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On Maṇḍalas

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Maṇḍalas on the Move: Reflections from Chinese Esoteric Buddhism Circa 800 C. E.

The construction and use of maṇḍalas was an essential part of the Esoteric or tantric Buddhism which spread throughout Asia from the eighth century onward.¹ Yet the role of maṇḍalas as the vehicle for a complex, conservative, lineage-based and initiation-controlled ritual system is seldom examined. Focusing on maṇḍalas in the propagation of one lineage of late eighth-century Chinese Esoteric Buddhism, I propose that maṇḍalas represent the traces of a tradition at once conservative and designed to be readily adapted to new missionary fields.

But before I proceed I must meet the most obvious of objections: There are no maṇḍalas from eighth-century Chinese Esoteric Buddhism. The Esoteric Buddhism of India, Tibet, Central Asia, and Japan teems with a variety of maṇḍalas, and through these maṇḍalas we can trace the diffusion of Esoteric Buddhism from India to Japan. In China maṇḍalas dating to the Yüan Dynasty (1280-1368) testify to the influence of Tibetan Vajrayāna. The Mo Kao cave-temples at Tun-huang and the cave temples at Ta-tsu and An Yüeh in Szechuan contain Esoteric Buddhist iconography and maṇḍalas dating to the tenth century.² Yet not a single painted, drawn, or sculpted

1. Even if we leave aside modern adaptations of maṇḍala in Jungian psychology and new-age spiritual movements it is obvious that the "idea" of the maṇḍala is a very portable one. The use of maṇḍalas and pseudo-Sanskrit mantras in Taoist ritual is a good example of inter-tradition borrowing of maṇḍalas. This borrowing between Buddhism and Taoism seems to have been a two way street. As I have argued elsewhere, Pu-k'ung or one of his heirs seems to have borrowed the nonary configuration of Taoist cosmograms for the distinctive East Asian version of the *Vajradhātu* maṇḍala.

2. Matsumoto Eiichi, *Tonka ga no kenkyu* (Tokyo: Toho Bunka Gakuin, 1937) is still the classic work on the art of the Mo Kao caves. For an overview of the scholarship and a recent contribution to it see Henrik H. Sørensen, "Typology and Iconography in the Esoteric Buddhist Art of Dunhuang," *Silk Road Art and Archeology* 2, 1009-92 (Kamakura: Institute of Silk Road Studies): 285-349. On Ta-tsu see Liu Zhangjiu, Hu Wenho, and Li Yongqiao, eds., *Dazu shike*

maṇḍala can be definitively dated to the eighth century. Generations of Japanese scholars have labored to prove indisputably the T'ang dynasty provenance of the twin "Genzu" maṇḍalas which are at the heart of Kūkai's Shingon.³ Although Esoteric Buddhism has used painted and sculpted maṇḍalas, altars configured as maṇḍalas, maṇḍalas composed of syllables (*bija*) or symbols (*samaya*) visualized by the adept, and the body as maṇḍala, the only trace of these maṇḍalas dating from eighth-century China are descriptions of their construction and use preserved in ritual manuals. The situation is exactly the opposite of that described by Geri Malandra.⁴ For Ellora all that remains is the sculpture. For T'ang China all that remains are the ritual manuals.

This is not so bad a state of affairs, since maṇḍalas are an artifact of practice, and what we have are the "how to" manuals. In this essay I will examine ritual manuals from Pu-k'ung's (Pu-k'ung chin-kang, Amoghavajra, 705-774) lineage connected with the *Perfect Wisdom Scripture for Humane Kings Who Wish to Protect Their States*.⁵ The choice of these manuals is

yanjiu: Collected Works of the Researches on Dazu Stone Carvings (English subtitle) (Chengdu: 1985). For a survey of the An Yüeh carvings and maṇḍalas see Henrik H. Sørensen, *A Survey of the Religious Sculptures of Anyue*, East Asian Institute Occasional Papers 3 (Copenhagen: East Asian Institute, University of Copenhagen, 1989).

3. A continuing source of scholarly and religious controversy is the way in which the maṇḍalas described in Chinese texts *differ* from those dating from the earliest period of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism. Partisans of Shingon and Tendai Esoterism have a vested interest in discovering charters for their interpretations and practices either in the teachings of Pu-k'ung (Amoghavajra) or in those of his disciple Hui-kuo (Kūkai's teacher). Unfortunately this has led both to an anachronistic Shingonization of T'ang Esoteric Buddhism and to its virtual disappearance from the study of Tantric Buddhism. I have addressed these issues in "Seeing *Chen-yen* Buddhism: Traditional Scholarship and the Vajrāyana in China," *History of Religions* 29.2 (1989): 87-114. The literature in Japanese on the relationship between the Genzu maṇḍalas in use in Shingon and maṇḍalas in a variety of sources in T'ang translations is massive and the English literature on the topic is growing rapidly. For a convenient summary see Yamamoto Chikyo, *Introduction to the Maṇḍala*, (Kyoto: 1980) 64-82.

4. For Ellora as maṇḍala see Geri Malandra's essay in this volume and her *Unfolding a Maṇḍala* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

5. There are two versions of this text. The version attributed to Kumārajīva (*T.* 245) and that of Pu-k'ung (Amoghavajra, *T.* 246), are available in Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, (hereafter *T.*) 85 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924-1935). For an introduction to and description of the text see M. W. De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*:

not arbitrary. Indeed, they comprise a key link between India and Japan and they are emblematic of a tradition which is at once highly conservative and very adaptable. As I will demonstrate, these manuals were central to Pu-k'ung's Esoteric teachings and are representative of a number of other manuals in the lineage, all of which are based upon principles outlined in the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* (also known as the *Vajrasāekhara* or "Diamond Tip," *T.* 865-66, henceforth *STTS*).⁶ Moreover, these manuals and the maṇḍalas drawn from them epitomize the close connection—found throughout East and Central Asia—between Esoteric Buddhism and the state. Pu-k'ung's Esoteric Buddhism, which Osabe has aptly termed "State Protection Buddhism," sought the fulfillment of two goals, rapid enlightenment and benefits for the state.⁷ In response to the needs of his imperial patrons Pu-k'ung skillfully adapted ritual programs developed in South Asia to the situation in the T'ang court. It was these teachings which Pu-k'ung's spiritual grandson Kūkai imported to Japan. Though the continuities between Pu-k'ung's eighth-century manuals and some ninth-century Japanese manuals is astounding, Kūkai and his heirs readily adapted the Esoteric teachings to the ninth-century Japanese milieu. The key to this missionary success was the conjunction of a clearly defined ideology and a modular ritual structure.

Sūtras and Ceremonies in Use in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A. D. and their History in Later Times, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935) 116-142. De Visser's study includes a summary-translation of approximately one fourth of the text. For a full study and translation of the scripture see my *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings and the Creation of National Protection Buddhism* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, forthcoming).

6. The best source on the T'ang versions of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* (*T.* nos. 865 and 866) is David L. Snellgrove's introduction to Lokesh Chandra and David L. Snellgrove, *Sarva-Tathāgata-Tattva-Saṅgraha*, Śāta-Pitaka Series vol. 269 (New Delhi: Mrs. Sharada Rani, 1981) 5-67. One should note that Shingon references to the *STTS* are usually references to Pu-k'ung's text (*T.* no. 865) though references to Vajrabodhi's text (*T.* no. 866) and a host of commentaries is not uncommon. Both are truncated translations which focus on the first major section of the *STTS* text. The first complete Chinese translation of the *STTS* was by Shih-hu (Dānapāla) in 1002 (*T.* no. 882).

7. Osabe makes this argument in *Tōdai mikkyōshi zakkō* (Kobe: Kōbe Shōka daigaku gakujutsu kenkyūkai, 1973) 90-91.

MANḌALAS IN CHINA:

THE *STTS* AND THE PROTECTION OF THE STATE

Chinese Esoteric Buddhism has a complex prehistory which I cannot fully rehearse here. Suffice it to say that between the third century and the beginning of the eighth century South and Central Asian texts describing maṇḍalas and studded with *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* began first to trickle and then to pour into China.⁸ This piecemeal transmission continued until Śubhākarasimha (arrived Ch'ang-an in 717), and then Vajrabodhi, and his disciple Pu-k'ung arrived in the T'ang capital (721) to propagate and articulate comprehensive systems of Buddhist Esoterism.⁹

The reception of these missionaries was quite different than that which might be accorded in South Asia. Throughout most of the history of Buddhism in China highly educated monks propagating the teachings quickly became servants of the state. The *ācāryas* of the eighth century were not free to do as they pleased. On arrival at the court they were placed under house arrest as "guests" in a government monastery where they could be watched and interrogated. Once accepted they were put to work in the service of the state with teams of translators, rendering texts and performing rituals to augment state policy, to ensure seasonable rain, to repel invasion and put down uprisings, and to help promote the well-being of the imperial

8. Chou I-liang's "Tantrism in China" (*HJAS* 8 [1945]: 241-332) remains the best source on Chinese Esoteric Buddhism in English. Material on Japanese Shingon, by comparison, abounds. Yoshito S. Hakeda's *Kūkai: Major Works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978) gives access to the writings of Pu-k'ung's spiritual grandson, and works by Minoru Kiyota (*Shingon Buddhism* [Tokyo and Los Angeles: Buddhist Books International, 1978]) and Taikō Yamasaki, (*Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism* [Boston and London: Shambala, 1988]) give access to Japanese Esoteric thought and practice. Tajima Ryūjun's, *Étude sur le Mahāvairocana-Sūtra (Dainichikyō)* (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1936) is hard to get and comes from within the Shingon tradition, but it is more comprehensive than the works of Kiyota or Yamasaki. For further bibliography in French, Chinese, and Japanese see my "Seeing Chen-yen Buddhism."

9. For the current purpose I will not be examining the tradition stemming from the *ācārya* Śubhākarasimha. For standard overviews of his teachings and their confluence with those of Vajrabodhi and Pu-k'ung see Mochizuki, *Bukkyōdaijiten* 3005a; Matsunaga, *Mikkyōdaijiten* 1366c-1368a; Chou I-liang, "Tantrism in China," 251-272; and the transmission flow-charts in *Mikkyōdaijiten* beginning on p. 1. For more substantial bibliographical references see Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, chs. five and six.

family and its ancestors. Effectively to transplant Esoteric Buddhism to China meant combining religious ideology and political expediency.

The dominant ideological and ritual template of Pu-k'ung's Esoteric Buddhism was the *STTS*, and, though certain elements of the *Mahāvairocana Scripture* (T. no. 848, henceforth *MVS*) are used in his teaching, he actively promoted the *STTS* over the *MVS* which had been translated and propagated by Śubhākarasimha and I-hsing. The *STTS* was the centerpiece of Vajrabodhi's teaching, and procuring a more complete version of the text was the object of Pu-k'ung's pilgrimage to India and Ceylon.¹⁰ As we shall see, in pursuing the twin goal of enlightenment and protection of the state Pu-k'ung was adapting and extending the Indian teachings of the *STTS* and its cycle of texts for his Chinese patrons.

The central role of the *STTS* as the ideological and ritual template of Pu-k'ung's Esoteric teachings is enshrined in the story of the origin of the *STTS* and its maṇḍalas in an "iron stūpa" in central India.¹¹ The tale begins with a great worthy (*ta-te*, Sanskrit *bhadanta*) during the "Latter Age of the Teaching" (*mo-fa*) who through the use of Mahāvairocana's mantra had gained a vision of Mahāvairocana and of a teaching which has traditionally

10. For the *MVS* see Tajima Ryūjun, *Étude sur le Mahāvairocana-Sūtra: (Dainichikyō)*, and Iyanaga Nobumi's excellent "Liste des abbreviations (Bibliographie commentée)" which appears in "Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trilokyavijaya d'après les sources Chinoises et Japonaises," in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honor of R. A. Stein*, ed. by Michel Strickmann, *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, vol. 22 (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des hautes études Chinoises, 1985) 649-655. Yamamoto Chikyo has recently published a full translation of the text, making it available for the first time in English. The translation, however, lacks critical apparatus and is cast in a stilted, sometimes incomprehensible English. Notwithstanding, it is a useful and welcome contribution by one of Japan's foremost scholars of Shingon Buddhism. See *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, and Aditya Prakashan, 1990). I-hsing's biography is in *Sung kao-seng chuan* T. no. 2061, 50.732c7-733c24.

11. The legend of the Iron Stūpa recounts the origins of Pu-k'ung's Esoteric Buddhism and the "reappearance" of the *STTS* and its maṇḍalas and rites. The story was related by Pu-k'ung based on the oral teaching of his master Vajrabodhi and is found in *Instructions on the Gate to the Teaching of the Secret Heart of Mahā-yoga of the Scripture of the Diamond-Tip* (T. no. 1789, 39.808a19-b28, *Chin-kang-ting ching ta yü-ch'ieh pi-mi shin ti fa-men yi-kuei*). For a translation and introduction to the tale see Charles D. Orzech, "The Legend of the Iron Stūpa," Donald S. Lopez, Jr. ed., *Buddhism in Practice* (Princeton: University Press, 1995) 314-317.

been identified with the "Essential Rites for Vairocana" [T. no. 849 and *chüan* seven of the *MVS*].¹² Using these techniques he then opened the iron stūpa (i. e. he entered the maṇḍala). Once inside the stūpa his education consisted of a course in the *STTS* and we are informed that the text of the *STTS* available in China is but a superficial outline of the truly comprehensive scripture contained in the iron stūpa. A longer "outline" than that now extant was supposed to have been brought with Vajrabodhi from India, but this text which is described as "broad and long like a bed, and four or five feet thick," was tossed overboard during a typhoon. We are left with the obvious conclusion that the total teaching is still available, but only through initiation.¹³

The legend simultaneously encodes the basic process of initiation into the maṇḍala world of the Esoteric school and into a hierarchy of teachings and maṇḍalas. Through the process of *homa* (immolation) and consecration (*kuan-ting*, Sanskrit *abhiṣeka*) every initiate reenacts the burning away of defilements (*kleśa*) and the entry into the iron stūpa with his or her own entry into the maṇḍala.¹⁴ The *MVS* represents the lower Esoteric teachings whose mastery provides entry to the "higher" teachings. Once the initiate is "inside," the *STTS* is both the avenue to enlightenment and the basis of apotropaic ritual.

The dominant place of the *STTS* and the importance of the rituals related to the *Scripture for Humane Kings* is evident in three document collections compiled by Pu-k'ung's disciple Yüan-chao in the last quarter of the eighth century. The bulk of Pu-k'ung's correspondence was collected in *Tai-tsung ch'ao seng ssu-k'ung ta-pien cheng kuang-chih san-tsang ho-shang piao-chih-chi* [The Collected Documents Relating to the Monk Pu-k'ung of Tai-

12. There is no proper Sanskrit equivalent for the term *mo-fa*. For a discussion see Jan Nattier, *Once Upon A Future Time: Studies in A Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991) 95-103.

13. Pu-k'ung's *Indications of the Rites of the Eighteen Assemblies* [*Shih-pa hui chih-kuei*, T. no. 869, 18.284c-287c] outlines this more comprehensive text. It is notable that the fifteenth assembly consists of the *Guhyasamāja yoga* (*Pi-mi chi-hui yü-ch'ieh*, 827a28-b7). for more on this see Kenneth Eastman, "The Eighteen Tantras of the Vajraśekhara / Māyājāla," (unpublished paper presented to the 26th International conference of Orientalists in Japan, Tokyo, 1981). A brief resume of the paper appeared in *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 36 (1981): 95-96.

14. Indeed, as Kakuban and other esoteric masters make clear, "the iron stūpa is this very body." See *Kōgyō-daishi zenshū* (Tokyo: Kaji sekkai shisha, 1910) 510.

tsung's Reign, *T. no. 2120*, circa 781, hereafter *Piao-chih chi*]. The correspondence includes letters between Pu-k'ung and the emperors Su-tsung, and Tai-tsung as well as assorted other communications connected with the Esoteric school, including Pu-k'ung's testamentary memorial.¹⁵ These documents provide us a glimpse of Pu-k'ung's understanding of Esoteric Buddhism and its role in the court. The *Piao-chih-chi* is supplemented by two further works of Yüan-chao. The *Ta-t'ang chen-yüan hsu kai-yüan shih-chiao lu* [Supplement to the Catalogue of Buddhist Teachings of the Kai-yüan Period Compiled During the Chen-yüan Period of the Great T'ang Dynasty, *T. no. 2156*, compiled in 796, hereafter *Shih-chiao lu*], and the more expansive *Chen-yüan shin-ting shih-chiao mu-lu* [New Recension of the Catalogue of the Buddhist Teaching Compiled in the Chen-yüan Period, *T. no. 2157*, compiled in 800, hereafter *Shin-ting*], are invaluable sources for the teachings of Pu-k'ung's lineage from just after his death in 774 until just prior to Kūkai's arrival in 804.¹⁶

Time and again Pu-k'ung frames his life and mission in terms of the Five Wisdoms in the *STTS*, and its five-fold mandalic structure became the template for new rituals for his imperial and aristocratic patrons. Pu-k'ung states this plainly to his successors and to the emperor in his testamentary memorial:

Among the teachings I have translated, the Yoga of the Tip of the Vajra (the *STTS*) is the path for quickly becoming a Buddha. As for the remaining sections of the mantra teachings, these I present to help the state avoid disasters, to keep the stars on their regular courses, and to insure that the wind and rain are timely. [*T. no. 2120*, 52.840b1-2]

Reading these comments from the perspective of later Japanese Shingon tradition with its dual emphasis on the *STTS* and the *MVS* we might mistakenly assume that Pu-k'ung relied upon the teachings of the *STTS* for enlightenment and on the *MVS* for "worldly" goals. An examination of T'ang ritual texts from Pu-k'ung's lineage shows instead that the *STTS* and

15. The text is *T. 52.826c-860c*. Raffaello Orlando ("A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra [A. D. 705-774], diss., Princeton University, 1981) has translated some of the documents in this collection and lists the contents of others. Osabe Kazuo has translated the entire text into Japanese in "Gokyobu," *Kokuyaku Issaikyō* vol. 98, 476-604.

16. I examine the *Piao-chih chi* and both of Yüan-chao's catalogues in chapter six of *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*.

its central teachings not only provided the quick path to enlightenment, they also provided the basic structure or “template” for the key rituals of Pu-k’ung’s state-protection Buddhism. Only the most advanced students were granted full initiation to this teaching and Pu-k’ung took care to single them out:

Many are the disciples who have entered the altar to receive the *Dharma*. Eight of them have been nurtured and established in the [Yoga of the] Five Sections [the *STTS*], and two of these have died, leaving six persons [so trained]. These are: Han-kuang of the Chin-k’o [monastery], Hui-chao of Silla, Hui-kuo of the Ch’ing-lung [monastery], Hui-lang of the Ch’iung-fu [monastery], and Yüan-chao and Ch’ieh-chao of the Pao-shou [monastery].¹⁷ [T. no. 2120 844a28-b2]

The *MVS* is clearly *secondary* in Pu-k’ung’s tradition.¹⁸

While the *STTS* provided the basic ideological and ritual template for Pu-k’ung’s system, the *Scripture for Humane Kings* applied the teachings of the *STTS* to the onset of the “Latter Age of the Teaching” and to actualize the era of the Correct Teaching (*Cheng-fa, Saddharma*). Pu-k’ung and his disciples Liang-pi, Fei-hsi, and Yüan-chao produced a “new translation” of

17. The Yüan-chao mentioned here is not the Yüan-chao who compiled the *Piao-chih chi*.

18. Iyanaga Nobumi summarises the evidence for all three *ācāryas* having both the *STTS* and the *MVS* in his “Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara, 706-707, note 143. The transmission of these texts is quite complicated, particularly in the case of the *STTS*. For the *MVS* see Tajima Ryūjun, *Étude sur le Mahāvairocana-Sūtra: (Dainichikyō)*, and Iyanaga’s excellent “Liste des abréviations (Bibliographie commentée),” 649-655. For the *STTS* see David L. Snellgrove’s introduction to Lokesh Chandra and D. L. Snellgrove, *Sarva-Tathāgatha-Tattva-Saṅgraha* 5-67, and Iyanaga, 656-657. Elsewhere, such as in the *Tou-pu ũo-lo-ni mu* (T. no. 903, 898c-900a) attributed to Pu-k’ung, but probably the work of a disciple, both traditions are mentioned, and yet other disciples such as his biographer Chiao Ch’ien make pointed reference to Pu-k’ung’s teachings as comprised the *STTS* and “the method of setting up the *maṇḍala* according to the *Mahākaruṇagarbhamāṇḍala* of the *MVS*” (see T. no. 2056, 292c5ff, and 283a6-9). Some Japanese Scholars, such as Ono Gemmyo have argued on the basis of *maṇḍala* iconography that Pu-k’ung is the author of the pure “dual *maṇḍala*” tradition. See for instance, Chandra, 37. It seems clear that Pu-k’ung used the teachings of the *MVS* but not in a “double” sense as in Japan. The double *maṇḍala* tradition probably arose in the generation after Pu-k’ung and it never came to be the all-encompassing ideological emblem that it did in Japan.

this anonymous fifth-century Chinese scripture in 765-66.¹⁹ Liang-pi and Pu-k'ung also produced ritual manuals in tandem with the new scripture and Liang-pi wrote a massive *Commentary on the Scripture for Humane Kings*.

The importance of the new recension of the scripture and its newly esotericized rituals is evident in the *Piao-chih chi*. The *Piao-chih chi* begins with Pu-k'ung's involvement in the denouement of the An Lu-shan rebellion and establishes a parallel between the emperor (in this case Su-tsung) who is the head of the state and the Buddha (and, by implication, the *ācārya*, Pu-k'ung).²⁰ The first section of the *Piao-chih-chi* presents us with a major disaster which is rectified by close cooperation between the emperor and the *ācārya* and by new forms of ritual action and honors by the emperor. It then goes on to portray the institutionalization of the Correct Teaching in this dual sovereignty under the new emperor Tai-tsung. Through the careful arrangement of a wealth of documents, Yüan-chao shows again and again that this is the ideal polity for the empire, and that the *Scripture for Humane Kings* is the emblem of that polity.

As I have detailed elsewhere, the structure of Yüan-chao's *Piao-chih chi* was a response to particular historical circumstances. Te-tsung came to the throne in June of 779 as an energetic 40-year-old bent on wresting some of the control of the empire back from provincial warlords. He did not share his father's regard for the Esoteric masters, and, indeed, he put an end to esoteric rites in the palace and cut back patronage to the school.²¹ During the years 782-85 Te-tsung was beset by a series of rebellions brought on by his stubborn pursuit of renewed imperial control over the nominally loyal warlords who had entrenched themselves as an outcome of the An

19. According to *Fo-tsu t'ung chi* (T. no. 2035, 39.377c-378a) Tai-tsung personally ordered the new translation and compared the two versions. The immediate cause of the new translation was the 765 Tibetan invasion of the Chinese heartland led by the Uigur commander P'u-ku Huai-en. P'u-ku Huai-en dropped dead in camp and his forces fell into disarray. Pu-k'ung was credited with this fortunate turn of events. According to Fei-hsi, the ritual that felled P'u-ku Huai-en invoked the *vidyārāja* Acala who is often the focus of Humane Kings rituals. For Fei-hsi's comments see *Piao-chih chi* 52.849a1-5.

20. I have argued elsewhere that the unusual structure of the *Piao-chih chi* centers around a dual polity of Emperor and *ācārya* and the role of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*. See *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, chapter six, "A New Buddhist-State Polity: Pu-k'ung, Yüan-chao, and the *Piao-chih chi*."

21. For Te-tsung's reign, see C. A. Peterson, "Court and Province in Mid- and Late T'ang, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3 pt. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 492ff.

Lu-shan rebellion. What began in 782 as moderate success for imperial forces soon turned into a nightmarish repeat of the events 37 years earlier during the An Lu-shan rebellion. In 783-84 Te-tsung was forced to flee his capital and to retreat, first to Feng-t'ien and then toward Szechuan. Not until 785 did he reenter the capital.²² The parallel with the events of the An Lu-shan rebellion must have been on everyone's mind. Yüan-chao begins the *Piao-chih chi* with a memorial by Pu-k'ung congratulating Su-tsung for retaking the capitol during the An Lu-shan rebellion. In the memorial Pu-k'ung refers to ritual activity he had undertaken to repulse the invaders, rituals which are elsewhere identified as invoking the *vidyārāja* Acala (*Pu-tung*) associated with esoteric performances based on the *Scripture for Humane Kings*. Yüan-chao's careful sequencing of documents presents an ideal Esoteric polity, a polity supported by rituals of the "humane kings" established by Pu-k'ung.

The roles of the *STTS* and the *Scripture for Humane Kings* in Pu-k'ung's teachings are also further evident in Yüan-chao's two "catalogues," the *Shih-chiao lu* and the *Hsin-ting*. The large number of Esoteric scriptures in Yüan-chao's catalogues reflects both the fact that these were the scriptures that were "hot" in India and Central Asia in the latter part of the eighth century and the dominance of Pu-k'ung's Esoteric teachings. The *Hsin-ting* is indeed a massive catalogue of Buddhist scriptures, though one which highlights scriptures of the Esoteric school and particularly those aligned with the *STTS*. But the *Shih-chiao lu* is no comprehensive catalogue at all. Instead it has three concerns: the new recension of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* and its commentaries; the commentary on the *Liu-ch'u ching* (another important text in the *STTS* orbit) and the role of the monk Prajñā in its propagation; and the great *vinaya* commentary produced at the An-kuo monastery.²³ Yüan-chao was involved in these projects as "recorder" and 75% of the *Shih-chiao lu* consists of narrative accounts of these projects.

The *Shih-chiao lu* is broken into three *chüan* with translations of scriptures in the first, commentaries in the second, and catalogues, memorial

22. For the An Lu-shan rebellion see *The Cambridge History*, 453-463. For Te-tsung's predicament see *The Cambridge History*, esp. 503-510.

23. The *Liu-ch'u ching* (Japanese *Rishukyō*) is a short *Prajñāpāramitā* with decidedly tantric coloring. Pu-k'ung made a translation of the text (*T.* no. 243, 8.784a-786b) and Ian Astley-Kristensen has produced an excellent study and translation of the scripture, *The Rishukyō: The Sino-Japanese Tantric Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses (Amoghavajra's Version)* (Buddhica Britannica, Series Continua III (Tring, U. K.: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1991).

stele, and other documents comprising the third *chüan*.²⁴ The first long narrative to appear in the *Shih-chiao lu* is the narrative of the history of the transmission of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* and the circumstances of the production of its new recension, of Pu-k'ung's ritual commentaries on the scripture, and of Liang-pi's great commentary [749c-753a with short breaks; 758a-758c; 761c]. When we add the prominent role of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* in the *Shih-chiao lu* to its place in the *Piao-chih chi* it is clear that Esoteric rituals connected with the *Scripture for Humane Kings* were among the most visible signs of the adaptation of South Asian Esoteric Buddhism to the Chinese milieu.²⁵

THE STRUCTURE OF ESOTERIC RITUAL

Before we can examine Pu-k'ung's ritual manuals and how maṇḍalas connected with the *Scripture for Humane Kings* were produced from them, a brief overview of Esoteric ritual and the templates from the *STTS* is in order. The purpose of ritual (*sādhana*) is *siddhi* (Chinese *ch'eng-chiu*, sometimes transliterated as *hsi-ti*) a term which literally means the attainment of a goal. In Esoteric Buddhism the basis of *siddhi* is often defined as the realization of the identity of the practitioner's body (*mudrā*), speech (*mantra*), and mind (*samādhi*) with those of the "basic divinity," (Chinese *pen-ts'un*, Japanese *honzon*). Some treatments of Esoteric Buddhism tend to over-intellectualize the tradition by focusing on the mental component. Esoteric ritual involves all three components, mental, sonic, and somatic. When *siddhi* is considered from the perspective of ultimate enlightenment, *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*, then one refers to it simply as *siddhi* or more specifically as *lokottara siddhi* (*ch'u-shih ch'eng-chiu*, or *ch'eng-chiu hsi-ü*). When this attainment is channeled toward action in the conditioned

24. While much of the material in the collection has been reassembled from the *Piao-chih-chi* and other sources, occasional new details do appear. There are mentions of 100 seat Humane Kings convocations as well as a narrative of the grand convocation outside the south gate of the city in 765. Yüan-chao mentions 100 seat Humane Kings convocations at *T.* no. 2156, 55.751c9-18, including an imperial reply, and another at 55.761c24. The great convocation outside the south gate of the city in 765 is the one connected to P'u-ku Huai-en and the Tibetan invasion and the new recension of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*. The account appears at 55.752b27-753b8.

25. Together these documents provided the exempla for a "national protection" Esoteric Buddhism which was exported to Korea and Japan, where it once again underwent complex evolution. The *Piao-chih chi* was among the key texts taken to Japan by Kūkai.

universe through images, maṇḍalas, and mantras it is referred to as mundane *siddhi* (*laukika siddhi*, *shih-chien ch'eng-chiu*) and is manifested through application of supernormal powers used to aid in the salvation of beings. Though the purpose of any given ritual might be predominantly *lokottara* or *laukika*, all rites assume both goals.

This "dual" structure is often described in terms of "inner" and "outer" dimensions of performance. Rituals are articulated in terms of the inner versus the outer cosmos, the human body and the divine body, the samsaric cosmos and the nirvanic cosmos. These relationships are established and manipulated mentally, sonically, and physically through the use of visualization, mantra, *homa*, *abhiṣeka*, *nyāsa*.²⁶ Such correspondences are repeatedly articulated in the Esoteric texts and commentaries. For instance, in discussing *homa* (immolation) one text in the *STTS* cycle says that the outer *homa* is the fire altar, the sapwood, and so on, while in the "adamantine inner *homa* . . . total enlightenment is the flame and my own mouth is the hearth."²⁷ Although *siddhi* is thus of "two types," each attainment implies and requires the other.²⁸

The ultimate soteriological element of Esoteric ritual is "identification," or the generation of the adept in the body of the divinity for the purpose of insight into emptiness. Nevertheless, most rites, such as those of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, focus on the *effect* of such identification in the world. Thus, most rituals are apotropaic, and the adept, acting as the divinity, secures various sorts of blessings for a community. The apotropaic dimension of Esoteric ritual has not escaped scholarly attention. Stephan Beyer's *The Cult of Tārā* demonstrates this dual goal in Tibetan rites to Tārā, and the articles of William Stablien demonstrate the process in Newar healing rituals.²⁹ Indeed, the two kinds of *siddhi* may be consid-

26. On *nyāsa* (the localization of divine powers in the body) see Bharati, 273-274; Eliade, *Yoga*, 210-211; and the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, T. no. 848, 18. 22a-22b, 38b-38c.

27. From the *Chin-kang-feng-lo-ko i-ch'ieh yü-ch'ieh yu-ch'i* attributed to Vajrabodhi, T. no. 867, 18.266a12-21. Examples abound throughout the tradition.

28. The root texts of the tradition discuss not only the attainment of enlightenment but also the attainment and use of supernormal powers. Rituals used to obtain these *siddhi* comprise a sizable part of the latter portions of the *STTS*. So too, texts aimed at immediate "worldly" goals almost always point out the soteriological and transcendent insight gained in such practices.

29. Stephan Beyer, *The Cult of Tārā: Magic and Ritual in Tibet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) esp. 254-258. William Stablien, "A Descriptive Analysis of the Content of Nepalese Buddhist *Pūjās* as a Medical-Cultural

ered the ritual realization of the two truths, a realization in which the adept simultaneously becomes "world renouncer" and "world conqueror."

The cultivation of *siddhi* is the aim of the Esoteric teaching, and Esoteric rituals, whether of the Indian, Tibetan, Chinese or Japanese variety, exhibit a highly regular structure based on the metaphor—harkening back to the Vedas—of inviting a guest for dinner. "At the most fundamental and overt level, both Vedic and Tantric rituals are banquets in honor of the gods."³⁰ This is so in Vedic ritual (much else is, of course, going on), in *pūjā* ("offering") which characterizes popular Hindu worship, and in the various rites of the tantras. Indeed, if we examine the sixteen traditional *upacāras* or "attendances" of household and temple *pūjā* we find remarkable correspondence with *homa* and other esoteric rites.³¹ Not surprisingly, one mainstream tradition in Japanese Shingon (*Chūinryū* of Kōyasan) divides most rituals into five modules based on the guest metaphor: purification, construction, encounter, identification, and dissociation.³² However the stages of ritual are divided, what occurs is the construction of a world—of a maṇḍala—in which the adept and the buddhas, bodhisattvas, or guardian divinities can meet. This fundamental mandalic structure is a simulacra of the cosmos with Mahāvairocana enthroned in the palace at the summit of the realm of form (the *akaniṣṭha* heaven). The ritual construction of the maṇḍala is the construction of the universe. The process of construction culminates in the consecration (*abhiṣeka*) of the adept.³³ Realizing the

System with Reference to Tibetan Parallels," A. Bharati, ed., *In the Realm of the Extra-Human: Ideas and Actions* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976) 165-173, and his "Tantric Medicine and Ritual Blessings," *The Tibetan Journal* 1 (1976): 55-69.

30. Wade T. Wheelock, "The Mantra in Vedic and Tantric Ritual," Harvey P. Alper, ed., *Mantra* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989) 111. For an introduction to and brief bibliography on the vast topic of Vedic ritual see Jan C. Heesterman, "Vedism and Brahmanism," *Encyclopedia of Religion* 15:217b-242a. For the metaphor of the "guest" in Vedic ritual see J. C. Heesterman, *The Broken World of Sacrifice: An Essay in Ancient Indian Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) esp. 36-39, 188-89.

31. For a convenient overview of *pūjā* and relevant bibliography see Nancy E. Auer Falk, "Pūjā," in *Encyclopedia of Religion* 12:83a-85a. The list of the sixteen *upacāras*, "invocation," "offering a seat," "greeting," "water," etc. is on page 84a.

32. For this analysis see Richard K. Payne, "Feeding the Gods: The Shingon Fire Ritual," diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1985, 219ff. Payne's thesis has been published as *The Tantric Ritual of Japan: Feeding the Gods: The Shingon Fire Ritual* (New Delhi: Aditya, 1991).

33. The process begins on 237c and runs through 239b.

complete identity of his body, speech, and mind with that of Mahāvairocana, the fully initiated adept is consecrated Lord of the Triple World. This "lordship" involves both world transcendence (*lokottara siddhi*, Chinese *ch'u shih ch'eng-chiu*) and world conquest (*laukika siddhi*, Chinese *shih-chien ch'eng-chiu*). This element of "world conquest" was taken quite seriously in East Asia and royal patrons endowed grand temples with permanent altar / maṇḍalas for *abhiṣeka* and *homa*.

The Esoteric ritual system of Vajrabodhi, Pu-k'ung, and their disciples at first seems labyrinthian. One is confronted with hosts of divinities, buddhas, and bodhisattvas, with seemingly endless ritual texts and ritual variations. In fact the system is quite straight-forward, even when we take into account the tendency to ritual accretion and elaboration over time. As in Taoist rituals scrutinized by Kristofer Schipper, we find here an architectonic ritual paradigm or template out of which specific rituals are constructed to meet specific needs. These rituals are themselves composed by stringing together a series of "rites" in a sort of boilerplate fashion.³⁴ Ritual elaboration typically takes place through the embedding or nesting—sometimes recursively—of independent modules or rites into larger ritual structures, a process which usually involves some modification of the original ritual's concern.³⁵

At the highest level, the architectonic paradigms—the "cosmological" outlines or templates—are laid down in the root texts of the tradition, whether the *STTS* or the *MVS*.³⁶ Each scripture details a distinctive

34. Kristofer Schipper, *The Taoist Body*, trans. Karen C. Duval (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1993). For Schipper's discussion of rituals and rites see, pp. 75-80.

35. Fritz Staal has made similar arguments concerning Vedic ritual. See his "Ritual Syntax," in *Sanskrit and Indian Studies*, ed. M. Nagatomi, et al. (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Co., 1980) 119-142.

36. In addition to these two scriptures the *Susiddhikara* (T. no. 893) was seen in certain late T'ang Esoteric lineages as a third, integrating principle uniting the *MVS* and the *STTS*. For these developments see R. Misaki, "On the Thought of Susiddhi in the Esoteric Buddhism of the Late T'ang Dynasty," *Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism in Commemoration of the 1,150th Anniversary of the Founding of Kōyasan* (Kōyasan: Kōyasan University Press, 1965) 255-281, and Osabe Kazuo, "On the Two Schools of Garbhodbhāva Esoteric Buddhism in the Latter Period of the T'ang Dynasty and the Method of the Three Siddhis," in the same collection, pp. 237-254. Osabe goes into greater depth in *Tōdai mikkyōshi zakkō*, 209-252.

maṇḍala structure.³⁷ Thus, when we examine the *STTS*, we find a systematic procedure for constructing a maṇḍala / altar based upon the relationships of its constituent divinities. These relationships govern the construction of the maṇḍala / altar and the progress of the ritual, from the establishment of boundaries, through the visualization of its central divinity, to the visualization of its subsidiary divinities or their *bīja* or *samaya*. The scripture gives the name and mantra of each divinity, his or her *mudrā*, and an iconographic description for the purpose of visualization.³⁸ In the case of the *MVS* the maṇḍala unfolds as a lotus to reveal a pyramid-like hierarchy of Mahāvairocana surrounded by the buddhas of the cardinal directions and the interstitial bodhisattvas arranged on the eight petals of a lotus throne. In the most common graphical arrangements (the so-called *Genzu* maṇḍala in Shingon) eleven other halls emanate from the petals representing the activities of the bodhisattvas. The *MVS* also classifies all of its divinities into three categories: Buddha, Vajra, and Padma.

In the *STTS* Mahāvairocana, seated in the *karma* assembly, is surrounded by four buddhas representing four aspects of his wisdom. In contradistinction to the pyramid-like hierarchy of the *MVS* each of these buddhas is the center of another five-fold configuration which recursively replicates the larger pattern. Altogether the scripture describes the five buddhas, sixteen *prajñā* bodhisattvas and sixteen *samādhi* bodhisattvas. These latter are divided into female *pūjā* and male *prajñā* bodhisattvas. Thus, thirty-seven divinities comprise this maṇḍala. The *STTS* classifies its divinities

37. In the case of the *STTS* we find a five-fold structure composed of four buddhas arranged at the cardinal directions surrounding Mahāvairocana. In turn, each of these buddhas is the center of a similar cardinal and recursive arrangement. The divinities are seated on a lotus throne which rests on a lunar disk. In the *MVS* Mahāvairocana is surrounded at the cardinal and interstitial directions by buddhas and bodhisattvas, but these stand alone and are not, as in the *STTS* the center of further cardinal deployments. Each buddha or bodhisattva is seated on a lunar disk which rests upon a lotus (the reverse of the *STTS*).

38. For example, the key "template" text for the teachings of the *STTS* in the mid to late T'ang was Vajrabodhi's *Scripture Outlining the Meditations and Chants in the Yoga of the Vajra Summit* (*Chin-kang-ting yü-ch'ieh chung lüeh-ch'u nien-sung ching* [T. no. 866, 18.223b-253c]). The text is a truncated version of a much longer Sanskrit text. This translation renders only the first part of the full text and focuses on the establishment of the great maṇḍala and instructions for the initiation of disciples. The actual construction of the maṇḍala begins at 227a. Each of the five central divinities is named and their mantras, *mudrās* and iconography are detailed. Shih-hu (Dānapāla) provided the first full Chinese translation of the *STTS* (T. no. 882) at the end of the tenth century.

into Buddha, Vajra, Padma, Ratna, and Karma, in accord with the type of wisdom and maṇḍala described in the text. While the *MVS* includes the Vajra-beings, they play a much more prominent role in the *STTS*.

Ritual "application" for specific purposes starts with the fundamental template which governs the deployment of the maṇḍala / altar itself, the names and iconography of the divinities in it, and their mantras and *mudrās*. Each ritual manual (Sanskrit *kalpa*, "ordinance," Chinese *i-kuei*, or *fa*, "method"), is structured by the template in the form of the chief divinity for the ritual. Thus, in the esoteric ritual for Humane Kings *Prajñā-pāramitā* bodhisattva of the *STTS* is the central divinity. Much of the rest of a given ritual, its subsidiary divinities and sequences of rites, are drawn from the *STTS*. Indeed, the construction of the maṇḍala / altar is largely a matter of using boilerplate sequences appropriate to the *STTS*. These sequences include the purification of the adept and the site, the construction of the maṇḍala / altar, the expulsion of hindrances or evil influences, the invitation of the three "departments" (in this case buddhas, bodhisattvas, and vajra-beings) of the *STTS*, offerings (water, thrones, incense, lamps, etc.), meditation on the chief divinity, and exit rites (usually the reverse of preparatory sequences). All are structured according to the template of the *STTS* using boilerplate recognizable in a variety of ritual texts by identical sequences of procedures, mantras, *mudrās*, and divine names.³⁹ This modular approach makes the system learnable, infinitely expandable, and easily adapted to whatever needs a new context might require.

One dimension of the template derived from the *STTS* is a division of the manifestations, functions, and attributes of divinities into "wheel bodies" (*lun shen*, Sanskrit *cakrakāya*).⁴⁰

39. One example of such "boilerplate" is based on the *Shih-pa kuei-yin*, which Shingon exegetes consider to be Kūkai's account of his master Hui-kuo's teaching. The text is *T.* no. 900, 18.781c-783c. It sets out a standard sequence of worship keyed to a series of *mudrā*. This sequence does in fact reflect sequencing found in T'ang dynasty manuals. For an outline of the sequence and the *mudrās* see *Mikkyōdaijiten* 2:888a-889b. For the T'ang manuals and their sequencing see the tables of correspondence in Hatta Yukio's *Shingonjiten* (Tokyo: Hira-kawa shuppansha, 1985) 255 and 264-67. Hatta's dictionary is one of the most important works for the study of East Asian Esoteric Buddhism to be produced in recent decades. For a review see Ian Astley-Kristensen, "Two Sino-Japanese Dhāraṇī Dictionaries," *Temenos* 23 (1987): 131-134. "Boilerplate Sequences in Pu-k'ung's Teachings" compares these sequences in key T'ang dynasty texts and is found below.

40. Kiyota translates *lun shen* as "Wheel-body" (*Shingon*, 103-104). Unfortunately this is both meaningless and clumsy in English and it misses the the

According to the Sanskrit text of the Yoga of the Summit of the Vajra (the *STTS*) in the possession of Tripitaka (Pu-k'ung) . . . the five bodhisattvas⁴¹ manifest bodies differentiated in accord with two kinds of wheel. In the first—the Wheel of the [Correct] Teaching—*bodhisattvas* manifest their bodies of truth (*chen-shih shen*) because this is the body received as recompense for the practice of vows. In the second—the Wheel which brings about the Teaching—[they] display their bodies of wrath (*wei-nu shen*) because it is the body which, arising from great compassion, manifests as anger.⁴²

Thus, each of the five buddhas of the *STTS* have three forms: Buddha, bodhisattva, and wrathful *vidyārāja*.⁴³ Buddhahood—the state of enlightenment itself—is represented as the “Wheel body of the Self-nature” (*tzu-hsing lun shen*, Sanskrit *svabhāvacakrakāya*). Apotropaic rites focusing on the beneficent teaching activities of bodhisattvas invoke the “Body [which turns] the Wheel of the Correct Teaching” (*cheng-fa lun shen*, Sanskrit *sadharmacakrakāya*). These beings have the term *vajra* (*chin-kang*) prefixed to their names. The chastizing and wrathful manifestations who are transformations of the buddhas and bodhisattvas are designated the “Body [which turns] the Wheel of Command” (*chiao-ling lun shen*, San-

metaphorical, mythical and cosmological connotations of the term (discus, realm / *cakravala* ruler / *cakravartin* etc.). I suggest *lun shen* abbreviates the phrase *chuan-lun shen*, “wheel-turning body” or “body which turns the wheel of . . .” Thus, *Cheng-fa-lun shen* should be read as “body [which turns] the Wheel of the Correct Teaching,” and *Chao-ling-lun shen* is the “body [which turns] the Wheel which Commands” or “brings about the Teaching.” For the sake of fluid English I call these the “Body of the Correct Teaching” and “Body of Command” respectively. See Ian Astley-Kristensen’s analysis of the term in *The Rishukyō* 136 and 207.

41. “Bodhisattvas” (*p'u-sa*) here refers to the buddhas Mahāvairocana, Ratnasambhāva, etc., in their compassionate activities.

42. The passage occurs in slightly different form in two places. It occurs in Liang-pi’s great *Commentary on the Scripture for Humane Kings* (T. no. 1709, 33.515c22-25) and in *Instructions for the Rites, Chants, and Meditations of the Prajñāpāramitā-dhāraṇī Scripture for Humane Kings Who Wish to Protect Their States* (T. no. 994, 19.514a24-28) *Jen-wang hu-kuo po-jo-po-lo-mi-to ching t'o-lo-ni nien-sung i-kuei*, hereafter *Instructions*) a24-28. The “wheel-bodies” are also covered briefly in *Bukkyōdaijiten* 1857c-1858a, 1315b, and 623a.

43. These three are similar to the “families” of the *MVS* and it is tempting to see these wheel bodies as indicative of the influence of the *MVS*. Perhaps their inspiration is in the *MVS* but, as the quote indicates, in Pu-k'ung’s manuals they are clearly framed in terms of the *STTS*.

skrit *Ādeśanācakra-kāya*). The term *vidyārāja* (*ming-wang*) is suffixed to their names and they are activated in rites of subjugation and in situations where beings forcefully resist the teaching.⁴⁴ Liang-pi identifies the Correct Teaching body of each of the five buddhas. For instance, the Correct Teaching form of Mahāvairocana of the *STTS* is Vajrapāramitā (the chief divinity of the Humane Kings ritual), and this form represents the body of Mahāvairocana who, having just achieved the state of total enlightenment, sets in motion the wheel of the Teaching “to transform and guide beings” to the other shore (*T.* no. 1709, 33.516b12-16). In apotropaic ritual one or two “wheels” (the Correct Teaching form and the Wrathful form) may be activated. Although there are no extant graphic representations of these wheels from eighth-century China, the Wheel bodies and their associations were given physical expression in Kūkai’s *Ninnōkyō mandara* which still survives in the lecture hall of Tōji.⁴⁵

ESOTERIC RELIGION ON IMPERIAL ALTARS: INSTRUCTIONS AND ITS COHORT OF RITUAL MANUALS

When we examine ritual texts produced by Pu-k’ung and his successors we find that ritual aid for the state fell into two broad categories. Some rituals were for the express welfare of the imperial family, both living and dead, while others were designed to protect and maintain the state and the cosmic order more generally.⁴⁶ Whether it involved an Esoteric revamping of ear-

44. It is tempting to identify the Wheel body of the Self-nature with the *dharmakāya*, the Body of the Correct Teaching with the *samboghakāya*, and the Body of Command with the *nirmānakāya*. From this perspective the Body of Command proceeds from the Body of the Correct Teaching in a fashion reminiscent of medieval Christian arguments about the Son and the Holy Spirit. Some Shingon exegetes do exactly this. See, for instance, the entry in “Sanrinzin,” *Mikkyōdaijiten* 2:844a-b. Tang Esoteric teachings do not specify whether the Body of the Correct Teaching is a *samboghakāya* or a *nirmānakāya*. Indeed, in terms of ritual practice, both the Body of the Correct Teaching and the Body of Command are forms of the Buddha’s compassion (compassion and wrath aroused by compassion).

45. See *Mikkyōdaijiten* 4:1764c-1767a.

46. The most prominent of these are the “distribution” rites (*shih-shih*). Since their appearance in the late Tang, the *shih-shih* have formed the ritual core of the Ghost Festival and of rites for the recently dead. Both Pu-k’ung and Śikṣānanda translated manuals for rituals used to alleviate the suffering of beings in the lower realms, rituals which found immediate application in rites for the dead and in the yearly Ghost Festival. These texts serve both as guides to practice and as accounts of the origin of the rites. They include *The Conditions and Causes*

lier Buddhist texts and rituals or the production of new rituals Pu-k'ung and his successors consistently followed the template set out in the *STTS*.⁴⁷

Although I will focus primarily on the ritual manuals connected with the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, several other contemporary manuals produced under Pu-k'ung's tutelage form its cohort. Among these are the *Kuan-tzu-tsai p'u-sa ju-i-lun nien-sung i-kuei* (T. no. 1085, hereafter *Ju-i-lun*), the *Wu-liang-shou ju-lai kuan-hsing kung-yang i-kuei* (T. no. 930, hereafter *Wu-liang-shou*), and the *Chin-kang-ting lien-hua-pu hsin nien-sung i-kuei* (T. no. 873, hereafter *Hsin kuei*). I will return to these manuals shortly.

Three ritual commentaries on Pu-k'ung's new recension of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* are attributed to Pu-k'ung (though likely the joint product of Pu-k'ung and his close disciples).⁴⁸ The most important of these

Which Gave Rise to the Teaching to Ānanda Concerning the Essentials of the Yoga [Tradition] on Distribution of Food to Burning Mouths (T. nos. 1318 and 1319), *The Dhāraṇī Sūtra for Saving the Burning Mouth Hungry Ghost* (T. nos. 1313 and 1314), and the ritual text *Distributions of Food and Water to Hungry Ghosts* (T. no. 1315). This last text presents a ritual, centered on the use of mantra, for magically multiplying offerings of food and water to alleviate the suffering of the countless beings in the lower realms. The new techniques of offering are given authoritative charter through an account of the ritual's origins, an account which is associated with these rites into this century. The earlier rites connected with the Chinese *Yü-lan-p'en Scripture* have been treated by Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). Teiser has also explored the emergence of the Chinese vision of the underworld in his study and translation, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994). For an exploration of the the *shih-shih* rites see Charles D. Orzech, "Esoteric Buddhism and the Shishi in China," Henrik H. Sørensen, ed., *The Esoteric Buddhist Tradition*, SBS Monographs Series 2 (Copenhagen: Seminar for Buddhist Studies, 1994) 51-72. I have translated the story of the origin of the *shih-shih* rites in appendix two of that publication, and have also done an updated translation titled "Saving the Burning-Mouth Hungry Ghost," in Donald S. Lopez, ed., *Religions of China in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) 278-283.

47. Again, we have the various "Ghost Festival" texts already cited as well as the rainmaking scriptures (T. nos. 989-993), some of the "Peacock" scriptures (T. nos. 982-988), rites for the worship of Amitabha (T. no. 930), etc.

48. Osabe sees these ritual commentaries as indicative of Pu-k'ung's transformation of Vajrabodhi's Esoteric Buddhism into an Esoteric Buddhism of state-protection designed to serve Chinese needs. Indeed, Liang-pi (T. no. 1709 33.516b-

commentaries is *Instructions for the Rites, Chants, and Meditations of the Prajñāpāramitā Dhāraṇī Scripture for Humane Kings Who Wish to Protect Their States* (T. no. 994, 19.514a-519b *Jen-wang hu-kuo po-jo-po-lo-mi-to ching t'o-lo-ni nien-sung i-kuei*, or *Instructions*).⁴⁹ *Instructions* outlines the establishment of the maṇḍala / altar, the order of rites in the ritual, and gives instructions on the contemplation of the great *dhāraṇī*.⁵⁰ The *Method for Chanting the Humane Kings Prajñā [pāramitā]* (T. no. 995, *Jen-wang po-jo nien-sung fa*, or *Method*) also outlines the ritual and focuses on its mantra sequences. The *Translation of the Humane Kings Prajñāpāramitā Dhāraṇī* (T. no. 996, *Jen-wang po-jo t'o-lo-ni shih*) is an exegesis of the key *bīja* or seed syllables of the major *dhāraṇī* of the text.

The *Instructions*, the *Method*, the *Translation*, and Liang-pi's great *Commentary on the Scripture for Humane Kings* include only partial accounts of specific rites such as the inner visualizations of the adept. Like rainmaking rituals and other such performances there is no exhaustive ritual commentary dating from later Chinese use of the text. Nevertheless, when we examine these ritual manuals with knowledge of the template drawn from the *STTS* and of specific boilerplate sequences found in other late-T'ang manuals in Pu-k'ung's lineage we can "flesh out" the full performance. Our knowledge of these ritual performances is further corroborated both by T'ang sources contemporary with Pu-k'ung and by ritual manuals preserved in the medieval Japanese Shingon and Tendai collections.⁵¹ These are intimately linked to state protection. The *Zuzōshō*, the *Kakuzenshō*, the *Asabashō*, the *Bessonzakki*, and the *Byakuhōkushō* all preserve medieval Japanese versions of maṇḍalas and altar layouts for the *Scripture for Humane Kings*. Although these manuals must be used with caution,

ff.) details the rites in his commentary and the continuity is striking. See Osabe *Tōdai mikkyōshi zakkō*, 89-95.

49. Though it is attributed to Pu-k'ung the opening passages and the preface indicate that it was the product of the master and his disciple Liang-pi. The preface was composed by Hui-ling of Pu-k'ung's Hsing-shan monastery. For the comments in the preface see T. no. 994 19.514a6-7.

50. For these ritual commentaries see Osabe, op. cit. and De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism*, vol. 1, 158-176. Toganoo, *Mandara no kenkyū* 370-371, treats these briefly.

51. For instance, the *Piao-chih chi* is replete with references to *homa* and *abhiṣeka* performed at the Esoteric altars of the inner palace (*nei tao-ch'ang*), at Pu-k'ung's home monastery the Hsing-shan ssu, and at the Golden Pavilion (Chin-k'o ssu) on Mt. Wu-t'ai. For the *homa* rite see Michel Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," Fritz Staal, ed., *Agni*, vol. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982) 418-455; and Richard K. Payne, *The Tantric Ritual of Japan*.

they clearly reflect the overall structure and sequencing of rites known from T'ang dynasty sources.⁵² Finally, Jōkei's ninth-century *Kaguraoka shidai* which preserves Shingon ritual sequences connected with the *Vajradhātu* (*STTS*) demonstrates a remarkable continuity with eighth-century T'ang rituals in Pu-k'ung's lineage. Almost certainly Pu-k'ung's rituals were not as punctilious as those found in modern day Shingon or in medieval *Taimitsu* and *Tōmitsu* manuals, but the template and the sequencing or ritual modules are nearly identical.

Any ritual and the maṇḍala and altar layouts for its performance will follow the "grammar" or "template" of the *STTS*—the five-fold maṇḍala structure and the Wheel body taxonomy—but will vary in "vocabulary," details, divinities, and so forth depending upon its purpose. The specific configuration of the maṇḍala / altar—the "vocabulary," if you will—depended upon the purpose at hand. These variations are explained in *Instructions* which is divided into five unequal parts. Part one, "The Five Bodhisattvas Manifesting Their Awesome Virtue" discusses the relationship of the key divinities and their Wheel Bodies to the *STTS*. Part two, "Rites for Constructing the Maṇḍala," sets out the procedures to be followed in establishing the maṇḍala / altar. Part three details the rites for "Entering the Ritual Arena" (actually the order or sequence of rites comprising the ritual program). Part four presents a "Translation of the Phrases of the *Dhāraṇī* and the Method for its Contemplation." Part five sets out the "Visualization of the *Dhāraṇī* According to the Wheel of Characters."⁵³

52. The *Zuzōshō* (Taishō supplement vol. 3, compiled by Ejo, 1139); the *Bessonzakki* (Taishō supplement vol. 3, compiled by Shinkaku [1117-1180]); the *Kakuzenshō* (Taishō supplement vol. 4, compiled by Kakuzen [1143-1218] and his *Kakuzen hitsu Ninnōkyōhō* in the same volume); the *Asabashō* (Taishō vol. 9, compiled by Shōchō [1205-1282]; and the *Byakuhōkushō* (Taishō vol. 6, compiled by Ryōzen [1258-1341]) all contain material on the Humane Kings. These commentaries purport to be the oral traditions passed on from Chinese to Japanese initiates. While it is obvious this later material must be used judiciously, the conservative nature of the tradition, the clear continuity with T'ang ritual manuals (immediately obvious in examining Hatta Yukio's tables in *Shingonjiten* 255-267) and the example of the ghost rites (for which we have later Chinese ritual commentaries) means that we can use this material with some confidence.

53. Section two of *Instructions* details strikingly Indian procedures for setting up the ritual arena, and with it we enter the ritual process proper, including the purification of the ground with cow dung and cow urine. "Chakuji," *Hōbōgirin* 3:279-280, has a discussion of these procedures.

The purpose of part one is to situate the divinities of the ritual within their proper orbits of association with the *STTS*. Beginning in the east with Vajrapāṇi and proceeding to the south (Vajraratna), west (Vajratiksna), north (Vajrarakṣa), and center (Vajrapāramitā), *Instructions* first quotes the initial description of each divinity from Pu-k'ung's translation of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*. It then identifies each with its "Wheel body" forms derived from the five chief divinities of the *STTS*. For example, Vajrapani is identified with Samantabhadra (P'u-hsien p'u-sa) as the Body of the Correct Teaching who eliminates subtle defilements (*kleśa*), while his Body of Command is Trilokyavijayavajra (Chiang san-shih chin-kang) who subdues the *māras* and Maheśvara.⁵⁴ This list thus describes three possible maṇḍala / altar deployments with Vajrapāramitā / Mahāvairocana / Acalavajra seated at the center. Depending on the need at hand (teaching and purification of subtle defilements, enlightenment, or the pacification of calamities, the subjugation of enemies, etc.) the *ācārya* employs Vajrapāramitā or Acalavajra as the central divinity.⁵⁵ The associations outlined in part one of *Instructions* are presented in figure 9.

	<i>Correct Teaching</i>	<i>STTS</i>	<i>Function</i>	<i>Command</i>	<i>Function</i>
East	Vajrapāṇi	Samantabhadra	eliminates <i>kleśa</i>	Trilokya-vijaya	Mara/ Maheśvara
South	Vajraratna	Ākāsagarbha	fulfills desires	Kuṇḍali-vajra	subdues asuras
West	Vajratiksna	Mañjuśrī	severs obstacles	Yamāntaka	subdues evil dragons
North	Vajrarakṣa	Vajradamṣṭra ⁵⁶	eliminates sins	Vajrayakṣa	subdues rakṣasas and yakṣas

54. In the *STTS* Vajrapāṇi, the "great rakṣa" subdues Maheśvara. For a fascinating analysis of this conversion of a Hindu divinity into a Buddhist protector see Iyanaga Nobumi, "Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trilokavijaya."

55. Mahāvairocana is likely not to be the central divinity of the ritual since other rituals have total enlightenment as their primary goal, though the imagery of visionary light is a central part of the visualization of Prajñapāramitā bodhisattva. See below, and the original at *T.* no. 994, 517b20ff.

56. *Mikkyōdaijiten* vol. 2, 676a-677b identifies this figure as "Vajra tooth" from Amoghasiddhi's court in the first maṇḍala from the *STTS*. He is equated with Vajrayakṣa in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala. Vajradamṣṭra is the name given the

Center	Vajra- pāramitā	Mahā- vairocana	subdues demons	Acalavajra	subdues māras
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Part two of *Instructions* stipulates requirements for siting and constructing a maṇḍala / altar as well as procedures for painting the divinities and arranging objects on the altar. The sequence of rites which are strung together to form the ritual is invariant, though particular rites may be nested into other rites in accordance with the goal of the performance. First, the *ācārya* will decide which sort of maṇḍala / altar to construct. Although most rituals will involve the visualization of the maṇḍala in the body, an external pre-painted maṇḍala or a three dimensional altar may or may not be available. Moreover, both interior and exterior maṇḍalas may consist of full images in either two or three dimensions, *bīja* (the fundamental sonic expressions of divinities), or *samaya* (the "pledge, in this case a symbolic representations of the meditative state of divinities).⁵⁷ Part two also stipulates proper times and colors of vestments, and seating position of the *ācārya* which are appropriate to the divinity evoked and the purpose of the ritual.⁵⁸ For example, in the case of the rites outlined in *Instructions* the central divinity will commonly be Prajñāpāramitā bodhisattva or Acalavajra.⁵⁹ The former is the Body of the Correct Teaching of Mahāvairocana. The latter is Mahāvairocana's wrathful Body of Command form. If the rite is being performed for pacification of calamities (*śāntika*), the

beneficent form of this bodhisattva in the *Garbha* maṇḍala, where he is placed in Vajrapāni's court. His vow is to devour the causes of suffering. See Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Mandalas* 1:332. Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyōshi zakkō* 92-93, asserts that the ritual program of the Humane Kings predates the dichotomy of the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu maṇḍalas and methods. While I agree with the spirit of Osabe's remark, putting the issue in terms of the Shingon dual maṇḍala system is still anachronistic.

57. The four main types of maṇḍalas are the *Mahā-maṇḍala*, which is the maṇḍala constructed with painted images of the deities, the *Samaya-maṇḍala* consisting of the symbolic forms of the deities, the *Dharma-maṇḍala* which use the *bīja* or "seed-syllables" of the deities, and the *karma-maṇḍala* which represents the the forms of the deities in unpainted images.

58. *Instructions*, T. no. 994, 19.515c-516a18 for the colors, times, and directions. For types of *homa* see Snodgrass, 82-96. For a full discussion of contemporary *homa* (which closely match medieval Japanese manuals) see Richard K. Payne, *The Tantric Ritual of Japan*.

59. Although *Instructions* details the iconography of Prajñāpāramitā bodhisattva contemporary evidence and evidence from Japanese manuals shows that Acala is often favored.

ācārya is dressed in white, faces north—the direction of Vajrarakṣa / Vajrayakṣa—and visualizes the focal divinity, the offerings, etc. as white in color and he chants calmly and silently. If for increase (*paūṣṭika*) he wears yellow and faces Vajrapāṇi / Trailokyavijaya—yellow in color—in the east. He chants calmly and under his breath. If the rite is for subjugation (*abhicāraka*) he wears black and faces Vajraratna / Kuṇḍali—visualized as black in color—in the south. He inwardly arouses great compassion and outwardly assumes an awesome, angry demeanor and shouts out the chants. If for attraction (*vaśīkaraṇa*) the *ācārya* wears red and faces Vajratīksna / Yamāntaka—visualized as red in color—in the west. He chants in a joyous and fierce voice. These four types of rites are *homa* (immolation) and we know from other sources that the shapes of *homa* altars also vary in accordance with the purpose of the ritual.⁶⁰ If for pacification the altar is circular. For increase the altar is square. For subjugation the altar is triangular, while for attraction the altar is in the form of a lotus.

Thus, depending upon the purpose of the ritual, one generates a maṇḍala which is simultaneously stereotypical and tailored to specific circumstances. Throughout the performance the text (in the Pu-k'ung recension) resides on the altar and a group of monks chant it as specified in the *Scripture for Humane Kings* itself.

The basic sequence of rites which compose the ritual is outlined in section three of *Instructions* and begins with the preparation of the *ācārya*.⁶¹ These rites involve the purification of body, speech, and mind, the performance of the “pledges (*samaya*) of the three “departments” of Buddha, bodhisattva, and vajra beings, and the protection of the *ācārya* by donning “armor.” The next sequence of rites involves visualizing, securing and embellishing the ritual space. Only then can the deities be welcomed to the ritual arena where they are offered water, jeweled thrones, incense, etc. Having assembled and worshipped the divinities the *ācārya* moves to the visualization and identification with the chief divinity of the ritual and the contemplation of the syllables of the great *dhāraṇī*. Finally, having accomplished the purpose of the ritual the *ācārya* performs a series of exit rites which reverse the entry rites. Among these are a final set of offerings, the transfer of merit to all beings, the dissolving of the ritual space and

60. On the shapes of *homa* altars, the first systematic appearance of rites of “pacification,” “subjugation,” and “increase,” see Bodhiruci’s *I-tzu-ting lun-wang ching* (“The Scripture of the Cakravartin of the Single-character Uṣṇisa,” *T.* no. 951, 19.261c-263b) and Strickmann’s comments in “Homa in East Asia,” 434-447.

61. The same order is outlined in *Method*, *T.* no. 995, 19.520a-521c.

departure. *Homa*, when it is performed, focuses on Acala and is nested into the series of offerings after the divinities have "taken their seats," and before the identification sequence. Some T'ang manuals carefully detail some sequences while abbreviating others.⁶² The ritual as it appears in section three is translated in the following pages. I have supplied the sequence divisions numbered 1-4.⁶³

1. Preparation of the Ācārya and the Arena

If the practitioner seeks relief from calamities [*sāntika*]:

First: You must bathe and put on freshly cleaned clothes. If you are a householder, receive the lay precepts. Caring naught for your own life [you] should arouse the fervent mind of the Great Vehicle seeking *siddhi*. Toward numberless beings arouse the compassionate vows of the mind of salvation. In this manner you will be able to swiftly achieve *siddhi*. On entering the ritual arena do a full prostration in veneration to all the Triple Jewel throughout the *Dharmadhātu*. Kneeling on the right knee, repent all transgressions of the triple karma (body, speech, mind), request that the buddhas of ten directions turn the wheel of the Correct Teaching, and beseech all Tathagatas to long abide in the world. [The practitioner then says,] "All the merit that I, (insert name) cultivate, shall be dedicated to the achievement of unsurpassed enlightenment. I vow that, together with all the beings of the *Dharmadhātu*, the *siddhi* we seek shall quickly attain fulfillment."

Next: Assume the cross-legged position. In case there are deficiencies that have not been cleansed, take the hands and rub [them with] incense and, arousing the fervent mind, make the purification *mudrā*. With care and humility clasp the hands like an unopened lotus blossom. Chant the mantra:

62. For instance, *Instructions* gives the barest indication of the exit rites (*T.* no. 994, 19.515c) while *Method* specifies each step (*T.* no. 995, 19.521c).

63. The specific rites which consist largely of "boilerplate" have been labeled by me and numbered 1-4 in italics. I have found it convenient to use a somewhat different terminology and division of the sequence from that used by the Chūinryū of Kōyasan. *Instructions* is representative of T'ang Esoteric manuals in Pu-k'ung's lineage. It is structured around the *mudrā* and mantra sequences and includes ritual instructions concerning what to do, how to make the *mudrās*, and other "stage" directions (in normal typeface), liturgy to be recited by the *ācārya* (in quotation marks) and the mantras to be chanted (boldface). Bold italics represents transliterated Sanskrit terms appearing in the Chinese. Pictures of the mudras can be found in Hatta's *Shingonjiten* under their corresponding mantras and at the front of volume one of *Mikkyōdaijiten*. The spareness of *Instructions* contrasts with the elaborate ritual laid out in the *Byakuhōkushō* (Taishō supplement vol. 6, 198c-217c), though one should note that exactly the same sequence of ritual modules is present there.

**Oṃ svabhāva-śuddhāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ sarvabhāva-śuddho
'ham⁶⁴**

Chant this mantra three times. While you chant it move the mind to magnanimity and [reflect]: “All *dharma*s are originally pure, therefore my body is also completely pure.” Then with eyes closed visualize all the multitudes of ritual arenas, the assemblies of buddhas and bodhisattvas that everywhere fill the void. Hold every sort of supernal incense and with triple karma resolute and sincere, face them to pay your respects.

One: Make the *mudrā* of the Buddha department *samaya*. The two hands are placed before the heart, making a fist with the fingers crossed and inside, while the thumbs are upright. Chant the mantra:

Oṃ jīna-jik svāhā⁶⁵

Silently chant this mantra three times and release the [*mudrā*] above the head. By making this *mudrā* and chanting this Buddha-department *samaya* mantra, all of the buddhas of the *Dharmadhātu* of the ten directions will assemble like a cloud and totally fill the void. [They] empower the practitioner [who will thus] be freed from all obstacles, and the vow cultivating the purification of the triple karma will be swiftly accomplished.

Two: Make the *mudrā* of the Bodhisattva department *samaya*. As before [clasp] the hands before the heart and make a fist [this time] with the left thumb inside. Chant the mantra:

Oṃ alolik svāhā⁶⁶

Just as before chant it three times and release [the *mudrā*] above your head. Because of making this *mudrā* and chanting this bodhisattva-department *samaya* mantra Kuan-yin and all the other bodhisattvas of the *Dharmadhātu* of the ten directions will assemble like a cloud and totally fill the void. [They] empower the practitioner [whose] triple karma [thus] becomes pure and without any affliction. This is called bodhisattvas carrying out the vow of great compassion and it will cause one who seeks it to attain complete fulfillment.

Three: Make the *mudrā* of the Vajra department *samaya* as in the previous *mudrā* [but] extend the left thumb while enclosing the right thumb in the palm. Chant the mantra:

64. Hatta, *Shingon-jiten* no. 1808.

65. Hatta, *Shingon-jiten* no. 242, the heart mantra of the “Buddha-department.”

66. Hatta, *Shingon-jiten* no. 64, the heart mantra of the “Bodhisattva – department.”

Om vajra-dhṛk svāhā⁶⁷

As before chant it three times and release [the *mudrā*] above your head. Because of making this *mudrā* and chanting this Vajra-department *samaya* mantra, all of the Vajra [beings] of the *Dharmadhātu* of the ten directions will manifest their wrathful bodies and assemble like a cloud and fill the void. [They] empower the practitioner [whose] triple karma becomes firm as diamond. This is called the sages carrying out the Buddha's awesome spirit. Using the strength of their vows [they] are able to protect the state and cause it to be without calamities, and even this insignificant body will be without troubles.

Four: (516c) Make the *mudrā* of protecting the body. Again use the *mudrās* and chant the mantras of the three departments and empower the five places—that is the two shoulders, heart, throat, top of head—and release [the *mudrā*] above your head. Forthwith you will be protected by stout Vajra armor. Because of this empowerment the entire body of the practitioner glows with an awesome radiance. All the *māras* who would obstruct and harass [you] do not dare to look [at you] and they quickly flee.

Five: (516c-517a) Make the exorcism *mudrā* and then the *mudrā* of the Vajra-quarter jewel-realm. Use the previous Vajra department *mudrā* and chanting the mantra circle the altar turning to the left. Make three circuits. Forthwith you will be able to exorcise all the powerful *māras* and, as a consequence of the goodness of all the buddhas and bodhisattvas, all those who are hidden will be exposed and they will flee far from [the Buddha's] world. Make three circuits to the right, as you like, big or small. This will complete the Vajra-quarter jewel-realm. All the buddhas and bodhisattvas will not disobey you. How much more is it true for those who would harass you, and you will be able to obtain their expedient devices. Release the [*mudrā*] above your head.

2. *Summoning and Feting the Divinities*

Six: Make the *mudrā* of inviting the sages to descend to the altar. Use the previous *mudrās* of the three departments and chant their mantras. [This time] move your thumbs toward your body summoning them three times. Immediately the air before you will fill up with the sages of the three departments, each going to his proper place without obstructing one another. They wait silently.

Seven: *Mudrā* offering *agra* perfumed water. As above using two hands respectfully offer the *maṇi*-bejeweled vessel filled with perfumed water. Hold it at eyebrow level and chant the mantra:

Om vajrodaka tha hūm⁶⁸

67. Hatta, *Shingon-jiten* no. 1090, the heart mantra of the "Vajra-department."

68. Hatta, *Shingon-jiten* no. 1498.

Just as above chant it three times while moving the heart to magnanimity. Next bathe all the sages and release [the *mudrā*] above your head. Because of this *agra* water, during each and every stage—from the stage of victorious understanding and practicing of the Teaching to the stage of the *Dharma*-cloud—the buddhas and bodhisattvas of the *Dharmadhātu* of the ten directions all will protect you and you will obtain all their *abhiṣekas*.

Eight: *Mudra* presenting jeweled thrones. As above, with care and humility, clasp the hands with thumbs and little fingers matching and slightly bent. The remaining six fingers are spread and a little bent, like a lotus blossom just opening. Chant the mantra:

Om kamala svāhā⁶⁹

By making this *mudrā* and chanting this mantra, you cause the jeweled thrones which are presented to be received and used by the sages as though they were real, and it causes the practitioner to reach the state of fruition⁷⁰ and to attain the Vajra-firm jeweled-throne.

Nine: Make the *mudrā* of universal offering (517a-b). As above, clasp the two hands. The five fingers are interlaced with the right pressing on the left. Place it above the heart and chant the mantra:

**Namah sarvathā kham udgate sphara hīmaṃ gaganā-kham
svāhā**⁷¹

By making this *mudrā* and chanting this mantra—moving the mind to magnanimity—it rains all [types] of offering vessels in all of the ritual arenas of all ocean-like assemblies of buddhas and bodhisattvas all about the *Dharmadhātu*. On the first recitation numberless vessels are filled with incense paste which is daubed on all the sages. On the second recitation every sort of flower garland adorns [the sages]. On the third recitation all sorts of incense is burned as offering. On the fourth recitation it rains superb divine food and drink which is properly arranged in the jeweled vessels and offered everywhere. On the fifth recitation it rains all sorts of bejeweled lamps which are offered before all the buddhas and bodhisattvas. Because of the strength of the empowerment [conferred by] chanting this mantra, in all the ocean-like assemblies the offerings of incense and so on all are completely real and are used by the sages and, as for the practitioner, he is certain to obtain recompense.

69. Hatta, *Shingon-jiten* no. 123.

70. The "state of fruition" or attainment indicates the completion or outcome or attainment of the goal of practice.

71. Hatta, *Shingon-jiten* no. 1711.

3. Contemplation of the Chief Divinity of the Ritual

Ten: Make the fundamental *mudrā* of *Prajñāpāramitā*. Place the two hands back to back with the index and little fingers enclosed in the palms with the thumbs pressing on the index fingers. Place [the *mudrā*] above your heart and chant the *dhāraṇī* from the scripture seven times.⁷² Because of making this *mudrā* and chanting this *dhāraṇī* the practitioner's own body is immediately transformed into *Prajñāpāramitā bodhisattva* and becomes the mother of all buddhas. The image of the bodhisattva is seated cross-legged upon a white lotus. His body is golden colored and he has many precious necklaces adorning his body. On his head is a jeweled crown with two (pieces of) white silk hanging down the sides. In the left hand is the Sanskrit text of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. His right hand is held before his breast making the *Dharmacakramudrā*; thumbs pressing on the tip of the fourth finger. Now, meditate on the bodhisattva from head to toe. All the pores of his body emit a multi-colored radiance which fills the *Dharmadhātu*. Each ray transforms into countless buddhas who fill up the void, and on behalf of the assembled beings in all these worlds they expound the profound teaching of the *Prajñāpāramitā* which causes the *samādhi* of the abode of enlightened comprehension. After the practitioner completes this contemplation release the *mudrā* above the head. Grasp the prayer beads and clasp hands together and with resolute heart chant this mantra:

Om Vairocana māla svāhā⁷³

Chant this three times and empower the rosary by touching it to your head.⁷⁴ Then bring it before the heart. With the left hand receiving the bead and the right hand moving the bead, focus on union and abide in the Buddha-mother *samādhi*. Contemplate it without interruption, and chant [the mantra either] 108 or 21 times. When you have finished touch the rosary to your head and put it back in its place. Make the *samādhi mudrā*. Lay the hands across one another just below the navel with the right pressing on the left. [Sit] with upright posture, closed eyes, and head slightly inclined, and concentrate on your heart. Visualize a bright round mirror which [expands] from one *hastā* in breadth gradually [to fill] the entire *Dharmadhātu*. Set out the characters in line revolving to the right, and contemplate them in sequence. Their effulgent radiance shines everywhere. Proceed from the outside toward the inside until reaching the character *ti*. Then go from the inside toward the outside. Gradually contemplate all the characters. When you have been around once start over again. When you reach the third repetition your mind will be quiescent

72. Section four of *Instructions* gives a word by word explication of the *dhāraṇī*. T. no. 994, 19.518a-519a Section five gives instructions for interior visualization of the *dhāraṇī* in "wheels" of words.

73. Hatta, *Shingon-jiten* no. 1541.

74. Literally, "by wearing it on your head."

and concentrated, and you will clearly comprehend the meaning of that which you contemplate: "no production, no extinction, all is the same throughout the *Dharmadhātu*. Not moving, not quiescent, meditation and wisdom are the twin conveyance. Forever beyond all signs, this is the contemplation of *Prajñāpāramitā samādhi*." Make the *Prajñāpāramitā mudrā* and chant the *dhāraṇī* seven times and release [the *mudrā*] above the head.

4. Exit Sequence

Next: Make the *mudrā* of universal offering. As previously move the mind [to magnanimity] and follow the sequence of offerings. Before the sages dedicate the merit produced to the fulfillment of all vows on behalf of the state and the family, and for the benefit of others. Thereafter transfer [the merit] to beings so they may turn to the Pure Land, turn to the edge of reality, turn to seeking unsurpassed *bodhi*, and vow that all beings will swiftly arrive at the other shore.

Next: Make the previous [*Vajra*]-*dhātu mudrā* and chant the previous mantra three times circling to the left, which will complete the dissolution of the [*Vajra*] realm.

Next: As previously, make the *mudrās* of the three departments and chant the previously (used) mantras three times, all the while moving the thumbs toward the outside. This will complete the departure, and the sages will each return to their original land. The practitioner should make a prostration and leave.

The modular construction of the ritual set out in *Instructions* is apparent when we examine other texts of its cohort. The lineaments of this structure have recently been laid bare in Hatta Yukio's *Shingon-jiten*. Hatta's comprehensive tables and appendices provide a basis for examination of the underlying ritual structure and the sequencing of individual Esoteric rites in a variety of historical contexts.⁷⁵ Hatta's table of rites connected with the *Vajradhātu* (pp. 264-268) are of particular relevance to the procedures concerning the Humane Kings detailed in *Instructions* and *Methods*. In this table Hatta compares the sequencing of rites in eleven manuals connected with the teachings of the *STTS*. He provides a master numbering which represents all the possible rites which might be nested to produce a specific ritual program. Among the manuals Hatta uses are Japanese manuals of the *Chūinryū* sect of *Kōyasan*, that attributed to Jōkei (866-900) of the *Kanjūryū*, and the *Shih-pa-chih yin* (T. no. 900) supposedly the oral teachings of Pu-k'ung's disciple Hui-kuo as transmitted by Kūkai, and T'ang manuals

75. The appendices and tables run from pp. 254-339.

from the Vajrabodhi / Pu-k'ung lineage.⁷⁶ This latter group includes Vajrabodhi's version of the *STTS* (*Chin-kang-ting yü-ch'ieh ch'ieh chung lüeh ch'u nien-sung ching* T. no. 866) as well as three manuals attributed to Pu-k'ung. These are the *Kuan-tzu-tsai p'u-sa ju-i-lun nien-sung i-kuei* (T. no. 1085, hereafter *Ju-i-lun*), the *Wu-liang-shou ju-lai kuan-hsing kung-yang i-kuei* (T. no. 930, hereafter *Wu-liang-shou*), and the *Chin-kang-ting lien-hua-pu hsin nien-sung i-kuei* (T. no. 873, hereafter *Hsin kuei*).

Hatta's table clearly demonstrates the direct connection between these manuals and later Shingon manuals. The table also demonstrates Japanese codification of the modular structure and further elaboration on the part of Shingon ritualists. Looking back to the T'ang dynasty context, the table makes it quite obvious that the *Ju-i-lun*, the *Wu-liang-shou*, and the *Hsin kuei* are closely related to *Instructions* (T. no. 994) and *Method* (T. no. 995). Indeed, Osabe has cogently argued that all of these texts are the product of Pu-k'ung and his heirs.⁷⁷ In the following table I compare the sequences of rites in *Instructions* with those in the *Ju-i-lun*, *Wu-liang-shou*, and *Kaguraoka*. In each case the ritual programs involve the same sequences of rites, though some manuals abbreviate, elaborate, or even skip certain details. All use the same mantras or variants of the same mantras.⁷⁸ Finally, for our purposes, Hatta's work has one drawback. *Shingonjiten* is a dictionary of mantra, and in the many cases where a sequence of standard rites is briefly referred to *without* mention of the *mudrā* or mantra, Hatta is silent. For instance, Hatta's tables show none of the exit rites for *Ju-i-lun*, or *Wu-liang-shou*. Like these manuals *Instructions* mentions the sequences of rites without specifying the mantra or simply notes, "use the three mantras as before." When we examine the *Wu-liang-shou* and other manuals we find the same kind of abbreviation as in *Instructions*. Indeed, when we take into account indications of rites both when they include mantras and when they merely refer to a rite without actually transcribing a

76. Jōkei's *Kaguraoka shidai* represents teachings on the Vajradhātu in the *Kanjujiryū* tradition. The *Kaguraoka shidai* is the most comprehensive of the manuals surveyed by Hatta. For the manual see *Mikkyōdaijiten* 230a. For Jōkei's life see *Mikkyōdaijiten* 1136b-c.

77. Osabe groups these manuals together under the rubric of "the Esoteric Teachings of Pu-k'ung and his milieu." He argues that these texts (and a number of other texts) represent the adaptation of the tantras to the Chinese scene. Osabe also argues that they represent a joint esoterism of *Vajradhātu* and *Garbhadātu*, an esoterism influenced by the *Susiddhikara* (pp. 44-48; 89-105).

78. The numbers in parentheses which follow each rite refer to Hatta's sequencing numbers, pp. 264-268.

mantra the high degree of congruence between T'ang rites and Japanese Shingon rites is astounding. The table below presents the results of my examination of these manuals. When a mantra or *mudrā* indicating a correspondence is found in Hatta's table I have marked it with an *. When Hatta is silent but an abbreviated reference to sequences of rites is mentioned in the manuals I have marked them with a **. In one case a mantra is in a text but Hatta skips over it. In this case I have marked it with a #. The boldface headings indicate logical breaks between sequences of rites. My division does not completely correspond to those put forward by various Shingon exegetes. Each of the numbers 1-12 running down the left side of the table represents a discrete sequence of boilerplate rites. I have not included all of the sub-rites in each. Thus, in the case of the *homa* sequence I have not broken out the establishment of the *homa* altar, the invitation of its deities, the offerings, and so on.

	<i>Instructions</i>	<i>Ju-i-lun</i>	<i>Wu-liang- shou</i>	<i>Kaguraoka</i>
Preparation				
1. Worship Triple Jewel (4)	**		*	*
2. Purify Triple Karma (9)	*	*	*	*
3. Buddha Dept. <i>Samaya</i> (1020)	*	*	*	*
Bodhisattva / Lotus " " (1121)	*	*	*	*
Vajra Dept. <i>Samaya</i> (1222)	*	*	*	*
4. Armoring the Body (13)	**	*	*	*
5. Establish Vajra Realm (35)	**	*	*	*
Summoning and Feting the Divinities⁷⁹				
6. Offer <i>Agra</i> Water (80)	*	*	*	*
Offer Thrones (81)	*	*	*	*
Universal Offering (90)	*	#		*
Homa⁸⁰				
7. <i>Homa</i> Sequence			**	

79. In its full form this sequence of rites includes dispatching a chariot to bring the divinities, welcoming them and feting them with a variety of offerings including water, garlands of flowers, various kinds of incense, and so on.

80. For a full account of the many sub-rites see Payne, *The Tantric Ritual of Japan*.

Chief Divinity

8. Contemplation of Chief Divinity (95)	*	*	*	*
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Exit Sequence

9. Universal Offering (106)	**	**	**	*
Dedication of Merit (108)	**			*
10. Dissolving the Ritual Arena (109)	**		**	*
Three Depts. / Departure (110, 112) ⁸¹	**	**	**	*
11. Taking Off the Armour (117- 118)	**	**	*	
12. Prostration and Exit (124)	**	**	**	*

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS ON MANDALIC ADAPTABILITY:
PRACTICE AND ITS ARTIFACTS

What made—and still makes—Esoteric Buddhism a great missionary religion was its modular structure. If the modular structure I have detailed in Pu-k'ung's Esoteric Buddhism is representative of other lineages of Esoteric Buddhism, as I suspect it is, then interpretation of sites like Ellora, Aurangabad, or Kongobūju becomes more difficult. This structure provided a degree of freedom and adaptability while maintaining strong ideological continuity. Even with a living tradition and ritual manuals extant interpretation is far from clear; in the absence of these we must grope toward an interpretation. We can look to other Esoteric sites and traditions as Geri Malandra has so ably demonstrated, but when we do so we need to take account of both the stereotypical and unique dimensions of any maṇḍala. If Rastrakuta rulers endowed these sites (a point we are as yet uncertain of), what sorts of rituals did they wish to be performed there? Esoteric Buddhism was connected with the periphery of the Indian world, if it represented Indian Esoteric Buddhism for "export," and if this export was targeted for and adapted to those in power, then what sorts of rituals and what sorts of maṇḍalas are these? Though an altar can be adapted to immediate needs as they arise and the appropriate painted maṇḍala can be supplied to fit the circumstances, a permanent rock-cut maṇḍala provides no such flexibility. Malandra puts the problem concisely. If Ellora is a maṇḍala or maṇḍalas, which is it? "If we can't name them, does that

81. This sequence in its full form involves sending off the divinities.

weaken the analogy?"⁸² I would like to suggest we reframe the question. Given the modular structure I have outlined above, there are two possible avenues of inquiry open to us. On the one hand we may be looking at a particular instantiation of a particular ritual procedure which was the *raison d'être* of the site. On the other hand Ellora's maṇḍalas may be "templates" or generic structures. In either case we should try to determine both the ideological template of the caves as well as the sort of ritual which would fit such a space. Looking at the ritual and social context of maṇḍalas in eighth-century China shows us not only how maṇḍalas were created but also one of the reasons why Esoteric Buddhism was a great missionary tradition.

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Chin-kang-ting i-ch'ieh ju-lai chen-shih she ta-ch'eng hsien-ti ta chiao-wang ching (*Sarvatathāgatattvasamgraha*). Trans. Pu-k'ung (705-774). *T.* no. 865.

Chin-kang-ting lien-hua-pu hsin nien-sung i-kuei. Pu-k'ung (705-774). *T.* no. 873.

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Fo shuo i-ch'ieh ju-lai chen-shih she ta-ch'eng hsien ti san-mei ta chiao-wang ching (*Sarvatathāgatattvasamgraha*). Trans. Shih-hu (Dānapāla, fl. 980s). *T.* no. 882

Jen-wang hu-kuo po-jo-po-lo-mi-to ching. Attributed to Kumārajīva (350-409), but written ca. 470-490. *T.* no. 245.

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Liu-ch'u ching. Pu-k'ung (705-744). *T.* no. 243.

Shih-pa kuei yin. Kūkai (774-835). *T.* no. 900.

82. "The Maṇḍala at Ellora / Ellora in the Maṇḍala" 191

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Wu-liang-shou ju-lai kuan-hsing kung-yang i-kuei. Pu-k'ung (705-744). *T.* no. 930.

GLOSSARY

- chen-shih shen 眞實身
 cheng-fa 正法
 cheng-fa-lun shen 正法輪身
 ch'eng chiu 成就
 ch'eng-chiu hsi-ti 成就悉地
 chin-kang 金剛
 Chin-kang-chih 金剛智
 Chūinryū 中院流
 ch'u-shih ch'eng-chiu 出世成就
 fa 法
 hsi-ti 悉地
 hu-ma 護摩
 Hui-kuo 慧果
 I-hsing 一行
 Jōkei 長慶/貞慶
 Kaguraoka shidai 神樂岡次第
 Kanjujiryū 勸修流
 kuan-ting 灌頂
 Kūkai 空海
 Liang-pi 良賁
 lun shen 輪身
 ming-wang 明王
 mo-fa 末法
 pen-tsun 本尊
 Pu-k'ung (chin-kang) 不空 (金剛)
 Pu-tung 不動
 Shan-wu-wei 善無畏
 shih-chien ch'eng-chiu 世間成就
 Shih-hu 施護
 Shingon 眞言
 tzu-hsing-lun shen 自性輪身
 wei-nu shen 威怒身
 Yüan-chao 圓照