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A Transmission and its transformation : the Liqujing shibahui mantuluo in Daigoji

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CHAPTER SIX: CHARACTERISTICS OF NINTH-CENTURY CHINESE ESOTERIC BUDDHIST WORKS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I present some of the unique features of ninth-century Chinese Esoteric Buddhist ritual manuals and their icons. In particular, I focus on those rituals and icons that were recorded for the first time in the inventories of the mid-ninth-century Japanese pilgrim-monks. Clearly, their interest was to collect the paraphanalia of the new Esoteric Buddhist cults popular in China at that time. My aim in this chapter is to elucidate the religious background that also produced the prototype of the iconography of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo*.

First, as representative of ninth-century Chinese Esoteric Buddhist ritual manuals, I examine the sources for the Mandalas of Buddhalocanā and Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa (figs. 8 and 9), which are appended to the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. These are the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin* 金剛吉祥大成就品 (Chapter of the Great Accomplishments of Vajraśrī), the ninth chapter of the *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqia yuqi jing* (hereafter, *Yuqijing*), and the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* 尊勝佛頂脩瑜伽法軌儀 (Ritual Manual of Methods for the Practice of the Yoga of Vikīrṇoṣṇīsa). Then, I discuss two ritual manuals that are attributed to the ninth-century Esoteric Buddhist master Faquan, the *Gongyang hushi batian fa* 供養護世八天法 (Offering Rite for the Eight World-Protecting Gods) and the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* 建立曼荼羅護摩議軌 (Ritual Manual for Construction of the Mandala for [the Performance] of Fire Oblation).

These works are characterized by a mixing of variant Esoteric Buddhist systems and a negation of scriptural boundaries in order to make correlations between these disparate systems. A third feature is the referencing of a specific corpus of earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist texts.[1] The first two features are pronounced in the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin* and *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*. The last feature, reliance on earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist texts, although seen in both the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin* and *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, best illustrates the contents of the manuals attributed to Faquan.

SOURCES OF THE MANDALAS APPENDED TO THE DAIGOJI *LIQUJING MANTULUO*

The textual sources of the Daigoji exemplar's four appended mandalas are the late eighth-century *Yuqijing* and the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, a work that can be dated to the early ninth century. Chapter five of the *Yuqijing* provides instructions for the depiction of the mandala of Rāgarāja and its ninth chapter, the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin,* prescribes the mandalas of the Five Great Ākāśagarbhas and Buddhalocanā. The *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* is the source for the iconography of the mandala of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa.[2]

Written and visual materials related to the Daigoji exemplar's appended mandalas are listed for the first time in the inventories of the Japanese pilgrim-monks who traveled to China during the mid-ninth century. The Shingon pilgrim-monk Eun 慧運, in China from 842-847, recorded the *Yuqijing* in his inventory,[3] but the other mid-ninth-century Japanese pilgrim-monks did not. The Shingon pilgrim Engyō 圓行, in China from 838-839, was the first to record in his inventory a scroll called the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiupin jing* 金剛吉祥大成就品經 一卷

(Scripture on the Chapter of the Great Accomplishments of Vajraśrī).[4] That is, Engyō recorded a work that contained information on *only* the ninth chapter of the *Yuqijing*. Ennin and Shūei, in China from 838-847 and 862-865, respectively, also listed in their inventories entries that correspond to this chapter of the *Yuqijing*.[5] Clearly there was something special about this chapter of the *Yuqijing* to merit its listing as a separate item in the inventories of these mid-ninth-century pilgrims.

The *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* first appears in Engyō's inventory and then again in the inventories of Eun and Shūei. The pilgrim-monks recorded it as a translation by Śubhākarasiṃha, but the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, like the *Yuqijing*, is an apocryphal composition. My analysis of the contents of this manual in this chapter will be further proof that it postdates Śubhākarasiṃha, and can be dated to the first quarter of the ninth century.[6]

The mid-ninth-century pilgrim-monks also returned with visual materials relevant to the cults of Buddhalocanā, Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa and Rāgarāja, which they itemized in their official inventories. For example, Ennin recorded a drawing of Buddhalocanā's Stūpa and its History in one scroll 佛眼塔樣并記一卷 and a drawing of the Altar of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa 佛頂尊勝壇像一鋪二幅苗; Enchin listed an image of a Mandala of Mahāvairocana [in the form of the] Nine Buddhoṣṇīṣa-cakra-rājas 大毘盧尾遮那九佛頂輪王曼荼羅一鋪六副; and Shūei reported a picture of Rāgarāja and a book of line drawings of a Buddhalocanā Mandala.[7]

The Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* and its appended mandalas thus do not represent a single iconographic program from one particular scripture or from a related group of works that are concerned with a particular scripture, as are Amoghavajra's *Liqujing* and its commentaries and ritual manuals, for example. The set of the eighteen *Liqujing mantuluo* and its four appended mandalas instead furnishes evidence of a Japanese pilgrim-monk (Shūei)'s study of a number of separate cults that were popular in mid-ninth-century China: those of the *Liqujing*, the Five Great Ākāśgarbhas, Buddhalocanā and Rāgarāja, which are documented in the *Yuqijing*, and Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa who is the focus of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuquifa yigui*.

Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin

The themes of the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin* are Vajraśrī's (Buddhalocanā) powers, mandala, mantras and boons, both mundane (*laukika siddhi*) and supermundane (*lokottara siddhi*), that she bestows on the practitioner.

Vajrasattva, the instructor in this chapter, explained before All the Tathāgatas "the essence of the Mother of All the Buddhas, the Great Adamantine Auspicious One, the Buddha-Eye (Buddhalocanā) of All the Buddhas" 一切佛眼大金剛吉祥一切佛母心. We learn that the essence, that is the mind of the Mother of All the Buddhas gives rise to all elements of reality (*dharmas*), and can bring about such mundane boons as the accomplishment of all spells, the fulfillment of all desires, the dispelling of all misfortunes, the eradication of all sins, as well as such supermundane boons as the attainment of an enlightenment equal to that of the Five Families of the Adamantine Realm.[8] Vajrasattva then manifested the body of the Mother of All the Buddhas 一切佛母身 and this form emited a multitude of buddha figures who transformed into Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rājas 一字頂輪王 (Kings [who turn] the Wheel, [Buddha-]Crowns [generated] in One Letter).[9] The prescriptions for drawing the Great Adamantine Auspicious Mother's 大金剛吉祥母 mandala stipulate that she sit in the center of three layers of lotus petals and that a single

figure of Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja 一字頂輪王 sit directly in front of her on a lotus seat in the first layer of lotus petals.[10] The Seven Luminaries 七曜, the Sun 太陽, Moon 太陰 and five planets, Mars 火星, Mercury 水星, Jupiter 木星, Venus 金星, and Saturn 土星,[11] sit on the seven remaining lotus seats in the first layer of petals. The Eight Great Bodhisattvas sit on lotus seats in the second layer of petals and the Eight Great Vidyārājas (Spell-Kings) are on the lotus seats in the third layer. The Eight Offering and Four Gathering Bodhisattvas are in the mandala's outer court. The iconography of the Daigoji Buddhalocanā Mandala (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 795, No. 20) concurs, on the whole, with the chapter's prescriptions.[12]

An interlinear note specifies that certain deities are to be depicted according to directives in *other* scriptures:

> Master Dharma-General 法將阿闍梨 says that the Eight Great Bodhisattvas are like those in the *Liqujing* and the Eight Great Adamantine [Ones, Spell Kings] 八大金剛 are like those explained in the *She yiqiefoding lunwang jing* 攝一切佛頂輪王經 (Scripture on the King of the Wheel who Gathers Together All Buddha-Crowns). Further, the symbols 幖幟 of the Eight Offering and Four Gathering Bodhisattvas are like those in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and the forms of the Seven Luminaries 七曜形 are to be granted separately.[13]

Master Dharma-General's instructions are somewhat helpful for the mandala-maker because he now knows *which set* of Eight Great Bodhisattvas to draw. The source for the Eight Great Vidyārājas, the *Damiao jingang daganlu Junnali yanman Chicheng Foding jing* 大妙金剛大甘露軍拏利焰鬘熾盛佛頂經, also has a set of Eight Great Bodhisattvas but they are not the same as those who appear in the *Liqujing*.[14] Amoghavajra's *Liqujing* is included in the corpus of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and the *Damiao jingang daganlu Junnali yanman Chicheng Foding jing* is an Esoteric Buddhist work in the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* (Buddha Crown) lineage, which focuses on the Buddhoṣṇīṣas, deities who symbolize the protuberance on the crown of Buddha Śākyamuni's head. The deities in this chapter's mandala of Buddhalocanā thus derive from a pastiche of Esoteric Buddhist systems.

The placement of the seven stellar gods in the first tier of lotus petals surrounding Buddhaoloanā serves as a clue to the theme of this mandala, which is that of the Buddhist concept of the Five Eyes 五眼.[15] Buddhalocanā, the one who possesses the Buddha Eye, incorporates within herself the powers of the Five Eyes, or Visions of those with material bodies (human beings), of heavenly beings (*devas*), of *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*, of bodhisattvas, and of buddhas.[16] The mantras that Buddhalocanā teaches in this chapter emphasize her authority over the figural groupings in this icon, and so affirm her role of mother, the origin of special abilities and powers.[17] She also instructs the practitioner to visualize, while chanting her fundamental mantra and wiping his eyes and brows with her fundamental mudrā, his acquisition of the powers of the Five Eyes.[18] Masters' transmissions recorded in Japanese ritual compendia further elucidate this meaning of her mandala.[19] For example, the Seven Luminaries, who represent all astral bodies, are born from Buddhalocanā's Deva-eye 天眼. Those with this divine vision see, for example, the smallest details of the past, present and future affairs of sentient beings in the worlds in the ten directions and so they influence their fortunes and misfortunes.[20] In short, the ritual objective of the cult of Buddhalocanā, the acquisition of the powers of the Five Eyes, was likely one reason

why this ninth chapter of the *Yuqijing* became an independent work, as seen in the ninth-century pilgrim-monks' inventories.

The compiler of the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin* has selected materials from a number of differing Indian Esoteric Buddhist works with the aim of correlating their systems, especially those of the Adamantine Realm and the Matrix.[21]

The main system underlying the *Yuqijing* is that of the Adamantine Realm. The Preface presents the thirty-seven deities of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[22]

However, the number of Families in the *Yuqijing*'s Adamantine Realm is not consistent: in most chapters, including chapters nine and eleven, for instance, there are Five Families, but in chapter two there are Six Families, with the inclusion of the Family of Buddhoṣṇīṣas to which Buddhalocanā originally belonged.[23] Vajrasattva, representative of the Adamantine Realm, plays a prominent role throughout the *Yuqijing*. In some chapters, for instance chapter nine, he instructs,[24] in other chapters, as the Tathāgata's interlocutor, he learns new mantras and rites,[25] and in many chapters, including this chapter, the special rites and mantras that are expounded focus especially on the powers of Vajrasattva.[26] In the *Yuqijing*'s system of the Adamantine Realm, Vajrasattva manifests Buddhalocanā but the relationship between these two deities is not developed nor explained. For instance, in chapter five of this text we learn from Vajrapāṇi that "the meditative concentration 定 (*samādhi*) of Vajrasattva is the Mother of All the Buddhas."[27]

Buddhalocanā and Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja figure in Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works that predate those of the Adamantine Realm introduced by the eighth-century masters Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. These are the scriptures of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* and of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[28] The mandala prescribed in this chapter re-presents from Buddhalocanā's position the history of her relationship with the deity Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja, one of the most important of the Buddhoṣṇīṣas. This relationship can be traced to such scriptures as the *Tuoluoniji jing* (Collection of the *Dhāraṇī* Teachings) and *Yizi foding lunwang jing*, works with early Esoteric Buddhist coloring that predate the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

These works are the origins of the deification of the Buddha-Eye (*buddha cakṣus*) as Bodhisattva Buddhalocanā 佛眼菩薩, she who possesses the powers of Buddha vision, or omniscience, and of her pairing with Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja, whose mantra produces ritual success and accompanying boons once it has been effectuated by chanting in a specified order his mantra and that of Bodhisattva Buddhalocanā.[29] This chapter of the *Yuqijing* and its mandala present a development in this relationship. The text describes Buddhalocanā's production of Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja and the mandala illustrates their relationship: this male deity sits directly in front of his female partner on a lotus seat in the mandala's first tier of lotus petals.

Amoghavajra too pairs these two deities in his translation of a manual for Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja's rite, the *Yizi fuding lunwang niansong yigui* 一字佛頂輪王念誦議軌. Here the practitioner is to visualize Buddhalocanā on the lotus petal directly in front of Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja and this deity's seven jewels on the other seven lotus petals. There is no further discussion of their relationship.[30] We have noted Amoghavajra's knowledge of tantric sexual practices in *Liqushi* 4, where he writes of the joining of the two roots.[31] However, there is no evidence of a presentation or interpretation that would correspond to the "power" or "divine energy" (*śakti*) in Hindu Tantrism, as some Japanese scholars have suggested.[32]

The iconographic directives for this Mother that are given in this chapter and depicted in the figure of the Daigoji Mandala of Buddhalocanā (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 795, No. 20) correspond to the figure of the Buddha-Eye Buddha-Mother 佛眼佛母 in the Shingon Mandala of

the Matrix Realm's (*Genzu taizōkai mandara)* Court of Universal Wisdom 遍智院 (Henchi in), who resides in *samādhi* with her hands in the Mudrā of Meditation. These are the prescriptions given for the figure of the Mother of the Buddhas 諸佛母 in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s Mandala Born of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion.[33] This iconographic correspondence is significant, evidence that the mandala-maker consulted a mandala belonging to the ritual lineage of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* in order to depict this mother figure, and that the iconography of the prototype of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* was still in use during the pilgrim-monk Shūei's period of study in Chang'an.

A final example of the mixing of the Esoteric Buddhist systems is seen in the mantras expounded in this chapter. The *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin* contains well-known mantras from the ritual traditions of the adamantine realm and the matrix, which the compiler resignifies by placing them in a new ritual context. For instance, the Mantra of One Hundred and Eight Names that the Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rājas chant in praise of Buddhalocanā is based upon the names of the figures in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. This mantra thus connects Buddhalocanā, a figure from earlier Esoteric Buddhist systems, to the system of the Adamantine Realm.[34] Further, Buddhalocanā herself teaches mantras that attest her ability to effect both the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm. One mantra is the "King of Mantras consisting of the Eight Letters that successfully Accomplish the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion" 成就大悲胎藏八字眞言王. The first five letters of this mantra, *āḥ vī ra hūṃ khaṃ,* have been taken from the powerful mantra that Mahāvairocana expounds in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s sixth chapter, Manifesting Accomplishments. Here, Buddhalocanā, she who brings about such supermundane boons as "an enlightenment like that of the Five Families in the Adamantine Realm," states that, "if the practitioner chants this mantra ten million times, he will be able to quickly accomplish all the rites of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion."[35] Because of this mantra's efficacy, the Tendai scholar-monk Annen attached great importance to this chapter and this eight-letter mantra in his treatise on the *Yuqijing,* the *Kongōbu rōkaku issai yugayugikyō shugyōhō* 金剛峯楼閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經修行法 (Methods of Ritual Practice [contained in the] *Jingangfeng louke yiqie yuqie yuqi jing*).[36]

In sum, we can conclude that the cult of Buddhalocanā became popular in ninth-century Chinese Esoteric Buddhist circles precisely because of a re-interpretation of the powers of this deity, who could now effectuate mantras from both the Adamantine Realm and the Matrix and so bring about material and spiritual boons. Throughout the *Yuqijing,* and especially in the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin*, newly introduced Esoteric Buddhist materials (deities and their relationships, for example, Vajrasattva and Vajraśri/Buddhalocanā and their ritual practices) have been combined with already known materials (Buddhalocanā and her relationship with Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja; her iconography from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*) from Chinese translations of earlier Indian Esoteric Buddhist works. The mixing of contents from variant esoteric systems and their re-interpretation, which characterizes this chapter of the *Yuqijing*, a work that dates to the late eighth century, is seen in other Chinese Esoteric Buddhist ritual handbooks produced throughout the ninth century, which I present in the following sections.

Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi

The early ninth-century *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* is a ritual manual for a deity of the earlier *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* tradition that presents the steps of the rites of offering and identification,

consecration, fire oblations and rain-making wherein Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa functions as the main object of veneration.[37] The rites and mandalas prescribed are, like those in the *Yuqijing*'s *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin*, an assemblage of materials drawn from a number of Esoteric Buddhist systems. The compiler of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* has borrowed material especially, but not exclusively, from the systems of the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras*, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, and the earlier *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* system. Also, he has included elements from indigenous Chinese iconographic traditions.

I present here two examples of the author's method of combining different esoteric ritual traditions in his rite of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa. The first is the performance within a *single* rite of the special yogic practices intrinsic to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and enacted in the rites of the matrix and adamantine realm. These are the visualization of the body adorned with five letters 五字嚴觀 and the attainment of the buddha body in five steps 五相成佛觀.

The act of visualizing the body adorned with five letters is prescribed in the fourth chapter of the seventh fascicle of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. In this yogic practice the practitioner manifests the ineffable body of the absolute Buddhist truth (Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana) within his own body. The practitioner applies in ascending order on his lower body, navel, heart, crown of his head and between his brows the seed letters and the shapes of the five Buddhist elements earth, water, fire, wind and space, forming first a stūpa, the symbol of the Dharmakāya, and then an anthropomorphic body. He is to see himself as being identical with the body of Mahāvairocana in the matrix mandala.[38] This visualization occurs in the opening phase of the Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite, and it is performed as a preliminary act of purification and sanctification of practitioner and setting, as well as an act of empowerment of the practitioner.[39] This is also its function in the Chinese ritual manuals for the matrix rite, although it is not performed in the rite's opening phase.[40]

The practitioner also performs in this Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite a variation of the act of the attainment of the buddha body in five steps, a ritualized formula for rapid enlightenment that is expounded in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and is central to the rite of the adamantine realm.[41] In the scripture, All the Tathāgatas guide Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi (Śākyamuni prior to attaining enlightenment) through a series of five steps wherein his manipulation of special sounds and symbols results in his complete enlightenment. Like the visualization of the body adorned with five letters in the matrix rite, this act in the rite of the adamantine realm and in this Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite involves a preparatory transformation of the practitioner. He performs this act in the rite of the adamantine realm in order to consecrate himself, transforming into a divine being who is qualified to construct the mandala, wherein he will unite with the deities he summons into this sacred space. In the rite of the adamantine realm this act precedes the ritual phases of the construction of the sacred site and the subsequent ritual offerings. In the Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite this act is performed after the offering phase and prior to the ritual phase of identification with Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa given in chapter six.[42]

The second example of the composer's method of combining elements from the two ritual traditions of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm in this Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite is seen in his reworking of the component parts of the ritual act of attaining the buddha body in five steps and the re-signification of its fifth step. He has altered the five-stepped formula for enlightenment from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in a number of singular ways, breaking up and changing the order of the original five steps,[43] attaching new associations to these ritual steps,[44] substituting

mantras from different sources for certain steps of this ritual act,[45] and creating a new climatic act for this method of attaining the buddha body in five steps.[46]

This last alteration requires our attention. The author has changed the formula's final, climatic step in two significant ways.

First, he has given this climatic step a new title, that of the step of acquiring "the wisdom [that employs] skillful means as the final aim" 方便究竟智. The title of this fifth wisdom in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s ritual act has been taken from the third phrase of the axiom fundamental to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. In the opening chapter of this scripture Vajrapāṇi questions Mahāvairocana about the characteristics of omniscience 一切智智. Mahāvairocana responds, presenting his explanation in the form of "three phrases" 三句: "the cause is the mind seeking for enlightenment 菩提心為因; the root is compassion 悲為根本; and the final aim is means (practically employed for the benefit of others) 方便為究竟."[47] This scripture's method of attaining enlightenment requires that the practitioner, over uncountable eons of time, cultivate wisdom and accumulate merits by performing compassionate deeds for others. The author of the Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite now stresses this altruistic goal of personal endeavor for others by making it the climatic fifth step.

The second remarkable change is the author's allocation of the transformation body 化身義 (*nirmāṇakāya*) to this fifth wisdom. This is the physical form, for example the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, in which the formless body of absolute Buddhist truth (Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana) transforms itself to guide and save the unenlightened in the six states of conditioned existence. These alterations now emphasize that the practitioner, in taking the form of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, re-enacts this Buddha's mission of helping others. This is in keeping with the theme of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* and the earlier scriptures of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* tradition upon which this manual is based. The manual's preface states that the rite of the *dhāraṇī* of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa removes all hindrances and eradicates *karma* that would lead to rebirth in the evil paths of animals and hells. The early Tang Dynasty scriptures propagate Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa's formidable *dhāraṇī*. Tathāgata Śākyamuni teaches this *dhāraṇī* in order to eliminate the transgressions of Supratiṣṭhitā 善住天子 (Shanzhu tianzu) that would have led to his rebirth in these lower paths.[48]

The extent and manner of combining Esoteric Buddhist ritual traditions in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s rite for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa differs greatly from Amoghavajra's methods of mixing these traditions in his rites for the Buddhoṣṇīṣas. Amoghavajra's manuals offer the practitioner ways whereby he can carry out effectively certain ritual acts. He does appropriate and so combine elements from differing Esoteric Buddhist systems but he does not manipulate or reinterpret parts of special ritual methods that belong to these systems.[49] Moreover, as seen in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, the performance within a single rite of acts crucial to the ritual systems of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the changes made to re-signify the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s climatic act of the five-stepped formula for enlightenment by substituting the practice of expedient means, one of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s three components for enlightenment, and assigning the transformation body to this step, negates the boundaries of the parent traditions.

The compiler's reason for combining ritual elements from variant esoteric systems and for re-signifying these ritual elements was to set out a number of correlations between the systems of

the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm. The *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa yigui*'s preface contains a number of these correlations.

One example is the statement that "the Five Circles 五輪 are, namely, the Circles of the Five Wisdoms 五智輪."[50] The five circles of the five cosmic Buddhist elements that compose the universal body (*dharmankāya*) of the Absolute Tathāgata Mahāvairocana in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* are equated with the five wisdoms in the five circles of liberation 五解脱輪 from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.[51] The five wisdoms constitute the main principle of organization of this scripture's Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[52]

A second example of correlation in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa yigui*'s preface is the statement:

> If you comprehend [the concept of] non-arising in a single instant of thought, and if you rotate the Five Wisdoms, becoming the *dharmakāya* (Mahāvairocana) in Five Parts 五分法身, and if you understand the mysteries of the Three Bodies [of the *dharmakāya*, *saṃbhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*], then when you first give rise to the thought of enlightenment, you will transcend the One Hundred and Sixty Minds 百六十種心, will traverse [through] the practices of the three incalculable eons (*kalpas*) 三無数劫行, and will realize the pledge of the Body of Form that Manifests Everywhere 普現色身三昧耶.[53]

Here we see an equation made between the concepts of the Five Wisdoms and their acquisition from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the method of enlightenment involving the One Hundred and Sixty Minds and the three stages of yogic practices that is expounded in the first chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[54]

The Daigoji's Mandala of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa (fig. 9, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 796, No. 21) consists of the nine figures of Mahāvairocana and eight Buddhoṣṇīṣas arranged in a circular format. There is a discrepancy between the iconography of this mandala and its textual prescriptions. Important iconographical elements, for example, the figures of Trailokyavijaya and Acala on the left and right, respectively, in the lower part of the mandala, have been omitted.[55] Moreover, while the iconography of the eight Buddhoṣṇīṣas correspond, on the whole, with the manual's directives, that of central Mahāvairocana definitely does not.[56] In the Daigoji mandala this deity forms the Mudrā of Contemplation on the Dharma Realm 法界定印, that is, the mudrā of Mahāvairocana in the Chinese matrix mandalas.[57] However, prescriptions for the mandala in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* focus on Mahāvairocana of the Adamantine Realm. The text stipulates that Mahāvairocana forms the Mudrā of the Dharma Realm 法界印 and includes a description of the method for forming this mudrā. This is the Mudrā of the Wisdom Fist 智拳印, the hand gesture of Mahāvairocana in the Chinese mandalas of the adamantine realm.[58]

Because a master's ritual objective allows for the freedom of iconographic interpretation, placing the Daigoji Mandala of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa in the context of ritual performance can explain the most apparent of the mandala's iconographic alterations, that of Mahāvairocana's mudrā. The intent of the author was to combine the two systems of the Adamantine Realm and the Matrix in ritual performance. We have no documentation of the Chinese ritual tradition, except that recorded in the Japanese ritual compendia. Relevant here is information that Shinkaku and Kakuzen recorded in their ritual compendia, which I presented in Chapter Five as evidence for Shūei's

connection with this mandala and its rite. There I drew attention to the monks' documention of the Zenrinji (Shūei) transmission, which regarded the Wisdom Fist Mudrā as the ultimate of secrets.[59] Although conjectural, one explanation for Mahāvairocana's mudrā in the Daigoji exemplar's Mandala of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa could be that there was in ritual performance the pairing of painted and performed mudrās. For instance, when the practitioner formed the manual's prescribed Mudrā of the Wisdom Fist *before* this mandala's figure of Mahāvairocana, who forms the Mudrā of Contemplation on the Dharma Realm, the two aspects of the *dharmakāya*, that of Wisdom embodied in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and Principle in the Matrix Mandala, would become united within his own body, resulting in his acquisition of buddha-like abilities.[60]

Shūei considered the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* to be a manual of particularly powerful rites, because he specifically documented in his inventory that this work "explains the ways to eliminate obstacles of defilement, pacify calamities, extinguish sins, protect the country, benefit the beings and realize enlightenment."[61]

A cursory examination of Shinkaku's and Kakuzen's scrolls on Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa in the *Besson zakki* and *Kakuzenshō*, respectively, discloses that the personal interpretations of Shinkaku's and Kakuzen's earlier masters determined the many variations that appear in this deity's mandalas and ritual performances.[62] Most importantly, we find in Shinkaku's and Kakuzen's scrolls evidence of the combining and so the correlating of the two ritual traditions of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm in the performance of this rite. The rites for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa include, for example, homage to the deities in both the Mandalas of the Matrix and Adamantine Realm.[63] Kakuzen also records performances of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa's rite wherein Mahāvairocana of the Matrix Mandala functioned as the main deity, as well as statements of his earlier masters who understood the rite of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa as embodying the concept of the combinatory practice of the dual categories 兩部合行 (*ryōbu gōgyō hō*) of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm and the figures of this mandala as a combination of the Adamantine Realm and Matrix Mandalas.[64] And, despite the fact that in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* there are prescriptions for Mahāvairocana of the Adamantine Realm, Shinkaku's and Kakuzen's earlier masters transmitted seed letter mandalas wherein the figure of Mahāvairocana is represented either by the seed letter *vaṃ*, symbolizing Mahāvairocana in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, or the seed letter *a* for Mahāvairocana in the Matrix Mandala.[65]

The rite of offering and identification, which spans chapters two through seven of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, contains numerous examples of the combining of elements from the ritual traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Of course, the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* tradition was also an important source of ritual material.[66] One example of this material from the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* system occurs in chapter six, the longest chapter in this manual, whose theme is the efficacy of the *dhāraṇī* of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa. There is inserted into the text a detailed presentation of thirty-four methods of accomplishments 成就法. The focus of these methods is the acquisition of the mundane boons that are brought about by the correct recitation of this *dhāraṇī*.[67]

Other chapters of this manual also exhibit the redacting of content that has been taken from such sources as the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras*.[68] The prescriptions for constructing the mandala for consecration serves as an example. In the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s eighth chapter, the *Daguanding mantuluo pin* 大灌頂曼荼羅品, the compiler lists the texts that he consulted for the contents of the consecration mandala and its method of depiction. Included are the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the

Dapiluzhena chengfojing shiyi in ten scrolls, the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra*, ritual manuals for Cintāmaṇi-Avalokiteśvara and for the Seven Bhṛkuṭi, the *Guhya tantra*, and the *Amoghapāśa-Avalokiteśvara sūtra* 今略大金剛頂大毘盧遮那經。并釋義十卷。蘇悉地。蘇摩呼。如意輪。七俱胝。瞿醯且[旦]怛羅。不空羂索等經.[69] The iconography of the mandala reflects this medley of sources, some of which I can identify. These are the mandalic traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its commentary, the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*.

The central court of the mandala is based on the template for the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm with its system of a large central circle containing five smaller circles, which are further subdivided into nine small circles, wherein Mahāvairocana, Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa, three other Buddhoṣṇīṣas and the four Prajñāpāramita Bodhisattvas are seated. Also drawn are the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm's Four Inner and Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas. New elements are the four figures of Yamāntaka 六足尊 inside four half-circles outside the central court and within four half-circles inside the central court are Four Mahoṣṇīṣa-cakra-rājas 大頂輪王, Buddhoṣṇīṣas who figure in both the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s Buddha Family and in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s Matrix Mandala.[70]

The arrangement of figures in the two square outer courts of this mandala has been taken from instructions for the Great Consecration Mandala in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. Their positions are determined according to their membership in the Three Families of this scripture. The members of the Buddha Family fill the eastern side of the second court, the Padma Family members sit in the north and those of the Vajra Family sit in the south.[71] However, the identities of the members of the Three Families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra correspond more closely to those that are listed in the *Asheli suochuan mantuluo*, which is described in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*, than to those in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*.[72] Amidst this mixing of esoteric systems are the figures of Indra and Supratiṣṭhā, who sit to the left and right of Śākyamuni, head of the Buddha Family in the east. The compiler inserts narration from the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* in his instructions for the eastern side of the second court of this mandala.[73] The third, outermost court is filled with figures of the protective gods of the directions and their family retinues, which is a feature common to all mandalas.[74]

What the compiler has not mentioned in the citation of sources given above is that he has consulted indigenous Chinese iconographic traditions as well for the composition of this mandala of consecration. Included in the outermost court are the five marchmounts 五岳, the four mighty rivers 四瀆, rulers and their armies 君王軍兵衆, as well as the gods of heaven and earth 地界國内神祇. These elements are drawn from Daoist and State-sponsored pantheons.[75] Further, his instructions state that, if insurrections should arise, a fourth court can be added to this mandala, wherein rebels are to be drawn in a state of chaotic confusion.[76] The compiler of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* has reworked ritual materials (mantras, ritual acts, iconography) from a number of earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works, as well as included indigenous Chinese motifs in its consecration mandala.[77]

In sum, unlike the author of the *Yuqijing*, who has combined new Esoteric Buddhist elements (deities and ritual acts in chapters. 2,[78] 5,[79] 8[80], for instance), whether Indian or apocryphal, with re-interpretations of earlier Buddhist elements (Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja and Buddhalocanā in ch. 9), the compiler of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* has consulted a corpus of earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works. His singular manner of

mixing elements from these earlier systems produced correlations that eschewed the boundaries of the teachings of the parent texts.

RITUAL MANUALS ATTRIBUTED TO FAQUAN

Gongyang hushi batian fa

Shūei records the *Gongyang hushi batian fa* in his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku*, noting that Faquan composed this ritual manual[81] and, in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, Annen reiterates Faquan's authorship and Shūei's introduction of the manual.[82] This ritual manual specifies the procedure of the offering rite to the directional gods. The directional gods, who appear in groups of eight, ten and twelve, are of paramount importance in Esoteric Buddhism because their function is to protect the ritual arena from evil influences when such rites as mandala construction, consecration and fire oblations, for example, take place. Moreover, as protectors these directional gods always appear in the outermost courts of mandalas.[83]

Shūei documents in a note in his inventory that the *Gongyang hushi batian fa* explains the ritual procedure for the directional gods in detail 具説次第 (*tsubusa ni shidai wo toku*).[84] The contents of this offering rite can be parsed into the following sections: first the practitioner is to summon the directional gods, installing them in their respective positions in the mandala;[85] the mudrās and mantras for summoning the gods are then explained;[86] next the acts of offering are described;[87] then, a rite of giving food to demons and spirits 施一切鬼神食 that will bring the practitioner fulfillment of his wishes (*siddhi*) is detailed;[88] finally, the construction of the mandala of the directional gods is delinated.[89]

Annen recorded in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* the texts that he believed to be the sources for the contents of this rite.

> My personal opinion is as follows: [the content of this manual] has been taken from the offering rite to the gods of the four gates [in the mandala for the] consecration [ceremony] into the womb matrix 胎藏灌頂四門神供法 [that was] extracted from the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shiyi*'s Chapter on [Mantras] Necessary [for Entering the Mandala] 大日經具緣品義釋; the offering rite to the one hundred and twelve gods of the womb matrix 胎藏一百一十二天供法 taken from the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shiyi*'s Chapter on the Secret Mandala 大日經祕密曼荼羅品義釋; the offering rite to the eight directional gods [who protect the site of] consecration into the adamantine realm 金剛界灌頂八方神供法 extracted from the (*Jingangding yuqiezhong*) *luchu niantong jing* [金剛頂瑜伽中]略出念誦經; the offering rite to the twelve gods of the adamantine realm 金剛界二十天供法 extracted from the [*Jingangding yuqie*] *humo yigui* [金剛頂瑜伽]護摩儀軌; the offering rite to the gods and spirits [who effect] ritual accomplishments 蘇悉地天倶神供法 extracted from the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra* and the *Guanding jing* (Consecration Scripture) 蘇婆呼[童子請問經]及灌頂經; the offering rite to the gods of the ten directions in the *Bukongjuance jing* (Scripture on Amoghapāśa) 不空羂策經十方天神供法 extracted from [lacuna].[90]

According to Annen, Faquan compiled this rite by extracting material from the offering rites to the directional gods that are prescribed in the above seven works. I have not been able to corroborate all of Annen's claims but he is correct in noting that Faquan has consulted a variety of sources. My examination of the contents of the *Gongyang hushi batian fa* reveals that Faquan has taken ritual information from Śubhākarasiṃha's translation of the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra*, Amoghavajra's handbook for the rite of fire oblations (hereafter, *homa*), the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*, and his own matrix manuals, in particular the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti chuangbiaozhi putong zhenyanzang guangda chengjiu yujia* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標幟普通眞言藏廣大成就瑜伽 (hereafter, *Qinglongsi yigui*). Faquan has drawn materials for this rite from sources that belong to differing Esoteric Buddhist systems, especially those of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm.

Faquan opens this manual with a statement about the reason for performing offerings to the directional gods that he has paraphased from the tenth chapter of the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra*.[91] Next, come brief directions for setting up a site for these gods outside of the sacred practice arena, for food offerings and for the manner in which these food offerings are to be made. This information has been taken from an offering rite to the directional gods that is appended to Amogavajra's *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*.[92] Once the offerings have been placed before the seat of each god, the practitioner then summons ten directional gods to descend into the sacred site, and these invocations are from the tenth chapter of the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra*.[93] These steps constitute the first section of summoning the ten directional gods.

The section wherein the practitioner performs the mudrās and mantras of the gods contains acts for twelve guardian gods of directions because of the addition of the Sun God 日天 (Āditya) and Moon God 月天 (Candra), masters of the Seven Luminaries 七曜 and the Twenty-Eight Constellations 二十八宿, respectively.[94]

We must pause here and explain the inconsistency in the number of guardian gods. There are ten directional gods in the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra* and twelve in Amoghavajra's *homa* handbook, with the addition of the Seven Luminaries and the Twenty-Eight Constellations.[95] The directional gods appear in a number of Esoteric Buddhist texts prior to Amoghavajra's time but their number is not fixed. Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* was the first manual to specify the number, positions and attributes of twelve directional gods.[96] Faquan delineates here an offering rite to the twelve guardian gods, despite the title of this ritual manual — *Gongyang hushi batian fa* (Offering Rite for the Eight World-Protecting Gods) — and his focus on the ten directional gods from the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra* at the beginning of this manual. He does not include in his manual Amoghavajra's prescriptions for these twelve gods, although common to both works are the gods' positions. Instead, he only takes from Amoghavajra's handbook sections of practical instructions for the performance of this offering rite, for example, how to offer fragrant unguent and how to place an offering of rice gruel on a leaf.[97] When he explains such important ritual elements as the mudrās, attributes and mantras of the twelve gods, as well as the mudrās and mantras for the ritual phase of offering unguent, garlands of flowers, incense, food and drink, lights, and the universal offering of Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha, Faquan refers to his own matrix manual, the *Qinglongsi yigui*.

Moreover, because this matrix manual is carefully crafted upon Śubāhakarasiṃha's translation of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its ritual tradition, as I demonstrate in Chapter Seven, the mudrās and mantras of the twelve gods and the offerings are found in the

Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra's Chapters on Secret Seals and Offering Rite, and in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*.[98]

Faquan again borrows passages directly from the tenth chapter of the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra* for the fourth section of this manual. These passages describe a rite of offering to the devas, asuras, nāgas, yakṣas, pretas, demons, and so forth, beings, who are found throughout the Buddhist universe, that is, the three spheres (*tridhātu*) and six states (*ṣaḍgati*) of transmigratory existence, as well as to those beings inhabiting the sky, mountains, lakes, rivers, groves, roads, villages, and monasteries, to name but a few sites in our natural and man-made worlds.[99]

One set of directives for installing Brahmā and Pṛthivī in the mandala that is described in this manual's section on constructing the mandala for these gods can be traced to Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*. However, the origins of the iconography of a four-armed Acalanātha 不動忿怒王, who is the focal figure of the *Gongyang hushi batian fa*'s mandala, requires more research.[100] Such a figure, whose iconography matches that of Acalanātha in the *Gongyang hushi batian fa*'s mandala, is described in an expanded version of Amoghavajra's *homa* rite. This work is thought to postdate Amoghavajra.[101] In any case, this is a final example of Faquan consulting an earlier Chinese translation of a scripture in his manual.

Although Annen records that there is content in the *Gongyang hushi batian fa* that derives from such works as Yixing's *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shiyi*, Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding yuqiezhong luchu niantong jing*, the *Guanding jing* and the *Bukongjuance jing*, for example, I have not yet been able to identify corresponding passages in these works. There are examples of correspondance of content.[102] Nevertheless, the above examples that I have identifed verify that Faquan has composed this ritual manual for the offerings to the directional gods by directly citing passages from scriptures that the eighth-century masters Śubhākarasiṃha and Amoghavajra had translated into Chinese.

Jianli mantuluo humo yigui

According to Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku,* Faquan composed the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* and Ennin returned with it from China.[103] Annen, however, does not acknowledge that this work is listed in Shūei's *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku*. Shūei records in his inventory that the author of this manual is unknown and that it resembles the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* 無人名如大日經.[104] Shūei's analysis is indeed true, as an examination of this manual discloses. In contrast to Amoghavajra's *homa* rite, the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*, which is structured on the rite of the Adamantine Realm as prescribed in his *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*, the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* underpin the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui*.

The contents of the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* can be divided into four major sections: a seven-day rite for the construction of a mandala platform in the ritual arena;[105] a discussion of internal and external *homa* 内外護摩;[106] prescriptions for the performance of the four rites of pacification 息災 (*śāntika*), increasing worldly benefits 增益 (*pauṣṭika*), emotional subjugation (bewitching) 敬愛 (*vaśīkaraṇa*), and wrathful subjugation (exorcism) 降伏 (*ābhicāruka*);[107] a final section that covers such topics as the characteristics of successful and unsuccessful performances of the *homa* rite, mudrās and mantras that will nullify inauspicious signs, and spiritual and material boons for the practitioner of the *homa* rite.[108]

The contents of this manual derive from a number of textual sources, but most prominent are ritual acts from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. The *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* begins with a description of the seven-day rite for the construction of a mandala platform for a matrix mandala, which is undertaken before the performance of *homa* rites.[109] A rite for the construction of a mandala platform is expounded in the second chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and elaborated upon in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*. The scripture describes the activities that are to be performed for the construction of this platform during a seven-day period and the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* further specifies the day, order and method of performing these ritual activities, as well as their religious significance.[110] The order of ritual activities in the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* differ from those given in the scripture and its commentary.[111] However, despite this difference in order, the information provided for this rite of construction of a mandala platform corresponds to that given in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*. For example, reiterated are the scripture's directives that on an auspicious day the practitioner is to select a site for the rite, to remove all impurities from the ground, to pay homage to the Tathāgatas and to arouse the gods of the earth who protect this spot. The *gāthā* (verse) for arousing the gods of the earth derives from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[112] Further, the explicit instructions for the erection of the mandala platform in this handbook paraphrases the contents of these two works. Examples are the method and significance of arousing the earth gods,[113] the visualization of the appearance of Mahāvairocana in the center of this matrix mandala,[114] and the visualization whereby the body of Mahāvairocana and the practitioner become one and the same.[115]

The *homa* rites for pacification, increasing benefits, emotional subjugation and wrathful sujugation are to be performed in a separate, purified room adjacent to the ritual arena with its completed mandala platform. Before describing these rituals, the author of the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* first presents the theme of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s twenty-seventh chapter on *homa* rites, entitled Mundane and Supramundane *Homa* Rites 世出世護摩法品. This is the teaching of the internal and external *homa*.[116] In this handbook, however, the author reverses the order of the teachings given in this chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, and this he does to emphasize the importance of the internally performed inner *homa* over that of the externally performed outer *homa*.[117] Our author then provides the scripture's exposition of the external *homa*'s twelve fires, here called the twelve fires of wisdom 十二種智火. Once again, his text paraphrases Mahāvairocana's cryptic statements in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*'s more elaborate explications.[118]

Included in this handbook are a number of ritual acts intrinsic to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. Three examples are the visualizations of the king of the great mantra 大眞言王, of the gate of the seed letter *a* 阿字門, and of the accomplishment of the Buddha body by means of the letters of the five circles [of the five Buddhist elements] 五輪字成佛身. The first visualization, also called king of the twelve mantras, is based on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s Chapter on the Secret Mandala. In the scripture Vajrapāṇi expounds the great king of mantras but he does not describe its practice.[119] This the manual does, explaining that the king of the twelve mantras is performed by visualizing twelve seed letters on twelve parts of the body: the letters *āṃ* on the crown of the head, *khaṃ* and *aṃ* on the left and right ears, *aḥ* on the forehead, *saṃ* and *saḥ* on the two shoulders, *haṃ* and *haḥ* on the throat and heart, *raṃ* and *raḥ* on the navel and loins, and *vaṃ* and *vaḥ* on the thighs and feet.[120] The scripture states that Mahāvairocana's performance of this visualization brought about the defeat of the four

demons of physical and mental constituents (*skandha*), of defilements, of death and of heaven, as well as the acquisition of the equalities of body, speech and mind as vast as empty space and an unlimited wisdom.[121] This manual stipulates that the practitioner perform this ritual act prior to the commencement of the seven-day rite for the construction of a mandala platform. It is a ritual act that both purifies and empowers the practitioner, thus preparing him physically and mentally for the task of constructing the mandala.

In the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui*, the practitioner performs the visualizations of the gate of the seed letter *a* and the attainment of the Buddha body by means of the letters of the five Buddhist elements in order to further understand the significance of the internal *homa*. According to the manual's instructions, visualization of the letter *a,* which symbolizes the element earth and constitutes the first step in the practitioner's formation of the body of Mahāvairocana by visualizing the letters of the five cosmic elements upon his own body, brings about the realization of the significance of the phrase of "the originally unborn." This realization reveals the mind of enlightenment which, in turn, produces the wisdom necessary to dispell all delusions and overcome all hindrances.[122] The teaching of the letter *a* and the original non-arising of all things, as well as the method of visualization of this letter are found in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[123] A number of chapters of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, including that of the Chapter on the Secret Mandala, prescribe the visualization of the attainment of the Buddha body by means of the letters of the five Buddhist elements.[124]

Ritual acts from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* are central to this *homa* rite, but this scripture and its commentary are not the only texts that the author consulted for the rite. This manual contains information from Śubhākarasiṃha's *Susiddhikara* and *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtras* and Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*. For instance, in the performance of the *homa* rite of pacification, which is given the most coverage in this manual, the author followed prescriptions delineated in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s chapter on *homa*, although he has changed the order of the material and has paraphrased much of the wording.[125] From the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra* the author has borrowed a description of the auspicious signs that will appear in the dreams of the practitioner should he perform the *homa* rites successfully.[126]

Although *homa* rites are found in a number of texts,[127] Amoghavajra wrote the first comprehensive ritual handbook for these rites. Our author has definitely referred to Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* in order to compose his *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui*. Common are the fundamental prescriptions for the four rites of pacification, increasing benefits, emotional subjugation, and wrathful subjugation.[128] In particular, directives for the rites of increasing benefits and wrathful subjugation correspond more closely with those given in the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* than those in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. Moreover, a number of the mudrās and mantras[129] and the content of certain passages of text for these rites[130] are similar in both ritual manuals, evidence that our author consulted Amoghavajra's handbook.

Nevertheless, despite the correspondences between the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* and the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*, the dissimilarities of content[131] and literary sources disclose the differing intentions of the two authors. Amoghavajra's *homa* rite is embedded within the rite of the adamantine realm, which is based upon his *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*. Further, the mandalas that are to be used in each of the five types of the *homa* rites in the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* are variations of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[132] On the other hand, as I have demonstrated, key liturgical, iconographical and doctrinal elements in the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* are ritual acts, prescriptions and teachings inherent to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

CONCLUSION

The works examined above reveal ninth-century Chinese masters' differing methods of appropriating and re-interpreting concepts and elements in order to create new Esoteric Buddhist rituals and iconography.

The *Yuqijing* displays a combining of elements from new or apocrphyal Indian Esoteric Buddhist works, as well as from earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works that have then been re-interpreted in order to correlate these systems. The *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin*, chapter nine of the *Yuqijing*, is representative of the contents of the *Yuqijing* as a whole. The underlying system is that of a version of the Adamantine Realm that postdates that of Amoghavajra's translation. The focal deity Buddhalocanā is from *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* system, which predates that of the Adamantine Realm. Buddhalocanā exerts agency over groups of deities from disparate esoteric traditions and she especially effectuates mantras from the systems of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm.

The compiler of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, on the other hand, confined his borrowing and mixing of elements to a specific group of earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works. Novel to this author's re-interpretation of these elements is the performance of major ritual acts inherent to the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm systems within a single rite and also the manipulation and re-signification of parts of these ritual acts. The result is a disregard for the boundaries of the parent texts in order to set up correlations between the systems of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. This method of appropriation and correlation of acts from the ritual traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* contrasts with such ninth-century works as the *Bizangji* 祕藏記, a compendium representative of the ritual lineage of Huiguo that we presented in Chapter Three of this dissertation. In this work, scriptural borders are respected. There is the pairing of the differing esoteric realities of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in a two-part unit, each with its separate significance.

Faquan in his *Gongyang hushi batian fa* and the author (either Faquan or someone in his immediate circle) of the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* re-present the rites for the directional gods and the *homa* rite by consulting and re-structuring earlier ritual materials from different Esoteric Buddhist systems that were translated by such eighth-century masters as Śubhākarasiṃha and Amoghavajra. Despite the fact that the four-armed figure of Acalanātha represents a new iconographic feature in the *Gongyang hushi batian fa*, both works exhibit a revivial of earlier esoteric materials, especially those that were introduced by Śubhākarasiṃha.

In short, the variety seen in the Chinese authors' methods of appropriating and mixing of materials from disparate systems, assigning correlations between these variant systems, as well as sourcing from new or apocryphal Indian Esoteric Buddhist materials and harkening back to earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works, features that characterizes the ninth-century ritual manuals examined above, highlights the fact that among Chinese Esoteric Buddhist circles of the time there was a number of lineages of interpretation of these materials.

In the following, final chapter I continue my focus on the unique features of Faquan's transmission of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings because he played a major role in their

Sinification and dissemination. I will demonstrate that the Daigoji *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* was a product of this further Sinification of Indian Esoteric Buddhism.