recognized areas of scholarly research. The

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66. *Ibid.*, 44.

67. *Ibid.*, 45.

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association between Śaiva tantra and Buddhist tantra remains an area of scholarly contestation, along with the nature and role of popular religious culture as an ongoing source for the development of Buddhist tantra. Newly opened to scholarly attention is the role of tantra in the Jain tradition.

Addressing methodological issues has allowed for both an increase in the breadth of inquiry into tantric Buddhism and also the deepening of those studies.



## Wish-Fulfilling Spells and Talismans, Efficacious Resonance, and Trilingual Spell Books: The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* in Chosŏn Buddhism

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The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*, which promises success in all endeavors as well as protection from ghosts and demons and encourages people to carry the spell on their person as a talisman, is one of several *dhāraṇīs* for which there is ample evidence demonstrating its extensive use by Buddhists in South, Central, and East Asia.<sup>1</sup> Although the complete text of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* in Buddhist-Chinese exists in two recensions, a translation by Baosiwei 寶思惟 (\*Ratnacinta or \*Manicintana, d. 721) titled *Foshuo suiqiu jide dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 佛說隨求即得大自在陀羅尼神呪經 (T. 1154) and a retranslation by Amoghavajra

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1. On the relevance of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* in South and Central Asia, see Gergely Hidas, *Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājñī = The Great Amulet, Great Queen of Spells: Introduction, Critical Editions and Annotated Translation* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2012). Hidas translates and analyzes five Gilgit fragments and fifteen selected eastern Indian and Nepalese manuscripts. The non-East Asian materials are quite different than those found in China and Korea. For the case of medieval China, see Jean-Pierre Drège, “Les Premières Impressions des *Dhāraṇī* de *Mahāpratisarā*,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 11 (1999–2000): 25–44; Katherine R. Tsiang, “Buddhist Printed Images and Texts of the Eighth–Tenth Centuries: Typologies of Replication and Representation,” in *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang: Rites and Teachings for This Life and Beyond*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Sam van Schaik (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 201–252; Paul F. Copp, “Altar, Amulet, Icon Transformation in *Dhāraṇī* Amulet Culture, 740–980,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 17 (2008) [2010]: 239–264; and Copp, *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*, Sheng Yan Series in Chinese Buddhist Studies (New York and Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2014), 59–140.

(Bukong 不空, 705–774) titled \**Samanta-jvalāmālā viśuddhaisphūritacintāmaṇi-mudrā-hṛdayāparājitā mahāpratisāraṇī* (Pubian *guangming qingjing chisheng ruyi baoyinxin wunengsheng damingwang dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* 普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經, T. 1153),<sup>2</sup> the primary *dhāraṇī* spell itself was relevant to a broad range of practitioners in Korea because multiple versions of the primary *dhāraṇī* were published and circulated in a variety of forms in the Chosŏn 朝鮮 period (1392–1910).

In this essay, I will first briefly describe the contents of the two Chinese recensions of the sutra. Second, I trace the history of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* in China and Korea prior the Chosŏn period. Third, I will describe the various recensions of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*, attributed to Amoghavajra, in Chosŏn-period Buddhist literature and analyze an introductory petition (*adhyeṣanā*) also attributed to Amoghavajra. Fourth, I translate and analyze the “Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā,” a short prose text advocating use of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* that circulated in various contexts in the Chosŏn period. A recension of the great *dhāraṇī* attributed to Amoghavajra gained ascendancy in medieval Korea because it was linked to a Siddham version of the *dhāraṇī* that circulated in a variety of forms. Bilingual and trilingual transliterations of the *dhāraṇī* in Siddham, Korean, and Buddhist-Chinese were published repeatedly in a variety of woodblock and metal-type formats, either individually or as part of collections of mantras, during the Chosŏn. This material provides evidence that certain members of the royalty and monks were interested in making the spell accessible to a broader group of Korean practitioners, and that the primary practice associated with this *dhāraṇī* was carrying a copy of the spell on one’s person like a charm or talisman (*pujök* 符籍).

2. See *Foshuo suiqiu jide dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing* in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon), ed. Takakasu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al., 100 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1932 [–1935]) (hereafter *T.*), T. 1154, 20.637b–644b; and *Pubian guangming qingjing chisheng ruyi baoyinxin wunengsheng damingwang dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing*, 2 rolls, T. 1153, 20.616a–632a.



## THE CHINESE TRANSLATIONS OF THE MAHĀPRATISARĀ-DHĀRAṆĪ

In premodern Korea, as in the rest of East Asia, people generally believed illness, trouble, disorder, and woe to be the result of unfortunate and ill-starred encounters with shadowy spirits and noxious demons. Likewise, the blessing and control of such vexing entities through spells and ritual procedures was believed to confer all manner of benefits in this life and preferred status in future births. The extensive adoption and adaptation of Buddhism in the Sinitic cultural sphere in the medieval period, roughly the fourth to the tenth centuries CE, and beyond played a significant role in the development of these beliefs. Numerous gods, beings, spirits, and creatures that populated the Hindu and Buddhist pantheons and pan-Indian cosmology were introduced in various stages into China first and then into Korea and Japan, where they merged with the animistic beliefs of local peoples and eventually came to dominate East Asian demonology. Alan Watts famously described this process as “Buddhism is Hinduism stripped for export.”<sup>3</sup>

Monk-thaumaturges from India and Central Asia introduced a host of ritual practices and procedures so that individuals might avail themselves of the power of these beings, and these practices eventually combined with native East Asian approaches to spells and incantations. The primary vehicle by which these practices were made accessible to East Asian Buddhists was *dhāraṇī-sūtras*. In essence, *dhāraṇī-sūtras* were modeled on Vedic mantra rituals and translated into a Buddhist context. In effect, *dhāraṇīs* were the Buddhist response to Vedic or Hindu mantras because “*dhāraṇī*” (*tuoluoni*, Kor. *tarani* 陀羅尼; *chi* 持; and *zongchi*, Kor. *ch’ongji* 總持) is a distinctively Buddhist term. Chinese practitioners embraced these efficacious incantations and seamlessly amalgamated them with traditional Chinese spell procedures, calling them “spells” (*zhou*, Kor. *chu* 呪), “spirit spells” (*shenzhou*, Kor. *sinju* 神呪), and “spell techniques” or “spell-craft” (*zhoushu*, Kor. *chusul* 呪)

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3. Alan Watts, *Buddhism, the Religion of No-Religion: The Edited Transcripts* (Boston: C.E. Tuttle, 1996), 6. The related expression “Buddhism is Hinduism for export” and “Buddhism was Hinduism for export” are, according to Robert E. Morrell, offhand remarks attributed to T. R. V. Murti (Tirupattur Ramaseshayyer Venkatachala Murti), which are often cited as being in his *Central Philosophy of Buddhism: A Study of Mādhyamika System* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1955; rev. ed. 1960; repr. Munshirm Manohar, 2003). However, neither statement appears in Murti’s book.

術). By the early eighth century, however, when the Indian proponents of what some scholars call tantric or esoteric Buddhism, such as Śubhākarasimha (Shanwuwei 善無畏, 635–735), began arriving in the Tang capital of Chang’an, these ritual masters favored the word “mantra,” which was translated into Chinese as “true word” (*zhenyan*, Kor. *chinŏn* 眞言). In actual translation practice, however, all words referring to *dhāraṇī* and spells—including *vidyā*, rendered as “clarity” or “knowledge” (*ming*, Kor. *myōng* 明); “esoteric word” (*miyan*, Kor. *mirŏn* 密言); “esoteric speech” (*miyu*, Kor. *mirŏ* 密語)—were used interchangeably.<sup>4</sup> The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* dates from this seminal period in East Asian Buddhism, when ritual specialists and proponents of tantric or esoteric practices made available variant versions of *dhāraṇī* and procedures for their use.

Although Baosiwei apparently translated the *dhāraṇī-sūtra* as early as 693 at Tiangong Monastery 天宮寺 in Chang’an, it was not officially published until 712. Baosiwei’s translation of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* contains a short introduction, a list of gods, ghosts, ghouls, and demons that afflict and torment people in various ways, and a brief introduction to the benefits of the *dhāraṇī*, which concludes with the statement:

Noxious poisons (*yan’gu* 厭蠱) and curses (*zhouzu* 呪詛) will not be able to harm you. [The karmic retribution coming from] sins that you previously committed will all be eradicated. Poison will not be able to harm you and fire will not be able to burn you. Blades will not be able to cut you and water will not be able to drown you. You will not be diminished or injured by thunder and lightning, thunderbolts, and unseasonable storms and tempests.<sup>5</sup>

Baosiwei’s recension presents the long “basic spell” (*genben zhou*, Kor. *kūnbon chu* 根本呪) in 250 phrases and seven smaller spells, a note on pronunciation, several stories and tales illustrating the power of the *dhāraṇī*, and how to avail oneself of the power of the *dhāraṇī*, which provide greater detail regarding the benefits of the sutra. Individuals are encouraged to write or inscribe it on a scarf or sash and wear it

4. See Richard D. McBride II, “Dhāraṇī and Spells in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 85–114; Richard D. McBride II, “Practical Buddhist Thaumaturgy: The Great Dhāraṇī on Immaculately Pure Light in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism,” *Journal of Korean Religions* (Seoul) 2, no. 1 (March 2011): 33–73.

5. T. 1154, 20.637 b27–c4.

around their necks or arms.<sup>6</sup> The scripture concludes with detailed instructions on how to write or inscribe the spell and the construction of the altar (*tan* 壇; *maṇḍala*) needed to be able draw fully on the powers invested in this spell. Separate instructions are given on the deity to draw or inscribe in the heart of the spell in accordance to the social status or caste of the individual who would wear it on his person.<sup>7</sup>

Even less is known about Amoghavajra's retranslation of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*. Although no date of translation for this work in two rolls has been preserved, we know that it must have been translated after the publication of the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (Catalog of Śākyamuni's Teachings Compiled in the Kaiyuan Reign Period) in 730. Amoghavajra's master Vajrabodhi (Jin'gangzhi 金剛智, 671–741) reportedly amended Baosiwei's translation, having found a few passages missing.<sup>8</sup> Amoghavajra himself was a practitioner of a "Mahāpratisarā-mantra" (Ch. *dasuiqiu zhenyan* 大隨求真言), having chanted it for himself in 741 during a storm at sea. He presented a copy of the *dhāraṇī* in Indic script, probably in Siddham, to his royal patron the Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762) in 758, and chanted the spell in about 760 and 761 at the time of Suzong's passing, but no information remains as to when he might have translated the sutra.<sup>9</sup> Thus, Amoghavajra's translation probably dates from the late 750s and early 760s, although it could conceivably have been executed as late as prior to his passing in 774.

Amoghavajra changes the location where the Buddha preaches the *dhāraṇī-sūtra* as well as the types of beings who are in attendance so as to have the Buddha be abiding in *mahāvajrasamādhi* (*da jin'gang sanmodi* 大金剛三摩地, great adamant absorption) and to include several figures all prefixed with the word *vajra*, who specialize in the *mahāvajra-vimokṣa-mukha-samādhi* (*da jin'gang jietuo sanmodi* 大金剛解脫三摩地), and practice in places that use the word *vajra*.<sup>10</sup> He also expands the list of gods, spirits, and entities who participate in the assembly far beyond that of Baosiwei's translation, and includes

6. T. 1154, 20.637c6–24.

7. T. 1154, 20.641c29–642b4.

8. *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 1, T. 2061, 50.712a8; cf. Chou Yi-liang, "Tantrism in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8 (1945): 241–332, esp. 282.

9. *Song gaoseng zhuan* 1, T. 2061, 50.713a3–4; cf. Chou, "Tantrism in China," 295.

10. T. 1153, 20.616a–b.

the maiden \*Vajra-sanggara (Jin'gang shangqieluonü 金剛商羯羅女) along with sixty-four vajra-maidens (*jin'gangnü* 金剛女).<sup>11</sup> Simply stated, Amoghavajra impregnates the text with the rhetoric of things “vajra-esque” (*jin'gang* 金剛).

Although Baosiwei's translation is written in a prose format, much of Amoghavajra's translation is presented in *gāthā*-verse, and most of the second roll is presented entirely in verse.<sup>12</sup> Although in many other Mahāyāna sutras, most notably the *Lotus Sutra*, these *gāthā* passages are believed to have been the earliest literary strata and a holdover from the verbal transmission of the text, in Amoghavajra's translation, the use of *gāthās* appears to be deliberate.

The primary internal evidence suggesting the relevance of this *dhāraṇī* is found in the prose stories that are presented in Amoghavajra's translation immediately after the “great *dhāraṇī*” (*tae tarani*, Ch. *da tuoluoni* 大陀羅尼), which Baosiwei had called the “basic spell.” Like Baosiwei's translation, the Buddha explains the *dhāraṇī* and its lofty merits primarily to the god Mahābrahmā, and similarly he prefaces the stories by saying that

if people who even so little as hear this *dhāraṇī*, all of their sins and hindrances will all be eradicated. If they are able to read aloud and intone [this *dhāraṇī*] and receive and maintain it in their minds, you should know that these people will precisely [obtain] a body that is strong and firm as *vajra*, fire will not be able to burn them, knives will not be able to injure them, and poison will not be able to have toxic effect on them.<sup>13</sup>

Space does not permit a detailed comparison of the presentation of the stories in Baosiwei's translations to those in Amoghavajra's. What is most relevant is that for the most part the differences are minor and focus primarily on details. There is one major difference, nevertheless: Baosiwei's translation provides detailed instructions for the erection of an altar-space, a *maṇḍala*, and gives different instructions on objects and deities that are to be drawn on that space, invoked, and worshipped in the altar depending on one's sex or caste status, i.e., whether one is a wheel-turning king, a monk, a brahman, a *kṣatriya*, a commoner,

11. T. 1153, 20.617a1–2.

12. T. 1153, 20.617b–618b, 621a–b, 622b, 20.623b, and 623c–626a.

13. T. 1153, 20.620b19–21.

a young man or woman, a wife, and so forth.<sup>14</sup> No such altar or differences in procedures according to social status and sex is discussed in Amoghavajra's translation of the *dhāraṇī-sūtra*, although there are several descriptions of general ritual procedures aspirants are encouraged to follow to avail themselves of the power of the *dhāraṇī*. These prescriptions, which are discussed below, are very straightforward and need no explanation. Of course, it is possible that Amoghavajra merely crafted a separate text for use with a *maṇḍala* because such texts have been transmitted in Japan and discovered at Dunhuang.<sup>15</sup>

For instance, the first story, which illustrates the power of the *dhāraṇī* over fire, is the story of the Buddha's son Prince Rāhula.<sup>16</sup> When Rāhula was in his mother's womb in the great city of Kapilavastu, his mother, Yasodharā, threw herself into a fire pit. At that time Rāhula was inside his mother's womb contemplating and recollecting this *dhāraṇī*. The great fire pit instantly, spontaneously, became clear and cold, and the eight-foot-long pit immediately transformed into a pond of lotus flowers in blossom.<sup>17</sup> To illustrate the power of the *dhāraṇī* over poison, the story of the son of the Elder Bhogavati (Fengcai changzhezi 豐財長者子) is told. Bhogavati had learned an "esoteric word" from the Buddha and used the *vidyā* to lure the Dragon King Takṣaka to do his bidding. But because he did not place the *nāga* in a sphere of binding, the vicious snake bit him and he was on the verge of death. In his city there was an *upāsika* named Immaculate Purity (Wugou Qingjing 無

14. T. 1154, 20.641c29–642b4.

15. For the ritual text preserved in Japan, see *Jin'gangding yuga zuisheng mimi chengfo suiqiu zede shenbian jiachi chengjiu tuoluoni yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽最勝祕密成佛隨求即得神變加持成就陀羅尼儀軌, T. 1155, 20.644b–649b; Chen Huaiyu 陳懷宇, "Dunhuang P. 2058V wenshu zhongdi Jie dasuiqiu tan fayuanwen" 敦煌 P.2058V 文書中的《結大隨求壇發願文》[The vow text for binding the altar of Mahāpratisarā in Dunhuang manuscript P. 2058V], *Dunhuangxue* 敦煌學 27 (2008): 167–185.

16. Rāhula (Luohouluo 羅羅) was regarded as "first in esoteric practices" (*mixing diyi* 密行第一) among the Buddha's disciples. See *Zaoxiang liangdu jingjie* 造像量度經解 1, T. 1419, 21.949b12–13. He was the son of Śākyamuni, born, according to tradition, after his parents sought to bind the young Siddhārtha to life in the mundane world by marrying him to the beautiful young virgin Yasodharā. Soon after his son Rāhula's birth, Śākyamuni left the householder way of life and became a *śramaṇa*.

17. T. 1153, 20.620b.

垢清淨) who always chanted and carried this *Mahāpratisarā-vidyārāja-dhāraṇī* (Suiqiu daming tuoluoni 隨求大明陀羅尼). Because that *upāsika* was accomplished in great compassion, she had compassion for and took pity on him and went to where he was. By means of the empowerment of this *dhāraṇī*, suddenly, all at one time, the poison was eradicated and he was at peace once again as before. This is because, at that time, the elder's son received this *dhāraṇī* from Immaculate Purity and remembered and recollected it in his mind.<sup>18</sup>

Next is a story illustrating how one who possesses the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* can single-handedly protect his country from military invasion by making his body impregnable. In the city of *Vārāṇasī*, there was a king named Bestowed of Brahmā (Fanshi 梵施). At that time, the kings of neighboring countries formed an alliance, raised a great army, and came to conquer the king's lands. His counselors were distraught, but Bestowed of Brahmā told his ministers, "Do not be too hasty or agitated. I possess the *Mahāpratisarā-vidyārāja-dhāraṇī*. By means of the power of this *dhāraṇī* we will be able to smite our enemies from the outside and cause them to be burned to ashes." When the king's men declared that they had never heard of such a spell, Bestowed of Brahmā showed them the procedures:

Bestowed of Brahmā immediately bathed using perfumed water and put on new, clean clothes. According to the procedure, he inscribed this *dhāraṇī*, entered into a chest, and placed [the *dhāraṇī*] on top of his head. He regarded this *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* as armor for the protection of his body and forthwith went to the battlefield. The king, by himself, engaged in battle with the fourfold army and caused them to capitulate and take refuge in Bestowed of Brahmā.<sup>19</sup>

The closest Amoghavajra's translation comes to providing detailed ritual instructions is the following passage, which follows directly after the story of Bestowed of Brahmā:

O Mahābrahmā, you should know that this great unconquerable *dhāraṇī* that grants according to one's wishes (*dasuiqiu wunengsheng tuoluoni* 大隨求無能勝陀羅尼) is that which is empowered by the mind seal of all the *tathāgatas* and is possessing of great spiritual efficacy (*shenyan* 神驗). You should receive and maintain this [*dhāraṇī*] and you should know that this *dhāraṇī* is equal to all the

18. T. 1153, 20.620b–c.

19. T. 1153, 20.620c.



buddhas. Thereafter, during the time of the final dharma,<sup>20</sup> because people have short lifespans, slight merit, no merit, and do not cultivate merit, to sentient beings like these he provides these benefits, O Mahābrahmā, if you inscribe this *dhāraṇī* according to the procedure and bind it on to your shoulder or place it below your neck, you should know that these people become empowered by all the *tathāgatas*. You should know that these people become equal to the bodies of all the *tathāgatas*. You should know that these people become bodies firm and strong as *vajra*. You should know that these people become bodies of the womb of all the *tathāgatas*. You should know that these people become the eyes of all the *tathāgatas*. You should know that these people become the bodies of the flaming glory of all the *tathāgatas*. You should know that these people become [as if wearing] armor and helmets that cannot be penetrated. You should know that these people will be able to crush all their enemies. You should know that these people will be able burn away all of their sins and hindrances. You should know that these people will be able to purify the destiny of rebirth in hell.<sup>21</sup>

The anecdotal evidence supporting this assertion is the account of a monk who defied the teachings of the Buddha and broke monastic precepts by misappropriating the possessions of the sangha. The monk misused the property of the sangha for a long time, and afterwards was taken ill with a serious disease and received great pain and

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20. The age of the final dharma (*malpöp*, Ch. *mofa* 末法) refers to the periodization developed to describe changes in the *buddhadharma* in the periods of time after the quiescence of the Buddha. These periods were differentiated into a three-era scheme of the age of the true dharma (*chöngböp sidae*, Ch. *zhengfa shidai* 正法時代; Skt. *saddharma*), the age of the semblance dharma (*sangböp*, Ch. *xiangfa* 像法), and the age of the final dharma (*malpöp*, Ch. *mofa* 末法). The final dharma is also called the age of the decline of the dharma (*maltae* 末代, *malse* 末世). In this time the *buddhadharma* declines. Although the teachings still remain, it is deprived of the practices that accompany the teachings and the realization of enlightenment (*chüng* 證) that is associated with the fruits (*kwa* 果) acquired by means of the causes (*in* 因) of those practices. There are many theories associated with this threefold periodization. The most prevalent has been that the age of the true dharma lasted for the first five hundred years after Śākyamuni's *parinirvāṇa*, the period of the semblance dharma lasted for the next thousand years, and the age of the final dharma follows that for the next ten thousand years. See also Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991).

21. *T.* 1153, 20.620c–621a.

affliction. At that time because there was no one who could save that *bhikṣu* he let out a great scream of agony. In that place there was a certain *upāsaka* Brahman who heard his scream of agony and went to where this sick *bhikṣu* was. He aroused great compassion in him and wrote this *Mahāpratisarā-vidyārāja-dhāraṇī* and attached it below his neck. The monk's pain and affliction all ceased. Immediately his life came to an end and he was reborn in Avīcī hell.<sup>22</sup> The *bhikṣu*'s corpse was buried inside a *stūpa* and the *dhāraṇī* was worn on his body. As a result of this the *bhikṣu* entered hell, and all those who committed sins, those who were in pain and suffering, all of them were able to make it end and obtain peace and bliss. The fierce fires that exist in Avīcī hell, as a result of the power of the majestic virtue of this *dhāraṇī*, all were completely eradicated. Instead of using prose, Amoghavajra employs a *gāthā* to present Yama's jailor's assessment of the situation and his report of how the powers of all the Buddhist hells have been overturned by this one *dhāraṇī*. Thus, this *bhikṣu* who availed himself of the power of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* was eventually reborn as "the godling Mahāpratisarā of the first body" (*xianshen sui qiu tianzi* 先身隨求天子), thus describing the genesis of a new deity.<sup>23</sup>

More promised protections, such as safety from lightning, thunder, and other natural troubles, are described in the stories that come at the conclusion of the first roll. There is the story of an elder named Vimala-śamkha (Weimoluoshangqu 尾羅商佉), a wealthy merchant prince who protected himself and his merchant companion from the

22. Avīcī hell (*mugan chi*, Ch. *wujian di* 無間獄; also *abi chiok*, Ch. *abi diyu* 阿鼻地獄) is the last and largest of the eight hot hells. It is shaped like a cube, twenty thousand *yojanas* long on each side, and its bottom is forty thousand *yojanas* beneath the earth's surface. People who commit the five heinous crimes, destroy *stūpas*, slander the holy community of monks and nuns, or wantonly waste materials gifted to the monastic community are reborn in this hell. Its name, which means "no intermission," derives from the fact that the suffering and torture that take place in this hell are constant. The denizens are stripped of their skins; their skins are tanned and turned into leather straps that are used to bind them. They are loaded like carts, and their bodies are cast into the flames. The *yakṣas* who guard and torture them heat up iron spears and poke them through the nose, mouth, stomach, and so forth, all over their bodies, and also throw them into the air. See *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (*Dirghāgama*) 19, T. 1, 1.124c28–125a27.

23. T. 1153, 20.621a–b.



treacherous *timingila* fish<sup>24</sup>—which sought to destroy his boat by instigating a lightning storm—by attaching the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* to the mast of the boat.<sup>25</sup>

The sutra promises that if you inscribe this *dhāraṇī* and place it on the flag pole, you will be able stop all evil wind, hail, rain, unseasonal coldness and heat, thunder and lightning. You will be able to stop the battles and verbal disputes of all the gods. You will be able to get rid of all mosquitos and gnats, locusts, and all other kinds of insects that eat sprouts and crops; all should withdraw and scatter. The sharp teeth and claws of all evil beasts will not be able to injure you. All sprouts, crops, flowers, fruits, and medicinal herbs will increase and grow in their taste, fragrance, beauty, softness, luster, and smoothness. If within a country drought and flood have not been brought under control, as a result of the majestic power of this *dhāraṇī*, the dragon kings will joyfully send rain and moisture in their appointed times.<sup>26</sup>

Another general procedure Amoghavajra's translation provides is an explanation of how the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* would grant people anything in accordance to their wishes.

O Mahābrahmā, and again, if there is a place where this great *dhāraṇī* has been circulated, once all sentient beings know this, they should make offerings of all kinds of the most sublime incense, flowers, banners, and canopies. They should take the most superior brightly colored silks and wrap them up and bind them together and enshrine them inside a *stūpa* or place them in a flag pole. With all manner of music, songs, offer praises, circumambulate, and make offerings. If with prudence and sincerity they bow in worship, the things those sentient beings fervently desire in the contemplations of their hearts will all be satisfied. If they are able to inscribe it according to the procedure and carry it on their bodies, they will obtain what they desire. If they desire a son, they will obtain a son. If they desire a daughter, they will obtain a daughter. If they cherish them in their

24. The *timingila* fish (*dimiyu* 低彌魚, *dimiliyu* 低彌黎魚, also *dimiyiluo* 低迷宜羅 and *dimiqiluo* 低彌祇羅) is translated into Chinese as “swallow fish” (*tunyu* 吞魚). It is imagined to be a great and large fish, so large that it can swallow other fish and sea creatures whole. See *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義 26, T. 2128, 54.480a8.

25. T. 1153, 20.621b–c.

26. T. 1153, 20.621c.

wombs tranquilly they will increase gradually, and when they reach their fullness they will be born with peace and bliss.<sup>27</sup>

Although there are a few more stories illustrating the power of the *dhāraṇī*, the language of the sutra is abundantly clear. The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* is both a spell and a talisman. It is a text that the mere possession of which grants protection and blessings, and the ritualized use of this talismanic text confers all things necessary for one to prepare for buddhahood. The stories I have presented clearly illustrate that one does not have to be a monk initiated into any “esoteric” rites to enjoy the protection and blessing of this *dhāraṇī*. Even Amoghavajra’s translation of the text, which, at the beginning at least, seems to be “esotericized” because of its rhetorical use of *vajra*-this and *vajra*-that, ultimately focuses on very mundane and straightforward ritual practices. This is not “esoteric” or “tantric” Buddhism, which promotes transgressive behavior or ritual that empowers an individual to become a *tathāgata* through the ritualized recreation of the body, speech, and mind of the Buddha;<sup>28</sup> rather, it is the practical Buddhist thaumaturgy of mainstream Mahāyāna Buddhist ritual.

#### THE MAHĀPRATISARĀ-DHĀRAṆĪ IN MEDIEVAL SINIC BUDDHIST HISTORY

The famous Huayan 華嚴 exegete Fazang 法藏 (643–712) seems to have had access to an early version of Baosiwei’s translation of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*. The Silla literatus Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn 崔致遠 (857–d. after 908), who was educated in China from age twelve, passed the Tang civil service exam, and served in the Tang bureaucracy until 885, wrote a separate biography (*biezhuan* 別傳) of Fazang prior to his return to Silla Korea. Ch’oe reports that due to the lack of snow in the winter and rain in the spring of the second year of the Jingyun reign period (January 24–April 22, 711), a severe drought was imminent in the region surrounding the Tang capital Chang’an. Emperor Ruizong

27. T. 1153, 20.622c.

28. Ronald M. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2002), 113–144. For a general discussion of the connection between tantra and transgressive behavior, see Paul Williams with Anthony Tribe, *Buddhist Thought: A Complete Introduction to the Indian Tradition* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 192–244, esp. 231–242.

睿宗 (r. 684–690, 710–712) summoned Fazang to the inner palace for recommendations on efficacious rituals by which snow or rain could be summoned and the calamity averted. Fazang reportedly recommended using the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*, which Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn calls the *Suiqiu zede Dazhizai tuoluoni* 隨求則得大自在陀羅尼. Although the title is slightly different, it is probably the same text as Baosiwei’s translation.<sup>29</sup> Fazang advised that an altar be erected so that Buddhist monks could copy and recite the sutra before throwing texts of the *dhāraṇī* into the dragon pool, and he predicted that following these ritual procedures would cause some snow to fall. Having faith in Fazang’s advice, Ruizong ordered that these *dhāraṇī* procedures be carried out under Fazang’s supervision beside the dragon pool in the vicinity of Wuzhen Monastery 悟真寺 in the Lantian 藍田 Valley on Mt. Zhongnan 終南山, the most sacred mountain in the capital region. The ritual employing the *Mahāpratisarā* to pray for snow was a success, and the emperor encouraged Fazang to continue performing the ritual until it had snowed six times and snow was plentiful throughout the realm.<sup>30</sup>

A few intriguing and problematic elements are found in this anecdote. Although Baosiwei’s translation describes several uses of the *Mahāpratisarā* for practical Buddhist thaumaturgy, nowhere does the text describe utilizing the *dhāraṇī* in ritual procedures to supplicate for rain or snow. Apparently a truly efficacious *dhāraṇī* can be applied in any way to any circumstances, not merely those described by the Buddha in the text of the sutra itself. Furthermore, this anecdote demonstrates that Buddhist exegetes such as Fazang, as Chen Jinhua has cogently argued, could be and were much more than mere philosophers—and that efficacious ritual procedures were familiar to eminent monks of intellectual traditions.<sup>31</sup>

In addition, Fazang’s use of this text may explain why the Silla monk Poch’ŏn 寶川 (fl. 691–737) was familiar with it in his Hwaŏm community on Mt. Odae 五臺山, in the northeastern region of Silla Korea, during

29. See Chen Jinhua, “More Than a Philosopher: Fazang (643–712) as a Politician and a Miracle Worker,” *History of Religions* 42, no. 4 (May 2003): 320–358, esp. 354–355.

30. See *Tang Taech’ŏnboksa kosaju pŏn’gyŏng Taedŏk Pŏpchang hwasang chŏn* 唐大薦福寺故寺主翻經大德法藏和傳, T. 2054, 50.284b22–29.

31. See Chen Jinhua, “More Than a Philosopher”; and Chen, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: the Many Lives of Fazang (643–712)*, *Sinica Leidensia* 75 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007).

the first half of the eighth century. According to the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), a late thirteenth-century collection of tales and narratives compiled by the Buddhist monk Iryōn 一然 (1206–1289) and edited further by his disciple Hon'gu 混丘 (also called Mugŭk 無極, 1250–1322) and perhaps also by other later editors, the monk Poch'ōn, a royal prince of the Silla 新羅 kingdom (ca. 300–935), established a hermitage where he worshipped manifestations of buddhas and bodhisattvas associated with the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, such as Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Amitābha, and Vairocana, on Mt. Odae, the Mt. Wutai located in Silla. Iryōn reports that in the first half of the eighth century this monk chanted the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* “as his task (ōp 業) both day and night” and that he explained its meaning to a deity (*sin* 神) in a cave where he had experienced strange phenomena. If this anecdotal account is historically accurate, the version of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* that Poch'ōn would have had access to would have been Baosiwei's translation made at Tiangong Monastery.<sup>32</sup>

Ŭisang 義湘 (625–702), the recognized founder of the Hwaōm 華嚴 tradition in Silla, was a colleague of Fazang; both were students of the Huayan master Zhiyan 智嚴 (602–668) during the 660s. Although Ŭisang returned to Silla after Zhiyan's passing, he and Fazang kept in touch by means of letters carried by Ŭisang's disciples who were sent to study in Tang. An example of one such letter from Fazang to Ŭisang has been preserved and was studied in detail by Antonino Forte.<sup>33</sup> Although the connections between Ŭisang and Poch'ōn are tenuous and depend solely on their shared interest in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, it is possible that either Fazang or Fazang's disciples recommended the text to Ŭisang's disciples, or that news of Fazang's successful use of the *Mahāpratisarā* in making snow in 711 was reported to the Silla court and introduction of the *dhāraṇī* followed soon thereafter. Silla monks are known to have been interested in *dhāraṇī* texts. For instance, a well-known account recorded in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* describes the

32. *Samguk yusa* 3, T. 2039, 49.998c–999b.

33. See Antonino Forte, “Un gioiello della rete di Indra. La lettera che dalla Cina Fazang inviò a Ŭisang in Corea,” in *Tang China and Beyond: Studies on East Asia from the Seventh Century to the Tenth Century*, ed. Antonino Forte (Kyoto: Istituto Italiano di Cultura Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 1988), 35–93; and Forte, *A Jewel of Indra's Net: The Letter of Fazang in China to Ŭisang in Korea*, ISEAS Occasional Papers Series 8 (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, 2000).

otherwise unknown Silla monk Myōnghyo's 明曉 traveling to Tang China and requesting the imperial sutra-translation bureau to translate the *Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī* (*Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing* 不空羼索陀羅尼經, T. 1096) in the third month of 700.<sup>34</sup>

Vajrabodhi is said to have reviewed Baosiwei's translation in about 730 and noticed that some passages were missing. He amended the missing portions of the work. Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001) goes on to note that all of the *dhāraṇīs* and mantras translated by Vajrabodhi were effective whenever they were applied.<sup>35</sup> As mentioned above, Amoghavajra chanted the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* to calm a raging storm at sea during a voyage to what was probably the Malay Peninsula in 741.<sup>36</sup> In 758, Amoghavajra presented to Tang emperor Suzong a copy of the *dhāraṇī* in Indic script, probably Siddhaṃ, and requested that he carry it with him.<sup>37</sup> Later, in 760–761, just before Suzong's passing, the emperor was ill, and Amoghavajra exorcised the afflicting spirits by chanting the “Mahāpratisarā-mantra” seven times.<sup>38</sup>

Aside from these few narratives describing the use of the spirit-spell in extant Buddhist literature, a number of impressive woodblock prints of the *dhāraṇī* were discovered at Dunhuang by Paul Pelliot and are presently preserved in the Musée Guimet in France: EO 3639, dated to 980; MG 17688; and MG 17689. These first two prints contained a passage in Chinese that appears to be a paraphrase or a pastiche of phrases from Baosiwei's translation.<sup>39</sup> Two prints of the *dhāraṇī* dating to 1001 and 1005 are preserved in a Suzhou museum. These are related to Amoghavajra's translation of the sutra. One print dated to 926–927 was discovered in a tomb in Luoyang in 1985; it seems related to the Dunhuang prints. Two prints were discovered in tombs in Xi'an, one of

34. *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 9, T. 2154, 55.566b16–24.

35. *Song gaoseng zhuan* 1, T. 2061, 50.712a8; cf. Chou, “Tantrism in China,” 282.

36. *Da Tang gudade zeng sikong dabian zhengguangzhi Bukong sanzang xingchuang* 大唐故大德贈司空大辨正廣智不空三藏行狀, T. 2056, 50.292c27; and *Song gaoseng zhuan* 1, T. 2061, 50.712b23.

37. *Daizong chao zeng sikong dabian zhengguangzhi sanzang heshang biaozi ji* 代宗朝贈司空大辨正廣智三藏和上表制集, T. 2120, 52.829b2 (進虎魄像并梵書隨求真言狀一首); cf. Chou, “Tantrism in China,” 322 (Appendix N).

38. *Song gaoseng zhuan* 1, T. 2061, 50.713a3–4; cf. Chou, “Tantrism in China,” 295.

39. Cf. T. 1154, 20.641b; see also Jean-Pierre Drège, “Les Premières Impressions des *Dhāraṇī* de Mahāpratisarā,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11 (1999–2000): 25–44.

which was discovered in 1967. A final print was discovered in Sichuan in 1944, and although some scholars presented arguments for it being the oldest woodblock printed material dating to the middle of the eighth century, Jean-Pierre Drège argues persuasively on stylistic grounds that it was probably not carved and printed before the tenth century.<sup>40</sup> In his recent book, Paul Copp weaves translations from salient passages in *dhāraṇī-sūtras* and ritual manuals together with descriptions of cultic artifacts found in funerary contexts to discuss the wearing of *dhāraṇī* amulets, incantation cords and armllets, amulet sheets, manuscripts, and their relationship with various types of altars to present a dynamic image of a host of ritual and devotional practices associated with the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*.<sup>41</sup>

In 2000, several sheets of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* printed in Koryŏ in 1184 were discovered in the chest cavity storehouse (*pokchang* 伏藏/腹藏) of a wooden seated image of Amitābha at Chaun Monastery 紫雲寺 in Kwangju 光州, South Korea, when it was scheduled to be re-gilded. The Korean woodblock print has the title “Yŏŭi poin taesugu tarani pŏmja kundara sang” 如意寶印 大隨求陀羅尼梵字 軍陀羅相 (As You Wish Jeweled Seal, *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* in Brahmā script [Siddham], *kuṇḍala-lakṣana* [in the form of a ring]). The *dhāraṇī* in Siddham is in a circle around an image of a bodhisattva in the center, and a colophon with a date is in bottom left corner.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, this material evidence suggests that there was an audience for the *dhāraṇī* and its procedures because woodblock editions would not have been carved for the sutra

40. See Drège, “Les Premières Impressions des *Dhāraṇī* de Mahāpratisarā,” 25–44. For earlier scholarship on the woodblock prints of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* discovered in Dunhuang, see Matsumoto Eiichi 松本英一, *Tonkōga no kenkyū* 敦煌畫の研究 [Research on Dunhuang Paintings], 2 vols. (Tokyo: Tōhō Bunka Gakuin, 1937), 2:598–609; and Jiang Fu 蔣斧, *Shazhou wenlu* 沙洲文錄 [Literary Records of Shanzhou] (Shangyu: Luoshi 羅氏, 1924), 42b.

41. Copp, *The Body Incantatory*, 59–140.

42. See Song Ilgi 宋日基, “Kwangju Chaunsa Mokcho Amit’abul chwasang ūi pokchang chŏnjŏk ko” 光州 紫雲寺 木造阿彌陀佛坐像의 伏藏典籍考 [A study of the records found in the chest cavity storehouse of the seated wooden image of Amitābha at Chaun Monastery in Kwangju], *Sŏji hakpo* 書誌學報 28 (2004): 79–113; and *Chisim kwimyŏngnye-Han’guk ūi pulbokchang* 至心歸命禮-韓國의 佛腹臟 [Rites of Embracing Buddhism with an Utmost Mind: Chest Cavity Storehouses of Korea] (Yesan County, South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province: Sudeoksa Kŭnyŏk Sŏngbogwan [Sudeoksa Museum], 2004), 95–123.



if there were not a market for it. This is perhaps the strongest evidence of the popularity of the *dhāraṇī*. Furthermore, that a few prints have been found in tombs suggests that the practice of burying people with a print of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*, an adaptation of the story in the sutra regarding the evil monk who was saved from hell, might have been a common Buddhist funerary practice in the early Song 宋 period (960–1279).<sup>43</sup> The ritual placement of the *dhāraṇī* in the chest cavity to empower a buddha image, however, shows that it was believed to possess great talismanic power.<sup>44</sup>

The Bodhisattva Mahāpratisarā (Dasuiqiu pusa, Jpn. Daizuiku bosatsu 大隨求菩薩), other than his appearances in the two recensions of the sutras, is depicted on several of the printed *dhāraṇī*. He first appears in other Buddhist literature in works by Yicao 義操 (d. 830) and Faquan 法全 (fl. 800–870) in the ninth century.<sup>45</sup> Whether the Bodhisattva Mahāpratisarā, who is typically depicted as a female in Japan, is an evolutionary development from the godling Mahāpratisarā (Suiqiu tianzi 隨求天子) of Baosiwei's and Amoghavajra's translations is uncertain. The Bodhisattva Mahāpratisarā is depicted on a number of the woodblock prints: the Dunhuang print dated to 980, Musée Guimet's EO 3639 and MG 17689, and the *dhāraṇī* dated to 926–927 discovered in

43. See Katherine R. Tsiang, “Buddhist Printed Images and Texts of the Eighth–Tenth Centuries: Typologies of Replication and Representation,” in *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang: Rites and Teachings for This Life and Beyond*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Sam van Schaik (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 201–252; Paul F. Copp, “Altar, Amulet, Icon Transformation in *Dhāraṇī* Amulet Culture, 740–980,” *Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie* 17 (2008) [2010]: 239–264.

44. Although some scholars assert that the earliest known example of *pokchang* in Korea dates to the mid-eighth century, due to inscriptional evidence that a *Wugou jingguang datuoluoni jing* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 (*Dhāraṇī* Sutra on Immaculately Pure Light, also known as the Pure Light *Dhāraṇī* Sutra) was enshrined in an image of Vairocana in 766, the term *pokchang* seems to date from the Koryŏ period, from which there are several material examples. See Lee Seonyong, “History of the *Bokjang* Tradition in Korea,” *Journal of Korean Art & Archeology* 7 (2013): 60–75.

45. See, for instance, *Taizang jin'gangjiao faminghao* 胎藏金剛教法名號, T. 864B, 18.204a10; and *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng manduoluo guangda chengjiu yigui gongyang fangbianhui* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏悲生曼羅廣大成就儀軌供養方便會 1, T. 852A, 18.115b6.

Luoyang.<sup>46</sup> The gender of the bodhisattva on these prints, however, appears to be male, or his sex is ambiguous. He is represented with eight arms: the main right hand holds a five-pointed *vajra* (thunderbolt) to his breast; the main left hand holds a lotus surmounted by a *cakra* (wheel). The remaining right hands hold a rope, a sword, and an elephant goad. The remaining left hands hold a trident, a *cintāmaṇi* (wish-fulfilling gem), and a sutra roll. This iconography was then transmitted to Japan, but in Japan, the Bodhisattva Daizuiku was depicted in female form and confused with the Bodhisattva *Simhanāda* (Jpn. Shishiku bosatsu 獅子吼菩薩). *Simhanāda* typically carries a pronged staff and is an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.<sup>47</sup> The image of the bodhisattva depicted in the Korean woodblock print of 1184 might be the Bodhisattva *Mahāpratisarā*, but he only has two arms and does not appear to be holding anything in his hands.

If, as I reported above, Vajrabodhi supplemented or corrected Baosiwei's translation, what version of Baosiwei's translation was preserved in the Chinese Buddhist canon as Baosiwei's translation (T. 1154): Baosiwei's original translation or Vajrabodhi's corrected version? If it is Baosiwei's original edition, what happened to Vajrabodhi's corrected version? Was Vajrabodhi's corrected version really a completely revised and new translation, like the translation attributed to Amoghavajra (T. 1153), or has it been lost? Many texts and translations attributed to Amoghavajra are thought by scholars to be either forgeries or misattributed.<sup>48</sup> The circumstances surrounding the received edition of Amoghavajra's translation are completely unknown. Could the translation attributed to Amoghavajra actually

46. See Drège, "Les Premières Impressions des *Dhāraṇī* de *Mahāpratisarā*," 37 fig. 2, 39 fig. 4, and 42 fig. 7.

47. See Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典 [Encyclopedia of Buddhism], rev. ed., 10 vols. (Kyoto: Seikai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1954–1963), 4:3292–3294. See also Louis Frédéric, *Buddhism: Flammarian Iconographic Guides* (Paris and New York: Flammarian, 1995), 230.

48. Because little critical research has been carried out on Amoghavajra's works, scholars recognize that "a certain portion of the rather technical works was probably fabricated by Amoghavajra's disciples." See Martin Lehnert, "Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia: A Handbook for Scholars*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2010), 351–359, esp. 357–359.



be Vajrabodhi's corrected version? Although it is possible that the received version of Baosiwei's translation (T. 1154) is the edition corrected by Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra's received translation (T. 1153) is probably not Vajrabodhi's corrected translation because large portions of the narrative are composed in *gāthā* form, not found in Baosiwei's translation, which suggests that it represents an attempt to preserve something more of the language and style of an Indian version of the sutra—or, more likely, it is an elaboration of the earlier text, similar to Amoghavajra's retranslation of the *Sutra for Humane Kings*.<sup>49</sup> Regardless, both translations were probably edited not only by the compilers of the Song Buddhist canon published in 983 but also by Sugi 守其 (fl. 1214–1259), the chief editor of the second Korean Buddhist canon (*Koryŏ taejanggyŏng* 高麗大藏經, K 454 and K 1349, respectively).<sup>50</sup>

#### THE MAHĀPRATISARĀ-DHĀRAṆĪ AND MANTRA COLLECTIONS IN CHOSŎN KOREA

In China, the received edition of Baosiwei's translation of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* appears to have been just as important if not more important than the received version of Amoghavajra's translation. In Korea, however, the received edition of Amoghavajra's translation—or at least the name Amoghavajra—was more favored in the Buddhist community during the Chosŏn period. Special collections including a transliteration of the main *dhāraṇī* attributed to Amoghavajra and related ritual texts continued to be published in Korea at least six times. Although the dates of two editions are unclear or unknown, woodblocks were cut, and the *dhāraṇī* was published either by itself or

49. For a study of both versions of the *Sūtra for Humane Kings*, see Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

50. For a discussion of Sugi see Robert E. Buswell, Jr., "Sugi's Collation Notes to the Koryŏ Buddhist Canon and Their Significance for Buddhist Textual Criticism," *The Journal of Korean Studies* 9, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 129–184; See Lewis R. Lancaster with Sung-Bae Park, comp., *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), 156, 440.

as part of a collection of *dhāraṇīs* and mantras in 1476, 1485, 1550, 1569, 1635, 1729, and 1854.<sup>51</sup>

These mantra collections are not usually utilized or analyzed by scholars of Korean religion; rather, they are almost exclusively studied by scholars of linguistics, calligraphy, and those interested in the development and evolution of the Korean vernacular script. (The script was originally called *hunmin chōngŭm* 訓民正音 [correct sounds to instruct the people], but now commonly called *han'gŭl* in South Korea, although scholars tend to use abbreviation *chōngŭm* 正音 to differentiate it from the modern forms of the letters.<sup>52</sup>) Scholars of religion and history have really only looked at these texts in a broad sense to discuss

51. Henrik H. Sørensen, “A Bibliographical Survey of Buddhist Ritual Texts from Korea,” *Cahiers d’Extrême Asie* 6 (1991–92): 159–200, esp. 174n66; Tongguk Taehakkyo Pulgyo Munhwa Yōn’guwōn 東國大學校佛教文化研究院 [Center for Buddhist Culture, Dongguk University], ed., *Kankoku Bussho kaidai jiten* 韓國書解題典 [Dictionary of Synopses of Korean Buddhist Books] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1982), 371. I would like to thank Sin Haech’ōl, the librarian who controls the old books collection at Dongguk University, for allowing me to view several of these texts in their possession on June 29, 2011 and June 27, 2014.

52. See, for example, An Pyōnghŭi 安秉禧, “Han’gŭlp’an Odae chinōn e taehayō” 한글판 <오대진언 (五大眞言)>에 대하여 [On the Korean print of the *Five Great Mantras*], *Han’gŭl* 한글 195 (March 1987): 141–164; An Chuho 안주호 (Ahn Joo Hoh), “Mugyebon *Chinōn chip yōn’gu*” 무계본(無界本) <진언집(眞言集)> 연구 [Research on the borderless recension of the *Mantra Collection*], *Ōnōhak* 언어학 13, no. 1 (2005): 91–105; An Chuho, “Sangwōnsabon *Odae chinōn ūi p’yogibōp yōn’gu*” 상원사본 <오대진언>의 표기법 연구 [Research on the spelling system of the Sangwōnsa recension of the *Five Great Mantras*], *Ōnōhak* 언어학 11, no. 1 (October 2003): 69–87; An Chuho, “Odae chinōn e nat’anan p’yogi ūi t’ŭkching yōn’gu: Sōngsambon kwa Sangwōnsabon ūl chungsim ūro” <오대진언>에 나타난 표기의 특징 연구 -성암본과 상원사본을 중심으로 [Research on the special features of the spelling appearing in the *Five Great Mantras*], *Han’guk ōhak* 한국어학 25 (November 2004): 221–248; Nam Kyōngnam 남경란, “Odae chinōn ‘Yōnghōm yakch’o’ ūi kugōhakchōk yōn’gu” << 오대진언 (五大眞言) >> < 영험약초 (靈驗略抄) > 의 국어학적 연구 [Research on the “Efficacious Extracts” of the *Five Great Mantras*], *Han’guk chōnt’ong munhwa yōn’gu* 한국전통문화연구 13 (1999): 231–282; Kim Mubong 김무봉, “Yōnghōm yakch’o ōnhae yōn’gu” 『영험약초언해(靈驗略抄諺解)』 연구 [Research on the *Vernacular Translation of Efficacious Extracts*], *Han’gugō munhak yōn’gu* 한국어문학연구 57 (August 2011): 5–47.

the printing and publication of Buddhist texts in the late Chosŏn period and the popularity of mantra collections.<sup>53</sup>

The *Sugu yŏnghŏm* 隨求靈驗 (Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā) is believed by scholars to be one of the oldest Buddhist texts of the Chosŏn period written using both Sino-Korean logographs and the vernacular script, having been first published in 1476.<sup>54</sup> The Dongguk University library preserves an almost complete copy of the 1569 reprinting of this document, which was originally published at Ssanggye Monastery 雙溪寺 in Ŭnjin 恩津 in Ch'ungch'ŏng Province.<sup>55</sup>

53. Nam Hee-sook (Nam Hŭisuk) 南希叔, "Chosŏn hugi Pulsŏ kanhaeng yŏn'gu: Chinin chip kwa Pulgyo ūisik chip ūl chungsim ūro" 朝鮮後期 佛書刊行 研究: 眞言集과 佛教儀式集을 中心으로 [Research on the publication of Buddhist books during the late Chosŏn period: Centered around collections of mantras and Buddhist ritual manuals] (PhD diss., Seoul National University, 2004); Nam Hee-sook, "16-18 segi Pulgyo ūisik chip ūi kanhaeng kwa Pulgyo taejunghwa" 16-18 세기 佛教儀式集의 간행과 佛教大衆化 [The publication of Buddhist ritual procedures during the 16-18th centuries and the popularization of Buddhism], *Han'guk munhwa* 韓國文化34 (December 2004): 97-165; Nam Hee-sook, "Chosŏn sidae tarani kyŏng · chinŏn chip ūi kanhaeng kwa kŭ yŏksajŏk ūi" 朝鮮時代 陀羅尼經·眞言集의 간행과 그 역사적 의의 [The publication of *dhāraṇī-sūtras* and collections of mantras during the Chosŏn period and their historical significance], *Hŏedang hakpo* 회당학보 5 (2000): 67-105. In English see Henrik H. Sørensen, "A Bibliographical Survey of Buddhist Ritual Texts from Korea," *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie* 6 (1991-92): 159-200; Nam Hee-sook, "Publication of Buddhist Literary Texts: The Publication and Popularization of Mantra Collections and Buddhist Ritual Texts in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty," *Journal of Korean Religions* 3, no. 1 (April 2012): 9-27.

54. An Pyŏnghŭi 安秉禧, "Han'gŭlp'an Odae chinŏn e taehayŏ" 한글판 <오대진언 (五大眞言)>에 대하여 [On the Korean print of the *Five Great Mantras*], *Han'gŭl* 한글 195 (March 1987): 141-164; Kim Mubong, *Yŏkchu Sangwŏnsa chungch'ang kwŏnsŏnmun Yŏnghŏm yakch'o Odae chinŏn*, 80.

55. Hong Yunsik 洪潤植, "Chosŏn sidae chinŏn chip ūi kanhaeng kwa ūisik ūi milgyohwa" 朝鮮時代 眞言集의 刊行과 儀式의 密教化 [The publication of mantra collections in the Chosŏn period and the esotericization of Buddhist ritual], in *Han'guk Milgyo sasang yŏn'gu* 韓國密教思想研究 [Research on the Esoteric Buddhist thought of Korea], ed. Pulgyo Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn 佛教文化研究院 [Buddhist Culture Research Center] (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1986), 417-454, esp. 421. A photolithographic copy of the 1569 woodblock edition of the *Sugu yŏnghŏm* is published in Kim Mubong, *Yŏkchu Sangwŏnsa chungch'ang kwŏnsŏnmun Yŏnghŏm yakch'o Odae chinŏn*, 86-138 (recto).

The text is divided into four parts. The first part is an introduction that contains a petition informing the buddhas and bodhisattvas and requesting their protection before one chants the sutra (*kyech'ong* 啓請; Skt. *adhyeṣanā*) attributed to Amoghavajra (pp. 1a–3b), a short version of the great *dhāraṇī* that confers whatever one wants (*Taesugu taemyōngwang taedarani* 大隨求大明王大陀羅尼), and a statement that the larger *dhāraṇī* that follows was translated by Amoghavajra (pp. 3b–4b). The second part is comprised of the great *dhāraṇī* from the text written solely in the Korean vernacular (pp. 4a–14b), as well as seven other mantras with their names provided first in the Korean vernacular script in one line and in Sino-Korean in the following line and the spells themselves in the Korean vernacular (pp. 15a–17b). The third part of the text is the “Syugu ryōnghōm” 슈구령험 (Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā), which explains why and how to use this spell in an efficacious manner (pp. 18a–26b). This section will be discussed in conjunction with a translation below. The fourth part is a vernacular transcription of the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* (*Pulchōng chonsūng tarani* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼) (pp. 27a–29a). Although no information is listed regarding who executed the transliteration of the *dhāraṇīs* and wrote the section titled “Efficacious Resonance,” because the material is closely related to material in the *Odae chinōn* published in 1485 under the guidance of Queen Insu 仁粹大妃, which will be treated below, it was probably developed by the influential monk Hakcho 學祖 (fl. 1464–1520).<sup>56</sup>

56. Hakcho was a monk of the early Chosŏn period who renovated Yujōm Monastery on Mt. Kūmgang. His pen names (*ho*) were Tūnggok 燈谷 and “the man from Mt. Hwangak” 黃岳山人. During the reign of King Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–1468), he published translations of Buddhist scriptures translated into the Korean vernacular script in conjunction with the famous monks of the age. In 1464, he took King Sejo on a trip to Pokch'ōn Monastery 福泉寺 on Mt. Songni 俗離山 and held a great dharma assembly with such monks as Hyegak Sinmi 慧覺信眉 (fl. 1455–1468) and Hagyoŭl 學悅 (fl. 1455–1468). In 1467, he began renovating Yujōm Monastery 楡岾寺 on Mt. Kūmgang 金剛山 under orders from King Sejo. In 1487, he renovated the pavilion for the storage of the woodblocks of the Korean Buddhist canon (*Taejanggyōng p'an'gak* 大藏經板閣) at Haein Monastery 海印寺 under the royal command of Queen Dowager Chōnghŭi 貞喜王后. In 1500, he printed three copies (*sambu* 三部) of the Buddhist canon at Haein Monastery under orders from Sinbi 愼妃 and wrote a postscript (*palmun* 跋文). He also translated the *Nammyōng chip* 南明

Let us return for a moment to the issue of the attribution of this text to Amoghavajra. The petition (*kyech'öng*), which is in the form of a *gāthā*-poem with seven logographs per line, has a title suggesting that it was presented to the Tang court in association with a translation of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*: “Official Petition Regarding the *Dhāraṇī* for the Accomplishment of Spiritual Metamorphosis and Empowerment of Conferring Whatever One Wishes, for the Achievement of the Most Superior Esoteric Buddhahood of the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle, Spoken by the Buddha” (*Pulsöl kūmgangjōng yuga ch'oesūng pimil sōngbul sugu chūktūk sinbyōn kaji sōngch'wi tarani kyech'öng* 佛說金剛頂瑜伽最勝秘密成佛隨求即得神變加持成就陀羅尼啓請). This title is different than the received title of Amoghavajra's translation and suggests a link to the so-called Vajraśekhara (*jin'gangding* 金剛頂) family of scriptures.<sup>57</sup> The petition is neither mentioned in *Daizong chaozeng sikong dabian zhengguangzhi sanzang heshang biaozi ji* 代宗朝贈司空大辨正廣智三藏和上表制集 (Collected Documents of the Trepitaka Amoghavajra Bestowed with a Posthumous Title and Honors in the Reign of Daizong, T. 2120), which comprises Amoghavajra's official correspondence with Tang emperors, other letters, documents, and biographical writings, which was compiled by Yuanzhao 圓照 (fl. 785–804), nor is it found in the received Buddhist canon in literary Chinese. The *Collected Documents* reports, however, Amoghavajra's presentation of a Sanskrit version of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* (*Fanshu dasuiqiu tuoluoni iben* 梵書大隨求陀羅尼一本) to the court in Suzong's reign, the chanting of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* and the *Mahāpratisarā-mantra* along with other sutras and spells on birthdays, and the intonation of

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集 into the Korean vernacular script. In 1520, he printed another copy (*ilbu* 一部) of the Buddhist canon at Haein Monastery.

57. For a discussion of the so-called Vajraśekhara family of sutras, see Misaki Ryōshū 三崎良周, “Butchōkei no mikkyō: Tōdai Mikkyōshi no isshiten” 頂系の密教—唐代密教史の一視点 (Esoteric Buddhism of the Buddha Crown lineage: A point of view in the history of esoteric Buddhism during the Tang period), in *Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū: Dōkyō no shisō to bunka: Yoshioka Hakushi kanreki kinen* 道教研究論集: 道教の思想と文化: 吉岡博士還 記念 (English title: *Collected Essays on Taoist Thought and Culture*), comp. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo Hakushi Kanreki Kinen Ronshū Kankōkai 吉岡義豊還 記念論集刊行会 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1977), 477–499.

a “Mahāpratisarā essay” (*feng Suiqiu zhang* 諷隨求章).<sup>58</sup> A translation of the petition is as follows:

稽首蓮華胎藏教

I humbly kowtow to the teaching of the lotus flower womb treasury,

無邊清淨摠持門

The approach of the *dhāraṇī* of boundless cleanliness and purity,

普遍光明照十方

The ten directions of universal light and radiance,

鬘應化三千界

The three thousand worlds of the response and transformation of flaming fair hair,

如意寶印從心現

The jeweled seal of wish-fulfillment follows the manifestations of the mind,

無能勝主大明主

The lord who is unable to be overcome, the lord of great brilliance,

常住如來三昧中

Who constantly abides in the *samādhi* of the *tathāgata*,

超證瑜伽圓覺位

Transcends to and realizes the level of Yoga and Perfect Enlightenment.

毘盧遮那尊演說

The Honored Vairocana delivered a sermon

金剛手捧妙明燈

Vajradhara held the lamp of sublime brilliance in his hands

流傳密語與衆生

Circulated esoteric words with living beings

悉地助修成熟法

*Siddhis* aid in cultivating ripe *dharmas*

五濁愚迷心覺悟

The five impurities<sup>59</sup> deceive and delude the awakening and enlightenment of the mind.

58. *Daizong chaozeng sikong daban zhengguangzhi sanzang heshang biaozi ji* 1, T. 2120, 52.829b4–15; roll 2, 835c28–836a2, 836a27–b3; and roll 4, 848c5–6.

59. The five impurities are the impurities of lifespan (*shouzhuo* 壽濁), *kalpas* (*jiezhuo* 劫濁), defilements (*fannaozhuo* 煩惱濁), views (*jianzhuo* 見濁), and

誓求無上大菩薩  
 Swear to seek the unsurpassed great bodhisattvas  
 一常讚念此微詮  
 Who all constantly praise and recollect this subtle explanation,  
 得證如來無漏智  
 Attain the realization of the Tathāgata's knowledge that is devoid  
 of outflows,  
 諦想觀心月輪際  
 True perception visualizes the limits of the moon-wheel of the  
 mind  
 凝然不動觀本尊  
 The Honored One who gazes fixedly, is immovable, and observes  
 the origin,  
 所求願滿稱其心  
 Is he who pursues vows and fully states his mind  
 故號隨求能自在  
 Hence, he is called the Self-Existing One Who Is Able to Confer  
 Whatever One Wants  
 依教念滿洛叉遍  
 Depending on teaching and recollecting the universality of abun-  
 dant *lakṣas*  
 能攘宿曜及災神  
 It is able to resist the lodges, luminaries, and gods of calamities  
 生生值此陀羅尼  
 At the time they are produced, this *dhāraṇī*  
 世世獲居安樂地  
 Obtains residence in the land of peace and bliss generation after  
 generation  
 見世不遭諸枉橫  
 Sees that the world does not encounter all vain and cross things  
 火焚水溺及災殃  
 From being burned by fire and drowned by water to injured by  
 calamities  
 不被軍陣損身形  
 [And] does not suffer injury to one's physical form on the battlefield

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those with feelings (*youqingzhuo* 有情濁). *Apidamo jushelun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論  
 (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*) 12, T. 1558, 29.64a21–22.



盜賊相逢自安樂

Thieves and robbers meet each other from peace and bliss,

縱犯波羅十惡罪

Are allowed to break the *pāramitās* and [commit] the sins of the ten evil acts<sup>60</sup>

五逆根本及七遮

The root origin of the five heinous crimes<sup>61</sup> and seven heinous crimes.<sup>62</sup>

聞誦隨求陀羅尼

Hearing and chanting the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*

應是諸惡皆消滅

Responds to this, all evils, and eradicates them all.

羅尼力功無量

The power and merit of the *dhāraṇī* are limitless,

故我發心常誦持

So I arouse the aspiration to constantly chant it and carry it.

願迴勝力施含靈

I vow to turn its victorious power and bestow it on living creatures

同得無爲超悉地

So that together they may obtain the *siddhi* that transcends the unconditioned.<sup>63</sup>

Although a petition composed in *gāthā* form would be appropriate for many of these occasions, thus serving as circumstantial evidence

60. The ten evil acts (*sibak*, Ch. *shie* 十惡) are (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) adultery, (4) lying, (5) duplicity, (6) coarse language, (7) filthy language, (8) covetousness, (9) anger, and (10) perverted views. See *Zhong ahan jing* (*Madhyamāgama*) 3, T. 26, 1.437b28–c27.

61. The five heinous crimes (*oyōk*, Ch. *wuni* 五逆) are (1) patricide, (2) matricide, (3) killing an *arhat*, (4) shedding the blood of a buddha, and (5) destroying the harmony of the sangha. See *Apidamo jushe lun* (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*) 17, T. 1558, 29.926b27–29.

62. The seven heinous acts (*ch'ich'a*, Ch. *qizhe* 七遮 or *ch'iryōk*, Ch. *qini* 七逆) are shedding the blood of a buddha, killing one's father, killing one's mother, killing a monk, killing one's teacher, disrupting the sangha, and killing an *arhat*. See *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 2, T. 1484, 24.1005b18 and 1008c8–11.

63. Kim Mubong, *Yōkchu Sangwōnsa chungch'ang kwōnsōnmun Yōnghōm yakch'o Odae chinōn*, 171–172 (recto); a photolithographic copy of the woodblock text, 87–93 (verso).



for its authenticity, many works probably not composed or translated by Amoghavajra have been ascribed to him to lend them validity, legitimacy, and authority. An example of this situation will be described in detail below.

The longer version of the great *dhāraṇī* (pp. 4b–14b) starts with the same first lines as the received text of the great *dhāraṇī* as found in a ritual manual (*yigui*, Kor. *ūigwe* 儀軌) attributed to Amoghavajra, but diverges afterwards.<sup>64</sup> Although this ritual manual is not preserved in the Korean Buddhist canon, one like it probably circulated in Silla or Koryō because “Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā” begins in the same way.

What is more intriguing is that most of the seven short spells that follow the great *dhāraṇī* in the second section are the same as six of the eight *dhāraṇīs* found after the basic *dhāraṇī* in Baosiwei’s translation of the *Mahāpratisarā*, and one of the short mantras in the ritual manual mentioned above. More precisely, (1) “The true word of the mind of all the *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yōrae sim chinōn* 一切如來心真言, p. 15a–b) in the Chosōn-period text is the same as “The spell of the mind of all the buddhas” (Ch. *yiqie foxin zhou* 一切佛心呪) in Baosiwei’s translation;<sup>65</sup> (2) “The true word of the seal of the mind of all the *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yōrae simin chinōn* 一切如來心印真言; p. 15b) is the same as “The spell of the seal of the mind of all the buddhas [or spell for sealing the mind of all the buddhas]” (Ch. *yiqie foxin yin Zhou* 一切佛心印呪);<sup>66</sup> (3) “The true word of consecration of the mind of all the *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yōrae sim kwanjōng chinōn* 一切如來心灌頂真言; p. 16a) is the same as “The spell of consecration” (Ch. *guanding Zhou* 灌頂呪);<sup>67</sup> (4) “The true word of the seal of the consecration of all *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yōrae kwanjōngin chinōn* 一切如來灌頂印真言 (p. 16b) is the same as “The spell of the seal of consecration [or spell for sealing the consecration]” (Ch. *guanding yin Zhou* 灌頂印呪);<sup>68</sup> (5) “The true word for drawing a strict line of demarcation for all the *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yōrae kyōlgye chinōn* 一切如來結界真言; pp. 16b–17a) is the same as “The spell for drawing a strict line

64. Cf. *Jin’gangding yuga zuisheng mimi chengfo sui qiu zede shenbian jiachi chengjiu tuoluoni yigui*, T. 1155, 20.645a1–4.

65. T. 1154, 20.639c23–640a3; cf. 644a12–20.

66. T. 1154, 20.640a4–7; cf. 644a21–24.

67. T. 1154, 20.640a8–13; cf. 644, a25–b2.

68. T. 1154, 20.640a14–17; cf. 644b3–5.

of demarcation” (*jiejie zhou* 結界呪, Skt. *sīmābandha*);<sup>69</sup> (6) “The true word of the mind within the mind of all the *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yōrae simjungsim chinōn* 一切如來心中心真言; p. 17a) is the same as “The spell of the mind within the mind” (Ch. *xinzhongxin zhou* 心中心呪);<sup>70</sup> and (7) “The true word the follows the mind of all the *tathāgatas*” (*ilch’e yōrae susim chinōn* 一切如來隨心真言; p. 17a–17b) is the same as “The true word in the mind” (*xinzhong zhenren* 心中真言) in the ritual manual attributed to Amoghavajra.<sup>71</sup> Thus, the text of the *Mahāpratisarā* that circulated in the Chosŏn period is at least a composite of materials translated or written by—or at least attributed to—Amoghavajra and Baosiwei, and perhaps others writers.

The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* is also included in the *Odae chinōn* 五大真言 (Five Great Mantras), a woodblock text first published in 1485 by the monk Hakcho under the direction of Queen Insu. Hakcho actively promoted the translation of Buddhist texts into the Korean vernacular. Queen Insu, the more popular title of Queen Dowager Sohye 昭惠王后 (née Han 韓氏, 1437–1508), the mother of King Sŏngjong 成宗 (r. 1469–1494), was a staunch promoter and protector of Buddhism in the fifteenth century.<sup>72</sup> Woodblock texts cataloged in libraries consider her the “translator” of the material into vernacular Korean (*kugyōk* 國譯). However, I take this to mean that she commissioned the work and not that she herself performed the work of translation and transliteration. Her participation in this work is significant because it emphasizes this powerful female patron’s interest in and approbation of Buddhist spells, their accompanying procedures, and supporting literature. The oldest extant edition of the *Odae chinōn* is called the Sangwōnsa edition 上院寺本 (also called the Wōlchōngsa edition 月精寺本) because it is preserved at Sangwōn Monastery, a branch of Wōlchōng Monastery, on Mt. Odae. Although called the *Five Great Mantras*, in many recensions there are actually six *dhāraṇīs* contained in its pages, such as the 1635 woodblock edition preserved in the Kyujanggak at Seoul National

69. T. 1154, 20.640a18–21; cf. 644b6–8.

70. T. 1154, 20.640a25–27; cf. 644b12–15.

71. *Jin’gangding yuga zuisheng mimi chengfo sui qiu zede shenbian jiachi chengqiu tuoluoni yigui*, T. 1155, 20.648b26–c2.

72. For more on Queen Dowager Insu, see Yi Kyōngha 이경하, “15 segi ch’oego ūi yōsōng chisigin, Insu Taebi” 15 세기 최고의 여성 지식인, 인수대비 [The greatest female intellectual in the fifteenth century, Queen Dowager Insu], *Han’guk kojōn yōsōng munhak yōn’gu* 한국고전여성문학연구 12 (2006): 149–177.

University (奎 6749), which was originally printed at Ssanggye Monastery in Ŭnjin. The six *dhāraṇīs* are as follows:<sup>73</sup>

1. *Ch'ōnsu ch'ōnan kwanjajae posal kwangdae wōnman muae taebisim tarani* 千手千眼觀自在菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼 (*Kwanseŭm posal sasibisu chinōn* 觀世音菩薩四十二首真言; pp. 1a–23b)<sup>74</sup>
2. *Ch'ōnsu ch'ōnan kwanjajae posal kwangdae wōnman muae taebisin sinmyo changgu taedarani* 千手千眼觀自在菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心神妙章句大陀羅尼 (pp. 24a–29a)<sup>75</sup>
3. *Ch'ōnsu ch'ōnan Kwanjajae posal kūnbon tarani* 千手千眼觀自在菩薩根本陀羅尼 (pp. 29a–32a)<sup>76</sup>
4. *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* (*Pulsōl kūmgangjōng yuga ch'oesŭng pimil sōngbul sugu chūktūk sinbyōn kaji sōngch'wi tarani* 佛說金剛頂瑜伽最勝祕密成佛隨求即得神變加持成就陀羅尼; pp. 32a–59a)<sup>77</sup>
5. *Buddhoṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī* (*Taebulchōng tarani* 大佛頂陀羅尼;

73. A photolithographic copy of the 1635 woodblock edition of the *Odae chinōn* is published in Kim Mubong, *Yōkchu Sangwōnsa chungch'ang kwōnsōnmun Yōnghōm yakch'o Odae chinōn*, 139–358 (recto). I refer to the pages in the woodblock edition below.

74. Although the name of this set of *dhāraṇīs* is similar to the Chinese name of Vajrabodhi's 金剛智 translation of the *Nilakanṭhanāma-dhāraṇī*, it is actually a collection of forty-two mantras (*chinōn* 真言) and their accompanying *mudrās* (*suin* 手印). For Vajrabodhi's translation see *Qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa guangda yuanman wuai taebeixin tuoluoni* 千手千眼觀自在菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼, T. 1061, 20.112a3–113c2 (K 1270).

75. This *dhāraṇī* is a variant of the *dhāraṇī* found in the translation of the *Nilakanṭha* by Amoghavajra. See *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa dabeixin tuoluoni* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩大悲心陀羅尼, T. 1064, 20.116b10–117a9. Compare with Bhagavadharma's translation, which was probably translated between 650 and 661, see *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wuai dabeixin tuoluoni* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經, T. 1060, 20.107b21–108a9.

76. This is probably the *dhāraṇī* found in *Jin'gangding yuga qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa xiuxing yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經 2, T. 1056, 20.79b16–80a5.

77. This *dhāraṇī* is a variant of the *dhāraṇī* found in *Jin'gangding yuga zuisheng mimi chengfo sui qiu jide shenbian jiachi chengqu tuoluoni*, T. 1155, 20.645a1–647b8.

pp. 59a–92b)

6. *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* (*Pulchöng chonsüng tarani* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼; pp. 93a–97b)

The choice of the title of the text seems to derive from the idea that the five famous mantras (although the contents of the book itself calls them *dhāraṇīs*) are the products of Amoghavajra. This Korean text and later recensions of this type are interesting because they are trilingual, with alternating lines of Siddhaṃ, a Korean vernacular transliteration, and the Buddhist-Chinese transliteration. On the surface and in particular because of the title, the Korean *Five Great Mantras* bears some resemblance to the illustrated manuscripts titled *Pañcarakṣā* (Five Great Protectors), known from the Buddhist traditions of Nepal, Tibet, and Mongolia.<sup>78</sup> However, unlike the Nepalese versions, which couch the spells in a narrative framework, most of the Korean prints strip the spells from their prose context and supporting illustrations and present the spells only. Furthermore, unlike the case of China, where the Buddhist-Chinese transliteration of the spell is typically viewed as being as powerful as a Siddhaṃ text, Amoghavajra's versions of the spells seem to have gained ascendancy primarily because they are linked to extant Siddhaṃ texts. In other words, if a Siddhaṃ text exists, Korean Buddhists have presumed that these were produced by Amoghavajra.

In many editions of the *Odae chinön*, such as the 1635 woodblock edition, immediately after the trilingual reproductions of the *dhāraṇī* is a section titled “Yönghöm yakch'o” 靈驗略抄 (Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance) in literary Sino-Korean. This section explains the efficacy and use of four of the mantras: *Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī* (*Taebisim*

78. Todd Thornton Lewis, Subarna Man Tuladhar, and Labh Ratna Tuladhar, *Popular Buddhist Texts from Nepal: Narratives and Rituals of Newar Buddhism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 119–164; Pentti Aalto, *Prolegomena to an Edition of the Pañcarakṣā* (Helsinki, 1954); Gerd J. R. Mevissen, *Studies in Pancaraksa Manuscript Painting* (Reinbek: Wezler, 1989); and Mevissen, *Transmission of Iconographic Traditions: Pancaraksa Heading North* (Madison, WI: Prehistory Press, 1992). As an interesting aside, J. W. Hauer (Jakob Wilhelm, 1881–1962), *Die dhāraṇī im nördlichen buddhismus und ihre parallelen in der sogenannten Mithrasliturgie* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1927), finds that the *dhāraṇī* included in the *Pañcarakṣā* texts of Northern Buddhism show parallels with liturgies associated with the veneration of Mitra.

*tarani* 大悲心陀羅尼, pp. 98a–100b), *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* (*Sugu chūkdūk tarani* 隨求即得羅尼, pp. 100b–103a), *Buddhoṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī* (*Taebulchōng tarani* 大佛頂羅尼, pp. 103a–104b), and *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* (*Pulchōng chonsūng tarani* 佛頂尊勝羅, pp. 105a–106b). This may have been the original end of the document as it was created by Hakcho because a colophon written by him follows (p. 107a).

The Sangwōnsa edition of the *Five Great Mantras* published in 1485 is important for another reason. An eighteen-page addendum titled *Yōnghōm yakch'o ōnhae* 영험약초언해 (靈驗略抄諺解; Vernacular Translation of Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance) is stitched together at the end.<sup>79</sup> This vernacular translation (*ōnhaemun* 諺解文) was printed with moveable metal type (*ūrhaeja* 乙亥字), the metal type produced by the Chosōn government in 1455. The *Vernacular Translation of Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance* is a close translation of the Sino-Korean text of the “Yōnghōm yakch'o” mentioned above: *Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī* (*Taebisim tarani* 大悲心陀羅尼, pp. 1a–5b), *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* (*Sugu chūkdūk tarani* 隨求即得羅尼, pp. 5b–11a), *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* (*Taebulchōng tarani* 大佛頂羅尼, pp. 11a–14b), and *Buddhoṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī* (*Pulchōng chonsūng tarani* 佛頂尊勝羅, pp. 14b–18b). In other words, *Yōnghōm yakcho ōnhae* is a Korean vernacular translation of a set of short prose texts in literary Buddhist-Chinese that briefly explains the efficacy of the four spells and describes how aspirants can use these spells in their lives.

The section of the translation titled *Sugu chūkdūk tarani* presents the same words as “Syugu ryōnghōm” (Efficacious Resonance of the *Mahāpratisarā*), which is believed to have been first published in 1479, suggesting that the Korean vernacular translations found in the *Yōnghōm yakcho* had been in circulation in Korea since at least the late fifteenth century, and were probably executed by Hakcho under the direction of Queen Insu. Although this vernacular text is short, only eighteen pages, it provides an interesting cross-section of the spells that were important in the Buddhist culture of the early Chosōn period.<sup>80</sup> Korean Buddhist monasteries of the Chosōn period must have possessed manuscripts of ritual texts attributed to Amoghavajra and other figures that have not been preserved as part of the established

79. A photolithographic reprint is published in Kim Mubong, *Yōkchu Sangwōnsa chungch'ang kwōnsōnmun Yōnghōm yakch'o Odae chinōn*, 49–84 (recto).

80. Kim Mubong, “Yōnghōm yakch'o ōnhae yōn'gu,” 5–47.

Buddhist canon and, more important, some of these ritual texts were utilized by the Buddhist community.

The Kyujanggak library at Seoul National University has two prints of the *Yŏnghŏm yakch'o* that treat the *Mahāpratisarā*. Both are woodblock editions published at Chŏram 哲庵 on Mt. Sobaek 小白山 in 1550 (가람古 294.3-Y43y and 古 1730-22A). The Dongguk University Library also has a copy of the 1550 woodblock edition of the *Yŏnghŏm yakch'o*, but the cover says *Odae chip* 五大集 (貴 213.19 영P3 C3), suggesting that the *Yŏnghŏm yakch'o* and *Odae chinŏn* were very closely related in the minds of practitioners and manuscript collectors. In the Dongguk University text, the colophon and postscript written by Hakcho are appended to the eighteen-page Korean vernacular rendering of the *Yŏnghŏm yakch'o*.

The *Five Great Mantras* and the *Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance* were reprinted at least a few times, and later in the Chosŏn period the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* was included in another collection of spells called the *Chinŏn chip* 眞言集 (Mantra Collection). Although the *Mahāpratisarā* was not included in recensions of this text published in the late fifteenth century, 1569, or 1777, it was included in the expansive text published 1800.<sup>81</sup> Here again, the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* is presented in a trilingual format with Siddhaṃ, Korean, and Buddhist-Chinese.

Amoghavajra's recension of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*, the spell only, was also included in a short woodblock text published in 1574 titled *Ch'ŏnji myŏngyang suryuk chaeŭi so pangmun ch'ŏp chŏryo* 天地冥陽水陸齋儀疏榜文帖節要 (Text with the Official Instructions of the Essential Procedures for the Ceremony of the Heaven and Earth, Night and Day, Water and Land Ritual). Here it is known by the abbreviated name of *Sŏngbul sugu taedarani* 成佛隨求大陀羅尼 (Great *Dhāraṇī* of Conferring Whatever One Wishes for Achieving Buddhahood), and is one of four *dhāraṇī* chanted at the end of the ritual. The other *dhāraṇīs* are the *Sitāpatra-dhāraṇī* (viz. \**Śūraṃgama-dhāraṇī*), the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī*, and the *Nilakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī*.<sup>82</sup>

The point of this detailed discussion of the publication record of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* and associated literary material during the

81. An Chuhō, "Mugyebon *Chinŏn chip yŏn'gu*," 97.

82. Sørensen, "A Bibliographical Survey of Buddhist Ritual Texts from Korea," 174–175.



Chosŏn period is this: Buddhist monks and lay people alike, specifically lay women of noble birth, such as Queen Insu, were interested in the *Mahāpratisarā* and other *dhāraṇīs*. The *Five Great Mantras* and *Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance* texts were extremely popular and were reprinted numerous times during the course of the Chosŏn period. Monks patronized by the court prepared materials that could be utilized by individuals who did not have the ability to read either the Siddhaṃ script or Buddhist-Chinese. Some Chosŏn monks, such as Hakcho and disciples trained by him, probably had the ability to read and write the Siddhaṃ script and developed the trilingual *dhāraṇī* materials for interested persons. The Siddhaṃ source texts and their Buddhist-Chinese readings had probably been handed down since the Koryŏ period—some perhaps even as early as the late Silla period. These source texts usually range from slightly different to quite different than the versions of the *dhāraṇīs* printed in the Koryŏ Buddhist canon (and hence in the *Taishō shinshū dai zōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 [Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon]).

#### EFFICACIOUS RESONANCE OF THE MAHĀPRATISARĀ

How did Korean Buddhists of the Chosŏn period use the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*? The prose text of “Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā” provides some interesting clues. A lightly annotated draft translation of the Korean vernacular text is as follows:

*Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* (*Sugu chūktūk tarani* 隨求即得陀羅尼)

The sutras say that the Bodhisattva Eradicator of the Evil Destinies (Myŏrakch’wi posal 滅惡趣菩薩) addressed the Buddha Vairocana (Pirojanabul 毘盧遮那佛) saying, “By what expedient means can I pull out and liberate living beings [possessing] all weighty sins?” The Buddha said, “There is no method to pull out and liberate living beings who feel no shame, who possess wrong views, and who are debauched; in life one receives several kinds of worries, and in death one falls into Avīcī hell; not only will one not hear even the name of the three jewels for eternity, will they be able to see a buddha and obtain the body of a person again?” The bodhisattva addressed the Buddha again, “The expedient means of the Tathāgata are limitless, and the divine power of the Tathāgata is inexhaustible, and what I desire is that you would please explain methods of definitely attaining buddhahood for the sake [of living beings].” The Buddha said, “I put in place a secret method, which is uncommon in the world. It is first in making sins disappear and attaining buddhahood, and its



name is the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*. If people hear the name of this true word (*chinōn* 眞言) for a little while, or if they are familiar with or stay with people who recite it by heart, because all [the gods], the god Māra, evil spirits, and good spirit kings (*sōnsinwang* 善神王) will always follow and defend [them], not only will they be free from disasters and be comfortable, not to mention would they themselves recite it by heart?" Although people who recite it by heart and wear it [on their person] commit all manner of weighty sins, they will not fall into hell. People close to attaining buddhahood hear this true word, and people far from attaining buddhahood will not hear [it] for generations. If [someone] wears one logograph or two logographs, one passage or one section of this true word on the crown of his head (*chōngdae* 頂戴), this person will be no different than all the buddhas. This true word is the root/basis of the wisdom of all the buddhas [numbering as] the sands of the Ganges River for numberless *koṭis*. All the limitless buddhas come out and [their] achieving the Way to enlightenment is because they carry this true word [on their person]. Therefore, the Buddha Vairocana made it the basis of the wisdom of the dharma realm (*pōpkye chijung* 法界智中) {[This is] the pure enlightened nature (*kaksōng* 覺性) possessed by the Buddha and living beings.} It was acquired after an exhaustive search over numberless *kalpas*. If all the buddhas do not obtain this true word, they will not accomplish the Way to buddhahood, and if even brahmins of heterodox religions obtain this true word, they will achieve the Way to buddhahood quickly." There was a brahman in the country of Magadha<sup>83</sup> long ago whose name was \*Kobāk (Kubak 俱博). He did not see the Buddha, he did not hear the dharma, and every day he killed pigs, sheep, bears, and deer, so when he died he went to King Yama. The king spoke to Lord Śakra, "What hell should we give this person to?" Lord Śakra replied, "Because the sins of this

83. Magadha (Magadaguk, Ch. Magatuoguo 摩伽他國) is in the southern region of Bihar in eastern India. In the time of the Buddha Śākyamuni, Magadha was regarded as the strongest and most influential of the sixteen large states that occupied central India. Most of the events in the religious life of Śākyamuni took place in this state. In Buddhist literature, it is the location of Mt. Gṛdhrakūṭa (Vulture Peak) and Karaṇḍaveṇuvana, the bamboo grove near Rājagṛha that became the first *saṃghārāma* (monastic complex). In the sixth century BCE, King Bimbisāra made Rājagṛha the state's first capital city; later, Pataliputra (modern Patna) served as the capital. Magadha was also the home of Chandragupta Maurya (r. 321–296 BCE), the founder of the Mauryan empire (322–185 BCE). It was also the place of origination of the Gupta Empire (ca. 280–550 CE).

person cannot be numbered, send him to Avīcī hell quickly!” The jailors grabbed him and put him in that hell, but suddenly it became a lotus pond that was full of the eight meritorious virtues of water.<sup>84</sup> Because sinners were each sitting on top of lotus flowers and they did not have any manner of suffering, the horse-headed jailor (*udu okchol* 牛頭獄卒) said, “We gave this sinner the wrong thing. The hell transformed into a lotus pond.” King Yama spoke to Śakra, “Provided that \*Kobāk is not a sinner, this divine transformation (*sinbyōn* 神變) happened.” Lord Śakra replied, “Because he does not have even as much as one mote of dust of goodness from his previous life and this life, so I would not know.” He promptly went to Śākyamuni and said, “What was the goodness of \*Kobāk so that there was this kind of divine transformation?” The Buddha said, “Merely look at the skull of the man.” Lord Śakra went to the place where \*Kobāk was buried, and there was a monastery a third of a mile away to the west, and one logograph of a decayed Mahāpratisarā True Word (*sugu chinōn* 隨求真言) from there flew in the wind and collided with \*Kobāk’s bones. Lord Śakra returned, moved [him], and placed him in the eight hells, and every hell was altered just like this. At that time \*Kobāk and all the sinners were endowed with all thirty-two major marks and eighty minor marks of a buddha, and became [numbered] with the buddhas and bodhisattvas. The Buddha Upper Region Is Immaculate (Sangbang mugubul 上方無垢佛) is this \*Kobāk. If this true word passes the ears of even birds in flight or beasts one time, they will not be burdened with this body ever again. There was a king in the city of Uḍuyānaka (Osōnnaśōng 烏禪那城) long ago whose name was Bestowed of Brahmā (Pōmsi 梵施). Because one guy committed weighty sins, the king said, ‘Kill him.’ A person grabbed a sword and attempted to kill him, but the criminal, from times of old, carried the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* on his arm. Furthermore, he did not forget it in his heart and [always] remembered [it]. Because that sword broke into several pieces by means of this majestic spiritual power, that king was greatly enraged. Also, since he sent him to a cave of *yakṣas* (*yakch’a* 藥叉), the *yakṣas* were happy and sought to eat him. [However], because bright light manifested with splendor on the surface of the criminal’s body, the *yakṣas* were surprised and afraid, and

84. The eight meritorious virtues of water (*p’algongdōk su* 八功德水) are (1) sweet (*kam* 甘), (2) cold (*naeng* 冷), (3) soft (*yōn* 軟), (4) light (*kyōng* 輕), (5) pure (*ch’ōngjōng* 清淨), (6) does not stink (*puch’wi* 不臭), (7) when drinking it does not hurt your throat (*ūmsi puson hu* 時不損喉), and (8) having drunk it, it does not hurt your stomach (*ūmi pusang pok* 已不傷腹). *Apidamojushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論 (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*) 11, T. 1558, 29.57c11–13.

circumambulated and worshipped him. The king was even more enraged and threw him into deep water, but the water suddenly dried up. The king was surprised and considered it absurd, so he called the criminal and asked him about the cause. The criminal said, “Not only is there nothing that I know, but I carry the *Mahāpratisarā*.” The king composed a *gāthā* of praise, offered worship, tied the criminal’s head with a bolt of fabric, anointed the crown of his head with water, entrusted him with official rank, and made him the king of that city. {In the laws of India, when [someone] is entrusted with official rank, they first tie a bolt of fabric on that person’s head and anoint the crown of his head with water.}<sup>85</sup>

The received translations of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* by Baosiwei and Amoghavajra make the *dhāraṇī-sūtra* a text taught by the Buddha Śākyamuni to Mahābrahmā, but the “Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā” has the Buddha Vairocana explain the power and importance of the *dhāraṇī* to the Bodhisattva Eradicator of the Evil Destinies, similar to the ritual manual attributed to Amoghavajra.<sup>86</sup> Like both received translations of the sutra, it describes the benefits and protection that will come to people who merely hear the name of the true word, or stay with people who recite it by heart. If people wear or carry the *dhāraṇī* on their person, they will never fall into hell, and people who hear it are assured of achieving buddhahood in the near future. Furthermore, it promises that if a person wears one logograph or two logographs, one passage or one section of this true word on the crown of his head (*chōngdae* 頂戴), he will be no different than all the buddhas. (Amoghavajra’s translation says the Lord Śakra always carries this *dhāraṇī* on his person by placing it within the topknot jewel on the crown of his head.<sup>87</sup>) Something of a Hwaḥm-inspired context is alluded to because it says that the Buddha Vairocana made it the basis of the wisdom of the dharma realm.

The detailed story of the monk who shamelessly steals from the sangha and yet is not reborn in hell, despite the King Yama’s attempts to send him there, because he wears the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* on his person, and eventually becomes the Bodhisattva Mahāpratisarā is

85. Following the transcription found in Kim Mubong, *Yōkchu Sangwōnsa chungch’ang kwōnsōnmun Yōnghōm yakch’o Odae chinōn*, 105–110.

86. *Jin’gangding yuga zuisheng mimi chengfo suiqiu zede shenbian jiachi chengjiu tuoluoni yigui*, T. 1155, 20.644b25.

87. T. 1153, 20.622b21–22.

not alluded to in this text.<sup>88</sup> Neither is the story about Prince Rāhula, the Buddha’s son, who chanted the *Mahāpratisarā* when he was in his mother’s womb, which saved her by turning into a lotus pond when she attempted to commit suicide.<sup>89</sup> Rather, the Chosŏn-period document describes an otherwise unknown brahman of Magadha whose name was \*Kobāk (Kubak) who committed all manner of killing and uncleanness, yet each time King Yama attempted to send him to a hell it transformed into a lotus pond because one decayed logograph of the *dhāraṇī* had settled on \*Kobāk’s head in the tomb. Hence, this evil brahman became the Buddha Upper Region Is Immaculate. One story that appears in Baosiwei’s translation and the “Efficacious Resonance” text is a story about Bestowed of Brahmā, the king in the city of Uḍuyānaka. He sought to execute a criminal who had committed regicide by cutting his head off with a sword and by feeding him to man-eating *yakṣas*. However, the sword did not harm him and broke into several pieces; the *yakṣas* bowed down and worshipped him because the man had the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* attached to his arm.<sup>90</sup> So, the king gave up trying to execute him and instead rewarded him with an official position.

The purpose of these stories in the “Efficacious Resonance of the *Mahāpratisarā*” is simply to encourage ordinary people—lay Buddhist believers—to carry the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* on their person or on their head like a talisman or good-luck charm. This point is repeated over and over again in the brief tales. The “Efficacious Resonance” is different than both Baosiwei’s and Amoghavajra’s translations because there is no description of the procedure to set up an altar, such as in Baosiwei’s translation, and because “esotericized” language, such as the repeated use of “*vajra*,” is entirely missing. Furthermore, all of the people in the “Efficacious Resonance” who carry the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* on their person are not monks, strongly implying that the principal audience of the prose text was lay believers and not the monastic community.

#### CONCLUSION

The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* was one of the most widely known *dhāraṇīs* in Chosŏn Korea. Anecdotal and material evidence of the use of this

88. T. 1154, 20.640c6–28.

89. T. 1154, 20.640b7–11.

90. T. 1153, 20.623a27–c1; T. 1154, 20.641b22–c8.

*dhāraṇī* dates back to the eighth century, soon after Baosiwei completed the first translation into Buddhist-Chinese. Several great monk-practitioners were associated with its use: In China, Fazang used it to make snow in the early eighth century, and Amoghavajra chanted it during a storm at sea, gave a Siddham copy of the spell to the Tang emperor Suzong, and chanted the “*Mahāpratisarā-mantra*” seven times prior to the emperor’s passing in the mid-eighth century. The Silla monk Poch’ŏn chanted the *Mahāpratisarā* day and night in his hermitage on Mt. Odae, the Mt. Wutai located in Silla, and explained its meaning to a deity that lived in a cave.

The two Chinese translations of the *dhāraṇī-sūtra* describe numerous ways to draw upon the efficacy of the *dhāraṇī*, which promises those who chant it protection from all manner of noxious poisons and curses, storms, tempests, and other dangerous situations, and the fulfillment of the desires and wishes of the practitioner (sŏwŏn sŏngch’wi 誓願成就). Besides encouraging individuals to chant or recite the *dhāraṇī*, Baosiwei’s translation described the procedures for setting up an altar (*maṇḍala*) to invoke the power of the *dhāraṇī*, and different directions are given according to the social status or sex of the practitioner. Although such directions are not found in Amoghavajra’s translation, both translations describe several stories in which people who either chant the *dhāraṇī* or, more simply, wear or carry a copy of the *dhāraṇī* on the person like an amulet or talisman are protected and saved from the results of unwholesome karma.

The popularity of the spell in Korea, however, probably had less to do with recensions of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* preserved in the Koryŏ Buddhist canon than with short documents and books printed from woodblocks or metal-type that were reprinted numerous times and in different contexts during the Chosŏn period. These texts were probably based on manuscripts or woodblock prints of the spell in Siddham that circulated in the monastic community during the Koryŏ period, such as the woodblock prints dated 1184 discovered in the chest cavity storehouse of a wooden image of Amitābha at Chaun Monastery, which is in many ways similar to woodblock prints discovered in a variety of contexts, including as funeral goods, in the contemporary Song period.

The “great *dhāraṇī*,” attributed to Amoghavajra and linked with a petition in *gāthā* form also attributed to Amoghavajra, was published multiple times in a trilingual format with alternating lines of Siddham, Korean, and Chinese logographs. The influential monk Hakcho

probably executed the original transliteration of a Siddham recension of the *dhāraṇī* into the Korean vernacular in the last quarter of the fifteenth century under the direction of Queen Insu, a great patron and protector of the Buddhist church in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The “great *dhāraṇī*” was published in the *Odae chinŏn* (Five Great Mantras) in 1485 and subsequently reprinted several times over the course of the Chosŏn period in mantra collections. Many editions of the *Odae chinŏn*, such as the 1635 woodblock edition, include a section titled “Yŏnghŏm yakch’o” (Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance) after the trilingual presentation of the *dhāraṇīs*. This prose text explains the efficacy and use of four of the spells in the collection, one of which is the *Mahāpratisarā*.

Hakcho was also probably responsible for the *Sugu yŏnghŏm* (Efficacious Resonance of the *Mahāpratisarā*), which was first published in both Sino-Korean and the vernacular script in 1479, and subsequently reprinted in 1569. Although this text was printed first, there is no colophon describing who was responsible for the translation and publication. Because the trilingual presentation of the “great *dhāraṇī*” and the “Efficacious Resonance” sections are essentially the same as the 1485 and 1635 editions of the *Odae chinŏn*, all probably trace back to an original Sino-Korean text of the “Efficacious Resonance” and a Korean vernacular translation by Hakcho and/or his disciples made in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The prose text of the “Efficacious Resonance” does not emphasize memorization or chanting of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*, although such might seem to be the expected function of the trilingual text often published with it. Though the “Efficacious Resonance of the *Mahāpratisarā*” alludes to benefits and protection deriving from hearing, reciting, and wearing the spell as a talisman, the main thrust of the prose text centers on encouraging aspirants to wear the *dhāraṇī*, at least one or two logographs, on the crowns of their heads or somewhere on their bodies. The stories of the brahman who killed living beings but who was saved from rebirth in Avīcī hell because a scrap of paper with the spell inscribed on it had attached itself fortuitously to his skull in the grave, and anecdote of the criminal who had committed weighty sins who avoided execution because he wore the spell on his arm illustrate the simple devotional or cultic practice of wearing the spell as a charm or talisman.





## Replanting the Bodhi Tree: Buddhist Sectarianism and Zhenyan Revivalism<sup>1</sup>

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### INTRODUCTION

The Mantra School Bright Lineage (MSBL, 真言宗光明流) is a fledgling esoteric Buddhist sect with over six thousand refuged members.<sup>2</sup> It was founded in Taiwan during the 1970s as a resurrection of Tang Dynasty Zhenyan (真言, Jpn. Shingon), an “extinct school” of Chinese esoteric Buddhism.<sup>3</sup> Since then, the MSBL’s influence has spread throughout the Chinese-speaking world in the form of overseas branches, offshoots, and rivals.<sup>4</sup> Its founder, Guru Wuguang (悟

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1. This paper draws from my PhD dissertation, “Reenchanting Buddhism via Modernizing Magic: Guru Wuguang of Taiwan’s Philosophy and Science of ‘Superstition’” (Leiden University, 2017). Some sections of this paper were presented at More Bonds Than Boundaries: The Diverse Roles of East Asian Temples and Shrines Conference, Shanghai, China, Aug. 2015.

2. On a refuge certificate from Apr. 27, 2014, it states that the current head of the MSBL has officiated over 835 MSBL refuge ceremonies, a number that does not include refuge ceremonies conducted by other MSBL members in Hong Kong and Malaysia. Wuguang, the MSBL’s founder, personally performed over five thousand.

3. Chinese characters have been romanized in Pinyin, except for place and individual names who have standardized transliterations that do not conform to Pinyin.

4. The MSBL has branches throughout Taiwan as well as one in Hong Kong. There is a splinter group in Malaysia that sees itself as an extension of the MSBL, the Malaysian Mahā Prāṇidhāna Parvata Mantrayāna (马来西亚佛教真言宗大願山). There is also a breakaway group with branches throughout Taiwan and Hong Kong and has a loose following on the Chinese mainland and New Zealand, the Zhenyan Samantabhadra Lineage (真言宗普賢流), detailed below. Another breakaway group, the Xiu Ming Society (修明堂, a.k.a. Hong

光上師, dharma-name Quanmiao 全妙, secular name Zheng Jinbao 鄭進寶, 1918–2000), was a dizzyingly eclectic Taiwanese figure. He was a construction worker, merchant sailor, Chan 禪 monk, faith healer, exorcist, alchemist, holder of an honorary doctorate in philosophy, lesser archbishop (少僧正) in the Japanese Buddhist ecclesiastical hierarchy (僧階), and Shingon priest (阿闍梨, Skt. *ācārya*).<sup>5</sup> He was also a mentor to Shinzen Young (真善, a.k.a. Steve Young), the American-born, ethnically Jewish, Japanese-ordained Shingon *ācārya* and *vipassanā* teacher who collaborated with UCLA and Harvard Medical School to research the neurological effects of meditation.<sup>6</sup> Despite their importance, the scholarly community has all but ignored Wuguang and the MSBL

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Kong Esoteric Group 港密) is very popular in Hong Kong. It was founded by another one of Wuguang's disciples, Guru Ming (明上師, secular Cantonese name Li Kuiming 李居明, English name Edward Li, dharma-name Chehao 徹豪). The MSBL was also the inspiration for the Modern Pure Land Society (現代淨土, formerly Modern Chan Society 現代禪), detailed below. A known rival group is based in the Acala Monastery (不動寺) at Mt. Qinglong (青龍山), in Taiwan's rural Pingtung County (屏東縣). It was founded by the Taiwanese Chan monk and Shingon priest Weili (惟勵, 1931–2016). Unlike the other sects mentioned, Weili's group is still officially under Japanese oversight.

5. Wuguang's experience as a merchant sailor and alchemist are retold in his autohagiography, *Cangsang huiyilu* 滄桑回憶錄 (A Memoir of Trials and Tribulations) (handwritten manuscript, 1999), <http://www.mantrabright.org/index.php?option=com/lyftenbloggie&view=entry&id=5&Itemid=29>, accessed Jan. 19, 2016. His time as a merchant sailor is corroborated in Shinzen Young, *Break Through Pain: A Step-by-Step Mindfulness Meditation Program for Transforming Chronic and Acute Pain* (Boulder, CO: Sounds True Inc., 2004), 75. Photographs of Wuguang's Shingon ordination certificates, honorary doctorate, and ecclesiastical rank can all be seen in Wuguang, *Fojiao zhenyanzong jishenchengfo guan* 佛教真言宗即身成佛觀 (Contemplation on Becoming a Buddha in This Body) (Kaohsiung: Paise wenhua, 1991), front endpapers. His experience as a construction worker, alchemist, and exorcist are detailed below.

6. See Shinzen Young, "Buddhist Brain: 'The Science of Enlightenment, the Enlightenment of Science,'" public talk, Tuscon, AZ, Oct. 19, 2006, <http://www.shinzen.org/The%20Buddhist%20Brain.pdf>, accessed Jan. 18, 2016. Also see Ann Gleig, "#Hashtag Meditation, Cyborg Buddhas, and Enlightenment as an Epic Win: Buddhism, Technology and the New Social Media," in *Asian Religions, Technology, and Science*, ed. István Keul (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 191.

as—outside of my work<sup>7</sup>—they have only been discussed in a single paragraph<sup>8</sup> in one English academic work and two Chinese MA theses.<sup>9</sup>

The members of the MSBL and its scions are, to the best of my knowledge, unique in the fact that they do not identify as Japanese Shingon despite basing their sectarian affiliation and claim to orthodoxy on the Japanese provenance and Shingon origins of their dharma-transmission. Similarly, while they are aware that the MSBL is new, they perceive it as a resurrection of an ancient school of Buddhism. These complexities are born out of the fact that Wuguang's resurrection of Zhenyan was enabled by the religious authority that he had gained while in Japan, and that this resurrection resulted in garnering the disapproval of those who had bestowed that authority. In this paper I explore the ways in which Wuguang and his disciples have navigated these seemingly contradictory positions, and argue that they make use of traditional Buddhist legitimization strategies in an innovative fashion to root the MSBL within the confines of preexisting Shingon orthodoxy while simultaneously uprooting Shingon's claim to esoteric orthodoxy from Japan, and replanting it in the Sinosphere, in order to resurrect Tang-era Zhenyan.

Appreciating what reviving Zhenyan by establishing the MSBL entailed requires an understanding of contemporary Taiwanese Buddhist sectarianism, esoteric Buddhist orthodoxy, the relationship between Zhenyan and Shingon, and the revival of tantrism in the Chinese-speaking world. Therefore, this paper begins by detailing the sectarian issues and historical factors central to the birth of the MSBL. Then, I

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7. Cody R. Bahir, "Buddhist Master Wuguang's (1918–2000) Taiwanese Web of the Colonial, Exilic and Han," *E-Journal of East and Central Asian Religions* 1 (2013): 81–93, <http://dx.doi.org/10.2218/ejecar.2013.1.737>; Bahir, "Reformulating the Appropriated and Relinking the Chain: Challenges of Lineage and Legitimacy in Contemporary Chinese Zhenyan," title TBD, ed. Fabienne Jagou (forthcoming); and Bahir, "Reenchanted Buddhism."

8. Chen Bing, "The Tantric Revival and Its Reception in Modern China," in *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Monica Esposito, 2 vols. (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2008), 1:394.

9. Gu Zhengli 顧正立, "Study on Shingon Buddhism of Guangmingwang Temple at Wuzhishan, Kaohsiung 高雄市五智山光明王寺之真言宗信仰研究" (MA thesis, Huafan University, 2012); Li Yongbin 李永斌, "Master Wu Light Esoteric Ideological Research 悟光法師密教思想研究" (MA thesis, Northwest University, 2011).

detail the ways the MSBL, its founder, and offshoots have met these challenges. Data has predominantly been collected through onsite fieldwork conducted throughout Taiwan from 2011 to 2016.<sup>10</sup>

#### THEMATIC AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Taiwanese Buddhist sectarian consciousness has been greatly influenced by relatively rigid Japanese Buddhist denominational boundaries that solidified during the Tokugawa Period.<sup>11</sup> Although the neatly organized boundaries that this framework offers have never reflected common perception and are in fact a product of East Asian appropriations of Western religious boundaries, they have shaped both religionist and scholarly understandings of Buddhist sectarianism.<sup>12</sup> These boundaries are articulated via the terms “school” (宗) and “lineage” (流).<sup>13</sup> Often “school” represents an overarching denominational identity that consists of multiple “lineages.”<sup>14</sup> Within this framework, schools and lineages are clearly defined as independent religious sects whose sectarian identities are defined by the provenance and contents of their dharma-“transmissions” (傳). These transmissions are school/lineage-specific and differentiated by the particular soteriological

10. Due to ethical issues surrounding research that involves living human subjects, I have concealed the identity of a number of my informants and certain individuals involved in the history of the MSBL. The only times I have named my informants is when they have given me explicit permission to reference them as the source of that particular piece of information.

11. For the development of these Japanese Buddhist boundaries see Michel Mohr, “Zen Buddhism during the Tokugawa Period: The Challenge to Go beyond Sectarian Consciousness,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 21, no. 4 (1994): 341–372.

12. Jimmy Yu, “Revisiting the Notion of Zong: Contextualizing the Dharma Drum Lineage of Modern Chan Buddhism,” *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 26 (2013): 116–120, <http://enlight.lib.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-BJ001/bj001390683.pdf>, accessed Jan. 11, 2016.

13. Both the characters for “school” and “lineage” are frequently paired with a character that is often translated as “branch” (派), whose usage is most frequently interchangeable with “lineage.”

14. It must be noted that in Japan, certain sectarian lineages are subdivided into yet another level. However, there is no single standardized term for this. Sometimes the character for “temple” (寺) or “hall” (院) is used. The only times I have encountered these terms used this way in Taiwan are in reference to Japanese Buddhist communities.

technology they contain as well as the specific individuals who are believed to have propagated them. Thus, sectarian boundaries are justified by differences in orthopraxis—the contents of a sect’s transmission—and the provenance of the transmission. Living devotees’ religious authority and sectarian identity rest upon the belief that they are links within an unbroken chain of a particular transmission. Within esoteric Buddhism, transmission-continuity is especially significant due to the perceived potency of the rituals contained within the transmission—so much so that esoteric Buddhism can be distinguished from other forms of Buddhism based upon its emphasis on transmission-continuity.<sup>15</sup>

Transmission procedures often entail reenacting the origination myth of the school in which the transmission is taking place,<sup>16</sup> and therefore differ between schools.<sup>17</sup> The archetypal format central to this study is the Shingon method for performing *abhiṣeka* (灌頂). There are different levels and forms of *abhiṣeka*. In Shingon, the most basic is karmic-binding *abhiṣeka* (結緣灌頂) that establishes a link between the master and disciple. Above this there is dharma-study *abhiṣeka* (學法灌頂) that enables a devotee to study rudimentary esoteric rituals. After this comes dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka* (傳法灌頂) that renders one an ordained Shingon *ācārya* and forges a link within the

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15. Richard K. Payne, introduction to *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, ed. Richard K. Payne (Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2006), 8. Despite the seemingly definitive nature of my assertion here, there is currently no scholarly consensus on exactly how to define esoteric Buddhism. For more information, see Charles D. Orzech, “Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras of East Asia: Some Methodological Considerations,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras of East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech et al., *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 24 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 9–22.

16. In addition to the ways in which Zhenyan/Shingon transmission reenacts the school’s origination myth (see below), the same framework is found in Chan/Zen where “mind-to-mind transmission” (以心傳心) is seen as a reenactment of the “Flower Sermon” (拈花微笑). See Albert Welter, “Mahākāśyapa’s Smile: Silent Transmission and the Kung-an (Koan) Tradition,” in *The Kōan: Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism*, ed. Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 71–109.

17. Despite the fact that there are discernible similarities between the ways in which transmission is justified in different schools, there is not a single, universal understanding or process of transmission. See Wendi L. Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission: On an Early Chan History and Its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 14.

transmission-chain.<sup>18</sup> This is the level of *abhiṣeka* that Wuguang received in Japan.

Dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka* as practiced in Shingon represents a reenactment of the school's origination myth referred to as the legend of the "Iron *Stūpa* of South India" (南天竺鐵塔).<sup>19</sup> The legend of the iron *stūpa* of South India states that the cosmic Buddha Mahāvairocana transmitted the esoteric dharma to Vajrasattva Bodhisattva. Vajrasattva then transcribed the contents of this transmission and sealed them in an iron *stūpa* in southern India. These writings remain locked away and untouched within this *stūpa* for hundreds of years until the Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna (ca. 150-ca. 250) was given the whereabouts of the *stūpa* and knowledge of how to open it in a vision. Whilst inside the *stūpa*, he received transmission from Vajrasattva, which marks the moment when the first human became a link within the Shingon transmission chain.<sup>20</sup> Dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka* reenacts the exchanges that took place between Mahāvairocana and Vajrasattva as well as Vajrasattva and Nāgārjuna, as it takes place over a *maṇḍala* that is meant to simultaneously symbolize Mahāvairocana's palace and the iron *stūpa*. During the ritual, the initiator and initiated respectively visualize themselves as Mahāvairocana and Vajrasattva.<sup>21</sup>

This origination myth references not only the provenance of Shingon's dharma-transmission but also the contents of the transmission itself as well as their soteriological aims. Shingon's soteriological aim is to realize the unity that exists between the practitioner and Mahāvairocana and is encapsulated in the phrase "becoming a buddha in this body" (即身成佛). The realization of this unity, referred to as "ritual identification" (入我我入), is achieved through mimicking Mahāvairocana's activities. These activities—referred to as the "three mysteries" (三密, Skt. *tri-guhya*)—are identified as his body (身), speech (口), and mind (意), which are respectively copied by performing

18. Abé Ryūichi, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 124.

19. For this tale see, Charles D. Orzech, "The Legend of the Iron Stupa," in *Buddhism in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 314–317.

20. Adrian Snodgrass, *The Symbolism of the Stupa* (1st Indian ed.; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992), 376.

21. Cynthia J. Bogel, *With a Single Glance: Buddhist Icon and Early Mikkyō Vision* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 208.



*mudrās*, reciting mantras, and visualizing *maṇḍalas*. The transmission that Mahāvairocana gave to Vajrasattva not only serves as the model for Shingon dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka*, but also the contents of its orthopraxis due to the fact that this transmission was communicated via the three mysteries.<sup>22</sup>

Given the importance of dharma-transmission continuity, it is clear why Wuguang's resurrection of Zhenyan by appropriating Shingon was considered such a remarkable accomplishment and posed a number of challenges. According to popular East Asian religious historiography, Zhenyan was a form of esoteric Buddhism that flourished in China during the Tang dynasty (618–907) in the empire's capital of Chang'an (長安, modern day Xi'an 西安). However, sometime in the early Song dynasty (960–1269) its chain of initiation was interrupted and its spiritual technologies became subsumed under other Buddhist movements, folk religion,<sup>23</sup> and Daoism.<sup>24</sup> Prior to this fissure, Zhenyan's initiation chain was transported to Japan by the Japanese figure Kūkai (空海, a.k.a. Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, 774–835), who had studied the esoteric dharma under the Chinese Master Huiguo (惠果, 746–805) while on a trip to China. After this, the teachings that Kūkai received from Huiguo became the basis for Shingon. Since Zhenyan's orthodox initiation chain disappeared from China after it had been transmitted to

22. Abé, *Weaving of Mantra*, 130.

23. "Folk religion" (民俗宗教), also referred to as "popular religion," is an umbrella term for local cults that do not neatly fit within the confines of established religious categories such as Buddhism, Daoism, and modern Shintō. While multiple folk religious groups in close geographical proximity oftentimes share numerous similarities, they are not considered a singular unified tradition due to their non-centralized and heterogeneous nature. See Philip Clart, "The Concept of 'Popular Religion' in the Study of Chinese Religions: Retrospect and Prospects," in *The Fourth Fu Jen University Sinological Symposium: Research on Religions in China: Status Quo and Perspectives*, ed. Zbigniew Wesolowski (Xinzhuang: Furen Daxue chubanshe, 2007), 166–203.

24. See Charles Orzech, "Seeing Chen-yen Buddhism: Traditional Scholarship and the Vajrayāna in China," *History of Religions* 29, no. 2 (1989): 87–144. Although this is the traditional account, Robert Sharf has called the existence of Tang-dynasty Zhenyan into question in Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism, 14 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 263–278. However, the existence or non-existence of this school during the Tang dynasty is irrelevant to this study as it concerns a modern movement.



Japan by Kūkai, Chinese devotees had to venture outside the confines of Chinese Buddhism if they wanted to study orthodox forms of esoteric Buddhism. As no esoteric Buddhist school or lineage can “spring into being *ex nihilo* but must be able to trace its origin back through several generations of master-to-student transmission,”<sup>25</sup> Wuguang had to travel to Japan in order to join himself with the initiation chain as propagated by Japanese Shingon.

Although Wuguang’s attempt to resurrect Zhenyan by receiving dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka* in Japan is currently the most successful that I am aware of, it was not the first. In fact, the Chinese Buddhist reformer Taixu (太虛, 1890–1947) also attempted to revive this extinct form of esoteric Buddhism. To do so, he urged his students to receive initiation, first in Japan and later in Tibet, where esoteric chains of initiation remained intact. Taixu’s efforts initiated the “Tantric Revival” (密教復興運動), which collectively refers to esoteric Buddhism’s rises in popularity on the Chinese mainland during the late Qing dynasty (1644–1912) and early Republican period (1912–1949). The first rise in popularity was centered in Eastern China and was focused on Japanese esoteric Buddhism (Shingon and Tendai 天台), while the second was centered near Beijing and concentrated on Tibetan Vajrayāna. The first, Japanese-oriented of these developments—although still alive in present day Hong Kong<sup>26</sup> despite being called “short-lived”<sup>27</sup>—was

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25. Erik J. Hammerstrom, “The Heart-of-Mind Method: Legitimizing a New Buddhist Movement in 1930s China,” *Nova Religion: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 17, no. 2 (2013): 13.

26. Although usually not mentioned, there was an interest in Japanese esoteric Buddhism happening in Hong Kong that coincided with developments taking place on the Chinese mainland. The Hong Kong Mantra School for Lay Buddhists (香港佛教眞言宗居士林), which is still in operation, was founded during this time. See, “Hong Kong Mantra School for Lay Buddhists Website,” <http://www.buddhistmantra.hk>, accessed Feb. 4, 2015. Also see Bill M. Mak, “The Career of Utsuki Nishū 宇津木二秀 in Hong Kong during the Japanese Occupation Period (1941–1945),” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 55 (2015): 57–82, <http://www.billmak.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Mak-2015-4.pdf>, accessed Jan. 13, 2014.

27. Chen Bing, “The Tantric Revival and Its Reception in Modern China,” in *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Monica Esposito (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 2008), 394.

not as widespread as the Tibetan-oriented popularity.<sup>28</sup> Additionally, unlike Wuguang, the figures of this movement are not known to have founded their own, independently self-perpetuating Zhenyan lineages.

Wuguang was a direct heir of Taixu's Tantric Revival. However, he was not directly influenced by the Japanese-oriented revivalists but, rather, the Tibetan ones. This occurred in 1960, when Wuguang was serving as a secretary at Zhuxi Temple,<sup>29</sup> a Chan monastery in Taiwan's southern city, Tainan (台南). Wuguang used his position to organize a public ten-day *phowa*<sup>30</sup> retreat headed by Elder Gongga (貢噶老人, 1903–1997). Elder Gongga was a female disciple of the Karma Kagyu master Gangkar Rinpoche (貢噶呼圖克圖, 1893–1957).<sup>31</sup> Gangkar Rinpoche was one of many Tibetan teachers who helped spread Tibetan Buddhism in China during the Tantric Revival by giving initiation

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28. For the Tantric Revival see the previous note and Ester Bianchi, "The Tantric Rebirth Movement in Modern China: Esoteric Buddhism Re-vivified by the Japanese and Tibetan Traditions," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica* 57, no. 1 (2004): 31–54; Martino Dibeltulo, "The Revival of Tantrism: Tibetan Buddhism and Modern China" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2015); Erik Schicketanz, "Wang Hongyuan and the Import of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism to China during the Republican Period," in *Buddhism across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual, and Cultural Exchange*, vol. 1, ed. Tansen Sen (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), 323–347.

29. For the history of Zhuxi Temple see Lu Jiaying 盧嘉興, "Taiwande diyizuo siyuan-zhuxisi 臺灣的第一座寺院—竹溪寺" (Taiwan's First Monastery—Zhuxi Temple), *Taiwan fojiao shilunji (8)-taiwan fojiao pian* (1979): 233–254.

30. *Phowa* practices are aimed at transferring one's consciousness, enabling ethereal travel, spiritual possession, or choosing where one will be reborn. See Anna Balikci, *Lamas, Shamans, and Ancestors: Village Religion in Sikkim* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 273; Margaret Gouin, *Tibetan Rituals of Death: Buddhist Funerary Practices* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 16–17; Tanya Zivkovic, *Death and Reincarnation in Tibetan Buddhism: In-Between Bodies*, Routledge Critical Studies in Buddhism (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 74.

31. See Monica Esposito, "rDzogs chen in China: From Chan to 'Tibetan Tantrism' in Fahai Lama's (1920–1991) Footsteps," in *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, vol. 2, ed. Monica Esposito (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2008), 476. About Gangkar Rinpoche, see Carmen Meinert, "Gangkar Rinpoché between Tibet and China: A Tibetan Lama among Ethnic Chinese in the 1930s to 1950s," in *Buddhism between China and Tibet*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein (New York: Wisdom Publications, 2009), 215–240.

to “famous officers, warlords, wealthy traders, and intellectuals.”<sup>32</sup> Gongga—who is most famous for her posthumous mummification into a golden Flesh Body Bodhisattva Relic (肉身菩薩)<sup>33</sup>—left China in 1958 and made her way to Taiwan, where she was instrumental in spreading Tibetan Buddhism.<sup>34</sup> During the retreat, Wuguang became one of Gongga’s disciples,<sup>35</sup> but shortly thereafter severed his ties to Gongga and her followers due to a disagreement.<sup>36</sup>

32. Bing, “The Tantric Revival and Its Reception in Modern China,” 409.

33. See Douglas Gildow and Marcus Bingenheimer, “Buddhist Mummification in Taiwan: Two Case Studies,” *Asia Major*, 3rd ser., 15, no. 2 (2002): 95; Fabienne Jagou, “Tibetan Mummies and Relics in Taiwan: Tibetan Heritage or Hybrid Innovation?” paper presented at Today’s Interactions between Tibetan, Taiwanese, and Chinese Buddhism Conference, Taipei, Apr. 2, 2014.

34. About Elder Gongga, see Fabienne Jagou, “Today’s Taiwanese Hagiographies of Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Masters: A Search for Legitimacy,” in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, ed. Yaël Bentor et al. (Israel Institute for Advanced Studies, forthcoming); and Jagou, *Gongga laoren (1903–1997): Une nonne laïque à l’origine du développement du bouddhisme tibétain à Taiwan* (forthcoming).

35. For the events surrounding this retreat, as well as Wuguang’s involvement, see Huang Hui Li 黃慧琍, “The First Research of Tibetan Traditional Buddhism Development—Based on the Tibetan Tradition Buddhism Group in Tainan Area 藏傳佛教在台發展初探——以台南地區的藏傳佛教團體為研究對象” (MA thesis, National University of Tainan, 2000), 54; Lo Wei-shu 羅妮淑, “A Study of the Development of Chongqing Temple in Tainan and Its Relationship to the Development of Tibetan Buddhism in Southern Taiwan 台南重慶寺的發展歷程與南台灣藏傳佛教發展關係研究,” *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 20 (2007): 316–317. These events, as well as the contents of the following paragraph, are also recorded in Wuguang, *Cangsang huiyilu*.

36. There are conflicting accounts regarding the nature of this disagreement. In his autohagiography, Wuguang states that he became disillusioned with Elder Gongga after she appointed a new disciple to lead the community. He reports that this was done behind his back and that a number of Elder Gongga’s followers in Tainan perceived it as a slight to Wuguang, as he had contributed so much to the community and had been Elder Gongga’s assistant during lectures. Another version of the reason for Wuguang’s estrangement from Elder Gongga is told by her followers. They state that it was rooted in differences in Buddhist practice. As some Tibetan Buddhist rituals involve the ingestion of meat—which is forbidden in orthodox Chan Buddhism—Wuguang eventually banned the practice of Tibetan Buddhism at Zhuxi Temple. See Fabienne Jagou, “Tibetan Buddhism in the Tainan Area: A Case Study of Two Karma bKa’rgyud School Monasteries,” paper presented at the Third

Wuguang's short time with Gongga was brought about by a spiritual crisis. Before becoming a Buddhist monk, Wuguang had been a long-term practitioner of Daoist alchemy<sup>37</sup> and a well known exorcist.<sup>38</sup> He only became a Buddhist monk after being convinced to do so by Zhuxi Temple's abbot, Yanjing (眼淨, 1898–1971),<sup>39</sup> who had hired Wuguang for his expertise in construction to oversee the restoration of Zhuxi Temple.<sup>40</sup> Wuguang's lifelong fascination with the preternatural and practice of highly experiential forms of religiosity made him find Chan orthopraxis—consisting of silent meditation and sutra recitation—unfulfilling. This is why he sought out Elder Gongga, for he thought that Karma Kagyu might appeal to his religious proclivities. After breaking away from Gongga, Wuguang entered into a personal retreat near a mountaintop waterfall in Kaohsiung's Liugui District (高雄六龜區). There, he is said to have discovered Shingon's Tang Dynasty forerunner, Zhenyan, while studying the Chinese *Tripitaka*. In search of a way to bridge his personal, highly experiential religiosity and Buddhism, he decided to travel to Kōyasan (高野山), Japan.

In 1971, Wuguang traveled to Kōyasan, where was ordained as a Shingon *ācārya*. After returning to Taiwan the following year, Taiwanese Buddhists saw him endowed with the religious authority to revive Tang Zhenyan and give dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka* as he was now a

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International Conference on Tainan Studies, Religion in Transformation in the Tainan Area, National Museum of Taiwan Literature, Oct. 21, 2012. I find Wuguang's account more reliable, as he was not known to stringently enforce monastic regulations. Additionally, the version given by Elder Gongga's disciples conflicts with accounts that Wuguang continued practicing with Elder Gongga's disciples after they had already vacated Zhuxi Temple, as documented in his autohagiography and corroborated in Lo Wei-shu, "A Study of the Development of Chongqing Temple in Tainan," 316–317.

37. Wuguang's practices of Daoist alchemy are recorded in Wuguang, *Cangsang huiyilu*, and were corroborated by (1) an individual who knew Wuguang and was not one of his followers during my fieldwork at Dehua Hall 德化堂, Tainan, Mar. 2015 and (2) a personal communication with Shinzen Young, Oct. 24, 2014.

38. Semi-structured interview with longtime disciple of Wuguang, Aug. 2014; Shinzen Young, personal correspondence, Oct. 24, 2014.

39. As recorded in Wuguang, *Cangsang huiyilu*.

40. This period of reconstruction is detailed in Wuguang, *Cangsang huiyilu*, and memorialized in a stele that currently stands at Zhuxi Temple that I saw on Aug. 2, 2013.

recognized link within the chain of esoteric dharma-transmission. In 1974, Wuguang allocated space within a small folk religion shrine in Tainan as the base of his new Buddhist lineage, the MSBL. From this modest space Wuguang's flock steadily grew. In 1980 another, equally humble branch was established in Kaohsiung's Zuoying District (高雄市左營區). In 1983, a large plot of land in Wuguang's rural hometown in Kaohsiung's Neimen District (高雄市内門區) was purchased with the intention to construct a large central monastery. It took sixteen years for the temple to finally be completed in 1999, during which time the MSBL Hong Kong branch was opened in 1990. After completion, the new monastery was named the Temple of Universal Brightness (TOUB, 光明王寺). Wuguang passed away the following year, since which time Wuguang's disciple, Huiding (徽定; b. 1956), has served as the MSBL's spiritual leader.

#### APPROPRIATING AUTHORITY AND ESTABLISHING ROOTS

What truly made Wuguang's new MSBL an independent Buddhist lineage from its inception is the fact that it has always been self-perpetuating. In lieu of sending students to Japan to receive dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka* as is done at Shingon centers in Taiwan<sup>41</sup> and Hong Kong<sup>42</sup>—even those that are run by local devotees—Wuguang ordained his own *ācāryas* on Taiwanese soil. In Japan, to become a Shingon priest one must go into retreat that lasts roughly one hundred days and perform multiple rituals around the clock.<sup>43</sup> Since the MSBL's humble beginnings made hosting such a retreat impossible, Wuguang allowed his students to perform the rituals at home after he had instructed them in the ritual procedures and meanings thereof. The MSBL's informal

41. Two examples of Taiwanese-run Shingon centers who send their disciples to Japan to receive dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka* are Kōyasan Jūkon-in 高野山住嚴院 in Taichung and Kōyasan Juntei-in 高野山準提院 in Kaohsiung. During my fieldwork, I discovered that devotees at these locations are trained in Japanese language and etiquette as well as Shingon rituals by the Taiwanese abbots of these centers as well as Japanese Shingon emissaries. This is done to prepare them for their studies in Japan.

42. Personal communication with a representative of the Hong Kong Mantra School for Lay Buddhists, Apr. 20, 2015.

43. See Philip L. Nicoloff, *Sacred Kōyasan: A Pilgrimage to the Mountain Temple of Saint Kōbō Daishi and the Great Sun Buddha* (New York: SUNY, 2007), 193–196.

*abhiṣeka* process changed after the land for the TOUB was purchased, where the one hundred-day retreat experience has been replicated.

Had Wuguang returned to Taiwan and acted as an agent of Japanese Shingon, under Japanese oversight, and trained his disciples to receive ordination in Japan, he would simply have been an emissary, and the MSBL would merely be a Taiwanese branch of Japanese Shingon. However, this was not the case, as Wuguang defied his Japanese dharma-brethren by ordaining his own disciples, which resulted in his ties to Japan being severed.<sup>44</sup> Because of this, Japanese Shingon authorities generally do not recognize MSBL priests as their dharma-kin<sup>45</sup> since Wuguang rerouted his disciples' transmission by establishing himself as the sole fount thereof.<sup>46</sup> It is from here that the contradictory nature of the MSBL's sectarian affiliation and challenges to its orthodoxy arise. As Wuguang's religious authority and the MSBL's sectarian identity as well as its claim to orthodoxy are all based on Wuguang's status as a link within the Shingon transmission-chain, the fractured nature of that chain calls them all into question.

Wuguang and his disciples have always been acutely aware of these contradictions and challenges and have adopted multiple strategies in order to meet them. The first entailed establishing that MSBL members are in fact links within the esoteric transmission-chain that originated with Mahāvairocana. This can be seen in the following passages, taken from two MSBL websites that function as self-proclamations of sectarian identification:

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44. When Wuguang's Japanese dharma-brethren were made aware of Wuguang's actions, they sent a letter demanding that he desist. This episode was told to me by high-ranking members of the MSBL who wish to remain anonymous and have requested that I conceal the identity of the individual who reported Wuguang's activities.

45. Informant, personal correspondence, Dec. 24, 2015.

46. This is not to say that Japanese Shingon priests generally express disrespect to or refuse to interact with the devotees of the MSBL and its offshoots. In fact, there have been multiple Japanese delegations to Taiwan that have visited the TOUB and centers used by its offshoots. MSBL members and those of its offshoots have also visited Kōyasan, which I have detailed in Cody R. Bahir, "Buddhist Master Wuguang's (1918–2000) Taiwanese Web" and "Reformulating the Appropriated and Relinking the Chain." However, MSBL *ācāryas* are not recognized as "Shingon" priests, but as priests of a derivative movement.



Esoteric Buddhism originated in India. It was transmitted by Mahāvairocana to Vajrasattva, the latter who passed it on to its systematizer, Nāgārjuna. It was later introduced to China during the reign of the Tang-dynasty emperor Xuanzong by Śubhākarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi, who respectively traveled by land and sea. After that, the Japanese monk Kūkai studied it with Huiguo of Qinglong Temple before bringing it to Japan, reorganizing it, and passing it down to his disciples. This transmission has continued for over a thousand years.

In 1971, our temple's founder, Guru Wuguang, traveled to Kōyasan, Japan where he studied esoteric Buddhism and received dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka*, thus becoming a fifty-fourth generation *ācārya* of the Chūin-ryu sect under the monk Kamei Senyū. Thus, the bloodline of Zhenyan returned to China. After returning to Taiwan the following year, our Guru planned to build a great monastery so that the flag of esoteric Buddhism that had disappeared from China for over a thousand years would fly again.<sup>47</sup>

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47. Mantra School Bright Lineage Website, "Introduction of Our Sect History," <http://www.tofub.org/history.html>, accessed Oct. 23, 2012. On Nov. 30, 2015 I attempted to access the website only to discover it had been taken down. However, I was still able to access a saved copy from Dec. 7, 2013 by utilizing the Wayback Machine, Internet Archive: [https://web.archive.org/web/\\*/http://www.tofub.org/history.html](https://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.tofub.org/history.html). I have heavily edited the grammar, syntax, and spelling of the text due to the fact that English was not the author's first language. Original text:

Esoteric Buddhism orientated from India, cultivated by Nagahvaya (龍猛) which was passed on by Universal Buddha Variocana (大日如來) and he derived it into pure Esoteric Buddhism (密教) doctrines. That was introduced it to China from India during the time of Tang Xuan Emperor (唐玄宗) by Subhakara Simba (善無畏三藏) and Vajra Bodhi (金剛智菩薩) via the land and sea routes. After that, Japanese student Monk Kukai (空海) learnt it from Wei Guo Acarya (慧果阿闍黎) of Qing Long Temple (青龍寺). He brought it back to Japan, re-organized it and passed it on from generation to generation for more than a thousand years. Our temple founder, Superior Master Wu Guang went to Kongobu-ji (金剛峰寺) Head Temple of Shingon (True Words) Buddhism at Mount Koya, Japan in 1971 and learnt this Esoteric Buddhism from Monk Xuan Xiong. He finally received from the Main Court Stream (中院流) the title of 54th Bhisoka [sic] Acarya (傳法阿闍黎) and the bloodline thus returned to China. Next year after his return to Taiwan, the Superior Master energetically planned and built the Temple of Universal Brightness (五智山光明王寺) so that the flags of Esoteric Buddhism which had disappeared from China for more than a thousand years now flies again.



“Bright” (光明) is a “lineage” (流) of the “Mantra school” (真言宗) of Buddhism. It evolved from Japanese Shingon. In 1972, the founder of our lineage, Guru Wuguang, brought the [esoteric] linkage back to Taiwan that Kūkai inherited from Huiguo of Qinglong Temple during the Tang dynasty.<sup>48</sup>

Here, we see that the members of the Mantra School Bright Lineage (MSBL) self-identify as devotees of a specific Buddhist group that is distinguishable from others and that they see their “Bright Lineage” (光明流) as a particular lineage within the larger “Mantra (Zhenyan/Shingon) School” (真言宗). We are told that this self-differentiation is based upon the contents and provenance of the dharma-transmission that they received from Wuguang. The former is conveyed through the emphasis on mantra recitation, while the latter is expressed in the authors’ retracing the provenance of the MSBL’s chain of dharma-transmission. These passages also express an awareness of the peculiarity of their transmission’s provenance, articulated by stating that the MSBL “evolved from Japanese Shingon,” that Wuguang “brought the [esoteric] linkage back to Taiwan that Kūkai inherited from Huiguo,” and that this was done so that “the flag of esoteric Buddhism that had disappeared from China for over a thousand years would fly again.”

The emphases on the provenance and soteriological contents of dharma-transmission, as well as the terminology of “school” and “lineage,” are consistent with contemporary East Asian Buddhist sectarianism. This consistency demonstrates that the MSBL has attempted to establish itself as an orthodox form of Buddhism via “playing by the rules.” This consistency is also embodied in the MSBL’s lineage chart (血脈, see fig. 1),<sup>49</sup> which implies that the MSBL stems from Shingon’s

48. Mantra School Bright Lineage, <http://www.mantrabright.org/>, accessed Nov. 29, 2015. I have heavily edited the grammar and spelling of the text due to the fact that English was not the author’s first language. Original text:

“Bright 光明流” is a lineage of “Mantra 真言宗” school Buddhism. It evolves from Japan’s “Shingon Buddhism,” The Founder “Master Wu Guang 悟光上師” brought the linkage back to Taiwan in 1972, after inheritance from Xian’s “Wei Guo Acharya 惠果阿闍黎” of Qing Long Temple 青龍寺 by “Master Kobo Diachi 弘法大師” during the Tang Dynasty 唐朝.

49. Unless otherwise noted, all images were created by the author.

佛教真言宗五智山光明王寺傳承血脈圖



FIGURE 1. MSBL lineage chart. Image supplied by MSBL devotee and reproduced with full permission.

Ono Lineage (小野流).<sup>50</sup> Lineage charts have been used by Buddhists since at least the Tang dynasty. They were retroactively constructed by appropriating important historical and ahistorical figures from the past and placing them at the beginning of the chart. Buddhists did this in order to link their contemporary leadership to these figures through transmission.<sup>51</sup> As the MSBL stems from Japanese Shingon, the first two patriarchs listed are Mahāvairocana and Vajrasattva.

The MSBL's lineage chart, as well as the references to transmission provenance, contents, and the terms "school" and "lineage," all demonstrate that the MSBL's sectarian consciousness is consistent with orthodox Buddhist sectarian parameters. As the MSBL is a new lineage, created and designed by Wuguang, this consistency is undoubtedly intentional. This intentionality demonstrates that Wuguang was aware of the dilemma posed by burning his bridge to Japan in order to construct another—one linked to Tang dynasty China—upon its ashes.

Having established the MSBL's sectarian boundaries in a traditional fashion, Wuguang assumed three distinct titles that I have never seen proof of him ever being awarded. Two are Japanese and one, although rooted in Tang dynasty esoteric Buddhism, is primarily used by Tibetan Buddhists. The two Japanese ranks that he took on are greater

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50. As seen when comparing the MSBL's lineage chart with those found in Zuishin'in Religious Research Institute 随心院聖教調査研究会, *Zuishin'in shōgyō tojiin nettowāku* 随心院聖教と寺院ネットワーク (Network of Zuishin'in Religious Temples) (Tokyo: Zuishin'in Shōgyō Chōsa Kenkyūkai, 2004), section 1, 30–31. Within Shingon, there are multiple levels to school and lineage subdivisions that oftentimes overlap. Perhaps the most well-known division is that between the Old Shingon School (古義真言宗) and the New Shingon School (新義真言宗), each of which boasts its own, further subdivided lineages. Of these two, the Old Shingon encompasses two of the oldest and iconic sub-lineages, Hirosawa 廣澤 and Ono 小野, which are respectively believed to have been founded by Yakushin (益信, 827–906) and Shōbō (聖寶, 822–909). Existing alongside the Hirosawa/Ono divide are later lineages such as Chūin 中院 and Tōji 東寺, the former of which overlaps the Hirosawa/Ono distinction. See Donald Drummond, "Looking Back and Leaping Forward: Constructing Lineage in the Shingi-Shingon Tradition of Japan," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras of East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech et al., *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 24 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 815–826.

51. See John R. McRae, *Seeing through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2003), 3–4.

arch bishop (大僧正),<sup>52</sup> which is the highest rank within the Japanese ecclesiastical hierarchy, and high priest (大阿闍梨, Skt. *mahā-ācārya*).<sup>53</sup> Of these, the second is the most important and is fully written as “Grand Master of Lamp Transmission” (傳燈大阿闍梨), which requires the priest to receive a level of *abhiṣeka* higher than Wuguang is known to have received, “study-cultivation *abhiṣeka*” (學修灌頂).<sup>54</sup> Wuguang either gave himself the shortened version of this title, or was portrayed by his students as having it, in order to show that he was the patriarch of a new Buddhist lineage. The greater archbishop title is less important and is largely symbolic. Although his disciples often refer to Wuguang by these titles in writing, the more preferred term is *guru* (上師). This was used in Tang China, but since then has primarily been used by Tibetan Buddhist masters as a Chinese translation of the term *lama* (which itself is a Tibetan rendering of “guru”). This is a shortened version of the term “Lofty Esoteric Guru” (金剛上師), which denotes an influential teacher of esoteric Buddhism. However, during the Tantric Revival it was used by Chinese devotees who had received Japanese Shingon ordination. Wuguang undoubtedly first encountered this term during his studies with Elder Gongga as it was the title she used. Since Wuguang’s personal adoption of this term, it has become a general title for esoteric Buddhist teachers—regardless of denomination—in the Chinese-speaking world.<sup>55</sup>

The appeals to widespread sectarian markers, the use of lineage charts, and appropriating authoritative titles discussed in this section root the MSBL within the Shingon orthodoxy from which it evolved. The tactics that Wuguang utilized, discussed in the following section,

52. As signed in *Mijiao sixiang yu shenghuo* 密教思想與生活 (Esoteric Buddhism and Life) (Kaohsiung: Guangmingwangsi, 1981), 3.

53. See Wuguang, *Xinbian zhengfa yanzang* 新編正法眼藏 (New Perspective on the Treasury of the True Dharma Eye) (Hong Kong: Forms Publications (JK), 2014), 7. In the foreword written by Wuguang’s students it says that he received *mahā-ācārya abhiṣeka* (大阿闍梨灌頂). This could be a misunderstanding of the Shingon *ācārya* hierarchy, an intentional deception, or simply an appropriation.

54. See Mikkyō Jiten Hensankai 編纂者密教辭典編纂會, *Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辭典 (Great Dictionary of Esoteric Buddhism), 6 vols. (Taipei: Xin wen feng chuban gongsi, 1979), 1:218.

55. See Cody Bahir, “Buddhist Master Wuguang’s Taiwanese Web,” 89–90.

were employed in order to uproot Shingon's claim to esoteric orthodoxy from Japan and replant it in Taiwan.

#### REPLANTING THE BODHI TREE

While the MSBL's lineage chart is based on documentation that Wuguang received in Japan, this is not the case for the other legitimizing agents that he utilized. Similarly, unlike the lineage chart, these agents were meant to present the MSBL's as an independent Buddhist lineage distinct from Japanese Shingon, rather than related to it. Nevertheless, they are in fact traditional sectarian motifs common to Japanese Buddhism. These motifs are "crests," (紋), "lineage poems" (派詩), and "head temples" (本山). The statements Wuguang articulated through these motifs were also praxiologically translated by Sinicizing aspects of the MSBL's orthopraxis.

#### *Religious Crest*

Wuguang differentiated the MSBL from other Buddhist sects by creating a unique "school emblem" (宗徽). This image permeates the MSBL's material culture, including T-shirts, bumper stickers, window stickers, mailings, websites, keychains, and publications (see fig. 2). This emblem is a combination of disparate elements drawn from South and East Asian as well as Western traditions. It incorporates the Japanese *mitsudomoe* 三つ巴, the Indian *vajra*, and the caduceus—a symbol commonplace in Western occultism and used by the medical profession.<sup>56</sup> Underlying these three prominent elements are subtle references to specific Shingon concepts that furnish this symbol with a multilayered signification. Wuguang claimed that this symbol encapsulates the Twin *Maṇḍalas* central to Shingon, the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* and *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*.<sup>57</sup>

56. For more information on the caduceus, see Walter J. Friedlander, *The Golden Wand of Medicine: A History of the Caduceus Symbol in Medicine* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992).

57. See Wuguang, "Zonghui de xianghui yiyi 宗徽的像徽意義 [Meaning of the School's Emblem]," in *Fojiao zhenyanzong wuzhishan guangmingwangsi 佛教真言宗五智山光明王寺* (Buddhist Zhenyan Temple of Universal Brightness at Mt. Five Wisdoms), NA (Kaohsiung: Yimin chubanshe, 2002), 5.



FIGURE 2. The MSBL's emblem.

As I have argued elsewhere, Wuguang's creating this emblem was inspired by the Japanese use of crests to signify different Buddhist lineages.<sup>58</sup> The fact that the *mitsudomoe* is used as such a crest by schools of Shingon strengthens this argument. That Wuguang chose to create an emblem, rather than using preexisting Japanese ones, demonstrates the multi-purposed nature of his utilization of traditional sectarian motifs. This crest presents the MSBL as a traditional Buddhist lineage—due to its muse being Japanese crests—while simultaneously declaring the MSBL's independence, since the crest is new and unique.

#### *Lineage Poems*

Lineage poems, like lineage charts, are used to corroborate the provenance of Buddhist dharma-transmissions. Buddhist and Daoist sects in East Asia employ lineage poems as a way to designate members' sectarian affiliation and generation within their sect. Each Chinese character within these poems corresponds to a generation within a particular lineage. New lineage members are given a dharma-name (法號) composed of two characters: one chosen by the officiating master or convert, and one drawn from the lineage poem corresponding to the

58. Bahir, "Buddhist Master Wuguang's Taiwanese Web," 88.

individual's generation within that lineage referred to as a generation-character (輩字). The generation-character within the dharma-name of the lineage's founder will be the poem's first character, while those of his students will be the poem's second character, and so on. If the devotee eventually becomes a monk, he is awarded yet another two-character dharma-name referred to as a monk's style (字), which also has a poetically generated generation-character, but one drawn from a different poem than the one used to create the dharma-name. When the dharma-name and style are put side by side, they form the monk's full, four-character Buddhist name.<sup>59</sup> Wuguang wrote a new lineage poem for the MSBL's members' dharma-names to be chosen from (see fig. 3).

English	Pinyin	Chinese
Thoroughly awakened and perceiving the mysterious, the mind's powers are true and constant.	Wu che xuan jue, Xin di zhenchang.	悟徹玄覺, 心諦真常.
Luminosity shines universally, the transcendent attestation of Mahāvairocana's Pure Land (Skt. <i>Ghana-vyūha</i> ).	Guangming puzhao, Chao zheng miyan.	光明普照, 超證密嚴.
Completely revealing the nature and characteristics of things, [like] Huiguo and Kūkai.	Quan xian xingxiang, Huiguo Hongfa.	全顯性相, 惠果弘法.
Wondrous virtue expansively transforms, forever bringing esteem to the original school.	Miaode guanghua, Yongxiang benzong.	妙德廣化, 永尚本宗.

FIGURE 3. MSBL Lineage Poem.

As is the case with the MSBL's emblem, Wuguang's lineage poem was composed in order to root the MSBL within Buddhist orthodoxy while simultaneously presenting it as a new and independent form of

59. For more information on lineage poems in general see Stephen Jones, *In Search of the Folk Daoists of North China* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 11 and 69.



Buddhism. If the poem's sole utility was to root the MSBL in the past, Wuguang would have simply used one of the preexisting lineage poems that his Buddhist names had been taken from. In order to highlight the fact that this poem is indeed new and was composed by Wuguang, I have highlighted the initial character of each stanza to reveal a code embedded therein. When these characters are put together they form Wuguang's full monastic name that includes both his dharma-name and monk's style—both of which are drawn from earlier lineage poems—Wuguang Quanmiao 悟光全妙.<sup>60</sup>

There is another message embedded in this poem, particularly in its third stanza, where Wuguang references the Shingon patriarchs Huiguo and Kūkai—the latter by his posthumous title Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師. This reference and the encoded message demonstrate that Wuguang was trying to root his new lineage in the past and present it as an orthodox lineage of esoteric Buddhism. However, the past evoked here does not reference Japan, but China, particularly Kūkai's studies with Huiguo in Chang'an. Thus, rather than recalling the Japanese provenance of the MSBL's dharma-transmission, Wuguang bypassed it and emphasized the Chinese provenance of Japanese Shingon. This is an obvious demonstration of Wuguang's desire to uproot Shingon's claim to orthodoxy from Japan and replant it in the Sinosphere. The message is clear: it is not the MSBL who is reliant upon Japan for its dharma-transmission, it is Japanese Shingon that is reliant upon China, due to Kūkai's relationship with Huiguo. The message quietly whispered in this poem is vociferated in the architecture and topography of the MSBL's main monastery.

#### *Head Temple*

Head Temples (本山) are temples that function as seats of Buddhist sectarian affiliation. The MSBL's head temple, the Temple of Universal Brightness (TOUB), houses around fifteen resident monastics and is visited by thousands of lay members annually during major events

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60. The entire lineage poem from which the generational character of Wuguang's style—*wu* 悟—was taken from is recorded in CBETA X86 1603. The poem that was the source for the generational character in Wuguang's dharma-name—*miao* 妙—can be found in Shi Hui-yen 釋慧嚴, "The Interaction of Fukien's and Taiwanese Buddhism in Late Ming and Early Ch'ing Dynasty 明末清初閩台佛教的互動," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 9 (1996): 230.

and religious festivals. It is nestled inside a small mountain cove. This cove is surrounded by four mountains at whose center is a humanly enhanced hill upon which the TOUB sits. This topography gives this place its name, Mt. Five Wisdoms (五智山).



FIGURE 4. Images of the Shingon patriarchs adorning a corridor on the TOUB's first floor.

Wuguang, who was a construction worker before becoming a monk, designed the TOUB himself.<sup>61</sup> Within its walls there are references to the MSBL's transmission chain, visually depicted by images of the Shingon patriarchs (see fig. 4). The most prominent feature of the TOUB is the adamantine throne (Skt. *vajra-sana*) *stūpa* (金剛座塔) by which it is crowned (see fig. 5). Adamantine throne *stūpas*—also referred to as five buddha *stūpas* (五佛塔)—are distinguished by constituting a central *stūpa* that is surrounded by four smaller ones.<sup>62</sup> The most well known quincunx adamantine throne *stūpa* is the Mahābodhi Temple in Bodhgayā, India located next to the Bodhi Tree. Adamantine

61. Chezhen 徹貞, “Miren xianyu—Taiwan wuzhishan guangmingwang si dadian kaiguang dadian 密人顯語—台灣五智山光明王寺大殿開光大典 [Exoteric Words of an Esoteric Buddhist—Dedication Ceremony of the Great Hall at Taiwan's Temple of Universal Brightness at Mt. Five Wisdoms],” ed. Chewei 徹威, *Fengshui Magazine* 30 (1999), <http://www.fengshui-magazine.com.hk/No.30-Dec/A6.htm>, accessed Feb. 1, 2016.

62. See Clarence Eng, *Colours and Contrast: Ceramic Traditions in Chinese Architecture* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 93–94.

throne *stūpas* are architectural representations of the *bodhimaṇḍa*, the ground from which the Bodhi Tree grew and upon which Śākyamuni sat when he attained enlightenment—an inference reflected in the fact that the term “adamantine throne” (金剛座) is another word for *bodhimaṇḍa*.<sup>63</sup>



FIGURE 5. The Temple of Universal Brightness.

The name of the adamant throne *stūpa* atop the TOUB—as well as its function—represent the key to unlocking the symbolism that Wuguang embedded therein. Wuguang named this five-towered *stūpa* the Iron *Stūpa* of South India,<sup>64</sup> which is an overt reference to Shingon’s origin myth that functions as a template for dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka*. It is therefore no coincidence that the central tower of this Taiwanese iron *stūpa*—which the MSBL calls the *Stūpa* of Ten Thousand Buddhas (萬佛寶塔)—is where MSBL performs dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka*. Thus, the original iron *stūpa* in South India is where the esoteric chain of transmission began, and the Taiwanese iron *stūpa* is where new links are added to this chain. This reveals that when Wuguang designed the TOUB he desired to replicate—in form,

63. The significance of the adamant throne/*bodhimaṇḍa* is not limited to the spatiotemporal location upon which Śākyamuni sat. It also functions as an omnidirectional soteriological *axis mundi*. See Snodgrass, *Symbolism of the Stupa*, 157–160.

64. *Fojiao zhenyanzong wuzhishan guangmingwangsi* 佛教真言宗五智山光明王寺 [Buddhist Zhenyan Temple of Universal Brightness at Mt. Five Wisdoms] (Kaohsiung: Yimin chubanshe, 2002), 17.

function, and name—the original *stūpa* within whose walls the esoteric dharma was brought into the human realm.

The TOUB's iron *stūpa* is not just a simple reference to Shingon mythology as it is also a polemically motivated sectarian proclamation. I base this argument on a number of the *stūpa*'s architectural peculiarities and specific topographic features in the surrounding area. First, the fact that this iron *stūpa* is not only a reference to the Shingon origin myth but also to the birth of Buddhism—as depicted in Śākyamuni's enlightenment upon the *bodhimaṇḍa* and referenced in the adamant form of the TOUB—shows that Wuguang wished to present the MSBL as an all-inclusive Buddhist movement whose doctrines and practices are firmly rooted in the past. Moreover, these roots penetrate—directly, without a Japanese intermediary—the very soil from which Buddhism sprang and the stone walls within which the esoteric dharma came into this realm. A single reference to one of these origin myths could be interpreted as a simple reference devoid of polemical connotations. Two references to two entirely independent origination myths indicate that this was a calculated move. The multilayered quality of this calculation implies that Wuguang felt that he had something to prove that may otherwise be called into question. The exact assertion that Wuguang was making is that the MSBL's claim to esoteric orthodoxy is not only as strong, but in fact stronger, than Japanese forms of esoteric Buddhism.

My interpretation of the TOUB's symbolism as a polemic proclamation is further attested to by the iron *stūpa*'s architecture. The central tower—where dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka* takes place—is a many-jeweled *stūpa* (多寶塔, Skt. *prabhūtaratna-stūpa*) as it has a square base and circular second floor (see figs. 6–7). This design differs from the more common East Asian design whose different levels are all square. This sort of structure began appearing in Japan during the Heian period (平安時代, 794–1185), has always been associated with esoteric Buddhism,<sup>65</sup> and represents Mahāvairocana's body.<sup>66</sup> As the

65. Hugo Munsterberg, *The Arts of Japan: An Illustrated History* (Rutland, VT and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1988; orig. pub. 1957), 144.

66. See Patricia J. Graham, *Faith and Power in Japanese Buddhist Art, 1600–2005* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 29; Hillary E. Pedersen, “The Five Great Space Repository Bodhisattvas: Lineage, Protection and Celestial Authority in Ninth-Century Japan” (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2010), 148.

many-jeweled *stūpa* design is a Japanese phenomenon,<sup>67</sup> the presence of one in Taiwan is truly remarkable.<sup>68</sup> This would seem to indicate that the many-jeweled design of the central *stūpa* atop the TOUB is intended to evoke the Japanese provenance of the MSBL's dharma-transmission. This is true; however, it is only evoked in order to be immediately banished thereafter.



**FIGURE 6.** Aerial view of the TOUB. Image from video taken by Chun Hrong Lin 林俊宏 and reproduced with full permission.



**FIGURE 7.** Aerial view of the Iron *Stūpa* atop the TOUB. Image from video taken by Chun Hrong Lin and reproduced with full permission.

Notwithstanding that many-jeweled *stūpas* were confined to Japan for over a thousand years, this Taiwanese *stūpa* was designed to replicate the Tang dynasty models that Wuguang believed the Japanese Buddhists of the Heian period had mimicked.<sup>69</sup> Wuguang was not referencing the Japanese provenance of his esoteric dharma-transmission by constructing a Japanese-styled *stūpa* on Taiwanese soil. Instead, he

67. Although there are textual references to many-jeweled *stūpas* that predate this design's Japanese debut, there are no existent examples. See Paul Groner, "Kōen and the 'Consecrated Ordination' within Japanese Tendai," in *Buddhist Monasticism in East Asia: Places of Practice*, ed. James A. Benn et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 197.

68. The only other one I am aware of in Taiwan was constructed by Weili as stated in note 4.

69. Huiding, personal conversation with author, Aug. 2013.



was declaring that—despite popular opinion—many-jeweled *stūpas* are not Japanese at all, as their Chinese existence predated their Japanese construction. Hence, rather than evoking the MSBL’s Japanese ancestry, Wuguang’s many-jeweled *stūpa* is meant to recall the Chinese origins of Japanese Shingon.

This innuendo has ramifications that reverberate throughout Wuguang’s resurrecting Tang-dynasty Zhenyan by giving birth to the MSBL. The history evoked by the many-jeweled *stūpa* functions as an architectural metaphor for Shingon. Despite the fact that Wuguang studied in Japan, he is declaring that he was not the original appropriator thereof—Kūkai was. Consequently, the MSBL is not a derivative of Japanese Shingon, but a revival of Tang Zhenyan of which Japanese Shingon is itself a derivative.

The TOUB is not Mt. Five Wisdom’s only integrant to make this statement. To the west of the monastery are two lakes, one much larger than the other. The larger lake, Qinglong Pond (青龍池), is overlooked by a house built as a memorial to Wuguang, from which extends a traditional Chinese dragon head fount that feeds into and is fed by the pond (see figs. 8–9). The smaller pond is known as Yongquan Pond (湧泉池). Qinglong Pond and Yongquan Pond are named for two Buddhist temples related to Shingon’s Chinese past. The first one, Qinglong Temple (青龍寺) in the old Tang capital of Chang’an, is where the Shingon patriarch Amoghavajra (705–774) is said to have taught the esoteric dharma to Huiguo, and where he in turn transmitted it to Kūkai. Yongquan Pond bears the name of Yongquan Temple (湧泉寺) in Gushan 鼓山, on the outskirts of Fuzhou 福州, the capital of China’s Fujian Province. When Kūkai set out for Chang’an in 804, his ship was blown off course and landed near Fuzhou where the local authorities initially halted the delegation’s expedition for one month.<sup>70</sup> As inscribed upon a stele at Yongquan Temple,<sup>71</sup> there is a tradition—retold

70. Abé, *Weaving of Mantra*, 114–115.

71. Hayashi Hiroshige 林廣茂, “Kūkai to Nagayasu: Kūkai no ashiato o junkō suru 空海と長安: 空海の足跡を巡行する [Kūkai and Chang’an: In the Footsteps of Kūkai’s Voyage]” (unpublished paper, 2008), 2, <http://www.hayashihiroshige.jp/travel.html>, accessed Feb. 3, 2015.

by Wuguang's followers<sup>72</sup>—that Kūkai studied at Yongquan Temple during this time.<sup>73</sup> As Qinglong Pond is obviously a reference to Kūkai's time in China, in light of this tradition it is logical to conclude that Yongquan Pond is as well. Thus, although these lakes are references to Kūkai, they evoke his reliance upon China for transmission of the esoteric dharma.



FIGURE 8. Commemorative house overlooking Qinglong Pond.

Further evidence for my sectarian interpretation can be found in the surrounding topography of the entire religious complex. In addition to being a multi-layered *stūpa*, the TOUB is the central point within a massive topographic *maṇḍala*. As noted, the TOUB rests upon the top of a hill that is surrounded by four others, which altogether give this complex its name, Mt. Five Wisdoms. The Five Wisdoms (五智, Skt.

72. Edward Li 李居明, *Mizongde miyi yu xingfa* 密宗的秘儀與行法 (The Secret Meaning of Esoteric Buddhism and Cultivation), <http://lifedevotee.likuiming.com/PrearticleDetail.aspx?id=41>, accessed Jun. 16, 2015. Mr. Li was a disciple of Wuguang as stated in note 4.

73. See Wu Qingyuan 吳清源, *Zhongde jingshen: weiqi zhi shen wuqingyuan zizhuan* 中的精神: 圍棋之神吳清源自傳 (Moral Spirit: Wu Qingyuan, the God of Go's Autobiography) (Beijing: Zhongxin chubanshe, 2010), 44.





FIGURE 9. Dragon head fount feeding Qinglong Pond.

*pañca-jñāna*) represent an esoteric Buddhist doctrine built upon earlier Yogācāra ideas regarding cognitive modalities.<sup>74</sup> The Five Wisdoms are iconographically enshrined within both the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* and *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* in the form of the Five Wisdom Buddhas (五智如來, Skt. *pañca-buddha*),<sup>75</sup> which is one of the reasons why the number five is a salient theme in Shingon sacred space.<sup>76</sup> Thus, the entire mountain cove is a physical representation of the Twin *Maṇḍalas* central to Shingon. However, this massive *maṇḍala* is a further articulation of Wuguang's sectarian polemic. Kongōbu-ji 金剛峰寺, the core temple at Kōyasan, was designed by Kūkai to be a physical *maṇḍala* that encompasses the Twin *Maṇḍalas*.<sup>77</sup> As this was also the guiding tem-

74. Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Donald S. Lopez Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 245.

75. In Shingon iconography, there are two different sets of Five Wisdom Buddhas, one found in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* and the other in the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*. See Louis Frédéric, *Japan Encyclopedia*, trans. Käthe Roth (Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 251.

76. See Nicoloff, *Sacred Kōyasan*, 21 and 124–167.

77. See David. L. Gardiner, “Maṇḍala, Maṇḍala on the Wall: Variations of Usage in the Shingon School,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 19, no. 2 (1996): 245–279.

plate for the design of Mt. Five Wisdoms—in light of all of the above—it is clear that Wuguang intended for Mt. Five Wisdoms to serve as a Chinese equivalent of Kongōbu-ji.

#### *Sinicization*

The sectarian statements Wuguang articulated were praxiologically translated by Sinicizing aspects of the MSBL's Japanese-derived orthopraxis. This was accomplished by substituting Chinese equivalents for Japanese liturgical particularities and ritual paraphernalia (法器). During the ordination retreat in Japan, the Buddhist liturgical formulae are mixed with various petitions to Shintō *kami*. General Shingon rituals are performed while wearing Japanese styled black robes over white kimonos, and Chinese sutras are recited in Japanese pronunciation. At the TOUB, the petitions to *kami* have been replaced by supplications to localized Daoist deities,<sup>78</sup> and lay devotees wear a robe referred to as a *haiqing* (海青), which is commonly worn by lay Buddhists—and even Daoists—throughout Taiwan. Underneath the black ocean robe devotees simply wear their regular clothes. Scriptures, such as the *Adhyarthaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* central to Shingon, are recited in Minnan 閩南 pronunciation commonly referred to as “Taiwanese” (台語).<sup>79</sup> Thus, although members of the MSBL are performing rituals that Wuguang learned in Japan, they direct their supplications to Chinese gods and do so in Chinese Buddhist clothing using their own local pronunciation.

78. Semi-structured interview with one of Wuguang's early disciples, Dec. 2014.

79. Although there has been a small Chinese presence in Taiwan for over half a millennium, substantial settlement did not begin until the period of Dutch colonization around 1624. From then until the twentieth century, Han Chinese immigration to Taiwan primarily consisted of two different Han identities from China's southern provinces. The larger of the two groups consisted of the Southern Minnan speaking peoples from the prefectures of Zhangzhou 漳州 and Quanzhou 泉州 in Fujian Province, with a smaller presence of Hakka 客家語 speakers who mostly came from Guangdong Province. See Ann Heylan, “The Legacy of Literacy Practices in Colonial Taiwan. Japanese–Taiwanese–Chinese: Language Interaction and Identity Formation,” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 26, no. 6 (2005): 498; Ronald G. Knapp, “The Shaping of Taiwan's Landscapes” in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: ME Sharpe, 1999), 9.

Another small difference is the hand-held incense censers (手爐) used by the MSBL. In Japan, the censer used during Shingon rituals holds powdered incense.<sup>80</sup> At the TOUB, the incense censer holds stick incense (see fig. 10). This detail may seem miniscule, but it is yet another example of the ways in which the MSBL has Sinicized their dharma-transmission. Stick-holding censers are commonplace in Taiwan, particularly in Daoist temples. They range in size, shape and color. Some are very simple and unadorned and thus outwardly resemble those used in Japan. Others are more elaborate and are fashioned in the image of a dragon. Those used by the MSBL are the less conspicuous kind. This is thus another demonstration of how the MSBL has Sinicized their Japanese-derived orthopraxis.



FIGURE 10. Taiwanese Zhenyan hand-held censer.

#### SPROUTING BRANCHES

As noted, the MSBL is not the only Buddhist lineage that owes its existence to Wuguang. Thus, it should not be surprising that the tactics that Wuguang employed to establish the MSBL as a new, independent and yet orthodox form of Buddhism were mimicked by those that he influenced. One of these movements, the Modern Chan Society (MCS), was a lay Taiwanese Buddhist order created in the 1980s that has been described by Ji Zhe as “one of the most remarkable phenomena in the modern history of Chinese Buddhism.”<sup>81</sup> The most radical aspect of the MCS was its rejection of the traditional Chinese Buddhist communal model that separated adherents into lay and monastic followers. Thus,

80. Miyata Taisen, *Handbook on the Four Stages of Prayoga Chūin Branch of Shingon Tradition*, 4 vols. (Kōyasan: Department of Koyasan Shingon Foreign Mission, 1988), 1:18.

81. Ji Zhe, “The Establishment of a Lay Clergy by the Modern Chan Society: The Practice of Modern Chinese Buddhism,” *China Perspectives* 59 (2005): 56.

the MCS was a fully Buddhist, yet simultaneously wholly anticlerical, movement.<sup>82</sup>

The founder of MCS, Li Yuansong 李元松 (1957–2003), was a devotee of a new Chinese religious movement popular in Taiwan, Yiguandao 一貫道, when he converted to Buddhism.<sup>83</sup> The monk who oversaw his conversion was none other than Wuguang. In addition to multiple esoteric aspects outside the scope of this work, there is one facet of Wuguang’s influence readily apparent in the MCS. Just like Wuguang, Li legitimized his new lineage by writing his own lineage poem (see fig. 11). The generational-character chosen from this poem forms the first character in the dharma-names of Li’s followers. As the first member of this lineage, the generational-character in Li’s name is the first character of this poem zu 祖, meaning “patriarch.” The second, personal character that he chose for his new, self-given dharma-name was *guang* 光. According to Li’s dharma-heirs, this was to commemorate Wuguang,<sup>84</sup> who Li reports posthumously visited him in a vision.<sup>85</sup>

Another former disciple of Wuguang, Guru Chesheng (徹聖上師, secular name Chen Shenghua 陳聖華, b. 1938), went on to establish his own Buddhist lineage, the Zhenyan Samantabhadra Lineage (真言宗普賢流). Chesheng’s Samantabhadra Lineage is an independent esoteric

82. Although there is no mention of the MCS, an overview of the ever-increasing growth of lay Buddhist leadership is discussed in Eyal Aviv, “Ambitions and Negotiations: The Growing Role of Laity in 20th Century Chinese Buddhism,” *Journal of the Oxford Centre of Buddhist Studies* 1 (2011): 31–54.

83. For a full length work on Yiguandao, a new religious movement popular in Taiwan that was imported from China, see Lu Yunfeng, *The Transformation of Yiguan Dao in Taiwan: Adapting to a Changing Religious Economy* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Book, 2008).

84. Jin Ke’an 金柯按, “Xinforen liyuansong laoshi nianpu chuguo 信佛人李元松老師年譜初稿 [Early Chronicle of the Buddhist Teacher, Li Yuansong],” <http://www.modernpureland.org/webc/html/buddhist/show.php?num=27&page=1&kind=4>, accessed Dec. 25, 2015.

85. Hua Minhui 華敏慧, “Wei chang duojie yuan, haodang fu qiancheng 為償多劫願·浩蕩赴前程 [To Fulfill the Wishes through Countless Eons, Irresolutely Proceeding into the Future],” in Jingtuzong xiangshan mituo gongxiu huibian 淨土宗象山彌陀共修會編, *Li yuansong laoshi jinian wenji* 李元松老師紀念文集 (Collected Memorials for the Teacher Li Yuansong) (Taipei: Jingtuzong wenjiaoji jinhui chuban; Jingtuzong xiangshan mituo gongxiu hui faxing, 2004), 201, <http://www.modernpureland.org/webc/html/buddhist/show.php?num=101&page=2&kind=33>, accessed Mar. 24, 2016.

English	Pinyin	Chinese
The Patriarchs of Chan enlighten the mind,	Zuchan ming xin	祖禪明心
To see thoroughly into dharma-nature.	Chejian faxing	徹見法性
The Great Compassionate vow is like an ocean,	Beiyuan ruhai	悲願如海
Whose range encompasses all sentient beings.	Guangdu youqing	廣度有情

FIGURE 11. MCS lineage poem.

Buddhist lineage whose headquarters is located in Taichung 台中, in central Taiwan. Chesheng was ordained by Wuguang as an MSBL *ācārya* in 1983.<sup>86</sup> He began to attract disciples in the 1990s and officially founded the Samantabhadra Lineage after Wuguang's death. Like the MSBL, Samantabhadra Lineage devotees are given dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka* in Taiwan at the end of a lengthy retreat and therefore never need to travel to Japan to become priests. Similarly, Samantabhadra Lineage devotees recite scripture central to Shingon in Chinese pronunciations (Mandarin, Minnan, and, in Hong Kong, Cantonese) while wearing Chinese Buddhist garb and holding Chinese-style incense censers.

While these similarities between the MSBL and the Samantabhadra Lineage can be attributed to Chesheng simply instructing his students as Wuguang had instructed him, the way that he asserted his lineage's independence from the MSBL eerily mirrors the way

FIGURE 12. The Great King of Tantra *Maṇḍala*. Image considered by Chesheng to be a “received work” and therefore not subject to copyright.

86. As documented on the ordination certificates on display at the Samantabhadra Lineage's headquarters in Taichung 台中.



that Wuguang proclaimed the MSBL's independence. Like Wuguang, Chesheng created a new emblem to designate his lineage and claimed that this emblem encapsulates the contents of the Twin *Maṇḍalas*<sup>87</sup> (see fig. 12), which he styled the Great King of Tantra *Maṇḍala* (大教王曼荼羅). He also composed his own lineage poem after breaking away from the MSBL. This poem's first character, *che* 徹, is the generational-character of its author's dharma-name, Chesheng 徹聖 (see fig. 13). It is also the second character in Wuguang's lineage poem that we saw above. This attests to the fact that the Samantabhadra Lineage is an offshoot of the MSBL and that Chesheng is one of Wuguang's dharma-heirs.

English	Pinyin	Chinese
Deeply [penetrate] the mysteries of the mind school, Mahāvairocana enlightens the spirit.	Che mi xin zong, dari ling guang.	徹密心宗, 大日靈光.
The essential truth turns the world, wisdom and joy fulfill [our] aspirations.	Zhendi lunyuan, hui xi manyuan.	真諦輪圓, 慧喜滿願.
<i>Bodhi</i> purifies nature, dharma constantly illuminates you.	Puti jingxing, fa'er changing.	菩提淨性, 法爾常明.
The wonderful virtue omnidirectionally shines, together with the attestation of Samantabhadra.	Miaode bianzhao, tongzheng puxian.	妙德遍照, 同證普賢.

FIGURE 13. The Samantabhadra Lineage's lineage poem.

#### CONCLUSION

I have sought to illuminate how, in a very practical and technical fashion, Wuguang and his followers have breathed new life into a dead Buddhist lineage by giving birth to another. Based upon terminological, symbolical, architectural, and praxiological minutiae, I argued that this was executed by employing pre-existing techniques that are widely used to legitimate Buddhist sectarian identity and authority. Moreover, I attempted to demonstrate that this was motivated by the

87. Chesheng, *Dajiaowang mantuluo* 大教王曼荼羅 (Great King of Tantra *Maṇḍala*) (Taichung: Zhenyan Samantabhadra Buddhist Learning Center, 2001), 34-35.

aspiration to root the MSBL within East Asian esoteric Buddhist orthodoxy while simultaneously commandeering Shingon claims thereto.

Living Zhenyan revivalism remains an overlooked phenomenon despite its sustained and widespread growth. As this paper focuses on but one aspect of a single Zhenyan revival lineage, there remains much room for further investigation. Although I have identified a number of the MSBL's offshoots,<sup>88</sup> there very well may be others, as well as additional Zhenyan sects that are not related to the MSBL. Unlike the Tantric Revival's Japanese-ordained *ācāryas* whose "organizations remained attached to their parent institutions in Japan and dependent upon them for authority,"<sup>89</sup> and figures who could not trace the provenance of their dharma by way of Japan, Zhenyan revivalists walk the fine line between tradition and innovation by remaining within the confines of Buddhist orthodoxy whilst resurrecting old lineages and founding new ones. I propose that this particular tension is the defining characteristic of Zhenyan revivalism and suggest that it be used to guide future inquiry into this area.

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88. Refer to note 4.

89. Hammerstrom, "The Heart-of-Mind Method," 12.





## **The Rule of Marginality: Hypothesizing the Transmission of the Mengshan Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts in Late Imperial China**

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### INTRODUCTION

Sooner or later historians of religion will come to the “nasty” issue of transmission, regardless of which tradition they set foot in. This is because a myth, legend, or theory about how the current tradition has been received plays a central role in establishing the integrity and continuity of that tradition. Exactly because of the centrality of transmission in a given religious tradition, deliberate fabrications and distortions are teeming in various polemics sanctioned by latent or brazen ideological agendas behind them. In Chinese Buddhism, transmission is such a contentious issue that historians cannot ignore it. Almost all Buddhist traditions in China, often addressing themselves as “*zong* 宗” (lineage or school), were united around heavily guarded theories of their transmissions: how the founders of their traditions transmitted the true teaching through an unbroken line of succession of patriarchs. Chan Buddhism, in particular, was enmeshed in numerous polemics about competing theories of dharma transmissions. Even the transmission of a single token, such as the robe of the Sixth Patriarch

Huineng 慧能 (638–713), became the focus of tension and controversy.<sup>1</sup> In this paper, attempting to theorize the mode of transmission in Chinese Buddhism, I focus on the historical process of the transmission of an esoteric ritual in China and conclude that one rule is universally applicable in all phenomena concerning transmission, that is, the rule of marginality. This rule stipulates that when a religious tradition is to be systematically reinvented, the provenance of the transmission, which provides the crucial link with antiquity, is always marginal, obscure, and ambiguous.

In order to elaborate this rule further, I will investigate the process of the transmission of an esoteric ritual in late imperial China and show how this ritual could rise from a peripheral place and be regarded as a genuine link between esoteric Buddhism in the seventeenth century and the ancient tantric tradition in the Tang. This ritual, called the Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts (Shishi 施食), had flourished during Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties and had been incorporated into Chan monastic codes in the seventeenth century. One particular version of this ritual draws our attention because it was entitled Mengshan 蒙山, a mountain located in the Sino-Tibetan border (nowadays in Sichuan Province of China), and was attributed to the Indian monk Budong 不動 (Skt. Akṣobhya) who had served as national preceptor in the Xixia 西夏 (Tangut) state (1038–1227). In addition, it was incorporated into a seventeenth-century Chan Rules of Purity (*qinggui* 清規) composed in Japan by a group of émigré monks from China. Nowadays, it is still one of the essential liturgies in Chinese monasteries. Following this lead, my investigation starts from the emergence of this rite in seventeenth-century Chan monasticism. After comparing the existing liturgical manuals of the Mengshan Rite, I trace the origin of this ritual to a region often referred as Mi-ñag in the historical Sino-Tibetan border and to the Tangut state in which esoteric Buddhism enjoyed tremendous popularity. In light of R. A. Stein's discovery that the Mi-ñag people were actually descendants of the Tangut people, I shall explain that the transmission of this ritual to Mount Mengshan was related to the Tangut diaspora in the Sino-Tibetan border. In addition,

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1. For a recent study about the transmission of the robe in Chan history, see Wendi L. Adamek, "Robes Purple and Gold: Transmission of the Robe in the *Lidai fabao ji* (Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages)," *History of Religions* 1, no. 40 (Aug. 2000): 58–81.

based on my research on the role of this Tangut diasporic community in the Sino-Tibetan tea-horse trade, I suggest that the Mengshan Rite might be brought to China proper through frequent commercial exchanges between China and Tibet. My hypothesis is that the Tangut diasporic community, called “Mi-ñag” by the Tibetans, was one possible channel for the transmission of the Mengshan Rite in China. This hypothesis will show that the process of the “tantrification” of Chinese Buddhism in late imperial China was a complex movement towards reassuring the continuity and integrity of Chinese esoteric tradition. At the end of this paper, I theorize the mode of transmissions in Chinese Buddhism and suggest that in the context of late imperial China the transmission of the Mengshan Rite followed the rule of marginality.

#### THE MENGSHAN RITE AND THE REINVENTION OF THE ESOTERIC TRADITION IN LATE IMPERIAL CHINA

The centrality of ritual in Chinese Buddhist monastic life has been exemplified in Chan/Zen monastic codes, or the so-called Rules of Purity,<sup>2</sup> in which collective worship and prayer are arranged according to different ceremonial occasions. This orderly arrangement of monastic rituals creates a unique Buddhist configuration of sacred time and space that separates monastic life from the secular world. However, the codification of these rules tends to perpetuate an impression that monastic life is a given, immune to changes. Yet, a historical scrutiny of different versions of Rules of Purity from different historical periods will demonstrate that Buddhist monastic life is a repertoire of a variety of rituals that have been assimilated into a particular Buddhist school through specific channels. In other words, the compilation of Rules of Purity was a result of the gradual assimilation of ritual elements into the monastic setting. This point holds especially true for

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2. The genre of Rules of Purity was developed within the Chinese Chan tradition. Although it was allegedly created by the Chan patriarch Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814), Griffith Foulk argues that it was most likely a product of the tenth and eleventh centuries and reflected the monastic practice at that time. See his “Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch’an Buddhism,” in *Religion and Society in T’ang and Sung China*, ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1993). However, Dr. Yifa considers Baizhang as the possible author of the first Rules of Purity. See Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan qinggui* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002), 28–35.

Chan Buddhism because Chan monastic codes are largely an amalgam of Chan mythology, patriarch veneration, *vinaya* rules, the Pure Land aspiration, and more astonishingly, esoteric tantrism. Characterized by the incantation of various *dhāraṇīs* or spells, these tantric elements in Rules of Purity deserve our special attention because the Chinese esoteric school “founded” by Śubhakarasiṃha (637–735), Amoghavajra (705–774), and Vajrabodhi largely disappeared after the Tang, and esotericism only existed in a diffused form in Chinese Buddhist culture.<sup>3</sup> In this sense, the Mengshan Rite, an esoteric ritual that can be found only in late imperial China and has been successfully incorporated in Chan liturgical tradition, was a product of the diffusion of esotericism in Chinese Buddhism. However, as I will show, the deliberate attribution of this rite to Amoghavajra through the Tangut master Budong indicates a conscious reinvention of the esoteric tradition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. What I mean is that during the sixteenth

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3. Recent scholarship has seriously questioned the existence of such an esoteric school during the Tang. For a critical assessment of the esoteric school, see Robert Sharf, “On Esoteric Buddhism in China,” *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002), Appendix 1. Charles Orzech, however, argues that the idea of the transmission of esoteric Buddhism indeed took place during the Tang dynasty. See his “Further Notes on Tantra, Metaphor Theory, Ritual and Sweet Dew,” unpublished paper circulated at a seminar entitled “Tantra and Daoism: A Multidisciplinary Conference on the Globalization of Religion and Its Experience,” Boston University, April, 19–21, 2002. See also Charles D. Orzech, “Book Review: Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 72, no. 4 (2004): 1073–1076; Charles D. Orzech, “The ‘Great Teaching of Yoga,’ the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 34 (2006): 29–78; Charles D. Orzech, “The Trouble with Tantra in China: Reflections on Method and History,” in *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond*, ed. István Keul (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 303–326; and Richard Payne and Charles Orzech, introduction to *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Boston: Brill, 2011), esp. 7–8. Chen Jinhua has explored the evidence of esoteric Buddhism for the later Tang and beyond in various works. See Jinhua Chen, *Crossfire: Shingon-Tendai Strife as Seen in Two Twelfth-Century Polemics, with Special References to Their Background in Tang China* (Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, 2010), esp. 13.

and seventeenth centuries Chinese Buddhism underwent a series of reconstructions that aimed to reinvent its various traditions by reclaiming continuity with previous “golden ages” in the Tang and Song. Under such an intellectual milieu, some Buddhists such as Zhuhong 祿宏 (1532–1612) consciously sought to reestablish continuity of the esoteric tradition through identifying the Mengshan Rite as a genuine transmission from the Tang.

The Mengshan Rite is extremely popular in modern Chinese Buddhism and has been codified in Chan monastic regulations. In the daily liturgical manuals such as *Chanmen Risong* 禪門日誦, a special kind of esoteric ritual entitled the “Mengshan Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts” (*Mengshan shishi yi* 蒙山施食儀) was attributed to a Xixia (Tangut) monk called Budong who redacted the ritual at Mount Mengshan, which is located in western Sichuan area of China. Judging from this source, the Mengshan Rite is undoubtedly an esoteric ritual, though not in the sense that certain esoteric elements were incorporated in the performance of this ritual. Rather, its structure, the canonical sources to which it was attributed, and Chinese Buddhists’ self-consciousness of its esoteric nature indicate that the Mengshan Rite was a reconstructed legacy of the “esoteric school” in the Tang, which largely ceased to exist as a “school” after the Tang.

The Mengshan Rite is first of all a highly structured esoteric ritual. It is a variation of the so-called *preta* (flaming mouth) releasing ritual (*Fang yankou* 放餓口), which is a widely observed esoteric practice in China. *Preta* in Sanskrit refers to the hungry ghosts who live in the lower rung of the six rebirth realms within the realm of desire. These ghosts were imagined as creatures with huge bellies and tiny necks. As a result of their evil acts in previous lives, the hungry ghosts suffer from insatiable hunger but are unable to eat because food delivered to them is transformed into disgusting substances such as pus and blood. During the Ming, this form of ritual developed rampantly on the basis of an anonymous ritual manual, *Rites from the Essentials of the Yoga Teachings for Distributing Food to Burning-Mouths* (*Yuqie jiyao yankou shishi yi* 瑜伽集要餓口施食儀, T. 1320). According to this text, the ritual for feeding the hungry ghosts begins with the preparation of the altar and the distribution of food and culminates in busting hell and feeding the hungry ghosts. With their sins being destroyed, the hungry ghosts are made to accept the Three Jewels. *Dhāraṇī* chanting, *mudrā* maneuver,

and visualization characterize the whole process and indicate an unmistakable esoteric feature.

Although the central theme of this ritual is food bestowal, we must draw a line between the rite for feeding the hungry ghosts or releasing the flaming-mouth (*Shishi*) and the Plenary Mass of Water and Land (*Shuilu fahui* 水陸法會),<sup>4</sup> which was said to be initiated by the pious Wudi 武帝 emperor of the Liang 梁 state. The Plenary Mass also flourished in late imperial China. However, according to Daniel Stevenson's study, although this rite incorporated many esoteric elements, it is a mixture of different ritual elements. Moreover, there is no conscious attempt to describe it as an authentic esoteric ritual.<sup>5</sup>

Second, the sutra that formulates the performance of the rite had been canonized and was clearly attributed to the esoteric masters in the Tang. (This certainly does not mean that all later redactions were derived from the texts introduced by these masters.) According to

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4. This rite can be traced back to the pious Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, who had once dreamed of a monk teaching him how to perform the ritual. According to this legend, the Plenary Mass of Water and Land was first held in the Golden Mountain Monastery in 505 CE. For a detailed study, see Michael Strickmann, *Mantras et Mandarins: Le Bouddhisme Tantrique en Chine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), esp. chap. 8, "Les Banquets des Esprits," 369–414. See also Lin Ziqing 林子清, "Shuilu fahui 水陸法會," in *Zhongguo fojiao* 中國佛教 2, comp. Chinese Buddhist Association (Beijing: Zhishi chubanshe, 1982), 383–392; and see Daniel B. Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land," in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 30–72. See also Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮, "Suiriku'e shōkō 水陸會小考," *Chūgoku Bukkyōshi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppan, 1984), vol. 2.

5. For the difference between *Shishi* and *Shuilu fahui*, see Chiba Shokan 千葉照觀, "Yuga enkō to Suiriku'e 瑜伽焰口と水陸會," *Bukkyō bunka no tenkai: Ōkubo Ryōjun sensei sanjukinen ronbunshū* 佛教文化の展開：大久保良順先生傘壽紀念論文集 (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin, 1994), 351–372. Chiba Shokan believes that the *Shuilu fahui* was derived from the *Shishi* and can be traced to 833 CE. The major difference is that the *Shishi* ritual serves the purpose of ancestor worship while the *Shuilu* rite, often employed by the imperial court and bureaucrats, is targeted at all sentient beings. In addition, the *Shuilu fahui* is a mixture of rituals including ordination, dharma lecture, and some Taoist elements. See also Lü Jianfu 呂建福, *Zhongguo mijiaoshi* 中國密教史 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2011), vol. 3, 173–179.



canonical sources, this rite was introduced by the Tang esoteric master Bukong 不空 (Skt. Amoghavajra, 705–774) and attributed its authority to Ānanda.<sup>6</sup> Since its introduction into China during the reign of the Daizong 代宗 Emperor of the Tang (762–779), it survived the actual esoteric school and underwent a revival during the Song<sup>7</sup> and under the Yuan Mongol rule (1279–1368); this rite continued to flourish due to the influence from Tibetan tantrism.

However, at least in the Yuan time, the name “Mengshan” did not appear. According to liturgical works such as *Zhujing risong* 諸經日誦 and *Ōbaku shingi* 黃檗清規 (see below), only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did the title “Mengshan” become popular. Thus, the creation of this title must be situated in the religious milieu of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Along with the general movement towards Buddhist revival, the making and remaking of esoteric rituals through textual production flourished, and reproduced ritual texts were abundant. Among them, many texts were about feeding the hungry ghosts. Charles Orzech, after examining various ritual manuals created in this time, considered all these rituals derived from *T. 1320* based on textual comparison and redaction. He pays special attention to Zhuhong, who largely based his redaction of esoteric ritual on textual transmission rather than oral transmission. According to Orzech, the textual revival of esoteric rituals was simply like this:

Buddhist monks read the ritual texts for performing the *shishi* and supplemented them as best they could with materials and understanding gleaned [sic] from other esoteric texts preserved in the

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6. See Charles Orzech’s translation and explanation of the *Fo shuo jiuba yankou egui tuoluoni jing* (The Buddha’s Discourse on Scripture of the Spell for Saving the Burning-Mouth Hungry Ghost, *T. 1313*), in “Saving the Burning-Mouth Hungry Ghost,” *Religions of China in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 278–283.

7. There was a genuine attempt to revive the *Shishi* ritual. This effort was closely connected to the rise of the *Shuilu fahui* in the Song. For detail, see Stevenson, “Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*,” 38–45. See also Lü Jianfu 呂建福, “Fojiao shishifa jiqi zai Songdai de liuxing” 佛教施食法及其在宋代的流行, *Mijiao lunkao* 密教論考 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2008), 356–370. Hun Lye, “Song Tiantai Ghost-Feeding Rituals,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Boston: Brill, 2011), 520–524.

canon, and with liturgical elaborations garnered from ritual traditions of particular monastic institutions.<sup>8</sup>

It is no doubt that a textual revival of esoteric ritual was underway in that time. But more significant is the fact that Chinese Buddhists themselves, at least in the end of the sixteenth century, had regarded the Mengshan Rite as a genuine legacy of the Tang esoteric tradition. This means Chinese Buddhists in late imperial China were self-conscious of the identity and continuity of the esoteric tradition. For example, Zhuhong, the most influential redactor of Buddhist rituals in the late Ming, publicly acknowledged that Budong was the successor of the Tang esoteric masters and the transmission of the Mengshan Rite was Budong's contribution:

Yoga as a teaching is unthinkable [with regard to its] miraculous transformation and powerful efficacy. After the two masters Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, there had been no one who was capable of continuing their course. Therefore, their teaching was contained in the royal Tripiṭaka without clear transmission. Only one ritual, the Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts, is popular in the world. However, when this sutra was first translated, there was no *dhāraṇī* other than the *dhāraṇī* of transforming food.<sup>9</sup> After the second and third translations, it was gradually enlarged and supplemented. Down to what

8. Charles D. Orzech, "Esoteric Buddhism and the Shishi in China," in *The Esoteric Buddhist Tradition: Selected Papers From the 1989 SBS Conference*, SBS Monographs no. 2, ed. Henrik H. Sørensen (Copenhagen and Aarhus: Seminar for Buddhist Studies, 1994), 65.

9. This refers to Śikṣānanda's translation of *Foshuo jiu mianran er'gui tuoluoni jing* 佛說救面燃餓鬼陀羅尼經 (T. 1314), which only contains one *dhāraṇī*. For a translation of T. 1314, see Hun Y. Lye, "Feeding Ghosts: A Study of the Yuqie Yankou Rite" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2003), 417–425; "Yuqie Yankou in the Ming-Qing," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Boston: Brill, 2011), 561–567. There is a Tangut Shishi manuscript entitled *Shi shuishi fangshun yaolun* 施水食放順要論 (TG 288 no. 6503) whose relationship with the later Shishi texts is not clear. See Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄, "Xixiayu Fodian bianzhuan de zhu wenti" 西夏語佛典編撰的諸問題, trans. Wang Xi 王曦, in *Han Zang Foxue yanjiu: Wenben, renwu, tuxiang he lishi* 漢藏佛學研究: 文本, 人物, 圖像和歷史, ed. Shen Weirong 沈衛榮 (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2013), 105–141, esp. 118.

Master Budong transmitted, it became the most complete and utmost perfect.<sup>10</sup>

Clearly, according to Zhuhong, the Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts had been considered a genuine esoteric ritual that could be traced back to the Tang. In addition, Budong was revered as a reformer and transmitter of this important tradition. Here, Zhuhong's statement is significant because it reflects a serious effort within Chinese Buddhism to reconstruct the continuity with esoteric Buddhism in the Tang through the Mengshan Rite revised by Master Budong.<sup>11</sup>

This clue shows clearly the role of the Mengshan Rite and its author Budong in the reinvention of the esoteric tradition. By "reinvention," I mean that in history, "traditions" which claim to be descendants of antiquity are often invented and reinvented in recent times in response to new situations by making references to old forms or symbols. In this sense, I largely borrow Eric Hobsbawn's definition of "invented tradition." As he describes,

"Invented tradition" is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.<sup>12</sup>

10. Zhuhong, "Yuqie jiyao tuxiang yankou shishi xu 瑜伽集要圖像餓口施食序," *Shanfang zaji* 山房雜記, in *Yunqi fahui* 雲棲法匯, *Zhonghua dazang jing*, Ser. 2 (Taipei, 1962), no. 277, 129:54691.

11. For Zhuhong's effort in reviving the esoteric tradition, see Chun-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 184–185; and Chun-jo Liu, Ling-te Liao, and Michael Welch, "The Serendipity Chants: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Recordings of the Buddhist Rite for the Dead, 'Yü-chia ye-k'ou shih-shih yao-chi,'" *Chinoperl News* 3 (1973): ix–xiv. During the late Ming, the Chan master Hanyue Fazang 漢月法藏 (1573–1635) attempted to synthesize esoteric and Chan practices based on the performance of the *Shishi* ritual. See Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute: The Reinvention of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 147–151.

12. Eric Hobsbawn, introduction to *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

According to this understanding, “invented traditions” dressed up novelties as antiquities by repeating a set of norms of behavior that claimed to be of an ancient origin. Following this line of thinking, I consider the hallmark of “reinvention” the deliberate reference to rituals, symbols, and transmissions in earlier traditions. In the case of esoteric Buddhism, according to Charles Orzech and Robert Sharf’s studies, esotericism in the Tang is obviously an invention in China by Chinese followers and reinforced by its Japanese heirs. In the seventeenth century, when Zhuhong, among others, deliberately claimed the authenticity of the Mengshan Rite as the only legitimate legacy of the esoteric tradition, a new process of reinvention started.

However, this process could be easily dismissed as another effort in creating mythical history in the wake of a Buddhist revival. Indeed, when a new attempt is made to renew a Buddhist tradition, discontinuity with the early tradition must have been felt keenly by Buddhists themselves. In order to reassume authority and reclaim legitimacy, Buddhist monks, especially those who control the production of texts, are able to invent the tradition through manipulating texts, reinterpreting historical facts, and thinking wishfully. Although the line between myth and reality should be drawn clearly, myth, as manifested in the self-consciousness of the Buddhists, should not be disregarded as pure fabrication. On the contrary, the creation of a myth is part of reality and should be viewed as a disguised form of history that divulges important messages about actual historical process. Our interest here is not to simply identify such efforts as “myth” or “fiction.” Rather, the central issue for us is how Chinese Buddhists made use of a fairly marginal ritual tradition with an ambiguous author, which was never heard of in previous times, to construct the continuity with the previous tradition. Therefore, the method of this research is to take the lead, mythical or legendary, seriously and to reconstruct the possible origins of this particular esoteric ritual with the aid of historical evidence. In the end, our study will reveal that the reinvention of the esoteric tradition in the seventeenth century was based on the marginality of a group of Tangut descendants who formed an active diasporic community. This community became the origin of the transmission of the Mengshan Rite in China through the Sino-Tibetan tea-horse trade.

THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE MENGSHAN RITE IN THE  
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: TWO LITURGICAL MANUALS

The starting point of our investigation, however, is the emigration of a group of Chinese Chan monks to Japan because their monastic codes have preserved valuable sources about Chinese Chan monasticism in the seventeenth century. In Chinese history, the seventeenth century was a period of significant transitions. The Manchu conquest of China not only brought a dynastic change but also initiated a series of intellectual and social changes. Under this circumstance, Chinese Buddhism also underwent significant transformations. As a result of the late Ming Buddhist revival, Chan Buddhism became prominent among Buddhist groups. One sign of the rise of Chan Buddhism is the spread of the Ming-style Chinese Buddhism to Japan. In 1654, a group of Chinese monks from Mount Huangbo 黃檗 (Jpn. Ōbaku) in Fujian Province, led by Yinyuan Longqi (隱元隆琦 1592–1673), landed in Nagasaki, Japan. Within a few decades, these Chinese monks successfully established themselves as an independent Chan/Zen group with distinctive Ming-style monastic practice, which was different from the Japanese Zen practice.<sup>13</sup> One aspect of their practice, to some extent, “scared” the Japanese monks because these Chinese monks, while claiming to be the “true sect of the Linji” (*Linji zhengzong* 臨濟正宗), were deeply engaged in tantrism, especially the esoteric Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts.<sup>14</sup>

It is not clear when the Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts was incorporated into the Chan liturgical tradition. Although esoteric elements in Chan Rules of Purity, such as in the *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規, could be dated to as early as the Song dynasty, the actual assimilation of this esoteric practice of feeding the hungry ghosts might be traced back to the end of the Song and the early Yuan dynasty. In his *Rules of Purity of the Huanzhu Cloister* (*Huanzhu'an qinggui* 幻住庵清

13. For detail of the history of Ōbaku Zen in Japan, see Helen J. Baroni, *Obaku Zen: The Emergence of the Third Sect of Zen in Tokugawa Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000). See also Jiang Wu, *Leaving for the Rising Sun: Chinese Zen Master Yinyuan and the Authenticity Crisis in Early Modern East Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

14. See Hirakubo Akira 平久保章, *Ingen* 隱元 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1962), 196. See also Kimura Tokugen 木村得玄, *Ingen Zenji to Ōbaku bunka* 隱元禪師と黃檗文化 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2011), 295–379.

規), Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1263–1323), a Chan master in the Yuan, appended a brief manual of the Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts, which could be an harbinger for the standardization of esoteric practice in Chan monasteries.<sup>15</sup> The earliest appearance of the Mengshan Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts was Zhuhong’s revision of *Zhujing risong* (Various Sutras for Daily Recitation) in 1600, which indicates the existence of the rite prior to the seventeenth century. Its earliest appearance in Chan monastic codes, as far as I know, was the above-mentioned Ōbaku monastic codes and their liturgical manual that were compiled in Japan. In the sixth chapter of *Ōbaku shingi* or the Ōbaku Rules of Purity, which is entitled “Chanting,” the procedure of the Mengshan Rite was outlined as a liturgy carried out during the evening service.<sup>16</sup> The full content of the ritual, however, is preserved in the Ōbaku liturgical manual *Zenrin kaju* 禪林課誦 printed in the second year of the Kanbun 寛文 reign (1662) in Japan. According to Kamata Shigeo’s 鎌田茂雄 study, this ritual text in *Zenrin kaju* is almost the same as the one in *Fojiao zhaomu kesong* 佛教 朝暮課誦, which is currently popular in Buddhist monasteries in Taiwan.<sup>17</sup> Similar ritual texts

15. See “Opening the Gate of Sweet Dew (*kai ganlu men* 開甘露門),” in *Huangzhu qinggui, Shinsan dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 新纂大日本續藏經, 90 vols. (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1975–1989), orig. pub. as *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經, 750 vols. (Kyoto: Zōkyō Shoin, 1905–1912), 74:588–591, no. 1248-A. See also Hun Y. Lye, “Feeding Ghosts: A Study of the Yuqie Yankou Rite,” 433–434. For Zhongfeng Mingben’s thought, see Natasha Heller, *Illusory Abiding: The Cultural Construction of the Chan Monk Zhongfeng Mingben* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014). However, Heller did not elaborate on the esoteric aspect of Zhongfeng’s practice.

16. *Ōbaku shingi*, T. 82: 771, no. 2607.

17. Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku no Bukkyō ishiki* 中國の佛教儀禮 (Tokyo: Daizō shuppansha, 1986), 253–256 and 278–279. According to Kamata, the Ōbaku (Huangbo) text of the Mengshan Rite starts with a *gāthā* from the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and ends with the chanting of the *Heart Sutra*, the *Dhāraṇī of Rebirth*, and the *Dhāraṇī of Universal Transference*. However, the modern text of the Mengshan Rite is appended with additional *gāthās* after these. See also Chen Jidong 陳繼東, “Zenmon nichiju Saikō -- Rondon daigaku no SOAS toshokan to Hābādo daigaku Enkyō toshokan no shiryō o chūshin to shite” 『禪門日誦』再考--ロンドン大学のSOAS図書館とハーバード大学燕京図書館の資料を中心として, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 53, no. 2 (2005): 798–793. Hong Chong 侯冲 discovered a new edition of *Chanlin kesong* 禪林課誦 in Yunnan. However, it is not known how it is related to the Japanese Ōbaku



with the same title are also preserved in other popular Chan liturgical books such as *Chanmen risong* 禪門日誦. Among these texts, *Zenrin kaju* is perhaps the earliest liturgical text that formally incorporated the Mengshan Rite into Chan monastic codes although its actual practice in Chan monastic settings could be much earlier.

Based on the ritual manual in *Zenrin kaju* and Pi-Yen Chen's study of this ritual in modern monastic settings, I reconstruct the basic ritual format as follows:<sup>18</sup>

#### THE MENGSHAN RITE FOR FEEDING THE HUNGRY GHOSTS

##### I. The *gāthā* from the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*<sup>19</sup>

“if people want to know all the buddhas in the past, present, and future, they should reflect the nature of the *dharmadhātu* in which all things are created through the heart.”

##### II. Inviting all beings for the rite

A. *Dhāraṇī* of hell-busting (all of the following *dhāraṇīs* are chanted three times)

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liturgical manual. See Hou Chong, “Cong Zhujing risong jiyao dao Chanmen risong: yi Jizushan Dajuesi Qianlong kanben Chanlin kesong jiyao deng wei zhongxin” 從《諸經日誦集要》到《禪門日誦》：以雞足山大覺寺乾隆刊本《禪林課誦集要》等為中心, in Hong Chong, *Hanchuan Fojiao, zongjiao yishi yu jingdian wenxian zhi yanjiu: Hou Chong zixuan ji* 漢傳佛教, 宗教儀式與經典文獻之研究: 侯沖自選集 (Taipei: Boyang wenhua, 2016), 75–100.

18. The following reconstruction is based on the Mengshan Rite in the *Zenrin kaju* with reference to Pi-Yen Chen's study on this ritual in contemporary monastic setting. I follow Chen's division of the ritual but made certain changes of translation according to the text in the *Zenrin kaju*. See Pi-Yen Chen, “Morning and Evening Service: The Practice of Ritual, Music, and Doctrine in Chinese Buddhist Monastic Community” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1999), 163–177. See also “Sound and Emptiness: Music, Philosophy, and the Monastic Practice of Buddhist Doctrine,” *History of Religions* 41, no. 1 (2001): 24–48. Chen primarily relies on Shi Xingci's commentary on Chinese Buddhist monastic liturgies. See Shi Xingci 釋興慈, *Chongding er'ke hejie* 重訂二課合解 (The Revised Exegesis of the Two Liturgies), orig. pub. 1921 (Taipei: Sheng Guo Press, 1989). I am also indebted to the Harvard-Yenching Library for photocopying the rare book *Zenrin kaju* from the Komazawa University Library. For a recent musicological study, see Yuan Jin 袁瑾, *Fojiao, Daojiao shiye xia de yankou shishi yishi yanjiu* 佛教道教視野下的焰口施食儀式研究 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chuban she, 2013).

19. *Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (*Avataṃsaka-sūtra*), vol. 19, T. 10: 102a–b.



- B. *Dhāraṇī* of universal invitation
- C. *Dhāraṇī* of dissolving rancor
- III. Inviting the Three Jewels
- IV. The *gāthā* of taking three refuges, repenting one's sin, and taking four great vows
- V. Eliminating sinful karma
  - A. Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva's *dhāraṇī* of annihilating the "fixed dharma"
  - B. Avalokiteśvara's *dhāraṇī* of annihilating karmic obstacles
  - C. *Dhāraṇī* of opening the throats
- VI. Delivering the *samaya* precepts by chanting the *dhāraṇī* of *samaya* precepts
- VII. Transforming food
  - A. *Dhāraṇī* of transforming food
  - B. *Dhāraṇī* of sweet dews
  - C. *Dhāraṇī* of one-character water disk
  - D. *Dhāraṇī* of the nourishing sea
- VIII. Reciting the name of seven buddhas
- IX. Feeding the hungry ghosts
  - A. Two *gāthās* praising the merit of achieving buddhahood
  - B. *Dhāraṇī* of unconfined food
  - C. *Dhāraṇī* of universal offering
  - D. Reciting the *Heart Sutra* and the *dhāraṇī* for future rebirth in the Pure Land
  - E. *Dhāraṇī* of universal transference of merit

Readers may notice that this is not a detailed ritual manual with elaborate explanations. Although the Chinese transliterations of *dhāraṇīs* were clearly listed, some other key elements of an esoteric ritual, such as *mudrā* performance and procedures of visualization, were completely omitted. Compared with Orzech's study of T. 1320, this manual preserves the core of the Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts (flaming-mouth), although many new *dhāraṇīs* and *gāthās* were added. This text is obviously a much more abbreviated version for the purpose of daily liturgical chanting rather than for a formal performance upon customary requests. In order to understand the meaning of this text, additional oral instructions must be included.<sup>20</sup> Because

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20. The explanation of the Mengshan Rite in monastic settings, which may be helpful to understand this text, can be found in Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾, ed.,

the purpose of my study is not to reconstruct this liturgical practice, I will not pursue an anthropological approach to delineating its actual performance in the seventeenth century. What is important is that this kind of ritual, at least in the late Ming, bore the name “Mengshan” and had been traced back to a mysterious monk call Budong, who was believed to have resided in Mengshan and emended Amoghavajra’s Rite of Feeding the Hungry Ghosts.

The search for Budong’s identity thus becomes the lead of this research. We find that the name “Budong” also appears in other ritual manuals related to esoteric practice.<sup>21</sup> Among them, one ritual text in the Jiaxing supplementary canon (*Jiaxing xuzangjing* 嘉興續藏經) was

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*Chūgokujin no shūkyō ishiki: Bukkyō, Tokkyō, minkanshinkō*, 中國人の宗教禮儀：佛教，道教，民間信仰 (Tokyo: Fubu shoden, 1983), 129. See also Chen Ming 琛明, *Mengshan shishiyi tanyuan* 蒙山施食儀探源 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2004), 23–28. It seems that the author mixed up the identity of the Ganlu master with that of Budong and did not explore the Tangut origin of the ritual.

21. Another liturgical text, entitled *The Text of Worshipping Buddhas and Penance* (*Lifo chanhui wen* 禮佛懺悔文), is also attributed to Budong according to Pi-Yen Chen. But in the *Zenrin kaju*, the authorship of this text, which is entitled *Sanshiwufo wushisan foming chanhui jing* 三十五佛五十三佛名懺悔經 (pp. 22–23), was not specified. For detail, see Chen, “Morning and Evening Service,” 149. This text might be part of the larger text of the Tangut monk Yixing Huijue’s 一行慧覺 work titled *Da fanguang Fo Huayanjing haiyin dao-chang shichong xingyuan changbian lichanyi* 大方廣佛華嚴經海印道場十重行願常備禮懺儀, *Shinsan dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō*, vol. 74, no. 1470. According to Nogawa Hiroyuki, this text was discovered in Yunnan in the seventeenth century and was brought to the Zhejiang area to print by Xu Xiake 徐霞客 upon the request of Lijiang local chieftain Mu Zeng 木增 (1587–1646) and his sons. See Nogawa Hiroyuki 野川博之, “Seika Bukkyō bunken no chūgen ryūden ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Reikō doshi Kishi to Jo Kakaku to no kakawari o chūshin ni” 西夏佛教文献の中原流伝に関する一考察--麗江土司-木氏と徐霞客とのかかわりを中心に, *Ōbaku bunka* 黄檗文華 130 (2009): 180–190. See also Nogawa Hiroyuki 野川博之, “Ōbakushū jōyō no Seika bukkyō ibun” 黄檗宗常用の西夏佛教遺文, *Ōbaku bunka* 黄檗文華 129 (2008): 298–310. Another Tangut liturgical text *Mizhou yuanyin wangsheng ji* 密呪圓因往生集 (T. 46. n. 1956) compiled in 1200 was also reprinted in the *Ōbaku Tetsugen Canon* 黄檗鐵眼藏 in Edo Japan. See Nogawa Hiroyuki 野川博之, “Seika Bukkyō bunken ‘Mitsuju en in ōjō-shū’ ni tsuite: Sono Tetsugenban shūroku made no ashidori o chūshin ni” 西夏佛教文献『密呪圓因往生集』について--その鉄眼版収録までの足どりを中心に, *Ōbaku bunka* 黄檗文華 126 (2005): 169–182.

attributed to Budong.<sup>22</sup> Strangely, this text has the title *Yuqie jiyao yankuo shishi yi* 瑜伽集要餤口施食儀, the same as T. 1320 does. T. 1320 is an important esoteric text in the history of Chinese Buddhism. Charles Orzech reveals that T. 1320 is an anonymous text that does not attribute authorship to anyone. Following Zhou Shujia 周叔迦 (1899–1970), Orzech identifies T. 1320 as a Yuan text because the Chinese characters used for transliterating *dhāraṇī* are not the same as those used in Tang times, and the possible influence from the Tibetan Vajrayāna is evident.<sup>23</sup> The text in the Jiaxing Buddhist canon however, clearly refers to Amoghavajra as the translator and Budong Jingang 不動金剛 from the Xixia state as editor. In addition, it also includes a commentary composed by Shoudeng 受登 (1607–1675), a Tiantai monk-scholar in the seventeenth century.<sup>24</sup>

The clear reference to Budong behooves us to focus on this text. It begins with the “Origination of the Rite for Bestowing Food to Burning-Mouth Hungry Ghosts,” which was taken from *Origins of the*

22. *Zhonghua dazang jing, di er ji* 中華大藏經 第二輯 (Taipei: Xiuding Zhonghua dazang jing hui, 1962), vol. 74, 20133–30159. Kirill Solonin suggests that Budong edited the content, especially the spells, based on the Tangut texts, and his work influenced the late Ming eminent monk Zhuhong as well. See Suo Luoning 索羅寧 (Solonin, K. J.), “Yixing Huijue jiqi Dafanguangfo Huayanjing haiyin daochang shichong xingyuan changbian lichanyi” 一行慧覺及其《大方廣佛華嚴經海印道場十重行願常徧禮懺儀》, *Taida Foxue yanjiu* 臺大佛學研究 no. 23 (2012): 1–76, esp. 63–64. The Jiaxing or Jingshan Buddhist canon is a seventeenth-century collection of Buddhist texts available in the Ming and the early Qing. The edition I am using was reproduced in Taiwan in 1962 with supplements from the Jiaxing canon preserved in the Komazawa University Library. The Jiaxing canon also contains many esoteric texts in later Chinese Buddhism. See Robert M. Gimello, “The Jiaxing Canon as a Rare Repository of Later Chinese Buddhist Esotericism,” paper presented at the conference “Keben dazangjing yanjiu de guoqu, xianzai he weilai: yi Jingshan zang wei zhongxin” 刻本大藏經研究的過去、現在與未來: 以《徑山藏》為中心, Hangzhou, 2015 May 8–10; “Icon and Incantation: the Goddess Zhunti and the Role of Images in the Occult Buddhism of China,” in *Images in Asian Religions: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Phyllis E. Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 225–256.

23. Charles D. Orzech, “Esoteric Buddhism and the Shishi in China,” 56–57.

24. Shoudeng was an accomplished Tiantai monk who redacted several important ritual texts. For a short introduction to Shoudeng, see Guo Peng 郭朋, *Mingqing fojiao* 明清佛教 (Fujian: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1985), 337.

*Teachings Given to Ānanda Concerning the Distribution of Food to the Burning Mouths from the Essentials of the Yoga-Tantra* (Yuqie jiyao yankou shishi qijiao a'nantuo yuanyou 瑜伽集要餓口施食起教阿難陀緣由) (T. 1319). This excerpt stops at the point when the Buddha instructed Ānanda to build a *samaya* altar. Then, the main body of this ritual text begins and continues according to the following procedures:

- I. The beginning of the ritual
  - A. Alerting the *dharmadhātu*
  - B. Expressing faith by lighting incense
  - C. Marking the boundary of the altar and performing consecration
- II. *Samādhi* (meditation) of feeding the hungry ghosts
  - A. Empowering with *upāya*
    1. Visualizing the pure *dharmadhātu*
    2. Being empowered by a *vajra* master
  - B. *Samādhi* (meditation) of correct actions
    1. *Maṇḍala* for establishing the self
      - a. Taking the three refuges
      - b. Establishing the *maṇḍala* practice
        - i. Opening the birthless gate
        - ii. Establishing *maṇḍala*
        - iii. Dharma gate of celebrating the accomplishment
      - c. Taking vows for transferring merits
    2. *Maṇḍala* for establishing others
      - a. Taking refuges and arousing the mind of *bodhicitta*
      - b. Making offerings to the three refuges and the six realms of beings
        - i. Making offerings to the three refuges
          1. Entering the altar and inviting the sage
          2. Cultivating wisdom and Samantabhadra practice
          3. Reporting the intention to feed the hungry ghosts
          4. Worshipping and offering
        - ii. Feeding the six realms of beings
          1. *Samādhi* and transforming
            - Samādhi* of equal contemplation
            - Samādhi* which concentrates on practice
            - Busting the hell
            - Summoning the ghosts of six realms
            - Dhāraṇī* of evoking crimes
            - Dhāraṇī* of destroying crimes
            - Dhāraṇī* of eliminating “fixed karma”
            - Dhāraṇī* of repentance and elimination of crimes
            - Dhāraṇī* of bestowing sweet dew

*Dhāraṇī* of opening the throats  
 Praising the seven *tathāgatas*  
 Offering the food  
 Bestowing the three refuges  
 Generating the *bodhicitta*  
 Bestowing the precept of *samaya*  
*Dhāraṇī* of distributing the food  
*Dhāraṇī* of the nourishing sea  
*Dhāraṇī* for ghosts who are karmically hindered  
 from such distribution  
*Dhāraṇī* of universal offering  
 Dismissal with *dhāraṇīs* (spirit-spell of Buddha's  
*uṣṇīṣa*)

2. Finishing and receiving benefits

C. Release with complete merits

1. Invoking protective deities of all eight sections
2. Residing peacefully in *samādhi* by reciting the *One-Hundred Syllable Dhāraṇī* to invoke the protection of Vajrasattva
3. Taking vows of transferring merits to all sentient beings

Although the core of the text, namely the section of feeding the hungry ghosts, is, like T. 1320, based on T. 1319, there are many differences among them. First, the text in the Jiaxing supplementary canon does not contain any Sanskrit scripts<sup>25</sup> for *dhāraṇī* as T. 1320 does. The beginning

25. The *dhāraṇīs* in Tang esoteric texts were often written in Siddham as they are nowadays in Japanese Shingon Buddhist tradition, which is supposed to be the authentic transmission of Tang esotericism. However, in later esoteric texts, a new script called Lantsha gradually replaced Siddham in China due to the prevalent influence of Tibetan tantrism. The Lantsha script (Skt. Rañjanā or Rañjā) is believed to have been developed in Nepal and was later transmitted to Tibet. As a more angular script than Siddham, it is often used as a decorative font in Tibetan tantrism. Alexander Csoma de Kőrös hints that it is the “pointed variety of the Devanagari alphabet used by the Buddhists in India and Tibet.” See his *Grammar of the Tibetan Language* (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1984), appendix, 38. Its prevalence in China after the Song dynasty (960–1279) shows the increasing influence of Tibetan tantrism introduced by the conquest dynasties. The first noticeable appearance of Lantsha scripts may be traced to the six-script *uṣṇīṣa dhāraṇīs* inscription carved in the Juyong Pass (Juyong guan 居庸關) of the Great Wall, which is dated to 1343 CE. There, Lantsha scripts were used as a decorative font for titles. For detailed and authoritative information, see *Chü-Yung-Kuan: The Buddhist Arch of the Fourteenth Century A.D. at the Pass of the Great Wall Northwest of Peking*,

and the end of the ritual performance in the two texts are also different: the text attributed to Budong is obvious more elaborated than T. 1320, although some salient features such as the *Mahācakra vidyārāja* spell and the Avalokiteśvara meditation are absent in the ritual text in the Jiaxing supplementary canon. At the end, the text in the Jiaxing canon does not include the “Writ on the Ten Types of Lonely Souls (*Shilei guhun song* 十類孤魂誦)” and the “Praise for Relying on the Three Jewels (*Guiyi sanbaozan* 皈依三寶贊).” In addition, there is no evidence that these two texts influenced each other. It is more likely that they were derived independently from the Tang text.

Textual comparison could continue and include other similar texts that were popular in the seventeenth and later centuries. However, I doubt if such textual studies would be fruitful, considering the vast amount of existing ritual manuals of the Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts.<sup>26</sup> It could be true that all these texts were simply derived from the Yuan text (T. 1320) and were largely “indigenous reworking of

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2 vols. ed. Jiro Murata (Kyoto: Faculty of Engineering, Kyoto University, 1957), especially the discussion and romanization of Lantsha scripts, 1:137–138. Lantsha scripts also appeared about the same time in Korea. See Akira Yuyama, “Die Sanskrit-Texte in Lan-Tsha und in tibetischer (Dbu-Can) Schrift auf der im Jahre 1346 gegossenen Glocke des Tempels Yeon-Bog-Jeol in Korea,” in *Deutscher Orientalistentag: vom 16. bis 20. September 1985 in Würzburg: ausgewählte Vorträge XXIII*, ed. Einar von Schuler (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989), 429–434. For a brief history of the use of Lantsha scripts in China after the Song dynasty, see Takubo Shūyo 田久保周譽, *Bonji shittan* 梵字悉曇 (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1981), 100–110. The widespread use of Lantsha scripts may have reached its height in the Qing dynasty when Tibetan tantric influence was enormous in the imperial court. This is evidenced by the imperial compilation of *Tongwen yuntong* 同文韻統 (Phonetic Standards for Transliterating Sanskrit, Tibetan, Manchurian, and Chinese], in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, Taiwan repr., 1971, 240: 359–448. This work, supervised by lCang-skyā Khutukhtu Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1717–1786), used Lantsha scripts as the standard Sanskrit scripts. My writing of this footnote benefits from Robert Gimello's handout on Lantsha scripts in China.

26. For a list of existing ritual manuals, see Yoshioka Gihō 吉岡義豊, “Mikkyō shigakihō no chūgoku shakai denryō 密教施餓鬼法儀軌の中國社會傳流,” *Chizan Gakuhō* 智山學報 20 (Feb. 1956): 49–64; “Shigaki shisō no chūgoku teki juyō 施餓鬼思想の中國的受容,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 5, no. 1 (Jan. 1957): 234–238.

Tang and Yuan rites based on textual comparison,”<sup>27</sup> as Orzech argues. The important fact, however, is that some texts, as the two texts studied here do, allude to Mount Mengshan as the origin of the Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts and to Master Budong as the editor of this ritual after Amoghavajra. In the next section, I will examine relevant evidence regarding this myth about the transmission of the Mengshan Rite.

#### MYTH AND LEGEND OF THE TANGUT MASTER BUDONG AND THE ORIGINS OF THE MENGSHAN RITE

The identity of Master Budong becomes the key to our inquiry because both examined versions of the Mengshan Rite attribute their authorship to this Xixia master. Apparently, he was an eminent monk at the Xixia (Tangut) court. However, there was no record about him in any biographies of eminent monks or dynastic histories before the twentieth century. Surprisingly, his biography was found in a twentieth-century collection of biographies compiled by Yu Qian 喻謙 (?–1933). Ruth W. Dunnell, a leading scholar in the field of Tangut studies, translates Budong’s biography from Yu Qian’s collection in her pioneering work on Xixia Buddhism.<sup>28</sup>

Shi Budong’s Sanskrit name is Akṣobhya (*a shan pie* 阿閃撇) Woziluo 斡資羅 (Skt. *vajra*), in Chinese Budong Jingang (Unshakable Vajra), called Budong for short. Originally an Indian, when he first left home he traveled widely around India, thoroughly mastered the revealed and esoteric doctrines, and completely understood nature and its phenomenal expression. His reputation spread to neighboring lands. Then he came to Xi Xia and stayed at the Huguo Temple [in Wuwei]. He translated esoteric teachings and disseminated widely the *prajñā vajra* teaching called Yoga. It has five parts (*bu*): one is the

27. Charles D. Orzech, “Esoteric Buddhism and the Shishi in China,” 61–65. See also his “Seeing Chen-Yen Buddhism: Traditional Scholarship and the Vajrayāna in China,” *History of Religions* 29, no. 2 (Nov. 1989): 87–114.

28. Although I was able to track down Budong’s biography in Yu Qian’s collection, I am indebted to Robert Gimello for pointing to Dunnell’s translation. See Ruth W. Dunnell, *The Great State of White and High: Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-Century Xia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1996), 32–33. Hun Lye also discussed the hypothesis that the Mengshan Rite might be a Tangut text. See Hun Y. Lye, “Feeding Ghosts: A Study of the Yuqie Yankou Rite,” 315–330.



Buddha (*fo*) part; the second is the Vajra (*jingang*) part; the third is the Ratnasambhava (*baosheng*) part; the fourth is the Lotus (*hualian*) part; the fifth is the Karma (*kamo*) part. Budong only transmitted the Vajra part, so he was named Vajra Supreme Master (*jingang shangshi*). This name was given to him at the time of his consecration. As for Akṣobhya, it means at the very beginning relying on the law of the Akṣobhya part and practicing it. Budong diligently practiced the five repentances (*wuhui*) and broadly demonstrated the three *maṇḍalas* (*dan*). He once took “The Text of the Penitential Offering to the Sutra on the Thirty-Five Buddhas’ Names,” translated by Tang Tripiṭaka Amoghavajra (705–774), and before it added fifty-three Buddhas’ [names?], and after [it] inserted ten great vow-*gāthās* of Samantabhadra, in all making 108 periods of worship (*baiqi*) to cut off the 108 defilements. Later [Budong] moved to Mengshan, Sichuan, where he took the Yoga rite of bestowing food [on monks and ghosts] of Vajrabodhi of the Tang and gave it the translated descriptive name of “flaming mouth.” Further he preached the small rite of bestowing food, calling it the “Mengshan law.” Because he sustained his life solely on the “ambrosial truth” (*ganlu*), he was also given the title Master of the Sweet Dew Dharma. His disciple Lebu 勒布 transmitted his teaching and it was again transmitted by Bao’an 保安; yet a third transmission [was carried out] by Weide Zhuang 威德幢. Now the transmissions are especially numerous. It seems that there will be no Buddhist ritual without this [Mengshan Law]. So difficult is it to preach the dharma. It is not known when Budong died.<sup>29</sup>

29. Yu Qian, *Xinxu gaoseng zhuan* 新續高僧傳 (New Supplementary Biographies of Eminent Monks) (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1975), 1:114–116. Dunnell did not translate the underlined phrase in Budong’s biography. My translation is also tentative. Yu Qian may have consulted a variety of rare sources only available in a small circle of the Chinese monastic community. One of the possible sources might be *Chongding er’ke hejie* 重訂二課合解 by Xingci 興慈, first published in 1921 (repr., Taipei: Fotuo jiaoyu jijinhui, 2009). Xingci discussed the origin of the Mengshan Rite and provided some biographical information about Budong. In fascicle 4 (*Chongding er’ke hejie*, 177), he said:

Budong is his name. A man from Western Region, he cultivated the Vajra division (*Jingang bu* 金剛部). After he was well-versed, he spread this practice broadly. He soon arrived at Xixia and was revered by the King. He often chanted most efficaciously the *Scripture of the Humane King Who Protects the State* 護國仁王經. Because he protected the state and blessed the people, the Xixia King named his temple “Nation-Protecting Humane King.” Based on *Scripture of*

This biography, concerning an Indian monk in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, did not appear in any previous collection of biographies of eminent monks. It only appeared in the 1920s when Yu Qian compiled the fourth collections of biographies of eminent monks.<sup>30</sup> Yu Qian's work has been highly regarded because it provides detailed information about eminent monks after the Song, especially monks in the northern dynasties such as Liao (Khitan), Jin (Jurchen), and Xixia (Tangut). Budong's biography, for example, can be found only in this collection. The compilation of his biography is most likely based upon widely circulated oral transmissions about Master Budong's life story and his connection with esoteric rituals. According to Budong's biography which Dunnell has translated above, it is commonly believed that

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*Thirty-Five Buddha-Names* 三十五佛名經 and *Liturgical Text of Worship and Repentance* 禮懺文, he added fifty-three buddhas in the beginning and the Ten Vows of Samantabhadra at the end, making altogether 108 rites in hopes of cutting off the 108 kinds of afflictions (*kleśa*). The text of the Mengshan Rite is also his work. Alas, in the past thousand years and the future, all Chan groves and temples follow these as their routine liturgy. Therefore how inconceivable are the master's achievement and merit!

In fascicle 5 (*Chongding er'ke hejie*, 233), he added the following:

Mengshan is located fifteen *li* west of Mingshan County in Yazhou Prefecture. There are five peaks and the one in the front is the highest, namely Shangqing Peak (*Shangqing feng* 上清峰), which produced the Ganlu tea. Master Budong of the Song practiced cultivation inside and thus was named Master Ganlu. He thought that after the chanting of the *Amitābha-sūtra* (*Mituo jing* 彌陀經) and the *Great Repentance Ritual Text* (*Da chanhui* 大懺悔), all the beings in the Six Paths of Rebirth should be given offerings and the underground world be benefited as well. Based on the Method of Feeding the Hungry Ghosts with Water (*Shui shishi fa* 水施食法) from the esoteric division and *Scripture of Saving the Hungry Ghosts* (*Jiuba yankou e'gui jing* 救拔焰口餓鬼經), he thus assembled these ritual texts together and let the later followers make karmic connections with the underground ghosts and the dead.

30. Its being called "the fourth collection" follows Yang Wenhui's 楊文會 suggestion that Huijiao's, Daoxuan's, and Zanning's collections of biographies should be viewed as the previous three collections and Yu Qian's collection should be the fourth one. See *Zhongguo xueshu mingzhu tiyao* (*Zongjiao*) 中國學術名著提要: 宗教 (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 1997), 552.

Budong was an Indian monk specializing in tantric rituals and later arrived in Xixia and resided in the Huguo 護國 Temple, the most preeminent one in the Tangut state.<sup>31</sup> For some mysterious reason, he moved to Mount Mengshan in Sichuan and edited Amoghavajra's Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts. In addition, according to this biography, he also created a ritual called the Small Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts. When we associate this paragraph with the textual history of the Mengshan Rite which we discussed above, these pieces of information confirm our discovery that there are two types of the Mengshan Rite: one is the shorter ritual manual preserved in the *Ōbaku shingi* and *Zenrin kaju*, which may be the so-called small rite in Budong's biography; the other is the more elaborate one, which has been preserved in the Jiaxing supplementary canon.

The location of Mengshan is also an important clue for solving the myth about the origin of this esoteric rite that bears the name "Mengshan." According to local gazetteers, Mount Mengshan is situated in Mingshan 名山 County. As Dunnell reveals, a *Ganlu Dashi* 甘露大師 (Great Master of Sweet Dew) had planted seven tea trees on the top of the mountain. However, the current gazetteers<sup>32</sup> tell us stories different from our expectation about this Ganlu master: one story in the *Yudi jisheng* 與地紀勝 states that in the Western Han a monk came from Guangdong (*lingbiao* 嶺表) and planted tea trees at the top of Mount Mengshan. He was thus revered as *Ganlu Dashi*. In another story, Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488–1559), a Ming literatus, pointed to a stele that gave some detailed description of this monk, whose name was Puhui 普慧 and secular name was *wu* 吳:

Master Puhui (Universal Wisdom) of Mingshan was originally from Guangdong area and resided in Mount Mengshan. According to a stele, during the Western Han, Monk Lizhen 理真, whose secular name was "wu," taught people to make a living by planting tea on the top of Mount Mengshan. When he died, his statue was made of stone and his followers worshipped him as the Sweet Dew Master. [On the occasions] of flood, draught, illness, and plague, he responded upon prayers without fail. In the thirteenth years of the Chunxi 淳熙 reign

31. For detail about this temple, see Ruth Dunnell, "A History of the Dayun (Huguo) Temple at Liangzhou," *The Great State of White and High*, 87–118.

32. Zhao Yi 趙怡 and Zhao Yi 趙懿, *Mingshan xianzhi* 名山縣志, 1892; Zhao Zhenghe 趙正和, *Mingshanxian xinzhì* 名山縣新志, in *Sichuan fangzhi* 四川方志 (27) (Taiwan: Xuesheng shuju, 1969).

(1186–1187), Yu Dazhong 俞大中, a Jinshi degree holder from this county, reported that the master's merits and virtues had spread among people. The Xiaozong Emperor of the Song (r. 1163–1189) thus bestowed the title of Master of Sweet Dew, Universal Wisdom, and Wonderful Boon (*Ganlu puhui miaoji dashi* 甘露普慧妙濟大師) to him. Thus, here comes the Zhiju 智炬 monastery.<sup>33</sup>

The very title “Ganlu” has an implicit esoteric resonance because “Ganlu” (sweet dew, Skt. *amṛta*) was widely used in Chinese esoteric texts as a metaphor of spiritual nectar that quenches human desires.<sup>34</sup> But according to Yang Shen's record, this Ganlu master has no direct link with Budong, who also had the title “Ganlu.” Because of the confusion of historical records, Ruth Dunnell suggests that it was highly probable that local gazetteers had conflated several legends together.

Although the record in local gazetteers could be a legend, its main characters in this legend might not be. Historical records show that monks from India played important roles in the Tangut state. For example, according to van der Kuijp's study, Jayānanda, a monk from Kashmir, became national preceptor of Tangut in the twelfth century.<sup>35</sup> In our case, the existence of such an eminent Indian monk Budong in Xixia is further validated by Ruth Dunnell. When Dunnell personally examined newly discovered sutra fragments from a ruined temple in the Helan Mountains near Yinchuan with Mr. Shi Jinbo 史金波, a

33. Zhao Yi et al., *Mingshan xianzhi*, 1892, 2:2–3.

34. Charles Orzech speculates that the metaphoric use of “sweet dew” is possibly a congruence of influence from both South Asian and Chinese religions, especially from Taoism. But I suspect when the title “sweet dew” was associated with Mengshan, a place of tea production, it could also refer to tea metaphorically. See Orzech, “Further Notes on Tantra, Metaphor Theory, Ritual and Sweet Dew,” unpublished paper. See also Orzech, “Fang Yankou and Pudu: Translation, Metaphor, and Religious Identity,” in *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual*, ed. Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 213–234. For the use of “sweet dew” in Chinese sources, see James Benn, *Tea in China: A Religious and Cultural History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 40.

35. See Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp, “Jayānanda: A Twelfth Century *Guoshi* from Kashmir among the Tangut,” *Central Asian Journal* 37 (1993): 188–197. See also Ruth Dunnell, “Translating History from Tangut Buddhist Texts,” *Asia Major* 22, no. 1 (2009): 41–78; “Esoteric Buddhism under the Xixia (1038–1227),” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Boston: Brill, 2011), 465–477.

leading Chinese scholar in Xixia studies, she identified that Budong, bearing the title “Unshakable Vajra Preceptor,” was among the high clerics who produced these fragments.<sup>36</sup> Based on these pieces of evidence, Dunnell established the connection between Budong and the Xixia state.

If Master Budong was indeed a celebrated Tangut master and Mount Mengshan was actually connected with Buddhism, the association between Budong and Mount Mengshan in the transmission of the Mengshan Rite entails an inevitable difficulty in explaining several disparate historical events coherently because in history the Tangut Empire never extended to Mengshan area. Hence, it is impossible to imagine the reason why such an important figure would have resided in Mount Mengshan, a local place that had no significance in Buddhist history. Therefore, in order to establish the hypothesis that the Mengshan Rite was derived from Master Budong, two issues need to be addressed: First, according to Chinese sources, from its rise in 1038 to its fall in 1227, the Tangut state never extended to as far as the border of Yazhou Prefecture in Sichuan where Mount Mengshan is situated; it is thus unlikely to imagine that a national preceptor of the Xixia state could have had a chance to visit Mengshan. How then, could Master Budong, who was in the most prestigious Huguo Temple in the Xixia Kingdom, travel a thousand miles to be in western Sichuan, which was at that time the Sino-Tibetan border area? The second question concerns how this ritual was transmitted to China proper even as far as the southeast coastal Fujian area during the Ming, almost four hundred years after the Tangut state had officially ended. If my transmission theory, which traces the origin of an esoteric ritual to Budong and Mengshan, is true, we must find evidence to prove the connection between the Tangut state and Mount Mengshan, and also, the link between Mount Mengshan and China proper. In the next section, I try to answer these two questions and suggest that a Tangut community, which had been relocated in the Sino-Tibetan border area, was deeply involved in trade and commerce between China and Tibet and thus had the opportunity to bring this ritual to China.

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36. Dunnell, *The Great State of White and High*, 33 and n40.

## THE TANGUT DIASPORA IN MI-ÑAG

The transmission of a religious practice is closely related to the mobility of a particular group of people for whom religion is an indispensable part of life. A religious practice can be disseminated through traveling caravans as a result of the expansion of commercial networks. Transmissions can also be achieved through the active promotion of a kind of practice by diasporic communities, which often act as carriers of exotic religious practices. Being relocated and displaced, diasporic communities are in a marginal position both geographically and socially because of their “foreign” origins. However, marginality also creates the possibilities of exchange because diasporic communities are at the same time imagined as an “authentic” representative of an alien culture.

If the mobility of a group of people is the key to solving the issue about transmission, we need to look at the fate of the Tangut people with whom, Budong, an Indian monk, was associated. Our sources suggest that although as a nation Xixia ceased to exist after the thirteenth century, the Tangut communities were able to survive in the form of diaspora.<sup>37</sup> One of such communities, called Mi-ñag and rediscovered later in the twentieth century, was actually located in the Sino-Tibetan border and was close to Mount Mengshan. Moreover, this region, where the Tangut diasporic community is located, used to be the transportation hub between China and Tibet. The Sino-Tibet tea-horse trade had flourished since the twelfth century and continued to grow during the Ming. Because of its geographically advantageous location, this Tangut diasporic community was thus involved in trade and commerce. Based on these historical facts, I attempt to solve the myth about the transmission of the Mengshan Rite by positing two hypotheses: First, there existed a Tangut diasporic community in the Sino-Tibetan border that survived after Kublai Khan (1215–1294) conquered Xixia in 1227. This

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37. For evidence about the Tangut diaspora in inland China, see Chen Yuan, *Western and Central Asians in China under the Mongols: Their Transformation into Chinese*, trans. and annotators Ch'ien Hsing-hai and L. Carrington Goodrich (Nettetal: SteylerVerlag, 1989). In recent years, Chinese scholars have conducted many surveys of the Tangut diaspora. Li Fanwen alone launched five field surveys. For his survey results, see Li Fanwen 李範文, *Li Fanwen Xixia xue lunwen ji* 李範文西夏學論文集 (Beijing: Shehuikexue chubanshe, 2012), 658–771.



community preserved a form of the esoteric *Shishi* ritual revised by Master Budong; second, the Sino-Tibetan tea-horse trade was instrumental to the transmission of this ritual to inland China because the descendants of this community had actively participated in commercial activities and thus created the possibility to travel deeply inside China.

To validate the first hypothesis, we need to review briefly the history of the so-called Tangut state. The Xixia regime is the only Chinese dynasty without a dynastic history. Proclaimed by Yuan Hao 元昊 (r. 1031–1048) in 1038, this new state soon became a strong rival of Song China besides the Liao (Khitan) dynasty. In 1227, the Mongols finally conquered the Xixia state. Since then, its religious and cultural heritage seemed to have ceased to exist.<sup>38</sup> In the beginning of the twentieth century, a series of expeditions, first led by Russian Captain P. K. Kozoloff and sponsored by the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in 1908 and later by Sir R. Stein in 1914, discovered many Tangut materials in Khara-khoto (Heishuicheng 黑水城). These sources reveal that Xixia was not simply a military power in the eleventh and twelfth centuries but also had created high civilization, including the invention of its unique writing system and the printing of the Tangut Tripitaka, which had been translated into its new scripts. Studies also show the strong presence of tantric Buddhism, suggesting more Tibetan influence on Tangut Buddhism.<sup>39</sup>

One of the intriguing questions in Tangut studies is the destiny of the Tangut people and the Tangut culture after the conquest by Genghis Khan (1162?–1227), whose generals exacted fierce revenge because Genghis Khan died during the siege of the Tangut state. In fact, some Tangut people were incorporated into the Mongol's administrative

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38. For the history of the Xixia state, see Ruth Dunnell, "The Hsi Hsia," in *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 6:154–224. Recent studies on Tangut Buddhism show the frequent interaction among Tangut, Tibet, the Song and Liao dynasties, and the later Yuan dynasty. See K. J. Solonin, "Hongzhou Buddhism in Xixia and the Heritage of Zongmi (780–841): A Tangut Source," *Asia Major* 16 (2003): 57–103; "The Glimpses of Tangut Buddhism," *Central Asiatic Journal* 52 (2008): 64–127.

39. See E. I. Kychanov, "Tibetans and Tibetan Culture in the Tangut State Hsi Hsia (982–1227)," in *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium* (Budapest: Bibliotheca orientalis Hungarica, 1979), 205–211.



forces and served for the Mongol Yuan government as magistrates during Mongol's rule in China. The Yuan sources testify that a certain number of Tangut aristocrats and military men served in the Yuan regime and were classified as the Semu 色目 people.<sup>40</sup> In this sense, this group of Tangut people, who were absorbed into the Mongol regime, started the process of diaspora. In contrast to this cooperative attitude towards the conquest, certain Tangut groups, after the Mongol conquest, refused to join the new regime and thus returned to the pasture area along the Tibetan-China border where they rose as a tribe in the eighth century.

The history of this diasporic community along the Sino-Tibetan border was discovered only in the twentieth century. In 1945, Chinese scholar Deng Shaoqin 鄧少琴 published an article that reveals astonishing findings about the Tangut descendants. During his fieldwork in the former Xikang 西康 Province (eastern Tibet), Prof. Deng noticed that the local people in Kangding 康定 had mentioned the King of Sihü (Ch. Xiwuwang 西吳王) who had been the king of north China. After moving to the Sino-Tibetan boarder, he had lived in a place called Muya 木雅 in present-day China. One Buddhist Rinpoche informed Prof. Deng that the King of the Sihü was the later Mingzheng Tusi 明正土司 (Local Tribal Headman of Mingzheng), who was designated the chieftain of Kangding or Dajianlu since the Ming dynasty.<sup>41</sup> Through philological associations, Prof. Deng identified that the name "Sihü" is identical to the name Xixia in ancient pronunciation<sup>42</sup> and therefore

40. The Mongol Empire classified all people under its rule into four categories according to the sequence of the conquest. Semu refers to central Asians, including the Tangut people.

41. This position was created in the sixth year of the Yongle reign and took charge of three former chiefdoms. See Gong Yin 龔蔭, *Zhongguo tusi zhidu* 中國土司制度 (Kunming: Yunnan minzhu chubanshe, 1990), 265–267. See also Deng Tingliang 鄧廷良, "Mingzheng tusi kaocha ji 明正土司考察記," *Yalongjiang shangyou kaocha baogao* 雅礮江上游考察報告 (Chengdu: Zhongguo xinan mizu yanjiu xuehui, 1985). For an ethnological report from the region, see Gillian Tan, "An Ethnography of Life and Changes among Tibetan Nomads of Minyang Dora Karmo, Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province," *Études Mongoles Et Sibériennes, Centrasiatiques Et Tibétaines* 43–44 (2013).

42. "Sihü" can be also spelled as "Se-hü," which refers to a venomous spirit according to Tibetan historiography. The Xixia/Mi-ñag emperor was believed to be the son of this spirit who gave the power to Xixia to take over China.

contemplated that after the destruction of the Xixia state, one branch of the Tangut people migrated to this area and established a small kingdom that lasted until the Ming dynasty. During the Ming, those descendants of the ruler were bestowed the title “Mingzheng Tusi.” Prof. Deng also proved that etymologically all Chinese names that were used to transliterate the name of this place, such as Muya, Munei 木内, Muna 母納, Minake 密納克, Miyao 弭藥, and Mi’erzhou 彌娥州, are transliterations of the Tibetan name “Mi-ñag,” which refers to Xixia and the region between eastern Tibet and western Sichuan Province. Through Deng’s study, the connection between Xixia and the western Sichuan and eastern Tibet was initially established.<sup>43</sup>

The relation between Mi-ñag and the Tangut state was further elaborated by R. A. Stein. In 1948, Stein presented a paper to the British Royal Society, later published as “Mi-ñag et Hsi Hsia [Xixia, Tangut].” In this paper, he acknowledged the direct relationship between Mi-ñag and the Xixia state as observed by other scholars. But he noticed an obvious discrepancy between Tibetan sources and Chinese sources. That is, in Tibetan sources the genealogy of the Xixia kings under the name of Mi-ñag is longer than that recorded in Chinese dynastic histories. Tibetan chronicles mention seventeen kings in total and eight more than the number of kings provided in Chinese dynastic histories. Obviously, the life of the Tangut state or the so-called Mi-ñag was much elongated if viewed from the Tibetan side. Stein concluded that the term “Mi-ñag” in Tibetan refers to both the Xixia state in general and the north-west and the west of the kingdom. Therefore, it is reasonable to speculate that after the fall of the Xixia state the descendants of Mi-ñag, who resided between eastern Tibet and western Sichuan, continued the Tangut culture and rulership.<sup>44</sup> In another article published in 1966, Stein translated relevant passages from the Tibetan *Red Annals* (*Deb-ther dmar-po*) and once again confirmed the existence of

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See the section on “Genealogy of Tangut,” in *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography: The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies, An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle: rGyal-rabs dsal-ba’i me-long*, trans. K. Sørensen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 84–86.

43. Deng Shaoqing 鄧少琴, “Xikang muyaxiang xiwuwang kao 西康木雅鄉西吳王考,” orig. pub. 1945; repr. in Bai Bin 白濱: *Xixiashi lunwenji* 西夏史論文集 (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1984), 673–694.

44. R. A. Stein, “Mi-ñag et Si-hia: Géographie historique et légendes ancestrales,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 44, no. 1 (1947–1950): 223–265.

the Tangut culture under the Yuan.<sup>45</sup> The effort to identify the Xixia descendants is never abandoned in China. From May to September in 1980, Prof. Li Fanwen 李范文 led another field survey of the Tangut descendants in eastern Tibet and western Sichuan. As a result of his research, he confirmed the existence of the Tangut descendants in the Mi-ñag region.<sup>46</sup>

The scholarship on the destiny of the Tangut people shows clearly that one branch of the Tanguts, perhaps one branch of the royal family, continued to be addressed as Mi-ñag in Tibetan sources and actually dominated the western Sichuan region after the fall of the Xixian state in the thirteenth century. The result of these studies begins to shed new light on Budong's residence in Mengshan. Based on Stein's work, my first hypothesis can be summarized as follows.

As discussed before, Mount Mengshan is located in Mingshan County of Yazhou 雅州 Prefecture. Although Mingshan County was largely dominated by the Chinese, Yazhou was always a remote frontier neighboring small tribal states along the Sino-Tibetan border. During the late imperial period, these tribal areas were referred to as Dajianlu 打箭爐 and were under the administration of Yazhou Prefecture. I hypothesize that Budong, as a famous monk in the Huguo Temple, may have followed members of the royal family to the western Yazhou area and temporarily resided in Mengshan where he recompiled the Mengshan Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts.

If it is plausible that the Xixia monk Budong had resided in the Mengshan area and reformulated the ritual, there is still one historical

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45. R. A. Stein, "Nouveaux documents tibétains sur le Mi-ñag/Si-hia," *Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à M. Paul Demiéville* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études chinoises, 1966), 281–289. Other Tibetan sources also mention Mi-ñag/Xixia. For example, in *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long*, it was recorded the Tangut regime lasted for 260 years. However, according to Chinese historiography, it only existed for 188 years. This means that the actual Tangut rule survived after the Mongol conquest. See Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography: The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 84–86.

46. See Li Fanwen 李范文, "Xixia yimin diaochaji 西夏遺民調查記," in *Xixia yanjiu lunji 西夏研究論集* (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1983), 190–278, and his "Jiarongyu yu daofu zuyuan kao 嘉戎語與道孚族源考," *ibid.*, 306–320. See also Way J. Van and Bkhrashis Bzangpo, "Nyagrang Minyag: Prestige and Maintenance of a Traditional Language on the Tibetan Periphery," *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 38, no. 2 (2016): 245–255.

question that needs to be clarified: Why did this ritual and the legend attributed to Budong become so popular in inland China in late imperial times? For example, its transmission to Japan by the Ōbaku monks from Fujian and its integration into the Chan liturgical tradition attest to its popularity. In addition, as Budong's biography states, "It seems that there will be no Buddhist ritual without this [Mengshan Law]." Although there is no further evidence in Chinese Buddhist sources about its transmission in China, the geographic location of this region suggested a mode of transmission through trade and commerce: if the relocation of the Tangut people at the end of the thirteenth century preserved the Mengshan Rite in the Sino-Tibetan border area, the further spread of this ritual must be closely linked to trade, especially the tea-horse trade, which used to be a flourishing business along the border.

#### THE SINO-TIBETAN TEA-HORSE TRADE AND THE TANGUT DESCENDANTS

The spread of Buddhism was always closely related to trans-regional trade and the migration of merchants. For example, the early transmission of Buddhism in China was linked to Central Asian merchant groups.<sup>47</sup> In order to study the transmission of the Mengshan Rite to China, the geographical location of Mengshan and its role in trade and commerce must be considered carefully.

Mount Mengshan in Mingshan County, where Budong allegedly resided, was very important in Sino-Tibetan history because Mengshan tea, the main product of Mingshan County, was favored by the Tibetans. In addition, since Yazhou Prefecture was one of the major transportation hubs between China and Tibet, Mengshan tea naturally became the main staple in the Sino-Tibetan tea-horse trade. The tea-horse trade between Tibet and China grew out of the needs of the two parties: the Tibetans needed strong tea to absorb their heavy meat-based diet while China desperately needed horses for battlefields. In the 1070s, the Song government began to set up the Tea Market Agency (*Chazhengsi* 茶政司) to monopolize the trade. Since then, Tibet became the sole customer of the Sichuan tea industry and "even during the

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47. For example, see Jason Emmanuel Neelis, *Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks: Mobility and Exchange Within and Beyond the Northwestern Borderlands of South Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

Ming Sichuan's best teas went not to Chinese consumers but to the Tibetans and other non-Han groups in the west, while during the Qing 90 percent of all Sichuanese tea was sold to Tibet."<sup>48</sup> Among different types of tea, a special kind of tea produced in Mengshan, called "Mengshan tea," was Tibetans' favorite tea in the Sino-Tibet tea-horse trade since the eleventh century. As Paul Smith describes, "Mingshan county, seventy-five miles southwest of Chengdu along the main highway to Tibet, was Sichuan's most prolific producer, with a capacity of 4,000,000 *jin* of tea. It was soon designated the major supplier of 'convoy tea' (*gongcha* 貢茶) for the horse trade."<sup>49</sup> In the 1070s, the Tea Market Agency even tied Mengshan tea solely to the horse trade with Tibet and legally prohibited the handling of Mengshan tea outside the horse trade.<sup>50</sup>

In the early Ming, the unbroken tea-horse trade had brought certain prosperity to the Mi-ñag region along the Tibet-Sichuan border due to the success of the lucrative business with Chinese merchants.<sup>51</sup> For example, a new city, Dar-rtse-mdo or Dajianlu in Chinese, evolved from a small village into a large Mi-ñag center. The economic prosperity also brought cultural and religious development. As Elliot Sperling observes, "In the fifteenth century we begin to note the appearance of a number of prominent religious figures from the Mi-nyag region of khams, with its center in Dar-rtse-mdo."<sup>52</sup> These prominent figures include the so-called "five scholars of Mi-ñag" whose biographies still exist.<sup>53</sup> In addition, Sperling points out that these Buddhist clergymen were connected with the royal clan of the Xixia state:

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48. Paul J. Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse: Horses, Bureaucrats, and the Destruction of the Sichuan Tea Industry, 1074–1224* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 62. I am indebted to Robert Hymes for this reference.

49. *Ibid.*, 134.

50. *Ibid.*, 270–272.

51. For the tea-horse trade in the Ming, see Morris Rossabi, "The Tea and Horse Trade with Inner Asia during the Ming," *Journal of Asian History* 4, no. 2 (1970): 137–168.

52. Elliot Sperling, "The Szechwan-Tibet Frontier in the Fifteenth Century," *Ming Studies* 26 (1988): 40. See also Huang Hao 黃顥, "Zangwen shishu zhong de Miyao" 藏文史書中的弭藥, *Qinghai minzu xueyuan xuebao* 青海民族學院學報 4 (1985): 60–65.

53. Senge Sangbo 森格桑波 (Sengge Sampe), *Muya wuxuezhe zhuan* 木雅五學者傳 (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1986). See also Shangguan Jianbi 上

Among the noted clerics who emerge in the Khams area of Mi-nyag in the fifteenth century are some belonging to a clan bearing the name “Rme-se,” which one of our Tibetan sources describes as “part of the clan of the Mi-nyag (i.e., Tangut) king ‘Tha’i-hu”<sup>54</sup> and others” (Tib. “Mi-nyag-gi rgyal-po Tha’i-hu-la sogs-pa’i gdung-rigs-kyi-nang-tshan”). The transplanting of possibly a branch of the Tangut royal clan into the Sino-Tibetan frontier regions was part of the process by which the Mi-nyag area in Khams came to support a thriving economy and strong local powers who in that century were able to invite some of the foremost religious figures of Central Tibet to the area.<sup>55</sup>

Sperling’s study shows that a branch of the Tangut royal family was indeed active in the Mi-ñag region and engaged in promoting Buddhism. It is possible that Budong’s disciples were among them and were active in transmitting rituals reformed by Budong. The eastward spread of the Mengshan Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts can also be explained on this basis because this area was closely connected to inland China due to the frequent tea-horse trade. As a major official port of tea-horse trade, Ya’an 雅安, the administrative seat of Yazhou Prefecture, became the starting point for Tibetan merchants and monks to pay their “tribute” visits to China. These merchants and monks likely had more contacts with Buddhists inside China.

It is well-known that the early Ming court favored Tibetan tantrism and had treated the “tribute” clerics very generously in China. This patronage led to an influx of the so-called “Tibetan” monks. The Chinese term “*fanseng* 番僧” was usually designated to monks from Tibet. However, among them many were actually from Mi-ñag, the region closest to the Chinese border but culturally distinctive from Tibet. For example, after a clearance registry of Buddhist clergy in response to complaints about the excessive number of “Tibetan” monks, Ming officials found that most so-called Tibetan monks were not genuine Tibetans. Rather, they came from western Sichuan (Xishu 西蜀) where the diasporic Tangut people held certain control. More importantly, these tribute monks were often engaged in tea-horse trade directly.

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官劍壁, “Sichuan de Muya ren yu Xixia” 四川的木雅人與西夏, *Ningxia shehui kexue* 寧夏社會科學 3 (1994): 22–26.

54. According to Deng Shaoqing, it equals to the Chinese transliteration *dawu* 大吳, which means Xixia. See Deng, “Xikang muyaxiang xiwuwang kao,” 681.

55. Elliot Sperling, “The Szechwan-Tibet Frontier in the Fifteenth Century,” 41.



In 1458, 1471, and 1490, the Ming government issued three decrees to prohibit tea trade by “tribute monks.”<sup>56</sup> All these sources suggest that if the monks from Mi-ñag could penetrate inland China by paying tribute visits and handling tea, especially their favorite Mengshan tea, they were likely able to spread the Mengshan Rite in Chinese Buddhist communities.

One more clue that might help us understand the role of the Tangut descendants in the transmission of esoteric rituals is the evidence that even during the Ming dynasty the Tangut diasporic communities were still active in places such as Baoding 保定, the southern pass to Beijing. In 1962, an *uṣṇīṣa dhāraṇī* pillar (*zunsheng tuoluoni jingchuang* 尊勝陀羅尼經幢), written in Tangut scripts, was discovered in Baoding (Hebei Province). This discovery testifies that living Tangut communities still existed and were deeply committed to Buddhism as late as 1502.<sup>57</sup> The connection between this community and the Tangut community in Mi-ñag is not clear. But once again the geographical location of this place suggests the implicit link: while Mi-ñag is located at the starting point of the trade route, Baoding is situated at the end of the journey from the Sino-Tibetan border to Beijing.

#### CONCLUSION

In this paper, I try to establish a hypothesis about the transmission of a particular esoteric ritual in late imperial China: The very title “Mengshan,” the name of a mountain directly associated with tea, symbolizes the provenance of the Mengshan Rite for Feeding the Hungry Ghosts in the Mi-ñag region. The alleged author “Budong” is a clue suggesting the connection between the Mengshan Rite and the Tangut

56. See Li Dongyang 李東陽 et al., *Daming huidian* 大明會典 (orig. pub. 1587; repr. Taipei: Zhongwen shuju, 1963), 689–690. For studies of the interaction between Tibet and Ming China, see Shen Weirong, “Tantric Buddhism in Ming China,” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Boston: Brill, 2011), 550–560.

57. Shi Jinbo and Bai Bin, “Mingdai xixiawen jingjuan he shichuang chutan 明代西夏文經卷和石幢初探,” in *Xixiashi lunwenji* 西夏史論文集, ed. Bai Bin (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1984), 574–595. See also the same authors, “Mingdai xixiawen jingjuan zaitan 明代西夏文經卷和石幢再探,” in *Xixiashi lunwenji*, 600–623; and Li Fanwen, “Guanyu mingdai jingjuan de niandai he shichuang de mingcheng wenti 關於明代經卷的年代和石幢的名稱問題,” in *Xixiashi lunwenji*, 595–599.



diasporic community. Based on the evidence of the Tangut diasporic community in Mi-ñag and the role of Mount Mengshan in the Sino-Tibetan border, I suggest that the spread of the Mengshan Rite, which had been attributed to the thirteenth-century Tangut master Budong, must have close relationship with the remaining Tangut community, addressed as Mi-ñag by the Tibetans, where the ritual had survived and the tea-horse trade had provided a possible channel for its further dissemination in China.

If this hypothesis can be established, it will also clarify the myth about the visible Tibetan influence in Chinese Buddhism, especially in late imperial China. Based on the role of the Tangut diasporic community in the transmission of the Mengshan Rite, I suggest that at least some tantric elements were not directly brought by the Tibetans. Rather, small ethnic groups along the Sino-Tibetan border, such as the so-called Mi-ñag people, might have contributed to the transmission of tantric rituals in a more direct way.

Finally, I want to relate this study to the general discussion about the issue of “transmission” in Chinese Buddhism because the spread of a particular religious tradition often intrigues scholars to hypothesize different modes of transmission. Erik Zürcher, for example, in his study of the early transmission of Buddhism in China, puts forth the models of “contact expansion” and “long-distance” transmission. He suggests that instead of a gradual expansion through contacts with “West Regions,” Buddhism adopted the mode of “long-distance” transmission to China and thus bypassed the vacuum area of Eastern Central Asia. Only after the development of Eastern Central Asia under Chinese influence in the second century did the Buddhist vacuum start to be filled as a result of population growth and urbanization.<sup>58</sup> In another study in which he compares the spread of Buddhism in China and the propagation of Christianity in seventeenth-century China, he characterizes the Jesuit missionary approach as “guided transmission” that relied on a centralized ecclesia under the directions of a hierarchy

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58. Erik Zürcher, “Han Buddhism and the Western Region,” in *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China: Studies Dedicated to Anthony Hulsewé on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. W. L. Idema and Erik Zürcher (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 158–182; and “Buddhism across Boundaries: The Foreign Input,” in *Buddhism across Boundaries: Chinese Buddhism and the West Regions*, ed. John McRae and Jan Nattier (Taipei: Fo Guang Shan Foundation for Buddhist & Culture Education, 1999), 1–59.

(referring to Rome) completely outside China. Buddhism, in contrast, conquered China through contacts with local communities without a unifying policy.<sup>59</sup>

My study also deals with the issue of transmission, although the temporal and spatial framework is quite different. If a model of transmission must be applied here as in Zürcher's study, I would like to suggest that the transmission of the Mengshan Rite follows the rule of marginality, which means a line of transmission, which was often reconstructed during a time of Buddhist revival, must have had derived from a marginal locality or an ambiguous person whose origins were often difficult to trace. This rule functions on two levels: First, from a historical point of view, when the mainstream tradition suffers severe suppressions and persecutions, marginal places and obscure persons tend to have better chance to maintain continuity of the tradition through the preservation of texts, rituals, or oral transmissions. Second, from an ideological point of view, when a particular tradition is intended to be rejuvenated, the rule of marginality will allow the claimant of the legitimate heir of this tradition to imagine a genuine continuity without further historical scrutiny, because the scarcity of available sources conceals the true history and denies further investigation. I believe that this is what actually happened in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the marginalized Tangut diasporic community, peripheral in both Chinese and Tibetan cultures, preserved and spread this rite to China proper. However, when a genuine effort had been attempted to resume the continuity of the esoteric tradition, this unclear transmission of the Mengshan Rite was appropriated as part of the process of the reinvention of a tradition. During late imperial China, because of the remote origin of this rite, it was imagined by Chinese Buddhists such as Zhuhong as a genuine transmission from the early esoteric tradition. In this sense, the legend of Master Budong and Mount Mengshan had contributed to the reinvention of the esoteric tradition in late imperial China.

The rule of marginality in the process of transmission can be equally applied to other fields of religious studies. Similar examples

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59. Erik Zürcher, "China, Boeddisme en Christendom: Spontane Engeleide Expansie," *Streven* 55 (1988): 913–925; and "Bouddhisme et Christianisme," in *Bouddhisme, Christianisme et Societe chinoise*, ed. Erik. Zürcher (Paris: Julliard, 1990), 11–42.

can be found in various religious traditions that have undergone significant revivals. In the field of Chinese Buddhism, Chan history, a field that is beset by myths and legends of dharma transmission, could be another test case for the validity of the rule of marginality. A ready example is the role of Bodhidharma and Huineng in Chan history. As Bernard Faure points out, they emerged from relative marginality and obscurity and were completely reconstructed in later Chan historiography as the foundational figures of the Chan tradition.<sup>60</sup> However, due to the limit of space in this paper, we will leave this issue to another occasion.

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60. See Bernard Faure, "Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm," *History of Religions* 25, no. 3 (1986): 187–198; reprinted in his *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 126–135.



## ***Stūpa to Maṇḍala: Tracing a Buddhist Architectural Development from Kesariya to Borobudur to Tabo***<sup>1</sup>

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### INTRODUCTION

There were occasions for the direct transfer of Southeast Asian Buddhist developments to India, and there is evidence of at least two specific moments when this occurred. Both instances provide opportunities for a range of interpretative analyses.<sup>2</sup>

Hiram Woodward, in his “Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia in the Light of Recent Scholarship,” singles out the moment when Bālaputradeva, an exiled scion of the Śailendra dynasty, the builders of the Buddhist Borobudur monument in Central Java, established a

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1. This article is based on a paper presented at the conference “Cultural Dialogues between India and Southeast Asia from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries” at the K.R. Cama institute, Mumbai, in January 2015. The Kesariya-Borobudur part of this article appears in Swati Chemburkar, “Borobudurs Pāla Forebear? A Field Note from Kesariya, Bihar, India,” in *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, ed. Andrea Acri (Singapore: ISEAS, 2016). I owe a special word of thanks to Prof. Tadeusz Skorupski for introducing me to esoteric Buddhism and generously sharing his deep knowledge of texts. I appreciate the critique of my draft by Hiram Woodward and Max Deeg. Despite their feedback, errors may still remain and they are no doubt mine. My sincere thanks to Yves Guichand and Christian Luczanits for graciously providing me the aerial images of the Kesariya *stūpa* and the layout of Tabo Monastery along with the photos.

2. Hiram Woodward, “Review: Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia in the Light of Recent Scholarship,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35, no. 2 (2004): 346–347.

monastery at Nālandā, Bihar in 850 or 860 CE.<sup>3</sup> A verse inscribed on a small *stūpa* at this monastery is taken from the *Bhadracarīpranīdhāna* (Vows of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra). The same text informs the ninth-century reliefs of the topmost galleries at Borobudur.<sup>4</sup> To Woodward, this suggests that there were either long-standing similarities between Nālandā and central Java or it was Bālaputra's monastery that brought new emphasis to Nālandā from abroad. Deciding between these two possibilities is not an easy option, and Woodward tends to favor the latter.

The new emphasis in design—the circular arrangement of deities in certain numerological configurations on the upper three terraces of Borobudur—appears to reflect a characteristic of the *yoginī-tantras* that developed at Nālandā in the late eighth to early ninth centuries.<sup>5</sup>

The distinctive architecture of Borobudur is still being debated. Scholars have looked at Indian prototypes in the ruined *stūpa* of Nandangarh<sup>6</sup> and the partially excavated *stūpa* of Kesariya<sup>7</sup> in Bihar. The unique, almost circular arrangement of deities in the external niches of Kesariya suggests an architectural linkage with Java and the possibility of the new emphasis having some earlier currents in the Buddhist world of Nālandā.

3. Hirananda Sastri's text of the inscription can be found in "The Nālandā Copper-Plate of Devapāladeva," *Epigraphia Indica* 17 (1923–1924): 310–327; and in Hirananda Sastri, *Nālandā and Its Epigraphic Material: Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1942), 95.

4. Gregory Schopen translated the text in "A Verse from the *Bhadracarīpranīdhāna* in a 10<sup>th</sup> Century Inscription Found at Nālandā," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 12 (1989): 149–157. See also Hiram Woodward, "The Life of the Buddha in the Pāla Monastic Environment," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 48 (1990): 15–17.

5. Ronald Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (1st Indian ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas, 2004), 118, 302.

6. For a detailed account of Nandangarh *stūpa* and its possible influence on Javanese monuments, see J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "South-East Asian Architecture and the Stūpa of Nandangarh," *Artibus Asiae* 19, nos. 3–4 (1956): 279–290; Joyanto Sen, "The Colossal Stupa at Nandangarh: Its Reconstruction and Significance," *Artibus Asiae* 75, no. 2 (2015): 179–220.

7. Based on the overall measurements and the architecture, Caesar Voûte and Mark Long list similarities and differences between Kesariya and Borobudur in *Borobudur: Pyramid of the Cosmic Buddha* (New Delhi: D. K. Printworld, 2008), 187–191.

The second historical moment of immediate contact between Southeast Asian Buddhism and India, which Woodward alludes to, came two centuries later. In 1012 CE, a learned Buddhist monk from northeast India went to live in “Śrīvijaya” to study esoteric Buddhism under Dharmakīrti.<sup>8</sup> He was born Candragarbha, renamed as Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna when he entered the sangha, and after initiation into *yoginī-tantras* he received the name Atīśa. After studying for twelve years somewhere in the maritime federation known as Śrīvijaya, he carried up to Tibet the oldest surviving Śrīvijayan Buddhist commentary *Durbodhāloka* (Illuminating the Unfathomable), composed by his teacher, Dharmakīrti.<sup>9</sup> This text, extant only in its Tibetan translation, says that it was written “in the city of Śrīvijaya in Suvarṇadvīpa” under the patronage of the Śailendra monarch Cūlāmaṇivarman.<sup>10</sup> Besides this text, certain concepts regarding inner and outer *maṇḍalas* were picked up by Atīśa during his Śrīvijayan sojourn and possibly carried to Tibet.<sup>11</sup>

Among the surviving Buddhist temples of India, Tabo in Himachal displays a complete sculptural *maṇḍala* of the life-size clay figures of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala deities. Atīśa visited Tabo in 1042 CE when the

8. Bimalendra Kumar, “Contribution of Ācārya Dharmapāla of Nālandā,” in *The Heritage of Nālandā*, ed. C. Mani (New Delhi: Aryan Books/Asoka Mission, 2008), 103; B. B. Kumar, “Nālandā: Its Significance,” in *ibid.*, 185.

9. Alka Chattopadhyaya, *Atīśa and Tibet: Life and Works of Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna in Relation to the History and Religion of Tibet with Tibetan Sources* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1996), 84–95; Peter Skilling, “Geographies of Intertextuality: Buddhist Literature in Pre-Modern Siam,” *Aséanie* 19 (2007): 94.

10. J. A. Schoterman, *Indonesische Sporen in Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 185; Peter Skilling, “Dharmakīrti’s *Durbodhāloka* and the Literature of Śrīvijaya,” *Journal of the Siam Society* 85, parts 1–2 (1997): 187–194. According to John Miksic, Śrīvijaya could be Palembang, Jambi, Chaiya, or Kedah at different times in the connected maritime Malay world of the peninsula and Sumatra; see *Singapore and the Silk Road of the Sea 1300–1800* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2013), 110.

11. Alex Wayman, “Reflections on the Theory of Barabudur as a Maṇḍala,” in *Barabudur: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument*, ed. Luis O. Gomez and Hiram W. Woodward (Berkeley: Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1981), 140–2; Max Nihom has disputed this in *Studies in Indian and Indo-Indonesian Tantrism: Kuñjarakarmadharmakathana and the Yogatantra* (Vienna: De Nobili Institut für Indologie der Universität Wien, 1994), 72n192.



monastery was undergoing major renovation.<sup>12</sup> An exactly contemporaneous set of Vajradhātu Maṇḍala bronzes survives from East Java.<sup>13</sup> At the time of Atiśa's departure from Śrīvijaya, esoteric Buddhist sites sprouted in several parts of Sumatra, especially at Muara Jambi. The majority of temples are in ruins today, but the objects found from the site of Caṇḍi Gumpung contain four *vajras* and gold sheets from the tenth century inscribing the deities of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala.<sup>14</sup> The Buddhist tradition of Java and Śrīvijaya probably shared many elements. Hudaya Kandahjaya urges us to keep in mind that the Javanese island wasn't a blank sheet when Sumatra was bustling with Buddhist

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12. Deborah Klimburg-Salter et al., *Tabo: A Lamp for the Kingdom: Early Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Art in the Western Himalaya* (Milan: Skira, 1997), 91, 105.

13. The Nganjuk bronzes, discovered in 1913 and now split between the National Museum Jakarta and other collections and museums around the world, belong almost entirely to the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala described in the eighth-century *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* and *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* as well as in *maṇḍala* 19 in the later *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. Lokesh Chandra (in collaboration with Mrs. Sudarashana Devi Singha), "Identification of the Nanjuk Bronzes" and "The Buddhist Bronzes of Surocolo," in *Cultural Horizons of India: Studies in Tantra and Buddhism, Art and Archaeology, Language and Literature*, Vol. 4 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1995), 97–107 and 121–147 respectively; Benoytosh Bhattacharya, ed., *Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahapāṇḍita Abhayākara Gupta* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1972).

14. The largest concentration of Buddhist sites appeared in Muara Jambi in the eleventh century. See John Miksic, "The Buddhist-Hindu Divide in Premodern Southeast Asia," *Nalanda-Sriwijaya Working Paper Series* 1 (2010): 27. S. Nagaraju speculates that Caṇḍi Gumpung was "the principal monastery in the region." S. Nagaraju, "A Central Sumatran Metropolis at Muara Jambi and Its Buddhist Connection: Some Reflections," in *Śrī Nāgābhinandanam: Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao Festschrift*, ed. L. K. Srinivasan and S. Nagaraju (Bangalore: Dr. M. S. Nagara Rao Felicitation Committee, 1995), 2:750. The gold foil sheets found in ritual deposit boxes in the ruins of Muara Jambi bear the names of five *tathāgatas*, sixteen *vajrabodhisattvas*, and sixteen *vajratārās* of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala. Along with the gold sheets, there were *stūpikas* found among the ruins of Caṇḍi Gumpung that were placed on the platform in a pentad arrangement of the key *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* buddhas. See M. Boechari, "Ritual Deposits of Caṇḍi Gumpung (Muara Jambi)," *Final Report: Consultative Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies of Srivijaya* (Bangkok: SPAFA, 1985), Appendix 7d, 229–243.

activities.<sup>15</sup> The Śailendra-period gold foil unearthed from Ratu Boko near the Prambanan temple complex and a lead bronze foil with inscribed *dhāraṇī* unearthed during the restorations of Borobudur<sup>16</sup> display elements of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala.<sup>17</sup> The murals of Tabo and Borobudur both illustrate pilgrim Sudhana's wanderings around India as described in the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, and the sacred space of the two monuments is arranged on similar principles.

This paper therefore looks at the development of architectural space at Kesariya in east Champāran, Bihar, India (ca. seventh to eighth centuries CE); Borobudur in Central Java, Indonesia (ca. eighth to ninth centuries CE); and the main temple of Tabo Monastery (founded in 996 CE and renovated in the eleventh century) in the Indo-Tibetan sphere,

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15. Hudaya Kandaḥjaya, "Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan, Borobudur, and the Origins of Esoteric Buddhism in Indonesia," in *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia, Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, ed. Andrea Acri (Singapore: ISEAS, 2016), 85.

16. Arlo Griffiths, "The Greatly Ferocious Spell (*Mahāraudra-nāma-hṛdaya*): A Dhāraṇī Inscribed on a Lead-Bronze Foil Unearthed near Borobudur," *Epigraphic Evidence in the Pre-Modern Buddhist World: Proceedings of the Eponymous Conference Held in Vienna*, ed. K. Tropper (Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Univ. Wien, 2014), 1–36. The foil is presently preserved at the Borobudur site museum. This unearthed *dhāraṇī* has displayed close inter-textual connections to the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha*, the root text of *yoga-tantra* that defined the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala.

17. The Buddhist mantra *om takī hūm jaḥ svāhā* inscribed on gold foil was unearthed sometime during or just after the Second World War. Its description occurs in the reports of Archaeological Service of the former Netherlands East Indies (*Oudheidkundig verslag*, 1950). The first analytical commentary was offered by the late Indonesian archaeologist Kusen in 1994, but since I don't read Indonesian I have referred to Jeffrey Sundberg, who dates it to 784–803 CE in "A Buddhist Mantra Recovered from the Ratu Baka Plateau: A Preliminary Study of Its Implications for Sailendra-Era Java," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 159 (2003): 165, 170, 171; Arlo Griffiths, "The Greatly Ferocious Spell," 177–180, pointed out more Old Javanese inscriptions containing the same mantra and its occurrence in the *Gūhyasamāja-tantra*, a tantric Buddhist text. For the most recent work on the implications of the Ratu Boko mantra, see Andrea Acri, "Once More on the Ratu Boko Mantra: Magic, Realpolitik, and Bauddha-Śaiva Dynamics in Ancient Nusantara," in *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia, Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, ed. Andrea Acri (Singapore: ISEAS, 2016), 85.



**FIGURE 1.** Aerial view of Kesariya stūpa. Photo courtesy Yves Guichand.



**FIGURE 3.** Kesariya east elevation with brick niches housing life-size Amitābha and Akṣobhya Buddhas.



**FIGURE 2.** Model of Borobudur stūpa kept at the site museum.



**FIGURE 4.** Borobudur east elevation with stone niches housing life-size Akṣobhya Buddhas.

Spiti Valley, India. It weighs similarities among the three monuments and reflects on whether a particular type of architectural form, which had its origin in the eighth century, was circulated and enhanced by the cross-cultural exchanges of religious teachers.

Comparative study of Kesariya, Borobudur, and Tabo presents a body of evidence in support of inter-Asian connections. These sites reflect a consistent pattern of religious, cultural, and ritual ideas that defy geographical boundaries, suggesting a need for scholarship to examine the architectural and compositional interactions between South and Southeast Asia and comparative analysis of architectural models that have possibly a common textual and ritual basis.

#### COMPARING KESARIYA AND BOROBUDUR

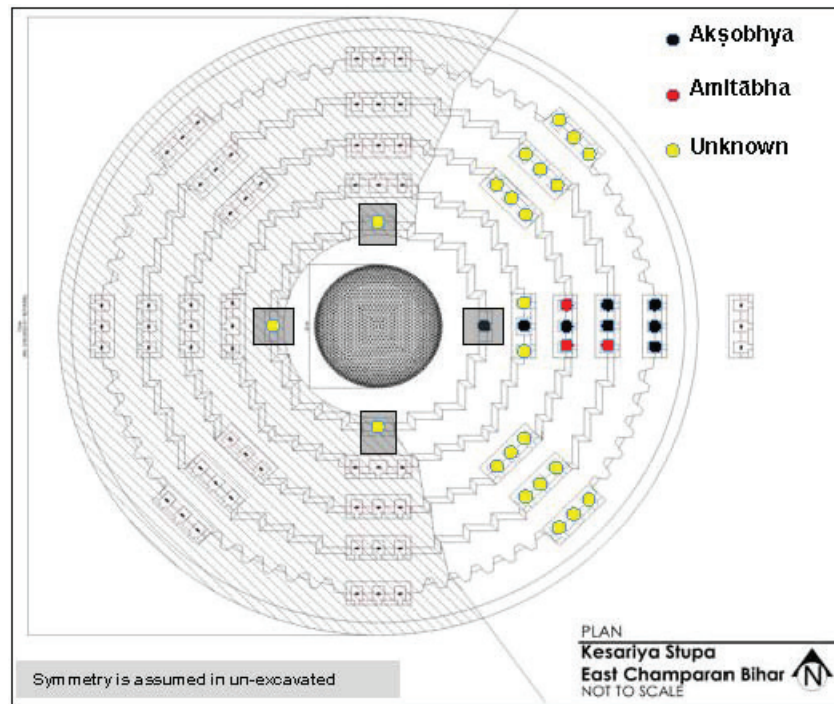
Based on the overall measurements and the architecture of the two *stūpas*, K. K. Muhammed compares the structure of Kesariya to Borobudur.<sup>18</sup> Mark Long also observes the similarities and differences between the two structures.<sup>19</sup> The aerial photographs of the huge brick structure at Kesariya have a distinct, almost circular *maṇḍala* form resembling the rather more squared terraces of Borobudur (see figs. 1–2). Kesariya’s terraces, with large external buddhas in niches, have no known precedent as far as I am aware and are a marked departure from the smooth hemispherical *stūpas* of Sanchi, Bhahrut, and Amaravati.

Six half-excavated concentric terraces of Kesariya, beneath what was originally a high and bulbous *stūpa*, are built on a natural hill, like Borobudur. The four lower terraces of Kesariya are more circular than those of Borobudur, but close examination reveals the upper two terraces to be square—something like an inverted combination of the square and circular terraces found on Borobudur. Like Borobudur, Kesariya’s design combines three elements: natural hill, *stūpa*, and *maṇḍala*. Both monuments present themselves to the viewer as horizontally somewhat flattened. Anyone standing at the base of either monument cannot see the crowning *stūpa*. Much like the *stūpa* of Borobudur, Kesariya has rows of chambers on each terrace at regular

18. K. K. Muhammed, “Evolution of Terraced Stupa in India with Special Emphasis on Kesariya,” unpublished paper presented at the Allahabad Conference in 2005.

19. Voûte and Long, *Borobudur: Pyramid of the Cosmic Buddha*, 187–191.





**FIGURE 5.** Kesariya *stūpa*: probable arrangement of buddhas in the exposed and restored brick chambers. Only basic dimensions are provided in the drawing.

intervals holding a life-size buddha statue (see figs. 3–4). Above the fifth terrace the *stūpa* rises to a height of 9.38 m and is 22 m in diameter. The exposed terraced structure of the monument is 123 m in diameter and 37.5 m in height.<sup>20</sup> The dimensions of Borobudur are almost the same.

On the top fifth terrace of Kesariya, just below the *stūpa*, there are four single brick chambers facing the cardinal directions establishing a fourfold overall structure of the monument.<sup>21</sup> The chamber on the eastern side contains an image in the *bhūmisparśamudrā* of Akṣobhya Buddha. Given the damage and the only partial excavation of the monument, it is at present impossible to determine the identity of the

20. *Indian Archaeology: A Review 1999–2000* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 2005), 11.

21. *Ibid.*, 17, 19.

images in the other three chambers. The highest level of Borobudur, the top three almost circular terraces, houses 72 buddhas (16+24+32) in small, latticed *stūpikas* seated in *dharmacakra-mudrā*.

The fourth terrace of Kesariya has triple chambers facing the cardinal directions, and the lower three terraces have in addition triple brick chambers facing the sub-cardinal directions. All the chambers have a raised platform to house a buddha image. The entire monument from the fifth terrace to the lower-most terrace would have housed 32 (4+4+8+8+8) brick chambers and would have once contained 88 (4x1+4x3+8x3+8x3+8x3) buddha statues.<sup>22</sup> Figure 5 shows the buddhas from the top level of the monument to the bottom level, based on the ASI report of 1999–2000. It assumes symmetry in the unexcavated sections. The excavated chambers at Kesariya show a combination of statues in *bhūmisparśa-* (of Akṣobhya) and *dhyāni-mudrā* (of Amitābha) on the same side of the *stūpa*, whereas Borobudur houses 108 images of the Four Jinas, displaying their respective *mudrās* on four sides of the monument. The total number of buddhas in the niches at Borobudur is much more than Kesariya, but both monuments generate number grids and circular arrangements of buddha figures in their architecture, indicating the presence of the *yoginī-tantras* (possibly in a nascent stage) that Davidson sees and a shift in the design of *stūpas*.

Only the upper two terraces of Kesariya are connected by a staircase (80 cm wide), concealed in the southwest corner within the polygonal designs between the chambers.<sup>23</sup> Since the excavations are not yet complete, it is difficult to determine the number and exact nature of the staircase(s). Borobudur is connected from the ground level to the topmost *stūpa* by a set of four staircases, rising from the middle of each side.

The circumambulatory paths on all the terraces at Kesariya are today devoid of reliefs, but there is enough space to have housed them. Whether there were any narratives in stucco, plaster, or paint

22. The topmost level has a single chamber in all four cardinal directions, containing an image of Buddha in each chamber (4x1=4). The fourth floor terrace has four chambers facing the four cardinal directions and each chamber has three compartments, thus containing 4x3=12 images. The lower three terraces have eight chambers facing the cardinal and sub-cardinal directions. Each chamber has three compartments housing (8x3) 24 images. The total number of buddha statues is therefore 88 (4+12+24+24+24).

23. *Indian Archaeology: A Review 2000–01* (New Delhi: ASI, 2006), plate no. 8.

is impossible to determine from the present archaeological evidence. Borobudur is of course renowned for its kilometers of carved stone reliefs, which were presumably plastered and painted.

At Kesariya there are three brick chambers on the eastern side (as seen in fig. 5) beyond the base of the lowest terrace and rammed earth base. Due to the incomplete excavation, it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they were part of the *stūpa* structure, but their alignment and size suggests they were. They seem to be a later addition to the main structure and may indicate another terrace below the lowermost terrace, positioned somewhat like the hidden foot of Borobudur. This hypothesis can only be tested by further excavation.

The excavators have unearthed a number of finely carved bricks with geometrical patterns and *kīrtimukhas* (faces of glory); tiles; vases; and many small, red earthenware ritual pots with lids, spouts, and sprinkler heads that are presumed to have been used in consecrations. The scale of Kesariya seems to imply that it was part of a large ceremonial center, but its relationship to a dynastic center is so far unknown. The ruined structures around Kesariya suggest it was part of a *vihāra* or a temple monastery,<sup>24</sup> where senior monks would have performed daily rituals.

Borobudur is aligned with a small fire ritual temple called Caṇḍi Pawon and the regal Caṇḍi Mendut, forming the monumental state ceremonial center of the Śailendra Kingdom; it extended over 3 kms and presumably was situated at the center of a large city.<sup>25</sup> Archaeological

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24. See Alexander Cunningham, *Four Reports Made during the Years 1862–63–64–65* (Government Central Press, 1871; repr., New Delhi: ASI, 2000), 67 and plate XXIII.

25. Theodoor Van Erp was the first person to recognize the significance of the alignment of the three structures; see “Eenige mededeelingen betreffende de beelden en fragmenten van Boroboedoer in 1896 geschonken aan Z. M. den Koning van Siam,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 73 (1917): 285–310a. N. J. Krom believed that the three temples would have functioned as a part of a single plan (*Barabudur: Archaeological Description*, vol. 1 [The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927]); Paul Mus, *Barabudur; esquisse d’une histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique de* (Hanoi: Imprimerie d’Extrême-Orient, 1935), 418–420, talked about the ritual dependency of the three structures that J. L. Moens supported (“Barabadur, Mendut en Pawon en hun onderlinge samenhang,” *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Bataviasch Genootschap van Kunsten en*



finds made in a 5 km radius of Borobudur indicate a large monastic complex.<sup>26</sup>

#### BEGINNING OF A NEW STYLE IN STŪPA ARCHITECTURE

Dating the Kesariya monument has hardly begun. The structure that is only partly visible today suggests that there were various stages of construction, and the sheer size implies that it was funded by royal resources at each stage.<sup>27</sup> Xuanzang's seventh-century account mentions a stūpa built in the area of Champāran, Bihar, where Licchavis of Vaiśālī took leave of the Buddha on his way to *parinirvāṇa*. Here the Buddha left his alms bowl as a memento for them. The record mentions the stūpa, possibly built in the location of Kesariya, as a memory of the event<sup>28</sup> to be one of the principal Buddhist sanctuaries of the region and notes that the Buddhists referred to it as *cakravartin stūpa*—a monument that commemorates the *abhiṣeka* ceremony of a

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*Wetenschappen* 86 [1951]). See English trans. by Mark Long, "Barabudur, Mendut and Pawon and Their Mutual Relationship," *Tijdschrift voor de Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (2007): 7, 8, 67. It was also supported by Lokesh Chandra, "Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric Buddhism," *The Southeast Asian Review* 5, no. 1 (August 1980): 35–36; and Voûte and Long, *Pyramid of the Cosmic Buddha*, 98–99.

26. That Borobudur was a *vihāra* is attested in the Karangtenah inscription of 824 CE. See line 15: *āstām vihārah*, in J. G. de Casparis, *Inscripties uit de Çailendra-tijd* (Bandung: A.C. Nix, 1950), 40. Based on M. Boechari, "Preliminary Report on Some Archaeological Finds around the Borobudur Temple," in *Pelita Borobudur. Reports and Documents of the Consultative Committee for the Safeguarding of Borobudur. 5th Meeting April 1976* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia, 1982), 90–95. John Miksic writes about the monastic complex placed next to the monument in *Borobudur: Golden Tales of the Buddhas* (Singapore: Periplus, 1991), 34–35. A. J. Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 45 has written about the remains of the *vihāra* to the northwest of the monument.

27. The structure clearly shows two phases of construction activity; see "Sunga/Kushana and Late Gupta Period" [late seventh, early eighth century], *Indian Archaeology: A Review—1998–99* (New Delhi: ASI, 2004), 11. In a telephone conversation on January, 16, 2014, Dr. K. K. Muhammed stated that the slopes are strewn with late Gupta period bricks or may be even later bricks.

28. Cf. Cunningham, *Four Reports*, 66.

Buddhist king-of-kings.<sup>29</sup> The Licchavi *stūpa* was possibly expanded by king Harṣa (ca. 606–647) at some stage, the first great post-Gupta king in the region.<sup>30</sup> He patronized several monastic buildings along with thousands of *stūpas*, each over 100 feet high.<sup>31</sup> Gupta and late Gupta period bricks from the seventh century were found on the slopes of the Kesariya *stūpa*.<sup>32</sup> Harṣa was the first Indian king to cement ties with the Tang court of China, notably through his personal friendship with the well-connected Xuanzang. After ruling from Kanauj (Uttar Pradesh) for decades, he moved his capital to Magādhā in 641 CE and announced the event by sending a delegation to the Tang court in China.<sup>33</sup> In re-

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29. Xuanzang describes a *stūpa* built at approximately 200 *li* to the northeast of Vaiśālī that Cunningham identifies with Kesariya (Cunningham, *Four Reports*, 65–66). Xuanzang writes: “In the city there is a stupa at the place where Buddha had told an assembly of various Bodhisattvas and men and heavenly beings about his past events of cultivating Bodhisattva deeds. He was once a universal monarch [*cakravartin*] named Mahādeva (known as Datian or great city in Chinese), in this city, possessing the seven treasures and being competent to rule over the four continents of the world.” See Xuanzang’s *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, trans. Li Rongxi (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1995), 214; and Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India, 629–645 A.D.* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1905), II:71–72.

30. This is my hypothesis based on the ASI findings of the post-Gupta period bricks at the site. The sheer scale of the monument wouldn’t have been possible without royal funding. Champāran was part of Harṣa’s vast kingdom. See Chemburkar, “Borobudur’s Pāla Forbear?”

31. See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang’s Travels*, 164; and Li Rongxi, *Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, fascicle V:144. Even though Xuanzang mentions Harṣa’s building activity, the only architectural evidence from his reign may be sought at Nālandā. The archaeological remains of Nālandā date from the fifth century CE to the end of twelfth century CE, and during Harṣa’s reign the monastery and university were certainly at the height of their fame.

32. Based on the findings during the excavations and the size and the nature of the bricks, ASI has tentatively dated the structure to the late Gupta period. *Indian Archaeology: A Review 1998–99*, 11.

33. Based on her understanding of the Chinese sources, Devahuti mentions that Harṣa was the king of Kannauj for a long time, but by the time the Chinese mission arrived in 641 CE, he had already claimed the throne of Magādhā. See D. Devahuti, *Harsha: A Political Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 84, 214, 217; based on his readings of the *Xin Tang shu* 221a (*New History of the Tang* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975], 6237). Tansen Sen (“In Search of

sponse, the court dispatched an embassy in 643 CE,<sup>34</sup> presumably to attend his Buddhist *cakravartin* ceremony. Did Kesariya play a part in this ceremony?

The site remained active in later centuries:

The recent excavations by the Archaeological Survey of India at this site have discovered a Pāla period *stūpa* dating from the eighth century. The excavations have revealed the terraces of the *stūpa*, with “Prādakshīnā Path,” which follows the pattern of those reported from Pahārpur in East Bengal and Nandangarh [in east Champāran]. The *stūpa* has been found with several [life-size] stucco figures of Lord Buddha in Bhumīsparśā posture in the cells provided all over the terraces.<sup>35</sup>

A late Pāla period structure was added to the *stūpa* summit in the eighth century, but the exact nature of the construction is as yet very difficult to determine.<sup>36</sup> The Pālas inherited the territory that was previously ruled by Harṣa and the later Guptas.<sup>37</sup> Champāran, the site of the Kesariya *stūpa*, played a significant role under the Pālas, where massive *stūpa* sites such as Lauriya Nandangarh, Lauriya Areraj, Bettiah, Rāmpurva, and Pipariya were constructed.<sup>38</sup> The region has a key position on the royal road from Pataliputra (Patna) to Nepal and has produced a huge number of Pāla period images.

The arrangement of a crowning *stūpa* over a fourfold symmetry at Kesariya along with the radiating chapels housing buddha images is in line with features that were developed later during the Pāla period.<sup>39</sup> The heartland of the Pālas in northeast India became the most sig-

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Longevity and Good Karma: Chinese Diplomatic Missions to Middle India in the Seventh Century,” *Journal of World History* 12, no. 1 [2001]: 7) concludes the same.

34. Sen, “Search of Longevity and Good Karma,” 8.

35. Dilip Chakarabarti, *Archaeological Geography of the Ganga Plain. The Lower and the Middle Ganga* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001), 203.

36. *Ibid.*, 206.

37. Fredrick Asher, *The Art of Eastern India: 300-800* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1980), 69.

38. Study of the construction of these massive *stūpa* sites, along with Kesariya, awaits excavation.

39. John and Susan Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pāla India (8<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries) and Its International Legacy* (Seattle: Dayton Art Institute, 1990), 90–91. Claudine Bautze-Picron (p. 283) supports this in her review:

nificant international center of Buddhist learning and was the major source of teachers, authoritative texts, and Buddhist iconography.<sup>40</sup> Apart from its soteriological religious function, the Buddhist temple or *stūpa* in this period became a political statement. Kesariya, with its new *stūpa-maṇḍala* model design, marks a crucial post-Gupta and pre-Pāla shift in the Buddhist monumental architecture according to my judgment. What was the *maṇḍala* model?

#### MAṆḌALA MODEL: TEXT, RITUAL, KINGSHIP, AND POLITICS

New forms normally arise in religious architecture when there are significant changes in belief and/or ritual. The architecture of Kesariya resembles a Buddhist *maṇḍala* that we see on many Buddhist *thangkas*, although the specific *maṇḍala* cannot yet be determined. This new *stūpa-maṇḍala* model was then spread in the Pāla domain to the contemporary monasteries of Uddanāpura (Odantapurī) and Vikramśīla in South Bihar, of Somapura Lālmāi and Maināmatī in present day Bangladesh, and other Buddhist sites in Odisha. The central structures of these monasteries share a cruciform plan, crowned with a *stūpa* or a temple, and rising stepped terraces. Archaeological research has unearthed several monuments with similar plans in Bihar and Bengal<sup>41</sup> showing an identical arrangement of sacred space that could have

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“As the author emphasizes, a special feature of the architecture was then the niches on the outside walls of the temple. Those niches were occupied by the sculptures as we know from temple 2 at Nālandā, still adorned with stone panels, or from the Maniyar matha at Rajgir or the temple at Apsad where stucco images used to adorn the niches.” See Claudine Bautze-Picron, “Crying Leaves: Some Remarks on ‘The Art of Pāla India (8th–12th centuries) and Its International Legacy,’” *East and West* 43, no. 1/4 (1993): 277–294.

40. Huntington and Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree*, 70, 84–85.

41. Abu Imam mentions that further cruciform temples “in the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century time bracket” have been discovered in recent excavations at Savar near Dhaka. Maināmatī monasteries (the Salbān, Bhojā, Aṇandā, and Rupbān *vihāras*) in Comilla district in Bangladesh show an identical cruciform structure at the center of the temple. Some of these monuments display a central temple instead of a crowning *stūpa*, possibly to take care of the expanding ritual systems. See Abu Imam, *Excavations at Mainamati: An Exploratory Study*, Studies in Bengal Art Series 2 (Dhaka, Bangladesh: International Centre for Study of Bengal Art, 2000), 133.

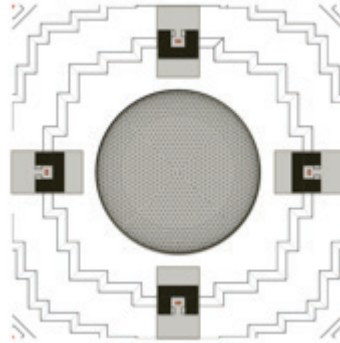


FIGURE 6a. Central cruciform structure of Kesariya on the topmost level.

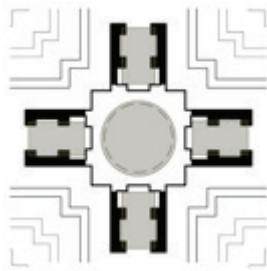


FIGURE 6b. Vikrama-śīla Vihāra, Antichak. End of eighth century. Adapted from B. K. Jamuar, *The Ancient Temples of Bihar* (New Delhi: Ramanand Vidya Bhawan, 1985), 87.

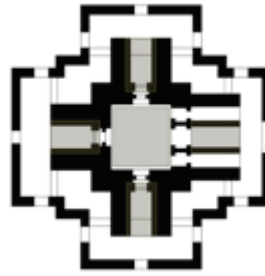


FIGURE 6c. Rupban Mura Vihāra, Maināmatī. End of eighth century. Adapted from Abu Imam, *Excavations at Mainamati: An Exploratory Study*, Studies in Bengal Art Series 2 (Dhaka, Bangladesh: International Centre for Study of Bengal Art, 2000), 66.

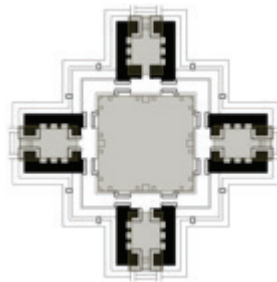


FIGURE 6d. Caṇḍi Sewu central shrine.

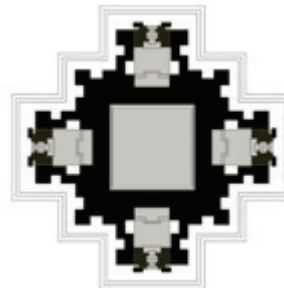


FIGURE 6e. Caṇḍi Kalasan central shrine.

FIGURE 6. Pāla and Śailendra monuments displaying the fivefold central structure and identical space arrangement. (Drawings are not to scale.)

served parallel functions in Borobudur, Sewu, Kalasan, Lumbung, Bubrah, and Plaosan in the Śailendra domain (see figs. 6b–6e).<sup>42</sup>

#### Text

Adding to the fourfold structure of these monuments a central buddha, this yields the fivefold structure of the Five Jina Buddhas found in the seminal Yogatantra text *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṅgraha*.<sup>43</sup> In the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṅgraha*, the five buddha family scheme becomes a dominant structure after Vairocana consecrates himself as a buddha. He then draws in a number of personages, beginning with Samantabhadra, who is crowned and consecrated with the name Vajrapāṇi. Later, the other thirty-six figures of the *maṇḍala* are consecrated with names conferred on them by Vairocana, before they are positioned in the *maṇḍala*.<sup>44</sup>

Certain numerical configurations occur in the late eighth-century text *Samvarodaya-tantra*, describing the course of the moon and the sun with respect to the astronomical body and the human body. A tendency to identify the individual with the universal and the internal or corporeal with the global or cosmic through the medium of their qualitative and structural similarities is noticeable in this text. Ultimate reality, which is attained through the human body, is then identified with the universe and the *maṇḍala* deities of the text.<sup>45</sup> The number of terraces and the buddha groupings seen at Kesariya (4+12+24) and at Borobudur (16+24+36) might be suggestive of this textual source.<sup>46</sup> These texts contain explicit references to divine kingship.

42. Leeuw, “South-East Asian Architecture,” 297–401; Geoffrey Samuel, “Ritual Technologies and the State: The Mandala-Form Buddhist Temples of Bangladesh,” *The Journal of Bengal Art* 7 (2002): 39–56.

43. David Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhist and Their Tibetan Successors*, 2 vols. (London and Boston: Serindia, 1987), 175, 189, 198.

44. *Ibid.*, 8, 203.

45. Tsuda Shinichi, “*Samvarodayatantra*: Selected Chapters” (PhD diss., Australian National University, 1970), 1, 66, 231.

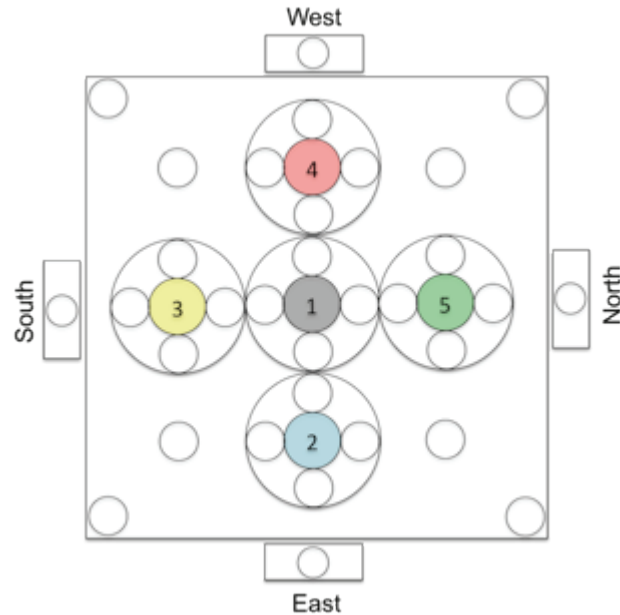
46. Hiram Woodward (“Review: Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia in the Light of Recent Scholarship,” 343, 346) proposed that the numerology of the *cakra* system in the *Samvarodaya-tantra* might be connected with that of the three circular terraces at Borobudur, leaving open the question of which system had chronological priority. In a later article (“Bianhong: Mastermind





**FIGURE 7.** Diagram of the Vajra Realm Maṇḍala, P. 4518(33), originally from Dunhuang, Gansu Province, China, tenth century, 17x12in. Kept at Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Ink and light colors on paper. From Michelle C. Wang, “Changing Conceptions of ‘Maṇḍala’ in Tang China: Ritual and the Role of Images,” *Material Culture* 9, no. 2 (2013): 202. © Bibliothèque Nationale de France.





**FIGURE 8.** Vajradhātu Maṇḍala of basic thirty-seven deities according to *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṅgraha*. Structure adapted from Do-Kyun Kwon, “*Sarva Tathāgata Tattva Saṅgraha: Compendium of All the Tathāgatas*” (PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 2002).

#### *Ritual and Kingship*

David Snellgrove establishes intimate connections between *maṇḍala*, kingship, *abhiṣeka* ritual, and Vairocana as the *cakravartin* buddha in Vajrayāna Buddhism.<sup>47</sup> The hallmark aspect of esoteric Buddhism is the representation of *maṇḍalas* in various media, especially in paintings that depict the universe as a perfectly ordered and harmonious system where enlightenment can be attained. The most usual representations of *maṇḍala* paintings comprise formations of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and associated guardian deities or symbolic forms positioned

of Borobudur?” *Pacific World*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., no. 11 [2009]), he argued that an alphabet diagram (*prastara*) lay behind both systems.

47. David Snellgrove, “The Notion of Divine Kingship in Tantric Buddhism,” in *La Regalità Sacra- Contributi al Tema dell’ VIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia delle Religioni* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), 206.

in circles and squares around a central buddha in a certain hierarchy as mentioned in texts such as the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha*. Several ninth- to tenth-century *maṇḍala* drawings from Dunhuang, China kept at the museums represent this structure along with the ritual implements, highlighting their ritual significance (fig. 7).<sup>48</sup>

The most important ritual performed with a *maṇḍala* is *abhiṣeka*. During the *abhiṣeka* a lustration vessel is placed at the center of a *maṇḍala*, which is a visual representation of a sanctified place or a perfect universe. The properties of the buddhas and bodhisattvas of the *maṇḍala* are understood to gather into the water of the lustration vessel. When anointed with this water, the monarch would acquire all the powers embodied in the central deity of that *maṇḍala* to become *cakravartin* or earthly ruler. He would then be able to exercise the powers of the central buddha, whether mundane (e.g., producing rain) or supramundane (e.g., deepening one's store of wisdom and compassion), and be responsible for the spiritual as well as the temporal well-being of his geographical *maṇḍala* or the kingdom.<sup>49</sup> Detailed accounts of *abhiṣeka* rituals are given in the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha*.<sup>50</sup> By the early eighth century, we gain a sense of increasing importance of the *maṇḍala* consecration and a systematic metaphorical association with the kingship.

#### *Constructing a Ritual-Political Center*

The vocabulary used to read these painted *maṇḍalas* is related to the construction of a palace and not a temple. Several terms assigned to the residences of the *maṇḍala* divinities are exactly those employed

48. See 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> Century Maṇḍala Ritual Drawing from Dunhuang at National Museum, New Delhi (Ch00379), at Musée Guimet, Paris (PC 2012), at British Museum (1919,0101,0.174).

49. Snellgrove, "The Notion of Divine Kingship in Tantric Buddhism," 208.

50. Do-Kyun Kwon, "Sarva Tathāgata Tattva Saṅgraha: Compendium of All the Tathāgatas" (PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 2002), and Steven Neal Weinberger, "The Significance of Yoga Tantra and the Compendium of Principles (*Tattvasaṅgraha Tantra*)" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2003); cf. Ryuichi Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 133-149.

for palaces and pavilions in medieval architectural manuals with the identical architectural terminology suggesting their intended construction.<sup>51</sup>

The Vajradhātu Maṇḍala that was first described in the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṅgraha*<sup>52</sup> found its way into the architecture as a concrete arrangement of deities, on a basic fivefold or a ninefold model. Akṣobhya and his attendants in the east, Ratnasambhava in the south, Amitābha in the west, and Amoghasiddhi in the north made up a mandalic arrangement around Vairocana or Mahāvairocana (fig. 8, above). This pentad and the attendant deities demarcating respective buddha-fields and one thousand buddhas of Bhadrakālpa found prominent places in architecture.<sup>53</sup>

51. See Bruno Dagens, trans., *Mayamatam: Treatise of Housing Architecture and Iconography*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi International Centre for Arts, 2007), 119, 148, 176, 203. For example, the central buddha resides in the pavilion called *kūṭāgāra*—not the *garbhagrha* with its four entrances dominated by arched gateways (*toranas*) and not the assembly halls or *jangha* in the shape of scepters (*vajra*) and guarded by an adamant wall (*vajrapanjara*). *Harṣacarita* uses the term *vajrapanjara* (a cage or a citadel) as a metaphor in its identification of Harṣa's body with specific parts of the citadel, clearly indicating the relationship between esoteric Buddhism and imperial metaphor that Snellgrove discusses in his "The Notion of Divine Kingship," 204–218. See *Harṣacarita* by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, *Uchchvāsas I–VIII*, ed. with an Introduction and notes by P. V. Kane (Bombay, 1918), 33–34.

52. There are two extant Sanskrit manuscripts of *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṅgraha* from Nepal. Guiseppe Tucci obtained a nineteenth-century manuscript of the *tantra*, and in 1956 David Snellgrove and John Brough discovered an Indian palm-leaf manuscript that they identified as a ninth- or tenth-century work from Bihar, India. David Snellgrove and Lokesh Chandra (*Sarva-tathāgatātattva-saṅgraha: Facsimile Reproduction of Tenth Century Sanskrit Manuscript from Nepal* [New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1981]) published a photographic reproduction of this manuscript; Do-Kyun Kwon ("*Sarva Tathāgata Tattva Saṅgraha: Compendium of All the Tathāgatas*," 22, 28, 29) and Steven Neal Weinberger ("The Significance of Yoga Tantra and the *Compendium of Principles* [Tattvasaṅgraha Tantra]," 47, 61, 62, 72, 73) have described the formation of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala in the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṅgraha* in the light of its Indian, Chinese, and Tibetan commentaries.

53. For a detailed description of the *maṇḍalas* see Adrian Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Mandalas in Shingon Buddhism*, vols. 1 & 2 (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1988), 634; for their use in the architecture of Caṇḍi Sewu, Mendut, and Borobudur, see Chandra, "Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric

Brajdulal Chattopadhyaya sees these textual developments of the *maṇḍala* with the strong center and subsidiary sets in relation to the hierarchical structure of “*samānta* feudalism” of mediaeval India.<sup>54</sup> The idea of a *maṇḍala* with the central figure representing a supreme deity and directional figures as subordinate deities reflects the idea of the supreme king at the center, surrounded by vassals who are expected to exercise power as local landlords rather than independent rulers. The nature of a *maṇḍala* is therefore to map the social and political interests and designate levels of hierarchy. Ronald Davidson argues that “the central and defining metaphor for mature esoteric Buddhism is that of an individual assuming kingship and exercising dominion ... through a combination of ritual and metaphysical means, thereby becoming a supreme overlord (buddha) or universal ruler (*cakravartin*).”<sup>55</sup> These textual developments in Buddhism served the interests of imperial figures in organizing political and social landscapes with the assistance of their spiritual advisors.

Architecture made a key contribution to the ceremonial or ritual center in these developments. The terraced architectural design of Kesariya and Borobudur, along with the arrangement of buddha statues, clearly displays the hierarchical organization of a *maṇḍala* structure. The question we must ask is how these ideas concerning architectural forms circulated between India and Indonesia and whether they formed a part of a shared culture in the connected Buddhist world.<sup>56</sup>

#### WIDE WEB OF BUDDHIST MONKS AND EXCHANGE OF IDEAS IN PĀLA AND ŚAILENDRA DOMAINS

Nālandā prospered even after the chaotic period, which had begun with the death of Śaśānka (628 CE) and Harṣa (647 CE). The pro-Buddhist Pāla dynasty came to power in the late eighth century when Gopāla

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Buddhism,” 8; for Sewu, see F. D. K. Bosch, “Buddhist Data from Balinese Texts and Their Contribution to Archaeological Research in Java,” in *The Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, English trans. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961), 111.

54. Brajardulal Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994).

55. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 121.

56. Woodward (“Review: Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia in the Light of Recent Scholarship,” 353) has already advanced an argument for “treating Indonesia and India as an integrated unit well into the ninth century.”

(ca. 750–775) gained control of northeastern India and established the Odantapuri Monastery at the new city of Odantapuri, some 10 km from Nālandā. The political and military ambition of his son Dharmapāla (ca. 775–812 CE) was matched by unprecedented generosity to Buddhist establishments that provided a platform for generating texts, sacred art, and architecture. He sponsored Vikramaśīla, in present-day Bhagalpur in Bihar, and fifty other monasteries.<sup>57</sup> Many of their successors, including Devapāla (ca. 812–850), Mahipāla (ca. 992–1042), and Ramapāla (ca. 1087–1141), patronized the chain of the large principal monasteries at Vikramaśīla, Nālandā, Pahārpur, Jaggadala, and Odantapuri.<sup>58</sup> These monasteries were not just powerful, well supported, and interconnected, but were also influential in setting the institutional format for the Buddhist monasteries. The cosmopolitan allure of Nālandā is evident in the temples built from the eighth to tenth centuries bearing the name of Nālandā just north of Kandy in Sri Lanka. Nālandā played a major role in the transmission of artistic motifs to Southeast Asia since the eighth century and continued to be an inspiration.<sup>59</sup>

With Pāla patronage, Buddhism blossomed again, attracting monks from all over the world to these monasteries. The prominent Indian and Chinese travelers in this period played a crucial role in transmitting new religious thoughts. There is much evidence that they spread the texts and ritual techniques and introduced iconographic and stylistic forms, which were to merge with the local artistic idioms.<sup>60</sup>

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57. Puspa Niyogi, *Buddhism in Ancient Bengal* (Calcutta: Jinasa, 1980), 102; for Buddhist monasteries under the Pālas, see Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India* (Delhi: Motilal Barnasidass, 1988), 344–66.

58. The timeline for Pāla kings is adopted from Huntington and Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree*, 542, chart 1.

59. Bernet-Kempers, *The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art* (Leiden: Brill, 1933); Pauline Scheurleer and Marijke Klokke, *Divine Bronze: Ancient Indonesian Bronzes from A.D. 600 to 1600* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988). Peter Skilling (“King, Sangha, and Brahmans: Ideology, Ritual, and Power in Pre-Modern Siam,” in *Buddhism, Power and Political Order*, ed. Ian Harris [London & New York: Routledge, 2007], 97) has argued for Nālandā style imagery re-appearing in eleventh- to twelfth-century Angkor, Bagan, the Malay Peninsula, and east Java.

60. Edward Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 268, points out that “a prime objective of Chinese pilgrims in the holy lands of the Indies was the acquisition



**FIGURE 9.** Buddhist shrine at Seattle. Storeyed Pyramidal Monument in Miniature, ivory, 4.5 in, 33 oz. Early Pāla period, ninth to tenth century, Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, accession no. 48.166. Taken from Margaret F. Marcus, “Sculptures from Bihar and Bengal,” *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 54, no. 8 (Oct. 1967): 240–262. © Seattle Art Museum.

The delegation that attended King Harṣa’s Buddhist ceremony in 643 CE visited Rājagṛha (Rājgīr) and the Mahābodhi complex in Bodhgaya, where the artist Song Fazhi made drawings of Buddhist

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of holy statues, and images to edify the faithful at home and adorn the rich temples of T’ang.”



architecture and artefacts to carry to the Tang court.<sup>61</sup> A model of the Nālandā monastery, an image of the Mahābodhi shrine, and other Buddhist illustrations were also taken to China at this time by the monk Huilun. Many images of the popular Pāla Buddha in the earth-touching *mudrā* and seated atop a throne were made in Tang China. Buddhist monk Divākara (612–687) studied at the Mahābodhi temple, went to China, and integrated the iconography associated with the images into rituals at the Tang court.<sup>62</sup> The biography of Japanese monk Ennin notes how the five esoteric buddha images of the Jinge monastery on Mount Wutai were modeled after the Nālandā images by Amoghavajra in the eighth century.<sup>63</sup> The Chinese monk Jiye visited India from 966 to 976 and recorded the truly international character of Nālandā,<sup>64</sup> which seems to have remained active up to the thirteenth century.

There were certain architectural and sculptural models circulating across the seaways. The Seattle Art Museum has an interesting small, Pāla period, ivory object (fig. 9, above). It could have been used in private rituals, but it could also have been an architectural model. It represents in miniature a monument composed of four levels with Buddhist figures oriented to the four quarters along with supporting figures in the niches. The crowning member is missing, but Dr. Lee suggests that to complete the cosmological formula, this may have been a position of the supreme Buddha Vairocana.<sup>65</sup> From an architectural point of view,

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61. Sen quotes “a painting of Maitreya drawn in India by Song Fazhi [that] seems to have used as a blue print for a sculpture at the Jing’ai monastery in Luoyang” from *Lidai minghua ji* (*Records of the Famous Painters of All the Dynasties*) authored by Tang dynasty scholar critic Zhang Yanyuan in 847 CE. See Sen, “Search of Longevity and Good Karma,” 9. For the exchange of architectural ideas, see Ernst Boerschmann, *Baukunst und die Religiöse Kultur der Chinesen* (*Architecture and Religious Culture of the Chinese*), vol. 3, part 1, *Pagoden Pao Tà* (Berlin, Leipzig: verlag Walter De Gruyter and Co., 1931).

62. Michelle C. Wang, “Changing Conceptions of ‘Maṇḍala’ in Tang China: Ritual and the Role of Images,” *Material Religion* 9, no. 2 (2013): 198.

63. *Ennin’s Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*, trans. by Edwin Reischauer (New York: Ronald Press, 1955), 253.

64. Jiye Xiyu xingcheng, T. 2089: 982a.2–b.5, in E. Huber, “L’itinéraire du pèlerin Ki ye dans l’inde,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 2 (1902): 256–259; É. Chavannes, *Les inscriptions chinoises de Bodh-gaya* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1896).

65. Sherman Lee, “An Early Pāla Ivory,” *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 17 (1949): 1–5.



this place would have been reserved for the *stūpa* or a *kūṭāgāra*. There were quite a few portable shrines circulating in the Buddhist world during the eighth to twelfth centuries.<sup>66</sup> John Guy has traced around twenty late Pāla-Sena period architectural models of the Mahābodhi temple that were dispersed from eastern India to Nepal, Tibet, Arakan, and Myanmar, indicating continuity in Buddhist travels.<sup>67</sup>

Buddhism became a bridge that fostered dialogue between the Chinese and Indian courts. Prominent monks in this period played a crucial role in transmitting new religious developments.<sup>68</sup> This two-way sea traffic of monks and pilgrims interacting with each other was part of a single symbolic language<sup>69</sup> in which the Śailendras played a part as cultural brokers.<sup>70</sup> By the ninth century, the shoreline of the Bay of Bengal, nourished by its river networks, had acquired a vibrant new commercial identity.<sup>71</sup> Strong links, mostly Buddhist, provided connections with eastern India, Java, and Sumatra. Indonesia's Śrīvijayan port at Palembang, Sumatra, became a center of Sanskrit language study for monks travelling to the sacred sites and institutions of India. Palembang lay halfway between India and the Chinese capital of Changan (Xian today), where international scholars congregated and consolidated the growing Buddhist network (see fig. 10).

There are several indicators of the growing importance of Sumatra and Java. The monk Śubhākarasiṃha from Odisha (637–735) arrived in Changan in 716, bringing paintings of the *maṇḍalas*

66. Phyllis Granoff, "A Portable Buddhist Shrine from Central Asia," *Archives of Asian Art* 22 (University of Hawai'i Press, 1969), 80–95.

67. John Guy, "The Mahabodhi Temple: Pilgrim Souvenirs of Buddhist India," *The Burlington Magazine* 133, no. 1059 (1991): 362–364.

68. The Chinese Buddhist imagery of the late Tang period also shows signs of increased interaction with northern and southern Indian art. See Marylin M. Rhie, *Interrelationship between the Buddhist Art of China and the Art of India and Central Asia from 618–755 A.D.* (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1988), 39–40.

69. A. H. N. Verwey, "A Distant Relative of the Silver Mañjuśrī from Ngemplak Semongan," *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde* 15 (1962): 141; Alessandra Lopez Royo, *Prambanan; Sculpture and Dance in Ancient Java; A Study in Dance Iconography* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1998), 9.

70. Roy Jordaan, "The Śailendras, the Status of the Kṣatriya Theory, and the Development of the Hindu-Javanese Temple Architecture," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155, no. 2 (1999): 228.

71. Himanshu Prabha Ray, "The Archaeology of Bengal: Trading Networks, Cultural Identities," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, no. 1 (2006): 78.

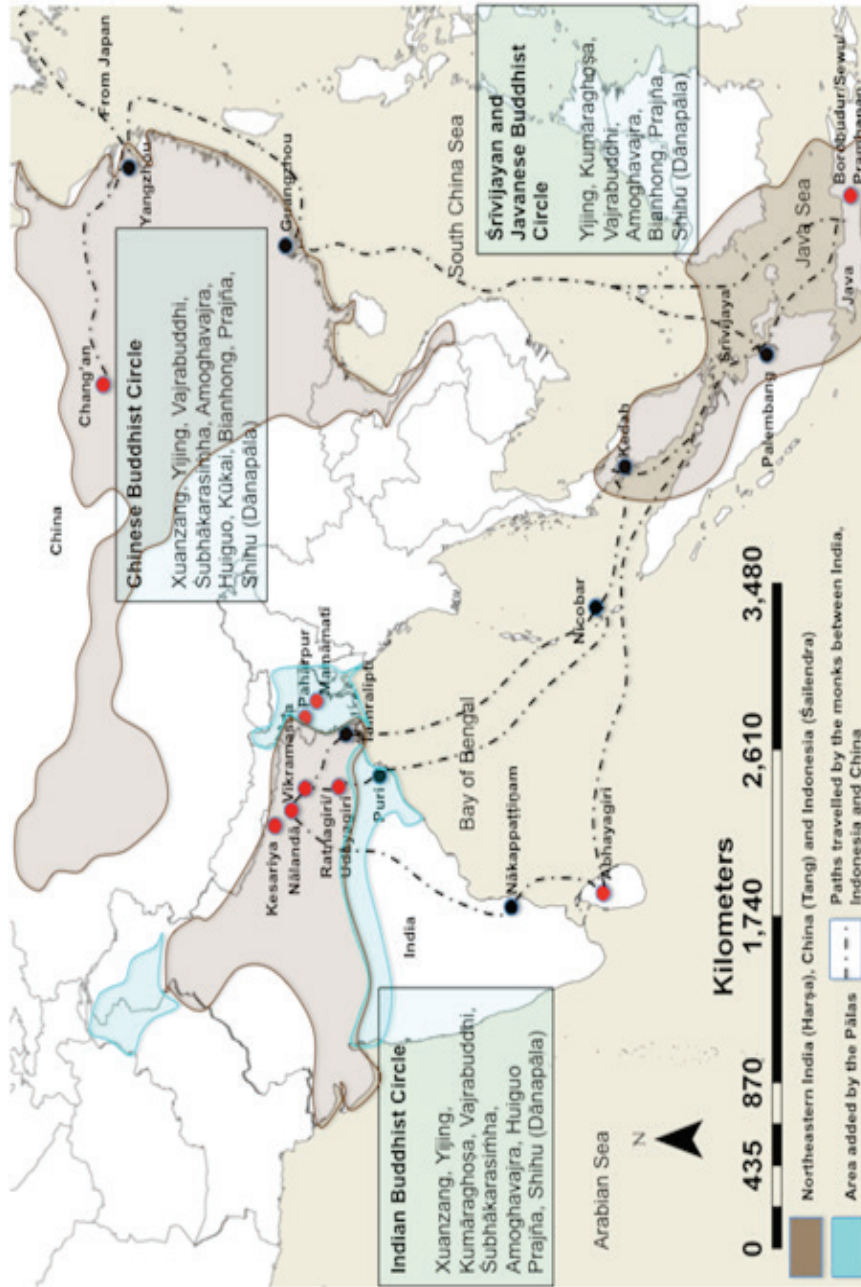


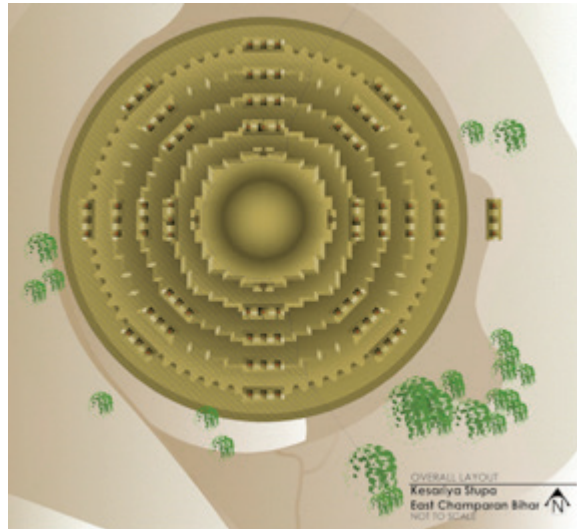
FIGURE 10. Connected Buddhist world of India, China, and Indonesia during the eighth to twelfth centuries.

of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* to China.<sup>72</sup> Vajrabodhi (671–741) from Kāñcī in southern India studied at Nālandā, sailed to the Malay Peninsula on his way to Sumatra and Java, and eventually reached China. Amoghavajra (705–74), who also became a patriarch of Chinese Buddhism, met Vajrabodhi in Java and accompanied him to Changan.<sup>73</sup> *Abhiṣeka* became the defining feature of the rituals extracted from the major esoteric Buddhist texts translated by these three monks. The success of their magical powers in Chinese military operations is celebrated. During their time in China, in the middle of the eighth century, the ritual practices of Famen Monastery underwent significant changes. Han Jinke’s meticulous study of the excavated objects, many of them made of silver and gold, from the monastery illustrates their arrangement in the form of a *maṇḍala*, a concentric layout symbolizing the Buddhist universe.<sup>74</sup> Mandalic diagrams or altars were employed by these most influential esoteric masters in some of the rituals to link a patron to the cosmic reality. Many engravings of the Famen Monastery crypt display esoteric imagery, and the objects found were

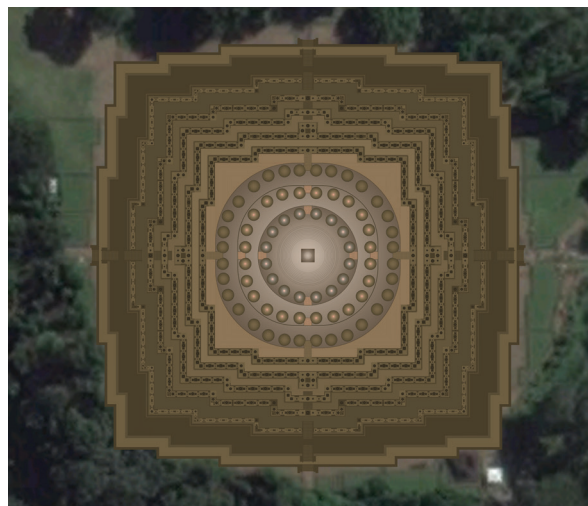
72. N. Iyanaga, “Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya d’après les sources chinoises et Japonaises,” in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, vol. 3, ed. Michel Strickman (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1985), 724–725.

73. This generally accepted view is based on Yuanzhao’s biography as the most reliable source. Yi-Liang Chou, *Tantrism in China* (Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1945), 321. Jeffrey Sundberg and Rolf Giebel are in agreement with Chou over Java being the meeting place of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. See “The Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi as Chronicled by Lü Xiang: South Indian and Śrī Laṅkān Antecedents to the Arrival of the Buddhist Vajrayāna in Eighth-Century Java and China,” *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, 3rd ser., no. 13 (2011): 148. However Woodward (“Review: Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia,” 339) maintains that Amoghavajra never went to Java (on this trip) and never met Vajrabodhi there. He follows biographies of Amoghavajra by Zhao Quian (*T.* 2056) and Fexi (*T.* 2120).

74. “Most recent and detailed discussion of the esoteric influences on relic veneration at the Famen Monastery is *Famensi digong tang mi mantuluo zhi yanjiu*, ed. Wu Limin and Han Jinke (Hong Kong: Zhongguo fojiao wenhua chubanshe youxian gongsi, 1998),” Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy and Trade: The Realignment of India-China Relations, 600–1400* (Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawai’i Press, 2003), 72. Patricia Eichenbaum has also discussed the issue in her work “Esoteric Buddhism and the Famen Finds,” *Archives of Asian Art* 47 (1994): 78–85.



**FIGURE 11.** Kesariya plan showing the overall layout of the structure. Drawing by Swati Chemburkar.



**FIGURE 12.** Borobudur plan. Drawing by Swati Chemburkar.

used in esoteric ceremonies. These monks became the most influential monks of Chinese esoteric Buddhism and made the major contribution of weaving esoteric Buddhist concepts through the increasingly connected international Buddhist world.<sup>75</sup> The new emphasis of the *yoginī-tantras* and the circular arrangement of deities and mandalic architectural elements of Kesariya would have been part of this wide web of the Buddhist world.

#### BOROBUDUR AND ŚAILENDRA BUDDHISM

Like Kesariya, Borobudur constructs the fourfold buddha system along with the supreme Buddha Vairocana in its architecture. We don't know which images were housed in the top four cardinal chambers of partly excavated Kesariya except Akṣobhya, but it is quite possible that it will eventually be shown by archaeologists to embody the fourfold buddha system. There are enough common elements in the architecture of both the monuments at present to indicate the use of a common theme (see figs. 11 and 12, above).

Borobudur has been described as a *stūpa*, a multi-storied palace (*prāsāda*), Mount Meru, and a *maṇḍala*.<sup>76</sup> Each of these descriptions is

75. Why else are there so many translations and explanatory texts of *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha*? All the texts that got translated and transferred in the Buddhist world of India, China, Japan, and Indonesia were part of *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha*. Across the Chinese, Japanese, and Tibetan traditions a number of variations of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala based on *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* and its explanatory texts are known. Lokesh Chandra, "A Comparative Study of the Tibetan, Japanese, Indonesian and Khotanese Maṇḍala of the Tattva-saṅgraha," *Amala Prajna: Aspects of Buddhist Studies: Professor P.V. Bapat Felicitation Volume*, ed. N. H. Samtani and H. S. Prasad (New Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1989), 187–200. Although Vajrabodhi had begun translating the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* into Chinese in 723 CE, the continuing importance of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* at the end of tenth century is signaled in the fact that the entire twenty-six chapters were translated into Chinese and re-translated in Tibetan. See Rob Linrothe, *Ruthless Compassion: Wrathful Deities in Early Indo-Tibetan Esoteric Buddhist Art* (Boston: Shambhala, 1999), 155.

76. For some arguments regarding the nature of Borobudur, see A. Foucher, "Notes d'archéologie bouddhique: I, Le stupa de Boro-Budur; II, Les bas-reliefs de Boro-Budur; III, Iconographie bouddhique à Java," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* (1909): 4; A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Borobudur mysteriegebeuren in steen; verval en restauratie; oudjavaans volksleven* (Wassenaar Servire, 1970),



true, and scholars now agree on the multivalent nature of the monument. While agreeing on this multivalent nature, this paper has focused on the complex nature of *stūpa-maṇḍala* structure of the monument. If it is a *stūpa*, then as Woodward describes, “It is just as a souped-up, hoodless car with gleaming engine parts is an automobile.”<sup>77</sup> If it is a *maṇḍala* as argued by several scholars, then which *maṇḍala* is a question that is still open for debate. Based on the certain geometrical perforations on the *stūpikas* of the three circular terraces of Borobudur and the 504 buddhas adorning the square terraces of the monument, Chandra argues that these buddhas are not, in fact, the Five Jina Buddhas but the thousand buddhas of the Vajradhātu Mahāmaṇḍala:

The Vajradhātu becomes a mahāmaṇḍala because of the thousand Buddhas, which is its unique and contradistinctive attribute in the world of Tantric maṇḍalas. The Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala added to the already existing five forms of the Buddhas a sixth one with the dharmacakramudrā. These six forms of Buddhas were repeated 168 times to the auspicious number of 1008. That is why there are 504 Buddhas, and the niches and stupas enclosing these 504, symbolically make up the requisite double number:  $504 \times 2 = 1008$ .<sup>78</sup>

The text, *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha*, and its explanatory *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra* that described the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, have not been found in any form in Indonesia, but a small selection of verses from both these texts have been identified in the old Javanese *Saṅ Hyaṅ*

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133; Moens, “Barabadur, Mendut en Pawon en hun onderlinge samenhang”; Chandra, “Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric Buddhism”; Marijke Klokke, “Borobudur: A Mandala?: A Contextual Approach to the Function and Meaning of Borobudur,” *International Institute for Asian Studies Yearbook* 1 (1995); Hiram Woodward, “Barabadur as a Stupa,” in *Barabadur: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument*, ed. Hiram Woodward and Luis O. Gómez (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1981); Kandahjaya, “A Study on the Origin and Significance of Borobudur.” For a good summary of all the interpretations, arguments, and counterarguments regarding the architecture of Borobudur, see Julie Gifford, introduction to *Buddhist Practice and Visual Culture: The Visual Rhetoric of Borobudur* (New York: Routledge, 2011); and Hudaya Kandahjaya, “*Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, Borobudur, and the Origins of Esoteric Buddhism in Indonesia,” in *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia, Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, ed. Andrea Acri (Singapore: ISEAS, 2016), 101–105.

77. Woodward, “Barabadur as a Stupa,” 121.

78. Chandra, “Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric Buddhism,” 28.

*Kamahāyānan* indicating the knowledge of some of the key concepts embodied in these texts.<sup>79</sup> Kandahjaya has observed an occurrence of “*Tantra Bajradhātu*” in the third version of *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan* and has argued that by the time this version (roughly 929 to 947 CE during the reign of King Sindok) was compiled, tantric teachings relating to *Vajradhātu*—apparently the *Vajradhātu Maṇḍala*—had already been circulated amongst the Javanese Buddhists.<sup>80</sup> An inscribed object now kept at the site museum in the Prambanan complex and recently published by the Bureau of Conservation of Archaeological Remains of the Yogyakarta region shows a remarkable parallel to the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra*.<sup>81</sup> As we have already seen, *dhāraṇī* with close inter-textual connections to the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha*<sup>82</sup> and a gold foil unearthed from Ratu Boko near the Prambanan temple complex in central Java also display elements of the *Vajradhātu*

79. There are three versions of *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, and the text consists of two sections. The first section is titled *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya* and the second is *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Advayasādhana*. See J. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan: Oud-Javaansche tekst, met inleiding, vertaling en aanteekeningen* (‘s- Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910), 30, 70; J. de Jong, “Notes on Sources and the text of *Sang Hyang Kamahayanayan Mantranaya*,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 130, no. 4 (1974): 465–482; Ishii Kazuko, “Borobudur, the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, and the *Sang Hyang kamahayanikan*,” in *The Art and Culture of South-East Asia*, Satapitaka Series, Indo-Asian literature 364, ed. Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1991), 151–164. A comprehensive study on two sections of the text has been made by Lokesh Chandra, *Cultural Horizons of India, Vol. 4: Studies in Tantra and Buddhism, Art and Archaeology, Language and Literature* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1995), 295–434. Recently Hudaya Kandahjaya’s paper compares and analyzes the relationship of this unique scripture with tantric Buddhist texts in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese. Kandahjaya provides preliminary answers to some key questions concerning its date and doctrinal inspiration, the milieu of its authorship, and its relationship with the Central Javanese Buddhist monument of Borobudur. See Kandahjaya, “*Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*,” 67–112.

80. Kandahjaya, “*Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*,” 99.

81. Arlo Griffiths, “Written Traces of the Buddhist Past: Mantras and *Dhāraṇīs* in Indonesian Inscriptions,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 77, no. 1 (2014): 167–169.

82. Arlo Griffiths, “The Greatly Ferocious Spell,” 1–36.



Maṇḍala.<sup>83</sup> There are several Vairocana<sup>84</sup> and Vajrasattva<sup>85</sup> bronzes found in Java from the nine to eleventh centuries.

From the above data, what we can safely say is that Borobudur definitely houses a hierarchical organization of *maṇḍala* in its architecture along with the basic elements of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* that were current during the construction period of the monument.

Under the Śailendras in the eighth to ninth centuries, Javanese architecture changed rapidly to embody the *maṇḍala* system. Caṅḍi Sewu underwent an enlargement in a cruciform structure, probably to represent the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala.<sup>86</sup> Two important architectural changes that occurred in Central Javanese temples during the Śailendra period were the transformation of a central sanctuary from a square to cruciform plan and inclusion of four separate rooms,<sup>87</sup> presumably to follow the fourfold structure of the Pāla monuments that began at Kesariya. Some textual material derived from *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* likely served to demarcate the ground plans of central Javanese Buddhist monuments.<sup>88</sup> A tenth- to thirteenth-century Javanese *abhiṣeka* rite of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala is detailed in the *Saṅ Hyaṅ*

83. Sundberg, "A Buddhist Mantra Recovered from the Ratu Baka," 165, 170, 171; Griffiths, "The Greatly Ferocious Spell"; and Aciri, "Once More on the Ratu Boko," 85.

84. Most of the Vairocanas found from Central Java are in Bodhyagiri *mudrā*. The first chapter of *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* has a section on four kinds of *mudrā* such as *mahā-jñāna*, *samaya-jñāna*, *dharmajñāna*, and *karmajñāna*. In *karmajñāna*, Vairocana sits in the *bodhāgrī mudrā*. Cf. Kwon, "Sarva Tathāgata Tattva Saṅgraha," 54.

85. J. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *Indo-Javanese Metalwork* (Stuttgart: Linden Museum, 1984), 38; Scheurleer and Klokke, *Divine Bronze*; J. Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990), 220 nos. 64 and 65. Also see MET Museum, New York, Vajrasattva no. 1987.142.169 from Samuel Eilenberg collection and 1984.409.1; British Museum Vajrasattva no. 1859.1228.18 and 1859.1228.17, V&A Museum Vajrasattva no. IS.38-1994.

86. Bosch ("Buddhist Data from Balinese Texts," 111) identified Sewu as a Vajradhātu Maṇḍala drawn from the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha*. Lokesh Chandra has demonstrated it in detail as how a Śailendra ruler, as an aspirant to the status of *cakravartin*, dedicated the temple to Vairocana. See "Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric Buddhism," 8.

87. Jacques Dumarçay, *Temples of Java* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1986), 20.

88. Arlo Griffiths, "Written Traces of the Buddhist Past," 159–166.

*Kamahāyānan Mantranāya* text, which shows many similarities to *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* and contains the phrase *cakravarty-abhiṣeka* in one of the closing chapters. Helmuth von Glasenapp notes its similarities to the rites described in present-day Japan and Tibet.<sup>89</sup> The dominant theme is consecration to secret knowledge.<sup>90</sup> The consecration rituals for the universal emperor interested many Buddhists in South, East, and Southeast Asia.

The Javanese monk Bianhong, who was ultimately headed for India, arrived in Changan in 780 CE to undergo the Garbhadhātu Maṇḍala consecration of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi tantra*.<sup>91</sup> He also received Vajradhātu Maṇḍala consecration of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* system.<sup>92</sup> His arrival in China coincides with the Śailendra period and the early construction phase of Borobudur. He joined the enormously influential group of monks in China that had been formed earlier by Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, and Huiguo. These masters were all experts in state protection sutras and *maṇḍala*

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89. Helmuth von Glasenapp, “Ein Buddhistischer Initiationsritus des Javanischen Mittelalters,” in *Tribus: Jahrbuch des Linden Museums* (Stuttgart: Museum für Länder-und Völkerkunde, 1952–1953), 260; J. de Jong, “Notes on Sources and the Text of *Sang Hyang Kamahayanan Mantranaya*,” *Bijdragen tot de taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 130, no. 4 (1974): 465–482; Kandahjaya, “*Saṅ Hyān Kamahāyānikan*, Borobudur, and the Origins of Esoteric Buddhism in Indonesia,” draws attention to a practice related to the *anuttarapūjā*, its possible depiction at Borobudur, and its knowledge in Japanese, Tibetan, and Chinese Buddhism.

90. Glasenapp, “Ein Buddhistischer Initiationsritus des Javanischen Mittelalters,” 263.

91. Yutaka Iwamoto, “The Śailendra Dynasty and Borobudur,” in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chandi Borobudur* (Tokyo: Executive Committee for the International Symposium on Chandi Borobudur, 1981), 85; M. Coquet, *Le Bouddhisme ésotérique japonais* (Paris: Vertiges, 1986), 89. The brief Chinese biography of Huiguo states that Bianhong had already studied esoteric texts in Ho-ling (Java) and after arriving in Changan expressed his interest in the teachings of the womb *maṇḍala*. See T. 2057.50.295b16–18, trans. Hudaya Kandahjaya, “A Study on the Origin and Significance of Borobudur,” 65, 94–96, 108, 165.

92. Based on Haiyun’s report Iain Sinclair discusses the teachings received by Bianhong at the Daxingshan monastery. See “Coronation and Liberation according to a Javanese Monk in China,” in *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia*, ed. Andrea Acri (Singapore: ISEAS, 2016), 29–66.

consecration rituals. Bianhong's arrival in Changan, with official gifts such as a pair of conches, a brass object, and four vases for his master, Huiguo indicates his familiarity with tantric protocols<sup>93</sup> but also implies familiarity with these objects in his homeland of Java. Though we have a Tang record of only one Javanese monk to venture abroad in search of esoteric knowledge, his presence among Huiguo's top disciples suggests not only that the Javanese were schooled enough in the esoteric discipline to send their elite monks to China, it implies the esoteric doctrines and deities being taught by Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, and Huiguo were available to Javanese temple architects. Whether Bianhong returned to Java and played any role at the Śailendra court, or in the construction of Borobudur, is not known, but it seems likely.<sup>94</sup> In any case, news of tantric *abhiṣeka* rites of the Tang emperors would have reached the Javanese Buddhist circle. Bianhong's manual on performing initiation that he compiled in China deals with the same subject matter as the Javanese text *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan*.<sup>95</sup>

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA, JAVA-ŚRĪVIJAYA,  
AND THE INDO-TIBETAN SPHERE

There are at least six pieces of epigraphical evidence highlighting Pāla-Śailendra connections. Even though Śailendras were well connected and had access to Chinese Buddhist circles, their participation in Indian Buddhism is even more evident.

The 778 CE Caṇḍi Kalasan inscription mentions a temple dedicated to Tārā by the Śailendra king.<sup>96</sup> The construction of this temple

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93. *Ibid.*, 33.

94. The hypothesis that Bianhong did return to Java and was involved in the design of Borobudur was proposed by Kandahjaya, "A Study on the Origin and Significance of Borobudur," 165, 251 and supported by Hiram Woodward, "Bianhong: Mastermind of Borobudur?" 25. Iain Sinclair refutes this claim in "Coronation and Liberation," 35.

95. Sinclair, "Coronation and Liberation," 39, 49.

96. The Kalasan Inscription opens with a laudatory verse to Tārā and also mentions the erection of the Tārā image. This twelve-stanza Sanskrit inscription written in early Nāgarī script was translated by F. D. K. Bosch, "Çrīvijaya de Çailendra- en Sañjayavamça," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 108 (1958): 113–123; also see H. B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java (Corpus Inscriptionum Javanicarum, up to 928 A.D.)*, vols. 1–2 (Calcutta: Mukhopadhy, 1971), 35–36.

corresponds with the rise of the Pālas (ca. 775–1214) and the construction of Tārā temples at Chandradvīpa, Nālandā, and the Somapura vihāra built by them.<sup>97</sup> Tārā was one the most celebrated deities of the Pālas and possibly exerted some influence on the Śailendras, and she continued to remain important in both domains. Three centuries later, when Atīśa went to Tibet, after spending twelve years in Śrīvijaya to renew Buddhism, he gave fresh impulse to Tārā.<sup>98</sup>

The 782 CE Buddhist inscription of Kēlurak in central Java mentions Bengali *guru* Kumārghoṣa from Gauḍvīpa (Bengal), who consecrated an image of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.<sup>99</sup> A 792 CE inscription of Caṇḍi Sewu also mentions the construction of a Mañjuśrī temple. Mañjuśrī evidently played a significant role in the Śailendra, Pāla, and Tang courts. In fact, Amoghavajra made him the national deity of China.<sup>100</sup>

A mid-ninth-century Caṇḍi Plaosan inscription mentions the central Javanese temple being visited by people arriving from Gurjardeśa, which refers either to Gujrat in western India, the Valabhī domain of

97. D. C. Sircar, “The Tārā of Candradvīpa,” in *The Śakti Cult and Tārā*, ed. D. C. Sarkar (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1967), 113, 128; Mallar Ghosh, *Development of Buddhist Iconography in Eastern India: A Study of Tārā, Prajñās of Five Tathāgatas and Bhṛīkuṭī* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1980), 9, 30.

98. See J. G. de Casparis, *Prasati Indonesia II: Selected Inscriptions from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> Century A.D.* (Bandung: Masa Baru, 1956), 175ff.; Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, 48; J. A. Schoterman, *Indonesische Sporen in Tibet*, 23; S. Ch. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1893), 53–83; F. D. K. Bosch, “Een oorkonde van het groote klooster te Nālandā” [A charter from the large Nālandā monastery], *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 65 (1925): 559.

99. This twenty-stanza inscription is written in pre-Nāgarī script. F. D. K. Bosch, “De inscriptie van Kēloerak,” *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van kunsten en Wetenschappen* 68, nos. 1–2 (1928): 29–30; and H. B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, 41,

100. For the Sewu inscription see John Miksic, “The Mañjuśrīgrha Inscription of Candi Sewu, Śaka 714/A.D. 792,” in *Texts and Contexts in Southeast Asia: Proceedings of the Texts and Contexts in Southeast Asia Conference, Yangon, 12–14 December 2001* (Yangon: Universities Historical Research Centre, 2003), 19–42; for Mañjuśrī’s role, see John Miksic, “Manjusri as a Political Symbol in Ancient Java,” in *Anamorphoses: Hommage à Jacques Dumarçay*, ed. Bruno Dagens and Henri Chambert-Loir (Paris: les Indes savants, 2006), 186.

the Matrika kings, or to the kingdom of the Gurjara-Pratiharas in central north India.<sup>101</sup>

Indian textiles are referred to as gifts in central Javanese *simā* charters, which record tax and labor rights granted for religious foundations from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. They mention *buat kling putih*, i.e., “white cloth made in India/Kālinga.”<sup>102</sup>

In India, the most important source on Indonesian history, the Nālandā copper plate of Devapāladeva (850 CE), mentions that the ornament of the Śailendra dynasty, Bālaputra, established a Buddhist monastery at Nālandā. The inscription refers to “bodhisattvas well-versed in *tantras*.”<sup>103</sup> The inscription also provides important details about the ancestry of Śrīvijaya’s ruler at the time. Along with the northern Indian connection, there were strong connections with Southern India.

Śaiva Coḷa rulers also patronized Buddhism, and in 1006 CE Rājarāja Coḷa granted permission to the Śailendra king Cūḷāmaṇivarman to build a Buddhist monastery (Cūḷāmaṇi Vihāra) at the coastal town of Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, which was supported by Coḷa grants.<sup>104</sup> Two other Inscriptions dated to 1014–1015 and 1015 CE, during the reign of Rajendra Coḷa, also refer to the grants made by a Śrīvijayan agent.<sup>105</sup> A detailed discussion regarding the political alliance between Java and Śrīvijaya under the Śailendras is beyond the scope of this paper, but the most in-depth study of the subject by Roy Jordaan and Colless states that Śrīvijaya was an allied kingdom of the Śailendras, who were

101. The ninth-century fragmentary stone inscription in Sanskrit is now kept in the Jakarta Museum (no. D82). See de Casparis, *Prasati Indonesia II*, 188–89, 202; Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, 48.

102. Jan Wissemann Christie, “Texts and Textiles in ‘Medieval Java,’” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 80, no. 1 (1993): 199.

103. Hirananda Shastri, “The Nālandā Copper-Plate of Devapāladeva,” *Epigraphia Indica* 17 (1924): 310–327; de Casparis, *Prasati Indonesia II*, 297.

104. *Epigraphia Indica* 22, no. 34 (1933). For the translation of the Sanskrit text see Noboru Karashima and Y. Subbarayalu, “Ancient and Medieval Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions,” in *Nagapattinam to Suvarṇadvīpa: Reflections of the Coḷa Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia*, ed. Hermann Kulke, K. Kesavapany, and Vijay Sakhuja (Indian ed., Delhi: Manohar, 2010), 272–273.

105. *Ibid.*, 275–276.



FIGURE 13. Tabo Monastery's overall layout showing the modest mud structure in the central courtyard.

the *mahārājas* of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. In this case, the Buddhist tradition of Java and Śrīvijaya would have been very close.<sup>106</sup>

There is evidence of the impact of Pāla styles upon Javanese bronzes during this period.<sup>107</sup> The iconographic material found at eighth-century Ratnagiri *mahāvihāra* in Odisha built by the Pālas has many parallels in temple sites of Java and Sumatra, especially Śailendra temples like Caṇḍi Mendut.<sup>108</sup> Excavations at Udayagiri in Odisha have brought to light remains of a huge Buddhist monastic complex of Mādhavapura *mahāvihāra* where a seven-meter-high *stūpa* with four Jina buddhas in all four cardinal directions was constructed. The southern part of the Udayagiri has revealed important images such as Tārā, Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, dated to the eighth century.<sup>109</sup> Based on the tenth-

106. Roy Jordaan and B. E. Colless, *The Mahārājas of the Isles: The Śailendras and the Problem of Śrīvijaya* (Leiden: Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania, University of Leiden, Semaian 25, 2009), ap. X.

107. For the Nālandā inscription of Bālaputra and the Leiden copper plate inscription dated to 1006 CE, see *Epigraphia Indica* 22, no. 34 (1933). For the influence on bronzes see Pauline Scheurleer and Marijke Klokke, *Divine Bronze: Ancient Indonesian Bronzes from A.D. 600 to 1600* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), 27–30.

108. Natasha Reichle, "Imagery, Ritual and Ideology: Examining the Mahāvihāra at Ratnagiri," *Esoteric Buddhist Networks in Maritime Asia, 7<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Centuries CE*, ed. Andrea Aciri (Singapore: ISEAS, 2016).

109. See [http://asi.nic.in/asi\\_exca\\_2005\\_orissa.asp](http://asi.nic.in/asi_exca_2005_orissa.asp).



century Intan shipwreck cargo of several ritual bronzes and *vajras* found off the Sumatran coast, John Miksic has hinted the possibility of Nālandā-Java-Sumatra connections.<sup>110</sup> A large Pāla period black stone slab with a tenth- to twelfth-century inscription in Siddhamātrkā script was found at Kesariya.<sup>111</sup> It is the same script that was introduced to Java by the builders of Borobudur, the Śailendra kings.<sup>112</sup>

From an architectural point of view, a monument like Borobudur can only have been the culmination of a long period of artistic gestation. Given the Śailendra-Pāla contacts and the construction of the eighth-century Śaiva temples on the Dieng Plateau, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility in this connected Buddhist world that a breakthrough development in the Pāla domain, which transformed a *stūpa* into a *maṇḍala* of life-size buddhas, was enhanced with narrative reliefs at Somapura and Vikramaśīla before reaching its ultimate form of expression on Javanese soil.

Just a century after Borobudur's construction we find a perfect knowledge of the *yogini-tantras* in Java in the Nganjuk and Surocolo bronzes (last quarter of the tenth century or later) exhibiting the deities of the Vajrasattva and Hevajra *maṇḍalas*.<sup>113</sup> Eleventh-century ritual deposits of Caṇḍi Gumpung inscribe the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala deities. Frequent appearance of the *vajra* motif and reliefs of dancers wearing elephant and ox masks at Biaro Pulo, Padang Lawas, Sumatra might be local variants of the sacred dances of Buddhist ceremonies performed in Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, and Laos.<sup>114</sup> The use of animal

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110. John Miksic, "The Buddhist-Hindu Divide in Pre-Modern Southeast Asia," 20–21.

111. According to D. R. Patil, *The Antiquarians Remains in Bihar* (Patna: Kashi Prasad jayaswal Research Institute, 1963), 201, the stone slab was found by J. B. Elliot in 1835 that had a representation of Viṣṇu, but the exact nature of the representation is not known.

112. Roy Jordaan, "The Śailendras," 212.

113. Lokesh Chandra, "Identification of Nañjuk Bronzes," in *Cultural Horizons of India*, vol. 4 (Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1995), 97–107; and Lokesh Chandra and Sudarshana Devi Singhal, "The Buddhist Bronzes of Surocolo," *Cultural Horizons of India*, vol. 4 (Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1995), 121–147.

114. The relief panels around the base of the temples of Biaro Pulo and Biaro Bahal I depict dances in vigorous postures. Out of the five panels from Biaro Pulo, kept today at the Jakarta Museum, two clearly display masked dancers—one with an elephant head and another with an ox head. Biaro Bahal I temple



masks is common in the ‘*cham* dances of Tibetan monasteries. It gives us some idea of the Buddhism practiced in Java/Śrīvijaya post-Borobudur, during the time of Atīśa.<sup>115</sup> The Buddhist traditions would have flourished post-Borobudur and possibly had new concepts that Indian circles lacked, as Atīśa went to Śrīvijaya from India in search of certain Buddhist practices.

#### COMPARING BOROBUDUR AND TABO

The massive monuments of Kesariya and Borobudur in brick and volcanic rock bear no similarity in external form to the modest mud architecture of Tabo (see fig. 13, above). But despite the disparate geography and outward appearance, Borobudur and Tabo have much in common, for they share a common religious philosophy, a sacred geometry, and fusion of the *maṇḍala* with an architectural space.<sup>116</sup>

The main temple of the Tabo Monastery was founded in 996 CE by King Ye-shes'-od under the religious supervision of Rin-chen-bzan-po.<sup>117</sup> The king enjoyed launching missionary campaigns throughout the Indo-Tibetan sphere, with the help of his preceptor Rin-chen-

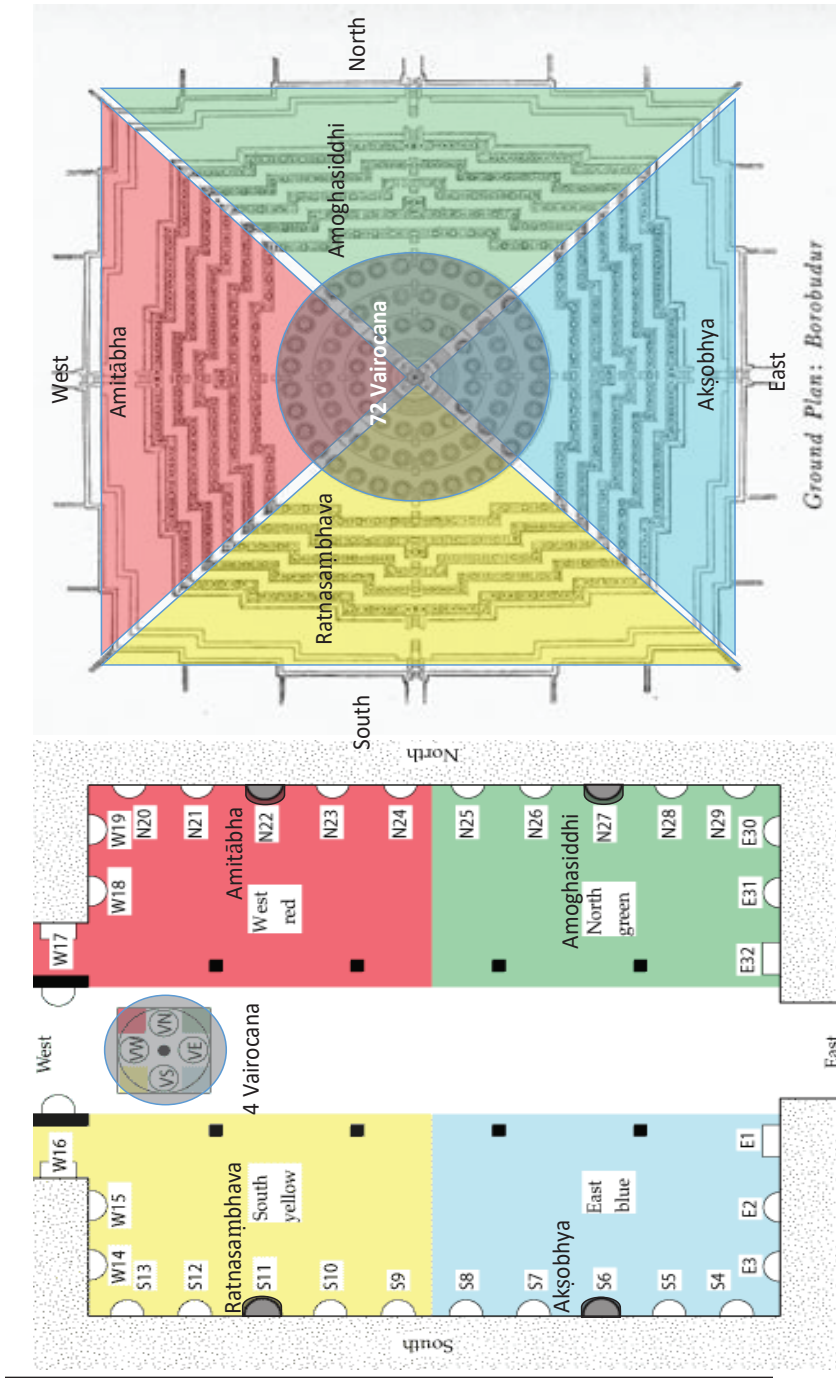
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reliefs of the dancers are not masked but demonstrate vigorous postures. These masked reliefs may depict masked dancers taking part in Buddhist sacred dance. See John Miksic et al., *Art of Indonesia* (London: Tauris Parke, 1994), 75. For a discussion of the masked dance tradition in Mongolia see Patricia Berger, “Buddhist Festivals of Mongolia,” in *Mongolia: The Legacy of Chinggis Khan*, ed. Patricia Berger and Terese Tse Bartholomew (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995).

115. The statuary found on sites of Biaro Pulo and Biaro Bahal I is possibly from the same period as Atīśa or just after his departure from the island. Miksic, “The Buddhist-Hindu Divide,” 26, 28.

116. Natasha Kimmet has recently compared the sacred space of Tabo and Borobudur in “Sharing Sacred Space: A Comparative Study of Tabo and Borobudur,” in *Connecting Empires and States: Selected Papers from the 13<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the EurASEA*, vol. 2, ed. D. Bonatz, A. Reinecke, and M-L. Tjoa-Bonatz (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2012), 93–102.

117. Based on the inscription on one side of the cella, known as renovation inscription, the temple was founded in a monkey year (996 CE) and renovated forty-six years later (1042 CE) by the great nephew of the king (Klimburg-Salter, *Tabo: A Lamp for the Kingdom*, 18). The inscription has been translated and edited by Helmut Tauscher, “The Admonitory Inscription in the Tabo Du Khan,” in *Inscriptions from the Tabo Main Temple: Texts and Translations*, vol. 83



**FIGURE 14.** Tabo assembly hall plan and Borobudur plan: arrangement of sacred space. Tabo plan © Christian Luczantis. Borobudur plan © Kern Institute collection, Leiden University Library.

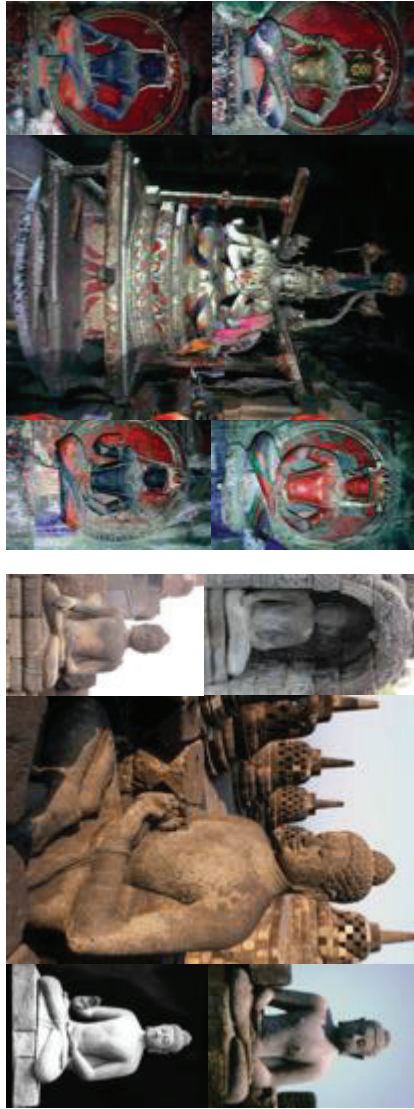


FIGURE 15. The Sarvatathāgatatattvasaigraha pentad of Tabo and Borobudur.

bzan-po, commonly known as the Great Translator. The latter translated the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṅgraha* text to introduce the Vairocana Maṇḍala into the monasteries of Tabo and Alchi.

Like the three distinct vertical structural levels of Borobudur and Kesariya that comprise of square and circular terraces with a crowning *stūpa*, the main temple (*gtsug-lag-khang*) of Tabo comprises three horizontal levels: an entry hall (*sgo-khang*), an assembly hall (*'du-khang*) housing three-dimensional Vajradhātu Maṇḍala deities,<sup>118</sup> and a cella (*dri-gtsang-khang*) surrounded by an ambulatory path (*skor-lam*).

The entrance doors of the assembly hall of Tabo are protected by the guardian deities in a similar manner to the *kāla* heads above the four entrances of Borobudur. In a *maṇḍala*, a human seeking enlightenment must move symbolically from the violent and unconscious periphery towards the sacred center. The arrangement of the narrative reliefs of Borobudur is similar to the outer periphery depicting the worldly scenes, then the terraces closer to the central *stūpa* depict the world of bodhisattvas, and ultimately the center is reserved for the supreme buddha.

To absorb all the doctrines, texts, and concepts embedded in the reliefs, adepts had to circumambulate the monument ten times in a clockwise direction. While doing so, they are sanctified by the presence of buddha icons in the balustraded niches of the upper gallery. At Tabo too, after crossing the entry hall, a practitioner circumambulates horizontally along the narrative murals of the assembly hall and moves towards the ambulatory and cella, into the realm of fully developed buddhas and bodhisattvas. While circumambulating, life-size clay images of the buddhas, suspended on the walls of the assembly hall around 1 m height from the floor, bless a practitioner.

Traditionally the practitioner would circumambulate at least three times around the main Vairocana image. In Tabo he [or she] progresses through the spiritual geography of the maṇḍala and

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of *Serie Orientale Roma*, ed. Petech Luciano and Christian Luczanits (Rome: Is. I. A. Q., 1999), 9–28.

118. David Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya: Travels and Studies in Quest of the Origins and Nature of Tibetan Religion* (Oxford: B. Cassirer, 1957), 66–67, 185; Klimburg-Salter, *Tabo: A Lamp for the Kingdom*, 203; Laxman Thakur, *Buddhism in Western Himalaya: A Study of Tabo Monastery* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 98–126; Christian Luczanits, *Buddhist Sculpture in Clay: Early Western Himalayan Art, Late 10<sup>th</sup> to Early 13<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2004), 72.

simultaneously identifies with the spiritual pilgrimage accomplished in the narratives, first by Sudhana and then by Siddhartha, the Buddha Śākyamuni. Thus through meditation and ritual circumambulation he [or she] performs a symbolic pilgrimage, which also leads to successively higher levels of consciousness.<sup>119</sup>

While physically moving through the space of these two monuments, a practitioner literally activates the narrative and experiences the dynamic space of the *maṇḍala*.<sup>120</sup>

The square terraces of Borobudur house multiple directional Jina buddhas along with the seventy-two Vairocanas of the top three circular terraces, thus forming the core of a unique form of the pentad at the heart of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala.<sup>121</sup> At Tabo, the rectangular plan of the assembly hall is an unusual shape for a *maṇḍala*, but by organizing the space of the hall in four directional quarters and placing the directional buddhas in each quarter, the builder overcomes the lack of symmetry of the *maṇḍala* (see fig. 14, above).

#### THE SUPREME BUDDHA VAIROCANA OF THE VAJRADHĀTU MAṆḌALA AT BOROBUDUR AND TABO

The central Vairocana at Tabo is placed at the back of the assembly hall to allow for daily rituals and the congregation of monks. The Vairocana sculpture is unique in consisting of four separate, complete, and identical human bodies seated back to back and facing the cardinal directions. This aspect of the *sarvavid* “all-seeing” Vairocana is elsewhere conventionally represented with four faces above a single body. The off-center placement of Vairocana at Tabo is a deviation from the textual *maṇḍalas*. Borobudur too, is utterly unique, with seventy-two Vairocanas in a *dharmacakra* or wheel-turning *mudrā* seated in bell-shaped, latticed *stūpikas* arranged around a large central *stūpa* on three circular terraces. Here the symbolic center of the *maṇḍala* has also been shifted from the actual center of the monument. There is

119. Klimburg-Salter, *Tabo: A Lamp for the Kingdom*, 108.

120. *Ibid.*, 132–133; Klimburg-Salter also notes that this viewing experience is similar to viewing narrative sutra scrolls in East Asia, although in this case the viewer is stationary but activates the narrative through the unfolding and viewing of the scrolls.

121. Bosch, “Buddhist Data from Balinese Texts,” 109–118; Chandra, “Borobudur as a Monument,” 24–25.

also an emphasis in each case on the multiple Vairocanas emerging from the center and radiating across the whole *maṇḍala*. Around the Vairocanas, sculptures of the four buddhas of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala (Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi) form the key component of the *maṇḍala* in each temple (see fig. 15). At Tabo, the four directional Jina buddhas are differentiated by their respective colors and slightly larger size than the other deities of the *maṇḍala*. The entire assemblage makes up a configuration of thirty-three of the thirty-seven main deities of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala. The *maṇḍala* of Borobudur, on the other hand, only incorporates the four directional Jinās, multiplied by 108 life-size images of each on the four sides of the pyramid. Lokesh Chandra prefers a more complex exegesis and claims the 504 buddha figures housed on the terraces of Borobudur are not, in fact, the Five Jinās but are morphological types that represent the thousand buddhas of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala through their symbolic doubling ( $504 \times 2 = 1008$ ).<sup>122</sup> He contends the presence of the one thousand buddhas is the distinguishing feature of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala among the *yoga-tantras*.<sup>123</sup> The inside wall of the ambulatory at Tabo depicts the hierarchy of the bodhisattvas, *mahābodhisattvas*, and one thousand buddhas of *bhadrakalpa*.<sup>124</sup>

Both Tabo and Borobudur went through at least two phases of construction activity, but the original iconography of both the monuments was based on the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala.<sup>125</sup> The later phase evidently expanded the original concept.

Despite the differences between these monuments, Klimburg-Salter sees a significant parallel in theory and practice at Borobudur and Tabo:

The existence of Borobudur in Java is particularly interesting from our point of view for several reasons. 1) We have the fusion of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala with an architectural space. 2) The elements

122. Chandra, "Borobudur as a Monument," 24–5.

123. Ibid.

124. Christian Luczanits, "In Search of the Perfection of Wisdom," in *From Turfan to Ajanta: Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Eli Franco and Monika Zin (Nepal: Lumbini International Research, 2010), 573.

125. Deborah Klimburg-Salter, *Tabo Monastery: Art and History* (Vienna, Austria: Austrian Science Foundation, 2005), 48; Jacques Dumarçay, *Borobudur* (Singapore, Oxford, & New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).



of the iconographic program are the same as those at Tabo: the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, and the narratives from the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and the life of the Buddha.<sup>126</sup>

The lack of symmetry in the Tabo assembly hall and unconventional and incomplete set of the *maṇḍala* deities at both the monuments must be acknowledged. However, enough of the fundamental elements of the *maṇḍala* are present to indicate a conscious choice by the patrons. Java and Spiti were well grounded in the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* and other *yoga-tantras*.

#### GAṆḌAVYŪHA-SŪTRA: THE NARRATIVE PROGRAM OF THE TWO MONUMENTS

The entire iconography program of the assembly hall at Tabo, including the story of the pilgrim Sudhana, is from the second phase in the eleventh century.<sup>127</sup> Tabo and Borobudur both house the narrative stories in an identical manner between the lower and upper registers of the respective walls of the monuments. At Borobudur, the main focus of the narratives is the *Gaṇḍavyūha* of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, especially the last chapter of its sutra, the *Vows of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra*. At Borobudur, this text has been accorded far more space than the other narratives reliefs. The sutra describes Sudhana's spiritual journey in search of the ultimate reality by visiting 150 sacred places and spiritual guides or *kalyāṇa mitra* (good friends). The journey ends when Sudhana attains a vision of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra and realizes that his own nature, and those of all the buddhas and bodhisattvas are, in fact, one and infinitely interpenetrate one another. The sutra concludes with Samantabhadra reciting the verses known as *Bhadracarī*. At Borobudur, special attention is paid to Sudhana's encounters with the future Buddha Maitreya, the compassionate Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and the bodhisattva of wisdom Mañjuśrī, but Samantabhadra plays the major role in the ultimate sections of relief.<sup>128</sup> It is Samantabhadra's direction of the pilgrim's path that is accorded the place of honor on the highest levels of Borobudur.

126. Klimburg-Salter, *Tabo: A Lamp for the Kingdom*, 105.

127. Thakur, *Buddhism in Western Himalaya*, 148; Klimburg-Salter, *Tabo Monastery*, 39; Luczanits, "In Search of the Perfection of Wisdom," 569.

128. Miksic, *Borobudur*, 127.



In the assembly hall of Tabo, the murals are organized along the lower registers of the wall in a more or less horizontal progression clockwise from the east wall of the entrance to the western wall of the ambulatory entrance. On the other side of the entrance of the ambulatory, the west wall bears narrative murals from *Lalitavistara*, a text that is also important to Borobudur. The upper register of the wall depicts several buddha realms, including that of the ten directional buddhas and their bodhisattva attendants. Several extracts from the Tibetan version of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* are inserted and correspond, though not precisely, with the narrative murals.<sup>129</sup> The *Gaṇḍavyūha* stretches over 460 panels of the bas-reliefs at Borobudur,<sup>130</sup> whereas in Tabo, the spiritual journey of Sudhana is compressed into 56 mural panels. At both monuments, the emphasis is on the search for “perfection of wisdom.” The *Gaṇḍavyūha* had been popular for some centuries even before its depiction at the Tabo monastery. But what is unique about the depiction at Tabo is the arrangement of its individual scenes accompanied by textual panels. The extensive use of cartouches possibly indicates Chinese influence rather than Indian.<sup>131</sup> The last few reliefs of the top gallery of Borobudur are difficult to understand, but they depict Sudhana, sitting beside Samantabhadra with a halo, suggesting he has reached the state of an advanced bodhisattvahood (see fig. 16).

At Tabo, the narrative *Gaṇḍavyūha* murals of the assembly hall continue inside the ambulatory path of the cella, but instead of *Bhadracarī*, stories from the last chapters of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* are depicted. Some scenes are easily recognized and some have explanatory texts, but as at Borobudur many are difficult to interpret. Christian Luczanits says of these reliefs (see fig. 17):

Principally, the ambulatory narrative is very similar to that of Sudhana, with its protagonist wearing the same dress and apparently also journeying from one teacher, commonly a Buddha or Bodhisattva,

129. Ernst Steinkeller, *A Short Guide to the Sudhana Frieze in the Temple of Ta pho* (Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische and Buddhistische Studien, Universitat Wien, 1966), 6, fig. 1.

130. Miksic, *Borobudur*, 127.

131. Pointing towards the use of cartouches at Dunhuang cave murals and their absence in Indian art, Dorothy Wong has suggested the influence of Chinese Buddhism. See Dorothy Wong, “The Huayan/Kegon/Hwaōm Paintings in East Asia,” in *Reflecting Mirrors: Perspective on Huayan Buddhism*, ed. Imre Hamar (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 353.



**FIGURE 16.** Borobudur gallery IV-53. Samantabhadra with his three-stemmed flower is elevated on a lotus cushion, and Sudhana is seen with a halo.



**FIGURE 17.** The protagonist at Tabo can be taken as reinforcing the quest of Sudhana on a higher level as per Luczanits. Here he is seen with a crown instead of a halo, offering himself to the bodhisattva. Tabo Ambulatory, N-wall. Photo © J. Poncar.

to the next. The scenes are set against cloud-like mountains or within simplified architecture, as is also typical for the Sudhana narrative. However, the protagonist is now invariably crowned, as if Sudhana would have retained an exalted spiritual state after receiving blessings from Samantabhadra under the eyes of Vairocana in the last scene of the assembly hall narrative.<sup>132</sup>

#### THE SACRED CENTER: BOROBUDUR AND TABO

The cella of the Tabo Monastery main temple houses images of the buddha seated on a double lotus cushion on a lion throne against the wall. The bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara/Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva stand beside the central figure on the south and north walls respectively (see fig. 18). The central buddha has been interpreted as both Vairocana and Amitābha. Giuseppe Tucci identified the central figure as Amitābha because he is painted red and is seated in his *dhyāna-mudrā* position.<sup>133</sup> Deborah Klimberg-Salter, however, disputes

132. “The ambulatory cella narratives are based on the last chapters of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, namely the story of Sadāprarudita in search of “Perfection of Wisdom.” See Luczanits, “In Search of the Perfection of the Wisdom,” 569–570.

133. Tucci Giuseppe, *Indo-Tibetica, Vol. III: I Templi del Tibet Occidentale e il loro Simbolismo Artistico, Parte I, Spiti e Kunavar; Parte II, Tsaparanag* (Roma: Reale

this, saying it is Vairocana because of the lion throne and because he is seen in Dunhuang and Ropa caves with his hands in this position holding an upright wheel of the law.<sup>134</sup> If we accept the central buddha as Vairocana, then an unanswered question arises about two Vairocanas, one in the cella and the other in the assembly hall. The unusual presence of the two Vairocana images in the main temple may possibly be attributed to the eleventh-century temple renovation, which incorporated elements of the original artistic program with the new one.<sup>135</sup>

The question of two Vairocanas arises even at Borobudur. The 64 buddha images seated in the *vitarka-mudrā* on the topmost square terrace balustrade have been called Vairocana<sup>136</sup> and/or Samantabhadra.<sup>137</sup> If these images are assumed to be Vairocana, then like Tabo, this puts in question the identification of the partly visible Vairocana-like images in *dharmacakra-mudrā* in the 72 perforated *stūpikas* on the circular terraces. It is conceivable that at both Tabo and Borobudur, the sixth buddha is a representation of Vajrasattva of the *yoginī-tantra*, as claimed by the UNESCO restorers in panels at the base of the monument. (UNESCO calls the *vitarka-mudrā* Buddha Vairocana and the *dharmacakra-mudrā* Buddha Vajrasattva, in an ascending hierarchy. See the upper right-hand panel in the sign at the base of the monument.)

Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi accompany the main buddha in the cella at Tabo. At Borobudur, the debate about whether there was a

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Accademia d'Italia, 1935), 78. Supporting Tucci's interpretation, Thakur (*Buddhism in Western Himalaya*, 115) identifies the cella triad as Avalokiteśvara-Amitābha-Mahāsthānaprāpta along with Kṣitigarbha and Ākāśagarbha.

134. Klimburg-Salter (*Tabo: A Lamp for the Kingdom*, 143) identifies the cella triad as Avalokiteśvara-Vairocana-Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva based on similar figures from Dunhuang and Ropa.

135. *Ibid.*, 91.

136. Moens/Long, "Barabudur, Mendut, and Pawon," 22.

137. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Dhyāni Buddhas of Borobudur," in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 121, no. 4 (1965): 408, 416; Frédéric Louis, *Borobudur* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1996), 184. According to Alice Getty, in the group of bodhisattvas, Samantabhadra displays *varada-mudrā* or *vitarka-mudrā* with his right hand while the left hand holds the *cintāmaṇi*, but at Borobudur the left hand of the Buddha is empty. See Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism: Their History, Iconography and Progressive Evolution through the Northern Buddhist Countries* (London, New York, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1914), 46.



**FIGURE 18.** Tabo main cella with triad of Avalokiteśvara, Vairocana/ Amitābha, Vajrapāṇi.

buddha in the main *stūpa* is not entirely resolved.<sup>138</sup> A small four-armed Avalokiteśvara bronze was found in the main *stūpa* of Borobudur and is now kept in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde).<sup>139</sup> There are also unconfirmed sources mentioning

138. Reports about the nineteenth-century discovery of a damaged and incomplete Akṣobhya within the broken and looted main *stūpa* led to claims that this was the main image of Borobudur. Moens (“Barabudur, Mendut and Pawon,” 33) thought this was an unfinished reject statue. This image came to light in 1842 during the excavations by Hartmann. Neither Thomas Raffles, Cornelius, nor Crawford had seen the image as per Louis Frédéric (*Borobudur*, 184), who suggested the possibility of the statue being placed in the *stūpa* by Hartmann or one of his subordinates in good intention. Stutterheim, van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, Bernet-Kempers, De Casparis, and Soekmono believed its position was authentic. For the summary of all the arguments and counter arguments, see Moens/Long, *Barabudur, Mendut and Pawon*, 32–35; and Nandana Chutiwongs, “Pieces of the Borobudur Puzzle Re-Examined,” in *Indonesia: The Discovery of the Past, Exhibition Catalogue* (Jakarta: National Museum Jakarta, 2005), 40–48.

139. N. J. Krom and Theodoor Van Erp, *Beschrijving van Barabudur, s’Gravenhage* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1920), 652–654. The publisher produced an

a golden buddha statue from the main *stūpa* of Borobudur.<sup>140</sup> If this was the case, then like Tabo, Borobudur too would have possibly had a bronze triad placed at the sacred center of the monument. The presence of a triad is seen in the iconography of contemporary Caṇḍi Mendut. Here, the central buddha is flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi, much like that of the Tabo cella. No one has yet offered a satisfactory reading of the last few reliefs of Borobudur's fourth gallery.

In the panel below (fig. 19) we see Sudhana sitting beside Samantabhadra below Amitābha's western paradise. Amitābha, sitting in *dhyāna-mudrā*, is unusually accompanied by Vajrapāṇi as well as his own Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, forming an uncanny resemblance to the cella triad of Tabo. The standing bodhisattvas at Tabo display similar *mudrās* to the bodhisattvas seated in the Borobudur panel. The sculptures and reliefs of Tabo and Borobudur show several common features and support the arguments for seeing the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala embodied in the architecture of both.

#### EXPERIENCING A MAṆḌALA

The architectural designs of Tabo and Borobudur imply that sacred art requires activation through ritual movement in order to apply and validate their religious and political messages. The architectonic *maṇḍalas* need to be experienced through spatial movement that is vertical in the case of Borobudur and horizontal in case of Tabo. Gery Malandra sees a *maṇḍala* as a cosmic diagram in painting, sculpture, or architecture that is transformed to embody supernatural power by adept movements in rituals.

The conception of the *maṇḍala* as a diagram is extended into visualization of concrete architectural space, and was transformed into actual temple architecture and sculpture. The universe-in-the-*maṇḍala* is thus described and represented as a palace and, at the same time, the *maṇḍala* as a whole is conceived as being located in *kūṭāgāra*, a three-storied caved palace resting on the top of mount Sumeru.... [S]uch *maṇḍalas* as these include layers, or galleries in

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English translation of the two Dutch volumes entitled, *Barabudur: Archaeological Description*, along with three portfolios of illustration, in 1927.

140. Chandra, "Borobudur," 3; Chutiwongs, "Pieces of the Borobudur Puzzle," 44.





**FIGURE 19.** Borobudur gallery IV-50 top register relief with depiction of Avalokiteśvara, Vairocana/Amitābha, Vajrapāṇi. Sudhana is seen with a halo as well as Samantabhadra, who is not yet elevated to full buddhahood as he is not yet seated on a lotus cushion.

which reside numerous manifestations of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and other deities....<sup>141</sup>

Many questions remain open. Did Atīśa play any role in the iconographic program of Tabo? Did he introduce anything from Śrīvijayan soil? Deborah Klimberg-Salter argues in an exhaustive study that the Tabo chapel was finished before Atīśa's arrival;<sup>142</sup> however, Christian Luczanits maintains that the renovation phase of Tabo is indebted to the eleventh-century commentary of Ānandagarbha on *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha*.<sup>143</sup> This is the same commentary that is invoked as the source of Nganjuk bronzes from the same period in

141. Gery Malandra, *Unfolding a Maṇḍala: The Buddhist Cave Temples at Ellora* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993), 18.

142. Klimberg-Salter, *Tabo: A Lamp for the Kingdom*, 108.

143. Christian Luczanits, "The Clay Sculptures," in Klimburg-Salter, *Tabo: A Lamp for the Kingdom*, 193–195.

East Java.<sup>144</sup> Irrespective of Atīśa's actual presence at either Tabo or Borobudur, the iconography of both the monuments certainly bears witness to some of his teachings propounding the integration of certain tantric practices.

#### CONCLUSIONS

This paper traces a paradigm shift in architecture from *stūpa* to *maṇḍala* at the ritual center of the royal Buddhist sphere. The mandalic architecture of Kesariya, Borobudur, and Tabo, with a central supreme deity and subordinate deities, reflects the political structure of *samānta* feudalism. The *maṇḍala* model thus provided a metaphor for earthly governance reflecting a celestial order. It contributed to spiritual enlightenment as laid out in texts and two-dimensional *maṇḍala* paintings but also employed a sacred model for realization of political ideology.<sup>145</sup>

For the Pālas of north-eastern India, the Śailendras of Central Java, and the royal *lamas* of Spiti, the *maṇḍala* designated levels of hierarchy for organizing the political and social landscapes of their kingdoms. How this *maṇḍala* model was used in the ritual or architecture is difficult to determine, as many of the teachings associated with the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala were oral, secret, or esoteric. The narrative of King Indrabhūti receiving the hidden scriptures in the important commentary of *Prajñāpāramitā Nayaśatapañcāśatikā* (150 Line Perfection of Insight) throws light on the preaching and practice of such esoteric scriptures. The narrative shows how the royal chief priest represented the court of princes, princesses, and ministers on a *maṇḍala* board. Thus the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* text is physically enacted by the members of the court.<sup>146</sup>

144. K. W. Lim, "Studies in Later Buddhist Iconography," in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 120, no. 3 (1964): 335–337. He was inclined to suggest that they correspond closely with details supplied within the *Tattvālokaḥ*, an important commentary on the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha* written by Ānandagarbha (ca. tenth to eleventh century).

145. David Snellgrove recognizes the structural similarities between the *maṇḍala* and political systems. See *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, 199. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 131–144, systematically develops the argument.

146. Jñānamitra's commentary on *Prajñāpāramitā Nayaśatapañcāśatikā* is found in the imperial catalogue of the Denkar library of ca. 810 CE (canon no. 2647, *bs Tan-gyur*, rgyud, ju, fols. 272b7–294a5); quoted from Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 242–244.



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This paper is a preliminary attempt to weave together some of the scattered strands of important new conceptions passing through a connected Buddhist world. A comparative architectural study of the three monuments presents a body of findings in support of seeing strong Indian and Southeast Asian enhancements resulting from the travel of architectonic ideas crossing geographical boundaries from the eighth to twelfth centuries. This brief encounter with the three key monuments of north-eastern India, Indonesia, and the Himalaya offers a cursory view of a connected Buddhist world of maritime Asia.



## The Transmission of the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* and Other Buddhist Planetary Astral Texts<sup>1</sup>

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### INTRODUCTION

Among the Indic Buddhist texts that carry a conspicuous planetary theme is the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī*, a short ritual text that enjoyed great popularity in North India, Central Asia, and Tibet throughout the latter half of the first millennium. Traces of the practice can still be found among the Newar Buddhists in Nepal to the present day. This paper first examines the historical transmission of this text, followed by a comparison with the astral materials found in other Buddhist and non-Buddhist sources, with the aim to understand how the cosmos was envisioned by the early Buddhist writers and what the motivation behind such astral practice was.

Unlike the Babylonians and the Chinese, for whatever reason, there is very little evidence that the early Indians had any interest in the planets, as exemplified by their conspicuous absence in the Vedic corpus.<sup>2</sup> There is also no explicit mention of the planets as astral objects in

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2. David Pingree, *Jyotiḥśāstra: Astral and Mathematical Literature* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981), 9–10. The lack of astronomical and astrological references to the five planets in early Indic texts such as the *Vedāṅgajyotiṣa* in both the *Ṛc* and *Yajur* recensions, i.e., in contrast to the Sun, Moon, and the *nakṣatras*,

the Pāli canon or any early Buddhist texts, in which only the Sun, Moon, and lunar mansions (*nakṣatra*) are mentioned. As I have discussed elsewhere, the overt lack of interest in anything astronomical or astrological among the early Buddhists is mainly due to the Buddha's anti-Brahmanical stance.<sup>3</sup> Astral science (*jyotiṣa*), being one of the Brahmanical sciences (*śaḍvedāṅga*), was rejected wholesale polemically despite its prevalence at large.<sup>4</sup> This of course does not mean that the Buddha or the Buddhists themselves were completely uninterested in describing or discussing the world and the cosmos. As we shall see, the later rise of astral entities and phenomena in the Buddhist world lies precisely in the Buddhists' own interest in describing them as part of the phenomenal world and was, moreover, in keeping with the growing interest in the astral symbolism that became an integral part of an emerging Indic tantric worldview, which became widely popular in India and beyond throughout the latter half of the first millennium.<sup>5</sup>

The appearance of planetary materials in the Buddhist corpus and in a text such as the *Grahamāṭṛkādihāraṇī* may be prima facie attributed to the broader trend of Buddhist appropriation of the Brahmanical planetary lore, which had a cross-sectarian appeal throughout medieval Indian society.<sup>6</sup> This lore was disseminated doubtless through

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suggests that the planets played little or no role in ancient Indian society. This, however, does not mean that the planets were unknown to the early Indians. For speculations on a few possible planetary references in the Vedas, see S.B. Dikshit, *Bhāratīya Jyotiṣ Śāstra (History of Indian Astronomy)*, English trans. based on Marathi version (1896), 2 vols. (New Delhi: Director General of Meteorology, 1969), 58–62.

3. Bill M. Mak, "Matching Stellar Ideas to the Stars: Remarks on the Translation of Indian *Jyotiṣa* in the Chinese Buddhist Canon," in *Cross-Cultural Transmission of Buddhist Texts: Theories and Practices of Translation* (Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg, 2016), 138–139. As Bronkhorst has pointed out, "Buddhists ceded the profession of astrologist/astronomers/mathematician to Brahmins," and "the absence of a Buddhist contribution to, and participation in the development of astronomy and mathematics in classical India may be partly responsible for the relative 'peace' enjoyed by these branches of learning." See Johannes Bronkhorst, *How the Brahmins Won* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016), 275, 298.

4. Mak, *ibid.*

5. For the variety of ways such materials are incorporated into the Buddhist texts, see *ibid.*, 139–141.

6. See §2.1.

the larger *vyōṭiṣa* tradition, which was largely monopolized by the Brahmins but had reached also other segments of the society through popular rituals and worship, as exemplified by the appeasement rituals (*śānti*) dedicated to the nine Indian planets (*navagraha*). Such non-Buddhist rituals are one of the main sources of the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* we now examine.

The *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* has received considerable scholarly attention in recent years. Investigations have been made with regard to its manuscript tradition,<sup>7</sup> rituals,<sup>8</sup> and iconography.<sup>9</sup> In this paper, my focus will be the formation and transmission of the text itself and its position within the broader tradition of planetary worship in South Asia.

#### 1. FORMATION AND TRANSMISSION OF THE GRAHAMĀṬṚKĀDHĀRAṆĪ

Although the *dhāraṇī* as a Mahāyāna textual genre may be dated to the early centuries of the first millennium, the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* in its current form emerged relatively late.<sup>10</sup> We know this because the early

7. G. Grönbold, “‘Saptavāra’ — A Dhāraṇī Collection from Nepal,” in *Le Parole e i Marmi. Studi in onore di Raniero Gnoli nel suo 70° compleanno* (Rome: Istituto italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente), 369–375. Gudrun Bühnemann, “Tantric Deities in an Illustrated Dhāraṇī Manuscript from Nepal,” in *Script and Image: Papers on Art and Epigraphy*, ed. Adalbert J. Gail, Gerd J. R. Mevissen, and Richard Salomon (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2006), 29–64; “A Dhāraṇī for Each Day of the Week: The *Saptavāra* Tradition of the Newar Buddhists,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 77, no. 1 (2014): 119–136.

8. Gudrun Bühnemann, “The Heavenly Bodies (*Navagraha*) in Hindu Ritual,” *Sambhava* 11 (1989): 1–9. Marianna Kropf, “Rituelle Traditionen der Planetengottheiten (*Navagraha*) im Kathmandul: Strukturen-Praktiken-Weltbilder” (PhD thesis, University of Heidelberg, 2005). Alexander von Rospatt, “Negotiating the Passage beyond a Full Span of Life: Old Age Rituals among the Newars,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 37, no. 1 (2014): 104–129.

9. Gerd Mevissen, “Die früheste Darstellung der *Grahamāṭṛkā*: Buchmalerei aus Nepal,” *Indo-Asiatische Zeitschrift* 8 (2004): 47–62; “Iconography of *Grahamāṭṛkā*,” in *Script and Image: Papers on Art and Epigraphy* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2006), 65–98; “Images of Buddhist Goddesses Accompanied by Astral Deities,” in *Studies in Art, Iconography, Architecture and Archaeology of India and Bangladesh, Professor Enamul Haque Felicitation Volume*, ed. Gouriswar Bhattacharya et al. (New Delhi: Kaveri Books, 2007), 154–203.

10. For a discussion of *dhāraṇī* texts as a genre, see Ronald M. Davidson, “Studies in Dhāraṇī Literature I; Revisiting the Meaning of the Term Dhāraṇī,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 37 (2009): 97–147. Also, on the relation of evolution

Indian Buddhist works are characterized by a cosmology dominated by Sumeru and a set of astral beliefs based on lunar/*nakṣatra* astrology without any reference to the planets.<sup>11</sup> Only during the first half of the first millennium did a different form of astral science gradually emerge. Characterized by the zodiac, horoscopy, and planetary worship, this new body of astral lore became a salient feature of a number of Buddhist texts within the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions. The *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* is one such text.

### 1.1 The Indic Origin

Over one hundred items bearing a title related to the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* may be found in the Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project catalogue alone. All are relatively late, with the earliest copy dated to N.S. 603 (=1492/3 CE).<sup>12</sup> There is also a Newar tradition that emerged no later than the sixteenth century in which the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* appears within a cycle of *dhāraṇīs* known as the *Saptavāra* (literally, “seven days”).<sup>13</sup> The popularity of this liturgical cycle doubtless contributed to the wider circulation of the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī*.<sup>14</sup> The content of the text is largely consistent among the manuscripts I have examined. A shorter version bearing the same title has been identified as an excerpt of the former that focuses on the mantras.<sup>15</sup> According to

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of Buddhist spells associated with specific deities, images, and rituals, see Koichi Shinohara, “Dhāraṇīs and Visions in Early Esoteric Buddhist Sources in Chinese Translation,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 77, no. 1 (2014): 85–103. Under Shinohara’s classification, the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* would be a *dhāraṇī* without vision and soteriological benefits.

11. Mak, “Indian *Jyotiṣa* Literature,” 14–15.

12. Kropf, “Rituelle Traditionen der Planetengottheiten,” 163n140.

13. See footnote 7.

14. See Bühnemann, “A Dhāraṇī for Each Day of the Week,” 120. The other six are the *Vasudhārā*, *Vajravidāraṇā*, *Gaṇapatihṛdayā*, *Uṣṇīṣvijayā*, *Parṇaśavarī*/*Prajñāpāramitā*, *Māricī*. The *Grahamāṭṛkā* was placed at the end, corresponding to Saturday. The Nepalese transmission of these *dhāraṇī* texts, however, is known to be rather corrupt as scribes apparently paid little attention to the actual meaning of these texts, as shown in Akira Yuyama, “An *Uṣṇīṣa-Vijayā Dhāraṇī* Text from Nepal,” *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 1999* (2000).

15. Dharmarāj Bajrācārya, ed., *Saptavāra Grahamāṭṛkā Pustakam*, 2nd ed. (Yala: Dharmarāj Bajrācārya, 1998). Cited with text in Kropf, “Rituelle Traditionen



Tsukamoto et al., the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī* may be classified under three groups: (a), (b), and (c).<sup>16</sup> Group (a) is the most common and also most complete. Category (b) contains only the section from the *dhāraṇī* onward. Manuscript copies of category (c) cannot be easily classified. The editions I use here fall under group (a).<sup>17</sup>

### 1.2 Chinese and Tibetan Translations

At least two Chinese ( $C_1, C_2$ ) and two Tibetan translations ( $T_1, T_2$ ) of the *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī* are extant.<sup>18</sup> They provide us some important clues with regard to the early formation of this text and the kind of development it might have undergone.

$C_1$ : T. 1302: *Zhuxingmu tuoluoni jing* 諸星母陀羅尼經 (Sutra of the *Dhāraṇī* of the Mother of Stars), translated by Facheng 法成. Based on Dunhuang manuscripts, mid-ninth century CE.<sup>19</sup>

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der Planetengottheiten,” 475–476.

16. Tsukamoto Keisho 塚本啓祥, Matsunaga Yukei 松永有慶, and Isoda Hirofumi 磯田熙文, eds., *Bongo butten-no kenkyū IV - mikkyōhen* 梵語仏典の研究 IV 密教編 (Kyoto: Heirakuji 平楽寺書店, 1989), 114–115.

17. A partial transcription of the text was first published in Rajendralala Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1882), 93–95. The Sanskrit texts I consulted in my translation (appendix B) are: *Āryasrī grahamātrkā nāma dhāraṇī* (Lalitpur: Mudrakāḥ Mañjuśrī Press, Nepal samvat 1080 [1960 CE]); “Āryagrahamātrkā nāma dhāraṇī,” *Dhīh* 39 (2005): 169–176, which is based on Nepal National Archive ms. 3/589, folios 148b–150a, 299b–302a. Some minor variants are noted among two editions and the manuscripts I had access to. Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* manuscripts are in general highly corrupt as their contents are often thought to be magical rather than exegetical. For a helpful discussion on the edition of *dhāraṇī* texts, see Akira, “An *Uṣṇīṣa-Vijayā Dhāraṇī* Text from Nepal,” 165–175. Pending a proper edition of the text, my translation is only provisional, with certainly many details upon which to improve.

18. In addition, two Tibetan manuscripts containing the same text have been reported: Stein 334 and Pelliot 410/411. See Dang Cuo 党措, “Zhuxingmu tuoluonijing de mizhou jiedu ji neirong jieshi,” 诸星母陀罗尼经的密咒解读及内容解析, *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 宗教学研究 1 (2011): 263.

19. T. 1302 was based on two Tang manuscripts, one from the personal collection of Takakusu Junjirō and another from the British Museum Collection (T98.372b). Takakusu dated the text to the tenth year of Taizhong 太中 (=Dazhong 大中), 856 CE (T98.372b), while Misaki proposed 842 CE based on the prefatory remark on S.5010. See Misaki Ryōshū 三崎良周, “Bucchō

C<sub>2</sub>: T. 1303 *Shengyaomu tuoluoni jing* 聖曜母陀羅尼經 (*Sutra of the Dhāraṇī of the Holy Mother of the Planets*) translated by Fatian 法天, ca. 973 CE.<sup>20</sup>

T<sub>1</sub>: Toh 660: (=997), Ota 339=622, N(K) 597, C 344=627, I.630, hJañ 657=913, sTog 616. *Ārya gra ha mā tṛ kā nā ma dhā ra nī / ḥphags ma gzah rnam kyī yum shes bya baḥi gzuñs.*

T<sub>2</sub>: Toh 661: (=998), Ota 340=623, N(K)598, C 345=628, I. 631, hJañ 658=914, sTog 617. *Gra ha mā tṛ kā nā ma dhā ra nī / gzah rnam kyī yum shes bya baḥi gzuñs.*

The first translation, C<sub>1</sub>, though never canonized, was exceptionally popular, with over fifty Dunhuang manuscripts extant in various collections.<sup>21</sup> It was translated in the mid-ninth century in the monastery Xiuduo si 脩多寺 in Ganzhou 甘州 by Facheng 法成, who is believed to have been active in the Hexi region (i.e., the Gansu corridor).<sup>22</sup> Given the translator's Tibetan connection, it has been suggested that this translation was based on a Tibetan exemplar.<sup>23</sup> Excerpts of this translation are found also in a rather elaborate text-filled diagram (Pelliot 4519, Appendix C), currently labeled as a “Maṇḍala non-identifié.” The

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sonshō daranikyō-to shoshōmo daranikyō” 仏頂尊勝陀羅尼經と諸星母陀羅尼經, in *Tonkō-to chūgoku bukkyō* 敦煌と中国仏教 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社, 1984), 116, 126–127.

20. On Fatian, see Nagai Masashi 永井政之 et al., “Sōkaiyō dōshakubu kunchū (10)” 『宋会要』道釈部訓注 (10), *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū* 駒澤大学仏教学部論集 46 (2015): 53–54.

21. Note that, however, as Michelle McCoy pointed out to me [personal communication, 2018.6.1], the *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī* was not the sole astral material circulating in Central Asia as Misaki suggested; see in §2.2 discussion on rivaling Buddhist astral beliefs such as the *Jvāloṣṇīṣa*. The samples of C<sub>1</sub> I have examined are: Pelliot 3070, 3916, 3548, 2282, 4587; Saint Petersburg dx2191, Φ116, dx1005. One of the reasons why this text was not canonized and remained subsequently unknown in China must be due to the fact that it was translated shortly after the widespread religious persecution following the imperial edict (842 CE) of Emperor Wuzong. The peripheral regions must have been largely unaffected.

22. Misaki, “Bucchō sonshō,” 127.

23. Dang, “Zhuxingmu tuoluonijing de mizhou jiedu ji neirong jieshi,” reports, however, that none of the extant Tibetan recensions correspond exactly to C<sub>1</sub> and thus Dang suggests that C<sub>1</sub> could be based on yet another Tibetan recension.

combination of this planetary *dhāraṇī* with other texts suggests that it was part of a larger Buddhist ritual repertoire in a certain tradition.<sup>24</sup>

The second translation,  $C_2$ , was produced by the Indian monk \*Dharmadeva (Fatian 法天) sometime after his arrival in Song China in 973 CE. Both the content and the vocabulary of  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  differ significantly, suggesting that  $C_1$  was likely unknown to the translator of  $C_2$ . As the translation of  $C_2$  was sponsored by the Song emperor, it was subsequently canonized in the Chinese Tripiṭakas,<sup>25</sup> while  $C_1$  remains extracanonical. It is uncertain whether  $C_2$  circulated as widely as  $C_1$  did.<sup>26</sup> Neither Chinese translation contains the section on the construction of shrine and *maṇḍala* (section D of the text, see table 1 below), which makes up a significant portion of the extant Sanskrit recension. This suggests that the extant Sanskrit recension likely underwent a process of accretion sometime after the tenth century.<sup>27</sup>

24. The texts identified in P4519 by Michel Soymié et al. include, aside from  $C_1$ : (1) *Foshuo suiqiu jide dazizai tuoluoni shenzhoujing* 佛說隨求即得大自在陀羅尼神咒經; (2) *Shi, Guanshiyin pusa zhou* 詩觀世音菩薩咒; (3) *Dafoding rulai dingji baigai tuoluoni shenzhoujing* 大佛頂如來頂髻陀羅尼神咒經; (4) *Qi juzhi fomuxin dazhunti tuoluonijing* 七俱胝佛母心大准提陀羅尼經; (5) *Qingguanshiyin pusa zhou* 請觀世音菩薩咒; and (6) other unidentified *dhāraṇīs*. See Michel Soymié et al., *Catalogue des Manuscrits Chinois de Touen-houang. Fonds Pelliot Chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Vol. 5. 4001-6040* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1995), 157–160. Misaki identified in P4519 the phrase “[the *maṇḍala*] is composed with the secret mantras of the *Grahāmātrkādhāraṇī*” 用諸星母陀羅尼秘密呪組成. See Misaki, “Bucchō sonshō,” 128. I have highlighted in the *maṇḍala* in red the sections containing  $C_1$  (appendix C).

25. *Korean Tripiṭaka* 1180.34.187(1245), *Fangshan Stone Sūtras* 950.26.530, Qisha ed. P106/T33.

26. The text must have been known and used ritually, as Dānapāla (Shihu 施護), a contemporary of Dharmadeva, refers to the goddess *Grahāmātrkā* (*shengyaomu* 聖曜母) along with the seven *Mātrikās* in his translation of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, a text that was thought to be written around early to mid-eighth century. T. (1187)20.813c.

27. In this section (D), an instruction to recite the *navagraha* mantras to each planet 39,200 times (*saptasaptāṣaśatam*) is given. In the following section (E), a more comprehensive set of description of the *navagrahapūjā* is given and a similar instruction of the recitation of mantras, but only 108 times. It thus appears that the highly inflated number of the former is an interpolation.

The dates of the two Tibetan translations are unknown.<sup>28</sup> Toh 660 and Toh 661 are reported to be similar to the Sanskrit recension (a) and  $C_1/C_2$  respectively in terms of content.<sup>29</sup>

**TABLE 1.** Contents of the *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī* by sections and structural variation.

Section	$C_1$	$C_2/T_2$	$T_1/Skt.$
A. Preamble	○	○	○
B. Dialogue between Vajrapāṇi and the Buddha	○	○	○
C. The Buddha's planetary mantras	○	○	○
D. Construction of shrine and <i>maṇḍala</i>	-	-	○
E. General instruction for planetary offerings	○	○	○
F. <i>Grahamātrkādhāraṇī</i> mantra	△ (reduced)	○	○
G. End of the Buddha's speech	○	○	○
H. Closing	-	-	○

### 1.3 Content of the *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī* and Variants

The *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī* begins with the Buddha located in the mythical city Aḍakavatī, surrounded by an assembly of supernatural beings

28. According to the colophon of  $T_1$ , this Tibetan recension appears to have been edited in consultation with an unidentified Chinese recension, possibly  $C_1$ . See *A Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur Division of the Tibetan Tripitaka* (Kyoto: Otani Daigaku Library, 1930–1932), 114. If  $C_1$  was translated from an earlier Tibetan recension of the text, this lost Tibetan recension would date prior to the mid-eighth century.

29. Tsukamoto Keisho et al., *Bongo butten-no kenkyū* IV, 114. See Skt. ed. in *Dhīḥ* for collation of Toh 660 (not Toh 661) with the Sanskrit edition. Dang (“Zhuxingmu tuoluonijing de mizhou jiedu ji neirong jieshi,” 264), on the other hand, claims that although  $C_1$  is not directly based on  $T_1/T_2$ , it is much closer to all the extant Tibetan recensions than  $C_2$ . Further investigation on the Tibetan recensions is required.

and bodhisattvas who belong to the Vajrasamaya family (one of the three buddha families in early tantric Buddhism),<sup>30</sup> together with the nine planets and the *nakṣatras*. The Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi asks the Buddha how sentient beings may be protected from the harms caused by the planets.<sup>31</sup> The Buddha then explains the secret rites, which consist of the utterance of *dhāraṇīs* for each planet, the construction of a planetary *maṇḍala* (Sanskrit and T<sub>2</sub> only),<sup>32</sup> and finally the mantra of *Grahamāṭṛkā*. The instruction ends with a note concerning the time of the year when the rite should be performed and the results it will yield. The planets then rejoice and vanish.<sup>33</sup>

Beside the details of the ritual, which we shall examine further below, the text has a clear tantric orientation associated with the Vajrasamaya.<sup>34</sup> The protagonist Vajrapāṇi is portrayed, as in a number of other tantric texts, as the transmitter of the tantric teaching. Furthermore, the text heralds the worship of *Grahamāṭṛkā*, a female deity conceived as the mother (*māṭṛkā*) of all other male astral deities, including planets and *nakṣatras*. The goddess is embodied by a *dhāraṇī*

30. The other two are the Tathāgata family associated with Śākyamuni/Vairocana and the Lotus family associated with Avalokiteśvara/Amitābha. The Vajra family is associated with Akṣobhya.

31. Astral entities other than the planets mentioned in the *dhāraṇī* include the *nakṣatras*, the *rāśīs* (T<sub>1</sub>/T<sub>2</sub>), and the meteors (C<sub>1</sub>/Skt.), which are all assumed to be harmful and thus require appeasement. Von Rospatt informed me that in practice the *janmanakṣatra* of the *yajamāna* is worshipped together with the *navagraha*, though the *janmanakṣatra* may be generic and not adapted to the patron in question [personal communication, 2018.6.11].

32. The Sanskrit recension gives additional details on each planet, including its associated direction, iconographic features, food offering, and an additional mantra at the end. This additional section concludes with a description of the inner sanctum of the shrine and the divinities of the inner doors of eight directions and the outer doors of four directions, along with the instruction on the recitation of mantras for each planet.

33. The Sanskrit recension has an additional ending with the rejoicing of all beings present, as typical in Mahāyāna sutras. Both the Sanskrit *antarhita* and the Chinese *buxian* 不現 suggest that their abrupt disappearance was due to the efficacy of the *dhāraṇī*.

34. Many of the names of the bodhisattvas listed in this text contain the designation *vajra*: Vajrasena, Vajravīnāya, Vajracāpahasta, Vajravikurvita, Vajrādhipati, Vajrāṅkāra, Vajravikrama, Jotivajra, and most notably the interlocutor Vajrapāṇi.

and is closely associated with other goddesses such as Usnīṣavijayā and Vasudhārā. Iconographically, she is generally depicted as white-complexioned, with three heads and six arms and her main pair of hands in the gesture of exposition (*vyākhyānamudrā* or *dharmacakramudrā*).<sup>35</sup>

The structural differences among the three extant versions (table 1) indicate an accretive development of the text. The *dhāraṇī* proper (F) is expanded, and the instruction for the construction of the *maṇḍalas* (D), as well as the “typical” but superfluous ending (H), appear to be later additions. The variations among the three versions suggest also some subtler changes (table 2). The oldest version, C<sub>1</sub>, is characterized by an apparently random order of the seven planets and the use of twenty-eight *nakṣatras*. Both are features of the “old Indian astral lore” found in the Buddhist corpus.<sup>36</sup> The archaism of this Dunhuang translation is further illustrated by the old translation of Ketu as “comet,” rather than phonetically as Jidu 計都, which became standard in later texts.<sup>37</sup> In the case of C<sub>2</sub> (tenth century), while the planets still retain a random order, the number of *nakṣatras* was reduced to twenty-seven, a norm observed in the mainstream, non-Buddhist *jyotiṣa* tradition in India since as early as the sixth century CE. Finally, the late Sanskrit edition adopts both the Hellenistic planetary order and the twenty-seven *nakṣatras*. Chronologically speaking, these variants conform to the broad trends in the Indian astral lore that are mirrored in Buddhist texts.<sup>38</sup>

Another curious variant among the three texts is the effect of the ritual expressed in terms of years. The effect of “no threat of death for

35. Mevissen, “Iconography of Grahamāṭṛkā,” 66, citing *Kriyāsamuccaya* of Jagaddarpaṇa (twelfth to thirteenth century): *vāyau bhaṭṭārikā mahāvidyā sitanīlārūnatrimukhā mūlabhujābhyā[m] vyākhyānamudrā savye padmaratnachaṭā vāme pāśāaktidharā(h) ratnamukuṭīnī vajraparyāṅkinī candrāsānā dviraṣṭābdā sarvālaṅkāravatī ||*

36. Mak, “Indian *Jyotiṣa* Literature,” 15.

37. In *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* chap. 11, Varāhamihira explained that there are various views concerning the nature of Ketu. Although as celestial objects their periodicity was not recognized by the Indians, and their size and appearance vary, *ketu* refers generally to the comets. Later Indian writers treat Rāhu and Ketu as a pair, considering them as two disembodied halves of the eclipse-causing *asura*, and astronomically, the ascending and descending lunar nodes where eclipses take place.

38. Mak, *ibid.*

nine years” in  $C_1$  suggests that the *dhāraṇī* acts as a protective charm for a fixed period of time,<sup>39</sup> whereas the claim that “one lives until ninety-nine years old” in  $C_2$  and in the Sanskrit recension guarantees the longevity of person in a manner similar to the doctrine of *āyurdāya* (lifespan attribution by the planets) of Greco-Indian astrology (see below, §2.1).

A short remark may be made regarding the day the ritual is expected to be performed. The ritual begins on the seventh day of the bright fortnight and ends on the full moon day (the fifteenth day) of the month of Kārttika, lasting therefore for a total of nine days. The full moon day of Kārttika is celebrated by Buddhists as the Pavāraṇā, the end of the three- or four-month rain retreat (*varṣāvāsa*), in which general rituals are traditionally forbidden.<sup>40</sup> A numerological undertone may be detected given the recurring emphasis on the number nine—the nine planets, the protection of nine years (or in later recensions, ninety-nine years), and the nine associated Buddhist deities.<sup>41</sup>

## 2. PLANETARY WORSHIP IN THE *GRAHAMĀTRKĀDHĀRAṆĪ* IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Planetary worship may be traced back to Babylonian and Hellenistic sources, where the belief in anthropomorphic planets was part of a long astral tradition in which each of seven planets is associated with a divinity of either auspicious or inauspicious nature. During the Hellenistic period, the concept of a seven-day planetary week emerged, merging the anthropomorphic planets with concepts such as the Greek model of the geocentric universe and the Egyptian lords of the hours. This resulted in the unusual planetary weekday order beginning with

39. 至滿九年無其死畏。

40. H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (1896; repr. Motilal Banarsidass, 1989), 80–81. Étienne Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era*, trans. Sara Webb-Boin (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1988), 59.

41. Incidentally, the month of Kārttika corresponds to the ninth Chinese month ( $C_1$ ) as explained in Xuanzang’s *Datang Xiyuji T.* (2087)51.875c and the second fascicle of the *Xiuyao jing* of Amoghavajra. *T.* (1299)21.0394c. While this “ninth” month could be coincidental, the date in  $C_2$  was changed instead to the “eighth month,” as the translator likely followed the Indian convention of counting *Caitra* as the first month of the year.



TABLE 2. Textual variants in versions of the *Grahamāṭṛkādharmaṇī*.

Variants	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	Skt. ed.
Sequence of planets	Sun-Moon-Mars-Venus-Jupiter-Mercury (餘星?)-Saturn-Rāhu-Ketu(長尾星)	Jupiter-Mars-Venus-Mercury-Saturn-Moon-Sun-Rāhu-Ketu	Sun-Moon-Mars-Mercury-Jupiter-Venus-Saturn-Rāhu-Ketu
Number of <i>nakṣatras</i>	28	27	27
Expected result	No threat of death for 9 years	One obtains longevity up to the age of 99 years	No threat of death for 99 years
Dates of worship	from the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the ninth month until full moon day	from the seventh day of the eighth month until full moon day	from the seventh [ <i>tithi</i> ] of the bright fortnight of Kārttika until full moon day

the Day of Saturn, i.e., Saturday, a unique means of time reckoning that became widespread during late antiquity. By no later than the fourth century CE, the beginning of the week was shifted to the day of the Sun, resulting in the conventional weekday order that became standard across Eurasia from the middle of the first millennium onward.<sup>42</sup> The Indian *navagraha* is an adaptation of this conventional planetary order, with the inclusion of two additional pseudoplanets, *Rāhu* and *Ketu*. This Indian variety of planetary lore may thus be considered a late and indigenous development of the pan-Eurasian astral lore.

### 2.1 Planetary Worship in Historical Indic Sources

The idea of a malefic entity known as *graha* (literally, “seizer”), a term by which planets are later generally referred to, first appears in the

42. Bill M. Mak, “The First Two Chapters of Mīnarāja’s *Vṛddhayavanajātaka*,” *Zinbun* 48 (2018): 9.

*Atharvaveda* some centuries before the Common Era.<sup>43</sup> As nine anthropomorphic planets, the *grahas* appeared quite late, most likely first in the *śānti* rites described in texts such as the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* and the *Vaikhānasagrhyasūtra*, both dated to the fourth or fifth century CE.<sup>44</sup> In particular, the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* is recognized as the model for all later planetary *śānti* rites, which are still current across the Indian subcontinent.<sup>45</sup> The text of *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī* appears to have adopted some Brahmanical materials, as indicated by at least one parallel half-verse found in the *Jaiminigrhyasūtra*.<sup>46</sup> *Navagraha* images in architecture (in particular, temple lintels) are attested from the beginning of the seventh century in North India and from the eleventh century in South India.<sup>47</sup> Planetary deities are widely depicted as either independent cult icons or as subsidiary deities accompanying goddesses, as attested in stone images of Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, and Śākta (Jaina origin) and in Buddhist paintings from Nepal and Tibet.<sup>48</sup>

43. *Atharvaveda* (Śaunaka recension, ed. Vishva Bandhu), 19.9.10. Cited and translated in Michio Yano, “Planet Worship in Ancient India,” in *Studies in the History of the Exact Sciences in Honor of David Pingree* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 332–333.

44. Adalbert Gail, “Planets and Pseudoplanets in Indian Literature and Art with Special Reference to Nepal,” *East and West* 30, no. 1/4 (1980): 138. David Pingree, “Indian Planetary Images and the Tradition of Astral Magic,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989): 4. Also, Yano, “Planet Worship,” 341.

45. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.293–306, *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 4.14, *Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra* 1.17, *Matsya-purāṇa* 93. A popular variety of the *navagraha-pūjā* would involve the recitation of mantras (*japa*) for each of the nine planets, the creation of a *maṇḍala* with colored grains representing each of the nine planets (or their weapons) in various shapes, and the offering of a variety of substances to them. Such *pūjā* is generally occasioned by an important life event (*saṃskāra*), such as the *upanayana* ceremony, marriage, and birthday. See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. 5, part 2 (Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1962), 749–751. See also Bühnemann, “The Heavenly Bodies,” 1ff., and note 61 below on the Newar old age ritual.

46. See Appendix B, note 5. I thank Ronald Davidson for the references.

47. See Gail, “Planets and Pseudoplanets,” 140.

48. See Gerd J. R. Mevissen, “Ladies and Planets: Images of Female Deities Accompanied by Graha Figures,” in *South Asian Archaeology 2001: Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of the EASAA, Held in Collège de France, Paris, 2–6 July 2001* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2005), 579–588.

An important underlying assumption of these planetary *sānti* rituals is that the planets are closely tied to the lifespan and physical well-being of humans.<sup>49</sup> The idea that *grahas* could be a source of ailments is noted in the fourth century *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and other Āyurvedic works, where the *grahas* (from the root  $\sqrt{grah}$ , “to grab”) appear as supernatural “seizers” who possess people and cause mental diseases.<sup>50</sup> A variant of this idea, known as *āyurdāya* or “allocation of lifespan,” is found in the early Greco-Indian astrological literature and is exemplified by horoscopic works (*horā* or *jātaka*) such as the *Vṛddhayavanajātaka*, *Yavanajātaka*, and *Brhājātaka*.<sup>51</sup> According to this theory, the lifespan of individuals may be computed based on the life-allotment of each planet determined by various astronomical configurations.<sup>52</sup> In such a manner, the planets are conceived in concrete terms as the agents of human existence.

49. For a broad discussion of planetary iconography and worship, see Pingree, “Indian Planetary Images”; and Yano, “Planet Worship.” See also Stephen Markel, “The Imagery and Iconographic Development of the Indian Planetary Deities Rahu and Ketu,” *South Asian Studies* 6 (1990): 9–26; and by the same author, *Origins of the Indian Planetary Deities* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995).

50. In most cases, *grahas* refer broadly to the malefic deities and not exclusively to the planets as discussed in Michio Yano, “Medicine and Divination in India,” *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 24 (2005): 46–48; and Bühnemann, “Tantric Deities,” 53–54. For example, the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* gives a list of eight classes of *grahas*: *devagraha*, *asuragraha*, *gandharvagraha*, *yakṣagraha*, *piṭṛagraha*, *bhujarṅgagraha*, *rakṣasagraha*, and *piśācagraha*, presented as both benefic and malefic deities who affect the patient on a specific *tithis* and are to be propitiated with *japa*, *homa*, and *pūjā* offerings particular to the *graha* (*Suśrutasaṃhitā* 6.60.1–56).

51. Despite the foreign Hellenistic elements in these works, as far as the Indian planetary iconography is concerned, it does not appear to have come from any known Greek tradition. See Pingree, “Indian Planetary Images,” 2.

52. David Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), II:335ff. Accordingly, the human lifespan is a sum of periods (*daśās*) and sub-periods (*antardaśās*) governed by each planet. A period of time is deducted from the full lifespan due to factors such as inauspicious aspects and alignments. The topic of *Āyurdāya* and the associated theory of *daśā* and *antardaśā* are dealt with in chaps. 5–7, *Vṛddhayavanajātaka* of Mīnarāja (Pingree ed.); chaps. 37–41, *Yavanajātaka* of Sphujidhvaja (Pingree ed.); and chaps. 6–8, *Brhājātaka* of Varāhamihira.

Although the precise descriptions and roles of the *grahas* vary from text to text, some observations may be made through a comparison of the common elements such as color and direction in our three groups of texts (appendix A), namely, the (i) Brahmanic *navagraha śāntipūjā*; (ii) Greco-Indian *horā/jātaka*; and (iii) Buddhist *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī*. Firstly, while certain assignments may be accounted for by natural reasons such as the redness of Mars and the easterly rising of the Sun, by and large they are arbitrary. Secondly, most planets are strongly associated with a particular direction, suggesting an underlying scheme of astrological character. The theory of the “lords of triplicities” given in the Greco-Indian *jātaka* texts is a plausible source (table 3).<sup>53</sup>

The concepts of zodiacal signs, triplicities, and planetary lordship are of Greco-Babylonian origin. However, the source of this particular Greco-Indian scheme (table 3) has not been identified.<sup>54</sup> Nonetheless, the importance of this scheme lies in the fact that it serves as the basis from which the subsequent Indian planetary lore developed. As the number of *grahas* varies from seven to eight or nine, and the directions from eight to nine, the original scheme could be adapted in a variety of ways, resulting in the variations we observe in our comparison.<sup>55</sup> The *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī*, while preserving some elements of this older scheme, introduces a new logic to the assignment based on the later

53. *Yavanajātaka* 1.66–67 in *Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, ed. D. Pingree, 2 vols., Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 48 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978); *Vṛddhayavanajātaka* 1.20 in *Vṛddhayavanajātaka*, ed. D. Pingree, 2 vols., Gaekward’s Oriental Series, nos. 162 and 163 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1976); *Bṛhajjātakam* 1.11 in *Bṛhajjātakam: Bhaṭṭotpalīya-saṃskṛta-vivṛtyā Vilasitam*, ed. Sītārāma Jhā, first published in 1944 (Varanasi: Ṭhākuprasāda, 1973).

54. Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, II:226.

55. In the case of the Brahmanic *navagrahapūjā*, the nine planets are fitted into the eight directions by placing the Sun in the center. East or *pūrva*, which means “front” also, is customarily represented at the top. Venus, Mars, Saturn, and Jupiter follow the “Lord of Triplicity” scheme and are assigned to the cardinal directions: E, S, W, N. The positions of the remaining planets Moon, Rāhu, Ketu, and Mercury are difficult to explain but are in any case assigned to the intercardinal directions. Rāhu, which originally played no role in early planetary divination, was likely invoked to fill the eight directions with the seven planets. Thus *Vṛddhayavanajātaka* 2.11 assigns the eight planets to the eight directions starting from the east. See Mak, “The First Two Chapters of Mīnarāja’s *Vṛddhayavanajātaka*,” 27–28. While there are differences among the different schemes as shown in Appendix A, Rāhu remains in the SW in

standard planetary weekday order. To begin, by placing the Sun in the center, and Mars and Jupiter to South and North respectively, it bears a certain resemblance to its Brahmanic counterpart (fig. 1a).<sup>56</sup> The precise order, however, was created by assigning Moon, Mars, Mercury, and Jupiter in the four cardinal directions starting from the east, and the remaining four planets Venus, Saturn, Rāhu, and Ketu in the four intercardinal directions starting from the northeast (fig. 1b).<sup>57</sup> Additional

**TABLE 3.** Lords of triplicities in Greco-Indian *jātaka* texts.

Triplicity	Signs	Planetary lord(s)	Direction
First	Aries, Leo, Sagittarius	Sun, Venus	East
Second	Taurus, Virgo, Capricorn	Mars	South
Third	Gemini, Libra, Aquarius	Moon, Saturn	West
Fourth	Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces	Jupiter, Mercury	North

practically all schemes where it is found (except *Grahamātr̥kādhāraṇī* due to the schematization as explained below).

56. For a sample of the Brahmanical, possibly Śaiva, *maṇḍala*, see Gerd Mevissen, “Sūrya-Candramaṇḍalas in the Art of Nepal,” in *Interaction between Brahmanical and Buddhist Art* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2004), 128, S16. Note, however, the description should read instead: “Starting with Candra on a goose at 1.30, the sequence continues with Maṅgala on a ram at 3 o’clock, then moves to the opposite with Budha on a lion at 10.30, continues anti-clockwise with Bṛhaspati on an elephant at 9 o’clock and then clockwise again to Śukra on a horse at 12 o’clock, then runs down vertically to Śani on a tortoise at 6 o’clock, continues anti-clockwise with Rāhu on a lion-like animal at 4.30, and ends with Ketu on a mṛga at 7.30.”

57. The main factor that accounts for the various assignments of planetary direction appears to be the importance of certain planets in a particular system. In other words, planets considered important are placed at the center or the east. For a discussion on the possible rationales behind the assignment of planetary direction in various *jyotiṣa* texts, see Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, II:223–227.

Buddhist elements are introduced in the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī*; these include the image of a *bhikṣu* for Mars<sup>58</sup> and the placement of the eight tantric Buddhist divinities and the Four Heavenly Kings (*caturmahārāja*) in the inner<sup>59</sup> and outer gates in the *maṇḍala*.

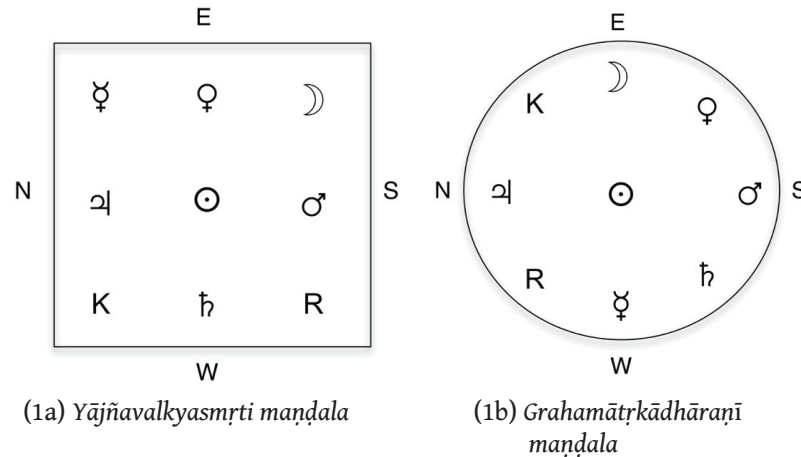
The *maṇḍala* of the *navagraha* (in some cases, also the *nakṣatras* and *caturmahārājas*) described in the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* is noted in a number of Tibetan cloth paintings dated from the fifteenth century.<sup>60</sup> Elements of this text are adopted in some Nepalese Buddhist rituals, in particular wherever planetary *pūjās* are prescribed.<sup>61</sup> While the text of the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* was widely circulated in Nepal as part of the *Saptavāra* cycle of *dhāraṇīs* sometime prior to the sixteenth century, rituals involving *Grahamāṭṛkā* and the seven *māṭṛkā* could be as old as the eighth century as we have shown earlier. The varieties of ritual practices involving *Grahamāṭṛkā* and the *navagrahamaṇḍala*—as in the “Negotiating the Passage beyond a Full Span of Life” for the use of *navagraha-maṇḍala* in the Newar old-age ritual known as the *ḥyā jaṃko*,

58. The Buddhist assignment of Mars is unexpected, since Mars is always considered malefic. It may be noted that the generally inauspicious *kāpālīka* (a Śaiva ascetic) and *cāṇḍala* are assigned to Rāhu (NW) and Ketu (NE) respectively as one may expect due to the malefic characters of the two *grahas*.

59. That is, in the inner gates, Buddha (E), Vajrapāṇi (S), Lokanātha (W), Mañjuśrī (N), Grahāḥ (NE), Rāśinakṣatrāṇi (SE), Upadrava (SE), Mahāvīdyā (SW); that of the *caturmahārājas* in the outer gates is conventional.

60. See Mevissen, “Images of Buddhist Goddesses,” 170–174, 188 C-I-6, specimens 63, 65, 66, 67. Note the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* scheme is only one variety (C-I-6) and can by no means be considered the norm. Further clues may be gleaned from the Tangut *Grahamāṭṛkā* documents currently under investigation by Wei Wen 魏文, Xie Haoyu 謝皓月 and Kirill Solonin, as mentioned in Michelle Malina McCoy, “Astral Visuality in the Chinese and Inner Asian Cult of Tejaprabhā Buddha, ca. 900–1300 AD” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2017), 105.

61. Note the references to *Grahamāṭṛkā* in a Nepalese Buddhist ritual manual, in Todd T. Lewis, “A Modern Guide for Mahāyāna Life-Cycle Rites: The Nepāl Jana Jīvan Kriyā Paddhati,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 37 (1994): 10, 29, *passim*. Kropf, “Rituelle Traditionen der Planetengottheiten,” 207, describes the recitation of the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* by Newar *Vajrācāryas* as “eine Variante eines *grahamaṇḍala*.”



**FIGURE 1.** Maṇḍala schemata of *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (left) and *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* (right).

or the offering to the Goddess *Grahamāṭṛkā* (*grahamāṭṛkābali*) in birthday rituals—are sometimes thought to be a local innovation.<sup>62</sup>

The earlier history of the *Grahamāṭṛkā* worship and the use of the *navagrahamaṇḍala* in Central Asia is somewhat uncertain. The *maṇḍala* of P4519 appears to be a rare specimen of Buddhist astral worship connected to the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī*, though the iconography has not been deciphered.<sup>63</sup> Given that the early date of the Chinese translation (C.) (mid-ninth century), the Buddhist variety of the *navagraha* ritual

62. On the Newar old age ritual *jjā jaṃko*, see von Rospatt, “Negotiating the Passage beyond a Full Span of Life,” 104. On the *grahamāṭṛkā-bali* at birthday rituals, see Kropf, “Rituelle Traditionen der Planetengottheiten,” 240, 252–253, 343. The idea of Nepalese innovation in the *Grahamāṭṛkā* worship appears to be supported by the large amount of iconographic variants which deviate from descriptions given in texts such as the *Kriyāsamuccaya* of Jagaddarpaṇa (fl. late twelfth to mid-thirteenth century). See Mevissen, “Iconography of *Grahamāṭṛkā*,” 74–75.

63. If what Misaki identified in Pelliot 4519 is correct (see above), the *maṇḍala* of the “*Maṇḍala non identifié*” could be somehow related to the schema described in the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī*. However, I am unable to identify with certainty any astral elements in terms of the iconography. See Soymié et al., *Catalogue*, 157–158 for a preliminary identification of the images, which include the *Vairocana* in the middle, surrounded by eight unidentified deities



of ultimately Northern Indian or possibly Central Asian origin is certainly not a local phenomenon limited to the Newar Buddhists, but had instead a wide circulation within the larger Indian cultural sphere.

## 2.2 Varieties of Planetary Worship in Other Buddhist Sources

As far as the astral lore in the Central and East Asian Buddhist traditions is concerned, there are at least two varieties of planetary worship distinct from that of the *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī*. Furthermore, a variety of *navagraha* worship that has no extant counterpart in India had widespread circulation in Burma and Cambodia and was adopted by the Thai Buddhists, who subsequently turned it into a distinct form of Buddhist *navagraha* practice that is widely popular today.

The first variety of Buddhist planetary lore is exemplified by the *Jvāloṣṇīṣa* (\*Tejaprabha) complex of texts.<sup>64</sup> In the astral apotro-

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in the ringed petals, a set of sixteen haloed bodhisattvas, and another set of sixteen divinities accompanied by the eight auspicious objects.

64. The earliest extant attestation to the *Jvāloṣṇīṣa* (\*Tejaprabha) is the eighth-century Chinese translation *Foshuo chishengguang daweide xiaozai jixiang tuoluonijing* 佛說熾盛光大威德消災吉祥陀羅尼經 (T. 963) by Amoghavajra. Nanjio (1010) reconstructed the Sanskrit title as \**Buddhabhāṣitatejaprabhāmahā balaguṇāpadvināśāśīdhāraṇīsūtra*, with the feminine form *tejaprabhā* modifying the *dhāraṇī*; similarly, Nanjio (1009) translated *foding chishengguang rulai* 佛頂熾盛光如來 in the title of the text (T. 964) as \**Uṣṇīṣatejaprabhatathāgata*, with the masculine form *tejaprabha* modifying the *Tathāgata*. Scholars since then have followed, referring to the tutelary figure as \**Tejaprabha*/\**Tejaprabhā*. However, to my knowledge this Sanskrit expression is not attested anywhere (and is not to be confused with *Tejoṣṇīṣa* as one of the eight *Uṣṇīṣa* deities). Common and central to T. 963 and T. 964 is the *dhāraṇī* (reconstructed as: *namaḥ samantabuddhānām apratihataśāsanānām | tadyathā | om̐ kha kha khāhi khāhi | hum hum | jvala jvala | prajvala prajvala | tiṣṭha tiṣṭha | ṣṭri ṣṭri | sphaṭ sphaṭ | śāntikaśriya svāhā*). The same *dhāraṇī* (with minor variants) is found in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Shastri ed.), followed by the description: “This is called the *Jvāloṣṇīṣa*, the mantra empowered by the Buddha” (*eṣa buddhādhyuṣito mantrāḥ jvāloṣṇīṣeti prakīrtitaḥ*). The Song Chinese translation of this passage gives the name of this mantra as 大佛頂熾盛光 *Dafoding chishengguang*. T. 1191, 20.883c. Similar observation was made in Liao Yang 廖陽, “Ming Zhihuasi ben ‘Foshuo jinlun foding daweide chishengguang rulai tuoluonijing’ tuxiang yanjiu” 明代《金輪佛頂大威德熾盛光如來陀羅尼經》探索——漢藏文化交流的一側面, *Zangxue xuekan* 藏學學刊 3 (2014): 184–185. Thus, considering both the content of the *dhāraṇī* as well as the references

paic rites described in these texts, which are distinct from that of the *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī*, the *navagraha* together with other astral entities such as the *nakṣatras* and the *rāśis* are all considered potentially malefic forces, represented as the retinue of the Tathāgata Jvāloṣṇīṣa.<sup>65</sup> The Jvāloṣṇīṣa *maṇḍala*,<sup>66</sup> along with other esoteric rituals, is mentioned also in the *Qiyao rangzai jue* 七曜攘災決 (T. 1308), an early ninth century compilation of astral materials related to the rituals, iconography, and astronomical computations of the *navagraha*.<sup>67</sup> This text is particularly noted for the Sogdian names of the seven planets and its unusual iconography of the *navagraha*. Such elements are distinctly non-Buddhist and non-Indic and are likely of Central Asian or Iranian origin, though their transmission remains unclear.<sup>68</sup> This extracanonical text ultimately reached Japan, where it became one of the textual sources of the Japanese Buddhist planetary lore.<sup>69</sup>

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from the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, the Sanskrit title of T. 963 / T. 964 should contain *jvala/jvāla/jvalat* (pr. part. of *√jval*). In the *Dashengmiao jixiang pusa shuo chuzai jiaoling falun* 大聖妙吉祥菩薩說除災教令法輪 (T. 966), a closely related text where the same *dhāraṇī* is again found, the description of the magical ritual reveals a close connection between the *dhāraṇī* and the broader Uṣṇīṣavijayā practices, characterized by the *bīja* letter *bhrūṃ*, and a retinue of astral deities surrounding the anthropomorphic form of an effulgent Cakravartin Buddha 熾盛光佛頂輪王, or in a more abstract form, the effulgent Uṣṇīṣa. Pending further research, I would refer to this family of texts as “Jvāloṣṇīṣa” instead of “Tejaprabha.”

65. T. 963, 19.337–338; T. 964, 19.338–339.

66. A specimen with the central *bīja* letter *bhrūṃ* and surrounding *navagaha*, twelve *rāśis* and twenty-eight *nakṣatras*, together with a *kanbun* description is found in the thirteenth century compilation *Ashabashō* 阿婆縛抄. See discussion in Takeda Kazuaki 武田和昭, *Seimandara-no kenkyū* 星曼荼羅の研究 (Tokyo: Hōzōkan, 1995), 34–37.

67. That is, despite its title referring only to the seven planets, or *qiyao*. T. 1397, 21.427b.

68. See Bill M. Mak, “The Transmission of Buddhist Astral Science from India to East Asia: The Central Asian Connection,” *Historia Scientiarum* 24, no. 2 (2015): 66–68. Recently, Jeffrey Kotyk provided some creative suggestions to account for the purported Iranian elements in Tang Chinese astral materials. A proper investigation of the Persian astral lore with all the original sources remains a desideratum.

69. Ibid. Also, Yano Michio 矢野道雄, *Mikkyō senseijutsu* 密教占星術, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Tōyō Shoin, 2013), 165–187. For English translation, see Michio Yano,

A second variety of planetary lore practiced by some Central and East Asian Buddhists involves eleven planets instead of nine. In this system, two additional pseudoplanets, Ziqi 紫氣 and Yuebei 月孛, are introduced in addition to the *navagraha*. This system appears to be associated with the astral treatises *Yusi jing* 聿斯經 and *Futian li* 符天曆, which were in circulation in Central Asia and the Chinese frontier, though no original materials have so far been completely identified.<sup>70</sup> The Buddhist astral pantheon including the eleven planets appears to be an appropriation of such system and is represented iconographically in a handful of Buddhist scrolls and cave paintings associated also with the Jvāloṣṇīṣa cult, which spread beyond China after the Tang period to other parts of Asia, including most notably the Tangut territory.<sup>71</sup> This Buddhist eleven-planet system was transmitted to as far as Korea and Japan, although the *navagraha* system remains largely the standard.<sup>72</sup> The eleven-planet system was eventually adopted widely by the Chinese, where a Taoist variety of planetary worship is still practiced, and the eleven-planet system is featured in the traditional

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trans. by Bill M. Mak, *Esoteric Buddhist Astrology – The Japanese Sukuyōdō School of Indian Astrology* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2019), 122–142.

70. The scanty references are discussed in Bill M. Mak, “Yusi Jing – A Treatise of ‘Western’ Astral Science in Chinese and Its Versified Version *Xitian yusi jing*,” *SCIAMVS* 15 (2014): 106–107, 124n94.

71. For an overview of the Jvāloṣṇīṣa cult in East Asia, see Henrik Sørensen, “Astrology and the Worship of the Planets in Esoteric Buddhism of the Tang,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 239–241; also in the same volume, “Esoteric Buddhism under the Liao,” 463–464. For the Tangut Jvāloṣṇīṣa materials largely overlooked in Sørensen’s work, see Kira Samosyuk, “The Planet Cult in the Tangut State of Xi Xia: The Khara Khoto Collection, State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg,” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 5 (1997/98): 353–376. In recent years, Liao Yang and Michelle McCoy have produced a number of enlightening works on the Central Asian transmission of the Jvāloṣṇīṣa. See Liao Yang 廖昉, “Chishengguangfo goutu zhong xingyao de yanbian” 熾盛光佛構圖中星曜的演變, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 2004/4 (2004): 71–79; also, McCoy, “Astral Visuality in the Chinese and Inner Asian Cult of Tejaprabhā Buddha.”

72. For a discussion of the rare eleven-planetary pantheon in Korea and Japan, see Takeda, *Seimandara-no kenkyū*, 116–123. See also Su Jiaying 蘇佳瑩, “Nihon-ni okeru shijōkōbutsu zuzō-no kōsatsu” 日本における熾盛光仏圖像の考察,” *Kobe Review of Art History* 11 (2011): 109–136.

Chinese divination and also almanac even today.<sup>73</sup> The popularity of these non-Indic varieties of planetary lore certainly rivals the Indic *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī*, despite their resemblance, and may be one of the reasons why the *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* never gained popularity in East Asia.

An opposite trend may be observed in Southeast Asia, where Buddhist planetary practices underwent further development during the course of their interaction with rivaling systems of astral beliefs. Sometime during the second half of the first millennium, the Brahmanic variety of *grahapūjā* was introduced to Southeast Asia, and a variety of planetary worship and practices emerged as attested in historical Mon/Burmese and Khmer sources.<sup>74</sup> The Khmer *navagraha* pantheon resembles its Indian counterparts but with some iconographical traits unique to its own. After the thirteenth century, the Thais adopted the *navagrahapūjā*. By the nineteenth century, the *navagrahapūjā* was turned into a Buddhist practice in which the seven planets and the seven planetary weekdays became associated with the seven buddhas and the seven stations of the Buddha after his enlightenment.

#### CONCLUSION

The *Grahamāṭṛkādhāraṇī* is among the few Sanskrit Buddhist texts that connect closely and conspicuously to their Brahmanical counterparts, namely, the *navagrahapūjā* described in the *smārta* literature. Its popularity in Central Asia in the ninth and tenth centuries and in Tibet and Nepal subsequently point to its northern origin. The interest in planets

73. See Bill M. Mak, “Gudai zhongguo yu riben de yiyu tianxue: Qiyaori yu tiangongtu xingzhenshu” 古代中國與日本的“異域天學：七曜日與天宮圖星占術”, in *Zhongyin guanxi yanjiu de shiye yu qianjing* 中印关系研究的视野与前景 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue, 2016), 147–150. Also, by the same author, “Astral Science of the East Syriac Christians in China during the Late First Millennium AD,” *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 16, no. 4 (2016): 90.

74. The widely popular *aṣṭagraha* worship in Burmese Buddhist temples and *navagraha* worship in Khmer/Thai Buddhist temples are currently under investigation as part of the research project “A New Paradigm for the Study of Southeast Asian Continental Religions” 東南アジア大陸部宗教研究の新パラダイムの構築, led by PI Kataoka Tatsuki of Kyoto University, supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (Scientific Research [A]), #16H01895 2016–2020. See Bill M. Mak, “Planetary Worship in Burmese and Thai Buddhism” (forthcoming).

and planetary worship in late Mahāyāna and Esoteric Buddhism should be understood in connection with the rise of a new cosmological thinking throughout the first millennium, namely, that human existence is intimately connected to all cosmic phenomena and that human welfare can be secured through the knowledge and practice of esoteric astral worship. Despite the Buddha's antithetical view toward the Brahmanical astral lore, later Buddhists generally adopted such knowledge and practice, giving them a Buddhist guise, and interpreting them as a form of Buddhist *upāya*. The *Grahamāṭṛkādharmaṇī* is one such attempt. Its success can be seen in its continuing use in Nepal even today, but perhaps less so elsewhere due to the rivaling systems propagated by both non-Buddhists and Buddhists alike.

## Appendix A Comparison of Planetary Colors and Directions

GRAHA	YS, VSS, BG, MP		YJ 1.123-136 / 1.66-67		VYJ 2.1-11		BJ 2.5		Grahamaṭṛkādhāraṇī	
	COLOR	DIR.	IMAGE/COLOR	DIR.	IMAGE (SPECIFIC COLOR)	DIR.	COLOR	DIR.	IMAGE/COLOR	DIR.
SUN	red	center	gold-bodied man	E	reddish (red)	E	copper	E	red Sun god	center
MOON	white	SE	white youth	W	- (white)	NW	white	NW	white brahman	E
MARS	red	S	red-bodied man clothed in red	S	red-bodied (red)	S	very red	S	red bhikṣu	S
MERCURY	yellow (blue VSS)	NE	dark-bodied man clothed in green (pālāśa)	N	- (yellow)	N	yellow/green (harita)	N	brahmacāri in yellow	W
JUPITER	yellow	N	yellow-bodied man clothed in white	N	yellow-clad (yellow)	NE	yellow	NE	guru shining in color of molten gold	N
VENUS	white	E	silver-bodied youth	E	- (white)	SE	bright-colored	SE	milk-colored white cow	SE
SATURN	black	W	man clothed in black	W	black (black)	W	black	W	black mendicant (kṣapaṇaka)	SW
RĀHU	black	SW	-	-	-	SW	-	SW	kāpālīka with lapis lazuli (ājavartambha)	NW
KETU	smoke-colored	NW	-	-	-	-	-	-	smoke-colored cāṇḍala	NE

BG = *Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra* 1.17, ed. Sastry; BJ = *Brhājātaka*: *Bhṛttopaiya-samskṛta-vivṛtyā Vilasitam*, ed. Sitarāma Jhā; MP = *Matsyapurāṇa* 93; VSS = *Vaiḥānasa-Smārtasūtra*: *Vaiḥānasa-smārtasūtram*, ed. W. Caland; VYJ = *Vṛddhayanavajātaka*, ed. D. Pingree; YJ = *Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, ed. D. Pingree; YS = *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.293-306, ed. Āpte.

## Appendix B The Mother of Planets (*Grahamātrkā*) *Dhāraṇī*

[Provisional English translation from Sanskrit recensions]<sup>75</sup>

### THE *DHĀRAṆĪ* CALLED THE MOTHER OF PLANETS

[A. Preamble]

Om! Homage to the blessed noble Mother of Planets!

Thus I have heard. At a time the Blessed One was living in the great city Aḍakavatī,<sup>76</sup> on his Lion Throne blessed by the blessing of the adornment and arrangement of the great Vajra Vows (*vajrasamaya*). He was praised by the countless gods, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, demons, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras*, *mahoragas*, *āpasmāras*,<sup>77</sup> Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu, Ketu, and so on,<sup>78</sup> and the twenty-eight *nakṣatras* and so on,<sup>79</sup> together with countless thousands of bodhisattvas.

75. This provisional translation is based on the two editions published by Mudrakaḥ Mañjuśrī (1960; hereafter [M]) and in *Dhīḥ* (2005; hereafter [Dh]), with occasional references to Toyo Bunko Sanskrit manuscript no.16-B-7<7> [T]. See main article, footnote 17 for references. Variants from Sanskrit recensions are indicated by \* in the translation, and variants from the two Chinese translations C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> are given in the footnotes. Pending a proper edition of the text, only significant variants are indicated.

76. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1899): “A fabulous palace on Meru.” C<sub>1</sub> 曠野大聚落; C<sub>2</sub> 阿拏迦嚩帝大城. For Vajrapāṇi in Aḍakavatī, see also Haribhadra’s *Abhisamayālaṅkāralokā* (U. Wogihara, ed., *Abhisamayālaṅkāralokā Prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā: The Work of Haribhadra*, 2 vols. [Tōkyō: The Tōyō Bunkō, 1932–1935], 5).

77. A rare character in Buddhist texts. In Śaiva literature, a “demon-dwarf, symbol of ignorance and forgetfulness, crushed under Śiva’s right foot in his cosmic dance” (*A Concise Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, ed. Klaus K. Klostermaier [Oxford: OneWorld, 1998]).

78. Chinese translations give different orders of planets. C<sub>1</sub>: Sun, Moon, Mars, Venus, Saturn, Mercury (餘星?), Jupiter, Rāhu, and Ketu (長尾星). C<sub>2</sub>: Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, Moon, Sun, Rāhu, Ketu.

79. C<sub>1</sub>: 28 lunar mansions. C<sub>2</sub>: 27 lunar mansions.



[B. Dialogue between Vajrapāṇi and the Buddha]

Thus, [the Buddha was surrounded] by the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, who is called Vajrapāṇi, and by Vajracāṇḍa, Vajrasena, Vajravīṇāyaka, Vajracāpahasta, Vajravikurvita, Vajrādhipati, Vajrāṅkāra, Vajravikrama, Jyotivajra, Avalokiteśvara, Samantabhadra, Samantāvalokiteśvara, Lokāśrī, Padmaketu, Ratnaketu, Viksitavaktra, Padmagarbha, Padmanetra, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya.

In such a way, the Blessed One surrounded by thousands of the foremost bodhisattvas, the Great Beings, gave his teaching at the front. In a manner that is good at the beginning, good in the middle, and good at the end, with good meaning and good expressions, complete, full, completely purified and pure, he elucidated on the chaste conduct (*brahmacharya*). He preached the teaching called the Great Awe-Inspiring Ornament of the Wish-Fulfilling Gem (*cintāmaṇimahāvīhāṅkāra*).

Then Vajrapāṇi the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, looked at the assembly and rose from the seat. With his spiritual power and blessing, he circumambulated clockwise the Blessed One countless hundreds of thousands of times. He then bowed, sat in the front with dignity, crossed his legs, and bent [his knees] in the *līlā* pose. With his palms folded in the Vajrāñjali form, settling his mind, he spoke to the Blessed One.

“Oh Blessed One! The planets, whose forms may be fierce or mild, terrible or benign, cruel or kind, afflict the sentient beings. They take away the lives of some. They bring about calamities to some. They snatch the life-energy of some. They destroy the material belongings of some. They make some long-lived beings short-lived. In such a way, they brought calamities unto all sentient beings. Oh Blessed One! Please teach [us] that Dharma teaching by which all sentient beings will be protected against all the calamities.”

The Blessed One answered, “Excellent! Excellent! Oh Vajrapāṇi, you have a compassionate mind for the benefit, well-being, and happiness of all sentient beings. You ask the Tathāgata, the Perfectly Enlightened One, the most hidden secret of the greatest secrets of all. Listen well and carefully. I will tell you the most hidden secret of the greatest secrets of all, the celestial worship, the rite (*arḡham*), the prayer (*jāpam*), and the fire oblation (*dhūpam*) for the fierce-looking planets, whose faces are cruel and most terrifying.”

[Buddha uttered the following three *ślokas*:]\*

*yathānuvarṇabhedena*<sup>80</sup> *yathā tuṣyanti te grahāḥ |*  
*pūjitāḥ pratipūjyante nirdahante 'vamānitāḥ*<sup>81</sup> ||1||\*

The planets are propitiated with their respective colors and traits; those who worship [them] are worshiped in return, and those who insult them are destroyed.<sup>82</sup>

*devās cāpy*<sup>83</sup> *caiva kinnarās ca mahoragāḥ |*\*  
*yakṣās ca rākṣasās caiva mānuṣās caivāmānuṣāḥ* ||2||

Also the gods, the asuras, kinnaras, mahoragas, yakṣas, rākṣasas, human and non-human,...

*śamayanti ca kruddhāṃś*<sup>84</sup> *ca mahānugrahatejasā*<sup>85</sup> |\*  
*pūjāṃ teṣāṃ pravakṣāmi mantrāṃś cāpi yathākramam* ||3||

[they] pacify the cruel [planets] with the most benign splendor. I will explain the pūjā and the mantras for them one after another.

[C. The Buddha's Planetary Mantras]

Then, Śākyamuni, the Blessed One, the Perfectly Enlightened One, released a ray of searing light (*raśmijvālam*) called “Play of Compassion” (*karuṇāvikrīḍitam*) from his heart and made it enter into the heads of the planets. At that moment, all the planets from the Sun and so on stood up and worshipped the Blessed One, Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Perfectly Enlightened One, with all the celestial worship. Having bowed and fallen on their knees, they placed their folded hands in front of them and spoke to the Blessed One:

“We are favored by the Blessed One, the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Perfectly Enlightened One! Oh Blessed One, please teach [us] the Dharma teaching by which we may protect the Dharma preachers who have gathered together. [By that Dharma which] we may protect them, guard them, pacify them, bless them, remove the sticks, remove the swords, neutralize the poison, removing the poison,

80. *yathānuvarṇabhedena*]Dh, *yathānukramavarṇabhedena sarveṣāṃ* MT.

81. *'vamānitāḥ*]emend., *yamānitāḥ* T, *yamānitāḥ* Dh, *yamārikā* M.

82. *Pāda* cd are nearly identical to a verse on *navagrahaśānti* found in the *Jaiminigr̥hyasūtra* (Caland ed.) 2.9: *grahā gāvo narendrās ca brāhmaṇās ca viśeṣataḥ | pūjitāḥ pūjayanty ete nirdahanty avamānitāḥ || I thank Ronald Davidson for pointing out to me this parallel, as well as others such as Śāṅkhāyanagr̥hyasūtra 2.16.4 and Matsyapurāṇa 93.80.*

83. *deva[ścā]pyasurās*]Dh, *devāpyasurās* T, *debatācāpsurās* M.

84. *kruddhāṃś*]emend., *kruddhās* Σ.

85. *mahānugrahatejasā*]MT, *mahānugras ca tejasā* Dh.

secure the boundaries (*simābandham*<sup>86</sup>), and secure the magical spells (*dhāraṇibandham*).”

Then the Blessed One, the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Perfectly Enlightened One, uttered the Worship-Mantras for the planets. (1) Oṃ, to the Cloud-Fire (*megholkāya*),<sup>87</sup> svāhā! (2) Oṃ, to the Cool-Rayed One (*śītāṃśave*),<sup>88</sup> svāhā! (3) Oṃ, to the Red-Limbed Prince (*raktāṅgakumārāya*),<sup>89</sup> svāhā! (4) Oṃ, to Mercury, svāhā! (5) Oṃ, to Jupiter, svāhā! (6) Oṃ, to the greatest among the *asuras* (*asurottamāya*),<sup>90</sup> svāhā! (7) Oṃ, to the Black-Colored One,<sup>91</sup> svāhā! (8) Oṃ, to Rāhu,<sup>92</sup> svāhā! [9] Oṃ, to the Ketu-Star, svāhā!

[D. Construction of Shrine and Maṇḍala]

“O Vajrapāṇi! These are the Heart-Mantras of the Nine Planets that are efficacious upon utterance. In the fragrant *maṇḍalaka*, one should visualize (*cintayet*) the cardinal directions and sub-cardinal directions in proper sequence. [In the *maṇḍalaka*], which has a lotus (*padma*) in the middle, one should make a box (*kūṭāgara*) measuring twelve *aṅgulas* on each of four sides, with four doors each decorated with an arch, and with a circle [within the box].<sup>93</sup>

“[Sun:] In the middle of the [circle], in a fragrant *maṇḍalaka* made of saffron, one may visualize a statue of the Sun god in red color above a white water lily, holding in his two arms a white water lily in the form of *tāpasa*, with the brilliance equal to tens of thousands of millions suns, having a garland of rays in vermilion. One should offer to it milk as food and Olibanum resin (*kundurū*) as incense. Oṃ! [Obeisance] to the Cloud-Fire. Svāhā!

“[Moon:] In the eastern direction above a red water lily in a fragrant *maṇḍalaka* made of mustard seeds (*priyaṅgu*), the Moon should be known as a Brahman, white-colored, furnished with matted hair,

86. *simabandham*]MT, *simabandhanam* Dh

87. That is, the Sun.

88. That is, the Moon.

89. That is, Mars.

90. That is, Venus.

91. That is, Saturn.

92. C<sub>1</sub> 阿蜜多畢哩耶 *amrtapriya*, C<sub>2</sub> 阿沒里(二合)多鉢里(二合) 夜野 *amrtapriyāya*.

93. Pelliot 4519 (Appendix C) may have a similar construction, i.e., an eight-petaled lotus shape embedded within a circle and layers of outer squares.

diadem, and flowers, carrying a rosary, the sacred thread, and a red lotus. He should be offered ghee and cooked rice as food, pine resin (*śrīvāsa*) as incense. Om! Obeisance to the power of the Moon elixir, to the Cool-Ray. Svāhā!

“[Mars:] In the southern direction above a light-colored water lily in a fragrant *maṇḍalaka* made of sandalwood (*candana*), [one should visualize] Mars in the form of a monk, red-colored, who has a jeweled crown, has a spear in his left [hand], and shows a *varada* [gesture] with his right [hand]. His food is milk, or he should be worshiped with beans (*māṣa*). His incense is gugul (*guggula*). Om! Obeisance to the red Mars, the prince with splendor, to Mars. Svāhā!

“[Mercury:] In the western direction above a red lotus, in a fragrant *maṇḍalaka* made of black aloeswood (*agaru*), Mercury should be a Brahman student (*brahmacārī*), yellow in color with red beard, carrying a rosary, the sacred thread, and a water pot. His food is fish, mung beans, and spicy grain dish (*kṛsara*). The incense is myrrh (*gandharasaḥ*). Om! Obeisance to the yellow-colored Son of the King, to Mercury. Svāhā!

“[Jupiter:] In the northern direction above a white water lily, in a fragrant *maṇḍalaka* made of deodar cedar (*devadāru*), Jupiter [should be in the form of] a wandering mendicant (*parivrājaka*), shining with the color of molten gold, red-bearded, holding a rosary, the sacred thread, and a water pot. Yogurt, cooked rice, or milk should be offered to him, and incense of honey and ghee (*madhughṛta*). Om! Obeisance to the red-colored sacred precept (*nigama*), to the one whose abode is enjoyment (*bhogāspada*). Svāhā!

“[Venus:] In the southeastern direction above a red lotus, in a fragrant *maṇḍalaka* made of sandalwood, Venus [should be in the form of] a Brahman student, holding a noose and a hatchet (*pāśapaśu*), clad in milk-color, carrying matted locks, a diadem, a rosary, the sacred thread, and a water pot. Milk should be offered to him as food and camphor (*karpūra*) as incense. Om! Obeisance to the overlord Venus, the Chief of the *Asuras*. O śuddhaviraha! Svāhā!

“[Saturn:] In the southwestern direction above a white lotus, in a fragrant *maṇḍalaka* made of blue sandalwood, Saturn should be known as a black mendicant (*kṣapaṇaka*) carrying a cobra’s hood, with yellow matted locks, a diadem, and a beard, holding a rosary, the sacred thread, and a staff (*khikhirika*<sup>94</sup>). \* Spicy grain dish (*kṛṣara*) should be offered to

94. khikhirikā]M, kṣikṣirikā Dh

him as food. The incense is myrrh (*gandharasa*). Om! Obeisance to the One appearing in blue color, the black Saturn. Svāhā!

“[Rāhu:] In the northwestern direction above the red lotus, in a fragrant *maṇḍalaka* made of tagara wood, Rāhu [should be seen as] a Śaiva ascetic (*kāpālika*), in the color of lapis lazuli (*rājāvarta*), his body in half, his eyes dreadful to the Sun-chariot, having terrifying fangs, with his brow-twisted forehead, located in the middle of five-colored clouds with the hand-gestures (*abhinaya*) of the Moon, the Sun, and water lilies. Beans and flesh should be offered to him as food, or sesame or sesame rice gruel. The incense is bilva leaves. Om! Rāhu, the ugly-faced, one feeding on blood. Homage to the one who has the appearance of bee-liked collyrium, one who relishes ambrosia. Svāhā!

“[Ketu:] In the northeastern direction above a red lotus, in a fragrant *maṇḍalaka* made of fenugreek (*sprkkā*), there should be a wretched (*cāṇḍāla*) Ketu. He is smoke-colored, with palms folded, and has the form of a *nāga* holding its own tail. One should offer him sweetmeat made with ghee as food. The incense is Vateria resin (*sajjarasaḥ* > *sarjarasaḥ*). Om! Homage to the one who appears in smoke color, to the Ketu-Star. Svāhā!

“[Divinities of the inner doors of the eight directions and the outer doors of the four directions:] At the eastern door of the *maṇḍala* [there should be] the Buddha, the Blessed One. At the southern door, Vajrapāṇi. At the western door, Lokanātha. At the northern door, Prince Mañjuśrī. At the northeastern corner, all the planets. At the southeastern corner, all the zodiacal signs and *nakṣatras*. At the southwestern corner, all the *upadravas*. At the northwestern corner, the Noble Mahāvidyā, who is white with three faces in dark red, with two hands holding a jeweled parasol with an Exposition Mudra on the right, a noose-holder on the left. She is seated in the *vajra* pose with a jeweled diadem, sitting on a Moon Throne, with the appearance of a sixteen-year-old girl, decorated with all kinds of ornaments.

“At the outer eastern door Dhṛtarāṣṭra is worshipped with yoghurt. In the south Viruḍhaka is worshipped with yoghurt and beans. In the west, Virūpākṣa is worshipped with milk. In the north, Kubera is worshipped with yoghurt and beans, and with cinnabar smeared on his head. In such an order should the *pūjā* with flowers and so on be done. Lamps should be offered to each. Having filled the conch shell with ghee and honey, and having cast the five jewels, the offering should be

given. A scarf (*mukhapaṭa*<sup>95</sup>) should be given to all. Thus are the colors, the arm [objects], the seats, mudra, and signs [for all the planets].

“Om! Homage to all the *tathāgatas*, who fulfill all wishes. O the totally perfected devotee,<sup>96</sup> svāhā! One should thus pray to each [deity] with the mantra of the Three Jewels, to each of them the mantra 39,200 (*saptasaptāṣṭaśatam*) times. Thus after being worshipped, all the planets of varied appearance give great rewards and produce also good fortune.

[E. General Instruction of Planetary Offering]

“O Vajrapāṇi! These are the Heart-Mantras of the Nine Planets which are efficacious upon utterance. Having made in such sequence a fragrant *maṇḍala* of the size of twelve *āṅgulas*, [the Heart-Mantras] should be worshipped in the middle of the *maṇḍala*. After making the offering with vessels made of copper, clay, silver, and so on,<sup>97</sup> one should recite the mantra a hundred and eight times for each [planet]. O Vajrapāṇi! Furthermore, afterward, the mantra formulae of the *dhāraṇī* called the Mother of Planets should be uttered seven times. Then, the Sun and other [planets] will make guard and protection [for the devotees]. They will get rid of poverty and suffering. They will turn a consumed life into a long life.

“Furthermore, O Vajrapāṇi, for those monks, nuns, male and female lay Buddhists, or other classes of sentient beings, if the words are uttered into their ears, they will not die an untimely death. Furthermore, O Vajrapāṇi, if a Dharma preacher worships the planets in the middle of the *maṇḍala* and utters [the mantras] seven times daily, all the planets will fulfill his wishes by all means. They will remove poverty from his family.”

[F. Grahamātrkā Dhāraṇī Mantra]

Then the Blessed One Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata, uttered the phrases of the *dhāraṇī* mantra called the Mother of Planets:

95. mukhapaṭo]Dh, mukhapyato M

96. sarvaparipūrṇābhakti]M, sarvathā bhaktine Dh

97. C, 或瓦或銅金銀等, in clay, or in copper, gold, silver, etc.; C<sub>2</sub> 或瓦或銅金銀等器.

om̐ namo ratnatrayāya | om̐ namo buddhāya | om̐ namo dharmāya |  
om̐ namaḥ saṃghāya | om̐ namo vajradharāya | om̐ namaḥ  
padmadharāya | om̐ namaḥ kumārāya | om̐ namaḥ sarvagrahāṇām |  
om̐ namaḥ sarvāśāparipūrakāṇām | om̐ namaḥ nakṣatrāṇām | om̐  
namo dvādaśarāśīnām | om̐ namaḥ sarvopadravāṇām | tadyathā |  
om̐ buddhe 2 śuddhe 2 vajre 2 padme 2 sara 2 prasara 2 smara 2  
krīḍa 2 krīḍaya 2 mara 2 mārāya 2 mardaya 2 stambha 2 stambhaya  
2 ghaṭa 2 ghāṭaya 2 mama sarvasattvānāñ ca vighnān chinda  
chinda bhinda 2 sarvavighnān nāśanaṃ kuru 2 mama saparivārasya  
sarvasattvānāñca kāryaṃ kṣepaya 2 mama sarvasattvānāñca  
sarvanakṣatragrahaṇāṇāṃ nivāraya 2 bhagavati śriyaṃ kuru  
mahāmāyā prasādhaya sarvaduṣṭānnāśaya sarvapāpāni mama  
saparivārasya sarvasattvānāñca rakṣa 2 vajre 2 caṇḍe 2 caṇḍini 2  
nuru 2 musu 2 mumu 2 muñca 2 havā have ugre ugratare pūraya  
bhagavati manorathaṃ mama sarvapāpāni sarvasattvānāñ ca sa  
rvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite svāhā | om̐ svāhā | hūṃ svāhā | hrīḥ  
svāhā | dhūḥ svāhā | dhīḥ svāhā | om̐ ādityāya svāhā | om̐ somāya  
svāhā | om̐ dharaṇīsutāya svāhā | om̐ budhāya svāhā | om̐ bṛhaspataye  
svāhā | om̐ śukrāya svāhā | om̐ śaniścarāya svāhā | om̐ rāhave svāhā |  
om̐ ketave svāhā | om̐ buddhāya svāhā | om̐ vajrapāṇaye svāhā | om̐  
padmadharāya svāhā | om̐ kumārāya svāhā | om̐ sarvagrahāṇām  
svāhā | om̐ sarvanakṣatrāṇām svāhā | om̐ sarvopadravāṇām svāhā |  
om̐ dvādaśarāśīnām svāhā | om̐ sarvavidye huṃ 2 phaṭ svāhā |

[G. End of Buddha's Speech]

“O, Vajrapāṇi! These mantra formulae of the *dhāraṇī* called the Mother of Planets are efficacious upon utterance. O, Vajrapāṇi! They should be uttered seven times daily starting from the seventh [*tithi*] of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika,<sup>98</sup> while observing the fast (*upośadhika*) until the fourteenth [*tithi*], he should worship the planets and the *nakṣatras* in the middle of the *maṇḍala* and chant the [mantra formulae] seven times daily. Then on the Full Moon day, one should perform the *pūjā* and let the [mantra formulae] be uttered.

98. C<sub>1</sub> has the seventh day of the ninth month in the white *pakṣa* 九月白月七日, following a Sino-Indian month-conversion convention identical to that of the original version of Amoghavajra's *Xiuyao jing* as transmitted in Japan. C<sub>2</sub> has the seventh day of the eighth month 八月七日. In the Song version, Fatian counted the months in the Indian manner starting from Caitra. In all cases, the month begins with the New Moon, hence following the *amāntya* system.



“For this person, there will be no threat of death for ninety-nine years.”<sup>99</sup> There will be no threat of the harm caused by the fall of meteor, by the planets and *nakṣatras*. Life after life one will have the remembrance of his past life. All the planets will grant him the best wish.”

Then all the planets said: “Wonderful, Blessed One.” They bowed and disappeared.

[H. Closing]

Thus said the Blessed One. The monks, the bodhisattvas, the Great Beings, the assembly, and the world with the gods, humans, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, and *gandharvas*, were delighted, and they rejoiced at the speech of the Blessed One.

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99. Skt.: *tasya navanavativarṣāṇi mrtyubhayaṃ na bhaviṣyati*. C<sub>1</sub> has a much shorter scope of only nine years 至滿九年無其死畏. C<sub>2</sub> is closer to the extant Sanskrit recensions, explaining that one would live until ninety-nine years old 彼人得長壽至九十九歲.

## Appendix C

### Pelliot 4519: “Maṅḍala non-identifié”

Citations from C<sub>1</sub> highlighted in red. From Michel Soymié et al., *Catalogue des Manuscrits Chinois de Touen-houang*. Fonds Pelliot Chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Vol. 5. 4001–6040 (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1995), 157–160. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / Département des Manuscrits.



## A Preliminary Study and Provisional Translation of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*

Hudaya Kandahjaya

BDK America

### ABBREVIATIONS

GPS = *Gurupañcaśikhā*

GSMV = *Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi* (see Bahulkar 2010)

GSVV = *Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikāvīmśatavidhi* (see Tanaka 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004)

GT = *Guhyendutilaka*

KS = *Kriyāsaṃgraha* (see Sakurai 1988, 1993a, 1993b; Skorupski 2002)

RM = *Ratnamegha*

Sdp = *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra* (see Skorupski 1983)

ŚS = *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (see Bendall 1897, Bendall & Rouse 1922)

SHKM = *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya*

STTS = *Sarvatathāgatataṭvasaṃgraha-sūtra*

T. = *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*

VMSV = *Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalopāyika-sarvavajrodaya* (see Mikkyō-seiten Kenkyūkai 1987)

### INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Javanese commentaries not only clarify Sanskrit verses in the eighth-century *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* but also expose a framework revealing the whole set of its teachings. This scripture consists of two parts: the first shows Sanskrit verses traceable to the early cycle of the *Guhyasamāja* texts; the second has quotations ascribed to Dignāga. However, in contrast to Mahāyāna or esoteric teachings generally known today, the commentaries in many ways show atypical nuances.

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1. The most recent of earlier versions of this Introduction was presented at the Buddhist studies workshop “Layers of Interpretation,” Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, Munich, Germany, June 15, 2018.

For instance, unlike the ones known to the Mahāyāna and Theravāda traditions, the Javanese *daśapāramitās* (ten perfections) refer to a combination of the six perfections (*ṣaṭpāramitās*) and the four immeasurables (*caturpāramitās*). The *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* associates the six with Vajradhātviśvarī and the four with four *devīs* (Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍaravāsini, and Tārā). In turn, while describing the *pañcatathāgatas* as the spouses of these *pañcadevīs*, the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* maintains that the *devīs* actually represent quintessential core teachings and are not ordinary female goddesses. The commentaries also describe divinities and a spiritual program as a delineation of the *advaya* doctrine, based on which Javanese Buddhists of the past depicted it three dimensionally in the form of Borobudur. Traces of influence originating from the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* commentaries can be detected in a number of subsequent insular Buddhist texts as well as in Hindu and Islamic literature. One that silently integrates into the sociopolitical fabric of modern Indonesia is a phrase from the *Kakawin Sutasoma*: *bhinneka tunggal ika* (“distinct yet one”), which is now the official Indonesian state motto.

Jacob Kats initiated research on the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* in 1910. Since then, a number of scholars have produced studies and translations of the text, and altogether there are at least five complete published translations to date.<sup>2</sup> In 1997, Lokesh Chandra published the complete Śaiva version of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the general consensus on the prevailing tantric doxography, recent study has demonstrated that the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* belongs to the *Guhyasamāja* family dating to the eighth century and thus has raised questions about the accuracy of the current doxography.<sup>4</sup>

2. Jacob Kats, *Saṅ hyang Kamahâyanikan: Oud-Javaansche tekst, met inleiding, vertaling en aanteeeningen* (‘s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1910); I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, *Kitab Sutji Sanghyang Kamahâyanikan* (Denpasar: Pustaka Balimas, 1956); Sumanananda Jasmin, *Kitab Sutji Sanghyang Kamahayanikan* (Semarang: Perbuddhi Djawa Tengah, 1971); Nurhadi Magetsari, “Pemujaan Tathāgata di Jawa pada Abad Sembilan” (PhD diss., Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, 1982); Lokesh Chandra, “Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan,” *Cultural Horizons of India* 4 (1995): 295–464.

3. Lokesh Chandra, “Śaiva Version of Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyanikan,” *Cultural Horizons of India* 5 (1997): 7–101.

4. For the examination leading to these questions, see Hudaya Kandahjaya, “Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan, Borobudur, and the Origins of Esoteric Buddhism

**TABLE 1. Correlation of the SHKM with Newly Identified Texts**

SHKM	KS	GSMV	GSVV	GT	GPS	RM
1	○	○	○			
2	○	○	○			
3	○	○	○			
4	○	○	○			
5ab	○	○	○			
6	○	○				
7	○					
8	○					
9	○					
10	○	○	○			
11	○	○				
12	○	○	○			
13	○	○	○			
14	○		○			
15	○					
16	○		○			
17	○	○	○			
18			○			
19						
20	○					
21	○		○			
22	○		○			
23			○	○		
24		○				
25						○
26	○	○				
27	○	○	○			
28		○	○			
29	○	○				

SHKM	KS	GSMV	GSVV	GT	GPS	RM
30	○	○				
31	○	○				
32	○	○	○			
33		○	○		○	
34		○	○		○	
35		○	○		○	
36		○			○	
37					○	
38			○		○	
39		○	○			
40		○				
41		○	○			
42		○				
<b>Total:</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>

Note: Taken from Kandahjaya 2016, p. 72.

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Because the *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan* has thus far been translated under the influence of prevailing doxography, the *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan* needs to be reread independently, and a new translation of the whole scripture becomes mandatory. Following this perspective, this article will present a preliminary study and a provisional translation of Kats' edition of the *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan*. For the time being, the emphasis will be on the Old Javanese commentary.<sup>5</sup>

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in Indonesia,” in *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia*, ed. Andrea Acri (Singapore: ISEAS, 2016), 67–112; Jacob Dalton, “A Crisis of Doxography: How Tibetans Organized Tantra during the 8th–12th Centuries,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 115–181.

5. Despite my original intent in this paper, the translation and study of the text have yet to be exhaustive. This shortcoming is especially due to time constraints. However, as the reading of Old Javanese passages under a more accurate perspective takes priority and needs immediate scholarly attention, I take the risk of publishing this paper in its current state heuristically, hoping that I may report further progress in the next installment. For readers interested in the scholarly treatment especially of Sanskrit passages in the first part of the *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan*, i.e., the *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya* or the *Mantra Method of Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan*, see J. S. Speyer, “Ein altjavanischer mahayanistischer Katechismus,” *Zeitschrift der Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* 67 (1913): 347–362; Unrai Ogiwara, “Jawa ni oite hakken-sararetaru mikkyō yomon,” *Mikkyō* 5, no. 2 (1915), reprinted in Ogiwara Unrai Bunshū (Tōkyō: Ogiwara Hakushi Kinenkai, 1938), 737–746; K. Wulff, *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantrānaya: Ansprache bei der Weihe buddhistischer Mönche aus dem altjavanischen übersetzt und sprachlich erläutert* (København: Levin & Munksgaard, 1935); H. von Glasenapp, “Ein buddhistischer Initiationsritus des javanischen Mittelalters,” *Tribus, Jahrbuch des Linden-Museums Stuttgart* 2, no. 3 (1952–1953): 259–274, “Ein Initiations-Ritus im buddhistischen Java,” *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 39 (1936): 483–489, and “Noch einmal: “Ein Initiations-Ritus im buddhistischen Java,” *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 41 (1938): 201–204; Shirō Sakai, “Jaba hakken mikkyō yomon no issetsu ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō Bunka* 8 (1950): 38–46; J. W. de Jong, “Notes on the Sources and the Text of the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 30 (1974): 465–482; Kazuko Ishii, “Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan ni miru ko Jawa no Mikkyō (Old Javanese Esoteric Buddhism as Seen in the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan),” *Tōnan Ajia Kenkyū* 27, no. 1 (June 1989): 55–70 and “The Correlation of Verses of the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya with Vajrabodhi’s Jāpa-sūtra,” *Area and Culture Studies* 44 (1992): 225–236. I also refer readers to my earlier essay, “Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan, Borobudur, and



## STRUCTURE

The general title of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* literally means *Holy Scripture Pertaining to the Practice of the Mahāyāna*. This scripture consists of two parts: the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya*, or the *Mantra Method of Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, and the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan Advaya Sadhana*, or the *Nondual Practice of Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*. Both contain Sanskrit verses and explanations in Old Javanese. Sanskrit verses in the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya* are traceable to the early cycle of the *Guhyasamāja* texts (for the sake of convenience, I reproduce here the correlation table of the relevant texts; see table 1<sup>6</sup>), while the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan Advaya Sadhana* has quotations ascribed to Dignāga. The passages in Old Javanese are indispensable, as they reveal the structure and the teaching advocated in the scripture. Following the Old Javanese commentaries, the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* prescribes a four-stage program to attain great enlightenment (*mahābodhi*). These four stages are not mutually exclusive. Each provides the necessary condition, and the former stage integrates into the next stage.

*Mahāmārga*

The first stage is delineated in the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya*. As described in the first verse and mentioned again in the commentaries to verses 3, 6, 8, and 9, this stage is called the (Mahāyāna) *mahāmārga*.<sup>7</sup>

*Ehi vatsa mahāyānaṃ mantracāryanayaṃ viddhiṃ*

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the Origins of Esoteric Buddhism in Indonesia,” where, in addition to the issue of the dating of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, I examine some characteristics of the text as well.

6. Kandaḥjaya, “Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan, Borobudur, and the Origins of Esoteric Buddhism in Indonesia,” 72.

7. Chandra summarizes the four stages in “Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan,” 332–341. However, as is clear from his introduction to this four-stage program, the view is from the perspective of prevailing doxography based on which he categorizes the first stage as belonging to *caryā-tantras* and the rest to *yoga-tantras*. In addition, from the start Chandra (“Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan,” 295) believes that the term *mantranaya* in the title *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya* follows the category suggested by Advayavajra, who lived around the eleventh century and thus is anachronistic in comparison to the eighth-century *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*.

*Deśayiṣyāmi te samyak bhājanas tvaṃ mahānaye.*

Come, child, I will teach you the ritual for mantra practice of the Mahāyāna because you are a perfect receptacle for the great method.

*Ka.<sup>8</sup> Sañ hyañ Mahāyāna iki varahakna mami iri kita, mantracāryyanayaṃ vidhiṃ, sañ hyañ mantranaya sira Mahāyāna mahāmārgga naran ira, deśayiṣyāmi te samyak, sira teki deśanākna mami varahakna mami ri kita, bhājanas tvaṃ mahānaye, ri kadadinyan kita pātrabhūta yogya varahen ri sañ hyañ dharmma mantranaya.*

The meaning is: I shall teach you the Sañ Hyañ Mahāyāna. *Mantracāryyanayaṃ vidhiṃ*, the Sañ Hyañ Mantranaya is called the Mahāyāna *mahāmārgga*. *Deśayiṣyāmi te samyak*, I will instruct and explain this to you, *bhājanas tvaṃ mahānaye*, because you are a suitable vessel to be taught the Sañ Hyañ Dharma Mantranaya.

The second to fourth stages are each called the *paramamārga*, the *mahāguhya*, and the *paramaguhyā*. They are described in the *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan Advaya Sadhana*.

#### *Paramamārga*

*Aum! Anaku kita ṅ jinaputra, mene kami avaraha irikañ aji anuñ yogya gegonta. Hana ṣaṭpāramitā naranya, yatika paramaboddhimārgga, yatikā varahakna mami ri kita rumuhun, marapvan kita tan aṅel mañabhyāsa ri kapañguhan ri kahyañbuddhān.*

Aum! My child, you are the son of the Jina (*jinaputra*), now I shall teach you the discipline to which it is proper for you to adhere. There is the so-called *ṣaṭpāramitās*, i.e., the *paramaboddhimārgga*, which is my first teaching to you, so that you do not face difficulty finding buddhahood in practice.

*Nihan lvirnya ṣaḍ ikañ pāramitā:*

Those six *pāramitās* are:

*Dānaśīlañca kṣāntiśca vīrya dhyānañca prajñāca*

*Dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna, and prajñā*

*Kagegopvekañṣaṭpāramitā denta, kitañ tathāgatakula jinaputrādhikarmika, lakṣaṇāken tañ catur pāramitā.*

While holding fast to these *ṣaṭ pāramitās*, you, being Tathāgatakula Jinaputrādhikarmika, perform the *caturpāramitās*.

*Catur pāramitā naranya: metri, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā.*

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8. *Ka* is an abbreviation of the Old Javanese word *kaliñanya*, which stands for “the meaning is” or “i.e.”

The so-called *caturpāramitā* are: *metrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā*.

*Papupul ni catur pāramitā mvaṅ ṣaṭ pāramitā, lvirnya: Dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna, prajñā, metrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā. Yatikā sinaṅguh daśapāramitā naranya, yatikā matatva pañcadevī.*

The whole of four perfections and six perfections is: *dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna, prajñā, metrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā*. They are called the ten perfections (*daśapāramitās*). They form the essences of the five goddesses (*pañcadevīs*).

*Bajradhātviśvarīdevī mahāprajñārūpavati.  
patyau paramasevitā ṣaṭpāramitam ucyate.*

The goddess *Bajradhātviśvarī* is known to embody great wisdom, extraordinary beauty, excellent service to her master, and the six perfections.

*Śrī Bajradhātviśvarī sira ta levih prajñā nira, atēher surūpa, atīśaya de nira sevitasvāmi ri bhaṭāra Vairocana, sira ta makatatva ṅ ṣaṭpāramitā.*

*Śrī Bajradhātviśvarī* is greater in wisdom and also of extraordinary beauty. She is superior in her service to her master *Bhaṭāra Vairocana*. She embodies the six perfections.

*Maitrī Locanā vijñeyā Māmakī karuṇā matā  
muditā Pāṇḍaravāsī upekṣā Tārā ucyate.*

*Maitrī* is to be understood as *Locanā*, *Māmakī* is to be thought as *karuṇā*, *muditā* is *Pāṇḍaravāsīnī*, *upekṣā* is known as *Tārā*.

*Bharālī Locanā metrī tattva nira, bharālī Māmakī karuṇā tatva nira, bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsīnī sira ta makatatva ṅ upekṣā. Maṅkana tiṅkah niṅ daśa pāramitā, an makatatva pañca devī, ya ta mataṅnyan saṅ maṅabhyaśa hayu devī, sira sevita rumuhun ri vāhyādhyātmika, apan sira paḍa niṅ umaṅgihaken i kahyaṅbuddhān.*

The essence of *Bharālī Locanā* is *metrī*. The essence of *Bharālī Māmakī* is *karuṇā*. *Bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsīnī* embodies [*muditā*. The essence of *Bharālī Tārā* is] *upekṣā*. Thus these ten perfections manifest in the five goddesses, and thereby one should practice in beautifying these goddesses, be first in service to them externally and internally, for they are equal to attaining buddhahood.

*Iti daśapāramitā parisamāpta, paramamārgga ḍataṅ rin mahāboddhi ikā.*

Thus ends the ten perfections, the *paramamārgga* to arrive at great enlightenment (*mahāboddhi*).

*Huvus pva enak vruhta irikaṅ daśapāramitā paramamārgga, kavruhi taṅ paramaguhyā mvaṅ mahāguhyā.*

Having established and understood the *paramamārgga*, you should learn the *paramaguhyā* and the *mahāguhyā*.

### Mahāguhya

*Mahāguhya: ikañ kāra ri kapaṅguhan bharāla, lvirnya: yoga lāvan bhāvanā. Pāt lvir niñ yoga, pavekas Ḍaṅ ācāryya śrī Dignāga pāda, lvirnya; mūla-yoga, madhya-yoga, vasāna-yoga, anta-yoga.*

*Mahāguhya:* This is the method to be united with Bharāla, viz., yoga and bhāvanā. There are four yogas, according to the instructions left by Ḍaṅ Ācāryya Śrī Dignāgapāda, viz., the mūla-yoga, the madhya-yoga, the vasāna-yoga, and the anta-yoga.

*Tumūt tañ catur āryyasatya, kavaśāken denta marapvan siddhi yogabhāvanānta, lvirnya: duḥka-satya, nirodha-satya, samudaya-satya, mārgga-satya. Nāhan lvir niñ catur āryyasatya anuñ gegonta.*

Follow the Four Noble Truths (*catur āryyasatya*) so that they are mastered by you and you are accomplished in *yogabhāvanā*. The four are: *duḥka-satya, nirodha-satya, samudaya-satya, and mārgga-satya*. Thus are the Four Noble Truths to which you must hold fast.

*Ikiñ yoga, bhāvanā, catur āryyasatya, daśapāramitā, yatikā sinaṅguh mahāguhya ikā.*

These yoga, bhāvanā, *catur āryyasatya*, and *daśapāramitā* are considered the *mahāguhya*.

### Paramaguhya

*Paramaguhya naranya: rūpa ni avak bharāla, āpan sinaṅguh mahāviśeṣa, kapratyakṣa de sañ yogīśvara.*

The so-called *paramaguhya* is the form of the body of Bharāla, known as Mahāviśeṣa, directly perceived by the *yogīśvara*.

Perusing this structure, it becomes clear that the *mahāmārga* is a ritual for conditioning a practitioner under oath to receive the initiation, instructions, consecration, and empowerment necessary for undertaking the actual practice. The Old Javanese commentary in the *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya* states that the name of this ritual is *cakravartyabhiṣeka*. The stages from *paramamārga* to *paramaguhya* then delineate the whole course and the actual practice for the practitioner to carry out attaining buddhahood.

While the whole *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan* teaching contains familiar Buddhist concepts, the configuration and the application of those concepts within the *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan* program are not identical to those conventionally received through the modern-day Buddhist traditions of Theravāda, Mahāyāna, or Vajrayāna. Out of so many concepts exposed in the *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan*, this paper will focus

particularly on the concept of the four perfections (*caturpāramitās*) and its many ramifications.

#### CATURPĀRAMITĀS

The Javanese notion of the ten perfections (*daśapāramitās*) is interesting. Unlike those known to the Mahāyāna and Theravāda traditions, the ten perfections described in the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* refer to a combination of the six perfections (*ṣaṭpāramitās*) and the four immeasurables (*caturpāramitās*), or the four divine abodes (*brahmavihāras*). This combination forms the supreme path (*paramamārga*) that leads a practitioner to eventually attain great enlightenment. A similar scheme is found in scriptures not commonly known or used today, i.e., the *Akṣayamati-sūtra* or the *Ratnamegha-sūtra*. However, it is also remarkable that this scheme is known to the *Brahmā's Net Sutra* (*Fanwang jing* 梵網經, T. 1484), a text that has been highly regarded and authoritative regarding precepts in the East Asian Mahāyāna tradition since the fifth century. These texts indicate that this scheme leads a practitioner to nirvana.

By contrast, however, we know that by around the fifth century Bhadantācariya Buddhaghosa devoted an entire chapter to the *brahmavihāras* in compiling his *Visuddhimagga*. In this commentary, Buddhaghosa explains that practicing the *brahmavihāras* could only lead one to the *brahma* worlds, although in the final paragraph of this chapter he seems to suggest otherwise, that the practice could lead one to perfection. As such, his commentary suggests a controversial proposition. Richard Gombrich has taken on the task of clarifying the cause of this discrepancy,<sup>9</sup> but unfortunately most of the Theravāda traditions have usually taken the first part of Buddhaghosa's commentary and ignored the final paragraph, thereby dismissing the controversial proposition.<sup>10</sup>

9. Richard Gombrich, *What the Buddha Thought* (London: Equinox, 2009), 75–91.

10. For instance, Thera Nyanaponika, *The Four Sublime States and The Practice of Loving Kindness (Mettā)* (Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society, 2008), 7, concludes: “The meditations on love, compassion, and sympathetic joy can each produce the attainment of the first three absorptions, while the meditation on equanimity will lead to the fourth only, in which equanimity is the most significant factor.”

While at this point we may disregard the whole divergence as unworthy of further argument, it is relevant here in terms of Buddhist praxis in two ways. First, Buddhist tradition may lead a practitioner to believe and practice what the Buddha has taught, while what is carried on by that tradition may only be a product of later interpretation and thereby might be misleading. The interpretation of Bhadantācariya Buddhaghosa on the *brahmavihāras* is a case in point: on further reflection, it may be a product of his era and thus not what the Buddha intended in the first place.

Second, the way the *brahmavihāras* could in fact be the foundation for engaged Buddhism has been constantly advocated by some scriptural texts belonging to the Mahāyāna tradition, e.g., the *Akṣayamatisūtra*, and in the *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan* as shown in the following:

*Metri nāranya: parahitakāḥrtva, ākāra niñ jñāna sañ Satva Viśeṣa. Sañ Satva Viśeṣa nāranya: tumakitaki ṣaṭ pāramitā mvañ catur pāramitā, sira ta Satva Viśeṣa naran ira. Ākāra niñ jñāna nira gumave hayva niñ para. Para nāranya: sarbva satva, kaniṣṭamadhyaṃmottama, ikañ sih riñ para tan phalāpekṣa, ya metri nāranya.*

The so-called *metri* is: the nature of performing meritorious action for the welfare of others (*parahitakāḥrtva*), the state (*ākāra*) of *jñāna* of Sañ Satva Viśeṣa. The so-called Sañ Satva Viśeṣa diligently does one's best in *ṣaṭ pāramitā* and *catur pāramitā*, he is the so-called Satva Viśeṣa. The state of his *jñāna* is working for the well being of others. The so-called others (*para*) are: all beings (*sarbva satva*), low, middle, or high (*kaniṣṭamadhyaṃmottama*); this loving-kindness (*sih*) toward others without expectation of reward (*tan phalāpekṣa*) is the so-called *metri*.

Instead of making the *brahmavihāras* merely the subjects of meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*), as is generally upheld in the Theravāda tradition, they might actually be the source for one's actions toward other beings. This kind of reinterpretation—we may exceptionally note here—in fact occurs in the Sarvodaya movement, where the *brahmavihāras* have been taken contrarily as guidelines for social action.<sup>11</sup>

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11. Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King, *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia* (Albany: State University of New York [SUNY] Press, 1996), 126–127. Sulak Sivaraksa echoes a similar view; quoted in Queen and King, *Engaged Buddhism*, 219–221.

## PAÑCADEVĪ

As mentioned above, the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* associates the six perfections with Vajradhātviśvarī and the four perfections with four goddesses Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍaravāsini, and Tārā. These goddesses are in turn the spouses of the *pañcatathāgatas*.

*Nihan krama niṅ pañcatathāgatadevī, lvir nira: bharālī dhātviśvarī, bharālī locanā, bharālī māmakī, bharālī pāṇḍaravāsini, bharālī tārā. Nahan pratyeka niran pañca.*

These are the five *tathāgatadevīs*, they are: Bharālī Dhātviśvarī, Bharālī Locanā, Bharālī Māmakī, Bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsini, Bharālī Tārā. The five individually are [as follows]:

*dhātviśvarī mahādevī vairocanaṭpatir jñeyā.*

It is to be known that Dhātviśvarī, the great *devī*, has Vairocana as the master,

*locanākṣobhyapatīś ca dhātviśvarī locanekā.*

Locanā has Akṣobhya as the master, and Dhātviśvarī and Locanā are one.

*māmakī ratnasambhava pāṇḍaravāsini devī*

Māmakī has Ratnasambhava; Pāṇḍaravāsini, the *devī*, has

*amitābhapatir jñeyā tārāmoghasiddhipriyā.*

Amitābha, being the master, is known; Tārā is the consort of Amoghasiddhi.

However, it is imperative to note here that the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* also maintains that these goddesses actually represent quintessential core teachings and are not simply ordinary female goddesses.

*Ka: Ikaṅ kājaran iṅ bodhi samādhi mvaṅ ikaṅ sarbvamudrāpinakalakṣaṇanta mvaṅ ikaṅ tathāgata inañṅ-añṅta, mvaṅ ikaṅ paramaguḥya tathāgata niyata ikā kavruhana de saṅ buddhacāryyavicakṣaṇa, ka, ikaṅ mahābodhi, ikaṅ samādhi, ikaṅ sarbvamudrā mantra yoga bhāvanā mvaṅ kavicaṣaṇan ya tikāvak niṅ caturdevī Locanā, Pāṇḍaravāsini, Māmakī, Tārā. Iti caturdevī kavruhana hayva tan prayatna, paḍa pavitrānira mvaṅ bhaṭāra hyaṅ Buddha yan ta kapaṅgih pāvāknira caturdevī de saṅ yogīśvara.*

The meaning is: The teaching on enlightenment, *samādhi*, and all *mudrās* are to be possessed by you. Further, you should constantly meditate on the *tathāgata*, and this *paramaguḥya tathāgata* is indeed to be known by one of wisdom and *buddhacāryya*, i.e., *mahābodhi*, *samādhi*, all *mudrā-mantra-yoga-bhāvanā*, and wisdom are the bodies of the four *devīs*: Locanā, Pāṇḍaravāsini, Māmakī, and Tārā. The four *devīs* should be known as such; do not be inattentive. They are as pure



as Bhaṭṭāra Hyaṅ Buddha; if these four *devīs* are found they are to be embodied by the *yogīśvara*.

The use of the term *buddhacārya* in this last paragraph of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, indicating one of high spiritual achievement, allows us to recognize an attribute of *vuddhacarita*, besides *bhakti*, which are both attached to Princess Prāmodavarddhanī, as mentioned in the Kayumwungan inscription. The employment of these terminologies in the Kayumwungan inscription strongly suggests that the author knew of the doctrinal concepts underlying these terms as they appear in the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*. Given that the Kayumwungan inscription is the same inscription that consecrated Borobudur in 824 CE, it simultaneously exposes the doctrinal connection between Borobudur and the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*. By comparing the framework of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* and the architectural plan of Borobudur, it becomes clear that Borobudur reflects the spiritual program of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* in a three-dimensional format.<sup>12</sup>

#### ĀDI BUDDHA

The earliest dated evidence showing that Buddhists in the Indonesian archipelago already had understanding of the *caturpāramitās*, or in fact the *daśapāramitās*, comes from the Talang Tuo Old Malay inscription of 684 CE. This inscription mentions cultivating *maitrī*—the first in the list of the four components of the *brahmavihāras*—in combination with the *ṣaṭpāramitās* (*tyāga* [= *dāna*], *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, *samāhitacinta* [= *dhyāna*], and *prajñā*), while establishing *vodhicitta* and producing the *vajraśarīra* for the attainment of *anuttarābhisamyaksaṅvodhi*. Later, the Pagarruyung I (Bukit Gombak I) inscription, dated to April 13, 1356, claims that a descendant of the Amarāryya dynasty, the Illustrious

12. In Nicolaas J. Krom's *Barabudur: Archaeological Description* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927), 2:331–332, the author was uncertain whether Borobudur represented the teachings recorded in the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*. He preferred instead to consider Borobudur merely a *stūpa* embodying the teachings of tantric Mahāyāna based on the Yogācāra school. On the contrary, George Coedès, “Les Inscriptions Malaises de Çrīvijaya,” *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 30 (1930): 57, while supporting Krom's earlier attempt, relates the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* to Borobudur, suggesting that the development in Java was under the influence of Śrīvijaya, although none seemed to heed his advice.

King Ādityawarmman, who has the banner of nonduality, who was exceedingly like Ādi Buddha—embedded with virtues of loving-kindness, compassion, joy, and tranquility—was a king who conferred benefit to unfortunate living beings.<sup>13</sup>

Connecting the virtues of loving-kindness, compassion, joy, and tranquility (basically the four *brahmavihāras* or the four *apramāṇas*) with Ādi Buddha is particularly interesting, given that the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* is among the earliest texts that mention the term *ādibuddha* in the context of *advaya* doctrine. In the series of seven *samādhis* (*sapta samādhi*) in the “Paramaguhya,” the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* calls the fifth the *mahāmunivaracintāmaṇi*, at which stage the mind of the cultivator becomes Ādi Buddha.

*Dadi taṅ āmbĕk ādibuddha ni ratu cakravartti huvus malahaken śatru  
sakti vēnaṅ aveh sakaharĕp niṅ sarbvasatva, ikaṅ āmbĕk maṅkana  
mahāmunivaracintāmaṇisamādhi ṅaranikā*<sup>14</sup>

13. The phrase is quoted from the Sanskrit transcription in Nicolaas Johannes Krom, “Transcripties van de reeds vroeger bekende inschriften van Pagarrojoeng en Soeroaso, Bijlage H.” *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1912): 51: *adwayāddhwajanṛpā ādityawarmmaśriyā | waṅśassrī amarāryya... pāpādādibuddhādihikam | maitritwaṅ karuṅāmupekṣamuditāsātwpakārāguṅā |*. See also Bambang Budi Utomo, *Prasasti-Prasasti Sumatra* (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional, 2007), 64–65, and Bambang Budi Utomo and Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Abd. Rahman, *Zaman Klasik di Nusantara: Tumpuan Kajian di Sumatra* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2008), 104–108.

14. The epithet “cakravarti king” in the description is comparatively a reference to Śākyamuni, and according to Urban Hammar, *Studies in the Kālacakra Tantra: A History of the Kālacakra Tantra in Tibet and a Study of the Concept of Ādi Buddha, the Fourth Body of the Buddha and the Supreme Unchanging* (Stockholm: Department of Ethnology, History of Religions, 2005), 106–107, quoting from the *Vimalaprabhā*, Śākyamuni is even considered the sole *cakravartin* of the three realms. Vv. 67ff of chap. 4 of the *Tathāgatakr̥tyakriyādihikāra* of the *Ratnagotra* or *Uttaratantra* describe the *cintāmaṇi* as able to fulfill all wishes. The rest bears a resemblance to the condition right after Śākyamuni defeated the *māras* to become the Buddha; for example, see chaps. 21–23 of the *Lalitavistara*. Krom, *Barabudur: Archaeological Description*, 2:167, conflated the name of the *samādhi*, i.e., *mahāmunivaracintāmaṇi*, with Ādi Buddha. Of course we cannot find fault with Krom because unavailable to him at that time was crucial information related to a Javanese Buddhist monk, Bianhong, who went to China to study under Huiguo, the successor of Amoghavajra. Bianhong arrived in Chang’an in 780 and later found himself in the company of Kūkai, who

The mind—having defeated a powerful enemy [and] becomes Ādi Buddha in the *cakravarti* king—is able to fulfill all wishes of all beings; hence such mind is called the *mahāmunivaracintāmaṇi-samādhi*.

The connotation here is in line with the concept of Ādi Buddha in the Kālacakra system, whereby Ādi Buddha refers to the ultimate nature of one's own mind and to the one who has realized the innate nature of the mind by means of purificatory practices.<sup>15</sup> Thus, we may surmise that the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* uses the term *ādibuddha* to refer to the mind that realizes the advent of primordial innate enlightenment, hence Ādi Buddha.<sup>16</sup> Besides those recorded in the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, Balinese living tradition preserves some other remnants of the practices, such as the Ādi Buddha *stuti* and a set of the *anuttarapūjā*.<sup>17</sup> The latter, i.e., the ritual of *anuttarapūjā*, is depicted

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also studied with the same teacher. Kūkai's records indicate that Bianhong had already acquired a practice called the yoga of *cakravartiacintāmaṇi* and had attained some degree of spiritual power; see Jeffrey Sundberg and Rolf Giebel, "The Life of the Tang Court Vajrabodhi as Chronicled by Lü Xiang (吕向): South Indian and Śrī Laṅkā Antecedents to the Arrival of the Buddhist Vajrayāna in Eighth-Century Java and China," *Pacific World*, 3rd ser., 13 (Fall 2011): 130–131. This practice matches one in the set of cultivations described as the *mahāmunivaracintāmaṇi-samādhi* in the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*. The match indicates that this practice had already been cultivated by Bianhong in 780, or in other words was known to Javanese Buddhists. For more details, see Kandahjaya, "*Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, Borobudur, and the Origins of Esoteric Buddhism in Indonesia."

15. Vesna Wallace, *The Inner Kālacakratantra: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Individual* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 17–18; Hammar, *Studies in the Kālacakra Tantra*, 94–95.

16. Monier Monier-Williams suggests in *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1899) that *ādibuddha* may mean "perceived in the beginning" (p. 137).

17. T. Goudriaan and C. Hooykaas, *Stuti and Stava* (Amsterdam and London: North Holland Publishing Company, 1971), 412–413, 433–438. They were published earlier by Sylvain Lévi, *Sanskrit Texts from Bāli* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1933), 75, 82. The *stuti* titled *Praṇamya satataṃ Buddhā* is recited in Bali up to this day. It reads as follows:

Having constantly bowed down to the Buddha, as an homage to Ādi  
Buddha,  
Which is the merit for living beings, big and small,  
I shall mention the highest richness.

on a wall at Borobudur and thus was known to Borobudur Buddhists. This information, along with the correlation between the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* and Borobudur, confirms that the concept of Ādi Buddha is also embedded in this Buddhist monument.<sup>18</sup>

Beliefs and applications of the concept of Ādi Buddha infiltrated deeper into the literature and culture of the people in the Malay archipelago. It can be discerned, for instance, in a family of texts associated with a narrative describing the meeting of Bhīma and Deva Ruci, the highest divinity. In this cycle, a text titled the *Dewa-Roetji*<sup>19</sup> is considered the oldest by far. In this particular text Deva Ruci is addressed as Parama Budeṅ rat, Saṅ Hyaṅ Suksma, Adi Buda-rěsi, Buda'rsi, Buda tatva rěsi, Jina-rěsi, Sri Verocana, and Janardana, while Bhīma is also sanctified and called Ardanaresvari.<sup>20</sup> The name Deva Ruci itself, meaning “Divine Light,” is identical to Divarūpa (“Divine Light,” which in the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* is equal to the highest divinity, Bhatāra

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(*Praṇamya satataṃ Buddham, Ādi-Buddha-namas-kāram | sattva-sattvaka-puṇyakam, vaksye vaksye dhanam param ||*)

The passages of the *Anuttarapūjā*, which are actually part of the formula of the confession of faults (*pāpadeśanā*), correspond with those preserved in the KS, the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*, as well as the GSV.

18. Encouraged by Wilhelm von Humboldt's attempt in *Über die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java, nebst einer Einleitung über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts* (Berlin: F. Dümmler, 1836), 1:127–137, to correlate the buddhas at Borobudur with the systems of the Five Buddhas, W. P. Groeneveldt suggested a hypothesis that the unfinished buddha statue from Borobudur's main *stūpa* could well be a representation of Ādi Buddha; *Catalogus der Archeologische Verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Batavia: Albrecht & Co., 1887), 75–76. Krom, in his monograph on Borobudur (*Barabudur: Archaeological Description*, 2:167), verifies Groeneveldt's view, cited from the Javanese *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, of the phrase *āmbĕk ādibuddha*, following Kats, who translates it in his *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan* as an *ādibuddha* spirit, yet Krom concludes that the Javanese of Borobudur had no trace of Ādi Buddha. He continues that he had no further evidence to prove Groeneveldt's theory correct but neither had any reason to consider that view to be incorrect.

19. R. M. N. Poerbatjaraka, “Dewa-Roetji,” *Djawa* 20, no. 1 (1940): 5–55. The spelling for the title of the text in modern Indonesian is *Dewa-Ruci*, but for convenience and easy differentiation I retain the old spelling of the title.

20. Poerbatjaraka, “Dewa-Roetji,” 20, 25–27, 32.

Hyañ Buddha), and is thus definitely of Old Javanese origin.<sup>21</sup> The name Parama Budeñ rat is likely derived from Parama Buda in rat or Paramabuddha in rat. The latter, i.e., Paramabuddha, is employed in the *Kakawin Sutasoma*.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, there is good reason to believe that the composer of the *Dewa-Roetji* was familiar with Buddhist tenets that also served as the background for the *Kakawin Sutasoma*. The name Parama

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21. C. C. Berg, *Kidung Sundāyana* (Soerakarta: De Bliksem, 1928), 109, suggests that the story in this cycle was derived from the *Mahābhārata*. Nawaruci Prijohoetomo, *Groningen, Den Haag* (Batavia: J. B. Wolters, 1934), 8–9, remarks further that the meeting of Bhīma and Nawaruci parallels the story of Mārkaṇḍeya as told in the *Mahābhārata*; see C. L. Goswami et al., trans., *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa: With Sanskrit Text and English Translation* (Gorakhpur: M. Jalan, 1971). The story is in book 12, chap. 9, 702–706. V. 27 describes how Mārkaṇḍeya enters Viṣṇu’s body: “Meanwhile (even) like a mosquito, Mārkaṇḍeya (a scion of Bhṛgu) entered into the body of the babe along with its breath. There (inside the belly of the babe) he also saw the universe in its entirety (systematically) arranged as before (the deluge) and felt astonished and perplexed” (*tāvacchiśorvai śvasitena bhargavaḥ so’ntaḥsarīraṃ maśako yathāviśat | tatrāpyado nyastamacaṣṭa kṛtsnaśo yathā purāmuhyadatiṃ vismitaḥ* [27]). Poerbatjaraka seems to think that the story is completely of Javanese origin because the corresponding *Mahābhārata* text is nowhere to be found in Indonesia. However, considering the textual collections of the *Mahābhārata* known to ancient scholars in the archipelago, it would be mind-boggling if they did not have a complete set. This is borne out even more by the fact that the *Sabhāparwa*, one of the *parvas* of the *Mahābhārata*—long considered missing in Indonesian collection—was later found among the Merapi-Merbabu collections; see W. van der Molen and I. Wiryamartana, “The Merapi-Merbabu Manuscripts: A Neglected Collection,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 157, no. 1 (2001): 53. Thus, it is possible that past Indonesian scholars possessed a complete set of the *Mahābhārata* that is still extant there, and thus the possibility that this story was a modified version of the Mārkaṇḍeya story cannot be totally ruled out.

22. Soewito Santoso, *Sutasoma: A Study in Javanese Wajrayana* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1975), 197. V. 22.3: *Anindyaguna śakti ring brata suśila satuwuh ika rāja bhūpati, sudhira ri kalakwan ing japa samādhi taman alupa ring Jinasmṛti, ya kāraṇa bhaṭāra Rudra manurun manurun iri sirang nareśwara, prahāṣaṇa ri kīrtti sang Paramabuddha ri gati nika śāntikātmaka*. Another form, namely Paramārthabuddha, is in v. 41.3: *Āpan tan Śiwa tan Maheśwara sirān tan Brāhma tan Keśawa, tan sang hyang Parameṣṭu Rudra tuduhē dūrān kawastwerikā, singgih yan Paramārthabuddha tēmahan sang siddha yogiśwara, icchā nora kasangśayāganal alit tanmātra mātrenḡ sarāt*.

Budeñ rat in later texts of the Devaruci cycle becomes Marbudeñrat or a variant of this. The name Suksma appears throughout all versions of this story.

In a version titled *Nawaruci*, or *Sañ Hyañ Tattvajñāna Nirmala*, Deva Ruci is called Navaruci (“Nine Lights”) or Acintya (“Unthinkable”) and is considered the manifestation of Sañ Hyañ Murti. Other names representing this highest or most excellent divinity (*hyañ niñ hyañ*, *vėkas niñ hyañ*) are: Alėniş, Anantavişesa, Manon, Mūrchā, Suksma, Tanpa Śarīra, and Vekas. While other versions specifically mention the (left) ear as the entrance through which Bhīma enters into Deva Ruci’s interior (*garba* or *garbha*), the *Nawaruci* does not. It is noteworthy that the *Nawaruci* is the only text in this cycle that does not carry any reference to the highest divinity of Buddhist origin. While maintaining those of Javanese origin, e.g., Suksma, the *Nawaruci* instead extols Paramaśiva, undoubtedly a contrast to Paramabuddha, or vice versa.

The ongoing hybridization process can be clearly observed from the composition of the *Serat Déwaruci* attributed to Radèn Ngabèhi Yasadipura I during the reign of Sultan Paku Buwono IV at the end of the eighteenth century. This text is closely followed by another, the *Serat Bima Suci*, composed by Yasadipura II, the son of Yasadipura I. The main episode of the *Serat Bima Suci*, narrating the encounter between Bhīma and Deva Ruci, is inserted into another composition titled *Serat Cabolèk*, where Islamic teachings take center stage.<sup>23</sup> The *Serat Cabolèk* shows how the concept of divinity that was once in the *Dewa-Roetji* of the *agama Buda* was later found incorporated in the concept of divinity of the *agama Islam*.<sup>24</sup> This identity is confirmed in the *Serat Siti Jenar*,

23. A. H. Johns, “From Buddhism to Islam: An Interpretation of the Javanese Literature of the Transition,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 9, no. 1 (1966): 40–50; S. Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolèk* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975). A comparative study of the concepts of life and death in the *Serat Dewa Ruci* and in Christianity was done by Anne Wind, “Leven en dood in het evangelie van Johannes en in de Serat Dewarutji: met een elenctische confrontatie” (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1956).

24. This is very interesting, considering that John R. Newman, “Islam in the Kālacakra Tantra,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21, no. 2 (1998): 311–371, after demonstrating Islamic elements in the *Kālacakra Tantra*, concluded that this text was composed by Buddhists in response to Islam. One may say that this process was quite the opposite of that happening in the *Serat Cabolèk*. In addition, it is noteworthy that Azyumardi Azra,



which states that there is actually no difference between Buddhism and Islam:<sup>25</sup>

Ki Ageng Pengging asserted without diffidence that he was the true Most Holy: “Allah is here or there *suwung*. In reality it is only a name, that is, the name of the person who is exalted, who encompasses the twenty attributes. Between Buddhism and Islam there is no difference. They are two in form but one in name.”

The *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan* is vocal in exposing its view on ultimate divinity and firmly confirms the equality of all epithets of ultimate divinity known to the compiler at that time.

*Sira ta deva viśeṣa ri boddha, bhaṭāra paramaśūnya naran ira, sira ta bhaṭāra paramaśiva naran ira, bhaṭāra puruṣa sira de sañ vadiśiṣyā bhagavān kapila, sañ hyaṅ ātma naran ira de sañ vadikanabhakṣyaśiṣya, bhaṭāra nirguṇa naran ira de sañ vadi veṣṇava, sira ta phala ni pratyakṣa de dañ ācāryya nirākāra, sira matemah bhaṭāra ratnatraya mvañ bhaṭāra pañca tathāgata de dañ ācāryya sākāra, sira inandelaken ri sañ arcca, pratima, peta de dañ ācāryya vāhyaka, sira sañ hyaṅ viśeṣa jīva naran ira, sira ta sañ hyaṅ vañsil naran ira vaneh.*

He is the god par excellence (Deva Viśeṣa) according to the Buddhists, the so-called Bhaṭāra Paramaśūnya. He is called Bhaṭāra Paramaśiva.

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“Mistifikasi Politik Indonesia di Awal Milenium Baru: Gus Dur dan K. H. Ahmad Mutamakin,” in *Seribu Tahun Nusantara*, ed. J. B. Kristanto (Jakarta: PT Kompas Media Nusantara, 2000), 70–78, and also editor Enoch Machmoed and Mahpudi, the reviewer of an Indonesian translation of Soebardi’s book, *Serat Cabolek: Kuasa, Agama, Pembebasan; Pengadilan K.H. A. Mutamakin & Fenomena Shaik Siti Jenar* (Bandung: Penerbit Nuansa, 2004), 11–17, emphasize that Abdurrahman Wahid, the fourth president of the Republic of Indonesia (1999–2001), was a descendent and at the same time a successor of the movement laid out by Haji Mutamakin or Ki Cabolek, one of the leading characters in the *Serat Cabolek*.

25. Petrus J. Zoetmulder, *Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature: Islamic and Indian Mysticism in an Indonesian Setting* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995), 302–303. The statement in Javanese is: *Kyageng Pengging tan riringa / angengkoki jati ning Mahasukci / Allah kana kéné suwung / jatiné among asma / ya asmané manungsa ingkang linuhung / mengku sipat kalih dasa / agama Buda Islami. Karonira nora béda / warna roro asmane mung sawiji. . .* Zoetmulder’s footnote questions the last sentence, but I believe *warna roro* should be interpreted as referring to the two forms of religious teachings, Buddhism and Islam, while *asmane mung sawiji* is pointing to the reference for the highest divinity, which is absolute and therefore one. Here I modify his translation a bit by not translating the loaded Javanese word *suwung*, which literally means “empty.”



He is Bhaṭāra Puruṣa according to the disciples of Guru Bhagavān Kapila. He is called Sañ Hyañ Ātma according to the disciples of Guru Kanabhakṣya. He is called Bhaṭāra Nirguṇa according to Guru Veṣṇava. He is the fruit of *pratyakṣa* according to Ḍaṇ Ācārya Nirākāra. He transforms into Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya and Bhaṭāra Pañca Tathāgata according to Ḍaṇ Ācāryya Sākāra. He is believed to be the statue (*arcca*), image (*pratima*), and depiction (*peta*) by Ḍaṇ Ācāryya Vāhyaka. He is called Sañ Hyañ Viśeṣa Jīva. He too is called Sañ Hyañ Vañsil.

*Sañ hyañ advaya mvañ sañ hyañ advaya-jñāna sira ta vekas niñ sarvvaśastra, sarvva āgama, sarbva samyakbyapadeśa, sarbvopadeśa, sarbvasamaya. Sañ hyañ advaya mvañ sañ hyañ advaya-jñānātaḥ āpan sira vekas niñ vinarahaken, ya ta matañnyan sañ hyañ yogādi parama nairātmya naran ira vaneḥ de sañ boddha, ananta parama nandana naran ira de sañ bhairava, mārggayogādi paramaguhyā naran ira de sañ siddhānta, niṣkalādi parama naran ira de sañ veṣṇava, sira ta sodhamatatvānta naran ira, evoh sañ kuvavruhane sira.*

Sañ Hyañ Advaya and Sañ Hyañ Advaya-jñāna are the ultimate of all science, all scripture, all right speech, all instructions, and all vows, because Sañ Hyañ Advaya and Sañ Hyañ Advaya-jñāna are the ultimate of what is to be taught. Hence, they are also called Sañ Hyañ Yogādi Parama Nairātmya by the Buddhists, the so-called Ananta Parama Nandana by Sañ Bhairava, the so-called Mārggayogādi Paramaguhyā by Sañ Siddhānta, the so-called Niṣkalādi Parama by Sañ Veṣṇava, and also the so-called Ṣoḍaśatattvānta. To know him would be indeed difficult.

Such a concept of divinity is also expounded by the *Kakawin Sutasoma*, a fourteenth-century Javanese Buddhist scripture composed by Mpu Tantular,<sup>26</sup> clearly expressed in the following verse:

26. Mpu Tantular was a Buddhist poet who lived in the fourteenth century in Eastern Java during the Majapahit era. Balinese records claim him as a grandson of Hyang Mpu Bharada, who lived during the reign of King Erlangga in the eleventh century; see I Ketut Riana, *Kakawin Dēśa Warṇana uthawi Nāgara Kṛtāgama: Masa Keemasan Majapahit* (Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2009), 17–18. Mpu Tantular finished writing the *kakawin* around the year 1385. The name “Tantular” means “not moving, not shaking, not changing, or not perturbed,” and consequently is nearly a synonym of Akṣobhya, the name of a *tathāgata* who was the object of devout worship at that time. For example, an image of Akṣobhya, now popularly known as the Joko Dolok, from Surabaya is dated to 1289 (1211 Saka); see J. H. C. Kern, “De Sanskrit-inscriptie

*rwāneka dhātu winuwus wara Buddha Wiśwa,  
bhīnekī rakwa riñ apan kēna parwanosēn,  
mangkāṅ Jinatwa kalawan Śīwatwa tunggal,  
bhīneka tunggal ika tan hana Dharmma mangrwa.*

Buddha and Wiśwa (Śīwa) are famous for being two different elements.  
They are indeed different due to differentiation at a glance.  
Thus Jina-hood and Śīwa-hood are one.  
They are distinct yet one, [since] no Dharma is dual.

The phrase *bhīneka tunggal ika*, meaning “they are distinct yet one,” was selected as the official Indonesian state motto. The talons of the Garuda Pancasila, the Coat of Arms of the Republic of Indonesia, clasp a banner enshrining the state motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*.

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van ‘t Mahākṣobhya-beeld te Simpang,” *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 52 (1910): 99–108; Nicolas J. Krom, “Naschrift over de Akṣobhya-inscriptie van Simpang,” *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 52 (1910): 193–194.

**Provisional Translation<sup>27</sup>  
of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan***

SAṅ HYAṅ KAMAHAĀYĀNAN MANTRANAYA  
*Mahāmargga*

*Namo Buddhāya!*

*Nihan kaliṅan in om ah huṃ, yan pinakapañadhiṣṭhāna umajarakan an  
bhaṭāra tryakṣara sira paramārtha kāya vāk citta vajra naran ira.*

Look at the meaning of *om ah hūṃ*, when they become *adhīsthāna* for teaching Bhaṭāra Tryakṣara; they are the ultimate reality (*paramārtha*) of the so-called body-, speech-, and mind-*vajra* (*cittavajra*).

§ 1

*Ehi vatsa mahāyānaṃ mantracāryanayaṃ viddhiṃ  
Deśayīṣyāmi te samyak bhājanas tvaṃ mahānaye.<sup>28</sup>*

Come, child, I will teach you the ritual for mantra practice of the Mahāyāna because you are a perfect receptacle for the great method.

27. Note on the source of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* text and romanization of Old Javanese words: in this paper I use Kats' 1910 edition of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan: Oud-Javaansche tekst, met inleiding, vertaling en aanteeekeningen*, and in general retain his transcriptions, including all scribal inconsistencies or errors. However, on the romanization or the spelling of Old Javanese words, I follow the suggestions of Andrea Acri and Arlo Griffiths, "The Romanization of Indic Script in Ancient Indonesia," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 170 (2014): 365–378.

28. Stephen Hodge, *The Mahā-vairocana-abhisambodhi Tantra* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 86; Munenobu Sakurai, "Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā ni tokareta kanjō-zengyo no shoshidai (1), Bonbun kōtei tekusuto," *Indogaku mikkyōgaku kenkyū: Miyasaka Yūshō Hakushi koki kinen ronbunshū* 1 (1993): 264; S. S. Bahulkar, ed., *Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarābhadrā* (Varanasi: Central University of Tibetan Studies, 2010), *Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi* (GSMV), v. 192; Kimiaki Tanaka, "Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における śiṣyādhivāsanavidhi について," *Mikkyō Bunka* 209 (2002): 137, GSV chap. 7.

*Ka: Sañ hyañ mahāyāna iki varahakna mami iri kita, mantracāryyanayaṃ vidhiṃ, sañ hyañ mantranaya sira mahāyāna mahāmargga naran ira, deśayisyāmi te samyak, sira teki deśanākna mami varahakna mami ri kita, bhājanas tvaṃ mahānaye, ri kadadinyan kita pātrabhūta yogya varahen ri sañ hyañ dharmma mantranaya.*<sup>29</sup>

The meaning is: I shall teach you the Sañ Hyañ Mahāyāna. *Mantracāryyanayaṃ vidhiṃ*, the Sañ Hyañ Mantranaya is called the Mahāyāna *mahāmargga*. *Deśayisyāmi te samyak*, I will instruct and explain this to you, *bhājanas tvaṃ mahānaye*, because you are a suitable vessel to be taught the Sañ Hyañ Dharmma Mantranaya.

§ 2

*Atīta ye hi sambuddhāḥ tathā caivāpy anāgatāḥ  
pratyutpannāśca ye nāthāḥ tiṣṭhanti ca jagaddhitāḥ.*<sup>30</sup>

The perfect buddhas of the past, likewise those of the future and the lords of the present, stand for the benefit of beings.

*Ka: Bhaṭāra hyañ buddha sañ atīta, sañ mañabhisambuddha nūni riñ āsitkāla, kadyaṅgān: bhaṭāra vipaśyī, viśvabhū, krakucchanda, kanakamuni, kāśyapa, atīta buddha naran ira kabeh. Tathā caivāpy anāgatāḥ, kunañ bhaṭāra buddha sañ anāgata, sañ abhimukha mañabhisambuddha, kadyaṅgān: bhaṭāra āryya maitreyādi, samantaibhadra paryyanta, anāgatabuddha naranira kabeh pratyutpannāśca ye nāthāḥ, tumamvah bhaṭāra śrī śākyamuni, vartamānabuddha naranira, sira ta pinakahyañ buddhanta mañke, śāsana nira ikeñ tinūt atinta. Tiṣṭhanti ca jagaddhitāḥ, tamolah ta sira kumiñkiñ<sup>31</sup> hitasuka niñ sarbva satva, umarien-añena kalepasan ikañ rāt kabeh saka riñ sañsāra, duveg kumirakira paḍaman iñ mahāpralaya rike bhuvana.*<sup>32</sup>

29. It becomes clear from the *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan Advaya Sadhana* that the SHKM is the *mahāmargga*. The *paramamārgga* is defined as consisting of the ten perfections (*daśapāramitās*); *sira teki* = *sira ta* + *iki*.

30. Sakurai, “Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā ni tokareta kanjō-zengyo no shoshidai (1), Bonbun kōtei tekusuto,” 264: *buddhās triyadhvasambhūtāḥ kāyavākcittavajriṇaḥ*. The KS is similar to GSVV chap. 7; Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における śiṣyādhivāsanavidhi について,” 137, GSMV v. 193.

31. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan: kumiñkiñ*.

32. Alexander Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut* (London: W. H. Allen, 1879), 45–46; Benimadhab Barua, *Barhut* (Patna: Indological Books, 1979), part I, p. 50, part II, p. 2; with the exception of Śikhin, where the railing has been considered missing. However, it is perhaps noteworthy that a similar list of

The meaning is: Bhaṭāra Hyaṅ Buddha, those of the past, those who certainly attained perfect enlightenment in former times, like Bhaṭāra Vipasyī, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, are all the past buddha names. *Tathā caivāpy anāgatāḥ*, and Bhaṭāra Buddha, those of the future, the one approaching the attainment of perfect enlightenment, like Bhaṭāra Āryya Maitreya at the beginning and Samantaibhadra at the end, are all the future buddha names. *Pratyutpannāśca ye nāthāḥ*, in addition, Bhaṭāra Śrī Śākyamuni, the name of the present buddha, he is to be your divine buddha whose teachings you must follow utterly. *Tiṣṭhanti ca jagaddhitāḥ*, they continuously strive for the happiness of all beings, reflect on the release of all beings from rebirth, urge making plans against extinction by total annihilation in this world.

## §3

*Taiśca sarbvair imaṃ vajraṃ jñātvā mantravidhim paraṃ  
prāptā sarbvajñatāviraḥ bodhimūle hy alakṣaṇa.*<sup>33</sup>

They all have comprehended these excellent vajramantra rituals and have obtained omniscience, like the hero at the base of the bodhi tree.

*Ka: Sira katiga bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha naran ira, saṅ atitānāgatavartamāna,  
tan hana mārgga nira vaneḥ ar tinamvakan ikaṅ kahyaṅbuddhan. Jñātvā  
mantravidhim paraṃ, ikiṅ mahāyana mahāmārgga ya tinūtaken ira,  
pinakamārgga nira ar ḍataṅ rikana nibāṇanagara. Prāptā sarbvajñatā  
viraḥ bodhimūle hy alakṣaṇa, inak ni deni gumego ikaṅ mantrānaya, ya*

past buddhas that excludes Śikhin occurs in the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*; see Kats, *Saṅ hyang Kamahāyānikan*, 17. On the other hand, H. Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha, A Biography Based on the Most Reliable Texts* (Tokyo: Kosei, 2000), 10:82, and Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), 24, suggest that the Indic seven ṛṣis (the constellation of the Great Bear or Ursa Major) were the origin for the veneration of the seven buddhas of the past. For a study on the seven ṛṣis see John E. Mitchener, *Traditions of the Seven Ṛṣis* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1982). The “Ten Thousand Buddhas Repentance” contains the names of ten future buddhas: Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Ākāśagarbha, Vimalakīrti, Siddhārthamati, \*Satyaghoṣa, \*Mahaugha, and Akṣayamati.

33. Sakurai, “Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā ni tokareta kanjō-zengyo no shoshidai (1), Bonbun kōtei tekusuto,” 264: *saṃprāptā jñānam atulaṃ vajramantraprabhāvanaiḥ*. The KS is similar to GSVV chap. 7; Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における śiṣyādhivāsanavidhi についで,” 137, GSMV v. 193.

*ta matañ yar temvaken kasarbvajñān, ya ta hetu nirār paṅguhaken ikañ kahyañbuddhān riñ bodhimūla.*

The meaning is: The three Bhaṭāra Hyañ buddhas just mentioned, past, future, and present, have no path other than that of attaining buddhahood. *Jñātvā mantravidhim paraṃ*, this Mahāyana *mahāmārgga* is to be followed by you, the *mārgga* through which they come to the city of *nibbāṇa*. *Prāptā sarbvajñatā vīraiḥ bodhimūle hy alakṣaṇa*, be at ease in keeping this *mantrānaya*, thereby the attainment of omniscience, which is the cause by which they reach buddhahood at the base of the *bodhi* tree.

§ 4

*Mantraprayogam atulaṃ yena bhagnaṃ mahāvalaṃ mārasainyam mahāghoraṃ Śākyasiñhena tāyinā.*<sup>34</sup>

The very powerful and frightful army of Māra was defeated by the unexcelled application of the mantra of Śākyasiñha, the protector.

*Ka: Bhaṭāra śrī śākyamuni matañ yar temvakan n ikañ kamāravijayan, sakveh nikanān māravighna alah de nira: kleśamāra, skandhamāra, mṛtyumāra, devaputramāra, alah añuyuk ikā kabeh de bhaṭāra hetu nirār venāñ umalahaken ikañ māra, ābhānubhāva prabhāva sañ hyañ samādhi śakti sañ hyañ mantranaya inabhyāsa.*

The meaning is: Because of that, Bhaṭāra Śrī Śākyamuni obtained the Māravijaya, all the Māravighna were defeated by him: Kleśamāra, Skandhamāra, Mṛtyumāra, and Devaputramāra. Defeated, they were all ridiculed by the Bhaṭāra. His cause is to have the ability to defeat this Māra, the aura, the strength of spiritual power from cultivating the Sañ Hyañ *samādhi* and the Sañ Hyañ Mantranaya.

§ 5

*Tasmān matim imāṃ vārttāṃ kuru sarbvajñatāptaye*<sup>35</sup>  
*śṛṇu bhadrāśayan nityaṃ samyak sañhṛtya kalpanāḥ.*

34. Sakurai, “Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā ni tokareta kanjō-zengyo no shoshidai (1), Bonbun kōtei tekusuto,” 264. KS is similar to GSVV chap. 7; Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における śiṣyādhivāsanavidhi について,” 137; GSMV v. 194.

35. Sakurai, “Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā ni tokareta kanjō-zengyo no shoshidai (1), Bonbun kōtei tekusuto,” 264. KS is similar to GSVV chap. 7; Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における śiṣyādhivāsanavidhi について,” 137; GSMV v. 195cd.

Therefore, to obtain omniscience cultivate the mind, always listen well; one's thought is to be brought together correctly.

*Ka: Matañyan deyanta kuru sarbvajñātāptaye, hayva tālañ-alañ añañ-  
añenta rike sañ hyañ mantrānaya, pahapageh denta gumego sañ  
hyañ mantrānaya matañ yan kapañguha ikañ kasarbvajñān<sup>36</sup> denta;  
śṛṇubhadraśāyan<sup>37</sup> nityaṃ, pahavās denta rumeño iki varavarah mami  
ri kita, hayva bvañ,<sup>38</sup> yatna vuvus mami. Samyak sañhṛtya kalpanāḥ,  
karyyakan tañ buddhi savikalpaka, hilañakan tañ āmbek abhiniveśa, pa-  
henak tāñen-añenta, hayva sañśaya.*

The meaning is: Because of that, *kuru sarbvajñātāptaye*, do not obstruct contemplating the Sañ Hyañ *mantrānaya*, firmly uphold the Sañ Hyañ *mantrānaya*, thereby the attainment of omniscience will be had by you; *śṛṇubhadraśāyan nityaṃ*, listen clearly to my teachings to you; do not throw them away; pay full attention to my words. *Samyak sañhṛtya kalpanāḥ*, cultivate your mind beset by doubts; eliminate attachment from your mind; be at ease in your contemplation; do not doubt.

#### § 6

*Eṣa mārgga varaḥ śrīmān mahāyāna mahodayaḥ  
yena yūyaṃ gamiṣyanto bhaviṣyatha tathāgataḥ.*<sup>39</sup>

By cultivating this foremost illustrious excellent path of blissful Mahāyāna you will become a *tathāgata*.

*Ka: Sañ hyañ mahāyāna mahāmārgga iki pintonakna mami ri kita,  
pahavās denta mañreño, mahāyāna mahodayaḥ, yeki havan abener teka  
ri svarggāpavargga, venañ amehaken<sup>40</sup> nikañ kamahodayān. Mahodaya,  
ña, ikañ vāhyādhyātmikasuka, ikañ kaśreṣṭyan, kasugihan, kapamege-  
tan, karatun, kacakravartin. Ādhyātmikasuka, ña ikeñ lokottarasuka inak  
tanpavor duhkha ajarāmarāṇa, tan katekan tuha lara pati, nāñ anuttara  
vara samyaksañbodhisuka, ikañ mokṣasuka, ikā tañ vāhyasuka mvañ  
ādhyātmikasuka, ya ikā kamahodayan ña, anuñ dinadyaken nikañ mahāyāna  
mahāmārgga, yan inabyāsa. Yena yūyaṃ gamiṣyanto, apan ri seḍañnyan*

36. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: kasarbvātān*.

37. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: gr̥ṇabhadrāśāyan*. Śṛṇubhadraśāyan is confirmed by the Javanese commentary. Hodge, *The Mahā-vairocana-abhisambodhi Tantra*, 87, seems to have *gr̥ṇābhadrāśāyan*.

38. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: hayva vān*.

39. Sakurai, “Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā ni tokareta kanjō-zengyo no shoshidai (1), Bonbun kōtei tekusuto,” 265; GSMV v. 210.

40. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: umehaken*.



*apageha denta gumego ikeñ kamahāyānan; bhaviṣyatha tathāgatāḥ, niyata kita tumamvakna ñ kahyañbuddhān. Sumākṣāt kṛta ikañ kalepasen, ikā nañ dvaya sambhāra, nāñ jñānasambhāra, puṇyasambhāra kapaṅguha ikā denta lāvan nikañ kasarbvalokanamaskṛta kopalambha ikā denta.*

The meaning is: Listen clearly to this Sañ Hyañ Mahāyāna *mahāmārgga* that I now show you. *Mahāyāna mahodayaḥ*, this is the right way to reach heaven and liberation, and it is able to give the *mahodaya*. The *mahodaya* means the *vāhyādhyātmikasuka*: eminence, wealth, high rank, kingship, supreme power; the *ādhyātmikasuka* means transcendental bliss, being at ease unmixed with misery; the *ajarāmarāṇa*, without undergoing old age, disease, and death. That is the unsurpassed excellent *samyaksaṃbodhisuka*. This is *mokṣasuka*. These *vāhyasuka* and *ādhyātmikasuka* are the *mahodaya*, meaning something that is considered foremost in the Mahāyāna *mahāmārgga* when cultivated. *Yena yūyaṃ gamiṣyanto*, when you are firm in keeping this Mahāyāna, *bhaviṣyatha tathāgatāḥ*, you will certainly attain buddhahood. Liberation will clearly appear before the eyes. The two provisions, viz. *jñānasambhāra* and *puṇyasambhāra*, will be found by you and, being adored by the whole world, will also be acquired by you.

§ 7

*Svayambhuvo mahābhāgāḥ sarbvalokasya yajñiyāḥ  
astināstibyatikrāntaṃ ākāśam iva nirmmalaṃ.*<sup>41</sup>

Self-existence, benevolence, the all-world worthy of worship passing over being and not being, is like the stainless sky.

*Ka: Kaḍyaṅgāniñ ākāśa annirmmala svabhāva, alakṣaṇa, avastuka, tan kavenaṃ tinuduh, tan agoṇi, tan ademit, tan hiren, tan putih, byāpaka lumrā riñ daśadeśa, maṅkana lvir nira.*

The meaning is: In compliance with being the foremost, the sky is spotless by nature, without characteristics, immaterial; it cannot be ordered, it is not large, not small, not black, not white, it pervades expansively in the ten directions—thus the sky is like this.

§ 8

*Gambhīraṃ atigambhīram apy atarkyam anāvilaṃ*

41. Sakurai, “Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā ni tokareta kanjō-zengyo no shoshidai (1), Bonbun kōtei tekusuto,” 265.

*Sarbvaprapaṅcarahitaṃ prapañcebhiḥ prapañcitaṃ.*<sup>42</sup>

Deeper than the deepest, unthinkable, faultless, phenomena are manifold, and yet separated from all multiplicity.

*Ka: Vora mahāgambhīra lena saṅka rike saṅ hyaṅ Mahāyāna mahāmārgga sirekigambhīrātīgambhīra: adalem sakeṅ adalem; apy atarkyaṃ: tan kavenaṅ tinarkka, salah yan inuha; anāvilam, tarpadoṣa; sarbvaprapaṅcarahitaṃ; tan katekan deniṅ sarbvaprapaṅca, mvaṅ kleśopakleśa, nāṅ: mada, dambha, lobha, moha, rajah, tamah, tan tama ikā kabeh ri sira, tuhu karikā tanpakavakaṅ maṅkana tahāvih, prapañcebhiḥ prapañcitaṃ, āpan ikaṅ rāga, dveṣa, moha prapaṅca pinakāvaka nira.*

The meaning is: Nothing is deeper than the Saṅ Hyaṅ Mahāyāna mahāmārgga. It is *gambhīrātīgambhīra*: deeper than the deepest; *apy atarkyaṃ*: cannot be thought, wrong if one makes a supposition; *anāvilam*, without fault; *sarbvaprapaṅcarahitaṃ*, not reached by all kinds of uncontrolled passions (*sarbvaprapaṅca*), afflictions, and causes of misery (*kleśopakleśa*), viz.: *mada, dambha, lobha, moha, rajah, tamah*, all these do not enter into it. It is indeed without embodiment, is it not? *Prapañcebhiḥ prapañcitaṃ*, because confusion (*prapaṅca*) embodies *rāga, dveṣa, and moha*.

§ 9

*Karmmakriyāviraḥitaṃ satyadvayā anāśrayaṃ  
idaṃ yānavaraṃ śreṣṭhaṃ abhyasyatanaye sthitāḥ.*<sup>43</sup>

Cultivate repeatedly this method of the excellent and best path, separated from works and not dependent on dual truths.

*Ka: Tan gave tan si magavai<sup>44</sup> pinakāvaka nira. Satyadvayaṃ: tamolah makarūpa ikaṅ satyadvaya, ṅa, saṃvṛtisatya paramārthasatya, anuṅ pinakarūpa nira. Anāśrayaṃ; tanpāndelan tan smvṛtisatya tan paramārthasatya kahanan ira, idaṃ yānavaraṃ śreṣṭhaṃ, yekā sinaṅguh Mahāyāna mahāmārgga ṅa, manekaken irika ṅ svarggāpavargga. Abhyasyata naye sthitāḥ, yatikābhyasanta sāri-sāri mene ṅ helem Saṅ Hyaṅ mantrānaya Mahāyāna.*

The meaning is: Neither action nor that which acts is its embodiment. *Satyadvayaṃ*: It is permanently of the form of *satyadvaya*; *saṃvṛtisatya*

42. *Ibid.*, 265.

43. *Ibid.*, 266.

44. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: tan sima gavai*, [*tan sima gavai*]. This phrase should be read as *tan si magawai* instead; *si* is an emphatic particle.

and *paramārthasatya* are its form. *Anāśrayam*: Without substrate its existence is dependent neither on *saṃvṛtisatya* nor on *paramārthasatya*; *idaṃ yānavaraṃ śreṣṭhaṃ*, this Mahāyāna *mahāmārgga* rises to heaven and liberation (*svarggāpavargga*). *Abhyasyata naye sthitāḥ*, you should practice the *mantrānaya* Mahāyāna to the best of your abilities, day by day, now and in the future.

## § 10

*Oṃ! bajrodaka oṃ aḥ huṃ! Iki śapatha hr̥daya.*  
*Idaṅ te nārakam vāri samayātikramo vahet*  
*Samayarakṣanāt siddhye siddhaṃ bajrāmṛtodakaṃ.*<sup>45</sup>

*Oṃ! Bajrodaka oṃ aḥ huṃ!* This is the heart of the spell. If you transgress your vow this water will take you to hell. If you protect your vow, this becomes the *vajra-amṛta* water leading you to the most complete attainment.

*Ka: ve hana*<sup>46</sup> *kita manah. Apa bajrodaka? Ikañ bajrodaka tan vvay samanya, vvai sakeñ naraka ikā; samayātikramo vahet, mārgga niñ duḥka kapaṅguha, bhraṣṭa sakulagotra vandhava, ya tat pituhva samaya. Kālanyat bārya-bārya*<sup>47</sup> *rikeñ sañ hyañ bajrajñāna, samayarakṣanāt siddye, kunañ ri seḍaṅnyat prayatna, tan pañ rapa-rapā*<sup>48</sup> *riñ samaya, mārgga niñ hayu kasiddhyan kapaṅguha denta siddhaṃ bajrāmṛtodakaṃ, Sañkṣepanya: viṣāmṛta bajrodaka, vvah sahiṅga tinika, pilih suka pilih duḥka kapaṅguha. Yat pramāda kita pamaṅguh duḥka, kunañ yat prayatna, awās ikañ suka hayu kasiddhyan kapaṅguha usen, nūniveh dlāha.*

The meaning is: There is water for your mind. What is *bajrodaka*? This *bajrodaka* is not ordinary water. The water comes from hell; *samayātikramo vahet*, the path leads to misery, ruins one's entire family, relatives, and friends if you do not obey the oath when or every time

45. Sakurai, "Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā ni tokareta kanjō-zengyo no shoshidai (1), Bonbun kōtei tekusuto," 268; Sdp, Tadeusz Skorupski, *The Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra: Elimination of All Evil Destinies* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), 296; GSMV 297; GSVV chap. 12; Tanaka, "Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṅḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における śiṣyādhivāsanavidhi について," 41.

46. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: vehana*.

47. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: Kālanyat bhārya-bhārya*, but should be read as *kāla ni at bārya-bārya*; also recension A in Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan*, reads *baryya-baryya*.

48. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: tanpa ñ rapa-rapā*.

you are in the Sañ Hyañ Bajrajñāna; *samayarakṣanāt siddye*, however, when you are diligent, without branching out impulsively in the vow, the path to success in the perfections will be found by you, *siddhaṃ bajrāmṛtodakaṃ*; in summary: the *bajrodaka* is the poison as well as the elixir of life; limits of the fruits are close; one may find either happiness or misery. When you are negligent you will find misery, but if you are diligent and clear you will find happiness and good spiritual power quickly and certainly in the future.

§ 11

*Bajraṃ ghaṇṭāñca mudrāñca nāmaṇḍalino vadet  
hased vāśraddhavān eva janaḥ saṅganikāsthitaḥ.*<sup>49</sup>

Do not talk about this *bajra*, *ghaṇṭa*, or *mudrā* to anyone who has not seen it, has laughed at it, or has no faith in the *maṇḍala*.

*Ka: Hayva ika umara-marahren ika sañ hyañ bajra ghaṇṭā mudrā riñ vvañ adrṣṭa maṇḍala, tapvan sāmāyika rahasyan kubdan atah sira, tan avaraviryakna irikañ vvañ tapvan kṛtopadeśa, hased vāśraddhavān eva, athavi guyu-guyunta kunañ si tan pituhan artha nira, tan āmbekta temen tumarima brata bhaṭāra, hayva ta mañkana, yāvat tañ vvañ apahasa ri sañ hyañ mārgga, janaḥ Saṅganikāsthitaḥ, avās ikañ vvañ mañkana, kasañsāra sadākāla, matañnyan hayva tan tulus adhimukti rike sañ hyañ bajrajñāna, kayatnahnātaḥ sañ hyañ samaya.*

The meaning is: Do not instruct about this Sañ Hyañ Bajra Ghaṇṭā *mudrā* to one who has not seen the *maṇḍala*, to one who has not taken the oath that is really secret and concealed, to one who is not of great courage, one who has not received the doctrine; *hased vāśraddhavān eva*, furthermore, one who does not realize its meaning will ridicule it, or will not have the mind to seriously accept the conduct of Bhaṭāra. Thus, you do not, as long as one laughs mockingly at the Sañ Hyañ Mārgga, *janaḥ saṅganikāsthitaḥ*, see clearly; that person may suffer perpetually, therefore do not lack zeal about the Sañ Hyañ *bajrajñāna*; you should devote full attention to the Sañ Hyañ *samaya*.

49. Skorupski, *The Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra*, 296. GSMV in between vv. 293 and 294: *na ca tvayedam sarvatathāgataparamarahasyam amaṇḍalapraviṣṭāya vaktavyaṃ na cāśraddhā [ya dā] tavyam iti vācyam ||*. A similar prohibition is found in Sakurai, “Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā ni tokareta kanjō-zengyo no shoshidai (1), Bonbun kōtei tekusuto,” 268.

§ 12

*Ayan te samayo bajri bajrasatva iti smṛtaḥ  
āveśayatu tenaiva bajrajñānam anuttaraṃ.*<sup>50</sup>

This vajra-wielding vow is called *bajrasatva*. Through it, may the unsurpassed *bajrajñāna* penetrate you.

*Ka: Sañ hyañ samaya ta sira sinañguh bhaṭāra Bajrasatva; āveśayatu tenaiva  
bajrajñānam anuttaraṃ, sira teki pinakahṛdayanta mañke, bajrajñāna ikuñ  
pinakahṛdayanta, pahenak tāmbehta.*

The meaning is: The Sañ Hyañ *samaya* is called Bhaṭāra Bajrasatva; *āveśayatu tenaiva bajrajñānam anuttaraṃ*, thus he becomes your heart, the Bajrajñāna becomes your heart, your mind be at ease.

§ 13

*Oṃ bajrasatvaḥ svayan te'dya cakṣūdghāṭanatatparaḥ  
Udghāṭayati sarbvakṣo bajracakṣuranuttaram.*<sup>51</sup>

*Oṃ*, Bajrasatva himself now aims at opening your eyes. The all-seeing one opens the unsurpassed *bajracakṣu*.

*Ka: Bhaṭāra śrī Bajrasatva muvah hana ri matanta mañke,  
cakṣūdghāṭanatatparaḥ, da nira dumeliñakna<sup>52</sup> panonta, matañnya  
pahabuñah tāmbehta, udghāṭayati sarbakṣo bajracakṣur anuttaraṃ,  
deliñakanta matanta, pahavās ta panonta ri sañ hyañ mañḍala.*

The meaning is: Bhaṭāra Śrī Bajrasatva again is before your eyes, *cakṣūdghāṭanatatparaḥ*, he causes your vision to become clear, therefore your mind is cheerful, *udghāṭayati sarbakṣo bajracakṣur anuttaraṃ*, your eyes are clear, through your vision is a clear look at the Sañ Hyañ *mañḍala*.

50. Sakurai, “Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā ni tokareta kanjō-zengyo no shoshidai (1), Bonbun kōtei tekusuto,” 270. GSVV chap. 12; Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamañḍalopāyikā-vimśati-vidhi における śiṣyādhivāsanavidhi について,” 78; Skorupski, *The Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra*, 292; GSMV in between vv. 294 and 295: *tadahaṃ te vajrajñānamutpādayāmi yena jñānena tvam sarvatathāgatasiddhīrapi prāpyasi kimutānyāḥ siddhīḥ* |.

51. Sakurai, “Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā ni tokareta kanjō-zengyo no shoshidai (1), Bonbun kōtei tekusuto,” 270. GSVV chap. 12; Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamañḍalopāyikā-vimśati-vidhi における śiṣyādhivāsanavidhi について,” 80; Skorupski, *The Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra*, 150, 294; Bahulkar, ed., *Śrīguhyasamājamañḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpañkarabhadra*, 305.

52. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyānikan: danira dumlingakna*.

## § 14

*Idañca maṇḍalam paśya śraddhāñ janayathādhunā  
kule jāto'si buddhānām sarbvamantrair adhiṣṭhitah.*<sup>53</sup>

Now behold the *maṇḍala*, generate faith, you are born in the family of the buddhas and consecrated with all mantras.

*Ka: Vulat i sañ hyañ maṇḍala, śraddhāñ janayathādhunā, gavayaken tañ śraddha, hayva tan sagorava ri sañ hyañ maṇḍala, kule jāto'si buddhānām, apan kita buddhakula mañke, apan bhaṭāra hyañ buddha ñaranta mene, sarbvamantrair adhiṣṭhitah, tuvi sampun kṛtādhiṣṭhāna iki de sañ sarbva tathāgata, inajyan sinañskāra rikañ sarbva mantra.*

The meaning is: Behold the Sañ Hyañ *maṇḍala*, *śraddhāñ janayathādhunā*: generate faith, do not be disrespectful to the Sañ Hyañ *maṇḍala*, *kule jāto'si buddhānām*: because you are now in the buddha family (*buddhakula*), because soon you will be named Bhaṭāra Hyañ Buddha, *sarbvamantrair adhiṣṭhitah*: you also have already become an abode for all *tathāgatas*, and have been instructed and consecrated in all mantras.

## § 15

*Sampado'bhimukhāḥ sarbwāḥ siddhayoga tayaścate  
pālaya samayaṃ siddhyai mantreṣūdyogavān bhava.*<sup>54</sup>

All perfections turn toward you; keep perfecting your vow, diligently performing mantra.

*Ka: Aparek tekañ hayu ri kita, siddhayoga tayaścate, samañkana ikañ ka-siddhyan abhimuka ikā kabeh, aḡya kapañguha denta; pālaya samayaṃ siddhye, lekas ta umabhyāsa sañ hyañ samaya, marapvan katemu ikañ ka-siddhyan usen denta; mantreṣūdyogavān bhava, gavayakan tañ utsāha ri mantra japa pūja usen, hayva helem-helem, yathānyan kopalambha ikañ kasugatin irikeñ ihajanma nūniveh dlāha.*

The meaning is: You come close to accomplishment, *siddhayoga tayaścate*, such that the perfections all turn toward and are quickly found by you; *pālaya samayaṃ siddhye*, begin to practice the Sañ Hyañ *samaya* so that the perfections are quickly found by you; *mantreṣūdyogavān bhava*, diligently perform mantra, *japa*, *pūja* immediately, do not delay, so that

53. Munenobu Sakurai, "Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā no Kanjōron (1)," *Chizan Gakuho* 37 (1988): 17; GSVV chap. 12; Tanaka, "Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-vimśati-vidhi における śiṣyādhiṣṭhānavidhi について," 80.

54. Sakurai, "Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā no Kanjōron (1)," 17.

buddhahood may be obtained accordingly in the present life, even more so in the future.

§ 16

*Iṃ! Oṃ bajranetrāya, hara-hara patalaṃ hr̥dī!  
Ajñānapaṭalaṃ vatsa punaṃ hi jinaiḥ tava  
śālākair vaidyarājendraiḥ yathālokasya taimiraṃ.<sup>55</sup>  
Iṃ! Oṃ bajranetrāya, hara-hara patalaṃ hr̥dī!*

The cover of ignorance has been removed by the pin of the *jina*, the best doctor who has removed the disease of your eyes.

*Kaliñanya: Pahenak tāmbekta, huvus hilañ ikañ ajñānapaṭala ri ha-  
tinta, binabadan de bhaṭāra śrī Bajradhara. Śālākair vaidyarājendraiḥ  
yathālokasya taimiraṃ, kadi aṅgān<sup>56</sup> nikanāñ vvañ lara matan pu-  
tiken, ramun matanya tinamvan ta ya de vedya cinēlēken<sup>57</sup> matanya,  
varas tekā matanya heniñ, menak panonya vekasan ri hilañ nikañ  
kavakamalādyupadravaṇya, mañkana tekiñ ajñānapaṭalanta an hilañ  
tutas, tanpaśeṣa sampun binabadan de bhaṭāra, matañyar pahenak ta  
añen-añenta, hayva sañśaya.*

The meaning is: Let your mind be at ease. The cover of ignorance has disappeared from your heart. It has been cleared by Bhaṭāra Śrī Bajradhara. Śālākair vaidyarājendraiḥ yathālokasya taimiraṃ, like a person afflicted with cataracts, if a physician applies eye ointment to the eyes they are cured and become clear, the eyes are finally at ease due to the disappearance of unexpected eye disease and defect. Thus, the cover of ignorance has already completely disappeared, without remainder, cleared by Bhaṭāra, therefore your spirit will be at ease, do not doubt.

§ 17

*Prativimvasamā dharmmā accāḥ śuddhā hy anāvilāḥ  
agrāhyā abhilapyāśśa hetukarmasamudbhavāḥ.<sup>58</sup>*

55. Tadeusz Skorupski, *Kriyāsamgraha: Compendium of Buddhist Rituals, An Abridged Version* (Tring, UK: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2002), 219. GSVV chaps. 13–15, Kimiaki Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における灌頂次第,” *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo kiyō* 142 (2003): 206–207.

56. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyānikan: kadyaṅgān*.

57. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyānikan: cinelaken*.

58. Sakurai, “Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā ni tokareta kanjō-zengyo no shoshidai (1), Bonbun kōtei tekusuto,” 267; GSVV chaps. 13–15; Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi



The *dharmas* are like mirror images, clear, pure, spotless, inconceivable, unspeakable, that arise by reason of karma.

*Ka: Pahavās denta umulati ikañ sarbvaḍharmma, tan hana pahinya lāvan māya riñ darpaṇa ryy avakta wās ākārārūpa nikanaiñ māyā riñ darpaṇa, ndatan<sup>59</sup> kavenaiñ ginamel, apan tan hana tatvanya; mañkana tekiñ sarbvaḍhāva, nūniveh, janmamanuṣa, hetuka karmma dumadyaken ike, matañnya kadi katon mātra-mātra, kintu tan hana temen-temen.*

The meaning is: If you clearly see all *dharmas*, they are no different from a reflection in a mirror. The reflection of the shape of your body is clear in a mirror yet it cannot be grasped because it is not real, and thus all existences, certainly human beings, are caused by karma to come into existence. Therefore, they are simply appearances but they are really nonexistent.

§ 18

*Evaṃ jñātvā imān dharmān nissvaḍhāvān svañāvilān kuru satvārtham atulaṃ jāto aurasa tāyinām.<sup>60</sup>*

Knowing that these *dharmas* are clearly nonexistent, you should perform all goodness to the utmost, as you are the son of the protector (the Buddha).

*Ka: Pahavās ta denta gumego māyopama ni sarbvaḍharmma; nissvaḍhāvān anāvilān,<sup>61</sup> hayva ta puñgung an nissvaḍhāva ikiñ sarbvaḍhāva; kuru satvārtham atulaṃ, gavayakan tañ kaparārthan usen, jāto aurasa tāyinām, apan kita mañke jinorasa nāranta: anak bhaṭāra hyañ buddha, matañnyan hayva ta tan sarambhakāta riñ kuśalakarmma, mvañ añiñkiñ parārtha.*

The meaning is: If you clearly hold the illusoriness of all *dharmas*, *nissvaḍhāvān anāvilā*, do not be ignorant about the nonexistence of all existences, *kuru satvārtham atulaṃ*; you should immediately strive to bring about well-being for others, *jāto aurasa tāyinām*, because you are now called a son of Jina (*jinorasa*): a son of Bhaṭāra Hyañ Buddha, therefore always be ready to perform good karma and long for the well-being to others.

の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における灌頂次第,” 207; Bahulkar, ed., *Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpañkarabhadra*, 289.

59. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan: nda tan*.

60. GSVV chaps. 13–15, Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における灌頂次第,” 207.

61. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan: nissvaḍhāvān nāñāvilān*.

§ 19

*Bajrasatvaḥ prakṛtyaiva accāśuddhaḥ anāvilah  
hṛdi tiṣṭhati te vatsa sarvbuddhādhipaḥ svayaṃ.*<sup>62</sup>

Bajrasatva, the lord of all buddhas, clear, pure, and spotless, now stands firmly in your heart.

*Ka: Pahenak tānen-añenta, bhaṭāra Bajrasatva miñasthūla sira ri hatinta, bhaṭāra Bajrasatva ñarannira; accāśuddha hy anāvilah, śuddha svabhāva sira, tan hana rāga, dveṣa, moha ri sira, tuvi ta pinaka pradhāna sañ sarbva tathāgata sira, pinakahatinta sira mañke, mārgganiñ puṇya jñāna-sambhāra kapañguha denta don ira hana, hayva ta sandeha.*

The meaning is: Your spirit is at ease, Bhaṭāra Bajrasatva has manifested in your heart. Bhaṭāra Bajrasatva is the name, *accāśuddha hy anāvilah*, and by nature is faultless, without *rāga*, *dveṣa*, and *moha*, moreover is the original source of all *tathāgatas*, thus the heart of them; by means of *puṇya*- and *jñāna-sambhāra* you can attain the goal of existence, do not be apprehensive.

§ 20

*Adyaprabhṛti lokasya cakraṃ vartaya tāyināṃ  
sarbvatra pūryya vimalaṃ dharmmaśaṅkham anuttaraṃ.*<sup>63</sup>

From now turn the wheel of the protector (the Buddha) for all beings, filled everywhere with the unsurpassed conch of the Dharma.

*Ka: Mene tamvayan ta<sup>64</sup> cakraṃ vartaya tāyināṃ, uminderakan dharmacakra bhaṭāra śrī Bajradhara rikañ sarbvasatva; sarbvatra pūryya vimalaṃ dharmmaśaṅkham anuttaraṃ, kunañ deyanta hibeki lyābi penuhi teki daśadig anantaparyyanta sakala lokadhātu, kapva hibekan an ta dharmmaśaṅkha<sup>65</sup> ikā kabeh.*

The meaning is: Starting from now, *cakraṃ vartaya tāyināṃ*, turn the *dharmacakra* of Bhaṭāra Śrī Bajradhara for all beings; *sarbvatra pūryya*

62. VMSV, Mikkyō-seiten Kenkyūkai, ed., “Vajradhātumaṇḍalopayika-Sarvavajrodaya (II)—Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation,” *Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University* 9 (March 1987): 233.

63. Skorupski, *Kriyāsaṅgraha: Compendium of Buddhist Rituals*, 118; Sakurai, “Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā no Kanjōron (1),” 21; Mikkyō-seiten Kenkyūkai, ed., “Vajradhātumaṇḍalopayika-Sarvavajrodaya (II),” 233.

64. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: tamvayanta*.

65. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: dharmmasaṅka*.

*vimalaṃ dharmmaśāṅkham anuttaraṃ*, further pervade fully, filling the ten directions of the boundless extant universes at the same time; really pervade them all with your *dharmmaśāṅkha*.

§ 21

*Na te'tra vimatiḥ kāryyā nirvisaṅkena cetasā  
prakāśaya mahātulaṃ mantracāryyanayamparaṃ.*<sup>66</sup>

You should have no doubt or hesitation in your mind manifesting the incomparable highest method of *mantracāryya*.

*Ka: Hayva kita vicikitsa, nirvisaṅkena cetasā, ikaṅ nissandeha atah ambekakanta, prakāśaya mahātulaṃ mantracāryyanayamparaṃ, at pintonakna ike saṅ hyaṅ Mantranaya Mahāyāna.*

The meaning is: Do not hesitate, *nirvisaṅkena cetasā*, this without being apprehensive in your mind, *prakāśaya mahātulaṃ mantracāryyanayamparaṃ*, you show this Saṅ Hyaṅ Mantranaya Mahāyāna.

§ 22

*Evaṃ kṛtajño buddhānāṃ upakārīti gīyate  
te ca bajradharāḥ sarbve rakṣanti tava sarbvaśaḥ.*<sup>67</sup>

Having thus performed services to all buddhas, having been praised as benefactor, all Bajradharas protect you thoroughly.

*Ka: Apan ikaṅ vvaṅg kadi kita huvus kṛtasaṅskāra ri bhaṭāra, gumave pūjā viśeṣa ri bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha upakārīti gīyate, ya ikā sinaṅgah sampun maveh upakāri, bhaṭāra naran ikaṅ vvaṅg maṅkana, te ca bajradharāḥ sarbve rakṣanti tava sarbvaśaḥ, kopakāran pva sira denta, reṅa tāmbek nira, yata mataṅnya yatna rumakṣa kita ri rahina veni, sakvanta saparanta sagaventa, at kita kitayatnaken de nira ri vrūh nira an sampun kopakāran*

66. Skorupski, *Kriyāsaṅgraha: Compendium of Buddhist Rituals*, 118; Sakurai, “*Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā no Kanjōron (1)*,” 21; Mikkyō-seiten Kenkyūkai, ed., “*Vajradhātumaṅḍalopayika-Sarvavajrodaya (II)*,” 233; GSVV chaps. 16–20; Tanaka, “*Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṅḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi* における灌頂次第,” 241.

67. Skorupski, *Kriyāsaṅgraha: Compendium of Buddhist Rituals*, 118; Sakurai, “*Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā no Kanjōron (1)*,” 21–22; Mikkyō-seiten Kenkyūkai, ed., “*Vajradhātumaṅḍalopayika-Sarvavajrodaya (II)*,” 233; GSVV chaps. 16–20; Tanaka, “*Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṅḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi* における灌頂次第,” 242.

*denta, ya matañnya hayva vicikitsa,<sup>68</sup> apan hana bhaṭāra śrī Bajrasatva pinaka atmarakṣanta sira.*

The meaning is: Because this person like you who has been initiated in Bhaṭāra has performed the excellent *pūjā* to Bhaṭāra Hyañ Buddha *upakārīti gīyate*, this is considered to have already fulfilled the ritual worship; thus Bhaṭāra is the name of this person, *te ca bajradharāḥ sarbve rakṣanti tava sarbvaśaḥ*, granting a favor toward him by you, his mind is obligated toward you, therefore he is dedicated to protecting you day and night; everywhere you go and whatever you do, he will be dedicated to you, realizing he has already been granted a favor by you. Therefore do not hesitate, because Bhaṭāra Śrī Bajrasatva is your personal protector.

§ 23

*Nāsti kiñcid akartavyaṃ prajñopāyena cetasā  
Nirviśaṅkaḥ sadābhūtvā prabhuṅkṣva kāmapañcakam.<sup>69</sup>*

None is forbidden to the mind applying expedient wisdom (*prajñopāya*). Without apprehension always enjoy everything that is to be enjoyed through the five senses.

*Ka: Nora gavai anuñ tan ta kavenaṅa gavayan, ta yadyapin tribhuvana duṣkara lviran iñ karmma, tan kavenaṅa ginave de sañ hana riñ svargga, manuṣya, pātāla, ikān mañkana atiduṣkara nikañ karmma kavenaṅ i taya ginave denta; prajñopāyena cetasā, ndan ikañ prajñā atah āmbekakenanta, nirviśaṅkaḥ sadābhūtvā, lāvan tan kahilaṅana atah kita irika nissandehacitta sadākala; prabhuṅkṣva kāmapañcakam, paribhogan tañ pañca kāmagaṅa denta, salvir niñ kaviṣayan hayva pinilihan paribhogan kabeh denta, āpan don ni kadi kita sādha, ndan hayva tah tan pakāmbek ika nissañsaya.*

The meaning is: There is no work that you are not able to do, even though your difficult work appears to be as big as the triple worlds, which cannot be done by those in the heavens, those among human-kind, those in the underworlds. In the ability to do this, which is thereby very difficult work, there is none done by you; *prajñopāyena*

68. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyānikan: vivikitsa*.

69. *Tattvasiddhi* has: *nāsti kiñcidakartavyaṃ prajñopāyena cetasā ||2|| nirviśaṅkaḥ sadā bhūtvā bhoktavyaṃ pañcakāmakam |* ; see Vrajavallabha Dvivedī and Ṭhinalerāma Śāśani, “Lupta Bauddha-vacana Saṃgraha (Lost Buddha-Vacana Saṃgraha),” *Dhīḥ* 8 (1989): 35–43; GSVV chaps. 13–15; Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi no Śrī-guhyasamājamaṅḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における灌頂次第,” 213.

*cetasā*, that is this *prajñā* is in your mind, *nirviśaṅkaḥ sadābhūtvā*, moreover without suffering a loss you instead always have a mind of inapprehension; *prabhuṅkṣva kāmapañcakam*, you have enjoyments of every kind of object in the sphere of the five senses; do not give your preference to all the enjoyments because the goal of a practitioner like you is to not do that, to be without desire for this, without doubt.

## § 24

*Yathā hi vinayaṃ pānti bodhisatvāśca bhāvataḥ  
tathā hi sarvasatvarthaṃ kuryyād rāgādibhis suciḥ.*<sup>70</sup>

Just like in consequence of being the *bodhisatva* holding fast onto the *vinaya*, so should one who is pure do good to all beings free from desires, etc.

*Ka: Kadyaṅgān bhaṭāra śikṣā*<sup>71</sup> *bodhisatva mahāsattvā annāmbek temen sira gumego i sañ hyaṅ Mantranaya. Ambek temen naranya: kumiṅkiṅa kaparārthān, tan kalepanāna de niṅ kleśa, tan kapalitāna de niṅ rāga dveṣa moha.*

The meaning is: As Bhaṭāra practices to be *bodhisatva mahāsattvā*, he is to be really inclined to hold fast onto the Sañ Hyaṅ Mantranaya. The so-called real spirit is: concerned about doing good to others, without being smeared by *kleśa*, without being soiled by *rāga*, *dveṣa*, and *moha*.

## § 25

*Ye cānyesamayadviṣṭāḥ samayabhraṣṭāḥ ye janāḥ  
Māraṅyāḥ prayatnena buddhāsāsanapālāne.*<sup>72</sup>

70. Bahulkar, *Śrīguhyasamājamaṅḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarabhadra*, 374.

71. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan: sikasa*.

72. Thus far, this verse cannot be found anywhere. In a way, it contradicts the teachings preserved in the STTS as well as the Sdp. But see Amod Jayant Lele, “Ethical Revaluation in the Thought of Śāntideva” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2007), 179: “At the most extreme point, in pointing to the significance of excellence in means, he claims that there is ‘permission of the killing of a person about to commit a grave wrong (*ānantarya*), in the noble Ratnamegha [Sūtra].’” One not only should prevent others’ wrongdoing, one may in extreme cases even kill them to stop it from happening. (The quotation comes from *āryaratnameghe ānantaryacikīrṣu-puruṣamāraṅānujñānāt*, in ŚS 168.) In the *Caṅḍamahāroṣaṅa-tantra*, v. 13.2: *bhagavān āha | māraṅyā hi vai duṣṭā buddhāsā[sā]nadūṣakāḥ | teṣāṃ eva dhanam gr̥hya sattvebhyo hitam ācaret ||*. As translated by 84,000 Dharmachakra Translation Committee: “The lord said:

Those who willfully are vow-haters and vow-breakers are liable to die in order to guard the teachings of the buddhas.

*Ka: Hana vvañ dveṣa ri sañ hyañ samaya, melik ri sañ hyañ Mantranaya; samayabhraṣṭāḥ ye janāḥ, hana vvañ samayabhraṣṭāḥ vih sampun kṛtasamaya, maṇḍaḥ upadeśa. Apa kunañ vivartika ta ya vvekasan? Kinasampayannya ta sañ guru, inumpetnya sira. Māraṇīyāḥ prayatnena, ikañ vvañ mankana nāñ samayadviṣṭa mvañ samayabhraṣṭa kinonaken ikā pejahana, tan patogvakna<sup>73</sup> de bhaṭāra, buddhaśāsanaḥpālāne, yatanyan karakṣā śāsana bhaṭāra hyañ buddha, lāvan katvaṇana sañ hyañ samaya, mañkana phalanyan patyana ikañ samayavidveṣādi.*

The meaning is: There is person who hates the Sañ Hyañ *samaya*, disgusts the Sañ Hyañ Mantranaya; *samayabhraṣṭāḥ ye janāḥ*, there is person who has *samayabhraṣṭāḥ*, i.e., has already completed initiation (*kṛtasamaya*), received teachings (*upadeśa*), however has finally turned away from them, treated scornfully Sañ Guru, spoken ill of him. *Māraṇīyāḥ prayatnena*, thus this person is thereby *samayadviṣṭa* and *samayabhraṣṭa* should be ordered to be killed, should not be an object of concern for Bhaṭāra, *buddhaśāsanaḥpālāne*, in order to protect the teachings of Bhaṭāra Hyañ Buddha, moreover the respect of the Sañ Hyañ *samaya*, thus the result is the death of this *samaya*-hater, etc.

§ 26

*Dṛṣṭaṃ praviṣṭaṃ paramaṃ rahasyottama<sup>74</sup> maṇḍalaṃ sarbvapāpairvinirmuktā bhavanto'dyeva śuddhitāḥ.*

You have seen and entered the most secret perfect *maṇḍala*, and thereby have now been purified and free from all inauspiciousness.

*Ka: Pakenak tāmbekta harah, sampun praviṣṭa maṇḍala ṇaranta mañke, tumama ri sañ hyañ paramarahasya. Kunañ deyanta pahavās vulatta rike*

‘Killed should be the evil ones—Those who disparage the Buddha’s teaching. Having seized their wealth, One should perform the benefit of beings.’”

73. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyānikan: tanpatogvakna*. It likely derives from the root *tog* (“question”). Being an arealis with *pa* and *akna*, it becomes *patogakna*, or *patogvakna* (“to be questioned”), so *tan patogvakna* (“not to be questioned”). However, Aciri (personal communication) prefers *tan patogvakna*, meaning “should not be an object of concern.”

74. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyānikan: rahasyāt khama*; Sakurai, “Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā no Kanjōron (1),” 22; T. 244:815b14: 若人得此最上秘密，安慰稱讚者，所有一切罪業應時銷散. Bahulkar, *Śrīguhyasamāja-maṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dipaṅkarabhadra*, 381.

*Saṅ Hyaṅ maṅḍala, sarbapāpairvinirmuktaḥ, kita pva sampun tumama ri maṅḍala, vinarah ri lava-lava nikaṅ rahasya, mataṅnya hilaṅ sakveh ni pāpanta, alilaṅ kadi vinasehan, hilaṅ samūlonmūlāti,<sup>75</sup> bhavanto'dyeva śuddhitaḥ. Pahenak tāmbekta, hayva saṅsaya.*

The meaning is: Your mind please be at ease, thus considered having entered the *maṅḍala*, penetrated as far as the Saṅ Hyaṅ Paramarahasya. However, you are to have clear insight while looking at the Saṅ Hyaṅ *maṅḍala, sarbapāpairvinirmuktaḥ*, when you have penetrated as far as the *maṅḍala*, have been taught every detail of the secrets, then all your sins disappear, cleansed like being washed, annihilated down to the very root, *bhavanto'dyeva śuddhitaḥ*. Your mind be at ease, do not doubt.

§ 27

*Na bhūyo ramanam bhosti yānād asmāt mahāsukhāt adhr̥ṣyās cāpy abaddhās ca ramadhvam akutobhayāḥ.<sup>76</sup>*

No greater bliss than that of this vehicle. Rejoice as you are unassailable, unrestrained, and free from any danger.

*Ka: Kita vivartika, yānād asmāt mahāsukhāt, saṅka rikeṅ Mantranaya, hila-hila vvaṅ kadi kita vivartika ri saṅ hyaṅ mārgga, adhr̥ṣyās cāpy abaddhās ca, kunaṅ ri seḍaṅnyat prayatna umabhyāsa saṅ hyaṅ mantra avās ikaṅ hayu kasiddhyan kapaṅguha denta, tan kavenaṅ inulah-ulah deniṅ māra tirvikādi; ramadhvamakutobhayāḥ, mataṅnya pahenak tāmbekta, hayva siga-sigun, tulusakena pratipattinte<sup>77</sup> ri saṅ hyaṅ mantra.*

The meaning is: If you turn away from, *yānād asmāt mahāsukhāt*, because of the Mantranaya, it is against the rules of Dharma if a person like you turn away from the Saṅ Hyaṅ *mārgga, adhr̥ṣyās cāpy abaddhās ca*, but when you are diligent practicing the Saṅ Hyaṅ mantra you will have clear insight into virtuousness and the perfection will be found by you, not to be moved by Māra, heretics, etc.; *ramadhvamakutobhayāḥ*,

75. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: samūlonmūlāti*.

76. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: Avṛṣyāścāpy avandyāśca*. This does not correspond with the commentary. Sakurai, “Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā no Kanjōron (1),” 22; GSVV chaps. 13–15, Tanaka; “Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṅḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における灌頂次第,” 208. T. 244:815b15: 滅盡無餘永離苦惱，諸天不能見，所行無畏，盡三有苦，成最上法。而此最勝調伏之法。Bahulkar, *Śrīguhyasamājamaṅḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarabhadra*, 382.

77. *Pratipatti* (“practice”), from the series of *pariyāpti* (“textual learning”), *pratipatti* (“practice”), and *prativedha* (“penetration”).



therefore your mind be at ease, do not be anxious, carry out your practice in the Sañ Hyañ mantra.

§ 28

*Ayaṃ vaḥ satataṃ rakṣyaḥ siddhasamayasaṃbaraḥ  
Sarbabuddhasamaṃproktaḥ ājñāṃ parama śāśvatīṃ.*<sup>78</sup>

This secret perfect *samaya* must always be observed and protected. This most perfect order (*ājñā*) has been constantly proclaimed equally by all buddhas.

*Ka: Prayatna tah kita rumakṣa sañ hyañ samaya, hayva tāntya<sup>79</sup> kuṇḍaṅ rahasyanataḥ sira denta, vruha ta kita rikaṅ yogya varahen ri sañ hyañ samaya, hayva ta dinadhi kavvaṅanya, āmbeknya, ulahnya, maryyādanya, kunaṅ pva yan tuhu-tuhu śrddhānya, acchedyābhedyā ri sañ hyañ mantra, irikā ta kita dvarahanya<sup>80</sup> ri sañ hyañ rahasya; hayva sañśaya, hayva kundul-kundul umarahaken ri sañ hyañ samaya rikāṅ adhimuktika satva, sarbabuddhasamaṃproktaḥ, āpan sampun kita kṛtānujñāta de sañ sarbva tathāgata, in anumoda de bhaṭāra umintonakna sañ hyañ samaya, ājñāṃ pāraya śāśvatīṃ, kita ikotatibanyanujñāta<sup>81</sup> bhaṭāra, sumiddhākna sapa-kon sañ sarbva tathāgata.*

The meaning is: Please be diligent in protecting the Sañ Hyañ *samaya*; do not tell a companion about the secrets you know. To those who could be properly instructed about the Sañ Hyañ *samaya*, do not because of his birth, mind, conduct, and nature, but truly because of his faith, indivisible and inseparable from the Sañ Hyañ mantra, then you can show him the entrance to the Sañ Hyañ *rahasya*. Do not doubt, do not waver in teaching the Sañ Hyañ *samaya* to a devotee (*adhimuktika satva*), *sarbabuddhasamaṃproktaḥ*, because you have already been accepted by Sañ Sarbva Tathāgata, been approved by Bhaṭāra to show the Sañ Hyañ *samaya*, *ājñāṃ pāraya śāśvatīṃ*, when Bhaṭāra directs to you the permission to accomplish the consecration of Sañ Sarbva Tathāgata.

78. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: pāraya*; GSVV chaps. 13–15; Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における灌頂次第,” 213. T. 244:815b17: 常當護持安于三昧，是即諸佛平等宣說。Bahulkar, *Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarabhadra*, 384.

79. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: tannaṅti*. I Mardiwarsito, *Kamus Jawa Kuna—Indonesia* (Ende: Penerbit Nusa Indah, 1981) has: *tāntya* (“to tell”).

80. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: dvara-haya*.

81. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: ikotatibanyanujñāta*.

## § 29

*Bodhicittan tavātyājyaṃ yadbajram iti mudrayā  
Yasyotpādaikamātreṇa buddha eva na saṅśayaḥ.*<sup>82</sup>

You must not abandon the *bodhicitta* arising from *bajra* to *mudrā* that in turn leads you to become a buddha, do not doubt.

*Ka: Sañ hyañ bodhicitta tan tiṅgalakna denta; bodhicitta na: yadbajram iti mudrayā, sañ hyañ bajra sira bodhicitta naran ira lāvan sañ hyañ mudrā, yasyotpādaikamātreṇa, den ikā kāraṇan sañ hyañ bajra lāvan mudrā, buddha eva na saṅśayaḥ, hyañ buddha kita dlāha, kasāksāt kṛta ikañ kalepasen denta, ri seḍaṅnyat prayatna ri sañ hyañ bajra ghaṅṭā mvang mudrā.*

The meaning is: Sañ Hyañ *bodhicitta* is not to be abandoned by you; *bodhicitta* is: *yadbajram iti mudrayā*, Sañ Hyañ *bajra* is the name of *bodhicitta*, also Sañ Hyañ *mudrā*, *yasyotpādaikamātreṇa*; then because these Sañ Hyañ *bajra* and *mudrā*, *buddha eva na saṅśayaḥ*, you will be Hyañ Buddha in the near future. This liberation will be made visible when you are diligent in practicing Sañ Hyañ *bajra*, *ghaṅṭā*, and *mudrā*.

## § 30

*Saddharmmo na pratikṣepyaḥ na tyājyaśca kadācana  
ajñānād atha mohād vā na vai vivṛṇuyās tataḥ.*<sup>83</sup>

You should never reject nor abandon the *saddharma*, and yet never reveal it either due to ignorance or delusion.

*Ka: Tan tulaka sañ hyañ saddharmma, na tyājyaśca kadācana, lāvan tan tiṅgalakna sira, ajñānād atha mohād vā na vai vivṛṇuyās tataḥ, tan dadi vvañ kadi kita umivāraṇe sañ hyañ saddharmma, sañka riñ ajñāna lāvan kamohan, mataṅnyan hayva mañkana, laraṅan ikañ vvañ mantrānaya mahāyānanuyi, umivāraṇa sañ hyañ sūtrānta.*

The meaning is: Do not reject Sañ Hyañ *saddharmma*, *na tyājyaśca kadācana*, moreover it is not to be abandoned, *ajñānād atha mohād vā na vai vivṛṇuyās tataḥ*; it is not allowed for a person like you to reveal Sañ Hyañ *saddharmma* out of ignorance and delusion, therefore do not be

82. Sakurai, “Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā no Kanjōron (1),” 23. T. 244:815b18: 不應捨離菩提之心，金剛密印定成菩提。 Bahulkar, *Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarabhadra*, 385.

83. Sakurai, “Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā no Kanjōron (1),” 23. T. 244:815b19: 此諸佛法勿暫棄捨。設有迷惑，縱捨己身，不得暫捨諸佛最上之法。 Bahulkar, *Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarabhadra*, 386.

thus; it is forbidden for a person pursuing Mantranaya Mahâyāna to reveal Sañ Hyañ sūtrānta.

§ 31

*Svam ātmānam parityajya tapobhir nātipīdayet  
Yathāsukhaṃ sukhaṃ dhāryyaṃ sambuddheyam anāgataḥ.*<sup>84</sup>

You should leave yourself alone and should not torment yourself with asceticism. You should keep anything pleasing to be happy as you will become a buddha in the near future.

*Ka: Prativar ika avak ta,<sup>85</sup> svakāyanirapekṣataḥ kita, hayva tṛṣṇa riñ avak, tapobhir nātipīdayet, hayva pinirsakitan riñ tapa, hayva vineh gumavay-akan kavenañña, yathāsukhaṃ sukhandhāryyaṃ, yathāsukatāḥ lviranta t gavayakna ñ boddhimārgga, sambuddheyam anāgataḥ, hayva gyā hyañ buddha kita dlāha.*

The meaning is: You leave your body alone, be indifferent, do not attach to your body, *tapobhir nātipīdayet*, do not torment it through asceticism, do not perform beyond its capability, *yathāsukhaṃ sukhandhāryyaṃ*; you should work the *boddhimārgga* at ease, *sambuddheyam anāgataḥ*, do not be impatient: you will be Hyañ Buddha in the near future.

§ 32

*Bajraṃ ghaṇṭāñca mudrañca na vai tyājya<sup>86</sup> kadācana  
ācāryyo nāvamantabyaḥ sarvbabuddhasamo hy asau.*<sup>87</sup>

You must never leave *bajra*, *ghaṇṭa*, and *mudrā* behind, and not be disrespectful to the teacher as he is equal to all buddhas.

*Ka: Sañ hyañ bajra, ghaṇṭā mvañ mudrā hayva kari sira denta, sakvanta, saporanta, kuṇḍañanta sira, ācāryyo nāvamantabyaḥ, lāvan ta veh tan*

84. Sakurai, “Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā no Kanjōron (1),” 23. *Piṇḍīkrama: pañca kāmān parityajya tapobhirna ca pīdayet | sukkena dhārayed vodhirā yogatantrānusārataḥ ||4|| svam ātmānaṃ parityājya tapobhir na ca pīdayet | yathāsukhaṃ sukhaṃ dhāryyaṃ sambuddho ‘yam anāgataḥ ||.* Bahulkar, *Śṛīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarabhadra*, 387.

85. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyānikan: Prativārikāvakta*.

86. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyānikan: santya ajya*.

87. Sakurai, “Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā no Kanjōron (1),” 23. GSVV chaps. 13–15; Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi の Śṛī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における灌頂次第,” 212. T. 244:815b21: 金剛鈴杵及諸密印、亦勿捨離而生輕慢。敬阿闍梨等同諸佛。 Bahulkar, *Śṛīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarabhadra*, 388.

*gavayakna ñ gurudrohaka, tan venañ ikā vvañ avamāna ri Dañ ācāryya,  
matañnyan tan kāvamānana sira denta, sarvbabuddhasamo hy asau,  
sarvbabuddhasama sira, paḍa lāvan bhaṭāra hyañ buddha kabeh.*

The meaning is: You do not leave Sañ Hyañ *bajra*, *ghaṇṭā*, and *mudrā* behind, everywhere wherever you go they should accompany you; *ācāryyo nāvamantabyaḥ*, moreover you must not be unfaithful to your teacher, you cannot be a person being disrespectful towards Ḍañ Ācāryya. The reason for you to be not disrespectful is, *sarvbabuddhasamo hy asau*, he is *sarvbabuddhasama*, the equal of all Bhaṭāra Hyañ Buddha.

§ 33

*Yaś cāvamanyed ācāryyaṃ, sarvbabuddhasamaṃ guruṃ  
sarvbabuddhāvamānena nityaṃ duḥkham avāpnuyāt.*<sup>88</sup>

When one is disrespectful to the teacher who is equal to all buddhas, one will eternally meet with sufferings due to disrespect to all buddhas.

*Ka: Apan ikañ vvañ avajñā, avamāna masampe guru, sa nityan duḥkham  
apnuyāt, ya ikā mulih riñ naraka, tibā riñ kavah sañ yama pinakahitip niñ  
tāmragomuka; mañkana pāpa niñ vvañ avamāna maguru.*

The meaning is: When a person is despising, disrespectful, scornful towards the guru, *sa nityan duḥkham apnuyāt*, he will go back to *naraka*, fall into the cauldron of Sañ Yama to become the encrustation of the

88. An early reference to the practice of reverence toward the teacher is found in the *Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra*. This could justify the early composition of *Gurupañcāsika* by Aśvaghōṣa, and the verses might have evolved over time ever since. Harumi Hirano Ziegler, “The Sinification of Buddhism as Found in an Early Chinese Indigenous Sutra: A Study and Translation of the *Fo-shuo Ching-tu San-mei Ching* (The Samādhi-Sūtra on Liberation through Purification Spoken by the Buddha)” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2001), 99, asserts that the Chinese sūtra under consideration was following a Daoist text, which is perhaps doubtful. GSVV chaps. 13–15, Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi の Śrī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における灌頂次第,” 212. T. 244:815b22: 敬阿闍梨等同諸佛，若輕阿闍梨者是輕諸佛，當受眾苦無有威德，被諸瘡病惡毒擊吉你魅，宿曜執持及諸魔眾，如是災害常所燒亂，命終之後當墮地獄。是故當知阿闍梨者是為大師，常當尊重愛敬供養，如前所說眾苦惱等皆不能侵。 *Gurupañcāsikā: taṃ nāthaṃ yo ‘vamanyeta śiṣyo bhūtvā sacetanaḥ | sarvbuddhāpamānena sa nityaṃ duḥkhamāpnuyāt ||10||*. Bahulkar, *Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarabhadra*, 389.

cow-headed copper hell (*tāmragomuka*); thereby misfortune befalls a person who is disrespectful toward the guru.

§ 34

*Tasmāt sarbvaprayatnena bajrācāryyam mahāgurum  
Pracchannavarakalyāṇam, nāvamanyet kadācana.*<sup>89</sup>

Therefore you should with all effort never be disrespectful to the great teacher, the *bajrācārya*, whose goodness and virtues are concealed.

*Ka: Hayva tan prayatna maguru, yadyapi—pracchannavarakalyāṇa—ika  
gurunta tan katona hayu nira guṇa nira denta, ikan samañkana, nāvamanyet  
kadācana, tan avamāna ta kita ri sira, āpan mahāpāpa mahāduhka ikañ tan  
atvañ maguru, matañnya vvara prayatna tah ri kabyāpāra sañ guru.*

The meaning is: Do not be not devoted toward your guru, even if, *pracchannavarakalyāṇa*, his goodness, his virtues, cannot be seen by you, of such extent, *nāvamangyet kadācana*, you should not be disrespectful toward him, because of the great sin, the great suffering for one who is irreverent toward one's guru; thereby you are to exert the utmost diligence in serving Sañ Guru.

§ 35

*Nityam svasamayah sādhyo nityam pūjyas tathāgataḥ  
nityaṅca gurave deyaṃ*<sup>90</sup> *sarvbuddhasamo hy asau.*<sup>91</sup>

One's own vow must always be cultivated; always worship the *tathāgatas*, always serve the teacher who is equal to all buddhas.

*Ka: Hayva kaluban kita gumavayakna sañ hyaṅ samaya, nityam pūjyas  
tathāgataḥ, lāvan śāśvata kita gumavayakna ṅ tathāgatapūjā, nityaṅca*

89. GSVV chaps.13–15, Tanaka, “NāgabodhiのŚrī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における灌頂次第,” 212–213. *Gurupañcāśikā: tasmāt sarbvaprayatnena vajrācāryam mahāgurum | pracchannavarakalyāṇam nāvamanyet kadācana* ||15||. Bahulkar, *Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpañkarabhadrā*, 391.

90. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyānikan: guruvaidheyam*.

91. GSVV chaps.13–15, Tanaka, “NāgabodhiのŚrī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi における灌頂次第,” 213. T. 244:815b27: 應當恭敬供養阿闍梨。何以故此阿闍梨，經阿僧祇俱胝劫數實難值遇，由此阿闍梨開發菩提道得成佛果，是故弟子依本法儀而常供養，是即供養諸佛如來故。 *Gurupañcāśikā: nityam svasamayah sādhyo nityam pūjyastathāgatāḥ | nityam ca gurave deyaṃ sarvbuddhasamo hyasau* ||19||. GSMV, Bahulkar, *Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpañkarabhadrā*, 393.

*guruvoidheyam, nityasa kita gumavayaken guruśuśrūṣā, umyāpāra sañ guru, sarvbabuddhasamo hy asau, apa yāpan sarbva tathāgata sama sañ guru naran ira, matañ yan sira pagavayaknanta kaśuśrūṣā.*

The meaning is: Do not defect in performing Sañ Hyañ *samaya*, *nityam pūjyas tathāgataḥ*, moreover continuously perform *tathāgatapūjā*; *nityaṅca guruvoidheyam*, always be obedient to your guru (*guruśuśrūṣā*), serve Sañ Guru. *Sarvbabuddhasamo hy asau*, because Sañ Guru is equal to all *tathāgatas*, be obedient to him.

§ 36

*Dattesmin sarvbabuddhebyo dattam bhavati cākṣayam  
taddānāt puṇyasambhārah sambhārāt siddhir uttamā.*<sup>92</sup>

Lasting offerings (to the teacher) become offerings to all buddhas, and from this generosity one earns merit (*puṇya*) to attain the best perfection.

*Ka: Apan ikañ vvañ kadi kita, gumavayaken ikañ guruśuśrūṣā, maveh upahārādi ri Ḍaṅ guru, yeka pangipuk dāna sambhāra ri bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha naranaya, taddānāt puṇyasambhārah, ya sambhandanyan katemu ikañ puṇyasambhāra, sambhārāt siddhir utamā, ri kapaṅguhan ikañ puṇyasambhāra ya dumeḥ rikañ kasiddhyan sulabha ri kita, ri prayatnanta rika guruśuśrūṣā.*

The meaning is: Because a person like you is obedient to your guru (*guruśuśrūṣā*), gives offerings, etc., to Ḍaṅ Guru, this fosters *dāna sambhāra* to Bhaṭāra Hyañ Buddha, *taddānāt puṇyasambhārah*; then because of this you obtain *puṇyasambhāra*. *Sambhārāt siddhir utamā*, when you obtain this *puṇyasambhāra*, it is understandable that it becomes easy for you to obtain the perfection, due to your being obedient to your guru (*guruśuśrūṣā*).

§ 37

*Nityam svasamayācāryyam praṇair api nijair bhajet  
adeyaiḥ putradārair vā kimpunar vibhavaś calaiḥ.*<sup>93</sup>

92. *Gurupañcāśikā: datte'smai sarvbabuddhebyo dattam bhavati śāśvatam | tasmācca puṇyasambhārah sambhārād bodhiruttamā ||21||*. Bahulkar, *Śrīgūhyasamājamaṅḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarabhadra*, 394.

93. *Gurupañcāśikā: adeyaiḥ putradārādyairasubhirvā nijairapi | sevyah svasam-varācārya kiṁ punarvibhavaścalaiḥ ||17||*.

Your own life is always given to your *samaya* teacher, even wife and child, even more movable properties.

*Ka: Hurip tuvi tinarimakan ri ḍaṅ guru, gumavaya kabyāpāran ira donya, adeyaiḥ putradārair vā, āstām ikañ anak rabi inarpañāken ikā kabeh i bharāla guru, dāsabhūtā, hulunan ira umyāpāra ri sira pakenanya, kimpunar vibhavaiś calaiḥ, hayva ta vinuvus ikañ ḍṛvya ṅaranya, kadyāṅganiñ māś mañik dodot pirak pinūjāken nikā kabeh i ḍaṅ guru.*

The meaning is: Even life is to be given to Ḍaṅ Guru; do serve his goal, *adeyaiḥ putradārair vā*, let alone children and wife: all are to be offered to Bharāla Guru, being servants (*dāsabhūtā*); being servants of him is to serve and to be of use for him; *kimpunar vibhavaiś calaiḥ*, do not speak about possessions like gold, jewels, garments, silver, all these are to be offered to Ḍaṅ Guru.

§ 38

*Yasmāt sudurlabhaṃ nityaṃ kalpāsaṅkyeyakoṭibhiḥ  
buddhatvam udyogavate dadātihaiva janmani.*<sup>94</sup>

Because it is very difficult and always takes countless eons to obtain buddhahood, it is given in this life.

*Ka: Apan nikañ kahyañbuddhan atyanta parama durlabha ketekā, yadyapin kalpāsaṅkyeyakoṭijanma, lāvasa niñ vvañ gumavayakna ṅ kuśalamūla dānapāramitādi sumādhya ṅ kahyañbuddhan, ikāñ mañkana tan niyata kapaṅguha, sañka ri durlabha nikañ kalepasan ṅaranya, buddhatvam udyogavate dadātihaiva janmani, ikañ kahyañbuddhan yateka vinehaken de bharāla guru irikeñ janmanta mañke, ṅhiñ ḥiñanan i goñ ny anugraha nira kita, matañnya tan halañ tan luṅḍu tan velañ veluten aṅonañanta an pūjāken huripta mvañ anak rabinta ri ḍaṅ guru.*

The meaning is: It is very difficult to reach buddhahood. Even if *kalpāsaṅkyeyakoṭijanma*, the time is lengthy of a person doing *kuśalamūla dānapāramitā*, etc., striving after buddhahood, it is not certain that it is obtained. The reason is that it is difficult to obtain liberation. *Buddhatvam udyogavate dadātihaiva janmani*, this buddhahood is given by Bharāla Guru in this very life just because of the largeness of his favor to you; thereby do not obstruct, do not sprawl, do not be winding in conceiving of offering your life, children, and wife to Ḍaṅ Guru.

94. GSVV chaps. 16–20; Tanaka, “NāgabodhiのŚrī-guhyasamājamaṅḍalopāyikā-vimśati-vidhiにおける灌頂次第,” 239–240. *Gurupañcāsikā: yataḥ sudurlabhaṃ vastu kalpāsaṅkyeyakoṭibhiḥ | buddhatvam udyogavate dadātihaiva janmani ||18||*.



## § 39

*Adya vaḥ saphalañjanma yad asmin supraṭiṣṭhitāḥ  
samāḥ samā hi devānām adya jātāḥ svayaṃbhavaḥ.*<sup>95</sup>

Today, this birth brings out its fruit, now standing firmly [on *samaya*]  
born equal to all gods, you become self-existent.

*Ka: Adya vaḥ saphalañjanma yad asmin supraṭiṣṭhitāḥ: an pakaśaraṇa  
sañ hyaṅ samaya, samāḥ samā hi devānām adya jātāḥ svayaṃbhavaḥ:  
āpan avak hyaṅ buddha kita mañke usen, karatalabyavasthita, ikañ  
kahyaṅbuddhātvan ri kita, kāgem kamuṣṭi ikañ kalepasan denta.*<sup>96</sup>

The meaning is: *Adya vaḥ saphalañjanma yad asmin supraṭiṣṭhitāḥ:*  
Having as refuge the Sañ Hyaṅ *samaya, samāḥ samā hi devānām adya  
jātāḥ svayaṃbhavaḥ:* you will embody Hyaṅ Buddha immediately; estab-  
lished in the palm of the hand (*karatalabyavasthita*), this buddhahood is  
in you. Grasped by you in your hand is this liberation.

## § 40

*Adyābhiṣiktāyusmantaḥ sarbabuddhaiḥ sabajribhiḥ  
traidhātukamahārājye rājādhipatayaḥ sthitāḥ.*<sup>97</sup>

Today you are consecrated by all buddhas and *bajradharas* to be the  
king of kings in the great kingdoms of the triple world.

*Ka: Pahlenak tāmbekta, sampun kṛtābhiṣeka kita de sararba tathāgata lāvan  
sañ sarba tathāgati; naran ikañ abhiṣeka tinarimanta: cakravartyabhiṣeka  
naranya.*

95. Munenobu Sakurai, “Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā no kanjō-ron (4), Daiyon kanjō, bonbun kōtei tekusuto,” *Mikkyō Bunka* 181 (1993): 108; Skorupski, *Kriyāsamgraha: Compendium of Buddhist Rituals*, 92, 124; GSVV chaps. 5–6; Kimiaki Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi’s Śrī-guhyasamāja-maṇḍalopāyikā-viṃśati-vidhi: The Tibetan Translation and Sanskrit Text of Chapters 5 and 6,” in *Three Mountains and Seven Rivers*, ed. Shoun Hino and Toshihiro Wada (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004), 865. T. 244:815c02: 成最上法見獲善果，與諸賢聖等無有異. Bahulkar, *Śrīguhyasamājamāṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarabhadra*, 395.

96. Skorupski, *Kriyāsamgraha: Compendium of Buddhist Rituals*, 82: “This is the complete buddhahood abiding in the palm of Vajrasattva. You too hold it forever, the firm vow of Vajrapāṇi.” This verse occurs in the *vajra*-name consecration before the master consecration (*ācāryābhiṣeka*).

97. T. 244:815c03: 見受灌頂證法王位，作三界主降伏魔軍. Bahulkar, *Śrī-guhyasamājamāṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarabhadra*, 396.

The meaning is: Your mind be at ease, you have already been consecrated (*kṛtābhiṣeka*) by all the *tathāgatas* and all *tathāgatis*; the name of this consecration given to you is the so-called *cakravartyabhiṣeka*.

§ 41

*Adya māraṃ vinirjitya praviṣṭāḥ paramaṃ puraṃ  
prāptam adyaiva buddhatvaṃ bhavadbhir nātra sañśayaḥ.*<sup>98</sup>

Today after completely defeating *māras*, you have entered the highest city. You have obtained buddhahood in this very life, do not doubt.

*Ka: Avās alah nikañ mārakarmma denta, praviṣṭāḥ paramam puraṃ, niyata  
ikā nirbāṇapura katekan denta mañke, prāptam adyaiva buddhatvaṃ,  
kapaṅguha niyata nikañ kamokṣan denta ri janmanta, bhavadbhir  
nātrasañśayaḥ: pahenak tānen-añenta, hayva sañśaya.*

The meaning is: Clearly this deed of *Māra* (*mārakarmma*) has been defeated by you, *praviṣṭāḥ paramam puraṃ*; it is certain that the city of nirvana (*nirbāṇapura*) has been reached by you; *prāptam adyaiva buddhatvaṃ*, this liberation has certainly been found by you in this very life, *bhavadbhir nātrasañśayaḥ*: your spirit be at ease, do not doubt.

§ 42

*Iti kuruta manaḥ prasādābajraṃ svasamāyam khakṣayasaukhyadam  
bhajadhvaṃ  
jagati laghusukheti sarvbabuddhapratismās śāsvatitāṅgatā bhavantaḥ.*<sup>99</sup>

Pay attention to this.

Sincerely protecting your own *samaya*, this luminous *bajra* gives you imperishable blessings. In the realm of beings happiness is meager; you are now eternally of the same rank with all buddhas.

*Ka: Matañnya tulusakenta śṛddhānta, pahapageh ta manahta, makamārgga  
sañ hyañ Mantranaya Mahāyāna, svasamāyam akṣayasaukhyadam  
bhajadhvaṃ, atikāsta rumakṣa sañ hyañ samaya, āpan sira venañ ume-  
haken ikañ anuttarasuka, jagati laghusukheti sarvbabuddhapratismās  
śāsvatitāṅgatā bhavantaḥ, āpan ikañ janma manuṣya naranya akeḍik*

98. T. 244:815c04: 住寂靜地佛果菩提定無疑惑。Bahulkar, *Śṛīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarabhadra*, 397. GSVV chaps. 13–15; Tanaka, “Nāgabodhi の Śṛī-guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā-viṃṣati-vidhi における灌頂次第,” 208.

99. T. 244:815c14: 又復阿闍梨及弟子，所有金剛薩埵相應之法皆悉具足，所以諸佛如來，以最上祕密而作安慰。Bahulkar, *Śṛīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiḥ of Ācārya Dīpaṅkarabhadra*, 398.

*sukanya; yathānyat paṅguhakna kahyaṅbuddhan, paḍā lāvan saṅ sarbva tathāgata mataṅnyan lekasa umabhyasa saṅ hyaṅ samaya, gumavayakna saṅ hyaṅ Mantranaya Mahāyāna, hayva ta pramāda kita, kayatnakan temen-temen, yathānyan sulabha ikaṅ kasiddhyan kapaṅguha denta.*

The meaning is: Therefore be sincere in your faith, firm your mind, trod the Saṅ Hyaṅ Mantranaya Mahāyāna, *svasamāyam akṣayasaukhyadam bhajadhvaṃ*, and certainly protect the Saṅ Hyaṅ *samaya*, for he is able to give the supreme bliss (*anuttarasuka*), *jagati laghusukheti sarbvabuddhapratisamās śāsvatitānggatā bhavantah*, for in this life a human being has very little happiness; indeed, find buddhahood, the equal of Saṅ Sarbva Tathāgata, thereby immediately practice the Saṅ Hyaṅ *samaya*, practice the Saṅ Hyaṅ Mantranaya Mahāyāna, do not be intoxicated, be seriously diligent, so that the perfection will be easily found by you.

*Iti saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya samāpta.*

The Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya is ended.

#### SAṅ HYAṅ KAMAHĀYĀNAN ADVAYA-SĀDHANA

*Iṃ! Namo Buddhāya! Iṃ!*

*Nihan saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan ya varahakna mami ri kita ṅ tathāgatakula jinaputra, adhikarmika saṅ hyaṅ Mahāyāna, ya ta varahakna mami ri kita.*

This is the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan that I will teach to you, the son of Jina of the Tathāgata family. I will teach you the Adhikarmika of the Saṅ Hyaṅ Mahāyāna.

*Yan molaha riṅ vukir, gihā, sāgaratīra, kunaṅ kuṭi, vihāra, gramana-ruka patapān, kunaṅ kita riṅ kṣetra haraṅan, alas salviranya—pahayu ta saṅ hyaṅ pahoman, umah śūnya taya, pasajyan, paṅarcanān, aṅhanakna palaṅka, kambe, paththarana, surāga, kunaṅ siṅ samanukhanana ri kita.*

While cultivating in the mountains, in caves, at the beach, or in a cabin, a monastery, a village hermitage, or you are in the farm fields, in the forest, etc.—keep the Saṅ Hyaṅ Pahoman, the house which is empty and has nothing, the place for offerings, the place for worship, make available the chair, bed, cushion, mat, or the equal which is pleasing to you.

*Maṅkana śarīranta hayva pinucca-pucca, tan piherana riṅ sarbvabhoga samāṅdadyakna suka ri kita; maṅgala riṅ vastu pinaṅan ikā ta an paṅanen muvah, ya ta sambhavā tah deniṅ amaṅana. Hayva lupa ri bhaktaparikrama.*

Therefore with regard to your body, do not be careless about it, do not restrict it from foods that cause you be at ease; blessed food can be eaten again: that is proper for meal. Do not forget the right ritual on food.

*Mañkana yan hana duḥka niñ śarīra, tan doṣa kita meñhanakna tamba; sama rasana ri kita, hayva vava ñ alicin, āpan eveh sañ tuhu licin. Sañkṣepanya: pahayu ta juga śarīranta, āpan hayu ni śarīra nimitta hi katemvaniñ suka, suka nimitta ni katemvan in manah apagoh, manah apagoh nimitta ni dadi ni samādhi, samādhi nimitta niñ katemvan in kamokṣan.*

Therefore when there is pain in the body, it is not an offense for you to be ready with medicine; be balanced in yourself, do not rush to renounce the world, because there is nothing that is truly free from encumbrances. In summary: Also treat your body well, because if the body is well it causes you to find happiness, happiness causes you to find firm mind, firm mind causes you to generate *samādhi*, *samādhi* causes you to find liberation.

*Mahayu pva śarīranta maparagya kita nivāsana, makatīvandha, macīvara, sopacāra, anaṇḍaṇa valuh, aregapa kekari. Yan buddharṣi kita, madaluvaṇa, masāmpeta, mabhasmacandana mavīja sopacāra.*

Support your body by wearing clothings, girdle, robes for ritual (*macīvara sopacāra*), carrying gourd to carry water (*anaṇḍaṇa valuh*), taking mendicant's staff (*kekari*). When you are a *buddharṣi*, wear bark cloth (*madaluvaṇa*), sash (*masāmpeta*), put powdered *candana* (*mabhasmacandana*), grains (*mavīja*) for ritual (*sopacāra*).

*Upāsaka kunañ kita, saka sopacāranta ulahaknanta nirmāna, humeneñāgranāsikā.*

However, if you are an *upāsaka*, support the ritual, perform it free from pride, concentrate silently and gaze on the tip of the nose.

*Hayva ta manahta karaketan ri rasa niñ aji tarkka, vyākaraṇa teka riñ āgama purāṇādi, saddharmma niñ समयakośa, kriyākatantrādi, nūniveh ri tan karaketananta riñ prakṛta carita, vaca-vacan, gīta, nṛti ityevamādi. Doṣanyan karaketan: agoñ kleśanya, kavalahan kita humilañaken ikañ prakṛta: rāga dveṣa, moha, mvang avasāna kita, yan kajenekana irikā kabeh, kadyaṅganiñ vvañ mamaneḥ kayu, huvus teka i ruhur, patemahan tumurun glānāñel, sadākāla juga adoh maṅgihakna kamokṣan. Ndātan sañkeñ abhiniveśa kami n pakojar ikā, i vruhanta makaphalāñel sadākāla juga, mvañ makaphala śubha ni katamvan in kamokṣan.*

Do not attach your mind to the savor of the science of logic and grammar (*aji tarkka, vyākaraṇa*) up to the *āgamas, purāṇas*, and the like, the true Dharma (*saddharma*) according to the treasury of rules of observances or doctrines (*samayakośa*), *kriyākatantras*, and the like, and certainly do not be attached to composed stories, written texts, songs, dances, and the like. The fault of being attached: the affliction (*kleśa*) is great; it would be difficult for you to eradicate the root (*prakṛta*): *rāga, dveṣa, moha*; and finally, when one feels comfortable with all these, it is like one who climbs a tree, having reached the top, finally being exhausted has to descend with difficulty, and then also is always far way from finding liberation. It was not due to strong attachment that I said those, but instead you should know that it is always difficult to have fruition, and yet it is pleasant to have fruition in finding liberation.

*Iti pājar mami ri kita, kita vekas nikā, amintuhva; tan pamintuhva kita ri kami, tan valātkāra kami ri pamituhvanta ri kami: saṅka ri tepetta kunan pamituhvanta ri kami. Hayva ta maṅkana. Udikta tapva pavarah mami rumuhun, pametakna darśana paricceda pratipattin, mūla madhyavasānanya, yatekāgeseṇananta riṅ sadābhyāsa. Hayva sinavang-savang, hayva sinamar-samar denta gumego ri varah mami, kadyaṅgāning suvarṇa paṇḍita.*

These are my teachings to you. You are finally to obey them; if you do not obey me, I will not force you to obey me: however, obey me out of your sincerity. Do not be otherwise. Please examine my teachings first, mapping the doctrine (*darśana*), the exact distinction between true and false (*paricceda*), and the practice (*pratipatti*), at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end (*mūla, madhya, vasāna*). You will be radiant by constant practice. Do not be unclear, do not grasp vaguely in adhering to my teachings, just like a gold expert.

*Siṅgih varah-varah mahāmpuṅku. Ryy avasāna niṅ aji tarkka vyākaraṇa tantrādi, mapa pvekang aji yogya naran ikā, anuṅ gegonen in pinakaṅhulun, turunanni varānugraha śrī mahāmpuṅku, yatika hyaṅ niṅ hulun ri pāda dvaya śrī mahāmpuṅku.*

Indeed, the teaching is true, my great master (*mahāmpu*). With regard to the end of the science of logic, grammar, tantra, and the like, which study is proper for me afterward? To which should I adhere? Please bestow upon me your blessings, my Śrī Mahāmpu, who is to me the holiness at the pair of feet of my Śrī Mahāmpu.

*Paramabodhimārgga*

*Aum! Anakku kita ñ jinaputra, mene kami avaraha irikañ aji anuñ yogya gegonta. Hana ṣaṭpāramitā ñaranya, yatika paramabodhimārgga, yatikā varahakna mami ri kita rumuhun, marapvan kita tan añel mañabhyāsa ri kapañguhan ri kahyañbuddhān.*

*Aum!* My child, you are the son of Jina (*jinaputra*); now I shall teach you this sacred formula to which is proper for you to adhere. There is the so-called *ṣaṭpāramitā*, that is the *paramabodhimārgga*—that is my first teaching to you—so that you do not have difficulty in practice finding buddhahood.

*Paramamārgga.*

*Ṣaṭpāramitās*

*Nihan lvirnya ṣaḍ ikañ pāramitā:*

Those six *pāramitās* are:

*Dānaśīlañca kṣāntiśca vīrya dhyānañca prajñāca*

*Dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna, and prajñā*

*ṣaṭpāramitam ucyate dānatrividhalakṣaṇaṃ.*

[They] are called the *ṣaṭpāramita*; *dāna* has three properties.

*Ka: Dāna-pāramitā, śīla-pāramitā, kṣānti-pāramitā, vīrya-pāramitā, dhyāna-pāramitā, prajñā-pāramitā, iti nahan lvirnya nem ikañ pāramitā, yatikā havan abener mara irikañ<sup>100</sup> mahābodhi.*

The meaning is: *dāna-pāramitā, śīla-pāramitā, kṣānti-pāramitā, vīrya-pāramitā, dhyāna-pāramitā, prajñā-pāramitā*: these six *pāramitās* are the right path to draw near to this great enlightenment (*mahābodhi*).

*Dānatrividhalakṣaṇaṃ: tiga prakāra niñ lakṣaṇa niñ dāna, lvirnya: dāna, atidāna, mahātidāna.*

*Dāna* has three properties: the three kinds of properties are: *dāna, atidāna, and mahātidāna*.

*Dāna ñaranya:*

100. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan: marerikañ*.

The so-called *dāna* is:

*Annañca pānaṃ kanakādiratnaṃ dhanañca vāstraṃ śayanāsanañca*

Food and beverages, jewelry beginning with gold and wealth, clothing, bed, and dwelling,

*rājaśrīyaṃ svaṃ nagarañca datvā vijāyateneya vadanti dānaṃ.*

Own sovereignty and glory and city; after generating giving like this, they say *dāna*.

*Ka: Sakveh nikañ amirasa vastu kadyaṅgāni sekul inak, inum-inuman, astamaken ikañ vvai matīs avangi kapvekā vinehaken i yavanakajanaka<sup>101</sup> tekā taya ri mās, mañik, dodot malit, rare hulun, vvañ-vvañ, ratha<sup>102</sup> gajah vājī, kaḍatvan, tuvi vehakna ikā yan hana maminta ri kita; hayva makasādhyā ṅ pratyupakāra. Vet ni goṅ ni sihta irikañ satva juga kita n venañ aveveh ikañ yavanakajana, duluranta śabda rahayu, ulah yukti, āmbek menak. Yatikā dāna ṅaranya.*

The meaning is: All these tasty objects, such as pleasing rice, beverages, or even this cool fragrant water, or their equals, are given to any person up to nothing in gold, jewels, fine garments, officers, attendants, chariots, elephants, horses, kingdom; and give them if there is one who asks for them from you: do not do it for the purpose of a favor in return. It is also because of great loving kindness toward beings that you are able to give to any person, which should go along with your lovely voice, suitable behavior, mind at ease. That is the so-called *dāna*.

*Atidāna ṅaranya:*

The so-called *atidāna* is:

*Svāñcāpi bhāryyān tanayam priyañca datvā parebhyah na punas tu tṛṣṇā*

Having given even your own beloved wife and children, and beyond,

*nāśokacittaṃ<sup>103</sup> pramāṅnumātraṃ dvijāpateneva vadanti dānaṃ.*

As requested by the twice-born (*dvija*, or *brāhmaṇa*), do not be unhappy on trifling matters, they say *dāna*.

101. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyanikan: yavanakajanaka* (= *yavanaka* + *janaka*).

102. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyanikan: raṣā* (?). Chandra, “Śaiva Version of Sañ Hyañ Kamahâyanikan”: *ratha*, one of the *saptaratna*.

103. The commentary confirms that it must be *nāśokacittaṃ* instead of *na śokacittaṃ*.



*Ka: Anakbi bhāryyā, anakta kunañ strī kāsīhta tovin puṇyāknanta ikā yan hana maminta ri kita, kadyaṅgān sañ mahāsatva, an puṇyāken strī nira: bhāryyā nira, anak nira i sañ brāhmaṇa mamalaku i sira. Āpan ikañ tṛṣṇā pinakavāraṇa niñ kahyañbuddhān: an kapaṅguha, pisaninūn kapaṅguha ṅ kahyañbuddhān. Pañliṅgana ri pegat nika tṛṣṇā ri kita, hayva ta nāsokacittaṃ paramāṇumātra, hameñan.<sup>104</sup> Ikañ puṇya mañkana pinakopāya ri kagavayan iñ boddhinagara praveśa. Gavayan iñ puṇya mañkana kramanya yatikātidāna ṅaranya.*

The meaning is: Wife, *bhāryyā*, your children and even your beloved wife, present them as meritorious gifts when one asks for them from you, just like Sañ Mahāsatva, who gives his wife as a meritorious gift: his wife, his children to Sañ Brāhmaṇa—follow the way of his life. Because this desire is an obstruction to buddhahood: having this obstruction, it is impossible to find buddhahood. The turnaround in cutting off your desire; do not be unhappy on trifling matters (*nāsokacittaṃ paramāṇumātra*). As a result, this meritorious gift is therefore your means to make an entrance into the city of enlightenment (*boddhinagara*). Performing meritorious giving is therefore the practice, it is the so-called *atidāna*.

*Mahātidāna ṅaranya:*

The so-called *mahātidāna* is:

*Datvā svamāñsaṃ rudhiraṃ parebhyah jivvāsuraṃ hṛdayaṃ śarīraṃ*

Having given one's own flesh, blood, and beyond, having defeated the lord of demons, heart, body,

*dāyānibhāvāt navaduḥkhamayat mahātidānaṃ pravadanti santaḥ.*

From giving because of fresh suffering [of beings], they truly call *mahātidāna*.

*Ka: Kadyaṅgān sañ mahāsatva, an puṇyāken dagañ nira, rāh nira, mata nira, ṅ avak nira, tan hana katṛṣṇān ira irikā kabeh, makanimitta sih nira riñ satva, makasañkan māthanya n duḥka ikā satva, hanan rākṣaṣa, hanan moñ, hanan garuḍa, pinuṇyāken ira ikā dagañ nira, rāh nira, mata nira, pinuṇyāken ira ri brāhmaṇa tuha vuta, parikṣa ri kadānaśūran ira, hati nira pinuṇyāken ira ri bañyaga n ṣut<sup>105</sup> kṛpa duḥkita, astamaken ikañ*

104. *Pañliṅgana*, from the root *liñ*, meaning “turnaround”; see Mardiwarsito, *Kamus Jawa Kuna—Indonesia*. The word *hameñan* should be read as part of the following sentence.

105. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan: bañyakanṣut* (?).

*avak sukāryyan ikañ yavanakajana, tan tineñet ira. Kagavayan in punya mañkana, yatikā mahātidāna naranya.*

The meaning is: Just like Sañ Mahāsattva, who gave his flesh, blood, eyes, and body, without yearning for all of these, because of his compassion to beings, moreover due to suffering of these beings, demons, tigers, *garuḍas*, he gave them his flesh, blood, and eyes; he gave to an old and blind *brāhmaṇa* as a test for his generosity; he gave his heart to a wanderer's son who was miserable due to compassion, even his body for a great feast for any person without holding back. Therefore performing this meritorious giving is the so-called *mahātidāna*.

*Iti nahan lvir niñ dāna inajaraken tiga bhedanya.*

This is the teaching discussing three different kinds of *dāna*.

*Śīla-pāramitā naranya:*

The so-called *śīla-pāramitā* is:

*Nivṛttir aśubhāt kṛtsnāt pravṛttis tu śubhe sadā*<sup>106</sup>

Ceasing from all improper conduct but always cultivating right conduct in the course of body, voice, and mind,

*iti śīlasya sañkṣepaḥ kāyāvānmanasakramāt*

Thus is the summary of morality.

*Ka: Ikañ kāya, vāk, manah. Kāya na śarīra, solah niñ tañan suku, ya kāya naranya. Vāk*<sup>107</sup> *naranya: śabda. Salvir niñ vuvus ya śabda naranya. Citta: ikañ hiḍep, ya citta naranya. Apa pvānuñ utsahanen ikañ trikāya? Ikañ gave hayu, salvir niñ inaranan śubhakarmma, ya hayu gavayakna deniñ trikāya. Sañsiptanya; ikañ kāya vāk citta yatikā tanpagavaya pāpa; saprakāra ni inaranan pāpakarmma tan vineh mabyāpārerika. Ikañ trikāya naranya: kāya, vāk, citta.*

The meaning is: These are *kāya*, *vāk*, *manah*. *Kāya* means body (*śarīra*), the conduct of hands and feet; all these are the so-called *kāya*. The so-called *vāk* is: voice (*śabda*). Every kind of what is said is the so-called voice (*śabda*). *Citta*: this mind is the so-called *citta*. What are to be performed

106. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: pravṛttir aśubhe tathā*. This does not make any sense. The beginning phrase *nivṛttir aśubhāt kṛtsnāt pravṛtti* is in chap. 1, v. 22 of the *Ratnāvalī* of Nāgārjuna. Thus it is more likely that the ending part was a scribal copying error and should instead be *pravṛttis tu śubhe sadā*, thereby making the whole *ab pāda* exactly the same as Nāgārjuna's.

107. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: Vak*.

by this threefold body (*trikāya*)? The work of good deeds (*gave hayu*), everything that can be called wholesome deeds (*śubhakarmma*) should be done by these *trikāya*. In short: these *kāya*, *vāk*, and *citta* should not cause evil (*pāpa*); everything that belongs to it which can be called evil deeds (*pāpakarmma*) should not be engaged in. These are the so-called *trikāya*: *kāya*, *vāk*, and *citta*.

*Apa lvir nikañ aśubhakarmma, anuñ tan utsahanen deniñ kāya?*

What are the bad deeds (*aśubhakarmma*) that should not be performed by body (*kāya*)?

*Prāṇātipātavirati adattādānavirati kāmamithyācārvirati*

Cease killing, cease taking things not given, cease improper sexual conduct.

*Prāṇātipātawirati naranya: tan pamati-matya avak niñ sineñguh prāṇī, agoñ ademit, salviranya, sadoṣa nirdoṣa, yāvat prāṇī, tan dadi pinatyan ikā. Apa doṣa nikā pinatyan? Bvat kavava riñ naraka, āpan ikañ mamati-mati ya hetu niñ naraka, mamañgih duḥkātyantabhāra, añjanma preta tiryyak, kalana<sup>108</sup> pipīlikādi.*

The so-called *prāṇātipātavirati*: not killing the body of living creatures, big or small, of any kind, sinner or sinless. As long as they are living creatures, they are not to be killed. What are your sins by killing? They make you get into hell (*naraka*), because this killing is the cause for going to hell (*naraka*), for getting suffering of excessive load, for being born as a ghost (*preta*), an animal (*tiryyak*), a demon (*kalana*), an ant (*pipīlika*), and the like.

*Adattādānavirati naranya: tan dadi mañalap artha, yan tan vinehaken; salviran iñ artha, mūlya tan mūlya, tan venañ vvañ mañalap yan tapvanubhaya ikañ madṛvya, hetu niñ naraka ikā muvah mvañ magave tan śṛddha bhaṭāra ri kita, tan katon lakṣaṇa nira denta.*

The so-called *adattādānavirati*: not to take things that are not given; any kind of things, worthy or unworthy, one is not allowed to take goods without consent; all these are the cause to go to hell (*naraka*) and to make Bhaṭāra not have faith in you, the characteristics of which you do not see.

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108. Kats, Sang hyang Kamahâyānikan: kelnika (?).

*Kāmamithyācārvirati nāranya: tan dadi tan virati riñ strī; salvir niñ strī sinañguh tan yogya parigrahan, lvirnya: jaṭī, sakhi,<sup>109</sup> muñḍi, sakaṅṭaka, dṛvya niñ guru mvañ kuṭumbī santāna nira. Yadyapin i strīnta tovi, yan devagrha kaparek sakeñ buddhaprativimba, sañ hyañ arccā, pratimā, peṭa, pustaka, ngūniveh sthāna sañ guru, tan dadi gumavayakna sañgama. Apa doṣanyan ginavayaken ikā? Hetu ni naraka ikā muvah, mvañ hilañ phala niñ yoga brata samādhinta de nikā.*

The so-called *kāmamithyācārvirati* is: Certainly be disinterested in women; any kind of women considered inappropriate to be taken into possession, such as: a female ascetic (*jaṭī*); a female friend, companion, or confidante (*sakhi*); a tonsured nun (*muñḍi*); a forbidden woman (*sakaṅṭaka*); guru's property and his women in the house (*kuṭumbī*) and offspring (*santāna*). Even if it be your own wife, when approaching a house of god (*devagrha*) with buddha images, Sañ Hyañ Arccā, statues (*pratimā*), pictures (*peṭa*), books (*pustaka*), and certainly at the abode of Sañ Guru, it is not allowed to have intercourse. What is the sin for doing these? All these are the causes to go to hell (*naraka*) and to lose fruition in your yoga, brata, and samādhi.

*Ikañ virati sañkerikā katiga ya hayu ginavayaken in kāya naran ikā, mvañ tan dadi pādacapala hastacapala, mvañ tan gamelan uttamānganta deniñ tapvan manarima sambhara. Doṣanyan gamelan: luñhā bhaṭāra pañca tathāgata sañke śirahta, ya ta matañmyan inalapan sañaskāra ginamel śirahnya deniñ tapvan manarima sambhara, apan lumebur padma bhaṭāra buddha ikañ ginamel śirahnya deni grāma;<sup>110</sup> mvañ tan dadi masuke<sup>111</sup> grha niñ cañḍāla, apan buddhālaya tatva ni śarīranta ri huvus tan kinenan buddhābhīṣeka. Bhatara Buddha pva parameśvara niñ parameśvara, sarvvadevatāguru, guru niñ sarvva devatā.<sup>112</sup> Ya ta hetu nira tan venañ kavaveñ adhaḥkriyā, mvañ tan viśeṣa niñ upadhāna; ya ta hetu ni tan panambah riñ strī, mata gurupatnī, tan dadi n vvañ manambah ri sira, āpan svotpādakahetu tu tatva bhaṭāra sugata, dadi makakārañāvak nira, śāsana nira ya ta tinūtaken de sañ sogata. Ikā ta n gati tan panambah riñ strī, tan ginamel mastakanya deniñ tapvan kṛtābhīṣeka, ikañ tan para riñ adhaḥkriyā, ya hayu ginavayaken deniñ kāya ikā.*

109. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: śikhī*.

110. *Grāma*, meaning “multitude.” This particular usage is very significant for interpreting the word *grāma* inscribed on the Kayumwungan inscription.

111. *Masuke* = *ma* + *suka* + *i*, “to give pleasure.”

112. In v. 2 of the *Nidana* chapter of the *Lalitavistara*, the Buddha is called the god of all gods (*devātideva*).

Because of self-control on these three, good deeds are performed on the body, and there will be no uncontrolled feet and hands, and your head will not be touched by one who has not received ritual (*sambhara*). The sin for being touched: Bhaṭāra Pañca Tathāgata will leave your head, therefore it is removing the consecration (*sañaskāra*) from the head when it is touched by one who has not received the ritual (*sambhara*), because it destroys the lotus of Bhaṭāra Buddha when the head is touched by the multitude; and the house of a *caṇḍāla* will not give pleasure to [Bhaṭāra], because when your body, being the essence of the buddha heaven (*buddhālaya*), has ended, it is no longer suitable for consecration as a buddha (*buddhābhiṣeka*). Bhatara Buddha is the supreme lord of all supreme lords (*parameśvara*), *sarvvadevatāguru*, guru of all *devatās*. For this reason, yours is not to be overpowered by a low (contemptible) activity (*adhaḥkriyā*), and not to be dominated by attachment (*upadhāna*); for this reason do not hail women, and so teacher's wife (*gurupatnī*), one should not hail her, because self-producing cause (*svotpādakahetu*) is really the essence of Bhaṭāra Sugata; it becomes because of his body, his teachings (*śāsana*), therefore one should follow Sañ Sogata. Your fortunes if you do not hail women will be that the head is not touched by one who has not been initiated (*kṛtābhiṣeka*), you will not draw near to *adhaḥkriyā*, thus these are good deeds by the body.

*Mapa ñ hayu gavayakna deniñ vāk?*

What is good that should be performed by speech (*vāk*)?

*Nihan kramanya: Hayva mṛṣāvāda tan paśunya tan pārūṣya, tan sambilāpa virati, tan pañlalānana<sup>113</sup> sarvva vastu makādi ñ pinañan, tanpañdoṣanana guṇa nirguṇa ni para, mvañ tanpañinañ asepah niñ strī, tan pamañana cyutasamīpa,<sup>114</sup> tan pamañanani vedānta nivedya bhaṭāra Buddha,<sup>115</sup>—ikā ta gati mañkana yekā hayu ginavayaken deniñ vāk ñaranya.*

This is the method: Not speaking falsehoods; not slandering; not being harsh; not complaining; being in self-control; not being playful over anything, even more food; not finding fault with the virtues or nonvirtues of others; and not eating quid of women, not eating those fallen

113. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: tanpañalānana.*

114. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: tan pamañan acyutasamīpa.*

115. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: tanpa mañanani vedānta ni vedya, bhaṭāra Buddha.*

close to you (*cyutasamīpa*); not eating an offering given to Bhaṭāra Buddha—these are the actions, thus these are good deeds by the speech.

*Maṇa ṅ hayu ginavayaken deniṅ citta?*

What is good to be performed by mind (*citta*)?

*Tan goṅ rāga, tan goṅ dveṣa, tan moha, tan dambha, tan īrṣyā, tan mātsaryya, mvaṅ tan goṅ krodha, tan goṅ lābha, tan goṅ śoka, mvaṅ reṇa śuci, satya riṅ utari, mvaṅ hayva mithyādrṣṭi, agoṅ ta sihnya ri sarbva satva, mvaṅ sambeganya, apageh ta bhaktinya ri bhaṭāra pañca tathāgata, mvaṅ ri bhaṭāra ratnatraya; hayun ta ya lumepasakna ṅ sarbva satva saṅke saṅsāra-duḥka—yatikā hayu ginavayaken deniṅ citta ṅaranya.*

No strong passion (*rāga*), no strong hatred (*dveṣa*), no illusion (*moha*), no deceit (*dambha*), no jealousy (*īrṣyā*), no envy (*mātsaryya*), and no strong wrath (*krodha*), no large profit (*lābha*), no strong sorrow (*śoka*); and feeling obliged purely (*reṇa śuci*), honest in debts (*utari*); and do not have wrong view (*mithyādrṣṭi*); strong in compassion to all beings, and kindly disposed; firm in *bhakti* to Bhaṭāra Pañca Tathāgata and to Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya; wishing the liberation of all beings from the miseries of rebirths—these are good deeds by the mind.

*Saṅsīptanya: Inak ni pageh niṅ pariśuddha niṅ kāya wāk citta, ya sinaṅguh śīla-pāramitā ṅaranya.*

In short: Comfort being firmly pure in *kāya*, *wāk*, and *citta* is considered the so-called *śīla-pāramitā*.

*Kṣānti-pāramitā ṅaranya:*

The so-called *kṣānti-pāramitā* is:

*Mitrāmitrasāmaṅ cittaṅ apūjapūjajoḥ samaṅ*

The mind is the same toward those being friendly or not friendly, being irreverent or reverent,

*kruddheṣu śāntisauratyam kṣāntipāramitām vadet.*

delight in tranquility while in an irritating condition; this is how one should speak about the perfection of endurance.

*Ka: Ikaṅ citta kelan riṅ parāvamāna aneka lvir nikaṅ pisakit tinekāken ikaṅ melik ri kita, hanan kāya tan yukti, śabda tan-yukti, citta tan-yukti, tatan malara, tan kagyat, pisaniniṅ ahyun malesa riṅ ahita, kevala tumarima ikaṅ pūrbvakarmmapārādha, tan pahuvusan maṅaṅen-aṅen hayva niṅ sarbva satva. Juḡa ṅ vinivekā, kinagoravan pva kita, tatan gemegemen, tan harṣa, tan giraṅ hyasen, mvaṅ sama buddhinta riṅ sarbvasatva.*

The meaning is: This mind enduring the contempt of others (*parāvamāna*), various pains inflicted by those who hate you, improper bodily action, improper sound, improper mind, should not be in distress; do not be startled, certainly do not wish misfortune on an evil-doer, only accept this past karma retributions (*pūrvvakarmmapārādha*), and do not cease thinking about the well being of all beings. Also, you should treat cautiously, receive with respect, not be overjoyed, not take pleasure, not be delighted in beaming, and your disposition should be equal to all beings.

*Saṁsīptanya: tan hana vikāra ni buddhinata ri sedañnya n ivavamānan<sup>116</sup>  
mvañ kinagoravan. Ikā tañ gati mañkana ya sinañgah kṣānti-pāramitā  
ñaranya.*

In short: without defects in your disposition while being held in contempt and being received with respect. Your deeds like those are then considered the so-called *kṣānti-pāramitā*.

*Vīrya-pāramitā ñaranya:*

The so-called *vīrya-pāramitā* is:

*Vīryārembho divārātrau satvānām hitakāraṇāt.*

Undertaking with energy day and night for the welfare of all beings.

*karoti nāśravaṇ kiñcit vīryapāramitā smṛtā.*

Doing it without defilements at all, this is how the perfection of energy is remembered.

*Ka: Ikañ kāya vāk citta yatikābyāpara tad añluh,<sup>117</sup> tan alisuh gumavay-  
aken ikañ kuśala-karmma ri rahina ri weñi.*

The meaning is: Those *kāya*, *vāk*, *citta* are to be engaged in; you should not feel distressed, not be lazy in performing the wholesome karma (*kuśala-karmma*) day and night.

*Lvir niñ kuśala gavayakna ri rahina: saddharma lekhana, mamūjā, maveha  
ñ ājya, manulis sañ hyañ ākāra pallava, manasisaddharmmavacana,<sup>118</sup>  
umaca sañ hyañ dharmma ri pustaka, sthūpopakāraṇa, mañarembha  
sañ hyañ sthūpa tathāgataprativimba, mañārcchanākna sarbvopakriyā,  
mahoma mvañ makabuddhyañgorava riñ tamuy. Nahan lvir ni kuśala ga-  
vayakna deniñ kāya vāk citta ri rahina ikā.*

116. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: sedangnyan ivavamānan*.

117. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: yatikābyāpara*, but suggested *yatikābyāpara* (“to be engaged in”). Kats: *tadā ng luh*.

118. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: manasi (?)*, *saddharmmavacana*.



Kinds of good deeds performed in daytime are: inscribing the scriptures (*saddharma*), worshipping (*mamūjā*), offering oblations, writing Sañ Hyañ Ākāra Pallava, reciting the *saddharma* in the heart, reading Sañ Hyañ Dharmma in the scriptures, adorning *sthūpas* (*sthūpopakāraṇa*), undertaking Sañ Hyañ *sthūpa* with images of the *tathāgatas* (*tathāgataprativimba*) and using them for all forms of ritual worship (*sarbvopakriyā*), performing *homa*, and to honor guests respectfully. Those are the kinds of good deeds to be performed by *kāya*, *vāk*, and *citta* during the day.

*Mapa ñ kuśala gavayakna niñ kāya vāk citta ri rātri? Majapa, mayoga, masodhyāya, mañucchāraṇākna mantra stuti ri sañ hyañ sarbva tathāgata, sarbva devī, mañānen-añena sarbva satva, mvañ mañānen-añena svasthā niñ sarbva satva, luputanya sañkeñ rekhā, hentasanya sañkeñ bhāvacakra, pamañgihanya kasugatin, dateñanya riñ lokottarasuka. Mañkana kagavayan ikañ kuśala ri weñi deniñ kaya, vāk, citta, tanpāntara, tan kahanana luh tanpanaṅguh ariel. Ikañ gati mañkana ya vīrya-pāramitā ñaranya.*

What are good deeds performed by *kāya*, *vāk*, *citta* in nighttime? To utter prayers, perform yoga, study or recite the scriptures (*masodhyāya*), utter mantra and praise before Sañ Hyañ Sarvva Tathāgata, Sarvva Devī, think about all beings, and think about the well-being of all beings, the release from predestined existence, the rescue from rebirths (*bhāvacakra*), finding the right course of action to arrive at supernatural bliss (*lokottarasuka*). Thus the good deeds at night by *kaya*, *vāk*, *citta* [are performed] uninterruptedly, without feeling distressed, and undeterred by difficulty. This course of action is therefore the so-called *vīrya-pāramitā*.

*Dhyāna-pāramitā ñaranya:*

The so-called *dhyāna-pāramitā*:

*Śreṣṭhamadhyamakaniṣṭhe satye nityaṃ dayāmatih*

The mind always being truly compassionate toward all beings of high, middle, or low status,

*yoginaḥ yogasāmarṣyat dhyānapāramitā smṛtā.*

thus the yogis reflect in yoga, this is how the perfection of meditation is remembered.

*Ka: Kañ āmbek mañekāntāken takvatakvan, nitya masih riñ sarbvasatva, kaniṣṭhamadhyamottama, inañen-añen hitasukāvasānanya, ngūniveh ikañ rāt kabeh, inanusmaraṇa hitasukāvasānanya riñ ihatraparatra de nira. Umapa de nira umanusmaraṇa hitasukāvasānanya ikā sarbvasatva? Inak*

*ni de nira tumuñgulaken avak nira. Mapa lvir nikañ āmbek? Ya eva satvaḥ saḥ evāham, saḥ ahaṃ saḥ sarvasatvaḥ, ityādyakāramabhūt, ikañ avak niñ sarvasatva avakku ikā, avakku avak ni sarvasatva ikā; apayāpan avibhāgekasvabhāvā, ikañ sarbvavastu tan hana bheda ri sarbva dharmma, mañkana kāraṇa ikañ āmbek. Yatikā dhyāna-pāramitā ñaranya.*

The meaning is: A mind having inquiry as the sole aim, always being compassionate toward all beings, of low, middle, or high status, wishing they obtain well-being and happiness, even to all in the world, evoking by mindfulness their getting well-being and happiness here in this world and hereafter. How does he evoke by mindfulness that all beings get well-being and happiness? The easy course by him is to unite them in his body. What kind of mind is this? *Ya eva satvaḥ saḥ evāham, saḥ ahaṃ saḥ sarvasatvaḥ, ityādyakāramabhūt*, the body of all beings is my body, my body is the body of all beings; because *avibhāgekasvabhāvā*, all things are not different from all *dharmmas*, thus is the cause for this mind. Thus is the so-called *dhyāna-pāramitā*.

*Prajñā-pāramitā ñaranya:*

The so-called *prajñā-pāramitā* is:

*Yāvanti sarbvavastūni daśadiksañsthitānica*

For as many things in the ten directions,

*tāni śūnyasvabhāvāni prajñāpāramitā smṛtā.*

their nature is empty; this is how the perfection of wisdom is remembered.

*Ka: Sakveh nikañ sinañguhana riñ loka, daśadiksañsthitah, ikañ umuñgu ri deśa sapuluh: pūrvva, dakṣina, paścima, uttara, āgneya, nairṛti, vāyavya, aiśānī, ūrdhva, adhaḥ, yatikā kavruhana teka riñ śarīra vāhya adhyātmika mvañ sarbva satva, sarbva vidhya, sarbva kriyā, sarbva kabvatan, sarbva pakṣa, yatikā kavruhana, sākāranya nirākāranya an makatatva ñ śūnyatā. Sambandha: tan katemvan<sup>119</sup> yan iniñet-iñet an pakāvak añ ekāneka svabhāva, āpan tuñgal-tuñgal mapupul matemu ikañ sinañguh akveh ñaranya. Anuñ matemva<sup>120</sup> yatikā tan katemu n tinatva vināsvas, iniñet-iñet tan katemu ikañ sinañguh tuhu-tuhu tuñgal ñaranya.*

The meaning is: All in the world, *daśadiksañsthitah*, those dwelling in the ten regions: east (*pūrvva*), south (*dakṣina*), west (*paścima*), north (*uttara*), northeast (*āgneya*), southeast (*nairṛti*), southwest (*vāyavya*),

119. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: katamvan.*

120. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: matamva.*

northwest (*aiśānī*), zenith (*ūrdhwa*), nadir (*adhah*), those known including the body (*śarīra*), those external to the *adhyātmika*, and all beings, all knowledge, all actions, all products, all views (*sarvva pakṣa*), those known with forms and without forms (*sākāraṇya nirākāraṇya*), are essentially void (*śūnyatā*). The reason (*sambandha*): It is not found when one observes intently the embodiment of the nature of singularity and plurality, because those which are singular assemble and join together and are considered plural. Whatever join together, as is said if examined closely they are not found, if observed intently one cannot find that which can be considered truly single.

*Tumuluy ata ṅ inēt-inēt, umiṅet-inēta yan taya ṅ tuhu-tuhu sinaṅguh makveh; tatan riṅ vāhya vastu juga katekan tatva maṅkana kramanya, tekā riṅ jñāna svarūpa paḍa tan katamvan an ikā ekāneka grahyakāra; karikā grāhakākāra kunaṅ agrāhaka, agrāhya kunaṅ tatvanya, tan katemu kaḥiḍepanya, enak pva kaḥiḍepanya riṅ śūnyatā ekasvabhāva. Ikaṅ śūnyatā niṅ sarvbadharmma ekasvabhāva; mvaṅ vāhyādhyātma sakṣaṇa inēt-inēt ta ikaṅ sinaṅguh śūnyatā naranya, tan katemu hatah tatvanya an grāhyarūpa an grāhakarūpa, satata sandeha pravṛtti ikaṅ jñāna. Umabhyāsa ikaṅ śūnyatā kadi rūpa bhāvana tan katemu atah avaknya.*

Moreover, if you observe carefully and look closely, there is none which can be truly considered plural; not only in external objects but also including its essence, thus is the condition, including equally the *jñāna svarūpa*, you will not find the object-aspect of those which are singular and plural (*ekāneka grahyakāra*), the subject-aspect (*grāhakākāra*), or even without subject (*agrāhaka*), without object (*agrāhya*), or even its essence (*tatvanya*). It cannot be experienced. It indeed suits the experience of voidness (*śūnyatā*) of one nature (*ekasvabhāva*). This voidness (*śūnyatā*) of all *dharma*s (*sarvbadharmmas*) is of one nature (*ekasvabhāva*); and you should be aware that the outer and inner at the same moment (*vāhyādhyātma sakṣaṇa*) are considered the so-called voidness (*śūnyatā*). When you hopelessly do not find the essence (*tatvanya*) of *grāhyarūpa* and *grāhakarūpa*, and you are always in doubt; practice this *jñāna*. Practice this voidness (*śūnyatā*) by contemplating on the form (*rūpa bhāvana*), and you will surely not find the body.

*Nihan prastāva nikā grāhya grāhaka rūpa. Ri vekasan pva ya ta sarvvaprapaṅcavarjitaḥ, ikaṅ jñāna tumiṅgalaken sarvvaprapaṅca tan pamikalpa riṅ hana taya, ya ta pageh sthiti tanpolah, ākāsamata lvirnyālilang aniravāraṇa, pada lāvan ākāśa. Ndah yatika vastu sinaṅguh prajñā-pāramitā ṅa ikaṅ inabhyāsa Ḍaṅ hyaṅ sarvvasiddhi, mataṅnyan paṅguhaken ikaṅ kaḥyaṅbuddhān.*

Thus with regard to those *grāhya grāhaka rūpa*, in the end they are *sarvvaprapañcavarjitaḥ*. This *jñāna* abandons *sarvvaprapañca* and is certain about existence and inexistence, thereby is firm, fixed, not moving. Just like *ākāśa*, the form is clear, unhindered, the same as *ākāśa*. Thus, this thing is considered the so-called *prajñā-pāramitā* to practice oneself constantly with Ḍaṅ Hyañ Sarbvasiddhi, therefore attaining buddhahood.

*Iti nāhan lakṣana niñ sinaṅguh ṣaṭ pāramitā nāranya.*

They are the properties of those being considered as the six *pāramitās* (*ṣaṭ pāramitā*).

#### *Caturpāramitā*

*Kagegopvekaṅṣaṭpāramitā denta, kitaṅ tathāgatakula jinaputrādhikarmika, lakṣaṅāken taṅ catur pāramitā.*

Practice these *ṣaṭpāramitās* and you, being Tathāgatakula Jinaputrādhikarmika, perform the *caturpāramitās*.

#### *Caturpāramitās*

*Catur pāramitā nāranya: metri, karuṅā, muditā, upekṣā.*

The so-called *caturpāramitās* are: *metri, karuṅā, muditā, upekṣā*.

*Metri nāranya: parahitakāṅṛtva, ākāra niñ jñāna sañ Satva Viśeṣa. sañ Satva Viśeṣa nāranya: tumakitaki ṣaṭ pāramitā mvaṅ catur pāramitā, sira ta Satva Viśeṣa naran ira. Ākāra niñ jñāna nira gumave hayva niñ para. Para nāranya: sarbva satva, kaniṣṭamadhyaṅmottama, ikaṅ sih riṅ para tan phalāpekṣa, ya metri nāranya.*

The so-called *metri* is: the nature of performing meritorious action for the welfare of others (*parahitakāṅṛtva*), the state (*ākāra*) of *jñāna* of Sañ Satva Viśeṣa. The so-called Sañ Satva Viśeṣa: diligently does one's best in *ṣaṭpāramitā* and *caturpāramitā*, he is the so-called Satva Viśeṣa. The state (*ākāra*) of his *jñāna* works for the well-being of others. The so-called others (*para*) are: all beings (*sarbva satva*), low, middle, or high (*kaniṣṭamadhyaṅmottama*); this loving kindness (*sih*) towards others, without expectation of reward (*tan phalāpekṣa*), is the so-called *metri*.

*Karuṅā nāranya: paraduḥkhaviyogecca, ākāra niñ jñāna sañ Satva Viśeṣa ahyun hilaṅa ni duḥka niñ sarbva satva. Tiga lvir niñ duḥka niñ para,*

*pagavayan sañ Satva Viśeṣa karuṇā, lvirnya: duḥka-duḥkatā, Saṅskāra-duḥkatā, pariṇāma-duḥkatā. Nāhan lvirnyan tiga ṅ duḥka.*

The so-called *karuṇā* is: desire of separating the suffering from others (*paraduḥkhaviyogecca*), the state (*ākāra*) of *jñāna* of Sañ Satva Viśeṣa desiring the elimination of *duḥka* of all beings. Three kinds of *duḥka* in others, the work of *karuṇā* of Sañ Satva Viśeṣa, they are: *duḥka-duḥkatā, saṅskāra-duḥkatā, pariṇāma-duḥkatā*. Thus are the three kinds of *duḥka*.

*Duḥka-duḥkatā ṅaranya: pañalapnya sor sañkeñ janmanya tambayan, kadyāṅganiñ janma-mānuṣa, māti pva ya, mañjanma ta ya goḥ gavayādi, yatikā duḥka-duḥkatā ṅaranya.*

The so-called *duḥka-duḥkatā* is: catching the inferior birth due to previous birth, like born as a human, after death, as a result born as a cow (*goḥ*), etc., that is the so-called *duḥka-duḥkatā*.

*Saṅskāra-duḥkatā ṅaranya: pāpa valvi-valvinya hirikañ janma katemu denya tambayan, kadyāṅganiñ janma vvañ māti pva ya, mañjanma ta ya vvañ muvah. Yatikā saṅskāra-duḥka ṅaranya.*

The so-called *saṅskāra-duḥkatā* is: the sin repeatedly drags one being born just like the previous one, like born as a human after death born as a human again. That is the so-called *saṅskāra-duḥka*.

*Pariṇāma-duḥkatā ṅaranya: pañalapnya janma sor muvah ri huvusnyan pamaṅguhan janma levih sañke janmanya ri tambayan, kadyāṅganiñ janma-mānuṣa, māti pva ya, sañka ri tan pramādanya riñ dharmma, mañjanma ta ya devatā, sañka ri pramādanya mañjanma ta ya mānuṣa muvah. Yatikā pariṇāma-duḥkatā ṅaranya.*

The so-called *pariṇāma-duḥkatā* is: catching inferior birth again after attaining higher birth due to the previous birth, like born as a human, after death, because of being not negligent in the Dharma, born as a god (*devatā*), because of being negligent born as a human again. That is the so-called *pariṇāma-duḥkatā*.

*Nāhan lvirnyan tiga ikañ duḥka. Ikañ satva amaṅguhaken duḥka mañkana kramanya, yatikā kinenan karuṇā de sañ Satva Viśeṣa.*

Thus are the three kinds of *duḥka*. Beings encountering this series of *duḥka*, they are subjected to *karuṇā* by Sañ Satva Viśeṣa.

*Trividhā karuṇā jñeyā, tiga prakāra niñ karuṇā, lvirnya: satvālabhana-karuṇā, dharmmālabhana-karuṇā, anālabhana-karuṇā.*<sup>121</sup> Nāhan lvirnyan tigañ karuṇā.

Three categories of *karuṇā* are to be known (*trividhā karuṇā jñeyā*), three classes of *karuṇā*, they are: *satvālabhana-karuṇā*, *dharmmālabhana-karuṇā*, *anālabhana-karuṇā*. Thus are the three kinds of *karuṇā*.

*Satvālabhana-karuṇā nāranya: aprahīnātmadṛṣṭīnaṃ duḥkhitasatvālabhanā karuṇā, karuṇā niñ hanāgrahanya ryy avaknya: an gavayaken ikañ karuṇā irikañ satva manemu duḥka ināgrahanya pagavayana karuṇā, telas pagavayanā metrī, pṛthagjananāṃ satvālabhana-karuṇā, kadyāṅganiñ karuṇā ni pṛthagjana, satvālabhana karuṇā nāranya.*

The so-called *satvālabhana-karuṇā* is: *aprahīnātmadṛṣṭīnaṃ duḥkhitasatvālabhanā karuṇā, karuṇā* of being attached to one's body: being attached to perform this *karuṇā* toward beings encountering *duḥka* is the work of *karuṇā*, after the work of *metrī, pṛthagjananāṃ satvālabhana-karuṇā*, like *karuṇā* over common people (*pṛthagjana*), is the so-called *satvālabhana karuṇā*.

*Dharmmālabhana-karuṇā nāranya: prahīnātmadṛṣṭīnāṃ duḥkha, sañskāra- viṣayā karuṇā, karuṇā niñ tan hanāgrahanya ryy avaknya, an gavayaken ika karuṇā, irikañ satva manemu duḥka, makataṅgvam hana ni abhiniveśanya ri duḥka niñ satva pagavayan karuṇā, telas pagavayan metrī, mahāsatvasya āryyasya dharmmālabhanā karuṇā, kadyāṅgani karuṇā sañ mahāsatva sañ āryya, ya dharmālabhana-karuṇā nāranya.*

The so-called *dharmmālabhana-karuṇā* is: *prahīnātmadṛṣṭīnāṃ duḥkha, sañskāravīṣayā karuṇā, karuṇā* without strong attachment towards

121. Prajñākaramati mentions this triad in the *Prajñāpāramitā* chapter of his *Pañjikā* to the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*; see Parmananda Sharma, *Śāntideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra: Original Sanskrit Text with English Translation and Exposition Based on Prajñākaramati's Pañjikā* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1990), 423. This kind of triad was mentioned earlier in the *Akṣayamatīnirdeśa-sūtra: maitrī, bhadanta śāradvatīputremās tisraḥ. katamās tisraḥ? yā imāḥ sattvārambaṇā maitrī, dharmārambaṇā maitrī, anārambaṇāmaitrī*; see Jens Braarvig, *Akṣayamatīnirdeśasūtra* (Oslo: Solum Forlag, 1993), 2:351–352. This was later quoted in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* attributed to Nāgārjuna and in the *Śikṣāsamucchaya* by Śāntideva. Meanwhile, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* expands the triad applicable to all four *apramāṇas*: *kathañca bodhisattvaścatvāryapramāṇāni bhāvayati | maitrīṃ karuṇāṃ muditāmupekṣāṃ | iha bodhisattvaḥ samāsatastrividhāni catvāryapramāṇāni bhāvayati | sattvālabhanāni dharmālabhanānyanālabhanāni ca |*.

oneself, performing this *karuṇā* toward beings encountering *duḥka*, to have as a support with strong attachment on *duḥka* in beings is the work of *karuṇā*, after the work of *metrī*, *mahāsatvasya āryyasya dharmmāmbanā karuṇā*, like the *karuṇā* of Sañ Mahāsatva Sañ Āryya, is the so-called *dharmmāmbana-karuṇā*.

*Anāmbana-karuṇā nāranya: prahīnātmadṛṣṭīnāmevanabhīniveśasaṅskāravāhīni mārgge byavasthitanām-anāmbanā karuṇā, karuṇā sañ tan hanābhīniveśanya irikañ satva pagavayan karuṇā, teke dharmmānya, makataṅgon tan hanābhīniveśanya, an gavayaken ikañ karuṇā riñ satva manemu duḥka telas pagavayan metrī, grāhyagrāhakābhīniveśavigatānām buddhabodhisatvānām anāmbanā karuṇā, kadyaṅgāni karuṇā sañ bodhisatva nirāgraha, ya anāmbana-karuṇā nāranya.*

The so-called *anāmbana-karuṇā* is: *prahīnātmadṛṣṭīnāmevanabhīniveśasaṅskāravāhīni mārgge byavasthitanām-anāmbanā karuṇā*, *karuṇā* of one without strong attachment toward beings is the work of *karuṇā*, including its Dharma, to have as a support without strong attachment, performing this *karuṇā* toward beings encountering *duḥka* after the work of *metrī*, *grāhyagrāhakābhīniveśavigatānām buddhabodhisatvānām anāmbanā karuṇā*, like the *karuṇā* of Sañ Bodhisatva being unattached, is the so-called *anāmbana-karuṇā*.

*Iti nāhan prabheda ni karuṇā.*

Thus are differences in *karuṇā*.

*Muditā nāranya: Parahitatuṣṭiḥ satvaviśeṣasya jñānasyākāraḥ, inak nyākāra ni jñāna sañ Satva Viśeṣa de ni suka ni satva, telas pagavayan ira metrī karuṇā, muditā nāranya. Tigañ muditā: satvāmbana-muditā, dharmmāmbana-muditā, anāmbana-muditā. Nāhan lvirnyan tiga, kadi deniñ umartha tiga nūni, mañkana deniñ umartha tiga mañke.*

The so-called *muditā* is: The pleasing state of the *jñāna* of Sañ Satva Viśeṣa due to happiness of beings, after the work of his *metrī* and *karuṇā*, is the so-called *muditā*. Three kinds of *muditā*: *satvāmbana-muditā*, *dharmmāmbana-muditā*, *anāmbana-muditā*. Thus are the three, like the explanation of the three before is thereby the explanation of these three.

*Upekṣa nāranya: Lābhānapekṣa satvaviśeṣasya jñānasyākāraḥ, ākāra ni jñāna sañ Satva Viśeṣa tanpa ṅ apekṣā lābha. Tanpa ṅ apekṣā lābha nāranya; tan vavareṅo ni jñāna sañ Satva Viśeṣa riñ vales: pūjāstuti nūniveh hartha. An gavayaken ikañ metrī karuṇā muditā riñ satva, makanimitta katonan i*



*duḥka niñ satva, yogya pagavayana upekṣā. Sinamprayukta<sup>122</sup> deni kagavayan iñ upekṣā, tigañ upekṣā: satvālanbanopekṣā, dharmmālanbanopekṣā, anālanbanopekṣā. Sakrama ny artha nikañ tiga nūni mañkanārtha nikā tiga mañke.*

The so-called *upekṣa* is: The state of the *jñāna* of Sañ Satva Viśeṣa without expecting reward. Without expecting reward is without concern in the *jñāna* of Sañ Satva Viśeṣa with the return: homage, praise (*pūjāstuti*), and certainly wealth (*hartha*). In performing *metrī*, *karuṇā*, and *muditā* toward beings, because of seeing *duḥka* of beings, it is suitable to perform *upekṣā*. In completing the work of *upekṣā*, there are three kinds of *upekṣā*: *satvālanbanopekṣā*, *dharmmālanbanopekṣā*, *anālanbanopekṣā*. Like the explanation of the three before is thereby the explanation of these three.

*Ikañ metrī karuṇā muditā upekṣā, yatikā sinañguh catur pāramitā naranya.<sup>123</sup>*

These *metrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, and *upekṣā*, they are known as the so-called four perfections.

122. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan: Sinamprayutta*.

123. J. H. C. Kern, *The Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka or the Lotus of the True Law* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1884), 140n3, refers these four to the *Yogaśāstra* I.33. The *Yogaśāstra* is ascribed to Patañjali, where it says: *maitrī-karuṇā-muditopekṣaṇāmsukha-duḥkha-puñyāpuñya-viṣayāñāṃ bhāvanātaś citta-prasādanam* ||1.33||. The *Mahāvastu*: *siṃca bhikṣu imāñ nāvāñ maitrāye siktā te laghu bheṣyati | chittvā rāgañ ca doṣañ ca tato nirvāṇameṣyasi || siṃca bhikṣu imāñ nāvāñ karuṇāya siktā te laghu bheṣyati | chittvā rāgañ ca doṣañ ca tato nirvāṇameṣyasi || siṃca bhikṣu imāñ nāvāñ muditāya siktā te laghu bheṣyati | chittvā rāgañ ca doṣañ ca tato nirvāṇameṣyasi || siṃca bhikṣu imāñ nāvāñ upekṣāye siktā te laghu bheṣyati | chittvā rāgañ ca doṣañ ca tato nirvāṇameṣyasi || maitrāvihārī yo bhikṣuḥ prasanno buddhaśāsane | adhigacchati padañ śāntaṃ asecaṇaṃ ca mocanaṃ || karuṇāvihārī yo bhikṣu prasanno buddhaśāsane | adhigacchati padañ śāntaṃ aprthagjanasevitaṃ || muditāvihārī yo bhikṣu prasanno buddhaśāsane | adhigacchati padañ śāntaṃ akāpuruṣasevitaṃ || [Mvu 3.422] upekṣāvihārī yo bhikṣu prasanno buddhaśāsane | adhigacchati padañ śāntaṃ nirvāṇaṃ padamacyutaṃ ||. These more or less correspond with vv. 368 and 369 in the *Dhammapada*. V. 368: *Mettāvihārī yo bhikkhu, pasanno buddhaśāsane; Adhigacche padañ santaṃ, sañkhārūpasamañ sukhaṃ; v. 369: Siñca bhikkhu imāñ nāvāñ, sikkā te lahumessati; Chetvā rāgañca dosañca, tato nibbānamehisi.**

### Daśapāramitās

*Papupul ni catur pāramitā mvañ ṣaṭ pāramitā, lvirnya: Dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna, prajñā, metri, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā. Yatikā sinaṅguh daśa pāramitā naranya, yatikā matatva pañca devī.*

The whole of four perfections and six perfections is: *dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna, prajñā, metri, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā*. They are called the ten perfections. They form the essence of the five *devīs*.

*Bajradhātviśvarīdevī mahāprajñārūpavati.  
patyau paramasevitā ṣaṭpāramitam ucyate.*

The goddess Bajradhātviśvarī is very beautiful possessing *mahāprajñā*. She is called to represent the six perfections and serves her master perfectly.

*Śrī Bajradhātviśvarī sira ta levih prajñā nira, atehur surūpa, atīśaya de nira sevitasvāmi ri bhaṭāra Vairocana, sira ta makatatva ṅ ṣaṭpāramitā.*

Śrī Bajradhātviśvarī is more in wisdom and also of extraordinary beauty. She is superior in her service to her master Bhaṭāra Vairocana. She embodies the six perfections.

*Maitri Locanā vijñeyā Māmakī karuṇā matā  
muditā Pāṇḍaravāsī upekṣā Tārā ucyate.*

*Maitrī* is to be understood as *Locanā*, *Māmakī* is to be thought as *karuṇā*, *muditā* is *Pāṇḍaravāsīnī*, *upekṣā* is known as *Tārā*.

*Bharālī Locanā metri tattva nira, bharālī Māmakī karuṇā tatva nira, bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsīnī sira ta makatatva ṅ upekṣā. Maṅkana tiṅkah niñ daśa pāramitā, an makatatva pañca devī, ya ta matañnyan sañ mañabhyāsa hayu devī, sira sevita rumuhun ri vāhyādhyātmika, apan sira paḍa niñ umaṅgihaken i kahyañbuddhān.*

The essence of *Bharālī Locanā* is *metri*. The essence of *Bharālī Māmakī* is *karuṇā*. *Bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsīnī* embodies [*muditā*. The essence of *Bharālī Tārā* is] *upekṣā*. Thus these ten perfections manifest in the five *devīs*, and thereby one should practice in beautifying these *devīs*, be first in service to them externally and internally, for they are equal to attaining buddhahood.

*Iti daśapāramitā parisamāpta, paramamārgga ḍatañ riñ mahāboddhi ikā.*<sup>124</sup>

124. Chandra, “Saṅ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan,” 369, explains the *daśapāramitā* from the *Nāmasaṅgīti*, but there the ten perfections refer to the usual *daśapāramitās*

Thus ends the ten perfections, the *paramamārgga* to arrive at the *mahāboddhi*.

### Mahāguhya and Paramaguhya

*Huvus pva enak vruhta irikañ daśapāramitā paramamārgga,<sup>125</sup> kavruhi tañ paramaguhya mvañ mahāguhya.*

Having established and understood the *paramamārgga* of the ten perfections, you should learn the *paramaguhya* and *mahāguhya*.

*Paramaguhya ñaranya: rūpa ni avak bharāla, āpan sinañguh mahāviśeṣa, kapratyakṣa de sañ yogīśvara.*

The so-called *paramaguhya* is the form of the body of the Bharāla, known as the Mahāviśeṣa, viewed clearly by Sañ Yogīśvara.

### Mahāguhya

*Mahāguhya: ikañ kāraṇa ri kapañghan bharāla, lvirnya: yoga lāvan bhāvanā. Pāt lvir niñ yoga, pavekas Ḍaṇ ācāryya Śrī Dignāga pāda, lvirnya; mūla-yoga, madhya-yoga, vasāna-yoga, anta-yoga.<sup>126</sup>*

*Mahāguhya*: It is the method to be united with the Bharāla, viz.: yoga and *bhāvanā*. There are four yogas, according to the instructions left by Ḍaṇ Ācāryya Śrī Dignāgapāda, viz.: the *mūla-yoga*, the *madhya-yoga*, the *vasāna-yoga*, and the *anta-yoga*.

*Mūla-yoga ñaranya: humiḍep hana bharāla riñ ākāśa. Madhya-yoga ñaranya: humiḍep hana bharāla riñ śarīra. Vasāna-yoga ñaranya: humiḍep*

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in the Mahāyāna tradition; see Alex Wayman, *Chanting the Names of Mañjuśrī* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1985), 74.

125. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan: mahāmārgga*. This must be a scribal error for the *paramamārgga* mentioned in the previous sentence.

126. There is a small work ascribed to Ārya Dignāga titled *Yogāvatāra*. Based on this, Dharmendra composed the *Yogāvatāropadeśa*; see Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, “Yogāvatāropadeśa,” *The Indian Historical Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (September 1928): 775–778; Durgacharan Chatterji, “The Yogāvatāropadeśa: A Mahāyāna Treatise on Yoga by Dharmendra,” *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, new ser., 23 (February 1929): 249–259. There is another work called *Yogabhāvanāmārga* written by Jñānagarbha; see Stephen Hodge, “The Path of the Cultivation of Yoga,” *The Middle Way* 63, no. 1 (May 1988): 33–37. Further study is needed to find the relationship among these teachings.

*hana bharāla riñ pṛthivī-maṇḍala. Anta-yoga nāranya: humiḍep hana bharāla riñ śūnyatā-maṇḍala.*

The so-called *mūla-yoga*: to experience the existence of the Bharāla in the sky. The so-called *madhya-yoga*: to experience the existence of the Bharāla in the body. The so-called *vasāna-yoga*: to experience the existence of the Bharāla in the *pṛthivī-maṇḍala*. The so-called *anta-yoga*: to experience the existence of the Bharāla in the *śūnyatā-maṇḍala*.

*Śūnyatā-maṇḍala nāranya: deśa niñ bhināvanā.*

The so-called *śūnyatā-maṇḍala*: a sphere on which one meditates.

*Deśa niñ bhināvanā: pāt kveh ni bhāvanā. Lvirnyan pāt: śānti-bhāvanā,<sup>127</sup> uṣmi-bhāvanā, vṛddha-bhāvanā, agra-bhāvanā.*

A sphere for the *bhāvanā*: there are four kinds of *bhāvanā*. Those four are: *śānti-bhāvanā*, *uṣmi-bhāvanā*, *vṛddha-bhāvanā*, and *agra-bhāvanā*.

*Śānti-bhāvanā nāranya: vikalpa<sup>128</sup> ri hilañ niñ rāga. Uṣmi-bhāvanā nāranya: vikalpa ri hilañ niñ dveṣa. Ūrdha-bhāvanā nāranya: vikalpa ri hilañ niñ moha. Agra-bhāvanā nāranya: vikalpa ri hilañ niñ kleśa traya.*

The so-called tranquility meditation (*śānti-bhāvanā*): meditation on the cessation of desire (*rāga*). The so-called meditation on heat (*uṣmi-bhāvanā*): meditation on the cessation of ill will (*dveṣa*). The so-called exalted meditation (*ūrdha-bhāvanā*): meditation on the cessation of nescience (*moha*). The so-called top meditation (*agra-bhāvanā*): meditation on the cessation of the three afflictions (*kleśa traya*).

*Krama ni patemu niñ bhāvanā lāvan yoga, yekā kavruhana panujunya. Śānti-bhāvanā kāraṇa niñ mūla-yoga; uṣmi-bhāvanā kāraṇa riñ madhya-yoga; ūrdha-bhāvanā nāranya kāraṇa riñ vasāna-yoga; agra-bhāvanā nāranya kāraṇa riñ anta-yoga. Mañkana krama<sup>129</sup> niñ patemu niñ bhāvanā mvañ yoga. Tuñgal tatva ni bhāvanā mvañ yoga, paḍa jñāna sañ yogī.*

127. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: śasti-bhāvanā*. It suggests governing or ruling meditation. However, in the manner it meets *yoga*, it is written as *śānti-bhāvanā*. The latter is probably a scribal error for *śānti-bhāvanā* (“tranquility meditation”), which is more in line with the meaning mentioned in the commentary itself: a meditation on the cessation of desire (*rāga*).

128. The use of *vikalpa* here to explain *bhāvanā* suggests that it means “to reflect upon” or “to meditate on.”

129. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: karma*.

*Kunañ bhedanya: ikañ bhāvanā mañhidep sāmānya,<sup>130</sup> ikañ yoga mañhidep svalakṣaṇa, dudū niñ viṣaya tinūt niñ bheda niñ viṣayī.*

The manner [in which] *bhāvanā* meets *yoga*, know that this is the goal. *Śānti-bhāvanā* is the method for *mūla-yoga*; *uṣmi-bhāvanā* is the method for *madhya-yoga*; the so-called *ūrddha-bhāvanā* is the method for *vasāna-yoga*; the so-called *agra-bhāvanā* is the method for *anta-yoga*. Such is the manner *bhāvanā* meets *yoga*. The true nature of *bhāvanā* and *yoga* is one, the equal of the knowledge (*jñāna*) of Sañ Yogī. However, the difference is: the *bhāvanā* pays attention to the generality (*sāmānya*) or calmness, the *yoga* pays attention to the own specific characteristics (*svalakṣaṇa*), the distinction in the domain of objects of the senses (*viṣaya*) goes along with the difference in those related to the objects (*viṣayī*).

*Tumūt tañ catur āryyasatya, kavaśāken denta marapvan siddhi yogabhāvanānta, lvirnya: duḥka-satya, nirodha-satya, samudaya-satya, mārḡga-satya. Nāhan lvir niñ catur āryyasatya anuñ gegonta.*

Follow the Four Noble Truths (*catur āryyasatya*) so that they are mastered by you and you are accomplished in *yogabhāvanā*. The four are: *duḥka-satya*, *nirodha-satya*, *samudaya-satya*, *mārḡga-satya*. Thus are the Four Noble Truths to which you are to hold fast.

*Ikiñ yoga, bhāvanā, catur āryyasatya, daśapāramitā, yatikā sinaṅguh mahāguhya ikā.*

These *yoga*, *bhāvanā*, *catur āryyasatya*, and *daśapāramitās* are considered the *mahāguhya*.

### Paramaguhyā

*Sājñā mahāmpuñku, paran pvekañ aji nuñ gego ni pinakañhulun, marapvan kapañgih ikañ paramaguhyā pāvak bhaṭāra viśeṣa, marapvan siddhi ñhulun?*

By your leave, my great master (*mahāmpuñku*), what kind of formula is to be practiced by me, so that this *paramaguhyā* the embodiment of *Bhaṭāra Viśeṣa* is found, so that I can be accomplished?

*Iṃ! Hanāji sañ yogadhāra ñaranya, tiḡākṣaranya tiḡārthanya: Advaya iti, nāhan lvirnya. Advaya ñaranya: Advaya mvañ Advaya-jñāna. Advaya ñaranya: aṃ aḥ. Advaya-jñāna ñaranya: ikañ vruh tan vikalpa ri hana taya,*

130. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyānikan: samanya*.

*tan vikalpa ri sela ni hana taya, kevala humideñ nirākāra. Hana liñanteriya taha, taya liñanteriya taha, ri sela niñ hana taya liñanteriya taha. Manameyaphala liñanteriya taha, taha ta pva<sup>131</sup> liñanteriya. Sakaliñan iñ manañguh. Hayva juga sañsaya. Taha pva liñanta. Advayajñana mañkana liñanta.*

*Iṃ!* There is a teaching called the *yogadhāra*. It has three syllables and three meanings, called *a-dva-ya*. The so-called *advaya* is *advaya* and *advaya-jñāna*. The so-called *advaya* is *aṃ aḥ*. The so-called *advaya-jñāna* is knowledge without false discrimination on existence or nonexistence, without false discrimination on the gap in between existence and nonexistence, being merely undisturbed in formless. What you call existence is an opinion. What you call nonexistence is an opinion. What you call the gap in between existence and nonexistence is an opinion. What you call the result of discerning conception is an opinion. So is what you call an opinion. Each opinion in each call. Do not doubt. It is what you call opinion. Thus this is what you call *advaya-jñāna*.

*Ikañ aṃ-aḥ mvañ Advaya-jñāna ya Advaya nāranya. Aṃ nāranya: pasuk niñ bāyu, aṃ śabdanya, lumrā riñ śarīra, nūniveh riñ navadvāra, sūryya-rūpa ikañ śarīra hibekan denyā, smṛti-sūryya nāran ikā. Aḥ nārannya: vijil niñ bāyu sañke śarīra, aḥ śabdanya, mukṣa riñ śarīra, candra-rūpa ikañ śarīra ri mukṣa niñ bāyu riñ śarīra, somya lilañ aheniñ ikañ śarīra vekasan, śānta-candra nāran ikā, śānta smṛti nāranya vaneh. Ri hana niñ smṛti-sūryya śānta-candra dadi tañ Advaya-jñāna, patemu niñ Advaya mvañ Advaya-jñāna, ya tāñdadyaken divarūpa, (avā sadākāla, aheniñ nirāvaraṇa kadi teja niñ mañik, apaḍaṇ rahina sadā, sugandha tan gavai-gavai, surūpa tan gavai-gavai, surasa tan gavai-gavai sira katon denta). Ikañ aṃ-aḥ yatikā sinañguh sañ hyañ Advaya nāran ira bapa sira de bhaṭāra hyañ buddha. Ikañ jñāna vruh tan vikalpa humideñ nirākāra, yatikā sinañguh sañ hyañ Advaya-jñāna nāran ira. Sañ hyañ Advaya-jñāna sira devī bharālī Prajñā-Pāramitā nāran ira, sira ta ibu de bhaṭāra hyañ buddha. Sañ hyañ divarūpa sira ta bhaṭāra hyañ buddha nāran ira.*

*Aṃ-aḥ* and *advaya-jñāna* are called *advaya*. *Aṃ* means the inhaling of breath, *aṃ* is its sound. It spreads throughout the body and onward into the nine openings. The body appears like the sun (*sūrya-rūpa*) when pervaded by it. It is called *smṛti-sūryya* (the mind illumined like the sun). *Aḥ* means exhaling breath out of the body, *aḥ* is its sound. It comes out of the body. The body appears like the moon (*candra-rūpa*), when breath comes out of the body. The body is serene, clear and pure at last,

131. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyanikan: taha tapva*.

then it is *sānta-candra* (tranquil like the moon), it is also called *sānta-smṛti* (tranquil mind). When *smṛti-sūrya* and *sānta-candra* are present *advaya-jñāna* arises, and when *advaya* meets *advaya-jñāna* it becomes *divārūpa* (always adjoined, pure, unsullied like the luster of a crystal, always bright like the day, really fragrant, really beautiful in form, and of real good taste). This *aṃ-aḥ* is called the divine *advaya*, is the father of Bhaṭāra Buddha. The *jñāna* that knows without discrimination and contemplates on the formless (*nirākāra*) is called the divine *advaya-jñāna*. The divine *advaya-jñāna* is the goddess Bharālī Prajñāpāramitā, she is the mother of Bhaṭāra Buddha. Sañ Hyañ Divārūpa is called Bhaṭāra Hyañ Buddha.

*Saṃsipta niñ aṃ-aḥ mvañ Advaya-jñāna ya rasa niñ aji Advaya ikā. Ikañ aji Advaya sari niñ aji tarkka vyākaraṇa.*

In summary, these *aṃ-aḥ* and *advaya-jñāna* are the essence of science of *advaya*. This science of *advaya* is the quintessence (*sari*) of *aji tarkka vyākaraṇa*.

*Ulihan in aṃaji tarkka: vruha riñ Advaya-jñāna, āpan bharālī prajñāpāramitā vekas niñ jñāna pinet niñ mañaji tarkka, hetunyan prakaraṇa kāraṇa ri kapaṅgihan bhaṭāra hyañ buddha.*

That which one obtains after studying logic (*tarkka*): one knows the *advaya-jñāna*, because *bharālī prajñāpāramitā*, the ultimate in *jñāna*, is aimed at studying logic; this is the reason that logic is a means for finding Bhaṭāra Hyañ Buddha.

*Phala niñ mañaji vyākaraṇa vruha ri sañ hyañ advaya, āpan aṃ aḥ vekas niñ aji vyākaraṇa, hetunyan vyākaraṇa kāraṇa nira ri katemvana sañ hyañ advaya-jñāna.*

The fruit of studying grammar (*vyākaraṇa*): one knows Sañ Hyañ *advaya*, because *aṃ aḥ* is the ultimate of *aji vyākaraṇa*; this is the reason that *vyākaraṇa* is your means for finding Sañ Hyañ *advaya-jñāna*.

*Patemu niñ vyākaraṇa mvañ prakarana yatikā mijilaken aji tantra, pinakāvak bhaṭāra hyañ buddha.*

The meeting of *vyākaraṇa* and *prakarana* creates *aji tantra*, which is the embodiment of Bhaṭāra Hyañ Buddha.

*Saṃsiptanya: tañ jñāna avak bhaṭāra hyañ buddha, āpan peh niñ jñāna matemu lāvan bāyu humeneñ inandelaken in śabda aṃ aḥ, ikañ sinaṅguh sañ hyañ divārūpa naran ira. Saṅksepanya: artha niñ advayaśāstra ya ta udik pegatakna geseñananta ri sadābhyāsa, sādhanantāt maṅgihakna n kahyañbuddhān.*



In summary: that *jñāna* is the body of Bhaṭāra Hyañ Buddha, because the result of *jñāna* meeting with the wind is stillness resting on the sound *aṃ aḥ*. This is known as the so-called Sañ Hyañ Divarūpa. In brief: the aim of the science of *advaya* is to return, to cut through, and to burn down all habits to the end. Your practice is to discover buddhahood.

*Mapa de niñ lumekasa? Makasādhana sañ Advaya. Tan kari ikañ bāyu aṃ mañkana liñnya, ya ta isep i tutuk, andelaken i guruñ-guruñan, hayva ta vavarengo ri pasuk vetu niñ bāyu sakeñ iruñ; ikañ inandelaken in guruñ-guruñan, ya ta lumrā humibek i śarīranta kabeh, atemah sūryya rakta varṇa. Muvah dadyakna ñ tañ bāyu aḥ, mañkana liñnya: andelaken i guruñ-guruñan, mukṣa riñ śarīra, atemah sānta candra, somya lila saprāṇayāma naran ikā, nityasā kita mañkana, hilañ sarvvakleśanta, ri huvus nikā, andelaken tañ buddhānusmaraṇa.*

How does one practice? By means of *sañ advaya*. Finish this wind *aṃ*, thus is said, inhale via the mouth, suspend on the throat, do not pay attention to the wind going in and out via the nose. The one suspended on the throat will spread out filling the whole of your body, will transform into reddish sun. Then, make the wind *aḥ*, thus is said, suspend on the throat, dissolve in the body, it will transform into serene moon, peaceful and pure. This is the so-called *prāṇayāma*. If you always so practice, all your taints will vanish. Afterward, persist in the mindfulness of the Buddha (*buddhānusmaraṇa*).

*Buddhānusmaraṇa nāranya: sañ hyañ Advaya-jñāna kasāksāt kṛta ni tan hana niñ hiḍep len tañ hiḍep mvañ mañhidep, tiñkahnya: ikañ bāyu tan masuk metu ri tutuk, riñ iruñ kunañ mukṣa mvañ ikañ śarīra de ni kaśaktin sañ hyañ Advaya mvañ kaśaktin sañ hyañ Advaya-jñāna, ri vekasan avā līlāheniñ avās ikañ śarīra, mvañ tan pāñhiḍep, tan hiniḍep, kevala lilañ aheniñ nirāvaraṇa ikañ śarīra, nirākāra apaḍaṇ rahina sadākāla śarīranta, kadi miñak inandelaken miñak.*

The so-called mindfulness of the Buddha (*buddhānusmaraṇa*): Sañ Hyañ *advaya-jñāna* is the realization of nonexistence of cognition and also cognition and cognizing. The happening: this wind does not go in and out via the mouth or the nose, but dissolves in this body by the spiritual power of Sañ Hyañ *advaya* and the spiritual power of Sañ Hyañ *advaya-jñāna*, and the body finally becomes luminous, serene, pure, and aware. And this body becomes without one that cognizes, without one that is cognized, merely pure, serene, without taints. Your body becomes without forms as unequaled daylight at all times. It is as oil rests with oil.

*Sira ta deva viśeṣa ri boddha, bhaṭāra paramasūnya naran ira, sira ta bhaṭāra paramasiva naran ira, bhaṭāra puruṣa sira de sañ vadiśiṣyā bhagavān kapila, sañ hyaṅ ātma naran ira de sañ vadikanabhakṣyaśiṣya, bhaṭāra nirguṇa naran ira de sañ vadi veṣṇawa, sira ta phala ni pratyakṣa de ḍaṅ ācāryya nirākāra, sira matemah bhaṭāra ratnatraya mvañ bhaṭāra pañca tathāgata de ḍaṅ ācāryya sākāra, sira inandelaken ri sañ arcca, pratima, peta de ḍaṅ ācāryya vāhyaka, sira sañ hyaṅ viśeṣa jīva naran ira, sira ta sañ hyaṅ vangsil naran ira vaneh.*

He is the God Par Excellence (Deva Viśeṣa) according to the Buddhists, the so-called Bhaṭāra Paramasūnya. He is called Bhaṭāra Paramasiva. He is Bhaṭāra Puruṣa according to the disciples of Guru Bhagavān Kapila. He is called Sañ Hyaṅ Ātma according to the disciples of Guru Kanabhakṣya. He is called Bhaṭāra Nirguṇa according to Guru Veṣṇava. He is the fruit of *pratyakṣa* according to Ḍaṅ Ācāryya Nirākāra. He transforms into Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya and Bhaṭāra Pañca Tathāgata according to Ḍaṅ Ācāryya Sākāra. He is believed to be the statue (*arcca*), image (*pratima*), and depiction (*peta*) by Ḍaṅ Ācāryya Vāhyaka. He is called Sañ Hyaṅ Viśeṣa Jīva. He too is called Sañ Hyaṅ Vangsil.

*Aturū pva kita rumegepa maṅkana yekā yoganidra<sup>132</sup> naranaya, aturū tan pañipi. Evoh katamvan ira, apan sira phala niñ sarbva yoga, sarbvasamādhi, sarbva brata, vekas niñ sarbvapūjā, sarbvapraṇamya, sarbvamantra, sarbvastuti, nityasa pva sira katon denta, venañ ta kita umratyakṣāken ikañ dūra sūkṣma, kavaśa pva śarīranta maṅkatva kalavan sira, makanimitta kavaśa niñ samādhinta, yatikā sinaṅgah amaṅgihaken aṣṭeśvāryasuka naranaya, yapvan śarīranta ekatva kalavan sira, sadākāla, tan saprayogi ta kita an pakāvak ri sira, yekā sinaṅgah mokṣa-skandha<sup>133</sup> naranaya, sinaṅgah siddha munīndra naranaya.*

If when sleeping you keep the mind fixed on, then it is called *yoganidra*, sleeping without dreaming. It is difficult to be obtained by you, because it is the fruit of all yoga (*sarbva yoga*), all *samādhi* (*sarbvasamādhi*), all spiritual practices (*sarba brata*), the ultimate of all *pūjās* (*sarbvapūjā*), all obeisance (*sarbvapraṇamya*), all mantras (*sarbvamantra*), all praises (*sarbvastuti*). It can be seen by you perpetually. You could perceive far and subtle, have the power to be in union with it because of the power of your *samādhi*; that is considered obtaining the so-called eight divine bliss (*aṣṭeśvāryasuka*)—if your body is in union with it, all the time, without any special method you are already an embodiment of

132. *Yoganidra* is placed here without clear pre- or post-explanation.

133. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyānikan: mokṣa shandha*.

it. This one is considered the so-called obtaining liberation while in the body (*mokṣa-skandha*), considered the so-called accomplished great sage (*siddha munīndra*).

*Sañ hyañ Advaya mvañ sañ hyañ Advaya-jñāna sira ta vekas niñ sarvvaśāstra, sarvva āgama, sarbva samyakbyapadeśa, sarbvopadeśa, sarbvasamaya. Sañ hyañ Advaya mvañ sañ hyañ Advaya-jñānātaḥ āpan sira vekas niñ vīnarahaken, ya ta matañnyan sañ hyañ yogādi parama nairātmya nāran ira vaneḥ de sañ boddha, ananta parama nandana nāran ira de sañ bhairava, mārggayogādi paramaguhyā nāran ira de sañ siddhānta, niṣkalādi parama nāran ira de sañ veṣṇava, sira ta sodhamatattvānta nāran ira, evoh sañ kuvavruhane sira.*

Sañ Hyañ *advaya* and Sañ Hyañ *advaya-jñāna* are the ultimate of all sciences, all scriptures, all right speech, all instructions, and all vows, because Sañ Hyañ *advaya* and Sañ Hyañ *advaya-jñānā* are the ultimate of what to be instructed. Hence, they are also called Sañ Hyañ Yogādi Parama Nairātmya by the Buddhists, the so-called Ananta Parama Nandana by Sañ Bhairava, the so-called Mārggayogādi Paramaguhyā by Sañ Siddhānta, the so-called Niṣkalādi Parama by Sañ Veṣṇava, also the so-called Ṣoḍaśatattvānta. To know him would be indeed difficult.

*Sājñā mahāmpuñku, tulusakna pva siḥ śrī mahāmpuñku ri pinakañhulun, varahen ri lakṣaṇa muvah sādhana ni umañguhakna sañ hyañ divarūpa.*

By your leave, my great master (*mahāmpuñku*), please, my great master, be compassionate to me, instructing further the practice and the *sādhana* to obtain Sañ Hyañ Divarūpa.

*Aum! Pahenak denta rumeño kita ñ tathāgatakula jinaputra. Ikañ śārīra aṣṭa dalapan malavo, vvalu lavo-lavonya, lvirnya: mata, ña. taliña, ña. iruñ, ña. tutuk, ba, pāyupastha, ba, nāhan pinakalavo-lavonyan vvalu, ya ta inandelaken bajrajñāna. Bajrajñāna nāranya: sañ hyañ Advaya-jñāna. Ikañ lambe i sor i ruhur mvañ ilat, ya ta bajrarūpa, makavarak<sup>134</sup> tuñtuñ niñ jihva, makaśuci<sup>135</sup> lambe i sor i ruhur; ikañ bajra mañadeg ri*

134. *Makavarak* comes from *varak* (“rhinoceros”). In the context of Buddhism, the horn of a rhinoceros is often referred to, thus one scripture is called the *Sword-Horn Scripture* (*Khaggaviśāna-sutta*). “Horn” (P. *visāna*, Skt. *viṣāṇa*) also means “peak,” “top,” “point,” “summit,” or the chief or best of a class or kind (in *viṣāṇa-bhūta*).

135. *Makaśuci* is derived from *sūcī*, which means “mouth” or “beak as sharp as a needle” (*sūcīmukha*), or “needle,” or *vajra*, or “very dense” (among other meanings). In this text, in the term *pañcaśucikabajra*, *śuci* may mean “beak,” the point of a *vajra*, or the *vajra* itself.

*śarīra padmarūpa sake tuñtuñ niñ ilat, miñsor tañ aṃ-kāra, mandel i sor ni padma (ikañ aṃ-kāra mandel i sor ni padma), ya ta temah sūryya, dumilah deni dilah nikañ sūryya, lebur arok; dadi tañ aḥ-kāra lumepasaken lebur ikā kabeh, mukṣa parok ni lebur nikā, mvañ ikañ ākāra telas dadi tañ mañiratnanirmmalākāra, ya ta pañanusmarananta irikañ rāt kabeh.*

*Aum!* Be at ease while listening, you, Tathāgatakula Jinaputra. This body has eight petals (*aṣṭa dalapan malavo*). The eight petals are: eyes (*mata ṛā*), ears (*taliṇa ṛā*), nose (*iruñ ṛā*), mouth opening (*tutuk ba*), anus, and sexual organs opening (*pāyupastha ba*), thus are the eight petals. They establish the *bajrajñāna*. The so-called *bajrajñāna* is: Sañ Hyañ *advaya-jñāna*. The lower lip, the upper lip, and the tongue are shaped like *bajra* (*bajrarūpa*); to be the top (*makavarak*) is the tip of the tongue (*jihva*), to be the needle (*makaśuci*) is the lower lip and the upper lip; this *bajra* stands upright in the lotus-form (*padmarūpa*) body from the tip of the tongue, at the bottom is the *aṃ-kāra*, which is firmly established at the bottom of the *padma* (this *aṃ-kāra* is firmly established at the bottom of the *padma*), finally becomes sun (*sūryya*), blazing as the blazing of the sun, dissolved and mixed; [it] creates the *aḥ-kāra*, setting them all free and dissolved, released and mixed in their dissolution, and this appearance having gone creates the appearance of immaculate jewel-gem (*mañiratnanirmmalākāra*); that is your repeated recollection of the whole world.

*Yan hana vvañ alara prihati kunañ katuturananta kadyaṅga niñ cintāmañi, hilañ ikañ duḥka denya, apan ikañ jñāna kita kena nirmmalākāra ri svacittanta, atemahan sañ hyañ divarūpa sira.*

When there is someone in pain, or even sorrow, your mindfulness, which is like a *cintāmañi*, would erase the miseries, because when your *jñāna* is touched by *nirmmalākāra* of your *svacitta*, it becomes Sañ Hyañ *Divarūpa*.

*Sapta Janma*  
Muvah hana ta *sapta janma* ṅaranya. Gavayaknananta kañ pratipatyā niñ *advaya*.

There are also the so-called seven births (*sapta janma*). Perform your practice in *advaya*.

*Sādhana mātra tan parovañ prajñā kadi manah niñ rarai jro weteñ, ya jambhala-samādhi ṅaranya.*

*Sādhana* alone unaccompanied by *prajñā* is like the mind of a child inside the womb, thus is the so-called *jambhala-samādhi*.

*Karegepan in advayayoga vruh ri tatva kadi buddhi niñ manuk vāhu tetes ri hantiga ya vāgīśvara-samādhi naran ikā.*

Keeping a firm hold on *advayayoga*, knowing the nature like the mind of a bird just hatched from the egg, thus is the so-called *vāgīśvara-samādhi*.

*Karegepan in advaya mvañ prajñā karuṇā ri sarbvasatva ya lokeśvara-samādhi naranya.*

Keeping a firm hold on *advaya*, *prajñā*, and *karuṇā* toward all beings, thus is the so-called *lokeśvara-samādhi*.

*Karegepan in advaya mvañ bajra krodha karuṇā riñ sarbvasatva, bajrasatva-samādhi naran ikā.*

Keeping a firm hold on *advaya*, *bajra krodha*, and *karuṇā* toward all beings is the so-called *bajrasatva-samādhi*.

*Karegepan in advaya mvañ prajñā makapuhara anurāga ri sarbvasatva, munivaracintāmaṇi-samādhi naran ikā.*

Keeping a firm hold on *advaya*, *prajñā*, and *makapuhara anurāga* toward all beings is the so-called *munivaracintāmaṇi-samādhi*.

*Karegepan in advaya mvañ prajñā makāvasana ṅ varah-varah ri heyopadeśa ri sarbvasatva, śvetaketu-samādhi naran ika.*

Keeping a firm hold on *advaya* and *prajñā* to have power over the instruction about what to be avoided toward all beings is the so-called *śvetaketu-samādhi*.

*Karegepan in bāyu aṃ śabdanya, humibek in śarīra sūryyarūpa ikañ śarīra, hilañ tañ śarīra linepasaken deniñ bāyu aḥ śabdanya, muḥsa tan pahameñan, tatanpāna pasuk vetu ni bāyu, hideñ niñ bāyu tan hanātah, śarīra citta tan hanātah, samañkana avā lilañ aheniñ nirāvaraṇa nirākāra rahina sadākāla pinakāvaknya, kumāranirbbāṇa cittamaṇi samādhi naran ikā.*

Keeping a firm hold on the wind (*bāyu*) with the sound *aṃ*, all pervading in the body, being the sun form or sunlike body, erases the body being released by the wind with the sound *aḥ*, disappears without trace—there is no inhalation nor exhalation of the wind, the wind standing still does not exist, there is neither body nor mind; thus the body, glowing, pure, serene, without taints, without form, in daylight all the time, is the so-called *kumāranirbbāṇa cittamaṇi samādhi*.

*Kapiñ pitu ni samādhi samādhi niñ meh muliha ri kolilahan, mañgihakna kamokṣan.*

The seventh *samādhi* is the *samādhi* being almost reaching the destination of the place to obtain, obtaining the liberation.

*Nihan ta vaneh pājara mami ri kita, ikañ śarīra i jro i yava stupa-prāsāda.  
Kunañ ta naranya ikañ akṣara: namaḥ siddhaṃ.*

My other teaching is as follows. This body inside and outside is a *stūpa-prāsāda*. Also, the letters are called: *namaḥ siddhaṃ*.

*a, ā; i, ī; u, ū; re, ro; le, lo; e, ai; o, au, aṅ, aḥ.  
ka, kha; ga, gha; ña.  
ca, cha;<sup>136</sup> ja, jha; ña.  
ṭa, ṭha; ḍa, ḍha; ṇa.  
ta, tha; da, dha; na.  
pa, pha; ba, bha; ma.  
ya, ra, la, va.  
śa, ṣa, sa, ha.*

*a, ā; i, ī; u, ū; re, ro; le, lo; e, ai; o, au, aṅ, aḥ.  
ka, kha; ga, gha; ña.  
ca, cha;<sup>137</sup> ja, jha; ña.  
ṭa, ṭha; ḍa, ḍha; ṇa.  
ta, tha; da, dha; na.  
pa, pha; ba, bha; ma.  
ya, ra, la, va.  
śa, ṣa, sa, ha.*

*Nihan lvir niñ akṣara pinakāntara nikañ śarīra [stūpa] prāsāda tatva.*

These are the letters being in between this body and the essence of [stūpa] prāsāda.

*Nihan ajarnya: namaḥ: kāyaśuddha; siddham: heniñ suka; a, ā: janma suka; i, ī: varṇa sateja; u, ū: rūpa paripūrṇa; re, ro: mata mulat; le, lo: taliña mañreño; e, ai: iruñ mañambu; o, au: pāyupastha; aṅ aḥ: jñāna sūryya śānta candra.*

Thus is the teaching: *namaḥ*: purification of body; *siddham*: pure bliss; *a, ā*: happiness of birth; *i, ī*: glowing of appearance; *u, ū*: perfect form; *re, ro*: eyes seeing; *le, lo*: ears listening; *e, ai*: nose smelling; *o, au*: anus and genitals; *aṅ aḥ*: sun of *jñāna* and serene moon.

136. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan*: written as *ca* but read as *cha*.

137. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan*: written as *ca* but read as *cha*.

*Na: tahulan; mah: rudhira; si: dagañ; ddham: kulit; a: jñāna; ā: lrānya; i: varṇa; ī: lrānya; u: rūpa; ū: lrānya; re: mata; ro lrānya; le: taliña; lo, lrānya; e: iruñ; ai: lrānya; o: pāyupastha; au: lrānya; aṅ: sūryya; aḥ: śānta candra.*

*Na: bones; mah: blood; si: flesh; ddham: skin; a: mind (jñāna); ā: its spread in all directions; i: appearance (varṇa); ī: its spread in all directions; u: form; ū: its spread in all directions; re: eyes; ro its spread in all directions; le: ears; lo, its spread in all directions; e: nose; ai: its spread in all directions; o: anus and genitals; au: its spread in all directions; aṅ: sun; aḥ: serene moon.*

*Ka, kha; ga, gha; ṅa. ca, cha;<sup>138</sup> ja, jha; ṅa.  
mata mvañ tinon*

*Ka, kha; ga, gha; ṅa. ca, cha; ja, jha; ṅa.  
Eyes and seeing*

*Ṭa, ṭha; ḍa, ḍha; ṅa. taliña mvañ rineño*

*Ṭa, ṭha; ḍa, ḍha; ṅa. Ears and hearing*

*Ta, tha; da, dha; na. iruñ mvañ kambuñ*

*Ta, tha; da, dha; na. Nose and smelling*

*Pa, pha; ba, bha; ma. pāyupastha*

*Pa, pha; ba, bha; ma. Anus and genitals*

*Ya, ra, la, va. bhūmi*

*Ya, ra, la, va. Earth*

*Śa, ṣa. suku kalih*

*Śa, ṣa. The two feet*

*Sa, ha. tañan kalih*

*Sa, ha. The two hands*

*ka, kha; ga, gha. pa, pha; ba, bha. kāmadhātu*

*ka kha ga gha pa pha ba bha. Kāmadhātu.*

*nā, ga, ja, lā. ṅa, na, ṅa, teleknya*

*na ga ja lā ṅa na ṅa: Its deepest point*

*ta, tha, da, dha, ya, ra, la, va, rūpadhātu*

138. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan*: written as *ca* but read as *cha*.



ta tha da dha ya ra la va: Rūpadhātu

ka, kha; ga, gha; ca, cha; ja, jha; arūpadhātu

ka kha ga gha ca cha ja jha: Arūpadhātu.

ka: teleknya

ka: Its deepest point

śa: paryyanta niñ jñāna

śa: The end of knowledge

ṣa: strī

ṣa: Woman

sa: puruṣa

sa: Man

ma: usus nāgāñ leker

ma: Entrails, coiled snake (*kundalini*?)

ha: rasuk niñ advaya.

ha: The armor (*kavaca*) of *advaya*.

*Ikañ akṣara thirty-seven kvehnya advayātmaka ikā kabeh, arok lavan kleśa, avelu rūpanya; ñke śarīra stūpa i heñ i jro prāsāda, i taṇḍas nikañ stūpa prāsāda śarīra ñka ta kahanan bhaṭāra hyañ buddha masamāhitarūpa nira ñkana. Pājar sañ hulun kṛtopadeśa i sañ hyañ Mahāyāna, kaiñetaknā n ta<sup>139</sup> kita ñ jinaputra.*

These letters are thirty-seven in total. They are all the essence of non-dual (*advaya*). They are mixed with afflictions (*kleśa*). Their form is circular. In this body, the *stūpa* is outside inside the *prāsāda*. On the tip of this *stūpa-prāsāda* body, there is Bhaṭāra Hyañ Buddha in his *samādhi* posture. Having taught the disciple, having received the doctrine of Sañ Hyañ Mahāyāna, you, son of Jina, should be mindful on them.

*Nihan ta vaneh pājara mami ri kita: hayva dṛśya deniñ len śarīranta mvañ huripta, radinana vehalilaña, matanta kalih āditya sateja, taliñanta kalih āditya sateja, iruñta kalih āditya sateja, i ilatta lambenta āditya sateja, hatinta, pusuh-pusuhta, wuñsilanta, amprunta, paru-parunta, limpanta, ususta, āditya sateja tapva śarīranta kabeh i yava i jro, mañkana denta mahayu śarīranta. Āditya sateja ñaranya: karegepan inñ advaya, yatānyan hilaña sarvvakleśa ri śarīranta kabeh, temah ta śarīranta somya lilañ.*

139. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan: kaiñotaknan ta.*

The following is my other teaching to you: do not make your body and life visible to others, cleanse and make it clear: both of your eyes like bright sun, both of your ears like bright sun, both of your nostrils like bright sun, at your tongue and lips the sun is bright, your heart, your liver, your scrotum, your gall, your lungs, your spleen, your intestine, the sun is bright, even the whole of your body without and within, thus beautify your body. The so-called bright (*āditya sateja*) means: keeping a firm hold on *advaya*, then the complete removal of all afflictions from your body makes your body become peaceful and clear.

*Lambenta i sor i ruhur patemvahnanta tuñtuñ nilatta ya ta andelakna ri tuñtuñ niñ huntunta, sela niñ huntu i sor i ruhur sarambut deyanta, isepta bāyu sake tutuk,<sup>140</sup> piñsorakna tekeñ puser, miñduhurakna ikañ bāyu humeneña tan polaha, ikañ bāyu sūkṣmālit tatan kateñera miñsor miñduhur, samañkana ñ bāyu rakta darya<sup>141</sup> aṃ liñnya, atemah āditya pariṣṭūrṇa sahañja<sup>142</sup> umasuk ri śarīranta. Ri huvus nikā dadi tañ manah alilañ aheniñ nirāvaraña, kadi kāla niñ lahrū teñah ñ ve. Ikañ ambek mañkana yeka sinañgah kahyañbuddhāñ ñaran ira, sira ta mañik sarv-asa pariṣṭūraka<sup>143</sup> ñaran ira, mañkanābhyāsanta sārī-sārī, yatānyan mañgihakna ñ kahyañbuddhāñ.*

Bring your lower and upper lips together, place the tip of your tongue against the tip of your teeth, keep a space of a hair's width between the upper and lower teeth, inhale the wind (*bāyu*) through the mouth, move it downward to reach the navel, move the wind upward to become silent without movement. This wind which is subtle and fine is unrecognizable going down or up. At that time, the wind becomes red and develops into the sound *aṃ*, finally to become the perfect sun naturally entering your body. At the end, those make your mind clear, pure, taintless, like noon in the dry season. This mind is thus considered the so-called buddhahood. It is the jewel wholly causing the so-called fullness; thus practice constantly, then you may attain buddhahood.

### *Sapta Samādhi*

*Muvah hana ta sapta samādhi ñaranya, lvirnya:*

There are also the so-called seven *samādhis* (*sapta samādhi*). They are:

140. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: tutu.*

141. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: dari.*

142. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: sakaja.*

143. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: sarvva sapariṣṭūraka.*

*Pegeñ ikañ bāyu saprasāvāsa, humeneñ āmbekanta, tan vavareño hri hana taya, jambhala-samādhi naran ikā, pūrvva samādhi ikā.*

Restraining the wind while inhaling, keeping your mind quiet, not paying attention to thorns existing or nonexistent is the so-called *jambhala-samādhi*, the first of *samādhis*.

*Huvus iñ amegeñ vijilaken ta bāyunta, hayva karkaśa vetunya, dadi tañ āmbek alilañ kadi manah niñ manuk vahu tetes ri hantiga, vruh niñ viśuddha niñ kāya vāk citta, alilañ nirmala. Ikañ āmbek mañkana vāgīśvara-samādhi naran ika.*

Having restrained, bringing forth the wind, do not bring forth roughly, the mind—becoming clear like the mind of a bird having just hatched from the egg—knows the purity of *kāya*, *vāk*, and *citta*, clear and spotless. Hence such mind is called the *vāgīśvara-samādhi*.

*Katon pvekañ sarbvasatva kāsyasih deniñ rāgādi, dadi tañ āmbek kumiñkiñ hayva niñ sarbvasatva, masih tanpa sañkan upakāra, ikañ āmbek mañkana lokeśvara-samādhi naran ikā.*

Seeing all beings with compassion out of love, etc., the mind—striving after the well-being of all beings—is compassionate without reason for favor; hence such mind is called the *lokeśvara-samādhi*.

*Dadi tañ āmbek makāvaka bajra rodra humilañaken ikañ sarbvaduṣṭa citta, kumiñkiñ hayva ni rāt kabeh, ikañ āmbek mañkana bajrasatva-samādhi naran ikā.*

The mind—having embodied *bajra rodra* eliminating all evil-mindedness—strives after the well-being of all in the world; hence such mind is called the *bajrasatva-samādhi*.

*Dadi tañ āmbek ādibuddha ni ratu cakravartti huvus malahaken śatru sakti venang aveh sahakarep niñ sarbvasatva, ikañ āmbek mañkana mahāmunivara cintāmañi-samādhi<sup>144</sup> naran ikā.*

The mind—having defeated a powerful enemy [and] becomes Ādi Buddha in the *cakravartti* king—is able to fulfill all wishes of all beings; hence such mind is called the *mahāmunivaracintāmañi-samādhi*.

*Dadi tañ āmbek kumiñkiñ hayva ni sarbvasatva, utsāha ri kagavayan iñ dharma ni sarbvasatva, ikañ āmbek mañkana śvetaketu-samādhi naran ikā.*

144. In vv. 67ff of chap. 4 of the *Tathāgataṣṭyakriyādhikāra* in the *Ratnagotravibhāga* or *Uttaratantra*, *cintāmañi* is said to be able to fulfill all wishes.

The mind—striving after the well-being of all beings—spends efforts in the work of Dharma for all beings; hence such mind is called the *śvetaketu-samādhi*.

*Dadi tañ manah alilañ aheniñ muka riñ nirbbāṇa kadi sūryya paripūrṇa alilañ aheniñ aho nirāvaraṇa avā paḍaṇ rahina sadākāla kumāra nirbbāṇa-samādhi naran ikā.*

The mind—having become clear, pure at the door of *nirbbāṇa* like the perfect sun in clear, pure day, stainless, glowing, most brilliant daylight ever—is called the *kumāra nirbbāṇa-samādhi*.

*Nihan ta muvah kayatnākna temen-temen yan ahyun amaṅgihakna ñ kamokṣan. Ikañ bāyu teñen Amitābha naran ira, ikañ bāyu i kiva Amogasiddhi naran ira, ikañ bāyu pareñ metu Ratnasambhava naran ira, tan vetu niñ bāyu kiva teñen Akṣobhya naran ira, vekas niñ bāyu Vairocana naran ira, kahanan ira i tuñtuñ niñ iruñ i rahi uṣṇīṣa, vekas niñ nirmmala śuddhi-śuddhin sira kalima, sira ta sañ hyañ pañca rasa naran ira.*

Now you should devote your full attention seriously if you wish to find liberation. This wind to the right is called Amitābha. The wind to the left is called Amogasiddhi. The wind simultaneously going out is called Ratnasambhava. The wind to the left or to the right that does not go out is called Akṣobhya. The wind left behind is called Vairocana. It exists at the tip of the nose on the forehead, in the *uṣṇīṣa*. The five that are stainless, brightly pure, and left behind are called Sañ Hyañ Pañca Rasa.

*Kunañ yan ahyun ri karmmaprasara ikañ bāyu teñen atemah hanāgni-maṇḍala, trikoṇākāra, dumilah rakta varṇa madhyanya trisūla, sādhananta ri sarbvakarma ikā.*

But if you wish to make progress of actions (*karmmaprasara*), this wind to the right is to change into an *agnimaṇḍala* of triangular shape, glowing in red color; in the middle is a *trisūla*; that is your means to attain perfection in all actions.

*Vaneh dadyaken mahendramaṇḍala ikañ bāyu i teñen apasagi, dumilah kunañ varṇnanya kadi mās, madhyanya pañcaśucikabajra<sup>145</sup> meṇah,<sup>146</sup> sādhananta ri vṛddhya niñ hurip mvañ ri vṛdhya niñ sada ikā.*

145. As previously noted, *pañcaśucikabajra* here shows the use of the term *śuci* in relation to the five-pronged *vajra* (*pañca-śūla*).

146. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyanikan: meṇa*.

Further, establish *mahendramaṇḍala*: the wind to the right is to be of square shape, glowing in firefly color like gold, in the middle *pañcaśucikabajra* glowing; that is your means to lengthen the life and to be successful every time.

*Muvah dadyaken mahendramaṇḍalāpasagi, bhedanya putih tejanya,  
somya, bajra i teñah, sādhananta riñ kasvasthān ika.*

And establish the square *mahendramaṇḍala*: the difference is the light is white, peaceful, *bajra* in the middle; that is your means to prosperity.

*Ikañ catur<sup>147</sup> agramaṇḍala dadi vaśikaraṇa, ākarṣaṇa.*

These four *agramaṇḍalas* create power (*vaśikaraṇa*), attraction (*ākarṣaṇa*).

*Ikañ uśvāse kiva atemahan bāyumaṇḍala nirākāra, ireñ, ijo, kuniñ kunañ  
varṇnanya, dumilah tuñtuñnya kalih, dhvaja cihna patākā kunañ tañan i  
kiva mañregop aṅkus kuṇḍala lvirnya, sādhananta riñ ākarṣaṇa ikā, stham-  
bana uccāraṇa kunañ lāvan ta vaneh dadyaken bāruṇamaṇḍala ikañ uśvāse  
kiva, avelu dumilah putih varṇnanya, madhyanya sūkṣma maṇḍalālīt, kadi  
śuddha sphaṭika ri teñah pinakavarṇnanya pinakacihnanya, sādhananta  
riñ śāntika ikā.*

The breath to the left is to become *bāyumaṇḍala* without form (*nirākāra*), black (*ireñ*), green (*ijo*), yellow firefly (*kuniñ kunañ*) in color, glowing at both ends, the mark bearing the sign of a flag (*dhvaja cihna patākā*), and the hand to the left grasping a hook in the form of an ear pendant (*aṅkus kuṇḍala*); that is your means to attraction, paralyzing spell (*sthambana uccāraṇa*). Moreover, to create *bāruṇamaṇḍala*: this breath to the left, round, glowing white in color, in the middle an immaterial small *maṇḍala* (*sūkṣma maṇḍalālīt*), like clear crystal (*śuddha sphaṭika*) in the middle in its color and its mark, that is your means to propitiation.

*Kunañ ikañ paramaviśeṣabāyu tanpolah niñ uśvāsa, kevalālilān aheniñ  
nirāvaraṇa humiḍeñ nirākāra riñ ghrāṇa pradeśanya teka riñ rahi ryy  
uṣṇiṣa śuci śuddha tan hanāṅgeleh iriya. Vairocanasamādhi naran ikā.*

Further, this most excellent wind (*paramaviśeṣabāyu*), not moving breath (*tanpolah niñ uśvāsa*), absolutely clear (*kevalālilang*), pure (*ahening*), stainless, still (*humiḍeng*), without form, its place is in the nose up to the forehead at the *uṣṇiṣa*, pure, clear (*śuci śuddha*), without any stain (*tan hanāṅgeleh*). It is called *vairocanasamādhi*.

147. The four refer to *agnimaṇḍala* and *mahendramaṇḍala* (in the previous paragraphs), and *bāyumaṇḍala* and *bāruṇamaṇḍala* (in the following paragraph).

*Kayatnākna temen-temen sira, tan dadi dṛśya deniñ len sira bvat mañdadyaken pāpa yan kājar iñ len, dadi marah-vinarahaken ḍān mañhanākna kna guru krama iriñ vvañ.*

You should devote your full attention seriously. You must not be seen by others, for it would create misery. Should it be made known to others, then invite one to prepare performing a guru rite (*guru krama*) for the person.

*Iti ḍaṅ hyaṅ kamahāyānikan parama samaya mahopadeśa ikā de sañ boddha, teñeten hayva cavuh, vekas niñ sañketa sira, sari niñ kapaṅḍitan.*

This is *ḍaṅ Hyaṅ kamahāyānikan*. It is the prime vow and great teaching (*parama samaya mahopadeśa*) of Buddhism, secret, not be taken indiscriminately, the ultimate of stipulation, the quintessence of spiritual learning.

*Im! Sājñā mahāmpuñku tulusakna pva siḥ śrī mahāmpuñku ri pinañkañhulun. Sañ hyaṅ divarūpa kapvāvak bhaṭāra buddha de śrī mahāmpuñku. Mapa pva liñ sañ paṅḍita vaneh? Bhaṭāra ratnatraya mvañ bhaṭāra pañca tathāgata sira rakvāvak bhaṭāra buddha, śuddha, nīla, pīta, rakta, viśva varṇanira, dhvaja, bhūḥsparśa, varada, dhyāna, abhaya mudra nira. Mañkana liñ sañ paṅḍita vaneh, ya tāñde sandigdha ri jñāna ranak mahāmpuñku. Pahidhyakna ta ranak śrī mahāmpuñku marapvan hilañ ikañ sañśaya jñāna, malya samyajñāna.*

*Im!* By your leave, my great master (*mahāmpuñku*), please, my great master, be compassionate to me. Sañ Hyaṅ Divarūpa embodies Bhaṭāra Buddha according to Śrī Mahāmpuñku. What do other *paṅḍitas* say? Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya and Bhaṭāra Pañca Tathāgata, they say, embody Bhaṭāra Buddha; white (*śuddha*), blue (*nīla*), yellow (*pīta*), red (*rakta*), green (*viśva*) are their colors, *dhvaja*, *bhūḥsparśa*, *varada*, *dhyāna*, *abhaya* are their *mudrās*. Thus say other *paṅḍitas*. This causes the *jñāna* of your son to be confused, Mahāmpuñku. Give instructions to your son, Śrī Mahāmpuñku, so that destroyed is the doubtful *jñāna*, restored is the right *jñāna* (*samyajñāna*).

*Om! Anakku kita ñ tathāgatakula jinaputra, pahenak denta mañreño.*

*Om!* My son, you, son of Jina from the family of Tathāgata, be comfortable while listening.

*Tiga bheda niñ jñāna: vāhyaka, sākāra, nirākāra. Yan bhaṭāra divarūpa sira pinakāvak bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha, jñāna nirākāra kāraṇa nira, mvañ grāhaka ri sira. Pinujā pva bhaṭāra buddha de ni jñāna sākāra śrīmān akaleñka lvirnya: samañkana ta bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha maśarira devatārūpa, dadi*

deniñ kriḥkāra śvetavarṇa, dhvaja mudrā, sira ta bhaṭāra śrī śākyamuni  
 ṅaran ira, sarvvadevagurūcyate, inajaraken guru niñ sarvva devata. Mijil  
 tañ devatā sakeñ śarīra bhaṭāra śrī śākyamuni ri teñen, rakta varṇa dhyāna  
 mudrā makasañkan hriḥkāra sira ta bhaṭāra śrī lokeśvara ṅaran ira. Mijil  
 tañ devatā sake śarīra śrī śākyamuni kiva, nilavarṇa, bhūḥsparsā mudrā,  
 makasañkan briḥkāra, sira ta bhaṭāra śrī bajrapāṇi ṅaran ira. Sira ta katiga  
 bhaṭāra ratnatraya ṅaran ira, sira sinañguh buddha, dharmma, sañgha,  
 sira makatattva ñ kāya, vāk, citta, sira makaśīla ñ asih puñya bhakti, ahyun  
 pva sira pūrṇa niñ tribhuvana.

Three kinds of knowledge (*jnāna*): external (*vāhyaka*), with form (*sākāra*), without form (*nirākāra*). When Bhaṭāra Divarūpa (“Divine Light”) embodies Bhaṭāra Hyañ Buddha, the cause is *nirākāra-jñāna*, and he is the subject (*grāhaka*). When Bhaṭāra Buddha is worshiped by knowledge with form (*sākāra-jñāna*), he is auspicious and flawless, then Bhaṭāra Hyañ Buddha embodies a divine form (*devatārūpa*), emerges by the syllable *kriḥ* (*kriḥkāra*), is white, and has the *dhvaja-mudrā*. He is called Bhaṭāra Śrī Śākyamuni, *sarvvadevagurūcyate*, known as the teacher of all gods. A god, originated from the right side of the body of Bhaṭāra Śrī Śākyamuni, is red, has the *dhyāna-mudrā*, emerges by the syllable *hriḥ* (*hriḥkāra*), is called Bhaṭāra Śrī Lokeśvara. A god originated from the left side of the body of Śrī Śākyamuni is blue, has the *bhūḥsparsā-mudrā*, emerges by the syllable *briḥ* (*briḥkāra*), is called Bhaṭāra Śrī Bajrapāṇi. The three of them are called Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya. They are known as Buddha, Dharma, and Sañgha. Their essence is body (*kāya*), speech (*vāk*), and mind (*citta*). Their *śīla* are compassion (*asih*), merit (*puñya*), and devotion (*bhakti*). They also wish to perfect the triple world (*tribhuvana*).

*Mijil ta bhaṭāra śrī vairocana sake mukha śrī śākyamuni. Mavibhāga ta bhaṭāra śrī lokeśvara, mijil ta bhaṭāra amitābha mvañ bhaṭāra ratnasambhava. Mavibhāga ta bhaṭāra śrī bajrapāṇi, mijil bhaṭāra akṣobhya mvañ bhaṭārāmoghasiddhi. Sira ta kalima sira sinañjñān bhaṭāra pañca tathāgata mvañ bhaṭāra sarvvajñāna ṅaran ira vaneh.*

Bhaṭāra Śrī Vairocana is originated from the face Śrī Śākyamuni. Bhaṭāra Śrī Lokeśvara divides himself, gives birth to Bhaṭāra Āmitābha and Bhaṭāra Ratnasambhava. Bhaṭāra Śrī Bajrapāṇi divides himself, gives birth to Bhaṭāra Akṣobhya and Bhaṭāra Amoghasiddhi. The five of them are thus the wisdom of Bhaṭāra Pañca Tathāgata and called Bhaṭāra Sarvvajñāna as well.



*Mijil tañ devatā sarvvakāryya kartta sake kasarvvajñān bhaṭāra Vairocana, lvirnya īśvara, brahmā, viṣṇu, sira ta kinon mamaripūrṇākna ṅ tribhuvana mvañ isyanya de bhaṭāra Vairocana, donanya pagavayana kaparārthān mvañ sthāna bhaṭāra pinūjā irikañ kāla, dadi tañ sthāvara jaṅgamādi. Svargga hibekan devatādi marttyapada hibekan mānusādi, pātāla hibekan nāgādi de bhaṭāreśvara, brahmā, viṣṇu, ya ta mataiṅnyan sarvvakāryya kartta sira, nora tan kahanan ira, ndān dinadyaken de ni kasarvvajñān bhaṭāra śrī Vairocana ka ṅ sarvvakāryya kartta bhaṭāra īśvara, brahmā, viṣṇu. Mañkana kahidepan bhaṭāra sarvvajñā deniñ sākāra jñāna pinūjā sira riñ pañcopacāra jñāna tatva. Kahidep pva sira deniñ vāhyaka jñāna sañ hyañ arcca, pratimā, peta, śākali pinūjā riñ pañcopacāra vāhya.*

From the omniscience of Bhaṭāra Vairocana emerge gods who accomplish all deeds, i.e., Īśvara, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu. They work to perfect the triple world (*tribhuvana*) and its contents for Bhaṭāra Vairocana so that the work on welfare and the standing of Bhaṭāra are all the time worshiped by the immobile and mobile creatures. The heaven is full with gods and others, the world is full with humans and others, the underworld is full with *nāgās* and others, by Bhaṭāra Īśvara, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu, thus they are who accomplish all deeds, none without them, and created by the omniscience of Bhaṭāra Śrī Vairocana, i.e., Bhaṭāra Īśvara, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu who accomplish all deeds. Hence, Bhaṭāra Sarvajñā is known by knowledge with form (*sākāra-jñāna*) in fivefold rituals (*pañcopacāra*) of the *tatva-jñāna*, which worships him. He is known by knowledge of external (*vāhyaka-jñāna*) by means of holy statues (*sañ hyañ arcca*), images (*pratimā*), depictions (*peta*), and visual objects (*śākali*) in fivefold external rituals (*pañcopacāra vāhya*).

*Kalinanyānakku: bhaṭāra divarūpa sira dadi bhaṭāra ratnatraya, matemahan bhaṭāra pañcatathāgata. Pañcatathāgata mañdadyaken pañceśvara, pañceśvara mañdadyaken brahmarṣi, brahmarṣi mañdadyaken sarvvajanma devatādi. Pahenak ta manah ta, hayva sañśaya.*

The meaning is, my son, Bhaṭāra Divarūpa becomes Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya, transforms into Bhaṭāra Pañcatathāgata. Pañcatathāgata creates Pañceśvara. Pañceśvara creates Brahmarṣi. Brahmarṣi creates all beings, gods, and others. Let your mind be comfortable, do not doubt.

*Nihan tañ tatva viśesa muvah pavaraha mami ri kita, krama ni pañcaskandha ri sañ yogīśvara: rūpa, vedanā, sañjñā, sañskāra, vijñāna.*

You look at the nature that is excellent, again, my instruction to you, the nature of five heaps (*pañcaskandhas*) of Sañ Yogīśvara: *rūpa, vedanā, sañjñā, sañskāra, vijñāna*.

*rūpa vairocana jñeyah vedanā ratnasambhavaḥ*

Rūpa is known as Vairocana, *vedanā* is Ratnasambhava

*sañjñāśca amitābhaśca saṅskārāmoghasiddhidah.*

And *sañjñā* is Amitābha, *saṅskāra* is Amoghasiddhida.

*akṣobhyo vijñānaṃ jñeyah pañcaskandhaśca ucyate.*

Akṣobhya is known as *vijñāna*, and these are called the *pañcaskandhas*.

*pañcaṅgapañcabodhiśca pañcatathāgatātma.*

The essence of *pañcatathāgata* is these five components of the body and the five *bodhis*.

*Ka: Ḍaṅ yañ Vairocana rūpa. Rūpa ṅaranya: kulit, dagiñ, otvat, tahu-  
lan, rāh, vuduk, sumsum, ya rūpa ṅaranya. Ḍaṅ hyañ Ratnasambhava  
vedana. Vedana ṅaranya: ikañ mañhidep suka duḥka ya vedana ṅa. Ḍaṅ  
hyañ Amitābha sañjñā. Sañjna ṅaranya: nāma, nāma ṅaranya: aran; ya  
sañjñā ṅaranya. Ḍaṅ hyañ Amoghasiddhi saṅskāra. Saṅskāra ṅaranya:  
ikañ ginave hetu mvañ ginave pratyaya, ya saṅskāra ṅaranya. Ḍaṅ hyañ  
Akṣobhya vijnana. Wijñāna ṅaranya: samyajñāna. Samyajñāna ṅaranya:  
pratyakṣānumāna, ya vijñāna ṅaranya.*

The meaning is: Ḍaṅ Hyañ Vairocana *rūpa*. *Rūpa* means skin (*kulit*), flesh (*dagiñ*), muscle (*otvat*), bone (*tahulan*), blood (*rāh*), fat (*vuduk*), bone marrow (*sumsum*): that is the so-called *rūpa*. Ḍaṅ Hyañ Ratnasambhava *vedanā*. *Vedanā* means that which discerns joy and sorrow (*suka duḥka*); that is the so-called *vedanā*. Ḍaṅ Hyañ Amitābha *sañjñā*. *Sañjñā* means name (*nāma*), *nāma* means name: that is the so-called *sañjñā*. Ḍaṅ Hyañ Amoghasiddhi *saṅskāra*. *Saṅskāra* means that which makes direct causes (*hetu*) and makes indirect (auxiliary) causes (*pratyaya*): that is the so-called *saṅskāra*. Ḍaṅ Hyañ Akṣobhya *vijñāna*. *Vijñāna* means right *jñāna* (*samyajñāna*). *Samyajñāna* means direct perception and inference (*pratyakṣānumāna*): that is the so-called *vijñāna*.

*Skandha ṅaran iñ śarīra, pañca ṅaran iñ lima, yata sinaṅguh śarīra lima  
ṅaranya. Mañkana tatva niñ pañcaskandha ri sañ yogīśvara.*

*Skandha* means body (*śarīra*), *pañca* means five (*lima*), so it is considered the so-called five bodies (*śarīra lima*). Thus is the nature of the *pañca-skandhas* of Sañ Yogīśvara.

*Nihan krama niñ vijākṣara mañdadyaken pañca tathāgata: aḥ hūṃ traṃ  
hrīḥ aḥ.*

Look at the nature of *vijākṣara* that creates Pañca Tathāgata: *aḥ hūṃ traṃ hrīḥ aḥ*.

*Vairocana tu aḥkāraṃ, hūṃkāraṃ Akṣobhyas tathā*

Vairocana is *aḥkāra*, but *hūṃkāra* is Akṣobhya

*traṃkāraṃ Ratnasambhava hrīḥkāraṃca Amitābha.*

*Traṃkāra* is Ratnasambhava, and *hrīḥkāra* is Amitābha.

*Ka: Aḥ-kāra vijākṣara ḍaṇ hyaṇ Vairocana, hūṃkāra vijākṣara ḍaṇ hyaṇ Akṣobhya, traṃ-kāra vijākṣara ḍaṇ hyaṇ Ratnasambhava, hrīḥ-kāra vijākṣara ḍaṇ hyaṇ Amitābha, aḥ-kārāmoghasiddhidah, a-kāra vijākṣara ḍaṇ hyaṇ Amoghasiddhi.*

The meaning is: *Aḥ-kāra* is the *vijākṣara* of ḍaṇ Hyaṇ Vairocana. *Hūṃ-kāra* is the *vijākṣara* of ḍaṇ Hyaṇ Akṣobhya. *Traṃ-kāra* is the *vijākṣara* of ḍaṇ Hyaṇ Ratnasambhava. *Hrīḥ-kāra* is the *vijākṣara* of ḍaṇ Hyaṇ Amitābha. *Aḥ-kārāmoghasiddhidah, a-kāra* is the *vijākṣara* of ḍaṇ Hyaṇ Amoghasiddhi.

*Nahan vijākṣarāmijilaken pañcabuddha.*

Such are the *vijākṣaras* that produce the Five Buddhas (*pañcabuddhas*).

*Nihan tiṅkah bhaṭāra buddha makāvaka trikala. Trikala naranya rāga dveṣa moha kāntarbhāverikā taṇ dambha irṣyā mātsaryya.*

Look at the way Bhaṭāra Buddha embodies *trikala*. *Trikala* means *rāga*, *dveṣa*, and *moha*; included (*kāntarbhāverikā*) are *dambha*, *irṣyā*, and *mātsaryya*.

*rāgo'mitābho vijñeyo dveṣaccākṣobhyo bajradhṛk*

*Rāga* is understood as Amitābha, *dveṣa* is Akṣobhya, the *bajradhṛk*

*moho vairocanaś cāpi trirupabhavantatatah.*

*moha* is Vairocana, these are the nature of the *trirupa*.

*Ikaṇ rāga ḍaṇ hyaṇ amitābha tattva nira, ikaṇ dveṣa ḍaṇ hyaṇ akṣobhya tattva nira, ikaṇ moha Vairocana tattva nira, ya ta sinaṅguh trikala de saṇ yogiśvara. Kāraṇa niṇ valvi valvi riṇ tribhava ikaṇ rāga dveṣa moha tribhava naranya bhavacakra.*

This *rāga* is the essence of ḍaṇ Hyaṇ Amitābha. The *dveṣa* is the essence of ḍaṇ Hyaṇ Akṣobhya. This *moha* is the essence of Vairocana. That is considered the *trikala* by Saṇ Yogiśvara. The reason for coming back again and again into *tribhava* are these *rāga*, *dveṣa*, and *moha*. *Tribhava* means *bhavacakra*.

*Nihan tatva niñ trimala ri sañ yogīśvara:*

Look at the essence of *trimala* of Sañ Yogīśvara:

*Arthaḥ Śākyamuniḥ dikṣaḥ kāma Lokeśvarocyate*

*Artha* dedicates to Śākyamuni; *Lokeśvara* is called *kāma*

*śabda Bajrapāṇiḥ jñeyaḥ trimalaṃ yogisanmatā.*

Śabda is known as Bajrapāṇi; these *trimala* are remembered by the *yogis*.

*Ka: Artha śrī Śākyamuni tatva nira, kāma śrī Lokeśvara tatva nira, śabda śrī Bajrapāṇi tatva nira. Ikañ artha kāma śabda ya ta inajaraken trimala de sañ yogīśvara.*

The meaning is: *artha* is the essence of Śrī Śākyamuni. *Kāma* is the essence of Śrī Lokeśvara. *Śabda* is the essence of Śrī Bajrapāṇi. These *artha*, *kāma*, and *śabda* are the *trimala* taught by Sañ Yogīśvara.

*Rāgadvēṣamoho Buddhaḥ arthakāmaśabdātmaḥ*

The nature of the Buddha is *rāga*, *dveṣa*, and *moha*, also *artha*, *kāma*, and *śabda*.

*Dharmmasusmṛtibhāvāya smṛteḥ syāt duḥkhadhāraṇāt.*

From the mindfulness on the *dharmas*, the concentration on *duḥka* arises.

*Ka: Bhaṭāra Buddha sira makatatva ñ rāga dveṣa moha, makāvaka artha kāma śabda sira, ka: trikhala sira trimala sira. Paran don ira n makāvaka trikhala trimala? Makadon dadya ni smṛti marmma niñ dharmma, maka-nimitta smṛti riñ dharmma, dadi makasañkan kadhāraṇāñ in duḥka, ya ta hetu nira n patemahan trikhala trimala, duḥka hetu nika, marapvan ikañ rāt kabeh mahyun añulahakna ñ dharmma, sādhananyan umañgihakna ñ inak āmbek.*

The meaning is: Bhaṭāra Buddha has the essence of *rāga*, *dveṣa*, and *moha* and embodies *artha*, *kāma*, and *śabda*, i.e., the *trikhala* and the *trimala*. What is his intention to embody the *trikhala* and the *trimala*? The aim is to bring about mindfulness (*smṛti*), deeply penetrating the Dharma. Because of mindfulness of Dharma, it causes the mind to concentrate on *duḥka*; that is his cause for becoming *trikhala* and *trimala*, its cause is *duḥka*, so that the whole world desires to conduct the Dharma: the practice should attain ease of mind (*inak āmbek*).

*buddho śākyamunir vidvān dharmmo lokeśvaraḥ prabhuh*

Śākyamuni is the Buddha, the knowing one; *Lokeśvara* is the Dharma, the master;

*Saṅgho bajrapāṇir jñeyas tritaratnan tu vidhīyate*

Bajrapāṇi is the Saṅgha; thus is the *triratna* to be known and enjoined.

*Ka: Dañ hyañ Śrī Śakyamuni paramārtha Dañ hyañ Buddha tattva nira Śrī Lokeśvara Dañ hyañ Dharmma tattva nira Śrī Bajrapāṇi aryya Saṅgha tattva nira. Sira ta sinaṅguh bhaṭāra ratnatraya naran ira. Vairocana, Amitābha, Akṣobhya, ratnatraya naran ira. Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amoghasiddhi ratnatraya sira muvah.*

The meaning is: The ultimate reality of Dañ Hyañ Śrī Śakyamuni is Dañ Hyañ Buddha as its true nature. Śrī Lokeśvara is Dañ Hyañ Dharma as its true nature. Śrī Bajrapāṇi is Arya Saṅgha as its true nature. They are known as the so-called Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya. Vairocana, Amitābha, and Akṣobhya are called *ratnatraya*. Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, and Amoghasiddhi are also *ratnatraya*.

*Nihan tattva niñ trikāya: kāya, vāk, citta.*

The truth of the *trikāya* is: body, speech, mind.

*kāyo vairocanaś cāpi vāk cāmitābho vijñeyaḥ*

The body is Vairocana; also the speech is to be known as Amitābha;

*cittam akṣobhyabajraś ca trikāya nāmnā sammatāḥ*

And the mind is the diamond of Akṣobhya; they are considered to be called *trikāya*.

*Ka: Dañ Hyañ Vairocana kāya, sarvvamudrā sarvvalakṣaṇa, ya kāya nāranya. Dañ hyañ Amitābha vāk. Vāk nāranya; sarvva śabda, makādi mantra vijākṣara, ya vāk nāranya. Dañ hyañ akṣobhya citta, sarvva jñāna ya citta nāranya. Yata matañnyan bhaṭāra ratnatraya sira trikāya, liñ sañ yogiśvara.*

The meaning is: Dañ Hyañ Vairocana is the body. All *mudrās* and marks are also referred to as body. Dañ Hyañ Amitābha is speech. The so-called speech, all sounds, beginning with mantra and *vijākṣara*, are also referred to as speech. Dañ Hyañ Akṣobhya is mind. Omniscience is also referred to as mind. Therefore Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya is the *trikāya*, says Sañ Yogiśvara.

*Nihan tattva niñ triparārtha kavruhana, triparārtha nāranya: asih, puṇya, bhakti.*

Look at the essence of the *triparārtha* which is to be known. The *triparārtha* means: *asih, puṇya, bhakti*.

*asih Vairocana jñeyaḥ puṇyaś cāmitābhas tathā*

Vairocana is to be known as compassion and Amitābha is merit;

*bhaktiś cākṣobhya bajradhṛk triparāthā nigadyante.*

Akṣobhya, the Bajradhṛk, is devotion; thus are the *triparāthā* to be told.

*Ka: Bhaṭāra Vairocana sira asih. Asih nāranya, sañ kumavaśākēn catur pāramitā, ya asih nāranya. Bhaṭārāmitābha puṇya. Ikañ kumavaśākēn ṣaṭ pāramitā, ya puṇya nāranya. Bhaṭārākṣobhya si(ra) bhakti. Ikañ lumaku satatānut rasa niñ āgama, matēguh rumakṣa tapa brata sañskāra mvañ buddhaśāsana tan kavanēhan mañulahakēn dharmma, ya sinañguh bhakti nāranya. Ikañ asih puṇya bhakti, ya triparātha paramārtha nāranya, makatattva ñ ratnatraya.*

The meaning is: Bhaṭāra Vairocana is *asih*. *Asih* means: the one who has mastered the *caturpāramitās* is the so-called *asih*. Bhaṭārāmitābha is *puṇya*. One who has mastered the *ṣaṭpāramitās* is the so-called *puṇya*. Bhaṭārākṣobhya is *bhakti*. One, whose conduct is always following the essence of religion, firm in maintaining *tapa brata*, purification rituals (*sañskāra*), and the teachings of Buddha (*buddhaśāsana*), never being satisfied in practicing the Dharma, is considered *bhakti*. These *asih*, *puṇya*, and *bhakti* are the *triparātha paramārtha* and are the essence of the *ratnatraya*.

*Nihan tatva niñ pañcadhātu ri sañ yogiśvara. Pañcadhātu nāranya: pṛthivī, āpah, teja, bāyu, ākāsa.*

Look at the essence of *pañcadhātu* of Sañ Yogīśvara. *Pañcadhātu* means earth (*pṛthivī*), water (*āpah*), fire (*teja*), wind (*bāyu*), ether (*ākāsa*).

*Pṛthivīdhātur Buddhaśca abdhātu Ratnasambhavaḥ  
tejodhātuścāmitābho vāyuścāmoghasiddhidah  
Ākāśadhātur Akṣobhya etāni pañcadhātuni  
satvena pāñcadehaśca pañcatathāgatātmakā.<sup>148</sup>*

Earth (*pṛthivī*) is Buddha (Vairocana), water (*ab*) is Ratnasambhava, Fire (*tejo*) is Amitābha, wind (*vāyu*) is Amoghasiddhida, ether (*ākāśa*) is Akṣobhya: these five elements (*pañcadhātunis*) are the qualities of the five bodies (*pāñcadehas*) of the nature of *pañcatathāgata*.

148. See Kandahjaya, “Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan, Borobudur, and the Origins of Esoteric Buddhism in Indonesia,” 88–91, for correlations among these triads and pentads with those in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*; for this text, see S. Tripathi, *Guhyasamāja Tantra or Tathāgataguhyaka*, 2nd ed. (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1988); Yukei Matsunaga, *The Guhyasamāja Tantra: A New Critical Edition* (Osaka: Toho Shuppan, 1978); and the Kelurak inscription.

*Ka: Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Vairocana sira buddha, sira pṛthivīdhātu. Ikaṅ abvat pṛthivī nāranya. Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Ratnasambava āpaḥdhātu. Ikaṅ drava svabhāva, ya āpaḥ nāranya. Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Amitābha tejadhātu. Ikaṅ laghu svabhāva, ya tejadhātu nāranya. Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Amoghasiddhi sira bāyudhātu. Ikaṅ vala svabhāva, ya bāyudhātu nāranya. Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Akṣobhya ākāśadhātu. Ikaṅ taya svabhāva, ya ākāśa nāranya.*

The meaning is: Ḍaṅ Hyaṅ Vairocana is the Buddha. He is the earth element (*pṛthivīdhātu*). Those which have weight are earth (*pṛthivī*). Ḍaṅ Hyaṅ Ratnasambava is the water element (*āpaḥdhātu*). Those which are fluid in nature are the so-called water (*āpaḥ*). Ḍaṅ Hyaṅ Amitābha is the element of fire (*tejadhātu*). Those which are lightweight in nature are the so-called *tejadhātu*. Ḍaṅ Hyaṅ Amoghasiddhi is the element of wind (*bāyudhātu*). Those which are strong (*vala*) in nature are the so-called *bāyudhātu*. Ḍaṅ Hyaṅ Akṣobhya is the element of ether (*ākāśadhātu*). Those which are void in nature are the so-called *ākāśa*.

*Nahan krama Ḍaṅ hyaṅ pañcatathāgata matemahan pañcadhātu.*

Thus are the ways Ḍaṅ Hyaṅ Pañcatathāgata becomes *pañcadhātu*.

*Ikaṅ pañcadhātu ya ta pañcadeha deniṅ sarbvasatva, lvirnya: pṛthivī pinakadagiṅ, kulit, otvat, tahulan. Āpaḥ pinakarāḥ, vuduk, sumsum, reta, śleṣma. Teja pinakapanon. Bāyu pinaka uśvāsa. Ākāśa pinakalepana niṅ śarīra,<sup>149</sup> pinakaroma. Maṅkana lvir niṅ pañca mahābhūta pinakāvaka niṅ sarbvasatva; saha kalāvan guṇanya pinakaśarīra: Pṛthivī makaguṇa ṅ gandha, āpaḥ makaguṇa ṅ rasa, teja makaguṇa ṅ rūpa, bāyu makaguṇa ṅ sparśa, ākāśa makaguṇa ṅ śabda. Ya ta hetu niṅ puruṣa kinahanan deniṅ rūpa, rasa, gandha, sparśa, śabda, āpan makāvaka pañcadhātu.*

This *pañcadhātu* is the five bodies (*pañcadehas*) of all beings. They are: earth becomes flesh (*dagiṅ*), skin (*kulit*), muscles (*otvat*), bones (*tahulan*). Water becomes blood (*rāḥ*), fat (*vuduk*), bone marrow (*sumsum*), semen (*reta*), mucus (*śleṣma*). Fire becomes eyes (*panon*). Wind becomes breath (*uśvāsa*). Ether becomes a salve for the body, also becomes hair. Thus, they are the kinds of *pañca mahābhūta* being embodied by all beings; and along with qualities which become body: Earth becomes the quality of *gandha*, water becomes the quality of *rasa*, fire becomes the quality of *rūpa*, wind becomes the quality of *sparśa*, ether becomes the quality of *śabda*. That is the cause for a person to exist having *rūpa*, *rasa*, *gandha*, *sparśa*, and *śabda*, because of embodying *pañcadhātu*.

149. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyanikan: pinakalepa niṅ śarīra*.



*Nihan krama ðaṅ hyaṅ tathāgata patemahan pañca rūpa skandha. Pañca rūpa skandha naranya: kalala, arvuda, ghana, peśi, praśaka.*

Look at the way *Dañ Hyañ Tathāgata* becomes *pañcarūpa skandhas*. *Pañcarūpa skandhas* means *kalala, arvuda, ghana, peśi, praśaka*.

*Kalalam Bajrasatvaśca arvudha Ratnasambhavaḥ ghanāmitābho<sup>150</sup> vijñeyaḥ peśi Amoghasiddhidaḥ. Vairocana praśakāyaṃ pañcarūpātmasambhavaḥ pañcākāraviṣaṃbodheḥ pañcatathāgatā matā.<sup>151</sup>*

*Kalala* is *Bajrasatva*, *arvudha* is *Ratnasambhava*, *ghana* is *Amitābho* are to be understood, and *peśi* is *Amoghasiddhida*. *Vairocana* is *praśaka*; these are to be remembered as the nature of the five forms (*pañcarūpas*), the *pañcākāraviṣaṃbodhis*, and the *pañcatathāgatās*.

*Ka: Dañ hyaṅ Akṣobhya kalala. Kalala naranya: pila-pilu. Dañ hyaṅ Ratnasambhava arvuda. Arvuda naranya: vereh. Dañ hyaṅ Amitābha ghana. Ghana naranya: dagañ akandel, kadyaṅganiñ goh gavayādi. Dañ hyaṅ Amoghasiddhi peśi. Peśi naranya: dagañ alamed, kadyaṅganiñ pipīlikādi. Dañ hyaṅ Vairocana praśaka. Praśaka naranya: matañan, masuku, mahulu, kadyaṅga niñ mānuṣa devatādi.*

The meaning is: *Dañ Hyañ Akṣobhya* is *kalala*. *Kalala* means slimy liquid (*pila-pilu*). *Dañ Hyañ Ratnasambhava* is *arvuda*. *Arvuda* means foam (*vereh*). *Dañ Hyañ Amitābha* is *ghana*. *Ghana* means thick flesh (*dagañ akandel*), such as cow and wild bull (*goh gavaya*), etc. *Dañ Hyañ Amoghasiddhi* is *peśi*. *Peśi* means thin flesh (*dagañ alamed*), such as ant (*pipīlika*), etc. *Dañ Hyañ Vairocana* is *praśaka*. *Praśaka* means embryo having hands, feet, head, such as human beings, gods, etc.

*Nahan krama ðaṅ hyaṅ pañcatathāgata patemahan pañca rūpa skandha, ya pañcākāraviṣaṃbodhi.<sup>152</sup>*

Thus is the manner that *Dañ Hyañ Pañcatathāgata* becomes *pañcarūpa skandhas*, that is *pañcākāraviṣaṃbodhis*.

150. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: ghaṇa*.

151. The *Samvarodaya-tantra*, p. 75, v. II-21: *kalalenākṣobhyarūpeṇa arbudaṃ ratnasambhavaḥ | peśi amitanāthasya ghano amoghasiddhayeḥ | praśākhā vairocanasyāpi pañcākāran tu darśayet ||21||*.

152. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: pañcākāra viṣaṃbodhi*. The term *pañcākārābhisambodhi* is in the *Pradīpodyotana*; see Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Guhyasamājantrapradīpodyotanaṭikā-ṣaṭiōṭivyaḥkhyā* (Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1984), chap. 11, p. 96.

*Nihan karma niñ pañcatathāgata jñāna ri sañ hyaṅ kamahāyānikan.*

Look at the manner *pañcatathāgata jñāna* in the *Sañ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*.

*Śāśvatajñānabuddhaśca adarśajñānākṣobhyaśca*

*Śāśvata-jñāna* is Buddha (Vairocana), *adarśa-jñāna* is Akṣobhya

*samata Ratnasambhavaḥ kṛtyaṅcāmoghasiddhidaḥ.*

[*Ākāś*]amata[-*jñāna*] is Ratnasambhava, *kṛtya[anuṣṭhāna-jñāna]* is Amoghasiddhida

*Pratyavekṣaṇavijñeyo lokeśvara paraṃsukhaṃ*

*Pratyavekṣaṇa[-jñāna]* is understood as Lokeśvara (Amitābha), the supreme bliss

*etāni pañcajñānāni guhyaṅca prakīrtyate.*<sup>153</sup>

These state the five secret *jñānas* (*pañcajñānānis*).

*Ka: Ikaṅ niṣprapañca-jñāna kinahanan deniñ ātmaniyābhīniveśa, yatika śāśvata jñāna naran ika, jñāna bhaṭāra Vairocana ika.*

The meaning is: This *niṣprapañca-jñāna*, endowed with attachment to what belongs to oneself (*ātmaniyābhīniveśa*), is the so-called *śāśvata jñāna*, the *jñāna* of Bhaṭāra Vairocana.

*Ikaṅ prabhāsvara-jñāna, jñāna lumeṅ kadi teja sañ hyaṅ āditya, ya adarśana-jñāna naran ya, jñāna bhaṭārākṣobhya ikā.*

This *prabhāsvara-jñāna*, the *jñāna* glowing like the fire of Sañ Hyaṅ Āditya, is the so-called *adarśana-jñāna*, the *jñāna* of Bhaṭārākṣobhya.

*Ikaṅ jñāna grāhya-grāhakarāhita tanpa ṅego, tanpa ṅego avaknya, ya ākāśamata-jñāna naran ya jñāna bhaṭāra Ratnasambhava ika.*

This *jñāna grāhya-grāhakarāhita* without grasping, without grasping the body, is the so-called *ākāśamata-jñāna*, the *jñāna* of Bhaṭāra Ratnasambhava.

*Ikaṅ jñāna sarbvaḍharmmanairātmya, huṃḍep śūnyatā niñ sarbvaḍharmma nityadā, ya pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna naran ya, jñāna bhaṭārāmitābha ikā.*

This *jñāna sarbvaḍharmmanairātmya*, realizing void (*śūnyatā*) of all *dhar-mas* (*sarbvaḍharmma*) continually, is the so-called *pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna*, the *jñāna* of Bhaṭārāmitābha.

153. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan: parikīrtyate.*

*Ikañ jñāna vyāpāra riñ sarbvakriyā sarbva hana taya, ngūniveh byāpāra polah niñ avak yatikā kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna naranya, jñāna bhaṭārāmoghasiddhi ika. Matañnyan karmmakuli naran ḍaṅ hyaṅ Amoghasiddhi ri de nira n byāpāra ri sarbvakarmma.*

This *jñāna* engaged in all actions, all existence and nonexistence, and certainly engaged in conduct of the body is the so-called *kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna*, the *jñāna* of Bhaṭārāmoghasiddhi. Therefore *karmmakuli* is the name of Ḍaṅ Hyañ Amoghasiddhi who himself is engaged in all actions (*sarbvakarmma*).

*Nahan prabheda niñ pañcajñāna de sañ yogīśvara, parama raḥṣya ikā.*

Thus are differences in the *pañcajñānas* following Sañ Yogīśvara. They are the supreme secret (*parama raḥṣya*).

*Nihan krama niñ pañcatathāgatadevī, lvir nira: bharālī dhātviśvarī, bharālī locanā, bharālī māmakī, bharālī pāṇḍaravāsini, bharālī tārā. Nahan pratyeka nira n pañca.*

These are the five *tathāgatadevīs*, they are: Bharālī Dhātviśvarī, Bharālī Locanā, Bharālī Māmakī, Bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsini, Bharālī Tārā. The five individually are:

*dhātviśvarī mahādevī vairocanaṭṭir jñeyā*

It is to be known that Dhātviśvarī, the great *devī*, has Vairocana as the master

*locanākṣobhyapatiś ca dhātviśvarī locanekā*

Locanā has Akṣobhya being the master, and Dhātviśvarī and Locanā are one.

*māmakī ratnasambhava pāṇḍaravāsini devī*

Māmakī has Ratnasambhava, Pāṇḍaravāsini, the *devī*, has

*amitābhapatir jñeyā tārāmoghasiddhipriyā.*

Amitābha, being the master, is to be known; Tārā is the consort of Amoghasiddhi.

*Bharālī dhātviśvarī sira ta devī levih mekasvāmi bhaṭāra Vairocana. Bharālī locanā makasvāmi bhaṭārākṣobhya. Bharālī dhātviśvarī mvañ bharālī locanā tuṅgal tattva nira, ya ta matañnyan caturdevī, ikañ devī sumahākāryya nira bhaṭāra Vairocana, makajñāna śāsvatajñāna, sarvvajñārūpa, lvir nira: satvabajrī, ratnabajrī, dharmabajrī, karmabajrī. Nahan lvir niñ caturdevī parivāra bhaṭāra Vairocana. Sira ta kavaśākna kesevitan ira de sañ sādḥaka, marapvan eṅgal kapaṅgih ikañ kavairocanan. Bharālī māmakī devī bhaṭāra*

*ratnasambhava. Bharālī pāṇḍaravāsini devī bhaṭārāmitābha. Bharālī tārā devī bhaṭārāmoghasiddhi. Nahan krama bhaṭāra pañcatathāgata saha devī.*

Bharālī Dhātviśvarī, being the highest *devī*, is the spouse of Bhaṭāra Vairocana. Bharālī Locanā is the spouse of Bhaṭāra Akṣobhya. Bharālī Dhātviśvarī and Bharālī Locanā are in essence one; thus there are four *devīs*. The *devīs* who make the great work for Bhaṭāra Vairocana, whose wisdom is *śāsvatajñāna*, the form of *sarvajñā*, are Satvabajrī, Ratnabajrī, Dharmabajrī, and Karmabajrī. These are the four *devīs* attending Bhaṭāra Vairocana. They are to be mastered and served by the practitioner so that he can quickly realize Vairocana. Bharālī Māmakī is the *devī* of Bhaṭāra Ratnasambhava. Bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsini is the *devī* of Bhaṭāra Amitābha. Bharālī Tārā is the *devī* of Bhaṭāra Amoghasiddhi. These are the Holy Five Tathāgatas and *devīs*.

*Nihan tañ vijākṣara maṇḍadyaken caturdevī: e, vaṃ, ma, ya.*

Look at the *vijākṣara* creating the *caturdevīs*: *e, vaṃ, ma, ya*.

*Ekāraṃ Māmakī jñeyah vaṃkāraṃ Paṇḍaravāsini*<sup>154</sup>

*Ekāra* is to be known as Māmakī, *vaṃkāra* is Paṇḍaravāsini

*makāraṃ Tārasyasmṛtaḥ yakāraṃ Locanā punaḥ.*

*Makāra* is remembered as Tārā, again *yakāra* is Locanā.

*Ka: ekāra vijākṣara bharālī Māmakī, vaṃkāra vijākṣara bharālī Paṇḍaravāsini, makāra vijākṣara bharālī Tārā, yakāra vijākṣara bharālī Locanā, punaḥ muvaḥ ikañ yakāra vijākṣara bharālī Dhātviśvarī.*

The meaning is: *ekāra* is the *vijākṣara* of Bharālī Māmakī, *vaṃkāra* is the *vijākṣara* of Bharālī Paṇḍaravāsini, *makāra* is the *vijākṣara* of Bharālī Tārā, *yakāra* is the *vijākṣara* of Bharālī Locanā, and this *yakāra* is also the *vijākṣara* of Bharālī Dhātviśvarī.

*Nahan kramaniñ caturdevī vijākṣara:*

This is the order of the *vijākṣaras* of the four *devīs*:

*Maitrī Locanā vijñeyā Māmakī karuṇā matā*

*Maitrī* is to be understood as Locanā, Māmakī is to be thought as *karuṇā*

*muditā Pāṇḍaravākyā upekṣā Tārāsmṛtā.*

154. Kats, *Sang hyang Kamahâyânikan: Ratnasambhavaḥ*. Here the verse is about the *vijākṣaras* for the four *devīs*; thus it must instead be Paṇḍaravāsini, who is missing in this verse. The commentary confirms this.

*Muditā* is to be known as Pāṇḍaravāsini, *upekṣā* is to be remembered as Tārā.

*Ka: Bharālī Locanā metri tatva nira. Ikañ āmbek asih tan makasañkan pratyupakāra ya maitri ñaranya. Bharālī Māmakī karuṇā tatva nira. Ikañ āmbek duḥka mulat ri lara niñ sarbvasatva, lumekas ta ya manuluñ, ya karuṇā ñaranya. Bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsini muditā tatva nira. Ikañ āmbek suka tumon suka niñ sarbvasatva, ya muditā ñaranya. Bharālī Tārā upekṣā tatva nira. Ikañ āmbek nirmmala mañanumoda suka nikañ sarbvasatva, tan meñet vehana suka, mvañ arvā pūjāstuti deniñ satva manemu suka, tan meñet, tan melik, tan gemyan, kevala humeneñ mulat juga niṣparigraha jāti nikā, ya upekṣā ñaranya, yatikā makatatva ñ bharālī Tārā.*

The meaning is: The essence of Bharālī Locanā is *metri*. Her loving mind, not due to reward, is called *maitri*. The essence of Bharālī Māmakī is *karuṇā*. This mind of *duḥka*, seeing all beings in pain, quick in helping, is called *karuṇā*. The essence of Bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsini is *muditā*. This joyous mind, seeing the delights in all beings, is called *muditā*. The essence of Bharālī Tārā is *upekṣā*. This spotless mind, which sympathizes in the delights in all beings, without considering giving the delights or sharing the homage and praise with the being finding the delights, without considering, without lamenting, without stinginess, merely staying, seeing its characteristic is incomparable, is called *upekṣā*, which manifests in Bharālī Tārā.

*Nā maitrī karuṇā muditā upekṣā caturdevī tatva nira, liñ sañ yogīśvara.*

Thus, *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, and *upekṣā* are the essence of the four devīs, as said by Sañ Yogīśvara.

*Evañ bodhisamadyottaḥ sarbvamudrātathāgata*

This *bodhi* rising from *samādhi*, all *mudrās*, and *tathāgatas*,

*suguhyatopitajñeyo buddhacāryyavicakṣanaiḥ.*

The ultimate secrets sown are to be known by one of wisdom and *buddhacārya*.

*Ka: Ikañ kājaran in bodhi samādhi mvañ ikañ sarbvamudrā pinakalakṣaṇanta mvañ ikañ tathāgata inañen-añenta, mvañ ikañ paramaguhyā tathāgata niyata ikā kavruhana de sañ buddhacāryyavicakṣaṇa, ka, ikañ mahābodhi, ikañ samādhi, ikañ sarbvamudrā mantra yoga bhāvanā mvañ kavicaṣṇan yatikāvāka niñ caturdevī Locanā, Pāṇḍaravāsini, Māmakī, Tārā. Iti caturdevī kavruhana hayva tan prayatna, paḍa pavitra nira mvañ bhaṭāra hyañ Buddha yan ta kapañgih pāvāka nira caturdevī de sañ yogīśvara.*

The meaning is: this teaching on enlightenment (*bodhi*) from *samādhi*, and all *mudrās* as symbols, and this *tathāgata* as aspiration, and this *paramaguhya tathāgata*, indeed, those are to be known by one of wisdom and *buddhacāryya*. The meaning is: *mahābodhi*, *samādhi*, all *mudrās*, mantras, yoga, *bhāvanā*, and wisdom are the bodies of the four *devīs*: *Locanā*, *Pāṇḍaravāsini*, *Māmakī*, and *Tārā*. To know these four *devīs* do not be not keen. They are as pure as *Bhaṭāra Hyaṅ Buddha*; if these four *devīs* are found they are to be embodied by *Saṅ Yogīśvara*.

*Iṃ! iti saṅ hyaṅ kamahāyānan.*

*Iṃ! This is the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan.*

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## **The Tantricization of Gods and Deities in Medieval Japan: Bernard Faure's *The Fluid Pantheon* and *Protectors and Predators***

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In 2015 the University of Hawai'i Press published two volumes of Bernard Faure's proposed four volume work on the gods of medieval Japan, *Gods of Medieval Japan, Vol. 1: The Fluid Pantheon* and *Gods of Medieval Japan, Vol. 2: Protectors and Predators*.<sup>1</sup> For the 2017 meeting of the American Academy of Religion, I organized a review panel that included the four contributors whose presentations have been revised for publication in this special section.

The tantric tradition in Japan can be approached from a variety of perspectives: as an example of sect formation, or the adaptation of tantra to a new religious culture, or an instance of the permeation of a religious culture by tantric praxis. No matter the approach taken, Bernard Faure's *Gods of Medieval Japan* provides details regarding tantric gods and deities, both imported and indigenous "converts," essential for future research.

Faure brings a lifetime of research and theorizing to the study of gods and deities in medieval Japan, a time of "mythical and ritual proliferation."<sup>2</sup> Going beyond formal pantheons, he organizes this mass of information by structuralist and post-structuralist approaches, as well as actor-network theory.

Faure's work expands the study of medieval Japanese religion in three directions. First, he moves us away from the elite versus popular dichotomy. His scope is more inclusive than simply a study of tantric

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1. Bernard Faure, *Gods of Medieval Japan, Vol. 1: The Fluid Pantheon*; and *Gods of Medieval Japan, Vol. 2: Protectors and Predators* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015–2016).

2. *Ibid.*, 2:2.

*maṇḍalas*, but he does not deploy a simplistic notion of folk religion. He has “tried to point beyond the systemic or structural aspects of the Japanese pantheon by contrasting an implicit, virtual pantheon with the explicit, established pantheon of orthodox Mikkyō,”<sup>3</sup> as esoteric Buddhism is known in Japan. Second, he calls attention to the need for more study of Tendai esoteric Buddhism. Perhaps because of the prominence of *Lotus Sutra* cults in modern Japan, the study of Tendai has focused more on its exoteric aspects—*Lotus Sutra* and historical relations to Tiantai—or on it as a source for the new “Kamakura Buddhisms.” Yet Tendai priests were as instrumental in spreading tantric practices, doctrines, and deities throughout medieval Japanese religion as were Shingon priests. Third, while the distinction between Buddhism and Shintō is now well-recognized as a late development, Faure documents the dynamic interconnectedness of buddhas and *kami* as central to medieval Japanese religion.

Faure’s work also has important theoretical implications. It rebuts compartmentalizing the academic study of Buddhism, treating the Buddhism of Japan as different in kind from that of China, Korea, Tibet, or India. The gods and deities who thematize his study have moved across continents, transited the boundaries between religious cultures, and adapted to identities structured in a variety of languages. Despite decontextualization and recontextualization, the gods and deities travel not as essences, but as potentials that can manifest in sometimes surprising ways.

Faure also challenges Buddhist studies scholars to expand beyond the limitations of a purely textual scholarship. In worlds where literacy was not common, the meaning and significance of Buddhism is expressed intersemiotically by images and objects. This work is one of only a few that fully integrates an art historical approach into Buddhist studies.

This work also challenges a preconception religious studies inherited from traditional mythology that a “biographical” narrative structure is a “natural” approach to the subject matter of gods and deities. In keeping with both structuralist and Buddhist perspectives, Faure calls attention to how “The essentialist or ‘personalist’ approach to the

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3. *Ibid.*, 2:12.



gods fails to recognize that a deity exists only against the background of a social imaginary, that is, within a conceptual field.”<sup>4</sup>

The four presentations discuss the work from differing and complementary perspectives.

Kristin Johnston Largen’s “The Medusa, the Centaur, and the Dragon-Goddess: An Indirect Look at Benzaiten” takes the perspective of women’s studies and gender:

In any given culture, gods and divinities both reinforce and reflect notions of sexuality, gender and gender performance. Not only the descriptions of the deities themselves—how they look, how they act, and how they fit into a larger pantheon—but also who worships them and in what way reveals a great deal about traditional gender roles in a society. In my paper, I use the lens of gender analysis to read *Gods of Medieval Japan*, and offer some insights into what we can learn about women—women’s roles and women’s bodies—during that period in Japan.

Aaron Proffitt suggests that the works contribute to the study of the relation of esoteric Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism in Japan in his “Neither Two nor One: Identity and Fluidity in Medieval Japan”:

Faure’s approach is useful for reevaluating assumptions about how “normative” objects of devotion functioned in the heterogeneous, always changing, environment of medieval Japan. In Esoteric Buddhist texts, “Amitābha” and the “*nenbutsu*” are nodes in a network—any and all practices may be subsumed under “*nenbutsu*” and any and all deities may be positioned in relation to or subsumed within “Amitābha.” Faure’s inquiry into heterogeneity, amalgamation, localization, competition, etc., addresses aspects of the cult of Amitābha and the practice of the *nenbutsu* that have eluded examination by most scholars of “Pure Land Buddhism” and “Esoteric Buddhism.”

Charles D. Orzech’s “Giving the Gods Their Due” places these new works in relation to Faure’s own past work:

Faure’s work on Japanese (and Chinese) religions has spanned Chan and Zen traditions, Esoteric Buddhism, iconography, and ritual. His keen critiques of orthodoxies (whether historical or recent; religious or scholarly) is inflected by deconstructive method, so as to clear away bias so we can see and understand what is alien. His *Gods of Medieval Japan* fits nicely into the history of French scholarship.

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4. *Ibid.*, 1:26.

Challenging sectarian and scholarly taxonomies as anachronistic impositions, Faure uses structural, post-structural, and actor network theory to make sense of a vast range of data (historical, iconographical). This pushes beyond notions of the gods as mere figments of imagination or expressions of social forces. This essay places *The Gods of Medieval Japan* in the context of his past work and of similar efforts, and probe the extent his project offers us a better understanding of the medieval Japanese imaginaire.

In “Gods and Demons at the Intersection of Religion and Art History” Pamela D. Winfield approaches the work from the perspectives of religious studies and art history:

Since the late 1990s, historians of Japanese Buddhist art have shifted from secularized and decontextualized aesthetic concerns, to considering the ritual functions and religious contexts of Buddhist images. Faure’s work crosses disciplinary lines, taking up the Buddhist icon with theoretical sophistication, a trans-sectarian or non-sectarian approach, and a formal structure that heralds, perhaps, the birth of a new literary genre. Echoing the lengthy article-entries in the *Hōbōgirin* Buddhist encyclopedia, and integrating much from the old Flammarion iconographies, *The Gods of Medieval Japan* may introduce a new kind of narrative illustrated encyclopedia, restoring the symbiosis between religious studies and art history.

Taken together these provide important perspectives on what promises to be a foundational work on Japanese religion for the twenty-first century.

## The Medusa, the Centaur, and the Dragon-Goddess: An Indirect Look at Benzaiten

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The massive two-volume masterpiece, *Gods of Medieval Japan*,<sup>1</sup> is both immense and “fluid,” something that, at least in my mind, resists easy categorization and continually multiplies. Reflecting on it as a whole somehow called to mind the story of Proteus in the *Odyssey*, in which Menelaus holds the shape-shifting demigod through many forms, including that of a serpent and water, in order to get the information he needs. These specific thoughts of Proteus led me to further thoughts on Greek mythology, which in turn led me to the specific feminist lens I have chosen to bring to bear on Dr. Faure’s work—and that is the challenge and the possibility presented by combinatory bodies—transgressive bodies that burst traditional boundaries of meaning.

In *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender*, the second part of a larger project that began with *The Red Thread*, Faure observes that “Transgression may seem more ‘natural’ to women...because of their social position as marginals in a male-dominated symbolic order.”<sup>2</sup> This insight resonates when examining the goddesses of medieval Japan, particularly insofar as they both highlight continued areas of challenge for women and women’s identities, but at the same time, they suggest new possibilities as well. This is particularly true in the case of Benzaiten.

In what follows, then, I take two figures from Greek mythology—the centaur and Medusa—and use them as a way to read and interpret the

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1. Bernard Faure, *Gods of Medieval Japan, Vol. 1: The Fluid Pantheon*; and *Gods of Medieval Japan, Vol. 2: Protectors and Predators* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2015–2016).

2. Bernard Faure, *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 337.

body of the goddess Benzaiten and better understand how her ability to shapeshift, to combine and recombine, to simultaneously manifest traditionally male and female characteristics, both reveals challenges for women's identity in Medieval Japan but also opens up fertile ways of thinking about what it means to be a woman and the interpretation of women's experience. To be clear, these two figures do not presume any overall typology or the assumption of any universals about Greek mythology, women's bodies, or medieval Japanese gods. Instead, I am utilizing them as a means of making a particular feminist critique of the body of Benzaiten in particular, and, by extension women's bodies in medieval Japan, which might have something to offer an analysis of women's bodies today as well.

#### FAURE AND FEMINIST THOUGHT

Before diving into the specific topic of my paper, I want to make one general observation. Those who know Faure's work will not be surprised to hear that his overarching approach and scholarly commitments are quite congenial to feminist thought in general, and there are many points of concord between them. In *The Power of Denial*, he cites Hélène Cixous' statement that feminine texts are texts that strive in the direction of difference; he observes that, if that is true, "my work [he says] can be said to possess a certain feminine quality, one apparently at odds with my gender and sex."<sup>3</sup>

Thus, throughout the two volumes of *Gods of Medieval Japan*, Faure lifts up favorably the blurring of boundaries and the nonduality and interpenetration between deities. So, for example, in his chapter discussing Aizen and Fudō, he describes the many different ways they relate, including as counterpoints, a nondual pair, a symbolic sexual union, two literal birds of a feather, and a polarity of life and death—and this is all before a third deity is added to the mix: Kōjin, as one possibility, or Amaterasu.<sup>4</sup>

The list of characteristics he emphasizes in his analysis of Japanese deities includes the following: they are perceived as liminal; they have a secret, mysterious nature; they are always ambiguous and can even be malevolent; they stand at the intersection of various religious currents; and their very existence invites us to question the traditional

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3. Faure, *The Power of Denial*, 19.

4. Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, chap. 5.

models of medieval Japanese religion.<sup>5</sup> All of these characteristics are particularly conducive to feminist analysis. So, in what follows, I am building on a “thread” that Faure himself considers central to his study.

#### THE CENTAUR

I begin with the centaur. In this article, the centaur represents the challenge of a transgressive body. In Greek mythology, centaurs were said to be descended from gods but trapped in a liminal state in which their animal and human natures were in conflict. Often, they were depicted as dangerous, violent, and unpredictable, as in the famous painting by Peter Paul Rubens, *Rape of Hippodamia*. (It should be noted that the centaur Chiron is remarkable as an exception; he was said to have tutored some of the greatest Greek heroes, including Achilles, Aeneas, and Hercules.)

Margaret Miles, in her book, *Beyond the Centaur*, opens with this description: “usually a man, with a human head and torso, joined at the waist to the body of a horse, described....as perpetually struggling with its two natures: wild as an untamed horse, he was also a civilized human being.”<sup>6</sup> She argues that this same tension between the physical and the mental—between the “angel” and the “beast”—is present in every human, and it creates a dichotomy that only can be resolved by imagining the human being as an integrated “intelligent body.”

The point of her argument that is most relevant for this analysis is that when we think differently about bodies we actually *experience* the world differently, and thereby open up new avenues for meaning-making—about ourselves, others, and the world at large.<sup>7</sup> In this context she discusses the concept of the “docile body.” Miles argues that intelligent bodies are bodies that move—that dynamic movement is actually our “primary way of making sense of the world.”<sup>8</sup> The alternative to the intelligent body is the “docile body,” the body that is “manipulated, shaped, trained....shaped in societies according to gender roles and expectations.”<sup>9</sup> And, perhaps to no one’s surprise, this is particularly true for female bodies. Thus, one might argue that one challenge

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5. Faure, *Protectors and Predators*, 331.

6. Margaret Miles, *Beyond the Centaur* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2014), ix.

7. *Ibid.*, 42.

8. *Ibid.*, 49.

9. *Ibid.*, 51.

of a “divided” or “transgressive” body is its lack of agency (passive rather than active, fragmented rather than cohesive) and its inability to engage the world out of an integrated identity.

#### THE MEDUSA

The Medusa, by contrast, represents the fertile and sundry possibilities of a transgressive body. Medusa is herself a goddess—or at least, she is descended from gods. She is Gorgon, a woman with wings and snakes for hair. She is terrifying, and gazing directly upon her turns the viewer into stone—one can only gaze at her indirectly, or through a mirror. However, later mythology also included beauty, as well as terror, as part of her aspect; Ovid recounts that originally she was a beautiful maiden who was turned into a monster by Athena after Medusa was raped by Poseidon in Athena’s temple. (Ovid tries to tell us that this punishment is somehow deserved, but I am suspicious.) Athena carries a grudge, and it is she who helps the demigod Perseus hunt her down; he eventually decapitates her. However, beauty continues to flow from her blood: the white winged horse, Pegasus, springs from her torso; and Medusa’s head ultimately ends up on Athena’s shield, which itself is a powerful symbol of wisdom and justice.

A more modern, feminist interpretation of Medusa was inaugurated with H el ene Cixous’ essay, “The Laugh of the Medusa,” published in 1976. The title of the essay is somewhat misleading; Medusa herself only shows up in little more than one sentence, which reads as follows: “You only have to look at the Medusa straight on to see her. And she’s not deadly. She’s beautiful and she’s laughing.”<sup>10</sup> The essay itself, however, does not look at her straight on: it only hints at her presence, assumes her presence, even as her body looms over the whole—a body that is dark, stormy, breaking loose; a body that demands to be heard; a body that flies, a body that loves, a body that “depropriates unselfishly”—a “cosmos tirelessly traversed by Eros.”<sup>11</sup> Medusa, then, represents the fecund possibilities of a fluid body, a body made of parts. I argue that Benzaiten embodies both the challenges and the possibilities of a transgressive body and suggests how those same tensions also are present for women in medieval Japanese society.

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10. H el ene Cixous, “The Laugh of the Medusa,” trans. Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen, *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1, no. 4 (1976): 885.

11. *Ibid.*, 889.

## THE GODDESS: BENZAITEN

Benzaiten's identity is complex and multivalent, and the fullness of her expression is beyond the scope of this article, so what follows is only a small selection of her dynamic manifestations—an indirect look, perhaps, not a direct gaze.<sup>12</sup> Faure begins his chapter on Benzaiten proper by noting that while she has her origins in Sarasvatī, she is more than a pretty lute player: while she was seen in Japan as a goddess of music, she also was viewed as the protector of warriors and a goddess of wealth and fertility.<sup>13</sup> Not only in her person, but also in her choice of worshippers she refuses easy categorization.

In this way, she also symbolizes the tensions around women who did not keep their place: for medieval Japanese Buddhists, “[Benzaiten] was not only a woman, but a dragon and a snake as well.”<sup>14</sup> This follows directly from the suspicions around women's duplicitous identity in general: as Faure quotes, “a woman...outwardly may look like a bodhisattva, but in her heart she is like a *yakṣa*.”<sup>15</sup> This point is emphasized in the medieval story of her appearance to Minamoto no Yoriie; he is seduced by her beauty, but when he asks her to reveal her true form, she shows herself as a large snake with horns, whose terrifying presence is heralded by a “putrid wind.” No wonder, then, that Faure describes her as a “Janus-faced deity...not only a goddess but also a *nāga*—that is, an animal.”<sup>16</sup>

This association with snakes—and then also with dragons—comes up repeatedly, linking her not only to the animal world but also to the natural world, more specifically to water: “The connection is through the mysterious powers of the fertilizing rain, and its extensions in running streams, lakes, and marshes. In common belief as in literature, the dark, wet side of nature showed itself alternatively in women and in dragons.”<sup>17</sup> This “dark side” comes through in a variety of ways, in a variety of stories, such that “although she seeks deliverance, she

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12. For example, I am not going to discuss her overlap with Dakiniten, which Faure discusses in *The Fluid Pantheon*, chap. 3.

13. Faure, *Protectors and Predators*, 169.

14. Bernard Faure, *Protectors and Predators*, 163.

15. *Ibid.*, 163.

16. *Ibid.*, 179.

17. *Ibid.*, 186.



can be draconian, and one cannot trespass upon her privacy, without danger.”<sup>18</sup>

Benzaiten has another appearance as well, which Faure calls “Uga Benzaiten,” who is somewhat of a hybrid deity between Benzaiten herself and Ugajin—distinct from both, yet also “indebted” to both. It is in this form that we see not only her connections to water, but also to the earth; not only to snakes and dragons, but also to the fox. Yet even here, the snake remains; in the form of Uga Benzaiten, she sometimes even appears fully as a white snake—her female form entirely subsumed.

So, having said all this, I now want to return to the images of the centaur and Medusa, asking how Benzaiten is perhaps like both, with the challenges and opportunities each suggests. As noted previously, in Miles’s interpretation, the centaur represents the limitations and challenges of a transgressive body, and even perhaps the lack of agency such a body entails; pulled between two contradictory natures, it is difficult to act with deliberation and consistency.

Thinking about this as it relates to Benzaiten, then, I wonder if her polyvalence is not also in some sense a limitation: Is it better to be the master of one thing than to have one’s energies diffused in many things? Is one’s agency compromised when one’s manifestations are irrepressibly multiple? Returning to the myth of Proteus for a moment; in the story with Menelaus, Proteus ultimately exhausts himself in his shape-shifting—such changeability takes significant energy. Does her polyvalence siphon activity away from other divine engagements for Benzaiten as well? Are other deities more reliable in their consistency, more trustworthy?

Certainly, it seems that in medieval Japan, women themselves were viewed with suspicion insofar as their own bodies were regarded as a combination of two opposing ideals or natures—human and something other than human, something “animal-like,” even, certainly something closer to nature. It seems that there is a cost to being viewed as “not-one,” as fluid, as transgressive—both for women in general, and perhaps for Benzaiten herself.

Yet, there is a positive side to this fluidity as well, represented by the figure of Medusa. I would argue that Benzaiten also is like Medusa

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18. *Ibid.*, 189.

in that she manifests “all kinds of secret bodies,”<sup>19</sup> bodies that have the capacity to heal and help, as well as wound and punish—beautiful bodies, terrible bodies; bodies that seduce, and bodies that repulse. In this way, Benzaiten exercises power over herself and others by refusing to be easily categorized, defined, and compartmentalized. Ultimately, then, Benzaiten is able to be “more”—more than any one description can contain, more than any one set of rules can confine, and more than any one group of people can control. She is ultimate possibility, rather than finite actuality; and, certainly for some women in medieval Japan, especially those who sought other religious models than what was standard for men, they, too, found possibility in transgression.

At the end of the first volume, *The Fluid Pantheon*, Faure uses the image of “metamorphosis” to describe gods that are elusive, “revealing their traces” as they simultaneously “cover their tracks.”<sup>20</sup> He talks about these deities as selves existing between spaces, subverting and transcending structures, representing what John Law describes as the realm of the “slippery, indistinct, elusive, complex, diffuse, messy, textured, vague, unspecific, confused, disordered, emotional, painful, pleasurable, hopeful horrific, lost, redeemed, visionary, angelic, demonic, mundane, intuitive, sliding, and unpredictable.”<sup>21</sup> This is Benzaiten as Medusa, Benzaiten at her most powerful, at her most original, at her most awe-inspiring. Yet, as all women know, such power comes with a cost—fear, disgust, and hatred at not staying in the lines that society has rigidly drawn for women and women’s agency. After all, inherent to the figure of Medusa are the snakes in her hair.

#### CONCLUSION

Faure ends his chapter on Uga Benzaiten, applying to her the words of José Ortega y Gasset: “Benzaiten is an ‘ontological centaur, half immersed in nature, half transcending it.’ ”<sup>22</sup> As I hope to have shown, this transgressive existence—this multiple existence—that characterizes Benzaiten contains within itself both potential and limitation. She sacrifices all that comes with stability, security, and clear explanation for the sake of possibility, uncertainty, and risk. This is dangerous, and

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19. Faure, *Protectors and Predators*, 191.

20. Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 323.

21. *Ibid.*, 323.

22. Faure, *Protectors and Predators*, 234.

there are some who always will go to great lengths to reign in such deviance, or at the very least reject it and marginalize it.

And yet: as Faure notes, “Gendered symbols have their own dynamics, and they can on occasion fool the ideologues who claim to manipulate them.”<sup>23</sup> Medusa is not so easily dismissed, and sometimes looking at her straight on provides deliverance, not death.

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23. Faure, *The Power of Denial*, 333–334.

## Neither Two nor One: Identity and Fluidity in Medieval Japan

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In 2001, I arrived at college, and during my first week, I went to my professor's office hours and asked him, "How do I get your job?" At that point in my life I was a dedicated meditator and voracious reader of the works of D. T. Suzuki, Alan Watts, Jack Kerouac, and so on. Now, this professor could have simply dismissed me as yet another naïve seeker of perennial philosophy, but instead, he told me that if I was serious about a career in Buddhist studies, I should start studying Chinese and Japanese as soon as possible; and instead of spending my time with "Bookstore Buddhism," I should begin to familiarize myself with the serious scholarship that would tell me what Buddhism actually looked like "on the ground" (a phrase now overused, but at the time was quite popular). He then handed me a stack of books to begin reading immediately. For the next four years, I would return to his office again and again, each time leaving with a new stack of books. I remember clearly that the first stack of books included Bernard Faure's *Chan Insights and Oversights*.<sup>1</sup> As a Zen enthusiast, I found this book especially interesting and challenging, if not a little hard to read. This is when a light turned on for me. I discovered how much I did not know and how much more there was to learn, and I gave rise to the mind that seeks...a PhD. Sixteen years later, I am honored and delighted to have the opportunity to participate in a review of Faure's recent works, *The Fluid Pantheon* and *Protectors and Predators*.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

2. This paper was given at the American Academy of Religion Annual Conference, Boston, MA, November 19, 2017. I would like to thank the organizer, Richard Payne, another scholar whose work has profoundly

Volume 1, *The Fluid Pantheon*, presents the reader with a vast pantheon full of complex connections between the many nodes in Indra's Net of medieval Japanese Buddhism and Asian religions in general. One of the most interesting aspects of the Buddhist tradition is its capacity for absorbing and transforming deities, such that it is even possible to visit a "Buddhist" temple in Japan and worship the "Hindu" god Gaṇeśa. Taking medieval Japan as its starting point, Faure embeds the gods, buddhas, and bodhisattvas in their broader local and trans-regional context. Readers may find themselves being swept along as the identities of deities both obscure and well-known transform again and again.

The breadth of traditions examined within these two volumes is both a challenge and a boon for any reader. Those coming from various areas of interest and methodological approaches will benefit from these volumes in different ways. Each chapter in these two volumes is both fun and interesting to read. Readers may find themselves getting lost, but perhaps this is part of the fun. All too often scholars impose a kind of coherence where there is fluidity, order where there is disorder. Sometimes, in order to portray the complexity of a subject such as this, one must let go of the drive to seek *svabhāva* and instead accept the *sūnyatā* of the object of study, in this case, the gods of medieval Japan. Below, rather than summarize these volumes or provide a thumbnail sketch of each chapter, I will instead reflect upon how this work challenged me to reflect upon my own work and discuss a few characters that struck me. Given the depth and breadth of these works, I imagine that different scholars will react differently. Indeed, there is something for everyone.

*The Fluid Pantheon* and *Protectors and Predators* inspires reflection on issues like hybridity and heuristic problems in the study of Japanese religions. After graduating from college I moved to Japan to work as an English teacher. I had been studying Buddhism for over a decade at that point and was under the impression that I knew a thing or two about Buddhism. Upon encountering living Buddhist traditions,

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impacted the direction of my scholarship. An alternate version of this review appears in the *Journal of Religion in Japan* 7 (2018). I would like to thank Hank Glassman of *Journal of Religion in Japan* and Richard Payne of *Pacific World* for their interest in my review of Faure's work, as well as their encouragement in submitting revised drafts to each journal.

however, I quickly learned that I knew nothing. The tidy rubrics I had learned in popular books about Shintō, Buddhism, Daoism, “popular religion,” etc. proved incompatible with the diverse traditions I encountered. Devotees who technically belonged to one tradition frequently transgressed the boundaries, which I soon came to realize were highly porous, if not entirely fictional. Similarly, deities I thought I understood to “behave” in certain ways surprised and even shocked me. Much scholarship still seems to rely on clearly defined and overly conservative boundaries between traditions, and this approach remains a stumbling block for many students exploring the diversity of early Japanese religion. Scholars interested in similar issues will benefit greatly from reading *The Fluid Pantheon* and *Protectors and Predators*.

According to Faure, “Medieval Japanese gods are truly *metamorphic* in the sense that they constantly *morph* from one form into another.”<sup>3</sup> *The Fluid Pantheon* first presents a chart arranged so that it demonstrates how different buddhas, bodhisattvas, and gods connect to one another. As a specialist in esoteric approaches to Amida, I was curious as to why there were no lines connecting Amida, who sits alone in the top right, to other deities. The further I read, however, I found that there were many instances where a god would be revealed not only to be a form of Amida, but also instances where a god would be revealed to be the true form of Amida and other buddhas as well. In the introduction Faure reminds us that the purpose of this study is not simply to show us unknown sides of deities we think familiar, but also to bring to light deities that were important in medieval Japan but that have been erased either by modernity and State Shintō, the sectarian approach to the study of Japanese Buddhism, or both.

While reading through these volumes, I reflected as well on ways that Richard Payne’s scholarship harmonizes with Faure’s approach. Payne notes that scholarship on medieval Japan has often been dominated by the perspectives of the so-called “Kamakura Buddhist” schools: Pure Land, Zen, and Nichiren. These traditions developed out of a full or partial rejection of certain aspects of their contemporary traditions, especially the comprehensive *kenmitsu* approach to Buddhism, preferring instead to focus on a streamlined single-practice model. Modern interpreters and proponents of the Kamakura

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3. Bernard Faure, *Gods of Medieval Japan, Vol. 1: The Fluid Pantheon* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2015), 48.

schools not only borrowed the anti-Catholic Protestant rhetoric of their European contemporaries, but also framed their rejection of the *kenmitsu* culture, still prevalent in Japan even today, in terms derived from Christian missionaries and Orientalist scholars who denigrated all of Buddhism as backwards superstition. Scholars like Faure and Payne have encouraged scholars to look beyond this rhetoric to take a more contextual and informed view, perhaps a post-modern, or even a post-post-modern, view that instead presents the kaleidoscopic world of medieval Japan.<sup>4</sup>

Faure renders the strange familiar and the familiar strange, reminding us that “...the name of a god remains shorthand for a given symbolic configuration at a particular moment and that the nominal continuity may hide a functional discontinuity.”<sup>5</sup> In my own work in esoteric ritual manuals I continually encounter bodhisattvas who transform into buddhas who transform into bodhisattvas who transform into Sanskrit seed syllables, and so on. On Kōyasan, for example, there appears a kind of localized *trikāya* where Kūkai, Maitreya, and Mahāvairocana, as well as this world, the Tuṣita heaven, and the Pure Land of Esoteric Splendor (*Mitsugon jōdo*, the Pure Land of Mahāvairocana, a.k.a. the Pure Lands of the ten directions), abide in a state of tension, neither negating nor subsuming one another.

It is not just in medieval Japan that these deities are reimagined and reconfigured; as they move from India, to China, to Japan, deities shift and change. Sarasvatī becomes Benzaiten, accumulating and shedding identities like they were simple garments. Faure achieves a rare balance between the localized “Benzaiten” and the trans-regional “Sarasvatī.” It is important to remember that we cannot essentialize deities: Sarasvatī in India is *not the same thing* as Benzaiten in Japan, but they are not unrelated either. Neither the same, nor different, Nāgārjuna’s tetralemma comes to mind. In this way, Faure’s contextualized post-modern approach invokes ideas familiar to Buddhist epistemology and ontology.

Faure examines a number of deities, but I will touch briefly upon two: Myōken in chapter two of the *Fluid Pantheon*, and Uhō Doji in chapter seven. Myōken appears to have originally been a “Daoist” Great Monad (Taiyi) associated with Chinese astronomy and the worship

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4. *Ibid.*, 14.

5. *Ibid.*, 15.



of the Northern Dipper, but through Japanese reverse *honji suijaku*, Myōken becomes the *honji* of Śākyamuni, Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, and so on. In this shifting landscape Faure notes that “the center is everywhere and the circumference is nowhere.”<sup>6</sup> Myōken was an important object of devotion until he was largely erased by the State Shintō cult. Deities like Myōken, a Buddho-Daoist *kami*, did not easily fit into the neat categories. Faure also considers the protector of Mt. Asama, Uhō Dōji. According to the *Uhō Dōji keigyaku*, attributed to Kūkai, Uhō Dōji takes on many forms such as the

red essence of all beings, the soul of all sentient and nonsentient beings, the *honji* of all gods, the creator of the sun, moon, and stars. In Japan he is Amaterasu; in India, the Buddhas Vairocana, Amitābha, and Śākyamuni; in China, Fu Xi, Shennong, and Huang Di. As the essence of Venus, he is also identified with Benzaiten (the essence of the sun) and Dakiniten (the essence of the moon).<sup>7</sup>

In this way, a seemingly marginal or minor localized deity is revealed to have a kind of unifying effect, channeling the undercurrent or substratum, connecting other major deities. Marginality perhaps gives a deity the ability to be reimagined and reinscribed, and thus elevated or submerged in the collective cultic consciousness.

In *Protectors and Predators*, Faure interrogates the assumption that underlies much of the work on *kami* traditions: that the *honji suijaku* paradigm is an example of syncretism or the “combination” of two discrete things, “Buddhism” and “Shintō.” Furthermore, Faure critiques even those scholars who would seem sympathetic to the “combinatory” nature of Japanese religion, those scholars who see these deities as operating in the “gray area” between Buddhism and Shintō. Faure questions the degree to which any such gray area exists, as well as the degree to which these diverse forms of deities function “between” Buddhism and Shintō, or, if in fact, the whole of medieval Japanese religion is permeated by these metamorphic gods such that there is no clearly defined Buddhism and Shintō to speak of at all. Perhaps from the perspective of sectarian studies such distinctions may carry greater urgency or weight. However, as Faure insists, if we take our cues from the lived religious practices of people in the medieval context, dividing up their worlds in such a way would distort far more than it clarifies.

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6. *Ibid.*, 51.

7. *Ibid.*, 276.

The multiplicity, diversity, and complexity convey a dynamic aspect of that environment that should not be obscured by our need as scholars to craft a linear narrative.<sup>8</sup> I would suggest that Faure's approach to this material, which occasionally bends and breaks the narrative teleology of the development of East Asian religions, is an excellent model to follow for those interested in investigating this material as well as those who aspire to examine critically those aspects of religion that appear "hybrid" or "syncretistic."

Following Deleuze and Guattari's conception of the "rhizome," Faure notes that not only do the buddhas become gods and the gods become buddhas, and back and forth, and diagonal, and so on, reaching far beyond warp and weft metaphors, they attain something more like "felt," a tangled matted mass. In the same way, Faure notes the writing of this book progressed in a similar way, causing him to attempt to "discipline" the work into coherence, but drawing upon Foucault, he resisted this impulse, proceeding "...diagonally, obliquely, in crab-like fashion, trying to maintain a fragile balance between too much order (which betrays the complexity of reality) and not enough (which makes a book unreadable)."<sup>9</sup>

Faure introduces a number of deities whose polymorphic identities include benign and demonic sides. For example, in *Protectors and Predators*, Gaṇeśa's dual nature is explored through his association with Vinayaka, his "demonic" form. Gaṇeśa is popularly known as the "remover of obstacles"; however, in India, he is also known as a playful, perhaps even trickster deity that may also place obstacles in your path. Faure notes that Gaṇeśa and Vinayaka are ultimately the same entity in the Indian context. In the Japanese context, Gaṇeśa is known as Shōten or Kangiten. Before reading Faure's work I had always imagined that Shōten was simply Gaṇeśa in Japan, but in fact, the "Japanese Gaṇeśa" has many of his own characteristics, and in the *honji suijaku*/reverse *honji suijaku* paradigm he is also associated with Amitābha, Mahāvairocana, Śiva, and even himself, serving as his own *honji*.<sup>10</sup> (I was reminded of the old novelty song "I Am My Own Grandpa.") Japanese esoteric Buddhism is full of fluid entities that change form, and this

8. Bernard Faure, *Gods of Medieval Japan, Vol. 2: Protectors and Predators* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 1–3.

9. *Ibid.*, 7.

10. *Ibid.*, 87.

reminds one of the mandala: all entities are contained: buddhas, bodhisattvas, gods, even demons and ordinary beings, and all of these are aspects of the ultimate reality, the *dharmakāya*. Any identities are only “real” from a particular perspective; every identity is in fact characterized by *śūnyatā* and may thus transform and change. Throughout these works, this notion is on full display and reveals a great deal about the nature of Japanese religion and the role of the gods as exemplifying *śūnyatā* in action.

In conclusion, I will briefly note a few issues that I found, but these minor critiques should not in any way detract from how highly I regard these works, and how readily I have and would recommend these works to my fellow scholars and even friends and colleagues. One of the things I found most exciting about these works is how consistently Faure engages with the Tendai tradition. In discussions of Esoteric Buddhism, the contemporary Shingon tradition is generally presented as if it were the ultimate litmus test for all things “esoteric.” The reality, of course, is far more complicated than that. In fact, the Shingon tradition as we know it today is of relatively recent origin, and developed gradually, evolving out of a shared concern for mastery of Esoteric rituals across major lineages and institutions throughout the early to late medieval period. As has become common knowledge these days, it was in fact the Tendai tradition that dominated Esoteric Buddhist thought and practice for much of Japanese history. Faure’s consistent engagement with Tendai is therefore responding to this trend. In chapter 8 of *Protectors and Predators*, Faure considers, for example, the god Matarajin, a protector of Tendai practitioners of the *nenbutsu*. In particular, Faure notes the esoteric perspective on the practice *nenbutsu* within the Matarajin cult.<sup>11</sup> As a specialist in “Esoteric Pure Land” thought in medieval Japan, I was excited to find this connection. However, I was curious about Faure’s suggestion that this may indicate Shingon influence on Tendai. Though there is very little scholarship on Esoteric Pure Land, in both English and Japanese, most of that scholarship has focused on thinkers associated with the Shingon tradition. However, my investigation into the confluence of this thing we call “Esoteric Buddhism” and this thing we call “Pure Land Buddhism” has revealed that not only were these two not really two throughout most of the history of East Asian Buddhism, it was in fact Tendai thinkers who formulated both

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11. *Ibid.*, 323.

Esoteric Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism and those areas where the two overlap. Shingon thinkers were as well participants in this Tendai dominated context, and worked to reorient their own understanding of the diversity of Mahāyāna Buddhist thought and practice around the cult of Kūkai. Perhaps in the case of Matarajin, Faure's assessment is correct. However, I offer a simple word of caution that when it comes to the relationship between Tendai and Shingon, the situation is rarely so simple as "A influencing B."

I have already benefitted greatly from these two fantastic volumes, and have already recommended these works to colleagues. I am very much looking forward to future volumes by Faure on the gods of medieval Japan.

## Giving the Gods Their Due<sup>1</sup>

Charles D. Orzech

Colby College

Bernard Faure's *Gods of Medieval Japan*, thus far comprised of two volumes, *The Fluid Pantheon* and *Protectors and Predators*,<sup>2</sup> offers us an alternative understanding of divinity: "The name of a god does not designate a gathering or subsuming (of the multiple into unity), but a metamorphic deployment, a permanent onto/morpho-genesis."<sup>3</sup> In this deployment,

The relations between various deities are permitted or triggered by various features: iconographic, symbolic philosophical, numerological, etc. Everything can become relevant—all grist for the mill of symbolic thinking. The resources of analogical thought are truly mind-boggling.<sup>4</sup>

I have found only two brief reviews of this impressive pair of volumes: one, a brief notice in *Religious Studies Review* by Justin McDaniel,<sup>5</sup> and the other in *Japanese Studies* by Paul Swanson. Swanson does attempt to engage the challenge of these works—more on what the challenge is below—and asks the question I'm sure we have all wanted to ask: how did the author get permission to reprint all of these illustrations?"<sup>6</sup>

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1. This paper was given at the American Academy of Religion Annual Conference, Boston, MA, November 19, 2017.

2. Bernard Faure, *Gods of Medieval Japan, Vol. 1: The Fluid Pantheon*; and *Gods of Medieval Japan, Vol. 2: Protectors and Predators* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015–2016).

3. Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 38.

4. *Ibid.*, 30.

5. Justin Thomas McDaniel, *Religious Studies Review* 43, no. 2 (2017): 198.

6. Paul L. Swanson, review of *Gods of Medieval Japan, Vol. 1: The Fluid Pantheon*; and *Gods of Medieval Japan, Vol. 2: Protectors and Predators*, by Bernard Faure, *Japanese Studies* 37, no. 2 (2017): 279–280.

My initial sense of these volumes when I had only just flipped through them and dipped in here and there was that this effort was very much in the French tradition of the *Encyclopédie*. Certainly we are meeting in these volumes an attempt “to change the common way people think,” as Diderot once put it.<sup>7</sup> More proximate would be a comparison with *Hōbōgirin*.<sup>8</sup> My initial impression was wrong. Despite some of the *Hōbōgirin* articles hinting at what Faure is now attempting to do, that effort’s drive for comprehensiveness coupled with the encyclopedia format forces the gods into an alien, arbitrary, and procrustean framework antithetical to giving the gods their due.

The challenge of these volumes is not, from my perspective, that they are by turns fascinating and resistant to modern reading habits, or that the methodology is an eclectic mix of structuralism, deconstruction, and actor-network theory. Faure is well-aware of these difficulties and foregrounds them:

It is admittedly difficult, perhaps impossible, to follow the metamorphoses of the gods in the relatively linear discourse of a book. Books require a narrative, while reality offers no plots.<sup>9</sup>

Unlike an encyclopedic enterprise, Bernard Faure endeavors to trace connections, relationships, and flows. And again, just to remind us as we embark on the second volume,

I have been forced to proceed diagonally, obliquely, in crab-like fashion, trying to maintain a fragile balance between too much order (which betrays the complexity of reality) and not enough (which makes the book unreadable).<sup>10</sup>

The challenge is that Faure wishes to take the gods seriously, and to do that we must entertain alternatives to purely scientific and historical thinking. Drawing on recent work exploring the agency of objects and “things,” Faure opens a door so that we might try to take up this challenge of according the gods a kind of agency:

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7. On the role of the *Encyclopédie* Diderot notes, “ce caractere est de changer la façon commune de penser.” “Encyclopédie” in Diderot, d’Alembert, et al., *Encyclopédie* vol. 5: 642A, consulted at <http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/philologic/getobject.pl?c.4:1252.encyclopedie0513> (accessed 9/14/2018).

8. *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Bouddhisme d’après les Sources Chinoises et Japonaises* (Tokyo: Maison franco-japonaise, 1929–).

9. Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 50.

10. Faure, *Protectors and Predators*, 7.

I do not see deities as mere social or cultural creations; or rather, I believe that, as “emergent properties,” they came to have their own agency—even if this agency was itself an effect “generated by a network of heterogeneous, interacting materials.”<sup>11</sup>

Both volumes begin with the same map—a kind of chart of filiation of the medieval Japanese gods. Each volume deals with a subset of the deities shown on the chart (I wonder, will further volumes correspond to portions of the chart left untouched in these two volumes?). Individual chapters—and the volumes as a whole—consist of methodological introductions and “codas” between which is sandwiched dense descriptive tracing of associations. Reading through the two volumes I found I often missed any overt methodological signposts as I followed the various traces and branching trails of association. Perhaps this was intentional—an attempt at weaning us of our modern obsessive-compulsive taxonomy disorder.

The two demons (or gods?) impelling this massive exploration are structuralism and what I would characterize as a kind of phenomenology—though one inflected by Bruno Latour’s actor/network theory and Tim Ingold’s meshwork theory.<sup>12</sup> Although mixed with other theoretical perspectives when these seem of use, it is a kind of point/counterpoint—almost a fugue—of the structural and the phenomenological.

At the beginning of the second volume, Faure says, describing his method in volume one:

I emphasized the presence of an *implicit* pantheon, a complex and active network that greatly differs from the official hierarchy as described by the *honji suijaku* model.... I contend that the implicit mythology...as well as certain recurring structures of Japanese mythical and ritual thought, are closer to real practices than official doctrine and mythology.<sup>13</sup>

Be that as it may, I would argue that the tactic illuminates by showing the shortcomings of the very notion of a stable “pantheon.”

11. Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 321.

12. For an interesting discussion of actor-network theory see Bruno Latour, “On Actor-Network Theory: A Few Clarifications,” *Soziale Welt* 47, H. 4 (1996): 369–381. For Tim Ingold see his *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge, and Description* (London & New York: Routledge, 2011).

13. Faure, *Protectors and Predators*, 11–12.



As I noted previously, Faure's approach is filtered through work by Bruno Latour and Tim Ingold and other recent explorations of material semiotics that seek to problematize our notions of agency. I often found myself thinking of these works as a kind of phenomenological excursion through medieval Japanese divinity. Faure brackets assumptions and abstract categories in a kind of Latourian "irreductionism," instead seeking to describe what "appears" to us and to following its traces. Latour's actor-network theory helps us to slip aside some of our prejudices and allow the gods a kind of agency within a network of connections with the various gods function as mediating nodes (when I talk about this in classes I describe the gods and temples as nodes in a social media network). Yet this still sociological approach to divine agency does not go so far as Tim Ingold's meshwork with its notions of organic fluidity. Ingold, citing Mol and Law, says,

In fluid space there are no well-defined objects or entities. There are rather substances that flow, mix and mutate, sometimes congealing into more or less ephemeral forms that can nevertheless dissolve or re-form without breach of continuity (ibid.: 659–664). Every line—every relation—in fluid space is a path of flow, like the riverbed or the veins and capillaries of the body.<sup>14</sup>

In like manner, near the end of volume one, Faure draws more on Ingold's meshwork than on Latour's networks: "The gods are only segments of a patterned, heterogeneous network or *meshwork* composed of myths and rituals, but also of human and divine bodies, objects, institutions, techniques, images, and feelings."<sup>15</sup>

Reading Faure has given me new eyes for Henri Doré's often maligned *Researches into Chinese Superstitions* (*Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*).<sup>16</sup> In one of the most influential works of modern scholarship on Daoism and Chinese religions Kristofer Schipper says,

Leafing through the eighteen volumes of *Researches into Chinese Superstitions* by Father Heri Doré S. J. one cannot help but exclaim: "What a lot of gods!" ... [T]he explanations given by the Chinese converts...were recorded. Together with a commentary in which terms such as *superstition*, *vain observances*, and *harmful and useless beliefs*

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14. Ingold, *Being Alive*, 86.

15. Faure, *Protectors and Predators*, 317.

16. Henri Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, 18 vols. (Chang-Hai: Imprimerie de la Mission catholique, 1911–1938).

occur over and over. But what stands out most...is the disjointed, incoherent aspect of his “researches.”<sup>17</sup>

I went back and poured through Doré’s volumes as an exercise in reflecting on Faure’s *Gods of Medieval Japan*. Certainly Doré’s massive compilation preserves much that is now lost, and certainly its organizing principles are not ours. But it is also evident that Doré, like Faure, was tracing relationships and associations in what he found. Look, for instance, at his treatment of written “charms” in volume three or his treatment of divination in volume four. How can we know that our efforts will not seem naïve and even deluded to those a century hence?

The one question I wish to raise is not meant as a criticism. Indeed, my point is not to criticize someone for not writing as I might have written. My question is a genuine question, as I have been working in medieval esoteric ritual manuals for some years now. Both *The Fluid Pantheon* and *Protectors and Predators* are works about the gods and their stories and their interaction with each other and with people. Ritual—both specific ritual and the notion in general—is, of course, frequently mentioned. Indeed, ritual appears repeatedly (though not in the indexes), and Faure says,

Scholars have been studying ritual in its concrete occurrences, but there is as yet no real *rito*-logy (as there is a *myth*-ology). Above all, there is no articulation between iconography and the ritual sphere to explain the way in which the “nature” of a god evolves according to encounters between images and symbols.<sup>18</sup>

What would this ritology look like? Would it be possible to take the same meshwork approach but focus more on the material mechanics of the divine-human encounter? Are the gods constituted by ritual meshworks (something Faure obviously touches on)? Of course Faure acknowledges that in his efforts he “merely propose[s] a reading...a mere hike among the multifarious ridges of Japanese religion.”<sup>19</sup> Now that I have accompanied him along this ridge I long to explore the ridge on the other side of the valley.

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17. Kristopher Schipper, *The Taoist Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 32; emphasis in original.

18. Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 41.

19. *Ibid.*, 325.



## Gods and Demons at the Intersection of Religion and Art History<sup>1</sup>

Pamela D. Winfield

Elon University

Almost every chapter of *The Gods of Medieval Japan* opens with an epigram, that is, a relevant quote or clever and pithy passage, and I would like to do the same. Professor Faure selects from his own pantheon of poetic luminaries, literary giants, and artistic geniuses: there is Valéry, Baudelaire, Yeats, Blake, Carroll, the British poet laureate Ted Hughes, Shakespeare, Nabokov, Levinas, and even the gospel according to Matthew. But as I was reading through these two volumes at the beach last summer (though they are definitely *not* light beach reading) another great literary genius came to mind from my own personal pantheon of greats. So in pale imitation of the master, and with a self-deprecating wink at my own capping phrase commentary here, I would like to structure the first part of my remarks with an epigram selected from the great John Lennon song, “I am the Walrus.”

I am he and you are he as you are me and we are all together... [skip a few lines]

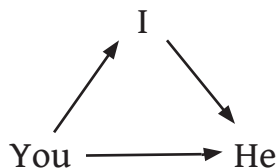
I am the egg man (who!), they are the eggmen (who!)

I am the Walrus. Goo goo goo joob!

Granted, the seriousness of these tomes does not warrant such a flip-pant and surreal LSD-induced Lewis-Carroll-moment from John. And I seriously doubt that the great esoteric mantra of *goo goo goo joob* has ever been uttered in American Academy of Religion history. But think about it:

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1. This paper was given at the American Academy of Religion Annual Conference, Boston, MA Sunday, Nov 19, 2017.



(1) “I am he and (2) you are he and (3) you are me and we are all together.” This triangulated dance of ever-interlooping identities is not unlike Faure’s analysis of all the alter-egos and shape-shifting figures and stand-in doubles for both familiar and unfamiliar esoteric deities. (For example, the triad of Nyoirin Kannon, Aizen, and Fudō in vol. 1 may also relate to the triad of Benzaiten, Dakiniten, and Shōten in volume 2.) Everyone in the esoteric pantheon seems to mutually implicate everyone else within six degrees of separation or less, and in the end they all ultimately connect across synaptic networks of ritual functions and symbolic iconographies. Anyone can be considered to be the arbitrary center or node in an extended complex of associated deities, and as soon as you shift the focus to a different deity, other related figures come into focus that were previously obscured. This is the actor-network theory that is so helpful for Faure’s analysis. For example, Faure opens the first volume by looking at Myōken’s pole star and glosses on to Fudō and Ichiji Kinrin, who in turn also implicate Aizen and Nyoirin Kannon and myriad other deities, who are often linked to either Amaterasu at one point or another or to the symbolic wish-fulfilling jewel. And the *cintāmaṇi* jewel’s shape and function, in turn, is also uncannily similar to the comma-shaped “human yellow,” which is an invented life-essence premised on the actual *materia medica* of ox bezoar. So you see how far these networks can extend, and how far, in his words, these deities and relations and associations can take on lives of their own. And speaking of oxen, in the second volume, Faure takes up many theriomorphic deities, including and especially elephants, serpents, and foxes, who complicate our neat assumptions about the origins and meaning of such animal symbolisms.

This labyrinthine latticework of relations is Faure’s key contribution to the field. He has deconstructed—or rather exploded—the either/or thinking and the underlying dyads of the structuralists like Lévi-Strauss who organized and privileged phenomena that conveniently fit into binary categories of good or bad, male or female, sun/moon, wrathful/beneficent, heaven/earth, diamond/womb worlds.

Faure has instead regrooved our own neural pathways to perceive the gods in new and complicated ways. In so doing he has elevated those overlooked deities (the so-called implicit pantheon within the explicit pantheon of privileged figures) to reveal their elastic relations and adaptive roles relative to other deities, ritual necessities, and historical contexts. Who knew that the Immovable Wisdom King Fudō (whose two eyes, lips, and fangs point up and down) was invoked for healing as well as childbirth? That is iconic neuroplasticity at its best. This is an exciting new way to think about not only the figures themselves, but also to think about the way that scholarly categories and theoretical approaches to the study of religion can shape and shift our understanding of visual, textual, and ritual phenomena.

As for John Lennon's egg man thing: to me that's a clear reference to all the female (egg) and male imagery in Faure's extended embryological analysis. What I find most exciting about this work is the way in which Faure weaves what William LaFleur called the fecundist agenda throughout both volumes. The overwhelming social imperative to bear children, and to ritually and medically manage the dangers of this fraught liminal phase to both mother and child, runs right through many of the esoteric deities discussed. Faure's attention to this gendered and thus heretofore neglected role of the gods and goddesses is most welcome, as it opens up new lines of future inquiry. Here I am thinking in particular of Lucia Dolce and Anna Andreeva's work on esoteric embryology,<sup>2</sup> but I am also hoping that some eager grad student will pick up Faure's work and extend it even further. For example: Myōken's imaginary shadow planets Rahu and Ketu are minor figures discussed briefly in volume 1, but they actually are also key indicators of *nāgadoṣam*: a malevolent astrological omen for infertility and childlessness that goes back at least to the medieval period in southern India.<sup>3</sup> The *nāgadoṣam* label literally means the blemish, fault,

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2. Lucia Dolce, "The Embryonic Generation of the Perfect Body: Ritual Embryology from Japanese Tantric Sources," in *Transforming the Void: Embryological Discourse and Reproductive Imagery in East Asian Religions*, ed. Anna Andreeva and Dominick Steavu (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2016), 253–310; and Anna Andreeva, "Explaining Childbirth to Women: Buddhist Medical Knowledge in the *Sanshō ruijūshō* (*Encyclopedia of Childbirth*)," *Journal of Asian Medicine—Tradition and Modernity* (forthcoming).

3. Amy Allocco, "The Blemish of 'Modern Times': Snakes, Planets, and the Kaliyugam," *Nidan: An International Journal for the Study of Hinduism* 26, no. 1 (2014): 1–21.

or disease (*doṣam*) of the *nāga* serpents, those featured creatures who appear in both volume 1 but especially volume 2 with Fuxi and Nuwa and the female Benzaiten's uncanny coupling with the old serpent man Ugajin. So the planets' power to block conception is as strong as its power to ensure it. This double-edged sword brings us to the last line of the refrain.

As for "I am the Walrus," we all know that the Walrus and the Carpenter story is recited by Tweedledum and Tweedledee in *Alice through the Looking Glass*; Alice cannot decide which character is more morally repugnant for wanting to eat all the cute little oysters on the beach, where incidentally both the sun and the moon appear *simultaneously*. The ethical ambivalence and moral ambiguity of the Walrus and the Carpenter is like many of the esoteric demons-turned-dharma protectors discussed throughout volume 2. And I use the terms "ambivalence" and "ambiguity" very deliberately: ambi-valence indicates the extreme polarization of distinctions (i.e., I feel strongly, both good and bad, at the same time), whereas ambiguity indicates the blurring, confusion, or conflation of distinctions (i.e., I don't know how I feel) so that those extreme feelings are neutralized, domesticated, and instrumentalized for the propagation of the dharma. Many of these figures are characterized by both ambivalence and ambiguity, which is so contrary to the either/or thinking of the structuralists. Volume 1, chapter 5 on "Fearful Symmetry" (a line from Blake's *Auguries of Innocence*) already played with the wrathfully compassionate deities Fudō and Aizen, and volume 2 chapters 4, 5, and 7 expertly excavates the beautiful Benzaiten's martial might among other attributes. Like the "delicate monster" (*le monstre délicat*) in Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal*, our clearcut binaries are busted by the implicit symbolist shadows, and the inherent tensions in these jarring joinings are finally resolved by the great esoteric mantra of *goo goo goo joob*.

My admittedly idiosyncratic exegesis of John Lennon's bizarre and baffling Beatles lyric has taken longer than I initially anticipated, so I would like to turn now to reflect on what I see as Faure's main contribution to what I care about most deeply: the cognate fields of religious studies and art history. These are beautifully illustrated volumes that will shape both fields for generations to come.

Almost twenty years ago, in the opening lines of his provocative and influential 1998 article on "The Buddhist Icon and the Modern



Gaze,”<sup>4</sup> Faure wrote, “Buddhist icons have been essentially the domain, or rather the preserve, of art historians. But Buddhist art, if there is such a thing, is perhaps too important to be left to art historians alone.”<sup>5</sup> A few lines later, he asserts, “it is necessary to shift the traditional concerns about the history and aesthetics of art to the history, affect, and function of ritual images or icons.”<sup>6</sup>

His estimation of the scope and aim of art history at the time was perhaps a bit unfair, since already by the mid-1990s, historians of Japanese Buddhist art had already shifted their gaze from the secularized and decontextualized aesthetic concerns of “art” to a consideration of the ritual functions and fundamentally religious contexts of Buddhist images. For example, the March 1994 McMaster conference resulted in Robert Sharf and Elizabeth Horton Sharf’s interdisciplinary volume *Living Images*, in which buddhologists and art historians alike focused on the ritual-institutional aspects of premodern Japanese Buddhist images.<sup>7</sup> In addition, Samuel Morse’s 1995 *Object as Insight* symposium, exhibition, and catalogue adopted a novel and inspired approach to curating an exhibition around the ritual usage of Buddhist material objects.<sup>8</sup>

At the time I was a graduate student working on the interface between religious studies and art history as well, and so I quoted Faure’s then-recent article on the modern gaze at a graduate symposium at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 2000. I can tell you that it did not go over well in a roomful of art historians and museum curators. To say that Buddhist icons were too important to leave to them alone—as if only a buddhologist like himself were really capable of thinking about the “history, affect and function of ritual images”<sup>9</sup>—was not only inaccurate, but insulting. The backlash was considerable.

But I think that Faure’s article was not meant to insult his art historian colleagues, but rather to call for a revolution within text-bound

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4. Bernard Faure, “The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze,” *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 3 (1998): 768–813.

5. *Ibid.*, 768.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Robert H. Sharf and Elizabeth Horton Sharf, eds., *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

8. Anne Nishimura Morse and Samuel Crowell Morse, *Object As Insight: Japanese Buddhist Art & Ritual* (Katonah, NY: Katonah Museum of Art, 1995).

9. Faure, “The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze,” 768.

religious studies. Since the time of his influential article, our field has finally taken the material turn and caught up with the rest of our peers in academe. I therefore applaud the fact that Faure has finally made good on his longstanding promise to cross traditional disciplinary lines and take up the Buddhist icon with theoretical sophistication, a trans-sectarian or non-sectarian approach, and a formal structure that heralds, perhaps, the birth of a new kind of literary genre: the narrative illustrated encyclopedia.

This format bears a striking resemblance to the lengthy article-entries of the *Hōbōgirin* Buddhist encyclopedia, but its lush illustrations, over 350 magnificent images published in color for the first time in many cases, look more like a standard art history textbook. I have no idea what subventions were obtained to keep these beautiful books at such reasonable prices, but I commend University of Hawaii Press for producing such stunning works.

Conversely, this format integrates much of the information from the old Flammarion iconographic guides by Louis Frédéric, whom Faure acknowledges as one of his esoteric “kings of knowledge” (*vidyārāja*). Yet Faure’s entries are far longer and more detailed, with more doctrinal import, ritual functionality, historical importance, and the occasional political fallout than the old iconographic studies.

In many ways, therefore, this format finally restores the historical symbiosis between the artificially separated academic fields of religious studies and art history. This is momentous. Yet I can’t help but wonder, since everything ultimately links up with everything else, if perhaps a companion website with hotlinks, similar to Mark Schumacher’s excellent site for Japanese Buddhist iconography,<sup>10</sup> could be an effective vehicle for getting at all of the interconnections. These works compel the reader to think in terms of webs, and meshes the internet and genealogical family trees and clusters of brain neurons where deities can jump synaptic leaps of logic to connect with other noumenal neurons, as tenuous and far-reaching as those dendrites may be.

Faure does provide an extremely abbreviated schematic map at the start of both volumes to orient the reader to some of the linkages among deities, but when the last chapter in volume 2, for example, connects the placenta god Matarajin with no less than eighteen deities, namely Sekizan Myōjin (plus related deities Taizan Fukun and Myōken), Shinra

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10. Mark Schumacher, [onmarkproductions.com](http://onmarkproductions.com).

Myōjin (plus related deities Myōken, the *kami* Susanoo, the Onmyōdō god Gozu Tennō, Dakiniten, and others), Daikokuten, the Seven Mothers, Konpira, and maybe even Shōten via the Seven Mothers,<sup>11</sup> then a snapshot of just that unfamiliar network would have been extremely helpful. I am a visual learner, and a visual diagram outlining each deity's set of relations, both in terms of genealogical development and/or vaguely associative relations, would have been helpful.

My only other request would be for Faure to get a new layout editor. I understand that impossible editorial decisions had to be made, but it is sometimes frustrating to wait up to fifty pages to read about an image that appeared previously. Images are visual quotes, and we would never dream of placing a block quote on a page without exegeting it right away. As a result, I found myself concentrating on the secondary text and following the narrative flow, instead of really studying the primary sources, i.e., the iconography itself, to see the connections for myself.

In sum, true to form, Bernard Faure's unqualified mastery of the material is encyclopedic in scope, penetrating in its depth, and challenging in its theoretical refinements. The combination can be a bit overwhelming at times; it is better read piecemeal and digested in small bites. But he has unquestionably authored the authoritative reference work for esoteric Buddhism in English. As I was reading these volumes last summer, every night I told my husband, "*Je vais me coucher moins bête ce soir.*" I'm going to go to bed a little less stupid tonight. And for that, we thank you.

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11. Synopsis adapted from Joseph P. Elaqua, review of *Gods of Medieval Japan Vol. 1: The Fluid Pantheon* and *Vol. 2: Protectors and Predators*, *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* 24 (2017): 165.



***Da jingtu sishiba wen* 答淨土四十八問  
(Answers to Forty-Eight Questions about Pure Land)  
by Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲祿宏, 1535–1615**

Translated by Charles B. Jones  
The Catholic University of America

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Yunqi Zhuhong (雲棲祿宏, 1535–1615) stands among the “four eminent monks” of the late Ming dynasty and was acclaimed early as the eighth “patriarch” (zu 祖) of the Chinese Pure Land tradition.<sup>1</sup> As a man who spent many years pursuing success in the civil examination system he entered the Buddhist monastic order at age thirty-one, later in life than most of his fellow monks. He understood life in “examination hell” and spoke Mandarin, the official language of the examination compound. Thus, the literati of his day saw him as someone with whom they could talk and sought his company and guidance. One such gentry follower, Yu Chunxi (虞淳熙, 1553–1621), provided the impetus for the production of this text. He wanted Zhuhong to formulate responses to various questions and objections related to Pure Land practice that arose from his background in gentry life and learning.

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1. For example, the title of an encomium written upon the death of Zhuhong in 1615 by his follower Wu Yingbin (吳應賓, 1565–1634) is entitled “*Stūpa* Inscription with Preface of Master Lianchi, the Eighth Patriarch of the Lotus School and Restorer of the Ancient Yunqi Temple of Hangzhou” (“*Lianzong bazu Hangzhou gu Yunqisi zhongxing zunsu Lianchi dashi taming bing xu*” 連宗八祖杭州古雲棲寺中興尊宿連池大師塔銘並序). See Wu Yingbin 吳應賓, “*Stūpa* Inscription with Preface of Master Lianchi, the Eighth Patriarch of the Lotus School and Restorer of the Ancient Yunqi Temple of Hangzhou” (“*Lianzong bazu Hangzhou gu yunqisi zhongxing zunsu Lianchi dashi taming bing xu*” 連宗八祖杭州古雲棲寺中興尊宿連池大師塔銘並序), in Zhuhong 雲棲, *Lianchi dashi fahui* 連池大師法彙 (Nanjing: Jinling Scriptural Press 金陵刻經處, 1897); rpt. in *Lianchi dashi quanji yunqi fahui* 蓮池大師全集雲棲法彙, 8 vols. (Taipei 臺北: Zhonghua fojiao wenhuaguan 中華佛教文化館, n.d.), 8:5135–5157.

Zhuhong and his collaborator worked within a genre of Buddhist literature that utilized the question-and-answer (*wenda* 問答) format to settle doubts and objections to Pure Land concepts and practices. The introduction names two previous examples of this genre, the *Discourse on Ten Doubts about Pure Land* (*Jingtu shi yi lun* 淨土十疑論, T. 1961) attributed to Tiantai Zhiyi (天台智顛, 538–597), and *Questions about Pure Land* (*Jingtu huowen* 淨土或問, T. 1972) by Tianru Weize (天如惟則, 1286–1354). Zhuhong followed in their footsteps but modestly claimed to have nothing to add to their work. In order to avoid simply repeating what past masters had said, he and Yu spent some time thinking up questions that had not been previously addressed in this genre.

The result is a text that speaks very much to the interests of Buddhist gentry in the late Ming dynasty. The questions cover more than strictly Buddhist objections and questions; they refer to many works outside the Buddhist canon, including Daoist, Confucian, and White Lotus texts. One of the great challenges facing the translator was to learn enough about the references contained within the questions to understand their points and make sense of Zhuhong's answers.

In calling this work *Answers to Forty-Eight Questions about Pure Land*, Zhuhong is relating the booklet to the forty-eight vows undertaken by the Bodhisattva Dharmākara as he set out upon the path that would lead him to buddhahood as Amitābha and which provided the rationale for the practice of *nianfo* 念佛. The number is purely symbolic; in fact, there are many more than forty-eight questions here, since each of the forty-eight sections contains multiple (and sometimes unrelated) questions.<sup>2</sup>

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2. I have used the following three editions of the text for this translation:

1. The Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association edition: CBETA X.1158.
2. *Lianchi dashi quanji yunqi fahui* 蓮池大師全集雲棲法彙, 8 vols. (Taipei: Zhonghua fojiao wenhuaguan 中華佛教文化館, 1983), 3:1525–1582.
3. *Da jingtu sishiba wen* 答淨土四十八問 (*Answers to Forty-Eight Questions about Pure Land*), in *Wanzi xu zangjing* (XZJ) 卍字續藏經, 150 vols. (Taipei: Xinwenfeng 新文豐, 1993), 108:383–399.

The page and volume references for the location of the first line of each section will point first to the XZJ edition, and then to the CBETA reference. All *Taishō* and XZJ references are in CBETA format in order to allow direct copying into CBETA searches.

## THE TRANSLATION

*Preface to Answers to Forty-Eight Questions (108:383a; X61n1158\_p0504c09)*

The Pure Land teaching has its causal basis in Dharmākara and its point of departure in Vaidehī (a). It was explained in the golden words of the Master of the Teachings of Vulture Peak (i.e., the Buddha Śākyamuni) and flowed out through the Lotus Society of the great master [Huiyuan] of Kuanglu (*Kuang Lu dashi* 匡廬大士, i.e., Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠, 334–416). By single-mindedly setting one's hopes [on rebirth in the Pure Land], one passes straight out of the triple world (*hengchao* 橫超). This truly is the essential ford (*yaojin* 要津) for the age of the end of the dharma (*mofa* 末法)!

However, those of superior capacities [understand that] phenomena themselves are principle; firm in truth, they believe and do not go back. Fools (*xiashi* 下士) hear and follow, but give rise to baseless delusions. Only those who are neither superior nor inferior, who occupy the middle stream, who could decide either to flow along with or to fight against, whose intention is not set, can penetrate to [Tiantai] Zhizhe [by reading] his *Ten Doubts* or be inspired by [Tianru] Zegong (*Zegong* 則公) and his *Questions* (b). Their Celestial Drum (c) [sounds] in earnest; their merciful hearts are fervent. Why expend more words? It is for that which their words do not already contain. As the shadows deepen we add more oil (d); when the illness worsens we increase the medicine. Can we add nothing to go beyond these two works?

It was the layman [Yu] Deyuan [虞] 德園居士 (e) who, on the strength of his long-standing vows, gave rise to the great mind of compassion on behalf of hundreds and thousands of living beings, and sent around (*qushen* 曲申) forty-eight difficult questions (f); I could not avoid resolving the issues in accordance with the questions. Taking them in order to settle his doubts would bring him across the river of suffering; directly resolving his qualms is what would bring him out of the cave of death and birth. Quickly putting aside mouselike timidity and in the company of these sages of old (i.e., Zhiyi and Tianru), [I] assisted the shared work of these prior sages.

Regarding the absence of the [Pure] Land outside the enlightened mind, the whole of reality (*yizhen* 一眞) becomes clear and the myriad *dharmas* vanish. Who is the “West” (i.e., the Pure Land)? Penetrating



the lack of a mind outside the [Pure] Land, then the seven jewels adorn [the Pure Land] and the nine lotuses open. What obstruction is there to original quiescence (*benji* 本寂)? Nevertheless, from his broad and doubt-free abode the layman conjured questions like wind on the water's face. I, from my silently unquestioning place, dreamed up replies like the sound of valley springs. Although the "clouds fly and the bottle empties," (g) we do not presume to be the peers of the ancient sages in their grand plan to shine a light, dispel the darkness, and remove at least a little of the film clouding the eyes of people today. Perhaps they have minds with the capacities of *icchāntikas* and are stubborn as in the past, decidedly lukewarm toward Pure Land and not practicing [it]. They hold to a one-sided view of emptiness and are complacent; they do not even ask about it! What a pity!

Signed by the Monk Zhuhong of Hangzhou  
in the winter of Wanli 20 (1584)

Notes:

(a) Dharmākara is the bodhisattva who made and fulfilled the vows that would lead to his achievement of buddhahood as the Buddha Amitābha. His vows and subsequent practice are therefore the causes of the Pure Land. Vaidehī was a queen whose son Ajātaśatru usurped the throne and imprisoned her along with her husband, King Bimbisāra. While in prison she implored the Buddha to come and give teachings, and thus provided the occasion for the Buddha Śākyamuni to preach about the Pure Land. Thus, if one relates these figures to the phrase "Pure Land teaching" (*jingtu jiao* 淨土教), then Dharmākara is the cause of the "Pure Land" and Vaidehī is the cause of the "teaching." The story of Vaidehī is found in the *Fo shuo guan wuliang shou fo jing* 佛說觀無量壽佛經 (*Contemplation Sutra*, T12n0365\_p0340c29-341b21). An English version may be found in Hisao Inagaki and Harold Stewart, trans., *The Three Pure Land Sutras*, 2nd ed. rev. (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2003), 93–95.

(b) "Ten Doubts" refers to the *Discourse on Ten Doubts about Pure Land* (*Jingtu shi yi lun* 淨土十疑論) attributed to Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顓 (538–597), T. 1961. The "Questions" refers to the *Jingtu huowen* 淨土或問, or *Questions about Pure Land* (T. 1972) by Tianru Weize 天如惟則 (1286–1354), a Chan master of the Yuan dynasty who turned to Pure Land practice later in his life.

(c) According to the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism (hereafter DDB, <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>), *tiangu* 天鼓 is a drum that sounds of itself in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three to warn gods of their impending death, and is in other contexts an epithet of the Buddha himself.

(d) This phrase may be a reference to Han Yu's essay *Jinxue jie* 進學解, which contains the phrase *fen gaoyou yi ji gui* 焚膏油以繼晷, "to burn more oil in order to extend the day." Many thanks to Corey Byrnes of the Facebook Sinologists group for the pointer.

(e) This is Yu Chunxi 虞淳熙 (1553–1621), one of Zhuhong's most important lay followers. Both Sheng Yen (Shengyan 聖嚴) and Fan Guiming state that he provided all of the questions for Zhuhong to answer. See Shi Shengyan 釋聖嚴, *Mingmo fojiao yanjiu* 明末佛教研究 (*Studies in Late Ming Buddhism*), Zhihui hai 智慧海 9 (Taipei: Dongchu Publications 東初出版社, 1992), 119; and Fan Guiming 潘桂明, *Zhongguo jushi fojiao shi* 中国居士佛教史 (*A History of Lay Buddhism in China*), 2 vols. (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press 中国社会科学出版社, 2000), 2:781–782.

(f) *Liu-ba nanwen* 六八難問. Sheng Yen interprets this as "sixty-eight difficult questions" rather than "six or eight." See Sheng Yen, *Mingmo fojiao yanjiu*, 119. Following the advice of Prof. Chün-fang Yu, however, I have interpreted it as six times eight, or 48.

(g) The phrase *Yun xing ping xie* 雲興瓶瀉 is explained in a commentary on the *Lotus Sutra* in this way: "As for [the phrase] 'the clouds fly and the bottle empties,' this is said of the two bodhisattvas. The one who asks is like clouds flying in the open sky. The one who answers is like a bottle pouring out water." See *Miaofa lianhua jing zhizhang shu shiyi* 妙法蓮華經指掌疏事義 (*A Commentary on the Matters and Meaning of the Sutra of the Lotus of the Wondrous Dharma Pointing at the Palm*), X33n0632\_p0712c16-c17.

#### 1. (108:383b; X61n1158\_p0505a09)

*Question:* People of the world hear the words "to contemplate the Buddha is to contemplate the mind" (a) and "as the mind is pure the land will be pure" (b), and because they adhere to the interior mind and try to dust it off and make it pure, they incline toward [the teaching of] emptiness and are pleased with themselves. They deny the western quarter and say that the mind and the land are the same in principle. So they say, "My mind is firm (c); what is served by longing for the

land? The worm truly eats through mud; how could yellow dirt be the equal of the diamond realm [or *vajradhātu*]; the great sea turtle really bears mountains; how is holding the earth like wheeling in the sky?" Now they also make further analogies such as comparing an alchemical furnace (or immortal's hermitage) to the lotus-calyx, or the forty pulse meridians to the interconnected jewel-net, or the one numinous inner brightness to Amitābha's peaceful abiding. The lungs approximate to the west; crossing through the tongue is taken as the pools [of the Pure Land] (d). These are only metaphors for the dharma; there is no question of their [objective] reality. This being so, they draw in everything from the inauspicious and auspicious readings of geomancy to the flourishing or decline of one's posterity as examples of the interpenetration of dependent and proper recompense and demonstrate the unchanging nature of [the Buddha's] response to beings' capacities. This does not get to the direct cause [of a Buddha's attainments], nor does it exhaust the ten marvels [of a Buddha's capabilities]. One must seek further for clear teachings and set these evil views to one side.

*Answer:* The expression "as the mind is pure the land is pure" is quite correct. However, this expression has two senses. The first relates to principle. This means that the mind is that land. Outside of a pure mind, there is no pure land. The second relates to phenomena. This means that the mind is the basis of the land. The purity of the mind is the purity of the land. If one grasps at principle but discards phenomena, then would this not be like the world affirming that pure leisure is this very immortal, with the result that outside of pure leisure there is no true immortal? Now suppose one takes up part of the body and says [it is the] Pure Land. This would be a most pernicious view, and the suffering it brings is most profound. My Buddha only illuminates the unified mind, but obstinate people constantly grasp at the four elements [of the body]. For this reason they hold the network of flesh to be the jeweled net and point at vain imaginings as the real Buddha. The lungs are subsumed under the western direction and so are easy to designate as the golden earth [of the Pure Land]. The tongue secretes saliva and so is called the flowered pools. This is vulgar and false in a thousand ways; one cannot begin to enumerate them! How could one not know that the human body is impure? Its substance is illusory, not real. One wastes efforts on it, but in the end it turns to corruption and decay; still, one is fascinated with it in ignorance. People overhear the phrase "as the mind is pure the land is pure," and not only are the ignorant

masses misled by it, even the literati are led to harm. Well might one heave a sigh at this!

*Notes:*

In general, this first question goes directly into one of the major themes that Yu Chunxi and Zhuhong explore in this text: the proper relation of Buddhism to other Chinese religious traditions. The question bristles with classical allusions and textual citations with which most late Ming literati would have been very familiar. The question takes surface similarities between Pure Land teachings and concepts from Confucianism and alchemical Daoism and tries to correlate them. In response, Zhuhong points out that the teachings are in fact very different, and that attempting to correlate them will distort Buddhism and lead practitioners astray. Thus, whereas many literati of the time were very keen on so-called “Three Teachings” thought (*sanjiao heyi* 三教合一), Zhuhong opposed this tendency and tried very hard to keep Buddhism separate.

(a) The phrase “to contemplate the Buddha is to contemplate the mind” does not come from scriptural sources. However, Zhuhong used it in the third fascicle of his *Fo shuo Amituo jing shu chao* 佛說阿彌陀經疏鈔 to describe a particular obstruction to Pure Land practice (see X22n0424\_p0660b16-660b19):

As to the four obstructions, the first says, “This very mind is the Buddha; why must one abandon the self to contemplate the other?” They do not know that this very Buddha is [likewise] the mind, and so they grasp only at the contemplation of the mind and do not approve contemplation of the Buddha. Thus, [for them,] the mind and the Buddha are dual, a failed doctrine. This is “contemplating the Buddha and contemplating the mind” because the two do not [mutually] obstruct [one another].

(b) The phrase “as the mind is pure the land will be pure” is shorthand for a passage from the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* commonly used to justify the idea that the Pure Land does not literally exist off to the west but manifests when the practitioner’s mind has been purified. The passage reads, “If a bodhisattva wishes to obtain a pure land, he must purify his mind. Once the mind is pure, then the buddha-land is pure.” See *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* (*Weimoji suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經), T14n0475\_p0538c04-C05.

(c) The phrase “My mind is firm” (*wo xin fei shi* 我心匪石) comes from the poem “Bo Zhou” 柏舟 in the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經). The literal meaning is “My mind is not a stone,” and the following line continues, “it cannot be rolled about.” See James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics: With a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes*, 4 vols. (n.p.: n.p; repr.: Taipei: SMC Publications, 2001), 2:38–39.

(d) In Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行) correlative thinking, the lungs were associated with the west; both were assimilated under metal (*jin* 金). I am grateful to Dr. Robert Campany for this connection. The last half of the question demonstrates attempts to reinterpret Pure Land thought in terms of Daoist and alchemical concepts.

## 2. (108:384a; X61n1158\_p0505b04)

*Question:* Merchants who go to sea and gentry who go to court do not need to be urged beforehand because the caps and carriages fill the eyes [of the latter] and goods and money move the hearts [of the former]. When Śākyamuni appeared in the land, he led people to choose for themselves. Sudhana ascended the tower and all the buddhas circulated the light for him to contemplate; he did not await encouragement (a). Making a good friend (*shanzhishi* 善知識) work hard (lit. “get calluses on his feet”) to intercede and lead one to faith is not as good as the light that came from Shandao’s mouth; “good guidance” indeed (b)! I have heard that [if one] practices *nianfo* in this way then the flower of the Pure Land flourishes; if one practices *nianfo* with a lax mind, then the flower of the Pure Land withers. The Buddha [Amitābha] has broadly opened expedient means; why would he not have placed this flourishing or withering of the flower right before people? In the event that they remain in the world, then whether they open or close their eyes, the lotus will be with them. When their time comes, then they can mount this lotus-wheel and catapult to rebirth there. Is there a problem that would make this false? Why would it not be as good as expedient means (c)?

*Answer:* Seeking reputation and pursuing profit are functions of this world, so anyone can see them. Invoking the Buddha and attaining rebirth [in the Pure Land] is actually a cause and its effect [transpiring in] adjacent lifetimes, so it is difficult for people to know. Even though the flourishing or withering of the lotus flower really takes place right before people’s eyes, those who are lost are not conscious

of it. A purified mind does what is good, so the spirit is clear and the *qi* is bright. The will thus grows and extends. A defiled mind does evil, so the *qi* is violent and the spirit is coarse, and one's inner state is dispirited. Is it not obvious [by these signs] that the flower is flourishing or withering? Moreover, Patriarch [Hui]yuan said sincerely that he personally saw the holy image [of Amitābha], the silver dais alighted on the pool in the story of Master [Dao]zhen, and one could continue to the perception of one's own body floating on the red lotus like Gao Haoxiang (d). So past generations have had such people; why say that the present generation is without [such] signs?

Notes:

(a) The statement about Sudhana refers to an episode that occupies nearly all of fascicle 79 or the *Huayan sūtra* 華嚴經 translated in the late seventh century by Śikṣānanda (T. 279). In this episode, Sudhana enters into a tower (*louge* 樓閣) that Maitreya has caused to appear. Once inside, he encounters innumerable further towers, and he goes into one associated with Vairocana. In it he is granted the power to see all the histories and activities of all the buddhas of all worlds and all times. See T10n0279\_p0434c27ff. Yongming Yanshou used this in his *Zong jing lu* 宗鏡錄, fasc. 78, as an example of someone making up his own mind in an instant to seek the dharma. “Sudhana, in the *Huayan Sutra*, ascended the pavilion and in a moment's dream set his mind, and in the space of one *kṣaṇa* saw all the inconceivable work of the buddhas of the past, present, and future” (T48n2016\_p0850a12-a14).

(b) Fascicle 27 of the *Continued Lives of Eminent Monks* (*Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, T. 2060) reports that whenever Shandao recited the phrase “Hail to the Buddha Amitābha” (*namo Amotufo* 南無阿彌陀佛), his mouth emitted a light that illuminated the temple gate. See T50n2060\_p0684a16-a18. Presumably in this context the inquirer believes this is a sign of Shandao's own efforts at practice, and compares it favorably with a practitioner who relies on another's intercession. The subsequent phrase is a play on Shandao's name, which literally translates as “good guidance.”

(c) The inquirer wonders why Amitābha did not appear directly to propagate the Pure Land path rather than leaving it to a “good friend” to lead people to practice as indicated by the Pure Land sutras. If he had done so, then people would of their own volition rush forward to

rebirth in the same way that literati and merchants rush to evident rewards.

(d) This is a reference to the story of the monk Daozhen 道珍 and the Pure Land patriarch Huiyuan (遠公, Great Master [Hui]yuan). See *Wangsheng ji* 往生集, T51n2072\_p0129a15ff. One day, Liang Daozhen had a dream in which he saw a boatman who said he was going to the buddha land of Amitābha. When Daozhen asked if he could go along, the boatman said not yet because he had not purified himself and recited the Pure Land scriptures. Daozhen accordingly began a practice that he maintained for many years, and shortly before his death he saw a vision of a dais of white silver descending onto the surface of his bathing pool. He recorded this vision. Later, when he died, the local people saw a number of lights appearing near his home and realized that Daozhen had died and attained rebirth in the Pure Land. They later found the document affirming his earlier vision. The episode concludes by pairing this story with a later account of Lushan Huiyuan's death in which he sees the Buddha Amitābha a week before he dies (see *Xu jingtu wangsheng zhuan* 敘淨土往生傳 T51n2071\_p0110b18-c2) and holds these two up as examples of dignified practitioners who do not boast aloud about their extraordinary experiences. The story of Gao Haoxiang also comes from the *Wangsheng ji*, T51n2072\_p0143a5-a10.

### 3. (108:384b; X61n1158\_p0505b19)

*Question:* The [practice] which the Daoists refer to as the “silent approach” resembles contemplation of a buddha. Their “heavenly sovereign” is a bodhisattva, and approaching the bodhisattva [stage] could be the stage of non-retrogression. Confucius is the bodhisattva Rutong (儒童) (a). Having thought of King Wen [of the Zhou dynasty] to the extent of dimly seeing his physical form is actually similar to contemplating a buddha. King Wen is on the right or left of the [heavenly] sovereign; Confucius should abide with them. Now if [one] uses the method of thinking of King Wen to thinking of Confucius, then to think of Confucius is to think of the bodhisattva, and to approach Confucius is to approach the bodhisattva. One ought thereby to attain the stage of non-retrogression. Thus, why is it necessary to draw these two figures to the west?

*Answer:* Although the “heavenly sovereign” might be called a bodhisattva, the bodily form one observes is that of a king within the desire realm. Even if Confucius is called [the bodhisattva] Rutong,



he only manifests as a superior man in the human realm. To use an analogy, when a high official (*zaiheng* 宰衡) temporarily transfers [to a local post], the [local] examination selectees submit [to him]. When the sovereign suddenly goes abroad incognito, those who would go for an audience do not attend court. Thus we know that only the Buddha is the compassionate father of those born in the four ways (b), the great master of the three realms, the god among gods, the sage among sages, without peer. How can one make a “silent approach” to the desire realm or continue longing for the human path (c)? One must set one’s intentions on the western [Pure Land] outside the myriads of [other] buddha lands, and on the Lord of Conversion (*huazhu* 化主, i.e., the Buddha) from among sages and worthies [as numerous as] the sands of the Ganges. If it is not the Buddha whom the [other] two teachings reverence, then who is it that they reverence?

Notes:

(a) The idea that Confucius was a bodhisattva in India named Rutong (*Rutong pusa* 儒童菩薩) is attested in several Buddhist scriptures, such as the *Sheng jing* 生經, T. 154, and the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, T. 2035. The latter goes so far as to identify other bodhisattvas as Confucius’ disciple Yan Yuan and Mahāmaudgalyāyana as Laozi (T49n2035\_p0333b23-b29). As in the first question, it is clear that Zhuhong does not want to place Buddhism together with Daoism and Confucianism in the manner of the “Three Teachings” movement of his day.

(b) The “four ways” of birth (*sisheng* 四生) are birth from eggs, live birth, birth from moisture, and birth by transformation.

(c) The term “silent approach” (*mochao* 默朝) appears in several Daoist texts, often in describing an approach to a deity such as the Lord on High (*shangdi* 上帝) or the Jade Emperor (*yuhuang* 玉皇). It often appears in liturgical texts or in reference to a practice of visualizing the deity and having an audience with it. Many thanks to Neil McGee and Bonny Schachter of the Facebook Daoist Studies group for assistance with this term.

4. (108:384b; X61n1158\_p0505c07)

*Question:* Perhaps one might assert that the Buddha forced sentient beings to forsake loved ones and abandon their human bodies, leave their native places close by and depart for a far away foreign country.

With spirit clear and profound one enters the realm of dreams, and within the dream one obtains a treasure. The forms [of the treasure] are not real, and one hears this with sadness; what “utmost bliss” is this (a)? Or one could say that being born is also a dream, and since everything is a dream, it is all the more lamentable. One might say that the bodhisattva wakes up first, but practices the six perfections as if in a dream. Thus, as the true recompense is arrayed, it becomes more indistinct. Do I [ultimately] return to the eternally quiescent light? The quiescent light is formless. Does one depend only on that which is vast and indistinct? This would not be as good as residing within the world among dreams so as to contribute to goodness and repudiate evil (b).

*Answer:* Vainly floating in the world is a dream; it is not real. The eternally quiescent light is reality; it is not a dream. People of the world mistake dreams for reality and reality for dreams. This is how they get all mixed up. It really is lamentable. Do you not know that your loved ones are the enemies, that your body is a fetter? Attain rebirth in the Pure Land, be free from sinking in disease, and recover your allotted life span (*tiannian* 天年). One is freed from prison and returns in splendor to one’s old home. This is called the “utmost bliss” (*jile* 極樂), and is it not indeed so? Although the practice of the bodhisattva path is said to be like a dream, it is like the manifestation of auspicious signs during the night when great happiness is about to appear. How can this be compared with the heavy drowsiness and loss of mental clarity [in dreams] in which the spirit beckons violent and evil omens? Now a bodhisattva is about to wake up while in the dream, while worldlings enter one dream from another dream. As to [the land of] Quiescent Light, that is clearly an awakening from a deep slumber!

*Notes:*

(a) “Utmost bliss” (*jile* 極樂) is another name for the Pure Land.

(b) The question draws upon Daoist legends of figures such as Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 who experienced vivid dreams that they mistook for reality. (An English version of the story of Lü Dongbin appears in Livia Kohn, *The Taoist Experience: An Anthology* [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993], 126–132). The question goes on to wonder if practitioners might accomplish more by remaining within the world instead of going to a potentially dream-like Pure Land.

## 5. (108:385a; X61n1158\_p0505c21)

*Question:* The Pure Land is 10,000,000,000,000 buddha lands away from here; this is a definite number. But is this not an extreme distance, and not something reachable by boat, carriage, or human power? I think that parrots and mynah birds know how to recite the Buddha's name. If they are made to fly very fast, they may reach it, but assuming that their life span is too short, they will die in transit. Is it certain that a flying immortal could not reach it? Perhaps a flying immortal could not. But if one cultivates the supernormal power of "divine feet," then why worry that one will not reach it? This being the case, then perhaps the person who wishes to attain the West could do so by taking Maudgalyāyana as his main teacher (b).

*Answer:* Maudgalyāyana heard the preaching of the dharma from afar, and by following the sound he arrived at a buddha land. Having transcended *sahā* worlds without limit and without number, he wished to return to his own land but found he could not. Now, arriving there (i.e., in Amitābha's Pure Land) comes about because of that Buddha's spiritual power; it is not [within the scope of] a *śrāvaka*'s supernormal power. As to this world of Utmost Bliss, its distance is provisionally given as nominally abiding 10,000,000,000,000 buddha lands [away]. But if we seek to find the limit, it is actually beyond measurable numbers. When beings are born there, it is firstly because of the Buddha's inconceivable power to gather them in, and secondly it is because of the inconceivable power of the vows we ourselves generated. What do the supernormal powers [of individuals such as Maudgalyāyana] have to do with it?

*Notes:*

(a) "Divine feet" (*shenzu* 神足) is the ability to travel a great distance in a short time, one of the supernormal powers achieved by great meditators.

(b) Maudgalyāyana was one of the historical Buddha's greatest disciples and was noted for the magical powers he gained through meditation.

## 6. (108:385b; X61n1158\_p0506a09)

*Question:* With regard to separating from the deluded body and seeking the dharma-body: There is no dharma-body; this very present

deluded body itself is the dharma-body, [which means that] the Buddha [Amitābha] takes this body to the Pure Land. Isn't that right? If in the Pure Land one should [be able to] manifest the body of one *zhang* and six (*yi zhang liu* 一丈六), etc. (a), without bringing the old substance of the leather bag (i.e., the present human body), then this would be a change as extensive as if a star fell as a stone, or a dove changed into a hawk. Isn't that right? Ah, me! To drift in the dark of the predawn hours and still have the bright sun fly up. The Land of Bliss and its domain of peace and calm allows for the secret escape of the ghost (*youhun* 幽魂) from the world's random flow; those who neglect the nine grades [of rebirth in the Pure Land] in favor of the seven paths [of rebirth in samsara] are beyond astonishing!

*Answer:* By his divine power, the Buddha [Amitābha] takes up the great chiliocosm and brings it to the Pure Land as if it were goose down. How much easier must it be, then, for him to gather in the form-body? In contrast, those in the school of spirits and immortals (i.e., Daoists) do not achieve liberation because of their infatuation with spirits of the body (b). The physical body is like bubbles and dew; this is not what goes to rebirth [in the Pure Land]. Dharma-nature pervades all of space; why would it need to go anywhere to be transformed? This mysterious transfer of the worldling's substance [to the Pure Land] surpasses the realm of the sages and achieves the same thing (i.e., universal pervasion). How does this compare with the secret deliverance of ghosts or doing the work of demons? Just seek to be reborn there [in the Pure Land], and don't bother discussing body and mind.

*Notes:*

(a) This image comes from the *Contemplation Sutra*, where in the thirteenth contemplation it says, "If you sincerely wish to be born in the Western land, you should first picture a figure, sixteen feet tall, on the surface of a pond." See T12n0365\_p0344b25-b26. The English is from the translation by Inagaki Hisao in *Three Pure Land Sutras*, 91.

The inquirer here asserts a contradiction in Pure Land Buddhism. While there is no final distinction between the present ordinary body and the dharma-body, the Pure Land scriptures describe how the bodies of those born in the Pure Land transform. Hence their bodies seem to be in two states at once, like a star that is also a stone, a dove that is also a hawk, and like the darkness before the dawn which produces a bright rising sun. He concludes that it must amount to the

spirit or ghost secretly leaving the body for rebirth. The term *yuhun* 幽魂 refers specifically to the ghost of a deceased person that remains within the world and retains its human appearance, so perhaps the questioner thinks that this would explain why the deceased go to rebirth in the Pure Land while still appearing human.

(b) Many schools of Daoism taught that the human body was inhabited by a great number of divinities, and many practices sought to discipline and harmonize them. Isabelle Robinet gives a description of these beings in *Taoist Meditation: The Mao-shan Tradition of Great Purity*, trans. Julian Pas and Norman Girardot (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 100–103.

7. (108:386a; X61n1158\_p0506a21)

*Question:* Those in the world who seek rebirth [in the Pure Land] are not the same as those who really want to be reborn. Even when they contemplate (or recite) [the Buddha] with correct ritual and the Buddha appears before them to conduct them to the West, they decline on the grounds that their alms-rounds are unfinished or their weddings have not been concluded, and they hope to forestall death a little while longer. Then there is the person who is different from these previously [mentioned]. He vigorously cultivates *samādhi* all hours of the day and night. Worried that he might grow weary and give it up, thus losing this critical opportunity, he throws his own body to destruction, burning himself up in the fire. Since he did not abandon the results [of his previous practice] and remained serene as if entering into meditative stability, then would the Buddha take pity on his stupidity [at committing suicide] and lead him by the hand [to the Pure Land] (a)?

*Answer:* This is the wise person's practice of Pure Land: In life they purify their own minds, and when their efforts come to fruition they attain rebirth by the conditions [created by their practice]. Those who do not wish to attain rebirth because of attachments to the conditions of the world are arrogant. Those who wish to hasten their rebirth and commit suicide are stupid. This kind of habit, if light, leads one into the horde of *māras*, and if heavy, will keep one drifting in the evil paths of rebirth. The light of the sun shines everywhere, but it cannot reach into a covered basin. Although the Buddha's compassion is great, he cannot rescue these people.

## Notes:

(a) From the earliest inception of Pure Land practice in China, religious suicide has been a controversial topic. If one is convinced that the present world is defiled and that the Pure Land represents an ideal place in which one is guaranteed liberation, then there is a certain logic in hastening one's departure. As the inquirer indicates, those who immolated themselves often did so in highly ritualized settings and remained serene until the end. James Benn notes that miracles indicating successful rebirth in the Pure Land were often attested. He also notes that when a devotee announced his or her intention to self-immolate, public reaction could include both approval and disapproval. See James A. Benn, *Burning for the Buddha: Self-Immolation in Chinese Buddhism*, Studies in East Asian Buddhism 19 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 33–42, 45. Zhuhong clearly does not approve of such practice.

## 8. (108:386a; X61n1158\_p0506b07)

*Question:* Suppose there is a person who practiced *nianfo* diligently in a previous life, but his capacities and feelings had not yet produced a response. Although in the present life he continues to practice wholesome deeds and keeps his intention on the Buddha [Amitābha], he gets tangled up in affairs and is not able to practice according to the dharma. After a time his karmic recompense runs out and again there is no response. This person's karmic seeds sprout in the intermediate state [between lives] (*zhongyin shen* 中陰身) and he completes ten invocations. Will he see the Buddha and attain rebirth?

*Answer:* In a previous life he planted the causes through diligence; in the present life he lost the fruition through procrastination. If on his deathbed he breaks through and invokes [the Buddha], then there is still time. If he generates the mind only after entering the intermediate state, then it is too late. I only hope that all humane people will exert themselves early.

## 9. (108:386a; X61n1158\_p0506b14)

*Question:* [Let's say that] a person is diligent and heroic in this [practice] and for a day or a week or a full month or a whole year has the single, unperturbed mind. Later he is seized by another teacher who leads him into the two gates of Chan (*zong* 宗) and Doctrine (*jiao*

教). Although he does not master either of these, he still has not forsaken Buddhism. When the end comes, would the Buddha [Amitābha] still be willing to have mercy on him? Also, suppose he is diligent at the outset but slacks off midway, but on his deathbed repents and resumes as at the beginning, or is diligent at the outset but then turns to evil midway, but on his deathbed repents and resumes as at the beginning. Should this person enter into a lower grade (*xia pin* 下品) or into the “City of Doubt” (*yicheng* 疑城) (a)?

*Answer:* The contemplation [of the Buddha] is the [reality of the] Buddha (*ji nian ji fo* 即念即佛), so in what respect is *nianfo* not Chan? Contemplation through analysis of emptiness is the *tripiṭaka* teaching, contemplation through the intuitive grasp of emptiness is the common [teaching], contemplation through the stages is the separate [teaching], and contemplation through the one mind is the perfect [teaching], so in what respect is *nianfo* not Doctrine (b)? Two birds with one stone! Who asserts that there is no achievement? The former [Chan] penetrates and the latter [Doctrine] dissolves. This cannot be called “being seized.” There is no doubt that one may be reborn in the Pure Land like this. The only thing to fear is that one will give rise to distinctions and hang up the mind on two paths. This fault is produced from the self; the *buddhadharma* is not to blame. As to the matter of repentance by correcting one’s mistake, it is hard to determine the grade. Śākyamuni practiced diligently for seven days and brought his prior practice to completion in enlightenment. [The butcher] Wide Forehead laid down his cleaver and was immediately established in *bodhi* (c). Neither a lower grade nor the “City of Doubt” proved an obstacle.

*Notes:*

(a) The “City of Doubt” is a precinct just outside the Pure Land wherein beings are born who, though they faithfully performed *nianfo*, still harbored doubts about it. It is described as a city adorned with the seven jewels, but on the periphery of the Pure Land and away from the Buddha Amitābha. After five hundred years of practice, these beings are then free to move toward the center of the Pure Land and receive the Buddha’s teaching. See, for example, section 53 of the *Fo shuo da Amituo jing* 佛說大阿彌陀經 entitled “On Those Born of the Womb in the City of Doubt” (*Yicheng taisheng fen* 疑城胎生分), T12n0364\_p0338c24-339a18.



(b) *Zang* 藏, *tong* 通, *bie* 別, and *yuan* 圓 are the four categories of doctrine in Tiantai thought, hence stand in for the questioner's use of *jiao* 教, or "doctrine."

(c) "Wide Forehead" (*Guang'e tu'er* 廣額屠兒) was a prolific butcher who was converted by Śāriputra in one day. He shows up in some Chan stories. See for example his story in *Xu deng zhengtong* 續燈正統, X84n1583\_p0419a06-a17.

10. (108:386b; X61n1158\_p0506c02)

*Question:* When ministers of court attain rebirth [in the Pure Land], they do not set aside affairs of state. When lay Buddhists attain rebirth, they do not set aside household affairs. Now when lay Buddhists practice *nianfo* single-mindedly, there are perhaps no other obstructions, but when ministers of court are working on royal business, they cannot shift their responsibilities to others as one can with household affairs. How could it be that Yang Wuwei (a) and all gentlemen who have felt the prickings of life as a single official (*guanguan* 鰥官) could at the last attain the welcome of a transformation-buddha? How could it be that armies, politics, and punishments do not obstruct the attainment of rebirth? Or is it because their every thought is in conformity with reality?

*Answer:* A gentleman whose mind is perfected in the midst of a heavy workload and myriad changes does not find the affairs of state complicated; he grasps the flow of circumstances. As for those who live in the realm of attachment, with a man and wife, the conditions of household [life] fairly pile up. To illustrate: a bright mirror illuminates things. It does this all day without expending effort. A deep valley transmits sounds. It transmits a great many without difficulty. Like this, the great ruler is not different from the world-honored one [i.e., the Buddha]; how are dukes and princes not the great ocean-like assembly? [Officials] vigorously discuss pros and cons (*dou yu yu fu* 都俞吁咈) and [buddhas] declare the wondrous dharma back and forth. [Officials dispense] rewards and punishments and [buddhas dispense] true compassion and equality. King's business and Buddha's business all integrate together. Why would rebirth in the Pure Land be hard?

*Notes:*

(a) Yang Wuwei 楊無為 was the style-name of Yang Jie 楊傑, a government official of the Northern Song dynasty who exhibited great

devotion to Buddhism while serving as an intendent of prisons. A Chan devotee at first, later in life he turned to Pure Land practice and is said to have died while seated facing west in great peace and dignity. His biography is recorded in the *Record of the Sages and Worthies of the Pure Land* (*Jingtu shengxian lu* 淨土聖賢錄), found at X78n1549\_p0285b13-286a06.

Zhuhong denies the basic premise of the question, asserting that the life of an experienced official might actually be less complicated than that of an ordinary householder.

11. (108:387a; X61n1158\_p0506c12)

*Question:* The residual karma of those who attain the lowest birth in the lowest grade is not slight, [but] if they meet an astute master who helps them to complete ten *nian*, then they attain this grade. Since they have residual karma, they should not commit evil. Even if they did commit evil, a single recitation [of the Buddha's name] eliminates myriad sins in response. It is like bringing light into long-standing darkness; instantly it lights up. The darkness did not go anywhere, nor is there anywhere whence the light came. Having attained this [elimination of guilt], they should come around to the highest birth of the highest grade. It seems we are still mired in levels and thus dwell in the lowest of the low. How is it that some guilt cannot be extinguished? Wouldn't their faults and merits balance each other out? Those in the City of Doubt have merely entertained a little doubt; they have not done any evil. It wrongs them that they are prevented from attaining any level of rebirth [in the Pure Land proper]. Who are these people, past or present, who have been born in the City of Doubt? Can you name any of them?

*Answer:* Among ordinary worldlings, some have evil minds that burn red-hot, but they hear of the Pure Land and do not doubt. There are also some who have fortunate karma, but although they practice a little, they *nianfo* mindlessly and do not believe. This is why one can attain rebirth in the Pure Land even though one has done evil. However, their obstructions of guilt have only begun to be extinguished, and the causes of purification are not yet extensive [enough]. Birth [in the Pure Land] is birth of course, but they should occupy a humble place. Thus we know that those who harbor inner doubts foolishly abandon their previous merit, while the mind filled with firm faith attains rebirth while carrying [past] karma. Thus, the gap between faith and doubt results in no small difference in benefit and harm accrued. Although

those born into the City of Doubt diligently practiced pure karma, they stopped because their minds were not firmly made up. Now there are people in the world who because of doubt are not diligent, and those who are diligent and so do not doubt. Only one or two out of ten thousand will doubt and yet be diligent. How could I point to specific individuals?

12. (108:387a; X61n1158\_p0507a02)

*Question:* When releasing birds, fish, and turtles, one chants mantras and performs *nianfo* for their sakes, wishing them rebirth [in the Pure Land]. Would these creatures attain rebirth [in the Pure Land] due to the power [of these practices], or would they abandon their karmic recompense, be reborn among human beings, and study further under the person who released them, diligently practicing *nian* in accordance to the correct method?

*Answer:* Even the birds and beasts [on behalf of whom] these mantras and vows are made can attain rebirth [in the Pure Land] by relying on the power of dharma if their karma is light and conditions have matured. If their karma is heavy and the conditions are insufficient, then they stop short [of the Pure Land] and have their guilt extinguished so as to change their form and attain a better path [as a human or *deva*]. However, even if the birds and beasts do not necessarily attain rebirth, the merit earned by those who recite mantras, make vows, and release living beings is not wasted. In future lives they will be liberated and finally have all of their past karma come to fruition. The [story of] Maudgalyāyana liberating the bees is [an instance of this] as clear as a bright mirror (a).

*Notes:*

(a) The story of Maudgalyāyana liberating some bees may be found in the *Longshu's Expanded Pure Land Passages* (*Longshu zengguang jingtu wen* 龍舒增廣淨土文, T. 1970). In this story, the Buddha Śākyamuni found a particular country unreceptive to his teachings, so he dispatched his disciple Maudgalyāyana to preach to them, saying he had a karmic affinity with them. The people received Maudgalyāyana and joyously accepted his teachings. When asked why Maudgalyāyana succeeded, the Buddha explained that in a past life, Maudgalyāyana had been a woodcutter in that country. One day he encountered a swarm of bees while gathering wood. Maudgalyāyana made them a promise

that after he attained the Way he would liberate them. The present inhabitants of the country were all rebirths of those bees. Zhuhong presents this as proof that vows made on behalf of animals can gain them human rebirths and access to the teachings in later lives. See T47n1970\_p0261b22-b28.

13. (108:387b; X61n1158\_p0507a09)

*Question:* Contrasting the superiority and inferiority of pure and impure lands is to entice ordinary worldlings. What worldlings find supremely blissful (*jile* 極樂) is women; what they find extremely unblissful is no women as well as having to part from family members (a). Now you would have [me] abandon family and enter a country without women, and all [I] can do is flatly refuse to enter. How can the Buddha be so lacking in skillful means? Or one could say that with rebirth in that land one attains the six supernatural powers. The divine eye (*tianyan* 天眼) can penetrate into the women's quarters, so how is one free from this anxiety (b)? Even though one is lodged in the Pure Land, one still sees women all the time. How would this differ from having women in that land? Does that really amount to an absence of women? Also, refined gentlemen are by nature inclined toward the plain and simple and do not treasure gold and jade. Therefore, it often happens that they reject jade disks and throw away pearls, scatter gold and burn fine brocades. If they are not dazzled when they hear the name of this domain of treasure (*zhenyu* 珍域, i.e., the Pure Land), won't they fail to make vows [to seek rebirth there]?

*Answer:* Although the Pure Land provides enticements for ordinary worldlings, the first time its enticements were presented, the obstructions caused by the female form had already been set forth in detail through such metaphors as “flowered arrows” and “leather bags.” It is proper to say that women are taken as impure and the absence of women is taken as pure, or that women are considered as not pleasant while the absence of women is considered the supreme bliss. How could one turn around and flatly refuse to be reborn and take refuge in the West? Now as to the six supernatural powers and the ability to penetrate to a distance, these all stem from the enlightenment of the mind-ground (*xindi* 心地), and the [salvation of the] nine degrees of relation have been laid out in detail (c). This is more than just sky-flowers and glitter. Why would it be that just the sight of women would constitute an obstruction? Coming to the non-acquisitive principled

gentlemen who do not hanker after the jeweled land, they have not yet found out that [the term] “jewel” has more than one meaning. It is not really a single physical substance. Here [in the *sahā* world] “jewel” means the accumulation of good fortune, something one sees and for which one develops greed. There [in the Pure Land] “jewel” indicates something that matures from pure virtue. One abides with it for a long time without being tainted. Holding fast to the trifling matter of leading a life of few desires, one loses the glorious vista of the holy realm. This would be like detesting lewd songs by nature but giving up them up together with the lute and zither, or hating the unofficial histories in one’s mind but then burning them together with the Counsels of Yao (Yao Mo 堯謨) and the Canon of Shun (Shun Dian 舜典) (d). How is deprecating gold and jade and forsaking the western [Pure Land] different from these?

Notes:

(a) The inquirer plays on the term *jile* 極樂, or supreme bliss, with another common name for the Pure Land of Amitābha. The absence of women, he thinks, would make it supremely un-blissful for the average man. The more serious question regards a Buddha’s use of skillful means (Skt. *upāya*; Ch. *fangbian* 方便). Since the Pure Land is designed to entice people toward the goal of buddhahood, why would Amitābha create such an inherently unattractive place for rebirth?

(b) In the *Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha sūtra*, Dharmākara vows that all beings born in the Pure Land will have the divine eye, but will use it to see innumerable distant buddha-lands. See T12n0360\_p0267c27-c28.

(c) The brief statement about the “nine degrees of family relations” (*jiu zu* 九族) in Zhuhong’s reply responds to the concern raised about abandoning family. Chinese Chan texts sometimes asserted that when a son received monastic ordination, then nine degrees of relations from great-great-grandparents to great-grandchildren would be reborn as *devas*. For an example, see *The Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Dongshan Wuben of Yunzhou* (Yunzhou Dongshan Wuben *chanshi yulu* 筠州洞山悟本禪師語錄, T. 1980A): “Thus a scripture says that when one son receives ordination, nine degrees of family members are reborn in heaven” (T47n1986Ap0516b17-b18).

(d) The works by Yao and Shun mentioned in the last part of Zhuhong’s reply comprise the first two chapters of the *Shang Shu* 尚書.

However, the first chapter is actually called the *Canon of Yao* (*Yao Dian* 堯典), not the *Counsel of Yao*.

14. (108:388a; X61n1158\_p0507b03)

*Question:* The jewels in the Land of Utmost Bliss from the first to the fourth are all of remarkable beauty; they fill space with their dazzle (a). This is wealth indeed! However, as to [the teaching that] to seek after them is not greed, let us say [we were talking about] my family's property. Aren't folks nowadays all rich people who have just lost everything or who lost everything long ago? They experience the saying that as soon as one attains any wealth, it is entrusted to others and given up. If on this side people are like Layman Pang (b), then are they not pure and lofty? Otherwise, they slave away managing [wealth] and from morning until night accumulate and grasp at it. Even recovering some antiques multiplies their greed and attachment. How much more the misers (or "prisoners of money," *shouqianlu* 守錢虜)! How are those who vow to be reborn in the Pure Land any different?

*Answer:* One is endowed originally with the pure mind, and thus it is said that [this] treasure is one's family fortune (*jiazhen* 家珍). The pure vow to seek birth [in the Pure Land] truly is the recovery of what was already there. Now to "desire humaneness and attain it" is not greed (c); how can my recovery of my own mind be called a taint? With regard to the magnificence of the actual [karmic] reward, this is also because the purity of the cause [leads to] the purity of the result; this is how the principle works itself out. Also, what is there to hanker after? If one cares about one's past business and also seeks rebirth in the Pure Land, then the mind's impurity is profound. How would [such a one] achieve birth in the Pure Land?

*Notes:*

(a) The *Smaller Sukhāvati-vyūha sūtra* says that many features of the Pure Land are made from seven treasures. Of these, four could be said to be bright or jewel-like: gold, silver, crystal, and ruby. The remaining three are lapis lazuli, agate, and coral, which may be decorative but lack the luster of precious metals and jewels. See T12n0366\_p0347a02-a03.

(b) Layman Pang (*Pang jushi* 龐居士) was a Tang dynasty figure renowned for his level of enlightenment. According to the story told in the *Narrated Records of Laymen Dividing the Lamp* (*Jushi fendeng luxu* 居士分燈錄敘, CBETA X.1607), after his entire family was enlightened, they

left their home and threw all their wealth into the river Xiang 湘. See X86n1607\_p0580b21-b23.

(c) The phrase “desire humaneness and attain it” is a reference to the *Analects* of Confucius 20:2: “Desire humaneness and obtain it—how is this covetous?” (The English translation is from Annping Chin, trans, *The Analects (Lunyu)* [New York: Penguin, 2014], 325.) Zhuhong almost quotes this verbatim, and it clearly serves his point that desiring the right things does not constitute greed.

15. (108:388a; X61n1158\_p0507b13)

*Question:* [The bodhisattva] Dharmākara feared that because people would be afraid to go to any trouble they would not seek rebirth [in the Pure Land], so he said ten recitations would be enough. Śākyamuni feared that people would be afraid to go to any trouble and so would not seek rebirth [in the Pure Land], so he said that seven days would be enough. He saw the man and wife using grains of rice to count their recitations and taught them to join up the 360,000 times 100,000,000 names (a), and Śākyamuni also enticed people [by saying,] “hearing even the name of the Buddha’s *ūrṇā*” (b) and “invoking the name just once.” The intention was the same [in each case]. When we come to Masters [Hui]yuan and [Zun]shi, then we hear that it takes the six periods [i.e., all day and all night] and rituals of repentance to prepare [for rebirth]. Would a gentleman wince [at this] and leave? So this makes the “seven days” and the “ten recitations” incorrect. The Buddha’s words are false, and that is that! Why would the walls around the Pure Country be so high as to repel people?

*Answer:* When great sages [work to] convert people, their skillful teaching will not be all of one kind. They will give elaborate teachings for the sake of those who are sophisticated and give simple teachings for the sake of the simple. The “seven days” and the “ten recitations” were not said to be easy in order to flatter people. With proficiency [in the practice] increased a hundredfold, seven days is superior to seven days (c) and ten recitations surpasses 10,000 recitations. The “six periods” and the “rituals of repentance” were not put forward in order to be difficult and obstruct people. When one carries forward strong conditioning from past lives, then one cannot scrape and grind it all away in just a short time. If there is any gap, then the *samādhi* will be difficult to achieve. Longshu (i.e., Wang Rixiu 王日休, ?–1173) practiced a thousand prostrations daily and Yongming recited [Amitābha’s



name] 10,000 times through the day and night. I have nothing to say to those who “wince and leave.”

Notes:

(a) The reference to the man and wife draws from a story in the *Longshu zengguang jingtu wen* 龍舒增廣淨土文 (T. 1970). In this story, the Buddha encounters an elderly couple using a bushel of grain to count the number of times they recite the name of Amitābha. He instructs them to say with each grain, “I pay homage to 360,000 times 100,000,000 times 19,500 Amitābhas of the same name and same appellation as in the western land of bliss.” This would greatly amplify the efficacy of their recitations such that 1800 grains of rice would equal 2000 *shi* of rice (T47n1970\_p0263b24-c05).

(b) There are a couple of scriptural references related to the claim that even hearing the name of the Buddha’s *ūrṇā* brings benefits such as expiating eons of guilt. For instance, the *Wangsheng jingtu chanyuan yi* 往生淨土懺願儀 (T. 1984) says, “The *Guanjing jing*...also says that even just hearing the name of the Buddha’s *ūrṇā* will eliminate immeasurable guilt; how much more would more complex visualizations?” (T47n1984\_p0494c16-c17).

(c) A variant of this section appears in the 1659 anthology *Jingtu zhen zhong* 淨土晨鐘 (*The Morning Bell of the Pure Land*). In this text the confusing statement “Seven days is superior to seven days” is rendered “Seven days is superior to an entire lifetime,” which makes more sense and parallels the next clause more exactly. See X62n1172\_p0073c17-74a2.

16. (108:388b; X61n1158\_p0507c02)

*Question:* A great monk of old once called Pei Xiu by his name (a), and aroused his fierce grasping thoughts (*luocha zhi nian* 羅剎之念, lit. “*rākṣasa* thoughts”) (b). We say to place a taboo on what ought to be tabooed, but there is no taboo on calling Amitābha’s name. This is confusing to the assembly. One could say that this is what Amitābha vowed, so there is no harm. The way of sound is that, blown on the wind, it manifests and disappears. Therefore [during a funeral] we call so-and-so (i.e., the deceased) to come back in the hope that he might live again. “Naming ‘Heaven’ and calling ‘father,’ life is said to return to the source” (c). When we speak, we must use the names Yao and Shun when meeting people as a way of speaking well of them. It indicates

the same thing. Only the six-word [invocation] is respectful, while the four-word [invocation] seems like just singing the name disrespectfully (d). Niushan (牛山) uses it to expel demons, which equates to their use of the names of the demons or deities in their spells. People in the city use it as a curse the same way common people use it to swear. Can we go on repeatedly grating people's ears in this way?

*Answer:* Pei Xiu is a two-word name tabooed within his household; one utterance of it and it is desecrated. Amitābha is an honored name that embodies myriad virtues; repeated recitations fill the air with its beauty. Calling [someone] Yao to wish them well is metaphorical. It follows from that that just thinking [contemplating] an honorific title will become a way of returning respect. To be honest, there is no difference between the six-word invocation and the four-word invocation. It is just that because the dharma abides long, abuses arise, and these turn into disrespect and pride. [But] beating gongs and drums and [invoking the name] as singsong, expressing anger or seeking justice as something like a spell or a curse, the divine ear [of the Buddha] hears it; how could [he] not take pity? Even so, calling [the name] in jest or in anger still plants good causes; the reward will presently come to fruition. It is inconceivable! Ordinary sentiment has not learned it, but the wise know.

*Notes:*

The central concern of this question is names and etiquette. In Chinese social convention, one does not casually address a person of higher social status by his or her given name. After giving several examples of times in which one would not presume to address someone in this way, the inquirer wonders why Pure Land practice encourages people to address Amitābha, a buddha, by his private name. Zhuhong answers that invoking the Buddha's name even in anger or as a curse brings religious merit due to Amitābha's compassion.

(a) Pei Xiu 裴休 (797–870) was a high official of the Tang dynasty and a noted Buddhist lay devotee who studied with eminent monks and wrote texts on Buddhist topics. The first statement appears to be a reference to a well-known story of Pei's meeting with the Chan patriarch Huangbo Xiyun (黃檗希運, d. 850) in which the latter cheekily addressed him by his personal name. Dahui Zonggao recounted the story this way:

Grand Secretary Pei offered a sacred image. Kneeling before Huangbo, he said, “May I ask the master to assign me a dharma-name.” [Huang]bo said, “Pei Xiu!” Pei answered, “Yes!” [Huang]bo said “I have given you a dharma-name!” Pei bowed and said, “I thank the master for assigning a dharma-name.” (See *Dahui Pujue chanshi zhu Fuzhou Yangyu An yulu* 大慧普覺禪師住福州洋嶼菴語錄 T47n1998Ap0844a23-a26; for a loose translation of this passage, see John Blofeld, trans., *The Zen Teaching of Huang Po on the Transmission of Mind* [New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1958], 100–101.)

(b) I found an instance of the phrase “*rākṣasa* thoughts” 羅刹之念 in Cai Rixin 蔡日新, *Chan yue rensheng* 禪悅人生 (Taipei: Yunlong Publishing 雲龍出版, 2001), 213, where it means thoughts of grasping. However, given that *rākṣasas* are violent demons, it might indicate something worse. This seems very strange, since in the story Pei Xiu meekly accepts Huangbo’s teaching and exhibits no untoward thoughts at all.

(c) The inquirer’s statement “Naming Heaven and calling for one’s father, life is said to return to the source” draws on a statement from the biographical section of the *Records of the Grand Historian* (史記, 列傳, 屈原賈生列傳, 3): “Now Heaven is the origin of humanity, and parents are humanity’s root. When people are impoverished then they return to their roots. Thus, who has not called upon Heaven in toil and misery? Who has not called the names of father and mother in times of illness and grief?” (Quoted from <http://ctext.org/shiji/qu-yuan-jia-sheng-lie-zhuan>). The inquirer raises this as another example of people calling out the names of deities and elders in defiance of social norms.

(d) The “six-word invocation” mentioned in the question is *Namo Amitufo* 南無阿彌陀佛, or “Hail to Amitābha Buddha,” while the “four-word invocation” is simply *Amitufo* 阿彌陀佛, or “Amitābha Buddha.”

17. (108:389a; X61n1158\_p0507c16)

*Question:* Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta are the crown princes of the Pure Land. When we call their names they must come forth. It is like the prime minister who has the right to employ men of talent and to recommend and promote them. Those who seek advancement can reach him by addressing him. I have never heard of anyone seeking out the monarch directly. With regard to the water, the birds, and the trees [of the Pure Land], they are transformations of the Buddha [Amitābha]. Seeing them at the moment of death is no

different from seeing the Buddha. That being the case, how would contemplating them during one's lifetime be any different from contemplating the Buddha? So one need not point directly to the exalted name [of the Buddha] and multiply the confusion of common people.

*Answer:* There are greater and lesser rights, so how could meeting thousands and thousands of prime ministers compare with encountering one enlightened monarch? There is proper and dependent recompense (a), so how could the magnificence of the court below compare to the true king within the hall? Thus, one who grasps the essential points opens his own eyes, while one who picks at leaves loses [more of] the root each time. Only lift up the exalted name and there will be no room for confusion.

*Notes:*

The inquirer is calling into question the propriety of invoking Amitābha directly rather than either calling the two bodhisattvas who serve him or visualizing features of the Pure Land that the sutras represent as Amitābha's transformations. This seems to him as inappropriate as an ordinary subject going directly to a king to ask admittance into the court instead of going through lower-ranking officials.

(a) The terms "proper recompense" (*zhengbao* 正報) and "dependent recompense" (*yibao* 依報) refer to past karma that gives rise to one's present body and mind and that which produces one's environment respectively. Zhuhong is saying that just as the king is superior to the halls he inhabits, Amitābha is worthier of invocation than the Pure Land, even if the land and all its contents are manifestations of him.

18. (108:389a; X61n1158\_p0507c24)

*Question:* I could visualize the six words [of the invocation of Amitābha] arranged on the parts of my body and contemplate them one by one. This concentrates the mind just as much as *ānapāna* or counting breaths, so why do you not permit it and dismiss it as heterodox? Also, nowadays the Pure Land tradition has been damaged by such sects as the White Lotus. The *Precious Mirror* (*Baojian* 寶鑑) notes only two or three items; it does not cover everything (a). Suppose that when the Buddha was preaching the [*Smaller Sukhāvati-vyūha*] *sūtra*, authenticated as it was by [the buddhas of] the six directions extending their broad and long tongues (b), he had [also] expounded the hundred varieties of demon-kings (*boxun* 波旬) with numerous auguries

like the *ding*-vessel of Yu. Evil spirits came to rest in Jambudvīpa, but he (i.e., the Buddha) did not take them into consideration (c). What then is there to say? Is it the same kind of heterodox path as those whose words today are the most inflammatory and who do the most profound damage?

*Answer:* *Ānapāna* is using breath to focus the mind. It is completely different from “refining *qi*” (*lianqi* 鍊氣). Successive contemplations (*linian* 歷念) [of the bodily visualizations described in the question] seek results through attachment to the body. It is definitely a heterodox tradition. The *Precious Mirror* criticizes it and other books strive to refute it in a thousand forms and myriad states; there is no way to describe them all (d). The dharma is weak but the demons are strong, as one would expect [when the age] turns toward its end. Thus, the Buddha predicted it; it is not something he had not considered. If nowadays there is something “inflammatory” and “doing damage,” it is the so-called *Scripture in Sixteen Words* and [its teaching of] sending each breath to the navel and expending one’s power directing it to the [lower] field of cinnabar (*dantian* 丹田), its misconstrual of the word “who,” and its silly understanding of “*namo*” (e). Things of this nature are like evil spirits and demons and are all devoid of content. [Not even the] ninety-five [heretical teachings] of India would receive them, and here [in China] they are not included in the two schools of Confucianism and Daoism. It blazes fiercely to the skies, but it will go out after a while. Why bother even labeling it as a heretical path?

*Notes:*

(a) The inquirer brings up the White Lotus sect (*Bailian zong* 白蓮宗) and one of its scriptures, the *Precious Mirror of the Lotus Tradition at Mount Lu* (*Lushan lianzong baojian* 廬山蓮宗寶鑑, T. 1973). According to Barend ter Haar, leading monks of the late Ming dynasty such as Zhuhong still read this text, but they exercised caution in citing it and tried to avoid connecting it with the White Lotus sect (see Barend J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* [Leiden: Brill, 1992; rpt. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999], 291–292). According to Ono Gemmyō, the *Precious Mirror* was edited by Pudu 普度 in the year 1305 (see Ono Gemmyō 小野玄妙, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 佛書解說大辭典, 13 vols. [Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha 大東出版社, 1974–1988], 11:311c–d), a time in which the White Lotus sect still enjoyed some prestige and had not yet been condemned as a heterodox sect.

(b) The allusion to the buddhas of the six directions extending their vast tongues to support the preaching of a Pure Land sutra points to an episode near the end of the *Smaller Sukhāvati-vyūha sūtra* (*Fo shuo amituo jing* 佛說阿彌陀經, T. 366). The Buddha tells Śāriputra that the buddhas of the four cardinal directions plus the zenith and nadir extended the sign of their broad and long tongues to commend acceptance of the preaching. See T12n0366\_p0347b18–348a5.

(c) The *ding*-vessel of Yu (*Yu ding* 禹鼎) refers to a sacrificial vessel (or perhaps nine vessels) cast by the legendary sage-emperor Yu the Great. On the surface he depicted all the animals so that his people would know which were beneficial and which were malignant. The inquirer seems to fault the Buddha for having pointed out only the good while neglecting to warn against the evil as Yu did with this vessel. See the *Chunqiu zuo zhuan* 春秋左傳 entry for the third year of *Xuan gong* (*Xuan gong san nian* 宣公三年, Chinese Text Project <http://ctext.org/chun-qi-u-zuo-zhuan/xuan-gong-san-nian>, accessed August 5, 2014).

(d) There is a passage in the *Precious Mirror* that seems to deplore refining *qi* as a false practice.

Today the heretical and stupid do not understand the false transmission of the *Zhenzong miaoyi jing*. It deludedly says that semen is the buddha-jewel, *qi* is the dharma-jewel, and spirit is the sangha-jewel. They hand down this practice, causing those who would enter the wholesome gate to believe their heretical words and not reverence the [true] Three Jewels (T47n1973\_p0345b11-b16).

See also T47n1973\_p03475c20-c22 for condemnation of evil spirits that delude practitioners. Furthermore, T47n1973\_p0347b28-c03 seems to decry substituting certain Daoist practices for proper *nianfo*. There are also many other passages in the tenth fascicle that warn practitioners away from various other heterodox practices, many of them Daoist.

(e) Other Pure Land texts criticize the breathing techniques of the *Scripture in Sixteen Words*. For instance, the *Shortcut among Shortcuts and More a Shortcut* (*Jing zhong jing you jing* 徑中徑又徑) has this: “Such is the spurious *Scripture in Sixteen Words*’ [teaching of] gathering the breath in the navel and sending it directly to the lower field of cinnabar” (X62n1185\_p0385a01-a2).

19. (108:389b; X61n1158\_p0508a14)

*Question:* Those who are lost these days seem like people sitting with their backs to a candle. No one would fail to see the candle if they

just turned their heads. [Similarly] as soon as one contemplates (or invokes) the buddha with whom one shares an affinity, this should cause one to see the buddha. If one must wait until one's contemplation has ripened to see [the buddha], then one who turns his head to the candle would likewise have to stare for a while until his eye ripened enough to see it. Would he only see it after a long period [of staring]? Supposing that the Buddha has set forth a skillful expedient so that while [someone] is contemplating (or invoking) their buddha, their vision of that buddha would follow their contemplation, but when they brought this mind [of contemplation] to a halt, random thoughts would intrude and the mind would become muddled. Thus, everyone could practice *nianfo*; why would anyone be an *icchāntika*?

*Answer:* Every day the sun mounts the sky, but with a basin on your head you're not aware of it. A bright mirror could be constantly before a blind person's face, but that person would not know it. If a person practices *nianfo* and connects with Amitābha thought after thought, but he obscures and deludes himself, then how is this any different? If the buddha-moon fails to appear because the mind-water is not clear, then sentient beings themselves are to blame; what fault is there with the Buddha? Moreover, [even] with a bright candle at their backs, how many people will turn their heads? Giving guidance to the stiff and stubborn is futile. How does this differ from blaming the Buddha for [people's] muddled views?

*Notes:*

The inquirer presumes that *nianfo* works *ex opere operato*. That is, one who practices it in whatever form should have a vision of the Buddha with whom they have an affinity right away. He then observes that if this were true, it would then follow that as soon as one ceased contemplating or invoking that buddha, the vision would disappear and the mind would revert to its former delusion. Thus he leaves Zhuhong with a paradox: the practice *should* work very easily, but if it did, then its fruits would just as easily be lost.

Zhuhong responds that even when practitioners of *nianfo* are indeed successfully building a connection with Amitābha, their own ignorance prevents them from perceiving him. That is a result of their own darkened condition; it is not that the Buddha has failed to keep his vow.



## 20. (108:390a; X61n1158\_p0508a24)

*Question:* The *Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine* (*Huangdi nei jing* 黃帝內經) elucidates the “sickness of great delusion” (*dahuo zhi bing* 大惑之病) as suddenly seeing something for no reason. These days, student-practitioners will suddenly see something in the midst of primordial nonbeing (*benwu* 本無); how is this any different from seeing a ghost? It also says that at the time of death they are met and led along. This is what is called being beguiled to abandon one's body and follow ghosts when fortune ebbs. Is this not also great delusion? Moreover, these are called delusions of views (*jianhuo* 見惑) or mental disturbances (*sihuo* 思惑). Could all delusions be broken by this [medical teaching]? How could people of the world break free of delusion (a)?

*Answer:* How could suddenly seeing something for no reason not be heterodox? How could the present accomplishment of longstanding contemplative practice not be orthodox? This is the constant principle of cause and effect. The student-practitioner of pure karma [or Pure Land practice] ought to consider the source of cause and effect and make exact distinctions between the errant and the proper throughout the day. As to what is seen at the last moment of life, it is obvious when it is a demon and when it is the buddha; who would be confused? If you are contemplating a standing buddha but what appears is a seated buddha, then it is a demon. If the [buddha's] attributes and the surroundings do not match the descriptions in the sutras, then it is a demon. If one contemplates emptiness via emptiness but it is obscured, then it is a demon. If it is none of these, then the purity of the mind will mature, the pure realm will manifest before one, and one will be conducted to rebirth and receive teaching from [the Buddha's] golden mouth. Can this really be compared with a sudden groundless vision?

*Notes:*

(a) The text of the *Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine* as found on the Chinese Text Project website contains a reference to a malady called “great delusion” (*dahuo* 大惑) defined as “chaotic inversion of the great channel wherein one takes the true for the vacuous, heterodoxy for truth,” and so on, but it is not stated in exactly the same terms used in the question, nor does it involve visual hallucinations. See chap. 27, *Lihe zhen xie* 離合真邪, v. 3 at ctext.org. Oddly, the work has a chapter called the “Discourse on Great Delusion” (*Dahuo*

*lun* 大惑論, chap. 80) which does not discuss this particular malady. Nevertheless, the main topic of this question is clear enough: how does one tell a genuine vision of the Buddha at the last moment of life from a hallucination? This is made clear when the inquirer describes ghosts and devils as “meeting and leading” the sufferer; the term he uses, *jieyin* 接引, is exactly the term used in Pure Land texts to describe the Buddha or one of his attendant bodhisattvas meeting the devotee at the moment of death and leading him or her to the Pure Land.

21. (108:390a; X61n1158\_p0508b12)

*Question:* The scripture says that in that land there is still a difference between *devas* and people of the world. Since in [the Pure Land] there is no office governing sun or moon or wind or rain, then what responsibilities do the *devas* have? Also, there is none of the hard work of seeking after clothing or food, so in what activities do worldly people engage? If all of them assume the six *zhang* and eight *chi* form (*zhang liu ba chi* 丈六八尺) in witness to their status as worthies and sages, then why bring out these old names [distinguishing *devas* from humans]?

*Answer:* When humans or *devas* practice *nianfo*, they all reap rebirth [in the Pure Land]. In his desire to preach the causes of rebirth, [the Buddha] continued to use their former appellations. They (*devas* and humans) are companions of non-action and lead a life of meditative equanimity [in the Pure Land]. What need is there to manage celestial affairs above or strive after human affairs below as in this present world?

22. (108:390b; X61n1158\_p0508b19)

*Question:* Dharmākara set forth his forty-eight vows saying, “If this vow is not accomplished, may I not become a buddha.” Now Dharmākara’s achievement of buddhahood took ten *kalpas*; it has been a very long time since he accomplished his vows! Nevertheless, he is especially speedy about guiding beings and bringing them [to the Pure Land]. Like [someone] trying to fill in a river or stop up a well (a), it seems as if he has not yet fulfilled his vows. Why? A vow not fulfilled cannot be said to be achieved; a vow not yet achieved should not have made him a buddha. How could it be that after becoming a *nirmāṇakāya* buddha and vowing to save beings, he achieves nirvana and reverts to his original buddhahood and [just then] begins to actually become a buddha (b)?

*Answer:* The bodhisattva path obtains only at the causal stage; thus, when one moves from cause to fruition, then one dwells at the stage of fruition. Moreover, one practices the causes while carrying the fruit; this is to attain one's vows while the mind abides as if they were not yet attained. The great vows [of the bodhisattva] state that one becomes a buddha, yet one does not abide as a buddha. This is the presence of true buddhahood. How could this possibly compare with the lesser practices of humans, *devas*, *arhats*, or those who lean excessively toward emptiness (c)? If one claims that the *nirmāṇakāya*-buddha (or manifest buddha, *ji fo* 跡佛) saves living beings and that only in nirvana does one become a true buddha (*zhen fo* 真佛), then the nirvana of all the buddhas of old amounts to extinction. The assembly on Vulture Peak seems not to have dispersed yet (d); how would this make sense [if the Buddha goes into extinction]?

*Notes:*

(a) The images of filling a river or stopping up a well come from Chinese poetry. For example, the first of the two poems entitled “Difficulties of Walking the Road” (*Xinglu nan* 行路難) by Gu Kuang 顧況 of the Tang dynasty (ca. 725–814) has the line “Have you not seen what a waste of energy it is to carry snow to stop up a well?” (君不見擔雪塞井空用力).

(b) The question points to a paradox that the inquirer perceives in the standard story of Amitābha's origin. The Bodhisattva Dharmākara made a series of vows that as a buddha he would be able to do various deeds to assist living beings and that his buddha-field would have certain features, and if he did not gain these abilities or if his Pure Land did not have the vowed features, then he would not accept buddhahood. Now as the Buddha Amitābha, he is able to do all that he vowed. The inquirer says that this understanding means that Amitābha was a buddha before he was a buddha, or that he must be a buddha to become a buddha.

(c) Zhuhong's answer invokes the Mahāyāna Buddhist teaching of nonduality with regard to the relationships of path to goal and phenomenal manifestation to true nature. The inquirer is confused only because he distinguishes the path of the bodhisattva from the goal of buddhahood too firmly, not seeing that they interpenetrate. Zhuhong adverts to one of the “four great vows” (*si hong shiyuan* 四弘誓願) that Mahāyāna Buddhists take when they embark on the path, which states

that they will achieve the unsurpassed buddha-way. Within the view of nonduality, says Zhuhong, to make this vow is to already be a buddha in some sense. Similarly, the inquirer's distinction between a "manifest buddha," i.e., one that actually appears to the practitioner, and the "true buddha," i.e., a buddha as he is in himself, is equally misleading. Nonduality thus resolves the inquirer's paradoxes.

(d) The last statement alludes to the belief that the Buddha Śākyamuni did not just preach the *Lotus Sutra* on Vulture Peak in some distant past, but abides there still preaching to the assembly.

23. (108:390b; X61n1158\_p0508c06)

*Question:* Some say that the west is the direction in which "Heaven is exhausted and things grow old" (*tian qing wu lao* 天傾物老) (a). When people die and their thoughts come to an end, [the west] is where they attain birth. They also say: At the place where Heaven is exhausted, Earth still has some remainder (b). This remainder is thus able to accommodate the broad mass of beings that attain rebirth. They also say: "*Gengxin* 庚辛 is subordinate to gold; gold does not change or decay" in order to illustrate the meaning of the stage of non-retrogression (c). They also say the myriad things come to maturity via the west; the various kinds of fruit all go to seed in the fall. Disciples (*xingren* 行人) practice the causes in the east and realize the fruition in the west. I understand "going to rebirth" (*wangsheng* 往生) as nothing but the occasion of birth (*shengji* 生機). Why would one not enter into the place where things are born in the east rather than entering the place of desolation [in the west], or, as it is a symbol of the highest meaning, why would one not go directly to the center? Would that not be to take into consideration only a being's capacity in a single moment? Does this "west" have nothing about it that grasps the [highest] meaning (d)?

*Answer:* One single saying of a *tathāgata* can bring together multiple meanings, but heterodoxy and orthodoxy take different paths and one must make a choice. If one says that thoughts are cut off, [then] thoughts are cut off and who is there to take birth? If one says the land accommodates, then the land's accommodation has limits. The nature of gold is not to change; autumn's place is to ripen. These two meanings are very close, but if one discusses them according to their realities, it is not quite so. Space is inexhaustible, so how could the world use it up? If one looks at this Land of Utmost Bliss from the east, then it is in the west; if one looks at it from the west, then it is in the

east. North and south are the same. Śākyamuni advised [us to] go [to rebirth], so he said to go to the west. When other buddhas commend rebirth, they must necessarily point in other directions. Why do you cling stubbornly to the west and establish it as an immutable dogma? It isn't. When the youth [Sudhana] traveled in search of instruction, why would he take south as the [only] proper direction? When Bhaiṣajyaguru gave instruction, he decreed that the east was the direction of purity. All you need to do is take refuge in one place; focusing your thoughts is already an achievement (e).

Notes:

(a) The inquirer makes many references to Chinese traditional beliefs about the relationships between Heaven and Earth, numerology, and other occult learning. The phrase *tian qing wu lao* 天傾物老 turns up with this meaning in an appendix to the gazetteer of Mt. Qingliang 清涼山志 when reporting on a 1586 dharma-meeting devoted to Pure Land practice. The appendix, penned by Imperial Censor (*yushi* 御史) Li Shida 李世達, is called the “Record of Pure Karma at the Lion Grotto” (*Shizi ku jingye ji* 獅子窟淨業記) and says, “They strove to their utmost for the West as if the Heavens were exhausted and all things were aging. The sun set and the moon rose, and they were swift and resolute with nothing to stop them.” (See CBETA GA079n0081\_p0289a12.)

(b) Regarding the inquirer's statement that in the west Earth has a “remainder,” I found a statement in a contemporaneous work, the *Zhouyi ji zhu* 周易集註 (*Collected Comments on the Zhouyi*) by the Ming dynasty figure Lai Zhide (來知德, 1526–1604) which deals with the “Circle of Nines” (*jiujiu yuan shutu* 九九圓數圖) and the “Square of Nines” (*jiujiu fang shutu* 九九方數圖):

The number of Heaven is obtained in one operation: three threes yield nine. The number of Earth is two. Two twos yield four, four yields eight, and one more is nine. [...] The Way of Heaven is used up at nine; nine is seen as Earth with remainder. The Way of Earth is used up at eight; eight is seen to be insufficient for Heaven.

This is an instance in which the earth “has remainder.” (See figure 1 from Lai Zhide 來知德, *Zhouyi ji zhu* 周易集註 [Beijing: Jiuzhou chubanshe 九州出版社, 2004], 883–884.)

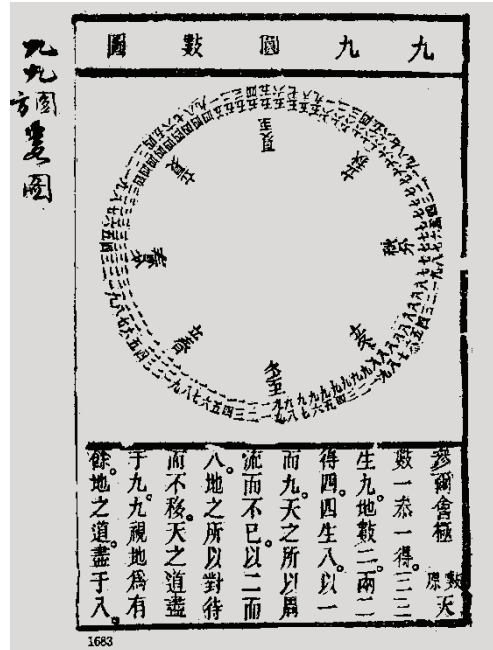


Figure 1. From Lai Zhide 來知德, *Zhouyi ji zhu* 周易集註 (Beijing: Jiuzhou chubanshe 九州出版社, 2004), 883-884.

(c) This is based on the *Tianwen xun* 天文訓 chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, number 6: “The western direction is metal/gold...its day is *gengxin*” (*Huainanzi* 淮南子, ctext.org).

(d) By appealing to traditional Chinese cosmological ideas and divination texts, the inquirer disputes the idea that the western direction can be auspicious or desirable.

(e) Zhuhong’s tactic here is to undermine the premises of the inquirer’s objections. He denies that the earth has any room for a remainder by noting that in Buddhist teaching space is infinite. He points out that in Buddhist thought, all distinctions are relative, so the idea that a direction such as the west has any fixed nature or meaning that can be discerned through numerology or divination becomes untenable.

## 24. (108:391a; X61n1158\_p0508c22)

*Question:* The Tuṣita heaven is the royal dwelling of [the future Buddha] Maitreya. In the past, people often took vows to seek rebirth there and they had ritual protocols for it. Then the Tang [dynasty monk] Dao'ang (道昂) focused on cultivating the western direction, but at the time of his death [a retinue from the] Tuṣita heaven came to welcome him (a). Can one arrive at [rebirth in] the Tuṣita heaven despite not vowing it? Likewise, can one arrive in Sukhāvātī without having vowed it? Again, one might vow to obtain [the realm of a] Copper-wheel [king] but attain [the realm of an] Iron-wheel [king], or vow to attain the golden dais but instead attain a silver dais (b). Thus, one might choose the western Pure Land but receive the eastern Pure Land. Who knows?

*Answer:* The ten kinds of virtuous behavior, precepts, and *samādhi* are the primary causes by which one is reborn in a heaven. Setting forth vows and dedicating merit are the primary causes by which one is reborn in a Pure Land. Thus, those born in a heaven can include those not qualified by vows, but birth in the Pure Land cannot be accomplished without vows. Now [birth in] the Pure Land is not [accomplished] without the power of virtuous action, but vows must come first (c). Furthermore, one seeks birth in a heaven based on yearning, and virtue is most important for it. In the world there are those who begin cultivating practices leading to heaven, but later realize their mistake and devote themselves to the western [Pure Land]. Therefore at death the Jade Capital appears and they quickly go into seclusion there, but then it becomes apparent that it would have been proper to seek a buddha-land exclusively (d). How can one practice casually and accomplish it? Now the copper and iron [wheels] are a different matter. The golden and silver daises are just a little off; they deal with seeking the superior but only attaining the middling. However, in the end the domain [one attains] must accord with one's vows. If one makes resolutions [to attain] the West but one's merit falls short, then one attains rebirth in the good paths of humans and *devas*. If one is single-minded and generates firm and sincere vows, then [if it is for] the West then one will of necessity [attain] the West; why would one be satisfied with birth in the East?



## Notes:

(a) On the Tang dynasty monk Dao'ang 道昂, see the notice in fascicle 1 of the *Wangsheng ji* 往生集 at T51n2072\_p0131c27-132a14, among other places. Here he is described as a lecturer on the *Huayan Sutra* and the *Dilun* who vowed to be reborn in Sukhāvātī. His accomplishments were such that he was able to predict the time of his own death, but when the time came, the assembly of the Tuṣita heaven appeared to greet him. Declaring that the Tuṣita heaven was still within saṃsāra, he refused the grace and waited until the assembly from Sukhāvātī came, at which point he passed away peacefully.

(b) The last two sentences refer to other possibilities for future rebirth in dependence upon how and what one cultivates. For example, the *Sutra of the Benevolent Kings* (*Renwang huguo bore boluomiduo jing* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經, T. 246) makes reference to those who generate the great mind of *bodhicitta* and avoid the three evil paths of rebirth. Those who attain the lower or middling levels of goodness attain the rank of petty kings who owe allegiance to a greater king (*susan wang* 粟散王), those who attain the superior level of goodness attain the rank of a king of the iron wheel (*tielunwang* 鐵輪王), followed by those who practice the virtues of the copper wheel (*tonglun* 銅輪). See T08n0245\_p0827b15-b16.

(c) When Zhuhong refers to “the power of virtuous action” (*shanli* 善力), he is making a reference to the *Larger Sukhāvātī-vyūha sūtra*, T12n0360\_p0270a20 -a21: “By the power of meritorious deeds, sentient beings in that land dwell on the ground of karmic reward.” (其諸衆生功德善力。住行業之地。 English translation from Inagaki, *Three Pure Land Sutras*, 43.)

(d) The reference to the “Jade Capital” (*yujing* 玉京) is interesting. In Daoism, this is the name of the highest of the heavenly realms, but since the inquirer asked about rebirth in the Tuṣita heaven, it might seem that Zhuhong is changing the subject. However, there is a tantalizing statement in the preface to the *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Song gaoseng zhuan xu* 宋高僧傳序) that refers to the early days of Buddhist translation when Buddhists and Daoists both dwelt on Mount Zhongnan (referred to in the text as *Taiyi* 太一), during which time the term for buddha-land (*foguo* 佛國) was taken to refer to the Jade Capital (see T50n2061\_p0709c16-c19). It is impossible from the text to know whether or not Zhuhong had this passage in mind, but it would serve as another example of practitioners confusing the goal of rebirth

in the Pure Land to the west with that of attaining rebirth in a heaven and understanding the whole process in native Chinese terms.

25. (108:391b; X61n1158\_p0509a12)

*Question:* During a repentance [ritual], one worships all the buddhas of the three times [i.e., past, present, and future], but in *nianfo*, there is only Amitābha. Do we not insist that one does not invoke the names of all the buddhas of the three times? However, Amitābha goes by many names. Can we just pick out one of the names provided by the scriptures as we please and hold to it? In the *Smaller Sukhāvati-vyūha sūtra* the name is translated as “Immeasurable Life” (*Wuliangshou* 無量壽, i.e., Amitāyus) and “Immeasurable Light” (*Wuliangguang* 無量光, i.e., Amitābha). However, in the *Contemplation Sutra* he is called “Immeasurable Life” (*Wuliangshou* 無量壽, i.e., Amitāyus). How can the wisdom of the one who contemplates and the light that is contemplated both be considered “light”? The buddha in the west is just one among all the buddhas of the six directions whose lifespan is immeasurable. Is this buddha [Amitāyus] just praising himself?

*Answer:* Actually, the *tathāgatas* have a great many names indeed, but one selects one in particular to ripen the hearing faculties of living beings; among them there is no real difference. Only his designation as “Mituo” (彌陀) is common throughout the ten directions, and thus is enjoined upon those who practice recitation so that they will all be united in one refuge. Moreover, “Wuliangshou” (無量壽, i.e., “Amitāyus”) is a Chinese term, while “Amita” (阿彌陀) is Sanskrit, and his lifespan is equal to that of space itself, while his light pervades the universe. One may use all of them, but just saying “Wuliangshou” (“Amitāyus”) is sufficient. As to the buddhas of the ten directions, an inquiry [shows] that they have had the same names. Śākyamuni’s honorifics are so many as to be uncountable. Why should the Lord of Sukhāvati be the only exception (a)? It is not a question of a buddha praising himself. These days there are people who cling to the invocation of Śākyamuni while not invoking Amitābha. They are opinionated and stubborn above all others. Ah! It is Śākyamuni [himself] that directs you to take Amitābha as your master, but you don’t follow his teaching. This is like a son violating his father’s command by not going to an illustrious teacher. Although he calls him “father” all day, how is this not called disobedience?

Notes:

(a) Zhuhong may be employing humor here; directly after asserting that people refer to Śākyamuni under many honorifics, he uses “Lord of Sukhāvātī” to refer to Amitābha as if to drive home the point.

26. (108: 392a; X61n1158\_p0509b03)

*Question:* When Avalokiteśvara succeeds [Amitābha] (a), those in later worlds will of course know to recite the name of that buddha. I do not know what buddha’s name the monk Dharmākara recited in order to establish his Pure Land. Assuming he had no [buddha’s name] to recite (or buddha to contemplate), then he should not force that which he himself did not follow on other people. Assuming that he recited (or contemplated) all the buddhas universally, then he especially should not make others focus only on him. Again, the opening of this gate began with Amitābha, so why should all [other] buddhas only know to admire this and shut their [own] gates? Did they have no regard for the place of living beings?

*Answer:* The buddhas who have emerged in the world are already beyond number; who can count how many former buddhas later buddhas would have contemplated? Nevertheless, a teacher inaugurates a dharma-gate according to [beings’] capacities, and of necessity it must come from the mouth of only one buddha, as when rites, music, and military expeditions come only from the Son of Heaven. It is not that all the [other] “princes” did not speak of *nianfo*. Moreover, the sea of dharma is boundless. It is not that it stops at *nianfo* and there are no other teachings available. Do not grasp at the [various] gates of conversion (*huamen* 入門); why would one need to practice them all oneself and [only] then go and teach others? Even though Amitābha did not recite (contemplate) some other ancient buddha, why should he not direct beings to recite (contemplate) him? It is analogous to Confucius, who had no constant teacher himself; did that get in the way of him being the ancestral teacher for ten thousand generations? One need only focus one’s contemplations. Why raise so many doubts?

Notes:

(a) The idea that Avalokiteśvara will succeed Amitābha as the sovereign Buddha of Sukhāvātī (or at least achieve buddhahood and his own Pure Land) is not found in the most popularly used translations

of the three Pure Land sutras, but may be found in earlier translations of the *Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha sūtra*. See, for example, the *Fo shuo Amituo sanyesanfo saloufotan guodu ren dao jing* 佛說阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經 translated by Zhi Qian 支謙, T. 362 (T12n0362\_p0309a14-a15), and *Wuliang qingjing pingdeng jue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經 translated by Lokakṣema, T. 361 (T12n0361\_p0291a03-a04). See Jan Nattier, “The Indian Roots of Pure Land Buddhism: Insights from the Oldest Chinese Versions of the *Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha*,” *Pacific World*, 3rd series, no. 5 (2003): 189–192, 200n32 (in which the translators’ attributions are reversed). Another reference is found in the *Sutra of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara’s Prediction [of Future Buddhahood] (Guanshiyin pusa shouji jing* 觀世音菩薩授記經, T. 371, at T12n0371\_p0357a11ff).

27. (108:392b; X61n1158\_p0509b16)

*Question:* The Buddha [Amitābha’s] lifespan is said to be like the “sands of the river” and like the “*kalpa*-stone” (a) tremendous, remote, and not something that the two vehicles can comprehend. [However,] if one says that the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara will succeed (*shaotong* 紹統) that buddha, then it is both immeasurable and measurable. Will the buddha have had enough of living beings? Will living beings be fed up with the buddha? A buddha who has had it with living beings is *ipso facto* not a buddha. [If] living beings become fed up with the buddha, the *Lotus Sutra* says that Avalokiteśvara’s universal gate has been open for a very long time. It does not seem that those who delight in the new will be pleased to go along with this. [Also,] after the final nirvana of Amitābha, won’t there once again be a period of the Correct Dharma, a period of the Counterfeit Dharma, and a period of the Final Dharma (b)? Would the succession of Avalokiteśvara take place at the same time as [the future Buddha] Maitreya’s descent to take birth?

*Answer:* There are two [kinds of] immeasurability. The first is “immeasurable immeasurability.” [An example would be] the dharma-nature (*dharmatā*) that is equivalent to space. The second is “measurable immeasurability.” This is something that continues on, but humans and *devas* cannot calculate it. Doubters claim that Śākyamuni enticed people of the deluded country [world] and so put on an appearance of impermanence while Amitābha, the lord of all the worthies in the Pure Land, correctly taught [his own] eternal life (c). His nirvana [thus] looks like dissatisfaction with living beings, but the beings in the Pure Land are already awakened to the eternally-abiding body of the

Buddha. One cannot compare them to the ordinary beings of the *sahā* world, who generally take any disappearance of the [Buddha's] traces as a real death. There is no going or coming, nor is [the Buddha] new or old. How could those born in that land not be clear about this teaching? On this principle, when a son takes over [as head of] a household, the father retires, and when a minister has virtue then the prince abdicates [in favor of him]. Since living beings do not doubt they might be without a buddha, the Buddha can provisionally appear to abandon them (or: abandon his own life) to enter into nirvana. How could this be called “being fed up [with them]”? As to [Avalokiteśvara] succeeding to [Amitābha's] place and thus being confused with the Dragon-Flower [Assemblies], the dharma [taught in the Pure Land] has no Correct, [Counterfeit], or Final, and thus it radically differs from the *sahā* world.

Notes:

(a) The first two words of the phrase *hesha jieshi* 河沙劫石 are usually part of the phrase *henghe sha* 恆河沙, “the sands of the Ganges,” a common image for a staggeringly large number. The second two characters, *jieshi* 劫石, are of more indirect derivation. As Liang Liling 梁麗令 explains in her exploration of the word “*kalpa*” in Chinese literature, the Buddha illustrates the duration of a *kalpa* in fascicle five of the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (T. 1509) by saying it is as long as the time it would take for an immortal to completely wear down a stone mountain 4000 *li* in height by wiping it once with a soft cloth every 100 years (See T25n1509\_p0100c11-c14). There is also a literary reference closer in wording to the inquirer's question. The Song poet Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210) expressed a wish that the emperor enjoy “fortune like the river sands and longevity exceeding the *kalpa*-stone.” 伏願福等河沙，壽逾劫石 (Liang Liling 梁麗令, “Cong ‘chang shijian’ dao ‘da zainan’” 從「長時間」到「大災難」 (“From the ‘Long Time’ to ‘the Great Catastrophe’”), *Cong yuyan kan fojing: fojing yuyan xue* 從語言看佛經: 佛經語言學, no. 55 (1998): 44n1.

The two phrases had been linked to describe the lifespan of Amitābha prior to the Ming dynasty. Biographies of Tanluan 曇鸞 (ca. 476–542) include a record of his conversations with the Indian monk Bodhiruci (?–527). As reproduced in the *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類 (T. 1969A), Tanluan encounters Bodhiruci while returning from his trip to see the famed Daoist adept Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536), from whom he had received a large book on the arts of immortality.

Bodhiruci laughed at this and said, “If it is long life and immortality [that you want], then our buddha-way [is for you]. What do the Daoists have to offer?” He handed [Tanluan] the *Sutra on the Sixteen Contemplations* (i.e., the *Contemplation Sutra*, T. 365) and said, “You can recite this and never be reborn in the Triple World again. [...] What do you consider long life? Is it the [time measured by the] *kalpa*-stone? Is it [the time measured in] the river sands? (其為壽也。有劫石焉有河沙焉。) Sands and stones have limits and can be counted, but the lifespan [of one reborn in the Pure Land] is beyond reckoning.” (T47n1969Ap0194a25-194b01)

(b) Buddhism has always held that the doctrine taught by Śākyamuni would decay over time until it finally disappeared altogether. In China this was schematized into three periods called the Correct Dharma, the Counterfeit Dharma, and the Final Dharma. Once the teachings had utterly disappeared, the future Buddha Maitreya would take birth and renew them in a series of teaching assemblies held under the Dragon-Flower tree, and thus they were called Dragon-Flower Assemblies (*longhua hui* 龍華會). Zhuhong asserts that this might be true in the *sahā* world, but it does not hold for the Pure Land. The three periods of the dharma’s decline take place because of the absence of a buddha or bodhisattva to preserve it intact. In contrast, Amitābha will go into nirvana simply because it is time, and Avalokiteśvara will take over directly. The dharma taught in the Pure Land will not undergo any degradation or disappearance because of the continued presence of enlightened teachers. Consequently, there will be no need for any Dragon-Flower Assemblies to renew it.

(c) Zhuhong may be alluding to the *Lotus Sutra* when he says that Śākyamuni “put on an appearance of impermanence.” In that sutra Śākyamuni explains that his seemingly short life of only 80 years was a ruse. His lifespan is actually immeasurable, but he judged that he could spur his disciples to more energetic practice by leading them to believe he was about to depart the world. See the chapter “The Life Span of the Thus Come One” in Burton Watson, trans., *The Lotus Sutra* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 224–232. By comparing Amitābha’s nirvana and Avalokiteśvara’s succession to a son taking over while the father retires (not dies) and a ruler abdicating (not dying) to make way for a worthy successor, Zhuhong implies that the nirvana of Amitābha is likewise apparent, not real. Amitābha does not really disappear, but merely recedes to make way for Avalokiteśvara. This answers the “doubters” who think that Śākyamuni goes into an illusory nirvana



for the sake of his followers while Amitābha goes into a real nirvana because he is simply tired of sentient beings.

28. (108:392b; X61n1158\_p0509c07)

*Question:* The bliss of the [Land of] Utmost Bliss is produced from sentiments and consciousness. [Beings] above the third *dhyāna* [heaven] have already stopped indulging in pleasure, but those in the nine grades [of rebirth in the Pure Land] return to the pursuit of pleasure. Why is this? If you say that the tranquility of extinction is the highest bliss, then why is [the bliss of the Pure Land] based on the condition that clothing and food are provided spontaneously and that the various forms of suffering do not exist? If you say that the Pure Land is mind-only, [I counter that] the fundamental mind is [characterized by] constant bliss. Why say in addition that “the contemplation of the Buddha-mind is great compassion” (a)?

*Answer:* Although [the Land of] Utmost Bliss connects to ordinary feelings, its reality is of two sorts. The first speaks of pleasure in opposition to suffering. It is devoid of all suffering, and so one calls it “Utmost Bliss.” The second speaks of “bliss” [on the basis of the Pure Land’s] nature. Because it lacks both suffering and pleasure, it is called “Utmost Bliss.” How can this true bliss be compassed by a deluded consciousness (b)? Furthermore, *śrāvakas* take the tranquility of extinction to be bliss; the bodhisattvas (*dasheng* 大聖) take compassion to be bliss, so would the mind of great compassion not be constantly blissful? But people of the world say “compassion” (*bei* 悲) when they mean worry. How petty!

*Notes:*

(a) The inquirer’s last sentence quotes very loosely from the *Contemplation Sutra*. In the Inagaki and Stewart translation, this reads, “To attain this contemplation is to perceive the bodies of all the Buddhas. By perceiving these, one also realizes the Buddhas’ mind. The Buddhas’ mind is great compassion.” See T12n0365\_p0343b29-b31 and Inagaki, *Three Pure Land Sutras*, 87.

(b) This section uses the term *le* 樂 in two different senses, as Zhuhong makes clear in his answer. The term can mean ordinary pleasure and enjoyment, but in Buddhist texts it can also indicate bliss, a more rarified mental state of utter tranquility that is beyond pleasure and suffering. The inquirer is confused because he conflates the



two meanings. To clarify things, I have translated the word as either “bliss” or “pleasure” as the context required. The last sentence contains vocabulary from the *Analects* that would appeal to an educated readership.

29. (108:393a X61n1158\_p0509c16)

*Question:* Impurities are necessary as resources for skillful teaching. In the past, Master [Dao]xuan upheld the *vinaya* with deep rigor, [but] *nirmāṇa-buddhas* often broke [the rules] through impurity. I would guess that the people in a pure land were all born [there] owing to perfect precepts. For them, it is entirely appropriate that the Buddha should universally show the mark of impurity in order to break their feelings of attachment. What purpose would be served by a further show of the mark of purity? Would this not be like using water to cross over water? If you say that it is just to accord with the fixed karma of people here, then in the phrase “desiring to make the dharma-sound spread abroad, conjures it up,” who desires and who conjures (a)?

*Answer:* Buddhas utilize skillful teaching as appropriate. Sometimes it is fitting to run counter [to a being’s inclinations] and break [habits or false views], and sometimes it is appropriate to follow along and bring [their tendencies] to completion. They merely bring [the method] into accord with a being’s faculties. [In] the *sahā* world of suffering, they first use suffering to bend and break [beings], and then use the Land of Peace, Sustenance, and Bliss (*anyang lebang* 安養樂邦) in tandem to gather them in. What matters is to free them permanently from entrenched habits and make their good roots pure and ripe. How is it acceptable suddenly to break them with [a repeat of the experience of] impurity, leading to renewed sprouts of avarice? This is why the water, the birds, and the [wind in] the trees [of the Pure Land] all proclaim the wondrous dharma. One waits for the strengthening of one’s resolve [in the Pure Land], then returns to this polluted land to benefit beings and teach. Nowadays vulgar monks attempt all manner of difficulties before they have matured a single virtue. They are blackened by contact with the dye (i.e., contaminated by this world). They bring it upon themselves (b)!

*Notes:*

The inquirer indicates that people in the present world must be shown impurity so that they will not be overly attached to purity. He

illustrates this point by contrasting the pure and moral conduct of the famed *vinaya* master Daoxuan (596–667) with the way in which more enlightened *nirmāṇa-buddhas* made skillful use of impurity to break attachment to purity. He thus feels that Pure Land teachings, bristling with visions of the purity of that buddha-land, are counterproductive.

(a) The inquirer muddies his question by quoting only a sentence fragment from the *Shorter Sukhāvati-vyūha sūtra*. The full quotation runs, “All these birds are conjured by Amitāyus out of his desire to make the sound of the dharma spread and flow.” In context, it simply explains why there are birds in a Pure Land that was earlier said to lack rebirth in the animal realm, but perhaps he thinks the birds ought to be real rather than conjured so that there will be some impurity in the Pure Land. See T12n0366\_p0347a20.

(b) The reference to “vulgar monks” in the last sentence is probably a criticism of perceived proponents of “Crazy Chan” (*kuangchan* 狂禪), a common trope at the time. The targets of this criticism were said to break the precepts and rules of purity to demonstrate their own transcendence of dualities. Critics like Zhuhong and Yuan Hongdao found such claims spurious and self-serving (see also question 33).

30. (108:393b; X61n1158\_p0510a03)

*Question:* When a person engages in worship of the Buddha, every one of the buddhas knows; the buddhas of the ten directions come in welcome. Why does that person have a [particular] direction to face? All buddhas are identical in their fundamental natures, identical in their particular manifestations, identical in everything. The one invoking (or contemplating) the Buddha accords with all the buddhas of the ten directions who come to meet and guide [them to the Pure Land]. If only the three holy ones of a single direction come in welcome when one invokes (or contemplates), then one’s views are one-sided and shallow.

*Answer:* The buddhas know everything, but they do not go forth in an unruly crowd. Since one assiduously concentrates on one buddha, then [that buddha] is automatically in accordance through sympathetic resonance (*ganying* 感應). A practitioner of Pure Land causes all the buddhas to manifest equally, but there must be a main [buddha] and attendant [buddhas]. Amitābha manifests alone, with clouds of transformation-buddhas following. The principle of cause and effect works like this; it is not that their attainment is one-sided and shallow.

## 31. (108:393b; X61n1158\_p0510a10)

*Question:* The *Nirvana [Sutra]* says that Śākyamuni also has a pure land (a). How could we not accept the final heartfelt word our original guiding master gave during his last teaching? How would it not be most fitting to recite (or contemplate) only Śākyamuni during the six periods of the day and be reborn in his [buddha-] land “Difficult to Excel” (*Nansheng* 難勝)? Śākyamuni gives utmost praise to Amitābha. [But] once we have been born there [in Śākyamuni’s Pure Land] in accordance with his vows, what would stop him from sending us out to serve Amitābha?

*Answer:* Who among all the buddhas does not have a pure land? Amitābha also has a defiled land. The resources of these [pure and defiled] lands flow back and forth, and buddhas praise one another, as when [families] in the world bring up each others’ children.<sup>3</sup> It is just like the flower connecting to the stalk and giving life (b). It is a wondrous function and a hidden expedient; it is inconceivable. How do you know [the land called] “Difficult to Excel” is not the same as the pure and calm countryside [of Amitābha]? Can we be sure that Gautama did not come after Dharmākara? Just obey the present teaching; don’t go looking for something else.

*Notes:*

(a) The inquirer is probably referring to a dialogue found in the 24th fascicle of the *Nirvana Sutra* (*Da ban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經, T. 374). A bodhisattva named Light Universally-Illuminating Highly Exalted Virtue King (*Guangming bianzhao gaogui dewang pusa* 光明遍照高貴德王菩薩) says that all buddhas engage in ten practices, the last of which is the purification of a buddha-land, but notes that Śākyamuni has only practiced nine, implying that Śākyamuni has no buddha-land. Śākyamuni responds that he does indeed have a pure buddha-land called “Unexcelled” (*Wusheng* 無勝) which lies as far to the west of this *sahā* world as buddha-lands as numerous as the sands of 32 Ganges Rivers. See T12n0374\_p0508c14 -509a04. While the inquirer refers to Śākyamuni’s pure land as “Difficult to Excel,” the *Nirvana Sutra* calls it “Unexcelled.” See T12n0374\_p0508c27.

3. Thanks to Natasha Heller and Hsiao-Lan Hu of the Scholars of Buddhist Studies Facebook group for help with some difficulties in this passage.

(b) Since the subject under discussion is the fact that all buddhas have pure lands from which they emerge to teach in defiled lands, the flower and stalk imagery is meant to evoke the lotus flower, whose stalk is in the muddy water while the flower rises above and remains pure. Buddhas connect their pure and defiled lands just as the lotus stalk connects the pure flower from the muddy roots. *Qingtai* 清泰 is another name for Amitābha's pure land.

32. (108:393b; X61n1158\_p0510a18)

*Question:* Some say that a person who has attained a great and thorough enlightenment is not hindered from also seeing Amitābha. Without having even passed through all the stages, one becomes a buddha immediately. One [therefore] sees the Buddha as a buddha, just as by knowledge one knows knowledge. This one act of seeing is penetration and realization. The point is to provide a provisional role model. Further, perhaps through principle one achieves sudden transcendence, but one's body remains that of a worldling. Only when one masters the marvelous function will one be able to save beings.

*Answer:* When worldly minds first attain awakening, their perspective is equal to the Buddha's. [However], bodhisattva practices are boundless; their (i.e., the newly-enlightened) power to act is still far from that of a buddha. There is no harm in resorting again to a past buddha to hear [the Dharma] anew. Realization and deep probing happen together; how inexhaustible and endless! Of old, people said that if one left one's teacher too early, one would not plumb all their marvels; how much more would this be true of a buddha? If one clings to [the idea that it takes] three incalculable eons of being infused and tempered [by the dharma], then this is to take the small vehicle of the *śrāvaka* teachings and lose the benefit by flying about wildly with weak wings. Can one not be cautious about these things?

*Notes:*

The inquirer presents the Chan idea of sudden enlightenment in which one becomes a buddha instantly (*lidi chengfo* 立地成佛) upon realizing one's true nature. This is what the inquirer means by sudden transcendence by means of principle. He and Zhuhong are in agreement that one can and should continue to pursue rebirth in the Pure Land because one still has some growth and development ahead. This is what

the inquirer means by attaining the marvelous function which allows one to teach any other being with skill.

33. (108:394a; X61n1158\_p0510b03)

*Question:* Purity is defilement, and defilement is purity. The west[ern Pure Land] and this [*sahā* world] are not separated by even an inch. Birth [there] is no-birth; going there is really non-going. [However], now we say “in a finger snap,” or “in a single thought [-moment],” or “[in the time it takes to] flex and straighten your arm.” These too are approximations of time, and so it still seems one lifts a foot and then takes a step (a). Though we could say it is extremely fast, it still is a double path (i.e., dualistic).

*Answer:* When grasping is dispelled and delusions dissolved, then even if a thousand mountains obstruct the road, they interpenetrate in nonduality. When feelings are closed and consciousness locked, then even at the speed of a finger-snap they judge the gap to be excessively deep. These days, people of learning try for nothing more than novelty in their speech. They love to say “defilement is purity” without knowing that their heads are submerged in the deepest (lit. ninth) abyss. They aver that there is no distinction between sky and dirt. Their bodies sink into an abalone latrine (b), and they say there is no difference between fragrance and stench. This is pathetic!

*Notes:*

(a) The inquirer first states the belief that there is no ultimate difference between this world and the Pure Land, but he also cites familiar Pure Land texts that talk about the brief time it takes to attain rebirth in the Pure Land. For example, the first quotation, “in a finger snap,” echoes Huaigan’s 懷感 *Treatise Resolving Various Doubts about Pure Land* (*Shi jingtu qunyi lun* 釋淨土群疑論, T. 1960): “The sutra says one is born into that land as in the snap of one’s fingers” (T47n1960\_p0066a06-a07). This can be traced back further to the *Contemplation Sutra*: “One goes to rebirth in that land in the snap of one’s fingers” 如彈指頃往生彼國。 (T12n0365\_p0344c25). His point is that while the identity of purity and impurity, of this world and the Pure Land, would entail no journey to take and thus no time needed to take it, the similes still betray processes that have beginnings and ends, however little separated in time or space. Thus, his question is: Is the journey to the Pure Land instantaneous or simply very fast?

(b) The first two sentences of Zhuhong's answer are almost poetic and form two parallel phrases. The phrase "sky and dirt" replaces the usual phrase "Heaven and Earth" (*tiandi* 天地) with *tianrang* 天壤. I am very unsure about the word "abalone" (*bāo* 鮑) before "latrine." It might be a typographical error, or it might signify a luxurious latrine lined in abalone.

34. (108:394a; X61n1158\_p0510b10)

*Question:* Stop people on the road and ask them, and they all say that because *nianfo* is audible, it is oral recitation (*koucheng* 口稱), not mental contemplation (*xinnian* 心念). Ask further, and they say that in speaking, mind and mouth are mutually responsive. The mutual response of mind and mouth becomes sound. Because the mind moves this is considered thought (*nian* 念). How could sound be considered thought? Some say that the myriad things are mind-only. How is sound not mind? If that were the case, then wouldn't the sound of bells, drums, and the *qin* and *se* also be thought (a)? How confusing!

*Answer:* Bells and drums may contain rich harmonies, but unstruck they do not sound. The *qin* and *se* may make marvelous sounds, but they do not emerge without plucking. Bells and drums, *qin* and *se* are analogous to the outward extension of lips and tongue. The beating and the plucking are like the inward movements of the mind. If one cuts off thought, from whence will the sound come? Hence mumbling in your bed comes from dreaming. How then could the sound of "Buddha" come pouring out if not from the mind-source? However, people of the world resign themselves to just calling out [the name] without focus and without zeal. First, they turn some thoughts into sound, then follow the sound with disordered thoughts. They call this "mutual response," but it is not really mutual response. Tianru 天如 had a saying: "Mouth and mind mutually respond recitation after recitation; mind and Buddha keep pace together, step after step" (b). Practice *nianfo* like that. Wouldn't that be nearer the mark?

*Notes:*

(a) The *qin* 琴 and *se* 瑟 are zither-like stringed instruments.

(b) Tianru 天如 (?-1354) was a Chan monk of the Linji lineage. Later in his life he turned to Pure Land and composed the apologetic text *Jingtu huowen* 淨土或問 (*Questions about Pure Land*, T. 1972). This particular

quotation is found in the second fascicle of his *Recorded Sayings* (*Tianru Weize chanshi yulu* 天如惟則禪師語錄) at X70n1403\_p0767b01.

35. (108:394b; X61n1158\_p0510b22)

*Question:* The youth Sudhana first came to know of the dharmagate of *nianfo* during his study under Deyun, and after he journeyed southward and passed a hundred walled cities and made 54 calls he saw Amitābha. Thus he achieved *samādhi* (a). At another time Mañjuśrī manifested himself in the Bamboo Grove [Temple] and instructed people only in the contemplation of Amitābha (b). Now with Sudhana having attained the ten faiths, why would Mañjuśrī not directly point him to the vision of Amitābha, instead making him travel around through a hundred cities? Did other students jump the gun by taking refuge directly in the West without having undertaken a southward journey?

*Answer:* To be taught *nianfo* at the outset of practice is to flow out from the source; to travel around and then to see Amitābha is to go from the branches back to the root. It is what we mean by “There is nothing that does not flow from this *dharmadhātu* and there is nothing that does not revert back to this *dharmadhātu*” (c). Thus, how could travelling southward and then returning to the west be putting things off? How could attaining rebirth [in the western Pure Land] and then journeying everywhere be thought of as jumping the gun? The king of doctors dispenses medicines as suits the symptoms and the disease. He uses this or dispenses with that according to the subtleties of the occasion. Indeed, ordinary thoughts do not fathom this!

*Notes:*

(a) In the 80-fascicle translation of the *Huayan Sutra* (*Da fangguangfo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T. 279), the youth Sudhana (*Shancai Tongzi* 善財童子) journeys southward to visit and receive teachings from fifty-three sages. The first of these is the monk Deyun, who teaches Sudhana several methods for contemplating buddhas (*nianfo* 念佛). As described, these are highly complex methods for visualizing or visiting multiple buddhas in all directions. See T10n0279\_p0334b22-c23. In the eightieth and last fascicle, Sudhana visits the bodhisattva Samantabhadra (*Puxian Pusa* 普賢菩薩) and attains enlightenment and equality with all buddhas. Samantabhadra concludes the sutra with a long verse describing all the buddhas that the enlightened can see and



visit, and Amitābha (under the name Amitāyus) appears as one among a great number. There is no indication that Sudhana has actually seen him. See T10n0279\_p0443b16-b17.

(b) The reference to Mañjuśrī's appearance at the Bamboo Grove Temple seems to refer to a story found in the *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類 (T. 1969A). Among the "Biographies of the Five Further Patriarchs of the Lotus Society" (*Lianshe ji zu wu da fashi zhuan* 蓮社繼祖五大法師傳) there is a story about Fazhao 法照. In 769 he held meetings at the Hudong Temple in Hengzhou (衡州湖東寺) for the practice of *nianfo*. Amitābha and the two bodhisattvas of the Pure Land appeared to the congregation, while an old man outside the hall pointed to the appearance of Mañjuśrī in his abode at Mount Wutai to the west. The bodhisattva appeared to the assembly in the Bamboo Grove Temple there and preached the exclusive efficacy of *nianfo* practice in the latter age. See T47n1969Ap0193a16-b07.

(c) The phrase "There is nothing that does not flow from this *dharmadhātu* and there is nothing that does not revert back to this *dharmadhātu*" does not occur in the *Huayan Sutra* itself, but seems to appear in several commentaries on it. See, for example, the *Dafang guangfo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 by Chengguan 澄觀 at T35n1735\_p0504b01, 525b27-28, and 872a13.

36. (108:394b; X61n1158\_p0510c08)

*Question:* Gathering all of the six sense-faculties into the practice of *nianfo* is the true speech of great power. Since contemplation (*nian* 念) is what is produced from mind and intention, then vows, transfer of merit, worship, and repentance are all summed up in this one word "*nian*." Nowhere in the world are there vows outside of mind, or transfer of merit, worship, or repentance outside of mind. Now then, single-minded *nianfo* and the wisdom generated by that Buddha [together] constitute vows. Being exclusively focused on that Buddha is transfer of merit. [Saying the word] "*namo*" (南無) is worship. That one thought cancels the guilt of samsara is repentance. The rest can be known by these examples. Where is there any deficiency in *nianfo* such that the mind would remain in constant turmoil?

*Answer:* We regard single-mindedness and purity as the inner illumination of the contemplation of principle. The raising and moving of the five limbs are said to be the external auxiliaries of phenomenal repentance. It is not that direct contemplation of the fundamental mind

is not the quintessence, but beings in the Final Dharma period have meager wisdom and heavy defilements and must avail themselves of [both] the contemplation of principle and phenomenal repentance. The inner and the outer must both be deployed together for the attainment of *samādhi*, the maturation of wisdom, and rapid liberation from samsara. However, people nowadays retain only phenomenal repentance; they have completely abandoned contemplation of principle. Moreover, [even this phenomenal repentance] is window dressing [lit. external decoration] and empty formality with no actual remorse in it. Instead, it just causes men and women of pure belief to have continuously turbulent minds. They turn their backs on the kingly vows of Samantabhadra (a) and act contrary to the basic strictures of Ciyun. [One] sighs at this loss; it is a malady of long standing!

Notes:

Although it is never explicitly stated, the question appears to ask whether repentance rituals can be replaced with the practice of *nianfo*, since the inquirer seems to argue that single-minded *nianfo* contains all the elements of a repentance ritual. Zhuhong does not think people of his day were capable of this. As he says, although they practice *nianfo*, their minds are not engaged.

(a) The phrase “kingly vows of Samantabhadra” (*Puxian zhi yuanwang* 普賢之願王; the latter two words could also be “kings of vows”) refers to the last section of the 40-fascicle translation of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* section of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Dafang guangfo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T. 293) produced by Prajña 般若 around 800 CE. Called the “Chapter on the Practice of Samantabhadra’s Vows” (*Puxian xingyuan pin* 普賢行願品), it lists ten great vows of the bodhisattva. They are (1) to worship all buddhas, (2) to praise all *tathāgatas*, (3) to make offerings widely, (4) to confess all karmic obstructions, (5) to rejoice in others’ merit, (6) to ask buddhas to teach, (7) to ask buddhas to remain in the world, (8) to follow the buddhas in study, (9) to always accord with sentient beings, and (10) to transfer the merits of all one’s practices. See T10n0293\_p0844b24-b28. What is more, Samantabhadra promises that those who uphold these vows will attain rebirth in the Pure Land of Amitābha. See T10n0293\_p0846c29.

## 37. (108:395a; X61n1158\_p0510c20)

*Question:* The *Contemplation Sutra* says “The contemplation of the Buddha’s mind is great compassion” (a). If people of the world can release living beings and refrain from killing, be kind to people and love animals, all the way up to bringing the nine types of living beings to nirvana without having any thought of nirvana, their minds would then be equal to that of Dharmākara. As well, they would not be in violation of Śākyamuni’s instructions on mind-contemplation. So why choose such coarse traces as contemplation of [Amitābha’s] body or vocal invocation of his name, turning away from the buddhas’ mind as [if it were] an auxiliary cause?

*Answer:* There are two kinds of *nianfo*. The first is to think of the Buddha’s [pure] mind-nature, and the second is to contemplate his physical body or recite his name. To contemplate the Buddha’s [pure] mind-nature is to see the *saṃbhogakāya* (*zhenfo* 真佛). It does not impede one’s approach to the Buddha possessed of the luminous major and minor marks in the West. Contemplating the body or reciting the name is seeing the *nirmāṇakāya*, but one can also see the Buddha as he is in himself outside of all imagery. The fundamentals and the traces are mutually supportive; principle and phenomena (*lishi* 理事) have the same source. The mind-nature is not an auxiliary condition at all; how can body and name be coarse traces? Nowadays, followers of the “Five Books in Six Volumes” (*Wubu liuce* 五部六冊) borrow the term “non-action” (*wuwei* 無為) and undermine the law of cause-and-effect (b). They keep people from worshipping images and sneer at those who invoke the name. The ancients had a saying: “Everyone is a Danxia; only thus can they chop up a buddha [image] (c); each and every [would-be] Baizhang can say ‘wu’ at the outset” (d). Those who are not [at their level] yet will enter the hells like arrows shot forth.

*Notes:*

(a) The inquirer slightly misquotes the passage from T12n0365\_p0343c01-02: It should read: “The mind of all the buddhas is great compassion” (諸佛心者大慈悲是). He substitutes *guan fo xin* 觀佛心 for *zhu fo xin* 諸佛心.

(b) The term “Five Books in Six Volumes” refers to the scriptures of the Luo Teachings (*Luojiao* 羅教), a millenarian religion that arose during the Jiaping reign of the late Ming dynasty (1522–1567).

(c) Danxia Tianran (丹霞天然) was a Chan monk of the Tang dynasty. Zhuhong refers to a story about him from the fourteenth fascicle of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (T. 2076) in which, during a cold night at the Huilin Temple 慧林寺, he took a wooden buddha-image down from the altar and burned it to keep warm. When another person criticized him for this, he said he was burning it to obtain relics (*sheli* 舍利, Skt. *śarīra*). See T51n2076\_p0310c13-c16. However, Zhuhong either misquotes the story or there was a transcription error: Where his answer says “chop up” (*pu* 劈), earlier sources have “burn” (*shao* 燒).

(d) The reference to Baizhang’s “wu” is unclear. If *dao* 道 here means “to say,” and given the context of the other reference about showing disrespect to a buddha-image, then it might refer to this story from the end of the *Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Baizhang Huaihai* (Baizhang Huaihai chanshi yulu 百丈懷海禪師語錄):

Once when the Master was a boy, he entered a temple with his mother to worship the Buddha. Pointing at the holy image, he asked her, “What is that thing?” His mother said, “That’s the Buddha.” The boy said, “It looks no different (*wuyi* 無異) from a man. Later, I could be like that, too!” (See X69n1322\_p0007b03-7b05.)

Since this is a story from Baizhang’s boyhood and shows the impetus for his later practice, it makes sense of Zhuhong’s saying that Baizhang began by saying “wu.”

### 38. (108:395b; X61n1158\_p0511a08)

*Question:* Things like sky-flowers and cloth rabbits are what the world deems illusory and confused, while it considers proper and dependent recompense real things. [If] the Buddha says that [even] real things are entirely illusory and confused, then what names would sky-flowers and cloth rabbits merit (a)? If their reality turns out to be their unreality and their appearance is clearly false, then [even] a sky-flower or a cloth rabbit would be allowable. Why would one not even begin knowing illusion and confusion until after one has reasoned to their denial? Thus, there is illusion, and there is what seems like illusion; there is confusion, and there is what seems like confusion. Is the Pure Land Where [Pure and Impure Beings] Dwell Together an illusion? Does it just seem like confusion? Confusion is completely true; illusion is entirely the Middle. The Defiled Land Where [Pure and Impure Beings] Dwell Together itself is the Pure Land Where [Pure and Impure Beings]

Dwell Together (b). Is the Pure Land Where [Pure and Impure Beings] Dwell Together also the three lands above it (c)?

*Answer:* Sky-flowers and cloth rabbits are completely nonexistent; flesh rabbits and flowers on trees are also always illusory. They are fundamentally self-refuting without the need for inference, but one does not yet know this from within delusion. Therefore, there is no distinction between a real illusion and what seems like an illusion. What difference is there between true confusion and what only seems like confusion? The Pure Land Where [Pure and Impure Beings] Dwell Together is both illusory and [mere] seeming, [but is also] both true and the Middle. Discuss them together, and the Defiled [Land] is the Pure [Land], the one is the three; ultimately they are all empty and quiescent; what levels and limits would there be? Even though this is so, when feelings and views have not yet been overcome, and enjoying and hating still abide, then one needs to dispel illusion and confusion and experience the true and lasting. One must abandon the defiled land and seek birth in the pure country. With respect to [the phrase] “Abandoning filth and choosing purity is the karma of birth and death,” often a Chan master’s sayings cause what has not been expressed to be present.

*Notes:*

(a) The simile of sky-flowers, or illusory flowers seen in a clear sky due to an eye defect, occurs several times in Buddhist literature to illustrate false perceptions projected upon the world. Cloth rabbits, that is, rabbits that appear when a piece of cloth is manipulated in the hands, are used far less frequently. I have found some usage in commentaries where the cloth stands for the basic substance and the rabbit as the appearance. For example, see *Huayan jing mingfa pin neili sanbao zhang* 華嚴經明法品內立三寶章, T45n1874\_p0624c22-c25.

(b) The terms “Pure Land Where [Pure and Impure Beings] Dwell Together” (*tongju jingtu* 同居淨土) and “Defiled Land Where [Pure and Impure Beings] Dwell Together” (*tongju huitu* 同居穢土) are part of a larger scheme for classifying buddha-fields. The former would include Sukhāvātī, since unenlightened beings live there with buddhas and bodhisattvas in a purified environment, while the latter would be the present *sahā* world during the time of Śākyamuni’s preaching, since he dwelled in it together with worldlings. These would only be two categories within what are often very complex catalogues of lands. One

finds such a cataloging in the *Jingtu huowen* 淨土或問, T. 1972 of Tianru Weizi 天如惟則 (?–1354). (See T47n1972\_p0294a28-295a23.)

(c) When the inquirer speaks about the three types of lands above the Pure and Defiled Lands under discussion, he is referring to one of a number of schemes for organizing Pure Lands. The Ming writer Yuan Hongdao explains this in his *Comprehensive Treatise on the West* (*Xifang helun* 西方合論, T. 1976). In the first fascicle, the ninth scheme, derived from Tiantai literature, lists four kinds of lands:

1. The Lands Where Worldlings and Sages Dwell Together (*fansheng tongju tu* 凡聖同居土), which is further divided into the Defiled and the Pure as explained here. Above these are the following three:
2. Pure Lands of Expedient Means with Remainder (*fangbian youyu jingtu* 方便有餘土),
3. True Recompense Unobstructed Pure Land (*shibao wu zhang'ai jingtu* 實報無障礙土), and
4. The Pure Land of Eternally Quiescent Light (*changji guang tu* 常寂光土). See T47n1976\_p0391a23-a25ff.

(d) The phrase “Abandoning filth and choosing purity is the karma of birth and death” appears in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, T. 2076. A student asks Mazu Daoyi (馬祖道一, 709–788) how to attain nirvana. Mazu responds that one attains it by not creating the karma of birth and death. When the student asks what this karma is, Mazu answers that seeking after great nirvana is the karma of birth and death, and that “abandoning filth and choosing purity is the karma of birth and death” (T51n2076\_p0247a16-a18). Zhuhong seems to have been bothered by this phrase, because he also deals with it at greater length in his *Fo shuo Amituo jing shuchao* 佛說阿彌陀經疏鈔, where he says that it is a true but not final saying, and deleterious when applied indiscriminately. See X22n0424\_p0637b4-8.

39. (108:396a; X61n1158\_p0511a22)

*Question:* If, [when] contemplating the Buddha within one’s own mind, one uses a deluded mind to contemplate an illusory Buddha, [then] what one sees is both a Buddha and an illusion. Enlightenment is like a reflection in a mirror (a) or like empty space. The substance of this illusion is completely real and one realizes entrance into the

lotus ranks (b). But suppose a demon transforms its body to that of a buddha. That would be an illusion, too. Between this illusion and the foregoing one there is no duality and no distinction. Consequently, how could this delusion not be the same as [the Tiantai three concepts of] Emptiness, the Provisional, and the Middle (c)? The basic substance is completely real, but we must desire to dispel it. When one dispels attachment, where does it go?

*Answer:* Distinguishing the real from the illusory and discriminating demons from buddhas would require an entire lifetime of instruction; it could not be otherwise. To speak in accordance with the truth, though, the real is not established, so where is delusion? Moreover, if buddhas lack [reality], then who should we consider a demon? If one does not see an existent demon, then how is there any driving it out? When one's deluded consciousness is still blocked, one cannot yet do anything that is without demonic activity. One should carefully consider what the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* teaches (d).

*Notes:*

(a) According to the DDB, the phrase *jingxiang* 鏡像, here translated “reflection in a mirror,” can also mean a projection of the mind. This meaning would also work in this context, as the inquirer is pointing out that both mind and Buddha are mental constructs.

(b) The term *lianpin* 蓮品, “lotus ranks,” is a term Zhuhong used elsewhere to refer to a person who attained an unspecified but high level of rebirth in the Pure Land. (See *Wangsheng ji* 往生集, T51n2072\_p0144b16-b17.)

(c) In referencing the Tiantai three teachings of Emptiness, the Provisional, and the Middle, the inquirer positions his statement within Buddhist orthodoxy. In realizing that one's delusory perceptions (including contemplation of the Buddha) are unreal, one realizes Emptiness. When one finds that they are real *as illusions*, one realizes the Provisional. When one can realize emptiness and provisionality at the same time, one reaches the Middle.

(d) The last sections of the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* deal with demonic states of mind to which accomplished meditators are liable. These may mimic states of enlightenment enough to fool practitioners and their followers. The sutra speaks of them as “*deva-māras*” (*tianmo* 天魔) who dwell in the heavens, and often adds that the effects in the mind that they produce are not necessarily unwholesome, but may become so when



mistaken for achievement of the final goal. Hence, Zhuhong's reference to the sutra reinforces his point that it might take a lifetime of teaching and practice to distinguish these beings/mental states from buddhas/enlightenment properly. See the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* (*Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhu pusa wanxing shou lengyan jing* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經), T19n0945\_p0151b29ff.

40. (108:396a; X61n1158\_p0511b06)

*Question:* People in the past said that “the Buddha is the sun” to describe buddha-nature (a). They said “like the morning sun adorning the sky” to describe the Buddha's light. They also said “like a hundred, a thousand suns” (b). These are the warrants for this contemplation of the sun. Apart from those born blind, there is no one who does not see the sun, and by using it mind-contemplation is easy to achieve. However, masters have forsaken this and are relying on doing the contemplation of the [Buddha's] *ūrṇā*. I worry that they thereby mix up the order of [the sixteen visualizations of] the *Contemplation Sutra*, and I fear that absorbing the sun's essence will muddle them (c). How could one not think that the theory of the twin gate-towers (*huangque* 黃闕) in the space between the brows or the explanation of the gate of the Bright Hall (*mingtang* 明堂) will mix me up in the midst of my contemplation (d)?

*Answer:* Not to contemplate the sun but the *ūrṇā* instead is to jump out of order. There is an explanation. Even though the gate of [buddha-] contemplation is broad, it symbolizes [the Buddha's] great sovereignty, and so the word “Buddha” encompasses [everything else] (e). Even though the Buddha's bodily marks are many, they symbolize the middle way [of emptiness], and so the fine hairs [of the *ūrṇā*] alone bring [the rest] together. This is put forth for the sake of men (*fu* 夫) who delight in simplicity and convenience and are daunted by complexity and effort. It looks like jumping ahead of the proper order, but in reality there is no harm. I only worry that the dharma is established only to have demons follow, mixing the heterodox in with the orthodox; I cannot give an exhaustive list of such examples. Alas! Not only do they have an absurd understanding of the sutra texts, but they go and spread it around until it brings harm to the world. Inhaling the [essence of the] sun and moon, they also absorb evil spirits (*yaosui* 妖祟) and lose themselves. Guarding the Yintang (*yintang* 印堂, another term for the space between the eyebrows), they also gather excess heat

and blind their eyes. They force *qi* into the navel and bring forth venomous worms (*gu* 蠱). They practice *yunrendu* (運任督, a kind of *qigong*) and give themselves ulcers. They bring calamity to good people and bequeath disaster to later generations (f). Can you not feel pity?

Notes:

(a) I was able to find the phrase “the Buddha is the sun” in several places serving different purposes. For example, the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, T. 2035, uses the phrase in three places to explain the relationship between Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism: “Confucianism is the five planets, Daoism is the moon, and Buddhism is the sun. One who can arrive at this thought establishes the three teachings in their proper places” (T49n2035\_p0405b25-b26). In other passages, the phrase simply points to the Buddha’s ability to illuminate all, as in the *Fofa zhengzongji* 傳法正宗記, T51n2078\_p0730a27.

(b) The phrase “like the morning sun adorning the sky” is not found in Buddhist literature. The last phrase “like a hundred, a thousand suns” occurs many times to describe the effect of the Buddha’s major and minor marks. For example, see the *Śūraṅgama sūtra* at T19n0945\_p0108b23-b24.

(c) The reason the inquirer worries about violating the order of the *Contemplation Sutra* is that in its series of sixteen visualizations, the first is that of the sun setting in the west. One only begins visualizing the Buddha Amitābha at the ninth contemplation, indeed beginning with his *ūrṇā*, or the white tuft between his eyes. Thus, perhaps someone who wanted to begin directly with the visualization of the Buddha would start with the *ūrṇā* and not the sun.

(d) The last few phrases voice the concern that practitioners will confuse contemplations on the body of the Buddha with Daoist practices involving visualizations of parts of the practitioner’s body. For example, some Daoist *neigong* texts describe the space between the brows (the same place where the Buddha’s *ūrṇā* is located) as guarded by twin watchtowers (*huangque* 黃闕). The “Bright Hall” (*mingtang* 明堂) is located about an inch behind this spot. Taken all together, the question revolves around various ways that Buddhist Pure Land practice may have been mixed up with Daoist practices and concepts during the late Ming dynasty.

(e) The phrase “the word ‘Buddha’ encompasses [everything else]” (言佛便周) occurs in Tiantai Zhiyi’s commentary on the *Contemplation*

*Sutra*. In explaining the title of the *sutra*, Zhiyi says, “Even though there are sixteen contemplations, the word ‘Buddha’ encompasses them; thus, [the title of the *sutra*] says ‘*The Sutra on the Contemplation of Amitāyus Buddha*.’” In this context, the issue is that the sixteen contemplations are not just of the Buddha Amitābha, but of his land and attendant bodhisattvas as well, but the phrase “contemplation of the Buddha” covers all of it. The phrase is identical to Zhuhong’s usage, and is also a discussion of contemplation. See *Fo shuo guan wuliang-shoufo jing shu* 佛說觀無量壽佛經疏, T37n1750\_p0186c15-c16. This phrase was picked up in many later works, including Zhuhong’s other writings.

(f) In the last few phrases, Zhuhong agrees with the inquirer that ordinary people might be unable to distinguish Buddhist and Daoist visualization practices. He shows great concern that they be kept separate, as mixing in Daoist practices will only bring harm. This is in contrast to the “Three Teachings” movement (*sanjiao heyi* 三教合一), popular at the time, that sought to harmonize Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism into a coherent unity. Daoism generally received a position far inferior to the other two in such thought, however, and this trend is evident here.

41. (108:396b; X61n1158\_p0511b20)

*Question*: I am afraid this business of having no women in the Pure Land will perplex practitioners. [The Bodhisattva] Guanyin frequently emerges from the Pure Land in female form, as in that form which we call Lady Malang (*Malang fu* 馬郎婦) and so on (a). The [*Huayan Sutra with Commentary*] points out that young girls of the type that Sudhana saw (b) are also “marks of compassion” (c). Now bodhisattvas only begin to practice the compassionate deliverance of people once they have gained the [ten] grounds (*bhūmi*). Since the buddha-mind is compassionate, why does he [just] manifest his own splendor without displaying any “mark of compassion” in his own [buddha-] land (d)?

*Answer*: The *sahā* world is particularly stained by desire, so Guanyin turns the minds [of those within it] as a female. Sudhana had not yet clarified his ability to differentiate, and so Vasumitrā (*Poxu* 婆須) manifested as a female to impart her wisdom. It is not what one would call a transformation of compassion. In order to practice compassion, one manifests as female. One who has not yet practiced the transformation of compassion will be burned by the taint of desire. [Even] the best

practitioner of the nine lotuses will lose some of his good sprouts if there is a female [present] when he first begins to purify his mind. How inappropriate!

Notes:

(a) The story of Lady Malang appears in the *Shishi jigu lue* 釋氏稽古略, T. 2037, fascicle 3. The bodhisattva Guanyin, wishing to convert the men of Shaanxi province during the Tang dynasty, appeared as a lovely young woman. All the eligible men of the area competed for her hand in marriage, so she proposed that whoever could recite various scriptures in one night would win her. After several contests, the field was finally winnowed down to an official named Ma. Thus she became the wife of Official (or bridegroom) Ma (*Malangfu* 馬郎婦). Thus, she used sexual desire to induce several men to memorize and chant sutras. See T49n2037\_p0833b02-b18.

(b) The second reference is to the *Huayan Sutra with Commentary* (*Da fangguang fo xin huayan jing he lun* 大方廣佛新華嚴經合論, X. 223), a work that combined the 40-fascicle *Huayan Sutra* with the commentary of Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635–730). One instance of the youth Sudhana encountering a young female bodhisattva during his southward journey is found at X04n0223\_p0759b17, though there are many other encounters as well.

(c) That the feminine is also the “mark of compassion” (*cixiang* 慈相) may stem from a reading of Li Tongxuan’s commentary. In fascicle 21, he mentions a woman named Poxuminü 婆須蜜女 (= Vasumitrā?) that Sudhana meets, described as a teacher of humans and *devas* (Zhuhong references her in his answer). The phrase *cixiang* does appear in her description, but as part of the longer phrase 禪體智慈相會之流, “The [single] flow of the essence of meditation and the meeting of the marks of wisdom and compassion.” See T36n1739\_p0861b04-21.

(d) The crux of the question is this: The Bodhisattva Guanyin frequently assumes feminine form as a means of compassionate and skillful teaching. However, the dictum that there are no women in the Pure Land means that Guanyin, restricted by Amitābha’s vow, cannot utilize this teaching method within the Pure Land. The inquirer does not understand why a compassionate buddha would ever exclude an effective teaching method in his own domain.

## 42. (108: 396b; X61n1158\_p0511c05)

*Question:* In the Age of the Final Dharma (*mofa* 末法), the *Pratyutpanna sūtra* will be the first to disappear, but the *Sutra on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life* will still abide. Now in the *Pratyutpanna sūtra*, the figure one is to pray for a vision of is Amitābha. In the *Contemplation Sutra*, the figure one is to pray for a vision of is also Amitābha. It is said that the “constantly walking [meditation]” (*chang xing* 常行) is considered difficult (a), and therefore the achievement of the visualization is also difficult. It is said that seeing the buddha(s) standing before one is difficult, and so those who practice visualization nowadays can only practice the visualization of the [setting] sun with difficulty, so they go directly to the visualization of the [Buddha’s] *ūrṇā* (b). How is it possible that visualizing the [setting] sun is difficult to accomplish these days, but in the time of the dharma’s disappearance, its strength lies in its being easy?

*Answer:* The *Sutra on [the Buddha of] Immeasurable Life* (*Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經), or the *Larger Amitābha Sutra*, (*Da Mituo jing* 大彌陀經), is the one that will abide longer, not the *Sutra on the Sixteen Visualizations* (i.e., the *Contemplation Sutra*) (c). Now invocation of the name is easy to do; achieving a visualization is difficult. In the *Pratyutpanna* one first visualizes the wheel-marks on the [Buddha’s] feet and then moves up against the grain of one’s conditioning. Is this not in the same category as [the visualizations of] the *Contemplation Sutra*? The realm of the buddhas is transcendent and the mind of worldlings is coarse, and it is hard to approach the Three Contemplations in One Mind (d). Idleness is natural and strenuous effort goes against the grain; who would want to give up sitting for the constantly-walking practice when the six-word invocation of the name is something even a small child can manage? This sutra inclines toward the salvation of the end times; how could this be without due cause?

*Notes:*

(a) The “constantly walking meditation” is a ritualized practice of buddha-visualization developed in Tiantai Zhiyi’s 天台智顛 (538–597) works. It was indeed based on the *Pratyutpanna sūtra*, centered on the Buddha Amitābha, and was very difficult to accomplish, requiring an elaborate ritual space and ninety days of constant circumambulation with no breaks to eat or sleep. For a description of the practice, see Daniel Stevenson, “The Four Kinds of *Samādhi* in Early T’ien-t’ai

Buddhism,” in *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Peter Gregory, Studies in East Asian Buddhism 4 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986), 58–61.

(b) On the issues relating to the visualization of the [Buddha's] *ūrṇā* versus visualization of the setting sun, see question 40 above.

(c) Zhuhong judges that the inquirer has identified the wrong sutra as the one the Buddha promises will abide a while longer after other sutras have vanished. The *Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha sūtra* is known in its most often-used translation as the *Wuliang shou jing* 無量壽經, while the *Contemplation Sutra* is known as the *Guan wuliang shou jing* 觀無量壽經, which is different only in the initial character. Correcting this confusion alleviates the difficulty that the inquirer identified as competing forms of meditation or visualization. Instead, it becomes a matter of comparing oral invocation of the Buddha's name with complex visualization practices.

(d) The term “Three Contemplations in One Mind” (*yixin sanguan* 一心三觀) generally refers to a Tiantai formulation in which a meditator in one thought simultaneously grasps the emptiness, provisionality, and middle of a phenomenon. The concept had been used to explain Pure Land contemplations within a Tiantai framework for many centuries. For example, Siming Zhili 四明知禮 (960–1028) made use of it in his commentary on the *Contemplation Sutra*: “If one does not utilize the Three Contemplations in One Mind to contemplate the setting sun, one will lose the Buddha's wisdom.” (*Guan wuliangshou fo jing shumiao zongchao* 觀無量壽佛經疏妙宗鈔, T37n1751\_p0217c29-218a1)

43. (108:397a; X61n1158\_p0511c15)

*Question:* Ciyun (a) divided the “one mind of principle” (*li yixin* 理一心) from the “one mind of phenomena” (*shi yixin* 事一心). Now the one mind exhausts principle and the one mind creates phenomena; these two minds give rise to each other. They are like the two poles on a scull. If they flail in the water without respite, how could one not call this chaotic? If principle is like phenomena and phenomena are like principle, then that mind is this mind, and as a result one has only a single mind to use. Is there anything inadmissible in this? As Master [Zhi] li said, “Manifest principle through phenomena” (b). Also, this single type of contemplation does not accord with so-called “contemplation of principle” and “contemplation of phenomena” (*liguan shiguan* 理觀



事觀). The whole teaching tradition of Tiantai holds firmly to this. Why are Ciyun and his successors the only ones who do not?

*Answer:* Wisdom is one but illuminates both the provisional and the real. One does not crack wisdom in two. The mind is one but is explained in terms of delusion and reality. One does not break the mind into two pieces. In contemplation there is both principle and phenomena; what obstructs them [from each other]? For example, a mirror and the images [reflected in it] are distinct but not separate. The moon can be reflected in several bodies of water without being divided itself. Phenomena lead one to think of their principle; principle resides within phenomena. One infers phenomena from principle; phenomena are not outside of principle. Why expect thought to arise from two places? As to what you said about principle and phenomena being chaotic like the poles of a scull being tossed about wildly, the one is the two and the two are the one. They are neither the same nor are they cut off from one another. Since [Zhili] says, “Manifest principle through phenomena,” one gets two uses from one planting (c). This is both clear and profound. How does Ciyun go contrary to Tiantai teachings?

*Notes:*

(a) Ciyun 慈雲 refers to the Song dynasty Tiantai monk Zunshi 遵式 (964–1032), who organized societies for *nianfo* practice and interpreted Pure Land thought and practice within a Tiantai philosophical outlook. See Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, *Chūgoku jōdo kyōri shi* 中国浄土教理史 (*A History of Chinese Pure Land Thought*) (Kyōto: Hōzokan 法藏館, 1978), 355–360. The problem here is that the inquirer believes that the mainstream Tiantai tradition erases any firm distinction between principle and phenomena, and wonders why Ciyun keeps them separate and applies different contemplations to them.

(b) The quotation from Zhili 知禮 (960–1028) comes from his *Two Hundred Questions from the Legacy of Fazhi on Contemplation of the Mind* (*Fazhi yibian guanxin erbai wen* 法智遺編觀心二百問, T. 1935). It is found at T46n1935\_p0824a28-a30.

(c) Zhuhong’s response indicates that the inquirer has not properly understood the relationship between principle and phenomena within Tiantai thought. The Tiantai teaching that “principle and phenomena interpenetrate without obstruction” (*li shi wu ai* 理事無礙) means that the mind of phenomena and the mind of principle cannot



be clearly separated, but this does not mean that they collapse into a single reality.

44. (108:397b; X61n1158\_p0512a04)

*Question:* It seems that the *Treatise on Ten Doubts [About Pure Land]* uses the contemplation of impurity as a cause for [rebirth in] the Pure Land to address the suspicion that the absence of women and family [in the Pure Land] would not be enough to spur ordinary people forward (a). Could we properly say it takes impurity as purity? Suppose one brings about an understanding of impurity and gives rise to the mind of aversion [for the present world] and the desire to leave it. How could that be a proper cause for [rebirth in] the Pure Land when the [*Mohe*] *zhiguan* says that accomplishment of the contemplation of impurity is still not enough to leave the triple world (b)? It would only amount to realizing the impurity of this world; one still does not realize the impurity of the worlds of the *devas*. Supposing that one could realize the impurity of these heavenly realms; I do not know if that would bring about birth in the Pure Land or not.

*Answer:* The *sahā* world is [entirely] impure; [the presence of] women is just one aspect of this. The *Treatise on Ten Doubts* speaks more broadly about impurity, but it places special emphasis on [the presence of] women. One who knows only to despise impurity without rejoicing in the Pure Land will not find it easy to gain rebirth. Even if one completes the contemplation on bones but does not contemplate the body of the Buddha, then it will be hard to come ashore in the Land of Bliss. [The contemplation of] impurity is not sufficient as the proper cause of [rebirth in] the Pure Land.

*Notes:*

The *Treatise on Ten Doubts about Pure Land* (*Jingtu shi yi lun* 淨土十疑論, T. 1961) is a text popularly attributed to Tiantai founder Zhiyi that addresses questions about Pure Land teachings and practices. The tenth doubt asks what practices one should employ to attain rebirth in the Pure Land if one is still subject to sexual desire and has wives and children. In response, the author states that one takes the twin paths of aversion to the present world and attraction to the Pure Land. Under the category of aversion, he lists seven contemplations of impurity (*bujing guan* 不淨觀): (1) that the present desire-body is born amidst impurity; (2) that the sexual intercourse one's parents engaged in

involved impure fluids; (3) while gestating, one dwelt in the mother's impure womb; (4) as a fetus in the womb, one consumed one's mother's blood; (5) as a fetus, one's head was constantly oriented towards one's mother's genitals; (6) only a thin caul protected one from impurity; and (7) after death, one's body will decompose and one's bones will be devoured by animals. See T47n1961\_p0080b30-c25.

(b) While the inquirer claims to quote the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 of Zhiyi (T. 1911), I could not find the ideas he references in this work. I could also find nothing in Zhiyi's smaller condensation of the *Mohe zhiguan* called the *Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan fayao* 修習止觀坐禪法要, T. 1915.

45. (108:397b; X61n1158\_p0512a13)

*Question:* In the Pure Land the water, birds, and trees proclaim the teachings of impermanence, suffering, emptiness, and no-self. This cannot be a definitive teaching. Since that Buddha [Amitābha] wishes the sounds of the dharma to flow forth, why not let them flow in one perfect sound that would enable any kind of being to attain liberation? Why must it be these [kinds of] sounds? Supposing that anyone whose nature is fixed as a *śrāvaka* were to be drawn to refuge in this land and it were to continue producing these sounds (a, b). Would that not just increase the severity of their malady?

*Answer:* The teachings of impermanence, suffering, and emptiness are not limited to the small [vehicle]. They extend from the greatest to the least; they are pertinent to both the partial and the complete. To contemplate that there is neither arising nor extinction is called impermanence. The non-arising of the five aggregates is considered real suffering. When bodhisattvas hear these [teachings] their minds are further expanded. When *śrāvakas* understand these sounds, then they quickly lose their small [vehicle status]. If we do not call this “perfect sound,” then what shall we call it?

*Notes:*

(a) The inquirer may think that *śrāvakas* are particularly attached to sound, since the Chinese term for *śrāvakas*, *shengwen* 聲聞, literally means “hearers of sound.” Thus, he thinks hearing still more sounds would only confirm them in their inferior level of attainment.

(b) The idea that a being could have a fixed nature (*dingxing* 定性) as a *śrāvaka* might come from Yogācāra (*Faxiang* 法相) thought in which beings are endowed with the seeds, or potentialities, for certain

attainments as *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, buddhas, none of the above, or any of the above. The fact that Zhuhong allows for the possibility that in the Pure Land *śrāvakas* may “lose their small [vehicle status]” indicates that he does not believe in fixed natures.

46. (108:398a; X61n1158\_p0512a21)

*Question:* Those who are closed up in a lotus calyx for six *kalpas* or twelve *kalpas* cannot hear the dharma-preaching of the three holy ones (i.e., Amitābha and the two attendant bodhisattvas). Within [the distance of] one *yōjana* there is no lack of water, birds, and trees. [Thus,] those worldlings of the lower grades [of rebirth] (*xiapin* 下品) have only the doctrines of impermanence, suffering, emptiness, and no-self. External manifestations are before their eyes, [but] they do not grasp at them. Not having grasped at them for a long time, they should dissolve away. Why should the substance of the chariot-wheel [-sized] lotus alone remain? Also, it says that [the lotus-calyx] is as blissful as the Heaven of the Thirty-Three (*Daolitian* 忉利天). Since it grants the bliss of this heaven, how does one keep from backsliding? Moreover, if at this time one does not backslide, then why not just cultivate the karma leading to [rebirth in] this heaven (a)?

*Answer:* That the lotus is slow to open is because one does not understand the principles of impermanence, suffering, and emptiness when one is living in this world (i.e., while still alive). If one comes to the illumination of these principles sooner, then why would one remain long within the lotus calyx? Thus, one knows that once one stops grasping at manifestations, the golden [lotus] flower will open. Once one stops grasping at [phenomenal] characteristics, then the Buddha with his wondrous features appears. Such is the reason why one abides in the lotus; what is the point of explaining that the lotus is dissolved? I am afraid that if one says that its bliss compares to that of the heavens, one will slip back and fall. You seem unaware that this is only playing on the heavens as a metaphor. Those who are reborn in the Pure Land do not hanker after celestial palaces, so even though they are in a blissful setting, they are not led astray. Why would a person whose mind is set on the great Way subsequently agree to engage in practices leading to the pleasures of the heavens? Alternatively, one might answer that since what one receives is equal to the higher heavens, how could it be that one’s status is among the lower grades [of rebirth]? Strictly speaking, this would indicate that the very highest parts of the triple

world are not as good as the lowest of the low among the nine lotuses. This shows that even though the karmic reward is inferior, the recompense is superior. A crown prince in swaddling clothes is still very different from the many officials; the sound of a *kalaviṅka* that has not yet emerged from its womb excels that of all birds. For this reason, [even] birth in the lower grades is superior to the palaces of heaven. The teaching of the ancients is evident; there is no room for argument!

*Notes:*

This question builds on the previous one. According to the *Contemplation Sutra*, aspirants to rebirth in the Pure Land sort into nine classes organized as three grades (*san pin* 三品), each with three levels (*san sheng* 三生). Those of the two lowest grades and levels are born within lotus calyxes in the Pure Land, the “middle of the low” remaining shut in for six *kalpas*, the “lowest of the low” for twelve. See T12n0365\_p0345c26-346a26.

This leads the inquirer to raise three difficulties: First, since those confined within a lotus calyx do not hear either Amitābha or the two attendant bodhisattvas’ preaching while the birds, water, and trees are present, these beings are hearing only the inferior teachings as noted above. Second, during these *kalpas* of purification inside the lotuses, their grasp of material manifestation should fade, so the inquirer does not understand why the lotuses themselves would persist. Third, if the pleasures are like that of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, then why should aspirants to rebirth not seek rebirth there instead?

(a) The statement that those born within lotus calyxes enjoy the bliss of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three is based on a few different sources. For example, the *Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha sūtra*, in speaking of those born via the womb (*taisheng* 胎生), mentions that the wombs within which they abide are like palaces wherein they receive the pleasures of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three (see T12n0360\_p0278a17-a20). The passage does not link this abode to any particular level of rebirth, but Tianru 天如, in his *Questions about Pure Land* (which Zhuhong edited for publication), discusses this with specific reference to the lowest birth of the lowest grade (*xiapin xiasheng* 下品下生). While he quotes the *Contemplation Sutra*’s description of the manner in which such beings attain rebirth, he goes beyond the sutra in stating that they receive such pleasure during their twelve *kalpas* within the lotus calyx (see T47n1972\_p0299a21-a23).

## 47. (108:398a X61n1158\_p0512b12)

*Question:* People's fear of samsara is great and impermanence moves them swiftly along. Therefore, at the outset their wish to seek liberation is fierce; they dare not stop for a moment. [However,] once they hear the teaching of the "lateral exit from the triple world" (a), the explanation of the quick path of practice, [see] the literature on how *nianfo* eliminates guilt, about ten oral invocations of the aspiration to attain rebirth [in the Pure Land], then many say there is a buddha upon whom they can lean and no amount of karma produces dread. They become more leisurely and do not put in the effort, and many fall into Yama's old hands. Thus, the Pure Land tradition leads them astray. The two paths of Chan [meditation] and doctrinal study (*zong jiao er men* 宗教二門) are extremely difficult to master and do not allow one to see quick results. Having the two words "birth and death" always on one's mind is the only way.

*Answer:* Among ordinary practitioners of the Way, there are some who hear the word "difficult" and give up, or hear the word "easy" and go on. There are others who hear the word "difficult" and get moving, but hear the word "easy" and become lazy. When the ancient sages dispensed the teachings, they did what was appropriate to the time. The ability to put one's mind to work well rests solely with the individual (b). The path of *nianfo* directly transcends the triple world; they opened this path out of the height of their compassion. If [living beings] become degraded out of idleness, then the error is theirs; it is not because the buddhas lead living beings astray. "I wish to be virtuous, and lo! Virtue is at hand." Virtue is right before one's eyes (c). "The mad overcome their thoughts and thus become sages." Sagehood is not distant (d). Are [the Confucian classics] also leading people astray by the word "easy"? With respect to [the sayings] "sudden enlightenment with one word" (*yi yan dunwu* 一言頓悟) and "become a buddha instantly" (*lidi chengfo* 立地成佛), these represent the Chan school using the word "easy," but it is very profound (e). Would you also call this an error?

*Notes:*

(a) The phrase "lateral exit from the triple world" (*hengchu sanjie* 橫出三界) is a common way to describe the ease and speed of Pure Land practice, and it indicates a shortcut that eliminates the need for a long path of practice. The modern master and scholar Sheng Yen

(Shengyan 聖嚴) illustrated its meaning this way. It is as if one were inside a long bamboo tube and had to get out. One would usually have to climb the entire length of the tube “joint by joint,” but if someone drilled a hole in the side then one could go laterally and get out right away. See Shi Shengyan 釋聖嚴, *Shengyan fashi jiao jingtu famen* 聖嚴法師教淨土法門 (*Master Shengyan Teaches the Pure Land Dharma-Gate*), comp. and ed. Guoxian 果賢, *Shengyan shuyuan* 聖嚴書院 5 (Taipei: Fagu wenhua 法鼓文, 2010), 83.

(b) The phrase translated “rests solely with the individual” (*cun hu qiren* 存乎其人) alludes to the “Appended Commentary” (*Xici* 繫辭) of the *Book of Changes*. It occurs in the phrase *shen er ming zhi, cun hu qiren* 神而明之，存乎其人, which Richard John Lynn translates as “to be aware of the numinous and bring it to light is dependent on the men involved.” See Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching Interpreted by Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 68.

(c) The phrase, “I wish to be virtuous, and lo! Virtue is at hand” comes from the *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語) of Confucius, 7.30 (Legge’s translation in *Chinese Classics*). See Chinese Text Project, <http://ctext.org>, accessed April 1, 2015.

(d) The phrase, “The mad overcome their thoughts and thus become sages” seems to be a garbled version of a historical proverb to which allusions may be found often in Chinese Buddhist texts. According to Xu Xingmin 徐醒民, the full proverb is *wei sheng wangnian zuokuang, wei kuang kenian zuo sheng* 惟聖罔念作狂，惟狂克念作聖, which alludes to an episode in the *Shang Shu* 尚書 about the overthrow of the Shang dynasty by the Zhou. The import is that by suppressing rational thought the wise become foolish, while the foolish become sages by overcoming their (presumably foolish) thoughts. See Xu Xingmin 徐醒民, *Ruxue jianshuo* 儒學簡說 (Taichung: Qinglian 青蓮, 1999), <http://www.zhwh-djt.com>, accessed April 1, 2015.

(e) The phrase, “sudden enlightenment with one word” comes from an appendix to the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* that gives the text of an imperial epitaph for Huineng. See T48n2008\_p0364a22-a23; see John McRae, trans., *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (Berkeley, CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000), 128 for the English translation. The phrase “become a buddha instantly” is very common in Chinese Buddhist literature. To see one example

from a Chan text, see the *Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Yuanwu Foguo* (*Yuanwu Foguo chanshi yulu* 圓悟佛果禪師語錄), T47n1997\_p0738a11.

48. (108:398b; X61n1158\_p0512c01)

*Question:* Fenggan was an incarnation (*huashen* 化身) of Amitābha; Hanshan and Shide were Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. A manifestation of Amitābha does not [always] bring Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta along, but [may] travel with Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra to the point where these names become linked [to his] (a). Also, there are many sayings of the Chan school which take *nianfo* and buddha-contemplation (*guanfo* 觀佛) as limited; do they not turn Tathāgata Chan (*rulai chan* 如來禪) into Patriarchal Chan (*zushi chan* 祖師禪) (b)? Would they not decline to meet even inhabitants of the Land of Eternally Quiescent Light (c)?

*Answer:* Certainly we know Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta as the daily attendants of the guiding master (i.e., Amitābha), [but] when have Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra ever been absent from Sukhāvātī even for a short time? This is why Śākyamuni is the master teacher (*huazhu* 化主) in this *sahā* world, but may at times have [the assistance of] Avalokiteśvara. Huangbo was not a master in the Confucian lineage, [yet he] extended his teaching mat to Minister Pei [Xiu] (d). Their [teachings] interfused and mutually combined; could there be a firm distinction [between them]? As for your comments concerning Chan being contrary to Pure Land practice: Little do you realize that each branch of the nine lotuses opens to the face of Kāśyapa; or that each step along the seven-jeweled balustrades leads into the pavilion of Sudhana; or that on each of the eight sides of the *ūrṇā* one may contemplate the true meaning of the Middle Way; or that each word of the six-word invocation of the Name preaches the mysterious meaning of coming from the west (e). Why does one need to turn from the small to the great or from the limited to the encompassing before one receives superior faculties and practices the mysterious transformation? Thus, know that this path of *nianfo* is the wondrous gate that enters into principle. It perfectly assimilates the Five Houses [of Chan] (*wu zong* 五宗) and widely embraces all [Buddhist] teachings (f). It is subtle and cannot be fathomed, broad and inexhaustible. Those of dull capacities attain it and swiftly escape from the wheel of suffering; those with sharp wisdom encounter it and directly pass to the farther shore.



Appearing coarse, it is fine; seemingly easy, it is difficult. Make universal vows and ponder deeply; do not neglect it!

Notes:

(a) Based on the three major Pure Land sutras and centuries of iconography, East Asian Buddhists believe that Amitābha dwells in Sukhāvati assisted by Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. Fenggan 豐干, Hanshan 寒山, and Shide 拾得 were three eccentric Chan poet-monks of the Tang dynasty associated with the Guoqing Temple 國清寺 on Mt. Tiantai 天台山. They were indeed regarded as manifestations of, respectively, Amitābha, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra. The Song-dynasty *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 has the clearest and most concise statement of these equivalencies. See T49n2035\_p0462b02-b03. This association of Amitābha with two bodhisattvas other than the usual ones is the basis of the question.

(b) The second part of the question takes a dig at Chan teachings that exclude Pure Land practices such as *nianfo* by asking whether such a stand turns the Chan that derives directly from the Buddha (Tathāgata Chan) into the Chan of the patriarchs from Bodhidharma on (Patriarchal Chan), reducing it to a purely human device.

(c) The Land of Eternally Quiescent Light (*changji guang tu* 常寂光土) represents the buddha-realm of ultimate reality and purity, devoid of all characteristics and inhabited by the Buddha's *dharmakāya*. Again, the inquirer implies that by cutting off buddhas and focusing on human teachers, Chan detractors of Pure Land will not attain the ultimate realm of the buddhas themselves.

(d) For information on Pei Xiu, see the comments to question 16. Zhuhong is answering the first question about the appearance of bodhisattvas in seemingly wrong contexts by pointing to other Buddhist examples of beings, both human and divine, operating outside of their normal spheres.

(e) In his response to Chan critiques of Pure Land, Zhuhong equates a series of Pure Land practices and images to well-known Chan tropes. In a famous Chan story, for example, the first instance of mind-to-mind transmission occurs when the Buddha silently holds a flower up before preaching to an assembly. No one understands the gesture except Mahākāśyapa, who smiles and elicits the Buddha's affirmation of his understanding. Zhuhong equates the nine lotuses that symbolize the nine levels of rebirth in the Pure Land to the flower that the

Buddha held aloft. The other three examples represent similar rhetorical equivalencies.

(f) The term “Five Lineages” refers to the five houses of Chan.

*Acknowledgements*

I am fortunate to have been able to consult with several scholars in preparing this translation. I owe a debt of gratitude to the many scholars and graduate students who responded to queries on the Scholars of Buddhist Studies Facebook group and the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism forum. In particular, however, I wish to thank Natasha Heller, Charles Muller, Dan Lusthaus, Charles Patton, Tom Newhall, Achim Beyer, Jean Soulet, and Bhikkhu Nyanatusita. Finally, I owe a great debt of gratitude to Chün-fang Yü, who read through the first finished draft and made many valuable suggestions. Most of her emendations have been incorporated into this final version.



## **Introduction to the Special Section on *Pure Land Buddhism in China: A Doctrinal History* by Mochizuki Shinkō**

**Natalie Fisk Quli**

Institute of Buddhist Studies

Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨 (1869–1948) was a prolific scholar of Japanese Pure Land Buddhism whose work helped lay the foundation of modern Buddhist studies. His most well-known work is undoubtedly the ten-volume *Bukkyō Daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Encyclopedia of Buddhism), edited by Mochizuki and published in 1933 by Bukkyō Daijiten Hakkōjo. His *Chūgoku jōdo kyōri shi* 中国淨土教理史 (Doctrinal History of Pure Land Buddhism in China), based on a series of lectures he gave on the history, thought, and practice of Pure Land Buddhism in China, was published in 1942 by Hōzōkan and remains a resource for Japanese Pure Land Buddhist scholarship today.

This special section marks the publication of *Chūgoku jōdo kyōri shi* in English translation, *Pure Land Buddhism in China: A Doctrinal History*, trans. Leo Pruden, ed. Richard K. Payne and Natalie E.F. Quli, 2 vols. (Moraga: Institute of Buddhist Studies and BDK America, 2016). The papers presented here were originally part of a panel discussion organized by Richard K. Payne at the 2017 conference of the American Academy of Religion in Boston, MA, “Mochizuki’s Doctrinal History of Pure Land Buddhism in China.” Panelists included four contributors to the second volume of the English translation, *Supplemental Essays and Appendices*. Daniel Getz provided a biographical study of Mochizuki, while bibliographical essays on scholarship since Mochizuki’s publication in Chinese were offered by Charles B. Jones (Chinese-language sources), Mark L. Blum (Japanese-language sources), and Scott A. Mitchell (English-language sources). We offer two of these edited paper presentations here.



## Reflections on Shinkō Mochizuki's *Pure Land Buddhism in China: A Doctrinal History*

Scott A. Mitchell

Institute of Buddhist Studies

As something of a disclaimer, I want to open this reflection with an acknowledgment that my interest in Chinese Pure Land Buddhism comes via Japan. That is, my work focuses on Jōdo Shinshū Buddhism; not only that but Shin Buddhism in the contemporary, primarily Western, world. It was through my work with the *Pacific World* and the Institute of Buddhist Studies that I was exposed to Mochizuki's work and how I came to be involved in this project, contributing a chapter on English language studies of Pure Land Buddhism in China. I offer this disclaimer to help explain what motivates my reflections on Shinkō Mochizuki's *Pure Land Buddhism in China: A Doctrinal History*, as well as Pure Land Buddhism in China more generally. Because, intellectually, I am focused on the modern period, when asked about Chinese Buddhism, my mind immediately goes to the present or the recent past—to robot monks for millennial Buddhists, for example<sup>1</sup>—not to the seventh century or Shandao. This is to say that I am interested in the *life* of religion—in material culture, the arts and religious practice, monastics not just as monks and nuns but as actual persons with complicated and messy lives.

Writing a literature review on English language sources on Chinese Pure Land Buddhism for the publication of Leo Pruden's translation of *Pure Land Buddhism in China* was a fairly straightforward project, albeit slightly outside my area of expertise. Upon publication, Richard Payne organized a panel, sponsored by the International Association of Shin Buddhist Studies and held at the annual meeting of the American

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1. See Courtney Bruntz, "Buddhism, Consumerism, and the Chinese Millennial," in *Methods in Buddhist Studies: Essays in Honor of Richard K. Payne*, ed. Scott A. Mitchell and Natalie Fisk Quli (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019).

Academy of Religion, inviting the contributors to “update” the work. I took this charge of updating to mean two things: first, to locate new sources that had been published since I wrote my original essay or sources overlooked when I had done that work; and, second, to revisit Mochizuki’s *Pure Land Buddhism in China* and engage it in conversation with more recent scholarship. Thus, it seems appropriate here to begin with a reflection on the work itself.

What strikes me most about *Pure Land Buddhism in China* is its comprehensiveness. Mochizuki has something to say about nearly everything—starting with the introduction of Buddhism to China in the second century all the way through to the twentieth. His work is encyclopedic in scope and yet filled with depth and insight. This is the kind of scholarship we do not see much of anymore, the kind that is almost actively discouraged. Today, scholars are asked to *specialize*. We focus in on a specific area or time or even person. I may be a specialist in Jōdo Shinshū, for example, but I am the first to admit that I am hardly a specialist in Jōdo Shinshū *doctrine*. History (mostly modern), contemporary practices, social issues, yes; but if one is looking for a lengthy discourse on *shinjin* or *tariki*, I will gladly defer to my colleagues.

In other words, in my view, contemporary scholarly practice dictates that we know what we know and, equally important, that we know what we *don’t* know, and that we, in a sense, stay in our lane. I would argue that the current scholarly climate makes the kind of work Mochizuki is doing here improbable. Whatever limitations we might find in his work from our current vantage point, I think we should also marvel at its ambition, at its scope and scale.

Virtually everything is in *Pure Land Buddhism in China*. This comprehensiveness leads to an obvious strategy to guide my research for the purposes of this reflection. As I searched for new or previously unmentioned sources, I would cross-reference those topics with Mochizuki. If I discovered an essay on any given topic or historical figure, I would go back to Mochizuki and see if he had also commented on the topic. If said topic was covered by Mochizuki, then we could engage in dialogue on different scholarly takes on a single subject; if not, then we could chart new territory. Of course, nearly everything I uncovered in those library searches, every topic, every historical figure, Mochizuki has covered in *Pure Land Buddhism in China*. And I will say here as an aside that I am grateful to the editors for including appendices for



converting Pinyin to Wade-Giles—extremely handy for those of us who can't do this in our sleep.

In addition to revisiting *Pure Land Buddhism in China*, I also revisited my own contribution to the new publication. In that essay, I wanted to expand our view beyond Pure Land doctrine and include works on Buddhism as a lived religion, what it means to *practice* Pure Land Buddhism in China. This expanded view included the visual arts and, looking back, I rather think I should have spent more time on this issue, especially the inter-relationship between Buddhist practice and the arts.

For example, in a contribution to the 2002 volume of *Pacific World*, “Practice of Visualization and the *Visualization Sūtra*,” Nobuyoshi Yamabe argues that this sutra should be studied in the context of other meditation manuals to discern its origins, to determine where it—or parts of it—were written. However, he also suggests that:

[W]e should not limit our scope of study to only written sources. Since the meditative methods described in the *Visualization Sūtra* ... are highly visual, we can easily expect such practice to have left some trace in visual art. If examined properly, some pieces of art may give us valuable “hard evidence” linking the *Visualization Sūtra* ... to a particular geographical area.<sup>2</sup>

Yamabe believes such “hard evidence” exists in the Toyok caves at Turfan, northwest of the more famous Magao caves at Dunhuang. His article is a detailed comparison of cave paintings and inscriptions and the *Visualization Sutra* itself. And he's particularly interested in artistic motifs such as fire, which may variously be interpreted as fire or rays of light, and comparing these motifs not only to the *Visualization Sutra* but to other visualization and meditation texts as well.

Through this analysis, Yamabe comes to believe that the paintings were created in conversation with several overlapping visualization and meditation texts. Some of these undoubtedly were part of an oral tradition that was still in transit along the Silk Road. Others were already composed texts from India or Central Asia, while still others were local compositions. Yamabe argues that, at least in one case, the paintings clearly reflect an awareness of what we now know as the

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2. Nobuyoshi Yamabe, “Practice of Visualization and the *Visualization Sūtra*: An Examination of Mural Paintings at Toyok, Turfan,” *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, 3rd ser., 4 (2002): 124.

*Visualization Sutra* but that this work visually overlaps with related texts and their associated practices.

Yamabe states that “In order for this model to work well, the texts must be local products. If the texts were composed elsewhere and imported as already established religious authorities, one would hesitate to deviate from them too much. They would be followed respectfully as ‘the words of the Buddha.’”<sup>3</sup> And he further suggests that this was the case at Dunhuang as well.

Thus, by bringing into conversation art and text, Yamabe is arguing that we can better discern the origin and evolution of texts. I would go further and suggest we can also trace the development or evolution of practices, texts, and even institutions over time and place. But what I want to call our attention to here is how Pure Land is deeply embedded in the religious/artistic *life* of a Silk Road Buddhist community. As is well known, the idea of a discrete lineage or sect of Pure Land Buddhism in China is an anachronism; it should not be surprising to find Pure Lands painted on cave walls all along the Silk Road, to see Pure Land visualization practices a one among many in Buddhist China.

Nevertheless, I still think it is worth teasing out the specifically Pure Land elements of Buddhist thought and practice in this way. The narrative that Pure Land represents something outside normative Buddhism is undermined by the existence of Pure Land thought and practice at all levels of Chinese Buddhism going back millennia. Visual arts are an ideal way to demonstrate this fact, as they are a literal visual manifestation of Pure Land’s import across Buddhist China. Several recent museum exhibitions focusing on the Dunhuang site have been particularly helpful in this regard, especially the shows in which the images are supplemented by virtual reality or augmented reality, thus allowing viewers to be in the Magao caves while also having a more immersive/educational experience.<sup>4</sup>

As mentioned earlier, my academic interests are rooted in the contemporary, in Buddhism as a lived religion. Buddhism as a lived religion is not constrained to doctrine, philosophy, or texts, but spills out into the world, manifesting in art, music, dance, family, politics, and so forth. To find evidence of this fullness of Buddhism-as-lived-religion,

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3. Ibid, 142.

4. See, for example, Sarah Kenerdine, “‘Pure Land’: Inhabiting the Mogao Caves at Dunhuang,” *Curator: The Museum Journal* 56, no. 2 (2013): 199–218.

one must necessarily be willing to look outside canonical texts, and here is where Jennifer Eichman's work, *A Late Sixteenth-Century Chinese Buddhist Fellowship: Spiritual Ambitions, Intellectual Debates, and Epistolary Connections*, is relevant.

The central figure in Eichman's work is the Ming dynasty monk Lianchi Zhuhong and epistolary materials documenting his monastic career, as well as debates and discussions with fellow monks and disciples. Being the Ming dynasty, Chan and Pure Land were in dialogue as well as Buddhism and Confucianism, each vying for political influence and patronage. In *Pure Land Buddhism in China*, Mochizuki devotes an entire chapter to Zhuhong, focused, unsurprisingly, on his doctrinal treatises. Epistolary materials and other non-canonical works in Eichman's study certainly reveal doctrinal issues, particularly debates between Buddhists and their Confucian interlocutors, as well as between those who favored Chan cultivation versus Pure Land recitation. However, epistolary materials reveal more than just doctrinal debates. Eichman writes:

Epistolary exchanges reveal a more personal side to lay participation, as letters chronicle how through their relationship with Zhuhong, other monks, and each other, these men nurtured their Buddhist ambitions. An analysis of Zhuhong's epistolary collection and other epistolary writings, including letters exchanged between precept-disciples, was indispensable to uncovering this fellowship, to discovering which Buddhist topics these men considered important, and to determining whom they regarded as their Buddhist friends.<sup>5</sup>

The bulk of Mochizuki's treatment of Zhuhong is a detailed exposition of his commentaries and discussion of Pure Land and Chan practice. Zhuhong was clearly concerned with reconciling apparent contradictions between Chan and Pure Land approaches to awakening. Chief among these was the notion that Sukhāvātī is a literal place in the physical world and the Chan notion of non-duality—that when the mind is pure the land is pure, or so the saying goes. Zhuhong was clear—the Pure Land is a real place and people are literally reborn there. And yet, he also argued that there was no distinction between mind and buddha. From Mochizuki:

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5. Jennifer Eichman, *A Late Sixteenth-Century Chinese Buddhist Fellowship: Spiritual Ambitions, Intellectual Debates, and Epistolary Connections* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 3.

[Zhuhong] adopted the theory that “there was no distinction between the mind, the buddhas, and sentient beings”; to [Zhuhong] the mind was identical to the buddhas and the buddhas were identical to all sentient beings, and since there is no difference between these three, when we recite the nien-fo this is actually nothing more than all sentient beings who are dwelling within the minds of all the buddhas reciting the names of these same buddhas, who are, in their turn, dwelling within the minds of these devotees.<sup>6</sup>

Eichman, in her analysis, suggests that, rather than trying to put Chan cultivation and Pure Land recitation on equal footing, Zhuhong is arguing that reciting the name encompasses all Buddhist practice.

Zhuhong promoted the doctrine of the interfusion of principle and phenomenon to claim that recitation of the name Amitābha Buddha embodied all other practices, no matter how superficial or abstruse. Zhuhong further attempted to allay Chan questions over the subject-object dualisms that seemingly arose from using a recitative device and from positing the Pure Land as a geographic location external to the mind.<sup>7</sup>

Eichman’s analysis of Zhuhong’s Pure Land practice is within the context of what she labels “family practices,” i.e., those practices that were suitable for the laity. She notes that Zhuhong accepted the scriptural assertion that women were born in male bodies in the Pure Land, and prohibited women from attending the monastery. At the same time, by bringing epistolary materials into her analysis, she is able to expand our view of Pure Land practice beyond doctrinal debates. Included in her analysis, for example, is Zhuhong’s *Rebirth Biographies* (*Wangshengji* 往生集), a catalog of deathbed scenes over the course of a millennium which, for Zhuhong, proves the efficacy of Pure Land practice—since each of these deceased persons were reborn in Sukhāvātī. (Mochizuki has very little to say about this work—almost nothing, in fact, other than mentioning that Zhuhong wrote it.) *Rebirth Biographies* includes the accounts of several women who were reborn in the Pure Land—and here is where her analysis of epistolary and other non-canonical sources is most helpful. Whereas Zhuhong only wrote letters to his male disciples and counterparts, “[o]ther letters reveal further rare

6. Shinkō Mochizuki, *Pure Land Buddhism in China: A Doctrinal History*, trans. Leo Pruden, ed. Richard K. Payne and Natalie E.F. Quli, 2 vols. (Moraga, CA: Institute of Buddhist Studies and BDK America, 2016), vol. 1.

7. Eichman, *Chinese Buddhist Fellowship*, 257.

insights such as Fellowship members improving female religious literacy by teaching their mothers Buddhist doctrine.”<sup>8</sup> And the *Rebirth Biographies* themselves include “biographies of recently deceased disciples or their family members and is an invaluable document for the study of household recitation practices. It helps us imagine a less religiously stratified world, linking domestic practice at all levels, inclusive of household servants and, more importantly, female family members.”<sup>9</sup>

Mochizuki does not include an analysis of the *Biographies* in his *Pure Land Buddhism in China*—it is a *doctrinal* history after all. So, despite my claim that he is trying to say something about everything, when paired with Eichman’s *A Late Sixteenth-Century Chinese Buddhist Fellowship*, clearly there is more to be said. Pure Land practices are infused within Chinese Buddhist religious life generally, and when we take an expansive view inclusive of non-canonical sources, epistolary writings, artistic representations, and so forth, our vision of the Pure Land in China is equally expanded.

I will conclude this reflection with a note of appreciation to the editors of this new version of Mochizuki’s *Pure Land Buddhism in China*—Richard Payne and Natalie Quli—whose vision to see this work updated and expanded will surely enhance our understanding of Pure Land Buddhism in China for years to come.

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8. *Ibid.*, 259.

9. *Ibid.*, 258.



## **A Brief Reflection on Mochizuki Shinkō's *Pure Land Buddhism in China: A Doctrinal History***

**Charles B. Jones**

The Catholic University of America

There is only one book that I own in three languages. I have a copy of Mochizuki Shinkō's 望月信亨 1942 *Chūgoku jōdo kyōri shi* 中国淨土教理史 in the original Japanese, a Chinese translation called *Zhongguo jingtu jiaoli shi* 中國淨土教理史, translated by Ven. Yin Hai 釋印海 and published in 1974. Now I also have the newly-published English version, called *Pure Land Buddhism in China: A Doctrinal History*.<sup>1</sup> Aside from Buddhist primary sources, there is no other book that I have in even two languages, let alone three.

To anyone who studies Pure Land Buddhism, this comes as no surprise. Mochizuki's book is only one of two comprehensive histories of Chinese Pure Land that I know of (the other being Chen Yangjiong's 陈扬炯 *General History*).<sup>2</sup> Daniel Getz has already noted what an extraordinary achievement this work was and placed it within its biographical and historical context, so I do not need to rehearse those themes further.<sup>3</sup> I will add that to fully appreciate what Mochizuki accomplished,

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1. Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, *Chūgoku jōdo kyōri shi* 中国淨土教理史 (*Pure Land Buddhism in China: A Doctrinal History*), 4th printing (Kyōto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1942); Wangyue Xinheng (Mochizuki Shinkō) 望月信亨, *Zhongguo jingtu jiaoli shi* 中國淨土教理史, trans. Ven. Yin Hai 釋印海 (Taipei 臺北: Zhengwen 正聞出版社, 1974); Mochizuki Shinkō, *Pure Land Buddhism in China: A Doctrinal History*, trans. Leo Pruden, ed. Richard K. Payne and Natalie E.F. Quli, 2 vols. (Moraga, CA: Institute of Buddhist Studies and BDK America, 2016).

2. Chen Yangjiong 陈扬炯, *Zhongguo jingtuzong tongshi* 中国淨土宗通史 (A General History of the Pure Land School in China) (Nanjing: Jiangsu Classical Publishing 江苏古籍出版社, 2000).

3. Daniel Getz, paper presented as part of the panel discussion "Mochizuki's Doctrinal History of Pure Land Buddhism in China," annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Boston, MA, November 17, 2017.



I have to put myself imaginatively back in a time when we did not have a wealth of studies already in our libraries to draw on; to a time when Buddhist texts were not digitized and the only way to find anything was to read them; to a time when the Taishō treasury of Buddhist literature was only just coming into existence; and a time when we did not yet have all the dictionaries and encyclopedias we now enjoy ready to hand. Mochizuki had to read and digest a massive amount of literature and keep copious and very well organized notes to do the work he did. That deserves recognition.

Daniel Getz's biographical sketch has also already noted how extraordinary it was that Mochizuki chose the subject matter for this book. Both the fact that he decided to examine Chinese Pure Land Buddhism, and that he chose to pursue it from its inception right up to modern times, was very unusual.

Nevertheless....

As I have used this book for many research projects, I have found that in some respects it does not serve my scholarship well, and in others I need to use it critically and keep an eye out for Mochizuki's own agenda and methodology.

First of all, I have never found his *Pure Land Buddhism in China* to be a book I would sit down and read through. His approach is entirely documentary and only rarely theoretical or analytical. Individual chapters present large swaths of data, and they often end very abruptly with no conclusion to tie things together.

When Mochizuki does engage in analysis, it tends to be unhelpful to the modern scholar. Here are a few examples:

1. Right at the outset Mochizuki offers a definition of "the Pure Land teachings" (Leo Pruden's translation of *jōdo kyō*, 淨土教). His definition is entirely too wide, encompassing *any* text or teaching about *any* buddha who has a buddha-field and preaches to beings that are reborn there. This is an etic definition that Mochizuki imposes upon the material; no Chinese Buddhist to my knowledge ever thought of the Pure Land tradition in that way. After a few further historical considerations, he states that the form of this pure land teaching that entered China centered predominantly on the Buddha Amitābha, and says that he will confine his remarks to that tradition. Looking at the matter another way, he begins by saying that Pure Land is "a separate tradition within Mahāyāna Buddhism," but then describes a set of beliefs that one may find throughout Mahāyāna. He then says he will

restrict his remarks to only one part of that tradition simply because it proved most popular.

This will not do. In China, it is very clear that the term “Pure Land,” understood emically, refers *only* to beliefs and practices about how devotees may attain rebirth in Sukhāvātī even if they have not acquired enough merit or purified themselves sufficiently to accomplish this on their own.

2. The lack of an adequate definition at the outset leads Mochizuki to include some figures and texts that I would have omitted. *Pace* to my good friend Dr. Ken Tanaka, I would not have placed Jingying Huiyuan (*Jīngyǐng Huìyuǎn* 淨影慧遠, 523–592) as part of the tradition, though I would certainly have noted his influence on its initial development. Neither would I have devoted a chapter to Kuiji (*Kuījī* 窺基, 632–682) or Jizang (*Jízàng* 吉藏, 549–623). Inclusion of figures such as these comes naturally from defining the tradition so vaguely.

3. Some problems arise from imposing Jōdo shū 淨土宗 categories onto the material. For example, he adopts Hōnen's (法然, 1133–1212) identification of “three traditions” (三種教系) of Pure Land in his analysis. Hōnen identified the three eminent masters Lushan Huiyuan (*Lúshān Huìyuǎn* 廬山慧遠, 334–416), Cimin (*Címǐn* 慈愍, 680–748), and Shandao (*Shàndǎo* 善導, 613–681) as the fountainheads of these traditions.<sup>4</sup> Mochizuki takes this up, but says the three traditions “merged” in later Chinese history.<sup>5</sup> This sheds no light on the history of Pure Land in China. Shunjō Nogami 野上俊靜 observed that Chinese Pure Land Buddhism was never divided into these three streams.<sup>6</sup> Saying that they once existed but later merged is questionable simply as a statement of fact, and gives us no analytic benefit.

In addition, I have noticed while reading this in pre-publication that Mochizuki identifies some strains of Chinese Pure Land as orthodox here and there. When he does so, it is clear that he is using Jōdo shū orthodoxy as his standard.

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4. See Hōnen, *Hōnen's Senchakushū: Passages on the Selection of the Nembutsu in the Original Vow* (*Senchaku hongān nembutsu shū*), trans. and ed. Senchakushū English Translation Project (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 62.

5. Mochizuki, *Pure Land Buddhism in China*, 1:85.

6. See Shunjō Nogami 野上俊靜 et al., *Zhong guo fo jiao shi gai shuo* 中國佛教史概說, trans. Sheng Yen 聖嚴 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan 臺灣商務印書館, 1993), 83.

4. Because he uses his own faith as a standard of orthodoxy, he misses aspects of Chinese Pure Land that distinguish it from its Japanese counterpart. For example, the strict differentiation of “self-power” from “other-power” is a major theme in Japanese Pure Land schools of all kinds, and so Mochizuki is alert for the roots of this distinction in the Chinese material. Consequently, I do not believe he ever acknowledges that Chinese Pure Land never made such a strict distinction or valued one over the other. Rather, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> the Chinese tradition always saw rebirth in the Pure Land as an accomplishment of the devotee and the Buddha combining their powers and working together.

Aside from these points, I want also to consider things that Mochizuki perhaps does not discuss. As the title of the book says clearly, this is a *doctrinal* history of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism. As such, it does not go into very much detail about other aspects of religious life: rituals, social groupings, art, and so on.

The real strength of this work, and the way in which it can benefit scholars most, comes from Mochizuki’s astonishingly broad reading and his mastery of a vast body of literature. Not only does he draw upon Buddhist sources to explain historical developments, but he also shows familiarity with non-Buddhist historiography as well (e.g., dynastic histories). In a time when one did not just conduct a digital search for keywords, one imagines that he spent many long hours poring over difficult texts. As a result of this, he is in a good place to begin an investigation into a specific topic. If he has touched on it, then the reader will get a good overview of it and see the primary texts that she or he should consult.

In conclusion, I have my three copies of Mochizuki and I will most likely continue to look at them regularly for as long as I pursue research in Chinese Pure Land Buddhism. I use it as a kind of reference work. I don’t read through it, but I use it to look up information on various figures that I happen to be studying. In that capacity, I can say that it is truly “encyclopedic.”

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7. Charles B. Jones, *Chinese Pure Land Buddhism: Understanding a Tradition of Practice*, Pure Land Buddhist Studies Series (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2019), chap. 4.