

# *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas*

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# *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas*

Tracing the Evolution of  
Esoteric Buddhist Rituals

*Koichi Shinohara*



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COVER IMAGE: Preparation of the waters for the annual bath of the Avalokiteśvara image of the village of Nala, some 10 miles east of Kathmandu, on March 12, 2009. The two white-robed officiants in the center function as patrons of the ritual, while the tantric vajrācārya priests performing the rituals can be seen in the foreground.

Photograph by Alexander von Rospatt.

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## INTRODUCTION

### HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON “ESOTERIC BUDDHISM”

In this study I offer a hypothetical reconstruction of the formation and transformation of a Buddhist ritual tradition that originated in India but spread widely beyond and is designated by a variety of terms, such as Tantric Buddhism and Vajrayāna. In East Asia it is today typically known as “Esoteric Teaching” (*mijiao* or *mikkyō* 密教). But both the recognition of this ritual tradition as a distinct type of Buddhist teaching and its characterization as “Esoteric Teaching” have been subjects of scholarly discussion.<sup>1</sup>

Japanese scholars have long studied this tradition, insisting on the distinction between “pure” and “miscellaneous” Esotericism.<sup>2</sup> This reading privileges, as presenting the normative form of Esoteric Buddhism, the *Mahāvairocana* and *Vajraśekhara* sūtras, translated into Chinese by Śubhakarasiṃha (C. Shanwuwei, 善無畏; 637–735), Vajrabodhi (C. Jīngāngzhī 金剛智; 669–741), and Amoghavajra (C. Būkōng 不空; 705–774) in the eighth century. More recently, Robert Sharf observed that the term “hidden” or “esoteric” was used widely and applied to a variety of

teachings in early Chinese Buddhist sources. Only in the tenth century did Chinese Buddhist historians began “to group certain practices, doctrines, and teachers under the explicit rubric of esotericism.”<sup>3</sup> It would be thus anachronistic to discuss the teachings of the sūtras translated in the eighth century or earlier as Esoteric Teaching.

In this book I shift the focus from the terms that have been used to identify the tradition—such as “Esoteric”—to the actual content of ritual practice. The large body of ritual instructions preserved in Chinese translation enables us to trace the early evolution of Esoteric Buddhist rituals. A distinct maṇḍala initiation ceremony was introduced to China in the middle of the seventh century. It brings together a rich set of existing ritual instructions for individual deities, typically organized around images, to create a ceremony that initiates the candidate into a common ritual tradition (a “secret dharma storehouse”). This maṇḍala initiation continues to occupy a central place in medieval Esoteric Buddhist ritual, though both the rituals for individual deities and the initiation itself have undergone profound changes. I attempt here to trace how this ritual tradition emerged and evolved over time.

This exploration takes us back much earlier than the eighth-century translations of the sūtras of the “pure” Esoteric Teaching or the even later identification of a separate tradition of “Esoteric” Buddhism. Nevertheless, I refer to the entire development, admittedly anachronistically, as Esoteric Buddhism in accordance with the widely shared practice in scholarly and popular literature.

## THE EVOLUTION OF ESOTERIC BUDDHIST RITUALS

Esoteric Buddhist rituals are enacted in the presence of deities, often in the form of images, and a rich image culture came to characterize the tradition. But sometimes the deities are present more immediately—as visions, or in visualizations by the practitioners, who create mental pictures of the deities and then imagine themselves becoming one with them. At such times physical images may not be present, or their role may be ambiguous and unstable. One central thesis of this study is that the relationship between image and ritual changed fundamentally and in complex ways as Esoteric rituals evolved over time. In order to understand these changes clearly, one needs to retrace the steps of this ritual

evolution. Careful attention to the changing role of images enables us to discern these steps with greater clarity.

The core of the Esoteric rituals consists in the recitation of spells. Yet the evolution of these rituals was driven to a very significant degree by the power of visual images, whether concrete or constructed in the imagination. The introduction of images and the subsequent shift of emphasis from physical images to mental visualization marked crucial stages in the rituals' evolution. In what follows I shall attempt to reconstruct the changing relationships between image worship and Esoteric ritual.

Though image worship became an important part of these rituals at an early stage, the significance of images as material loci of deities had diminished by the time the general Esoteric Buddhist initiation ceremony emerged. Such a ceremony conferred on candidates the power to perform Esoteric rituals effectively; the entire pantheon was represented on a carefully marked-out space called an All-Gathering Maṇḍala. The construction of this maṇḍala may be taken as the beginning of the self-aware Esoteric tradition. As the key elements of the ritual were gradually, and in the end extensively, translated into visualization practices, images became less vital.

This development may have come about out of the need for increased control over the ritual and its outcome. Anxiety about the efficacy of a given spell was initially allayed by the promised occurrence of miraculous visions, the content of which was carefully defined. Once images had been introduced for worship, miraculous signs emerging from them were thought to confirm the presence of the deity and hence the efficacy of the ritual: the image was said to emit light or speak, for example, at the conclusion of the ritual. But despite the secrecy in which rituals were conducted, claims of miraculous responses emanating from physical images would have been difficult to sustain in the long run. I suggest that visualization would have been a more effective—as well as less questionable—means for confirming the efficacy of a ritual. In visualization the actual presence of the deity is signified not by miraculous emanations from the deity's image, which were at best uncertain, but by the worshipper's carefully choreographed mental construction of and merging with the deity. Esoteric rituals employing visualization culminate not in miracles perceived to issue from an external physical image but in the internally experienced identification of the practitioner with the deity. By their very nature, external signs can be confirmed or, at least in theory, challenged by other observers, since they can be perceived by anyone present. In visualization rituals the efficacy of the ritual is confirmed only by the practitioner, whose ability to experience the required

vision has been previously guaranteed by a proper initiation ceremony and instruction on the correct choice of spells.

The developments that I outline here, from the introduction of physical images to their replacement by visualization practices, occurred relatively early in the evolution of the Esoteric tradition, and the sources that document their gradual emergence are preserved for the most part only in Chinese translations, dating as far back as the fifth to the eighth centuries.<sup>4</sup> This monograph offers a detailed reading of selected examples from these earlier Chinese translations, crucial documents that record the gradual emergence of many fundamental features of Esoteric Buddhist ritual.

Although the broad outline of the developed Esoteric Buddhist rituals, including the elaborate maṇḍala initiation ceremony, can in this way be traced back to earlier *dhāraṇī* (spell) collections and scriptures, certain practices that have attracted the attention of many scholars are either absent from or peripheral in these earlier sources. Most striking among these practices are the use of mediums and the eye-opening ceremonies for images. The evidence reviewed here suggests that these practices became a part of the larger tradition relatively later, either as importations from outside sources or as further internal developments within the ritual tradition.<sup>5</sup> The complex ritual system that we sometimes think of as a completed and coherent whole (“pure” Esotericism), represented by the *Mahāvairocana* and *Vajraśekhara* sūtras or Amoghavajra’s ritual manuals, might better be understood as a series of distinct phases in a process of continuous evolution.<sup>6</sup>

## BASIC SCENARIOS OF ESOTERIC BUDDHIST RITUALS

In this study, I describe the development of Esoteric Buddhist ritual as a process in which increasingly complex ritual scenarios were constructed. Here I offer a brief description of these scenarios, with simpler models first and the more complex models as fundamental modifications of them. These scenarios are the conceptual models on which I shall base my analyses and discussion. It is important to keep in mind that the chronological/historical development was far more complex and many-sided than the linear progression that appears in my presentation, and more complex scenarios did not completely displace simpler ones. At any

point in time, rituals that follow scenarios of different degrees of complexity would have been performed in different settings.

In the simplest scenario (one), spells were typically recited repeatedly to attain what were largely this-worldly, practical objectives. This simple practice itself underwent a variety of elaborations. Spells were often written down. Spell cords (*pratisara*) over which a spell had been recited were attached to different parts of the body. Spells were also affiliated with individual deities, either the deity who had given the spell in the distant past and/or the deity who ensured its efficacy. At an early stage certain spells appear to have been attributed to the Buddha, often represented as the Seven Past Buddhas. Their efficacy was often guaranteed by a vision in which all the Buddhas of the Ten Directions appeared to the practitioner. With this affiliation, the outcome of the recitation came in some cases to be described in more abstract and complex terms, often the familiar language of Buddhist soteriology. These *dhāraṇī* must have been recited at least in part to achieve progress on the Buddhist path of salvation.

In scenario two, image worship was introduced into this simpler cult. Images, as paintings or as statues, in time acquired more or less fixed iconographic forms, which were described in detail in the ritual prescriptions. Offerings were made to these images and elaborate offering rituals, accompanied by specific spells, became established. Many times the images were said to emit light and/or speak loudly, which demonstrated the efficacy of the ritual as visions of deities had done in the simpler *dhāraṇī* recitation practices. A complex relationship may have obtained between visions and images. Accounts of visions could have informed the ways images were painted or carved, but once fixed in tangible form, that iconography must also have served to determine the appearance of further visions. Through this interaction, increasingly elaborate iconographies may have developed for each deity.

Over time, the ritual of reciting spells in front of an image became more elaborate and more clearly codified. Its efficacy, or success, came to be routinely spoken of as “accomplishment” (*chengjiu* 成就). More complex ritual procedures were often designated by this term. Shorter forms of the longer root spell were introduced. Distinct steps in the image worship came to be associated with fixed spells. Thus there were spells for offering flowers, spells for burning incense, and so on. *Mudrās*, or hand gestures, were also introduced and combined with spells. Often this practice of worshipping and seeking benefits from a specific deity evolved into *maṇḍala* ceremonies, in which the image of the central deity was surrounded by ritual implements and images of other deities on an altar

or maṇḍala. Candidates were consecrated or initiated by a master (S: *ācārya*) into the practice of specific rites calling for the assistance of a particular deity. Several of these more elaborate rituals have been recorded in the so-called dhāraṇī scriptures preserved in Chinese.

The third scenario evolved directly out of the latest stage of these maṇḍala rituals, which focused on single deities. In this scenario, deities constituting the entire esoteric pantheon were invited into the maṇḍala and the candidates were initiated into a wide range of Esoteric practices in their presence. This ceremony presupposed a distinct idea of Esoteric ritual as a coherent whole with an elaborate pantheon. The earliest known account of this maṇḍala and its initiation ceremony is preserved in a Chinese compilation, where it is designated the “All-Gathering Maṇḍala Initiation Ceremony.” Though no early record of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony is preserved in Indian sources, the basic model is clearly spelled out in varying degrees of detail in many Chinese translations of early Indian esoteric scriptures. I assume that the structure of this ritual must have been well established in India by the time an Indian monk named Atikūṭa is said to have performed it in China in the middle of the seventh century.<sup>7</sup>

In the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony many image rituals, each directed to a specific deity, were brought together into a larger synthesis. Deities, grouped into different categories, were placed in different parts (“halls”) of the maṇḍala. The candidates for initiation, blindfolded, each threw a flower into the maṇḍala, thus establishing a special bond with the deity on whom—or on whose “seat”—the flower landed.

The introduction of this new type of maṇḍala ceremony carried far-reaching implications. This may be the point at which Esoteric Buddhism was conceived for the first time as a distinct tradition involving a large group of deities. Although this maṇḍala was drawn around a deity at the center, the significance and the role of the central deity became unclear, and probably for this reason its identity was left open. Unlike other types of maṇḍalas constructed for specific deities and practices associated with them, the point of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala and its ceremony was to bring all the deities together. The maṇḍala now represented the entire pantheon simultaneously. Each deity was ritually assigned a specific seat, and offerings were made to each of the deities at their seats. Candidates established their own bond with a specific deity through the rite of throwing (or tossing) a flower on the maṇḍala. That would explain the role of the deities gathered together there. The distinct role of the central deity is more difficult to explain and justify. Another important feature of this maṇḍala is the absence of



images. The deities called into the maṇḍala were represented by their seats. In the flower-throwing ceremony flowers would fall more readily, as well as more definitively, on a particular “seat” on the maṇḍala than on a statue.

The general initiation ceremony with the rite of throwing a flower into the maṇḍala became a familiar feature of the Esoteric ritual tradition, though these initiations are not always called the All-Gathering Ceremony. The image ritual of “accomplishment” and such a general maṇḍala initiation ceremony existed side by side in the tradition that we find in the dhāraṇī scriptures. And both scenarios were gradually and fundamentally reconfigured through the introduction of visualization, that is, the practice of drawing mental pictures of deities and ritual implements as parts of the ceremony.<sup>8</sup> The introduction of visualization was in many ways a destabilizing development, undermining the coherence of the ritual synthesis that had been achieved earlier. The deities were now understood primarily as mental images, and the practitioner could visualize himself as a deity.

At this point the balance between understanding the maṇḍala as a universal gathering of all deities and focusing on one specific deity appears to have shifted. The relation between the central deity, representing the entire maṇḍala, and other deities on the maṇḍala could now be articulated differently. As mental images, these deities with their distinctive iconographies could now be taken as different transformations or manifestations of the same central deity, itself a transformation of the mind of the practitioner. The practice of visualization in rituals of “accomplishment,” which were affiliated with a single specific deity, could be reconfigured into more or less the same visualization as that described for the general maṇḍala initiation, as recounted in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* or *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. The same set of mantras could be used in both, since now all the deities were understood to share in the same essence.

In the course of visualization, specific mantras were recited, each linked to specific steps in the ritual. These mantras were first recorded in scriptures describing visualization in the setting of general Esoteric initiation; they were then imported into a wide range of ritual manuals. Consequently, it was through the mantra that a given practice could be understood as belonging to a larger ritual tradition, for example, the tradition of the maṇḍala described in the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. Ritual instruction thus centered on the correct use of the mantras. The primary function of the general initiation ceremony now became the proper transmission of these mantras.

## ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

Instructions on the uses and methods of performing dhāraṇīs and Esoteric rituals must have had deep roots in the oral tradition. What was first recorded in writing might have been no more than individual spells with brief comments on their uses. Many such small spell texts would then have been brought together to form the more complex dhāraṇī collections and Esoteric scriptures that we now have. Only some parts of this merging process are evident in the documents that have survived in the Chinese translations. Despite the presumably missing parts, the extant translated texts, which span several centuries, are strikingly consistent: they use similar terminology and the same ritual scenarios occur repeatedly. A common understanding of these rituals appears to have existed, and it also changed discernibly over time. My goal in this volume is to elucidate this understanding and map its changes, which can be schematized as the development of the three distinctive ritual scenarios just outlined.

I present my discussion of Esoteric Buddhist rituals as a series of detailed studies of specific Esoteric sūtras. As noted above, much of the existing account of Esoteric Buddhism highlights the place of the “pure” Esoteric teaching and privileges the *Mahāvairocana* and *Vajraśkhara* sūtras. The large body of other sūtras translated and preserved in Chinese tends to be neglected. For reconstructing the evolution of early Esoteric Buddhist rituals, these sūtras, of the “miscellaneous” teaching, are just as important as the sūtras of the “pure” teaching. Our effort must begin with a careful and comparative examination of these often neglected sūtras. They have their own complicated histories, much of which is now obscure. A good part of my discussion of specific collections and scriptures is devoted to reconstructing as much as I can of the history of the individual texts that are my primary sources.

This investigation unfolds in three parts. Part I will reconstruct the evolution of the first three basic scenarios of Esoteric rituals, largely absent visualization, in the relatively early stages of this tradition. I shall examine the simpler dhāraṇī teachings (scenario one) and then how they were recast when image worship was combined with recitation of spells (scenario two). The discussion will focus on a collection of dhāraṇī practices from the sixth century (chapter 1). Chapter 2 will deal with a group of ritual texts that are all designated “Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra.” In these texts, which date from the fifth or sixth century to the ninth century, we can trace how a simple dhāraṇī recitation associated with the

Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara evolved to include an image-worship ritual, and from that into a maṇḍala initiation with no mention of visualization, and finally into an elaborate visualization ritual. My focus here will be on the introduction of image worship.

The last part of this effort to differentiate basic scenarios will trace how the third scenario, that of maṇḍala initiation, came to be constructed. Here I shall examine in depth the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, whose compilation is attributed to the Indian monk Atikūṭa in the seventh century (chapters 3 and 4).<sup>9</sup> This collection is very carefully organized around the idea of something that it calls the “All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony.” Many deities are represented in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala; rituals specific to individual deities, which are described in other sections of the text, are brought together there. Images often play important roles in these rituals for specific deities, which often include, as well, simpler maṇḍala practices, spelled out in step-by-step ritual instructions. A close reading of this collection reveals how the simpler image worship and maṇḍala initiation rites evolved into a comprehensive and complex ceremony that came to embody much that is taken for granted in later maṇḍala teachings. Chapter 3 examines the rituals for individual deities collected in the first eleven fascicles, first focusing on the material on the deity Vajragarbha and then on the evolution of simpler maṇḍala ceremonies.

Chapter 4 discusses the formation of the All-Gathering Ceremony in the context of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* and then more broadly against the background of the post-Vedic ritual culture in India. The All-Gathering Ceremony shares a broad ritual outline as well as certain central elements with the new post-Vedic *śānti* rituals that became popular roughly around the same time, sometime in the first millennium C.E. This new ritual culture prepared the ground for the later emergence of Purāṇic Hinduism. The evolution of Esoteric Buddhist rituals appears also to have been shaped by this development.

In part II, chapters 5 and 6, I trace the gradual introduction of visualization practices by looking closely at sūtras that present a dhāraṇī for a specific individual deity. The perspective here is historical and evolutionary: how did instructions on dhāraṇīs evolve into a distinctive genre of Esoteric Buddhist sūtras, incorporating certain familiar elements of later Esoteric Buddhist ritual? I examined the introduction of images in one sūtra tradition in chapter 2. In part II I examine this further, along with the introduction of other elements, paying special attention to how visualization became increasingly important. For this historical investigation it is particularly important to examine carefully selected examples from a wide range of esoteric sūtras without privileging those of the “pure” teaching.

My investigation focuses on the group of dhāraṇī sūtras that were translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci (d. 727) in the capital city early in the eighth century, only a few decades before the *Mahāvairocana* and *Vajraśekhara* sūtras were translated. Each of the three sūtras examined in chapter 5 is affiliated with a different type of deity (Vajra, Avalokiteśvara, and Buddha). These sūtras, often treated as “miscellaneous” teachings, also exist in multiple versions in translations, in the first two cases attributed to different translators. Some of these alternative translations come from earlier periods and represent the earlier stages in the evolution of Esoteric Buddhist sūtras. Others shed light on later stages.

An earlier form of the *Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra* appears in the *Mouli Sūtra*, often mentioned as the first sūtra in which an extensive instruction on mudrās appears. The *Mouli Sūtra* is affiliated with Vajra deities but lacks the introductory narrative that typically explains the circumstances under which the dhāraṇī came to be known. Bodhiruci’s *Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra* presents itself as a fully developed dhāraṇī sūtra; an elaborate introductory narrative is artificially inserted and establishes the new identity of the dhāraṇī firmly. The *Cintāmaṇi Cakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra* names Avalokiteśvara as its deity in its title. A well-developed account of visualization practice appears, but it is unique to Bodhiruci’s translation. The gradual introduction of visualization practice may be traced through comparison with corresponding passages in other existing translations.

Multiple translations of these two sūtras show how simpler ritual instructions evolved into more complex forms. Eventually the maṇḍala initiation ceremony, modeled after the All-Gathering Ceremony, also came to be incorporated. Bodhiruci translated a sūtra affiliated with Buddhōṣṇiṣa deities; two versions of this translation, with separate titles, are preserved. An extended account of a maṇḍala initiation ritual appears in one, but not in the other.

Chapter 6 examines the dhāraṇī scriptures associated with the deity Amoghapāśa. Again different versions of the dhāraṇī sūtras for this deity are preserved in multiple translations. A number of features noted in the general analysis of dhāraṇī sūtras in chapter 5 appear gradually in this tradition as well. The massive thirty-one-fascicle sūtra Bodhiruci translated is of particular interest for our investigation. It is organized around a complex narrative that describes the circumstances under which the sūtra’s key mantras were presented. As noted above, dhāraṇī sūtras typically begin with a narrative that explains how the dhāraṇī in question was presented to the Buddha or was taught by him. The elaborate narrative of the thirty-fascicle sūtra is guided by the same concern, and suggests that despite its extraordinary size and complexity, this sūtra

belongs to the tradition of dhāraṇī sūtras. But it is also in this long sūtra that visualization of syllables appears for the first time, pointing to a close relationship to the *Mahāvairocana*, where such visualizations play prominent roles.

In part III, chapters 7 and 8, I turn to works from “pure” Esoteric Buddhism. Here, instead of the *Mahāvairocana* and *Vajraśekhara* sūtras themselves, I examine a commentary and ritual manuals. These works testify to the privileged status given to these sūtras, and yet they also show that this “pure” teaching emerged out of the broad development sketched in part II and is best understood as a part of this larger continuum. The basic scenarios of esoteric rituals traced in part I were further transformed by the more thoroughgoing incorporation of visualization.

The works I examine in part III were mostly compiled in China and are not direct translations of Indian sources. Yixing (683–727) compiled his commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* in close collaboration with Śubhākrasimha and cites the latter’s oral instruction frequently. Amoghavajra, to whom the ritual manuals are attributed, played an important role in the Tang Chinese court but was himself an Indian monk. The content of Yixing’s commentary and Amoghavajra’s manuals derived from India, and the Chinese setting of their compilation appears to be only of peripheral importance.<sup>10</sup>

I first turn my attention to the instructions on maṇḍala initiation in Yixing’s commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (chapter 7), in which the idea of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony was reconfigured extensively through the introduction of yogic visualization. Chapter 8 deals with Amoghavajra’s ritual manuals; the discussion focuses on the two Cintāmaṇīcakra manuals. In the second of these, the Cintāmaṇīcakra ritual is explicitly recast in line with the *Vajraśekhara* teaching. A close comparative examination of these and related manuals reveals that in this larger project the balance between rituals affiliated with Avalokiteśvara deities and those affiliated with Vajra deities, an issue that can be traced back to the All-Gathering Maṇḍala, remains under negotiation, though by this point Vajra deities had become dominant.<sup>11</sup> This examination of the Cintāmaṇīcakra manuals suggests that the so-called “pure” teaching remains a work in progress, not a perfectly worked-out synthesis.

In bringing this investigation to a conclusion I reflect on its larger implications. For illustration I return to the issue of the relationship between image and ritual and review a few entries in later Japanese iconographical collections. The sūtras discussed in detail in my investigation are cited frequently in these entries, but the distinction between physical images and mental visualization is largely ignored. Physical images were

constructed on the basis of instructions for visualization. By the time these entries were compiled, image making, with its emphasis on carefully worked-out iconography, appears to have become largely independent of ritual visualization, though based on the descriptions of images in visualizations. This conflation also had the effect of obscuring, at least for students of Esoteric Buddhist art, the art's complex relationship to the ritual tradition behind it.

# *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas*





## PART I

### *The Three Ritual Scenarios*

This book presents a study of Chinese sources on Esoteric Buddhist ritual manuals, texts on the correct performance of ritual. The introduction named a number of such texts describing a variety of rituals, which I grouped into distinctive scenarios. These ritual manuals not only specify the actions to be performed but also gloss the rituals as part of the Buddha's own teachings, often tracing their supposed origins to buddhas in the distant past. They list the benefits to be expected from each ritual and tell how the efficacy of the performance is miraculously confirmed.

In part I below I offer a more detailed investigation of the three basic ritual scenarios. The first chapter examines the first scenario of dhāraṇī recitation and vision and the introduction of the second scenario of image worship. The second chapter reconstructs the evolution of this second scenario around one particular deity. The third and fourth chapter investigate how the third scenario of maṇḍala initiation emerged.



## 1. THE RECITATION OF SPELLS IN THE DHĀRAṆĪ COLLECTIONS

The simplest ritual scenario consists of reciting specific spells for the purpose of attaining specific benefits. The simplest accounts present the wording of the spell, explain how to put it into practice, and name its expected effects. In more complex accounts the origin of the spell and the specific deities who transmitted it and/or to whom it should be addressed are identified. In many of these, the spell's efficacy is attested by extraordinary signs, often a vision of deities appearing to the practitioner.

In some rituals recitation of spells takes place in front of an image of the deity. The image, whether painting or statue, is described, often in considerable iconographic detail. In such instances the account offers elaborate instructions not only for reciting the spell but also for presenting offerings to the image, such as flowers, incense, and food. I group these increasingly more complex rituals as a separate ritual scenario.

In Esoteric ritual manuals the practice of reciting spells or dhāraṇīs and that of worshipping images often appear side by side, but the two practices had separate origins. Spells were often recited without images, and their efficacy was confirmed by visions, typically of buddhas appearing to the practitioner. Images were introduced later into this well-established ritual scenario. I believe that this development can be traced concretely in early sources preserved in Chinese. Let us first look closely

at the introduction of images into rituals that had begun with only the recitation of spells.

My exploration will focus on two specific examples, each represented by groups of closely related ritual texts. I first examine the complex history of two collections of instructions on magical spells, or dhāraṇīs, concluding with the example of a ritual associated with the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara that occupies an important place in one of these groups of texts. In the next chapter I will examine a text that describes the Esoteric ritual for the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara that is preserved in several versions; four of these are in Chinese translation.

## TWO CHINESE DHĀRAṆĪ COLLECTIONS

A number of dhāraṇī practices are brought together in an early Chinese dhāraṇī collection in four fascicles, called *The Divine Spells of the Great Dhāraṇīs Taught by the Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* (*Qifo bapusa suoshuo datuoluoni shenzhou jing* 七佛八菩薩所說大陀羅尼神咒經, abbreviated as *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* below).<sup>1</sup> Images are mentioned only a few times. This work, dating from the fourth to the fifth century, became a part of another work in ten fascicles traditionally assigned to the first half of the sixth century, *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* (*Tuoluoni zaji* 陀羅尼雜集).<sup>2</sup> In this later and much larger text, images appear more frequently. These collections had complex histories, and unpacking certain parts will provide important clues for tracing the two early scenarios that appear in them. I shall therefore reconstruct in broad outline the formation of these collections, then turn to the two ritual scenarios, with particular attention to the introduction of image rituals.

The first fascicle of the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* in four fascicles, in the version known today, presents the dhāraṇīs attributed to the deities in its title. The *Kaiyuan Catalogue* (730) mentions a work bearing the same title but in one fascicle.<sup>3</sup> The first fascicle of the present *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* may have circulated earlier as an independent work.<sup>4</sup> As a hypothesis, the four-fascicle version of the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* came into being as further materials were added to this one-fascicle version. This expanded collection was then incorporated into the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*.

Traditional Chinese catalogues treat the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* as a translation, and its dhāraṇīs would have stemmed from India, though we cannot exactly reconstruct them. Additional dhāraṇī en-

tries were then attached to this core collection. Two citations from named texts appear at the beginning of fascicle 2.<sup>5</sup> These passages must have been taken from independently existing works. A text bearing a title very similar to that of the first-named text is preserved in the *Taishō* collection, and the cited dhāraṇīs are found in it.<sup>6</sup> Jonathan Silk recently discussed the independent history, much of it in China, of the second of these citations, *Ji fayue sheku tuluoni jing* 集法悅捨苦陀羅尼經.<sup>7</sup> It is missing in the Liao canon version of the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas*.<sup>8</sup> Both citations are missing from the corresponding part of the *Miscellaneous Collections of Dhāraṇīs*.<sup>9</sup> Some versions of the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* may have circulated without these two passages.

The editor of the *Kaiyuan Catalogue* posits that *The Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, in ten fascicles, was compiled in China, since it contains excerpts from existing Chinese translations such as the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* and thus could not have been directly based on a corresponding Sanskrit collection.<sup>10</sup> Aside from the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas*, the direct citations from independent translations noted by the *Kaiyuan* editor occur in fascicles 4 and 9.<sup>11</sup>

Material corresponding to the contents of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, fascicles 4, 6, and 8, appears in an incomplete manuscript entitled *Zazhouji* 雜咒集, marked as fascicles 1, 3, and 5. This manuscript was recently discovered in a Japanese monastery, Kongōji 金剛寺, along with another incomplete manuscript entitled the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*. But the organization of this Kongōji *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* does not agree with the organization of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* reproduced in the *Taishō* collection. Fascicles 8, 9, and 10 of the Kongōji version correspond to fascicles 1, 2, 3, and 7 of the *Taishō* version (these fascicles reproduce the content of the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas*).<sup>12</sup>

In light of these curious parallels, Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典 reconstructed an important part of the complex history of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*.<sup>13</sup> It appears to have been originally called *Zazhouji*. This title, which may be translated *Miscellaneous Spell Collection*, can be traced back to Fajing's 法經 catalogue compiled in 597, where it is identified as the title for a work in ten fascicles.<sup>14</sup> The same title is also mentioned in a record of scripture copying from the Nara period (710–794).<sup>15</sup>

This ten-fascicle *Zazhouji* collection had incorporated the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* at its end, in fascicles 8–10. But the collection was extensively reorganized later and the material taken from the main part of the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* was moved to

the opening three fascicles. The collection must have been retitled *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* before this reorganization was carried out. The Kongōji *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* follows the earlier organization.

Ochiai's reconstruction is of considerable interest for our investigation. The bulk of the material in fascicles 4–10 of the *Taishō* version of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* was collected from existing sources. Unnamed collections appear to have also been incorporated (to be discussed further below). This part of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* may have constituted an independent collection (possibly also called *Zazhouji*), though in its present form it was also affected by the extensive reorganization mentioned above.<sup>16</sup>

The sources explicitly named in this part of the *Taishō Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* (fascicles 4–10) date from before 597, when the *Zazhouji* in ten fascicles appeared for the first time in the catalogues. But these sources for the most part are also dated later than the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas*. Thus, we can expect to see more later forms of dhāraṇī practice in the *Taishō Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, fascicles 4–10, than in the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas*.

At different stages in its evolution the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, fascicles 4–10, incorporated important material from two separate collections of Avalokiteśvara dhāraṇīs. These collections, hypothetically reconstructed here, shared a large body of common material and may in fact have been two versions of the same collection.

The larger of the two Avalokiteśvara borrowings in the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* begins with entry 9 in fascicle 6 and concludes with entry 1 in fascicle 7; altogether it contains 23 dhāraṇī entries (*Avalokiteśvara Collection 1*).<sup>17</sup> Many of these entries also occur separately in other parts of the collection.

#### *Fascicle 6 (T. 1336: 21.610b14–616b8)*

Entry 9: “Wish fulfillment dhāraṇī” 觀世音說燒華應現得願陀羅尼 (610b25; 612a17–c9)

Also in fascicle 10: entry 11 (觀世音現身施種種願除一切病陀羅尼; 633b4; 634c22–635b15)

Entry 10: “Scattering flowers dhāraṇī” 觀世音說散華供養應沒陀羅尼 (610b26; 612c10–18)

Also in fascicle 10: entry 12 (散華觀世音足下陀羅尼; 633b6; 635b16–22)

Entry 11: “Purging sins and attaining wishes dhāraṇī” 觀世音說滅罪得願陀羅尼 (610b27; 612c19–26)

Also in fascicle 10: entry 13 (念觀世音求願陀羅尼; 633b7; 635b16–22)

Entry 12: “Healing eye pains dhāraṇī” 觀世音說除一切眼痛陀羅尼 (610c1; 612c27–613a9)

Also in fascicle 10: entry 14 (誦呪手摩眼除一切痛陀羅尼; 633b8; 635c2–15)

Entry 13: “Restoring limbs and sense organs dhāraṇī” 觀世音說能令諸根不具足者具足陀羅尼 (610c2; 613a10–23)

Also in fascicle 5: entry 22 (觀世音菩薩所說諸根具足陀羅尼; 605c29; 609c3–14)

Entry 14: “Curing fever dhāraṇī” 觀世音說治熱病陀羅尼 (610c4; 613a24–b4)

Also in fascicle 6: entry 2 (治熱病陀羅尼; 610b17; 611a22–28)

Entry 15: “Curing madness caused by demons dhāraṇī” 觀世音說除一切顛狂魍魎鬼神陀羅尼 (610c5; 613b5–13)

Also in fascicle 9: entry 6 (除一切顛狂病陀羅尼; 628c16; 631c13–21)

Entry 16: “Eliminating fear dhāraṇī” 觀世音說除種種怖畏陀羅尼 (610c7; 613b14–c11)

Also in fascicle 9: entry 7 (除怖畏陀羅尼; 628c17; 631c22–632a4)

Entry 17: “Curing boil dhāraṇī” 觀世音說除一切腫陀羅尼 (610c8; 613c12–19)

Also in fascicle 6: entry 1 (除腫患陀羅尼; 610b16; 610c28–611a5)

Entry 18: “Curing bodily pain dhāraṇī” 觀世音說除身體諸痛陀羅尼 (610c9; 613c20–614a5)

Entry 19: “Curing stomach pain dhāraṇī” 觀世音說除卒腹痛陀羅尼 (610c10; 614a6–12)

Also in fascicle 10: entry 15 除腹痛陀羅尼 (633b9; 635c16–21)

Entry 20: “Inactivating deadly poison dhāraṇī” 觀世音說除中毒乃至已死陀羅尼 (610c11; 614a13–19)

Also in fascicle 10: entry 16 除卒中中毒病欲死陀羅尼 (633b10; 635c22–28)

Entry 21: “Curing illness causing unconsciousness dhāraṇī” 觀世音說除卒病悶絕不自覺者陀羅尼 (610c12; 614a20–28)

Entry 22: “Curing tongue diseases dhāraṇī” 觀世音說除五舌若喉塞若舌縮陀羅尼 (610c14; 614a29–b6)

Also in fascicle 5: entry 15 (觀世音說治五舌塞喉陀羅尼; 605c18; 608c10–15)

Entry 23: “Curing leprosy and other diseases dhāraṇī” 觀世音說除種種癩病乃至傷破呪土陀羅尼 (610c16; 614b7–16)

Ref., Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas, fascicle 1 (大悲觀世音菩薩摩訶薩說大陀羅尼神咒; T. 1332: 21.542a20–b4)

Entry 24: “Blowing on riverbed soil to stop the circulation of toxic energy dhāraṇī” 觀世音說呪潤底土吹之令毒氣不行陀羅尼 (610c18; 614b17–26)

Entry 25: “Taking medicine dhāraṇī” 觀世音說呪藥服得一聞持陀羅尼 (610c20; 614b27–c7)

Entry 26: “Five dhāraṇīs of ingesting roots of five different-colored irises” 觀世音說呪五種色菖蒲服得聞持不忘陀羅尼 (610c21; 614c8–615a21)

Entry 27: “Curing skin disease dhāraṇī” 觀世音說除病肌生陀羅尼 (610c23; 615a22–b11)

Entry 28: “Curing diarrhea dhāraṇī” 觀世音說呪土治赤白下痢陀羅尼 (610c24; 615b12–20)

Entry 29: “Ending pain by wiping with grass dhāraṇī” 觀世音說呪草拭一切痛處即除愈陀羅尼 (610c25; 615b21–c11)

Entry 30: “Freely fulfilling wishes dhāraṇī” 觀世音說隨心所願陀羅尼 (610c27; 615c12–616b7)

Ref., Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas, fascicle 1 (觀世音菩薩願果; T. 1332: 21.542b5–43a6)

*Fascicle 7 (T. 1336: 21.616b9–623a16)*

Entry 1: “Eradicating sins and attaining whatever one wishes dhāraṇī” 觀世音說滅一切罪得一切所願陀羅尼 (616b11; 616b26–617a12)

Thus, twelve of these dhāraṇī entries, including the first nine, are repeated in other parts of the collection. The entries 9 to 12, 19, and 20



in fascicle 6 also appear together and in that order in fascicle 10.<sup>18</sup> The entries repeated in fascicle 10 must come from a separate but closely related Avalokiteśvara dhāraṇī collection (which I term *Avalokiteśvara Collection 2*).<sup>19</sup> As noted above, I suspect that these two collections—which I have merely postulated—represented divergent versions of a single Avalokiteśvara dhāraṇī collection, both of which began with elaborate instructions for image worship. The two postulated versions had diverged to the point that the editors of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, or more specifically of the earlier *Zazhouji*, failed to recognize the redundancy, as they incorporated all twelve dhāraṇīs listed above twice, in different parts of the larger collection.<sup>20</sup>

Whereas Avalokiteśvara dhāraṇī entries in *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* fascicles 6 and 7 (from *Avalokiteśvara Collection 1*) explicitly mention Avalokiteśvara in their titles, in seven of the twelve equivalent entries, the titles of the corresponding entries elsewhere in *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* do not mention Avalokiteśvara.<sup>21</sup> In all but one of these entries, Avalokiteśvara is addressed in the text of the transcribed dhāraṇī.<sup>22</sup> Dhāraṇīs such as these begin by addressing one or more deities, then give the untranslatable text of the spell itself, following the formulaic expression *tadyathā* (C: *tuozhiduo* 多擲哆). In six of the transcribed dhāraṇīs the name Avalokiteśvara appears prominently in the list of deities addressed. In fascicle 6, entry 2, only the spell itself appears to be given; no deity is addressed by name, and therefore the spell is not explicitly connected to any specific deity. These examples suggest a pattern of development. Spells that were not translatable first became attached to specific deities, particularly Avalokiteśvara, in the translatable—and sometimes translated—parts of the dhāraṇī. This affiliation eventually became widely known. Different ways the editor of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* introduce Avalokiteśvara dhāraṇīs appear to reflect this larger development.

In conclusion, the examination of the two collections, the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* and the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, suggests that both grew by accretion. Ochiai's investigation suggests that the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* was later incorporated into another collection, first called *Zazhouji* and later re-titled *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*. I also propose that among the material brought together in this second collection was a body of rituals addressed to Avalokiteśvara. I postulated two similar but separate Avalokiteśvara dhāraṇī collections as important sources for studying this development. A well-developed image ritual appears in these collections.

## DHĀRAṆĪS AND VISIONS

At the beginning of the two dhāraṇī collections examined above, dhāraṇīs from the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* are presented according to a more or less fixed formula. Each dhāraṇī attributed to the first Seven Buddhas of this World Age of the Wise and the eight bodhisattvas is accorded an infinitely long cosmic history, as having been taught by an astronomically large number of past buddhas in earlier world ages. Each dhāraṇī is given a name. After reciting the dhāraṇī a specified number of times, the practitioner is instructed to take yellow or five-colored strings and in them make a certain number of knots. A passage that describes the uses and efficacy of the dhāraṇī follows.

Some passages explicitly emphasize extraordinary this-worldly powers of the dhāraṇī. Other passages promise remarkable advances along the otherworldly Buddhist path toward salvation. Purging of sins is a common theme, as is immunity from rebirths in the three inferior realms.<sup>23</sup> Some passages promise rebirth in various buddha lands.<sup>24</sup> One may also acquire the “four fruits” of the path of *śramaṇas*.<sup>25</sup> Various kinds of *samādhi* that one might achieve are named. Visions of the arrival of the buddhas and bodhisattvas are mentioned repeatedly, and typically the buddhas predict the future attainment of buddhahood.<sup>26</sup> These visions may have been driven by anxiety about the success of dhāraṇī practice, which may also explain why they are mentioned so frequently and in such vivid and elaborate detail. Let me illustrate this point with an example.

The entry for the Third Buddha of the Past in the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* gives an elaborate account of the efficacy of the dhāraṇī. If one copies and recites the dhāraṇī, one’s sins, even the worst, will be purged completely. The effects of reciting and/or copying the dhāraṇī are such that everywhere, in cities, villages, forests, in mountains and cemeteries and hills, anyone who hears the name of this dhāraṇī even once will after death be reborn in the land of Akṣobhya Buddha and attain buddhahood. Such a person will never be reborn in the three inferior realms of existence.

The instruction for and scenario of the ritual for this dhāraṇī follow, though the details are obscure in some places.

On the 16th day of the fourth month, at the stūpa that faces the east, circumambulate the stūpa eighty times in one day. Stand facing the east under the western [side] wall of the stūpa, and recite the spell twenty-four

times. Repeat this for seven days, not sleeping for seven nights. One must place seven sesame-oil lamps at each of the four corners. Bathe and put on fresh clothes, and refrain from drinking wine or eating meat or the five strong-flavored vegetables for one day and one night. I will then appear in front of [you], emit bright light, and rubbing the crown of [your] head with a golden hand, [I will] predict that [you] will attain buddhahood in the future.<sup>27</sup> All sins and defilements caused by karma will be purged without remainder.<sup>28</sup>

The entry on the dhāraṇī taught by the Fourth Buddha of the Past in the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* mentions that those who recite and copy the dhāraṇī will in their present body attain a *samādhi* called Vajra Banner.<sup>29</sup> The entry that follows in the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas*, on the Fifth Buddha of the Past, Koṇāgamana, describes the effects of this buddha's dhāraṇī very much like those of the Third Buddha:

For those who hear a phrase of this dhāraṇī even once, all grave sins, such as slander and the five kinds of serious offenses committed in millions and billions of world ages past, will be purged completely. Sentient beings who cultivate the dhāraṇī by reciting it for seven days and nights without sleep will have a *samādhi* called the Concentration of the Lion King, and one hundred thousand buddhas will appear to them and predict that they will achieve buddhahood.<sup>30</sup>

The *samādhis* mentioned in these entries appear to refer either to visions of the buddhas or to a state of mental concentration that leads to such visions. A common ritual scenario emerges: the recitation and copying of the dhāraṇī results in the purgation of sins, the appearance of visions, and for some dhāraṇī, eventual rebirth in a buddha land. The visions often predict future buddhahood. Thus, whether directly or via a preceding *samādhi*, reciting the dhāraṇī leads practitioners to the eventual attainment of buddhahood.<sup>31</sup>

## IMAGES AND VISIONS

None of the entries on the dhāraṇīs taught by the Seven Buddhas, worded virtually identically in the opening sections of the two dhāraṇī collections under examination, mentions images explicitly. Some passages, in fact, describe paying respect to the Buddha in ways that suggest the absence of

images. For example, the entry on the dhāraṇī attributed to the Fifth Buddha of the Past describes a ritual in which the ruler goes to a tall building and pays respect to the Buddhas of the Ten Directions and then to the Fifth Buddha of the Past, Koṇāgamana, by reciting his name three times.<sup>32</sup> The entry mentions practices elsewhere associated with image worship, such as burning incense and scattering flowers, but I suspect that no images figured in this rite. Images are not mentioned, and the reference to a tall building suggests that the ruler is here instructed to climb to a height so that he can directly address the buddhas in their distant lands in all these directions.<sup>33</sup>

But explicit references to images and image worship do appear in other entries in these dhāraṇī collections.<sup>34</sup> Many occur in later parts of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, particularly in fascicles, 6, 9, and 10. As noted above, material in these fascicles, including these entries, appear to have been collected after the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* had been compiled.

Images are also explicitly mentioned twice in the section on dhāraṇīs taught by bodhisattvas in the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas*, the earlier of the two dhāraṇī collections examined here. The first mention appears in an entry that may well have been a later insertion.<sup>35</sup> The entry appears to be missing its heading, but is clearly associated with the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.<sup>36</sup> In this passage the text of the dhāraṇī is followed by a striking statement: “in a quiet place, such as a small monastic retreat, before an Avalokiteśvara image, [the practitioner should] practice walking meditation, reciting the dhāraṇī for one day and one night. Then the practitioner will see Avalokiteśvara.”<sup>37</sup> This leaves the impression that the image and the vision that one gains in the end may have some meaningful connection; the image in front of which the dhāraṇī is recited comes to life as a vision.<sup>38</sup>

This same idea is more explicitly and concretely stated in a remarkable passage that appears twice in the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, first in fascicle 6 and then in fascicle 10, as the first entry in the two groups of Avalokiteśvara entries that appear to have been incorporated on separate occasions (*Avalokiteśvara Collection 1* and 2, discussed above).<sup>39</sup> This passage may have circulated widely.<sup>40</sup> It begins by describing how to paint an image on a piece of cloth: “Take [a piece of] white cotton cloth and make an image of Avalokiteśvara. [The image] wears a white robe and sits on a lotus flower.<sup>41</sup> In one hand [the image] holds a lotus flower and in the other a water bottle. Let the hair be piled up high.”<sup>42</sup>

The ceremony takes place in front of this Avalokiteśvara image, either for a period of seven days, from the eighth to the fifteenth days of the

first half of the month (“white moon”), or only on the fifteenth day.<sup>43</sup> One is instructed to put on fresh and clean clothes, paint the ground with cow dung, then cover it with a layer of fragrant soil. Further instructions on preparing the sacred ground follow: “Reverently fill twelve vessels with fresh milk and fill four clay vessels with incense. Sixteen strings of the most fragrant flowers and sixteen clay lamps are needed. Burn black and hard *aguru* fragrant wood. Four large clay containers need to be filled with water. Place flower petals inside the containers.”<sup>44</sup>

The central part of the rite is a form of fire offering: one is instructed to light a pile of sapwood and prepare 800 lotus petals. One recites the *dhāraṇī* without stopping, maintaining concentration (“good mind”). Each time the *dhāraṇī* is recited, one flower petal is thrown into the fire.

Then Avalokiteśvara comes from the east and causes a large and extraordinary flame to flare up above the fire. At that time Avalokiteśvara will appear in the middle of the fire. The bodhisattva looks exactly as he is depicted in the painting, wearing a white robe, hair piled up high, and holding a water bottle and flower in his hands.

The passage assures one not to fear when seeing this. The vision signals that the rite was efficacious. Thus, one knows that the doors of rebirth to the realms of hell, hungry ghosts, and animals are closed to him. All of his wishes will be fulfilled.<sup>45</sup> After the benefits are obtained in this way, one sends Avalokiteśvara away.<sup>46</sup>

From the deity arriving in a vision in response to repeated recitation of spells, the scenario has somewhat enlarged: now the deity arrives in an awesome flame, presumably responding both to the spell and to the offering of flowers thrown into the fire. This theme reappears, somewhat altered, in later accounts of *maṇḍala* ceremonies; *maṇḍala* deities are invited to their seats on the *maṇḍala* and sometimes appear in the flame. It is striking that the relationship between the painted image and the vision is left unexplained. The image is mentioned first, and then the vision identical with the image is said to appear. I wonder, however, how the elaborate iconography of the painting, to be replicated in the subsequent vision, could have originated. Perhaps the image here, a painting, is meant to be a copy of the vision obtained elsewhere to begin with. Read in this way, the passage may offer clues to the gradual process through which image worship was introduced into the cult of *dhāraṇīs*. I should like to conclude this discussion with a few further thoughts on this possibility.

The worship of the buddhas, either the collective Buddhas of the Ten Directions or a particular buddha, does not necessarily imply image worship. Burning incense and scattering flowers while paying respect to the

Buddhas of the Ten Directions does not necessarily require the presence of an image.<sup>47</sup>

Visions of the buddhas and bodhisattvas are promised to those who recite a wide variety of dhāraṇīs, whereas images appear only in a limited number of entries. This suggests that these visions demonstrating the efficacy of the dhāraṇī recitation were a natural part of dhāraṇī practice as described in the two early Chinese collections. Images appear to have been introduced into this practice at a later stage in its development.

It is perhaps significant that in the Avalokiteśvara entry examined above, the image is a painting. Perhaps it is also significant that in this passage no reference is made to worshipping the painted image or to any offerings presented to it, notwithstanding the explicit instruction that the ceremony is to take place in front of the image and the detailed description of preparation of the ritual ground. Possibly here the painted image was intended not as an object of worship but rather as a magical tool that brought about the desired vision. There are many examples of sympathetic magic in which like produces like.<sup>48</sup>

Finally, we might note that the practice of visualization is entirely absent from the dhāraṇī cult described in the two collections examined here. If the painted image caused the vision itself to appear, it still was unrelated to a studied practice of visualization by the practitioner. The latter might have been the case in later Esoteric ritual manuals, but it would have come about through an entirely different mechanism.

## 2. THE IMAGE RITUAL OF THE ELEVEN-FACED AVALOKITEŚVARA

Of the two texts dealt with in the previous chapter, the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* is tentatively and loosely dated between the fourth and fifth century, whereas the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* is assigned to the first half of the sixth century. The *Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara* to which we now turn is a slightly later sūtra.<sup>1</sup> Four well-known versions are preserved in Chinese, their dates of translation ranging from the second half of the sixth century to the mid-eighth century.

*The Sūtra of the Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara* (Shiyimian Guanshiyin shenzhou jing 十一面觀世音神咒經), T. 1070, translated by Yaśogupta 耶舍崛多 in the sixth century (ca. 570) (20.149–152).<sup>2</sup>

As a part of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* (Tuoluoni jijing 陀羅尼集), T. 901, translated by Atikūṭa in 654 (18.812–825).<sup>3</sup>

*The Sūtra of the Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced* (Shiyimians shenzhou xinjing 十一面神咒心經), T. 1071, translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 in 656 (20.152–154).<sup>4</sup>

*The Ritual Manuals for the Recitation of the Secret Mind Mantra of the Eleven-Faced Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara* (Shiyimian Guanzizai pusa xinmiyan niansong yigui jing 十一面觀自在菩薩心密言念誦儀軌經), T. 1069, translated by Amoghavajra in the mid-eighth century (20.139–154).<sup>5</sup>

The first part of this text is also preserved in Sanskrit in a Gilgit manuscript.<sup>6</sup>

My central hypothesis is that these versions represent different stages in the evolution of the same ritual. All of these versions possess a common core, both in the outline and in the specific rites described; some versions describe at length rites that are not mentioned in other versions. This pattern—an indisputable common core plus, in certain later versions, what appears to be unique additional material—suggests a gradual evolution and expansion.

The version translated by Yaśogupta corresponds loosely to the version translated by Xuanzang. Xuanzang's version, in turn, parallels fairly closely the first part (fascicle 1) of the version translated by Amoghavajra. The shared outline and content of these three versions must have constituted a widely circulating form of this text.

I suspect that this shared core may represent roughly three stages of development. The first half of the shared core presents a series of spells. The second half somewhat abruptly introduces a long instruction on how to sculpt a wooden image of Avalokiteśvara and what ritual is to be performed before it. This second half may have been added at a later stage. The Sanskrit text from Gilgit parallels fairly closely the first half of the core shared among these three Chinese translations, but lacks the second half. It seems to have circulated independently.

The first half of the shared core describes Avalokiteśvara's spells. Elements of image worship appear even there, but I suggest that they were superimposed on an earlier ritual that did not include images. In other words, an earlier ritual of Avalokiteśvara's spell, performed without an image, may have later been transformed into a ritual performed around a specific iconographic type of Avalokiteśvara image. With the introduction of the image, additional spells may also have been added.

Much of the same material is also found in the section on the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara in Atikūṭa's *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, though adapted as a maṇḍala initiation rite. In this version the introductory narrative and the presentation of Avalokiteśvara's dhāraṇī are followed by a long section explicitly titled "The Instruction for the Seven-Day Offering to the Maṇḍala (or Altar)."<sup>7</sup> After the maṇḍala is created, the master leads the candidate through the initiation ceremony. Then comes detailed instruction on the various mudrās and mantras that will activate Avalokiteśvara's spell toward the achievement of different ends. The instruction on how to construct a wooden Avalokiteśvara image remains, but it is no longer central as in the other versions.



In the translation attributed to Amoghavajra, the shared core occupies the first fascicle, with extensive new material added in the second and third fascicles. It is particularly intriguing that in the second fascicle the ritual of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara has become an elaborate visualization practice. The ritualist is instructed to visualize in his chest a full moon disk, and on its surface the syllable *hrih* in the color of red crystal, emitting light that illumines the worlds in all ten directions. Inside this light the ritualist becomes identical with Avalokiteśvara. His left hand in vajra fist will rest on his left thigh, holding a lotus flower; his right hand will be on his heart. Behind him will appear a mandorla, and on his head a crown holding Tathāgata Amitāyus (Buddha of Infinite Life). Jeweled garlands adorn his body. He steps across an eight-petal lotus flower.<sup>8</sup> In a different part of the text the ritual chamber is visualized as a jeweled pavilion, and deities are invited into it. Along with a series of mudrās and mantras, offerings are made to the deities. At the climax of the ceremony, the ritualist is instructed to form the root mudrā of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara. He then “becomes the body of the central deity.”<sup>9</sup> He recites the root mantra of Avalokiteśvara while visualizing or contemplating (*guannian* 觀念) the principal deity, i.e., Avalokiteśvara, sitting on a grass (miscanthus; also called pampas grass) mat or on a meditation platform.

In these extended versions by Atikūṭa and Amoghavajra the ritual of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara is reshaped into practices that characterize later developments in Esoteric ritual. The focus appears to shift away from the sculpted image. To be sure, the image of Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara is placed at the center of the maṇḍala, offerings are made to it, and during the *homa* rite it is brought out and placed on top of the lotus seat inside the hearth, yet all that is said about the image’s physical appearance is that it is eleven-faced.<sup>10</sup> The arrangement of deities inside the maṇḍala and the formation of mudrās received more detailed descriptions. And in the visualization part of the ritual, the iconographic description is applied not to the sculpted image but to the deity as visualized and to the ritual action of the practitioner himself.

Further consideration of the maṇḍala ceremony and the visualization practice must come later in our study. Here I propose to closely examine the relationship between dhāraṇī recitation ritual and image worship. In chapter 1 I assessed image worship as it was introduced in two earlier dhāraṇī collections. In discussing the *Divine Spell of Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*, I shall similarly study closely the way image worship appears to have been superimposed on a dhāraṇī recitation practice that previously had not used images. I will use Yaśogupta’s

sixth-century translation as the starting point for the more detailed examination below.<sup>11</sup>

## THE INTRODUCTORY NARRATIVE

The text begins in a manner typical of Mahāyāna sutras: the phrase “Thus have I heard” and a description of the audience of Śākyamuni’s sermon. Then the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, surrounded by practitioners (“upholders”) of supernatural spells, approaches the Buddha and tells him—at great length—about the background, the practice, and the effects of the spell called “the Eleven Faces.”

Avalokiteśvara first describes it as a spell that had been taught by a vast number, eleven *koṭis*, of buddhas. The bodhisattva continues with the first account of the spell, though its effects and benefits are also discussed repeatedly and in greater detail in subsequent sections. Avalokiteśvara says that he teaches the spell for a variety of reasons: to make all sentient beings think of good dharmas; to free them from suffering; to cure their illnesses; to eradicate obstructions, calamities, and nightmares; to prevent untimely death; to enable people to dispel their evil thoughts; to remove the difficulties that evil demons and ghosts cause. Divine and human beings who read, recite, or copy the spell so that it circulates widely, or who use it to protect themselves physically by bathing in water blessed by it or by reciting the spell when in a battle or when poisoned, will be protected by it.<sup>12</sup>

Avalokiteśvara then proceeds to explain that in a distant past, when he was a great hermit, he received this spell from a buddha called Śatapadmanayanacūḍa (C: Bailianhuayanding wuzhang’ai gongde guanming wang 百蓮華眼頂無障礙功德光明王). The Buddhas of the Ten Directions appeared before him, and on seeing them, he achieved the state of Patient Acceptance of the Nongeneration of Dharmas (C: *wusheng-faren* 無生法忍; S: *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*). If one recites this spell, the Eleven Faces, 108 times each morning, one can realize in the present birth 10 kinds of benefits: freedom from illnesses; remembrance by the Buddhas of the Ten Directions, perpetual sufficiency of wealth, clothing, food, and drink; triumph over enemies; compassion in all sentient beings; protection against all kinds of magic, poison, and fever; imperviousness to weapons; imperviousness to death by drowning; likewise to death by fire; and finally to sudden, violent death. Another list of four benefits, all referring to death, immediately follows: at the moment of death one will see the Buddhas of the Ten Directions; one will never fall

down to hell; one will not be harmed by birds and animals; and finally, after death one will be reborn in the Pure Land.

This part of the *Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* centers on some of the major themes of the dhāraṇī sūtras reviewed above in the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* and the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dharanis*. For example, recitation of the spell is credited with permitting the reciter a vision of the buddhas, and with expunging even the gravest of sins. Here again the ultimate goal of the practice is the attainment of enlightenment.

Curiously, however, after relating the above story of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara's spell and its origin, the sūtra then proceeds to give a second and different account. As a lay elder in the long-ago time of the Buddha Mandāravagandha (C: Mantuoluo xiang 曼陀羅香; ("Mandāra [Flower] Fragrance"), Avalokiteśvara again received this same spell. Having obtained it, he transcended birth and death for 40,000 kalpas. Reciting this spell, he also obtained the teaching called the "Wisdom Storehouse of the Great Kindness, Great Pity, Great Joy, and Great Equanimity of [All] the Buddhas" (C: Yiqie zhufu daci dabeidaxi dashe zhihui zang famen 一切諸佛大慈大悲大喜大捨智慧藏法門). By its power he was able to free all prisoners jailed or pilloried, or chained and facing execution. He was able to rescue those suffering the calamities brought about by water, fire, or wind, and those afflicted by poison or black magic. With this spell Avalokiteśvara can lead human and nonhuman beings to take refuge in the Buddha's teaching, and engender good intentions in violent yakṣas and rākṣasas. Because of the merit generated in this way, these demons will give rise to the thought of seeking ultimate enlightenment.

The account of the second reception of the spell continues with Avalokiteśvara listing its further powers. One can expunge the Four Pārājika Offenses and the Five Grave Sins by reciting the spell once.<sup>13</sup> Those who practice the spell according to the teaching of this sūtra of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara have heard this teaching repeatedly in the past under innumerable buddhas and are now hearing it again. Avalokiteśvara will satisfy all the wishes of those who receive, read, and recite the spell and keep it in mind day and night. One must recite the spell at the midpoint of the lunar month, and according to Yaśogupta's sixth-century version, before an image of Avalokiteśvara.<sup>14</sup>

On the morning of the fourteenth day of the month or the fifteenth, the practitioner bathes with fragrant water and puts on clean new clothes. One relieves oneself, then bathes. After having put on clean clothes, one may not relieve oneself. For that whole day, the practitioner fasts, and the next morning places the image of Avalokiteśvara in the ritual space,

hangs curtains and places an umbrella of many different colors around and above it, and presents incense and flowers. On first entering the ritual space, one must concentrate one's mind and sincerely repent one's sins. Having repented, one places a mat before the image, kneels down to pay respect, and single-mindedly recites this spell. Those who practice this rite are said to escape birth and death for 40,000 kalpas.<sup>15</sup>

Those who recite Avalokiteśvara's name day and night are then said to attain the stage of nonretrogression (S: *avaivartika*) and freedom from all suffering, obstacles, and fear. All their sins will be cleansed. For those who practice as instructed, ultimate enlightenment will be as easily secured as objects that are already in their hand.

As we noted above, some other sources on dhāraṇī practice explain how the deity presenting the spell first received it from a buddha in the distant past. Oddly, however, the reception of the spell by Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara is a twice-told tale. The second origin story appears to be redundant. The first story centers around a vision; in the second story there is no vision, but the first reference to image worship appears.

I conjecture that at first only one story of the origin of Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara's spell existed; the second story, with its account of a ritual leading up to image worship, came later, but would still have preceded our earliest translation (of ca. 570 C.E.). In summary, the narrative that taught a dhāraṇī practice and a resulting vision was recast into an instruction on image worship.<sup>16</sup>

## THE INSTRUCTION ON SPELLS

Having learned the prior story of the origin of the spell, Śākyamuni Buddha tells Avalokiteśvara that he too will receive, practice, and authorize the teaching of the spell and asks him to teach it. Avalokiteśvara first presents a spell that elsewhere is called the "root spell." Through merely reciting it, Avalokiteśvara assures the Buddha, one obtains the benefits described earlier.<sup>17</sup>

Then Avalokiteśvara proceeds to present a series of other spells. These appear to be meant for use in a ritual, which may be the image worship ritual described in the second story of the spell's origin. I conjecture that the long spell first presented to the Buddha (called the "root spell" in Xuanzang's version) is the one that appeared in the earliest form of the dhāraṇī text. I conjecture likewise that the series of other spells presented immediately afterward accompanied the introduction of image worship; they appear intended as adjunct to rituals centered on an image. As in the second origin story's brief account of this image-centered ritual, this list of spells

begins with the subject of bathing and then putting on fresh clothes before entering the ritual space.<sup>18</sup> Other spells, such as those for blessing flowers, oil, and firewood, are presented in the same sequence as the individual actions in the long account of image worship that appears later in this sūtra. Since that account does not mention the spells to be used in it, but the sequence of spells and ritual actions match, it seems plausible to assume that this list of spells was intended for the ritual of image worship.

The spells for blessing the bath water and fresh clothing are presented first. The practitioner blesses the water by pronouncing this spell seven times, and with this blessed water purifies the body. Then he blesses the robe seven times before putting it on. Before burning incense in the ritual space, he likewise utters the blessing spell for incense seven times. The spell for blessing flowers is pronounced one hundred times before the flowers are scattered over the Buddha. The same spell is repeated the same number of times over the oil before the lamps are lit. When drink, food, and various fruits are presented to the Buddha, the spell for food is pronounced twenty-one times.<sup>19</sup>

The Buddha on whom the blessed flowers are scattered and food and drink are offered must mean an image.<sup>20</sup> Which deity the image represented is not explicitly noted.<sup>21</sup> In Yaśogupta's version, the *image* of Avalokiteśvara is mentioned earlier, in the introductory section. It is thus possible that the "Buddha" or the "image" in fact refers to Avalokiteśvara, a bodhisattva.

Thirty-one pieces of wood, each smeared with yogurt, ghee, and honey, are blessed once with the spell for fire before they are set alight. The spell is recited on each of the thirty-one pieces before it is thrown into the fire. When the recitation is finished—and while all the pieces are burning—the "prescribed procedure" is said to follow.<sup>22</sup> This I take to refer to the climax of the ritual described later, in which Avalokiteśvara arrives, the image shakes, and a voice from the Buddha face at the top of the image promises the fulfillment of all wishes.<sup>23</sup>

The spell for marking boundaries of the ritual space is then given. This spell is used to bless the water, mustard seeds, and purified ash seven times. Then they are scattered in the four directions. After the entire ceremony is completed, the same spell is pronounced seven times as the practitioner circumambulates Avalokiteśvara (image).<sup>24</sup>

## TWO CONTEXTS OF SPELL PRACTICE

In the translations by Yaśogupta, Xuanzang, and Amoghavajra, a puzzling passage on magical cures attributed to the spell (presumably the

root spell that is the first named) appears between the list of spells and the instruction for image worship; this passage (“Passage A”) speaks of magical cures in some detail.<sup>25</sup> The same passage also appears in Atikūṭa’s version in a slightly different context.<sup>26</sup> Yaśogupta and Atikūṭa each indicate that their account is an abbreviation or a summary.<sup>27</sup> Though the four parallel passages appear to summarize a large account differently, in their essentials they are remarkably similar.<sup>28</sup>

In the earliest translation, by Yaśogupta, this passage (which says explicitly that its account of the efficacy of the spell is abbreviated) is introduced with a somewhat enigmatic statement: “This spell” has “separately and in addition” another sphere of miraculous efficacy (“power”).<sup>29</sup> What follows is the list of the ills that it can cure: fever (“chills and heat”) that strikes daily, or once in two or three days; attacks by demons and ghosts, including Hārītī, a *rākṣasī* (female *rākṣasa*), a *piśāca*, and a *pūtanā*; all over blotches and tumors; bites by snakes, scorpions, and other poisonous creatures (applying yellow soil paste blessed seven times by the spell is prescribed); “wind disease” (ghee blessed seven times is to be applied to the troubled spots and also taken by mouth); “biased wind,” in which the ears and the nose are blocked (fragrant wood, sesame oil, and tree bark cooked together and blessed seven times by the spell is prescribed). It is then said to cure all illnesses.<sup>30</sup>

Here the use of the spell in the setting of a formal Avalokiteśvara ceremony, as described above, appears to be deliberately contrasted with the use of the same spell without such a setting. The spell may have long been known without reference to any Avalokiteśvara ceremony, and its use in the ceremony may have been deliberately introduced here as a separate practice.

In the version translated by Yaśogupta, immediately following the passage on cures (Passage A), the section on image worship begins with the statement: “Then bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara said to the Buddha, ‘World-Honored One, if a man or a woman of good family is to perform the ritual following Avalokiteśvara’s instruction, then that man or woman should make an image of Avalokiteśvara.’”<sup>31</sup> Here “Avalokiteśvara’s instruction (*zuofa*)” may be contrasted with the other (“separate and additional”) usage mentioned earlier.<sup>32</sup>

This contrast is even more explicit in Xuanzang’s version, where the passage on magical cures (Passage A) begins, “Even when the spell is not ‘established’ (*buchengli* 不成立), it still can perform various tasks. If one recites single-mindedly, all wishes will be fulfilled.”<sup>33</sup> Here, as in Yaśogupta’s version (and in Amoghavajra’s), this passage is immediately followed by extensive instruction on image worship. In Xuanzang’s ver-

sion, Avalokiteśvara begins this new instruction by saying to the Buddha: “World-Honored One, if one wishes to establish 成立 this spell, one should first take a piece of white sandalwood, hard and solid with no gaps, and fashion an image of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.”<sup>34</sup> The term “establish” here is deliberately contrasted with “not established” in the preceding passage.<sup>35</sup> The distinction between the two ways of using the spell—in a setting minus an image and reciting the spell in front of an image—appears to be introduced more explicitly and purposefully in Xuanzang’s version.

## IMAGE WORSHIP

In the versions preserved in the Chinese translations, Avalokiteśvara continues by describing in great detail the appropriate iconography of a wooden image. Its height should be one *chi* (尺; about 30 cm) three *cun* (寸; about 9 cm). It requires eleven faces, three facing front, each with the face of the bodhisattva; three angry-looking ones on the left; three on the right with the bodhisattva’s benign, mean, but protruding canines; and one laughing face at the back. The topmost face is that of the Buddha. A halo forms the image’s backdrop. Each of the eleven faces wears a floral crown, and in each of the crowns is an Amitābha Buddha. In his left hand Avalokiteśvara carries a jar for bath water, with a lotus flower emerging from the mouth of the jar. The right hand, with a necklace around it, is held up, palm outward, in *abhaya* mudra, the gesture of “Do not fear.” Patterns of garlands are carved on the image (figure 2.1).

Having prepared this image, the practitioner, when he has some particular wish, is to perform the following ritual, beginning on the first day of the lunar month and culminating on the fifteenth. The ritual in the second story of the spell’s origin also culminates on the fifteenth day, suggesting that these two rituals may have been closely related.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps the one described earlier has evolved, for example, by incorporating *homa*, which is not mentioned in the earlier account. Or the very same ritual may simply be described in greater detail.

Throughout the fifteen days the practitioner relieves himself and bathes before entering the ritual space (*daochang* 道場). He changes clothes three times a day, at dawn, at noon, and at sunset. He takes only one meal a day, of nothing but barley gruel made with milk. The ritual space must be set up in a clean chamber—the ground freshly wiped with soil, painted with fragrant mud (cow dung?), and sprinkled with fragrant water. Inside the chamber he is to mark a square space, seven





FIG. 2.1. Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara  
(*Kakuzenshō*, fascicle 44, no. 134)



arm lengths on a side, erect a pillar at each corner, and drape all sides with curtains. A tall seat is to be set up in the middle and an image of Avalokiteśvara placed on it, facing west. Flowers are to be scattered over the ritual space, and only such perfumes as *aguru* (sandalwood incense) and *turuṣka* (olibanum incense) are to be used.

From the first to the seventh day the spell is to be recited thrice daily: 108 times each at dawn, at midday, and at sunset. Beginning at midday on the eighth through the thirteenth days, offerings of drinks, food, and fruit are offered once daily. These are to be placed not on plates but simply on a mat of purified grass.

On the fourteenth and fifteenth days, the offerings of incense and flowers, food and drink are doubled. The practitioner simply spreads beach grass (*suocao* 莎草) and kneels on it, respectfully facing the image. On these days, he lights a sandalwood fire in front of the image. The practitioner is to fill a copper vessel with *soma* oil. Before beginning the ritual, he cuts *aguru* incense in thin slips into 1,008 pieces. At midday of the fifteenth day the practitioner picks up one piece, covers it with *soma* oil, blesses it by reciting the spell once, and throws it into the sandalwood fire. This is repeated 1,008 times. During the fourteenth and fifteenth days, the practitioner fasts.

On the evening of the fifteenth day, when Avalokiteśvara arrives, the sandalwood image spontaneously shakes. When the image shakes, the three thousand great cosmic systems simultaneously vibrate. From the crown of the Buddha image (i.e., Avalokiteśvara image) a voice is heard, uttering words of praise: "Well done! Well done! O man of good family, I came to see you. All your wishes are now fulfilled."

At this point four wishes are mentioned: to be able to fly and to go everywhere without leaving one's seat; to move freely among the holy beings without obstructions; to be a king among keepers of spells; to be able, in the present body, to follow Avalokiteśvara. Avalokiteśvara is said to grant any one of these four wishes as the practitioner desires.

If any of the four wishes is not met, the practitioner is to perform another ritual on the morning of the fifteenth day of the second half of the month. He is to place an image containing relics in the middle of the ritual space, with an image of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara next to it.<sup>37</sup> Next to the Avalokiteśvara image he places 1,008 stems of flowers. The practitioner kneels down respectfully on the seat of beach grass, takes one flower stem, blesses it once, and throws it onto the image.

He repeats this 1,008 times, until all the flowers are gone. Then, from the bodhisattva face, facing front, is heard a thunderous voice. At this the practitioner must retain his composure and focus his attention; he

should not be afraid. The thunderous voice causes everything to vibrate, and while it does the practitioner must recite the spell continuously. When the voice is heard, he should say aloud, “I pay respect to (*nanwu* 南無 or *namas*) Avalokiteśvara. When shall the disciple be able to save all sentient beings from suffering? When shall he be able to fulfill the wishes of all sentient beings?” Then Avalokiteśvara will agree to grant his wishes. Once he has granted the wishes, none of the Eight Groups of Supernatural Beings, including gods and dragons, can thwart them.

The last part of this instruction lists several examples of Avalokiteśvara image rites that bring about specific benefits (healing of ills, standing in the way of enemies, or effecting reconciliations).<sup>38</sup> The principal ritual, described in greater detail up to this point, may transcend the series of shorter rituals that follow. In the brief account of Avalokiteśvara image worship in the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, fascicles 6 and 10 (reviewed above), the prediction of the deity’s arrival is followed by a long list of benefits secured. In the expanded account of image worship ritual in the *Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*, a separate set of ritual procedures appears to have evolved for attaining such benefits. These appended procedures are described in considerable and very specific detail, suggesting not merely existing but well-established rituals. The first ritual, for example, instructs that, at the time of lunar eclipse, one should fill a copper pot with three *liang* (兩; about 37 grams) of ghee; in an open space before an image of Avalokiteśvara one should paint on the ground with yellow mud a circle measuring one *chi* and five *cun* and place the pot on it; one should recite the spell (of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara?) from the time the eclipse begins until the moon reappears; then one should eat the ghee, leaving no uneaten portion. Having eaten the ghee, one will be cured of all bodily illnesses.<sup>39</sup> Diverse preexisting rituals may have been incorporated in this way into the larger framework of Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara image worship.

The version of the *Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* translated by Yaśogupta concludes by noting that when this chapter (*pin* 品) was preached, all in the assembly praised Avalokiteśvara for teaching the spell to rescue all sentient beings. They all agreed to receive and practice the spell. When the sermon ended, all in the assembly rose, circumambulated the Buddha three times, and left.

To conclude, the texts on Avalokiteśvara reviewed here reveal the same kind of complex growth and transformation that transpired with the dhāraṇī collections. I have tried to unravel something of that process in three ways: through a discussion of the relationship among the different texts; through an analysis of the two divergent stories of the origin of

the spells; and through a consideration of the group of healing spells that I termed Passage A, which seem to have begun as independent but came to be incorporated into these Avalokiteśvara texts.

But beyond these details of a complex *textual* history is the insight we are afforded into early image-centered Esoteric *rituals*. Most striking, perhaps, are the conclusions of the rituals. We may recall the importance, to the reciters of dhāraṇīs, of receiving some confirmation that their recitations had been heard and answered. In dhāraṇī recitation that does not use images, the confirmation took the form of a spontaneous vision. In the image rituals described in the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara texts, the efficacy of the ritual is confirmed not by a vision appearing to the practitioner, but by the very image that the practitioner has been decorating and making offering to, which suddenly shakes and speaks.<sup>40</sup>

In these Avalokiteśvara texts two scenarios appear to exist side by side. This is remarkable, although it is typical of ritual texts as a whole, which tend to combine different elements rather than delete and replace. On the one hand, the practitioner purifies himself, decorates the image and makes offerings to it, and recites the spell in front of it. Here the physical image, constructed according to a carefully laid-out design, is the object of worship. Yet at the same time, seemingly independent of the image, the deity is said to arrive, just as in the earlier dhāraṇī visions (“Avalokiteśvara comes into the ritual space”).<sup>41</sup> The deity by his presence produces the desired result. If the text had stopped here, there would have been little to distinguish the Avalokiteśvara image ritual from the earlier spell recitation. But the text continues. This presence of the deity is immediately translated into an image miracle: the image emits a thunderous sound. In dhāraṇī collections, deities that appear in visions often speak to the practitioner, promising the fulfillment of wishes. In the *Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*, it is the image, miraculously enlivened, that speaks. We see in this the careful extension of the older scenario of divine confirmation to allow for the new element of image worship. Luckily for us, in the dual divine presence, the image and the deity’s arrival, the texts have left traces of the evolution of early Esoteric ritual.

### 3. THE MAṆḌALA INITIATION CEREMONY

Let us now turn to the third ritual scenario, in which candidates are initiated into a range of Esoteric rituals before a unique kind of maṇḍala. Onto this maṇḍala many deities, representing the entire Esoteric pantheon, are invited. The ceremony for this All-Gathering Maṇḍala is described systematically and in considerable detail in a text entitled *The Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, compiled in the mid-seventh century. Here I present a new reading of this well-known collection, highlight its importance in reconstructing the evolution of Buddhist Esoteric rituals, and explore broadly the evolution of Esoteric ceremonies that center around a maṇḍala.<sup>1</sup>

The maṇḍala initiation ceremony in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* is the subject of two chapters (3 and 4). Chapter 3 is divided into three sections. The first section describes the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony and its relation to the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* and concludes by spelling out the two guiding questions that I address about this collection. In the second and third sections I focus on the first question and examine the evolution of rituals for individual deities (fascicles 1–11 of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*). The second section explores the process more broadly, taking the deity Vajragarbha as its example. The third section makes a comprehensive review of the maṇḍalas and maṇḍala

ceremonies for individual deities. Chapter 4 discusses the formation of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony (fascicle 12 of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*) in two sections. The first section focuses on the second of the two questions formulated earlier and examines the internal evidence from the accounts of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. The second section situates the evolution of this ritual in the larger context of the emergence of post-Vedic rituals in India.

## INTRODUCING THE ALL-GATHERING MAṆḌALA INITIATION CEREMONY

### THE ALL-GATHERING CEREMONY AND THE COLLECTED DHĀRAṆĪ SŪTRAS

According to its preface, the original translation of this work, the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, by Atikūṭa, was completed in Yonghui 5 (654).<sup>2</sup> Atikūṭa was an Indian monk from central India who arrived at Chang'an in the first month of Yonghui 2 (651) with copies of some sūtras.<sup>3</sup> The unnamed author of the preface states that by then a rich body of Buddhist sūtras had already been translated in China, but "this teaching" (of dhāraṇī practice) was unknown. Atikūṭa secured the necessary permission and in the third month of that year performed a maṇḍala initiation ceremony at the Huirisi monastery; in the preface the maṇḍala is termed "Maṇḍala of Universal Gathering [of deities]," and miraculous signs are said to have appeared in response to the ceremony.<sup>4</sup>

The author of this preface appears to have taken part in the initiation ceremony.<sup>5</sup> A few years later, at the same Huirisi monastery, the author requested Atikūṭa to translate the text on which the ceremony was based. Atikūṭa gave an oral translation of an original Sanskrit text, from which the author produced a summary in Chinese as a work in twelve fascicles.<sup>6</sup> This work was begun on the fourteenth day of the third month in Yonghui 4 and was completed on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of Yonghui 5.

The preface also notes that the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* represents a small part of the dhāraṇī section of a work called *Sūtra of the Great Vajra Practice Ground*.<sup>7</sup> I surmise that "great practice ground" (*dadao-chang*) here means a maṇḍala, or the ground on which the maṇḍala is constructed. *Sūtra of the Great Vajra Practice Ground* would have been

a sūtra that described a maṇḍala; in fact, this “larger sūtra” may never have existed in its entirety.<sup>8</sup>

The *Kaiyuan Catalogue*’s (dated to 730) entry on Atikūṭa’s *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* notes that monk Xuankai and others requested Atikūṭa to translate that work, and that Xuankai served as the recorder (*bishou* 筆受).<sup>9</sup> Xuankai appears also to have been the unnamed author of this preface.

Since the material translated was an extensive set of ritual instructions that were largely unfamiliar in China, “translating it” may have been a rather complex process. As a compilation, the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* appears to have come into being in China. Several passages, even a large part of the entry on the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara in fascicle 4, were taken from existing Chinese translations of other texts. The opening section of this entry in fascicle 4 is largely identical with Yaśogupta’s earlier translation, dated circa 570.<sup>10</sup> Other parts of Yaśogupta’s translation also appear scattered throughout the same entry. The opening section of Atikūṭa’s fascicle 5, on the mudrā and spell to be performed one thousand times, corresponds closely to a similarly titled short text attributed to Zhitong 智通 (d.u.), a contemporary of Atikūṭa who translated important Esoteric Avalokiteśvara sūtras during the Zhenguang reign-period (627–649).<sup>11</sup> In the text attributed to Zhitong is a note that its account of the mudrā and the corresponding spell was translated and transcribed by Atikūṭa, whereas its account of their use and effects was translated by Zhitong.<sup>12</sup> The entry on Lakṣmī in Atikūṭa’s fascicle 10 states in an interlinear note that Atikūṭa translated it in collaboration with two named Indian monks from central India, and that that translation circulated independently in China.<sup>13</sup> In fact, significant sections of this entry on Lakṣmī appear to have been taken from Dharmakṣema’s (385–433) translation of the *Golden Light Sūtra*.<sup>14</sup> The dhāraṇī that appears in the second section of this entry on Lakṣmī, immediately after the first borrowed passage, also appears in the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* and in the parallel passage in the *Miscellaneous Dhāraṇī Collection*.<sup>15</sup> A spell in the entry on Vajra deity Ucchuṣma also appears in the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas*.<sup>16</sup> In these sūtras their transcription into Chinese characters is identical, suggesting that the borrowing took place in China.

These and other passages show that, as a complete work that brought together a wide range of dhāraṇī texts, the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* must have been created in China.<sup>17</sup> Some sections, like the material on the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, clearly seem to have already existed in widely known translations. Other texts, for example, the material produced in collaboration with Zhitong, were being translated about the same time as Atikūṭa’s *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*.

For the most part, though, the material in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* does not exist elsewhere in independent translations. A large body of previously unknown Indian texts must have been translated for this compilation. In one entry, on the deity Marīci in fascicle 10, interlinear notes in two places comment on Sanskrit manuscripts, and two versions of the spell are transcribed.<sup>18</sup> The translator of this passage was looking carefully at the available Sanskrit originals.<sup>19</sup>

As will become clearer in the discussion below, the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* presents a coherent and carefully worked out picture of one distinctive kind of maṇḍala. The Indian monk Atikūṭa must have brought this understanding of the maṇḍala ceremony and its guiding principles from India.<sup>20</sup> The Chinese translation would have been organized around a basic idea of something called the All-Gathering Maṇḍala. Much, though not all, of the material collected in Atikūṭa's text was of Indian origin.<sup>21</sup> Keeping all of this in mind, we can see that it is in a somewhat loose sense that the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* may be considered a "translation."<sup>22</sup>

Later, in 724–25, when the Indian monk Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735) translated the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, the Chinese monk Yixing (683–727) served as the recorder (*bishou*).<sup>23</sup> The commentary to this sūtra is attributed to Yixing.<sup>24</sup> He appears to present Śubhākarasiṃha's explanations, attributing them to an *ācārya* ("master").<sup>25</sup> A good deal of detailed ritual instruction is contained in this commentary rather than in the more cryptic text of the sūtra. Although the collaboration between Atikūṭa and (presumably) Xuankai did not produce a separate commentary, we may assume a similar collaboration between an Indian *ācārya* (Atikūṭa) and a Chinese monk who served as recorder (Xuankai).

The *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* is carefully organized, with close cross-references among different entries. Ritual instructions, some taken from already existing Chinese translations but most translated for the first time, were organized around the basic instructions regarding the All-Gathering Maṇḍala.

In the preface to the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, the maṇḍala Atikūṭa constructed at Huirisi is described as a "Maṇḍala (altar) of Universal Gathering."<sup>26</sup> In the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* reproduced in the *Taishō* canon, the last fascicle (12) is devoted to describing something called an "All-Gathering Practice Ground."<sup>27</sup> That may be taken as a more formal name for the maṇḍala mentioned in the preface. The detailed account of a maṇḍala ceremony in fascicle 12 afforded the scriptural basis of the large maṇḍala ceremony that Atikūṭa performed at Huirisi monastery in the third month of 651; it would thereafter have been available for any future enactment of the same ceremony in China.<sup>28</sup> I shall first briefly outline the All-Gathering

Maṇḍala Ceremony and then explain how the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* systematically present the ritual instructions for performing it.

### THE ALL-GATHERING MAṆḌALA IN BRIEF

In fascicle 12, the chapter “Mudrās and Spells for the All-Gathering Practice Ground of the Great Dhāraṇīs of the Buddhas, Spoken by the Buddha” begins like many Mahāyana sūtras, presenting what follows as a record of the Buddha’s teaching (“Thus have I heard”); the setting is identified (“Anāthapiṇḍada’s garden in Śrāvastī”) and the audience is described.<sup>29</sup> The Buddha is teaching the “secret dharma storehouse of the many divine spell teachings of the dhāraṇī samādhis, their mudrās and maṇḍalas.”<sup>30</sup> The Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara first observes that numerous past and present Buddhas of the Ten Directions successfully practiced this teaching, then introduces the topic of the Maṇḍala of All-Gathering,<sup>31</sup> proceeding to describe in detail the seven-day and seven-night ceremony.<sup>32</sup>

Somewhat unexpectedly, the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* in fascicle 4 presents another account of the All-Gathering Ceremony, as part of the entry on the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara.<sup>33</sup> This “seven-day maṇḍala ritual of offering” is also explicitly designated in fascicle 4 as an All-Gathering Ceremony.<sup>34</sup> These two instructions, in fascicles 12 and 4, are very similar, and they clearly describe the same ceremony. Following is a brief outline of this complex ceremony.<sup>35</sup> A detailed summary of the instruction is found in the appendix.

Most of the seven days of the ceremony are devoted to the construction of the maṇḍala and preparation of material to be used during the ceremony. During the first six days the site is chosen and made safe from all sorts of demons and other ill-intentioned beings. The ground on which the maṇḍala is to be set up is prepared carefully. Poles or pillars are erected at the four corners of the ritual space, with ropes connecting them and curtains and banners hung from the ropes. The outline of the maṇḍala is marked on the ground, with its interior halls also clearly outlined. The maṇḍala is then decorated with powder of five colors and the seats of specific deities are carefully placed. At the same time the willingness and the qualifications of the candidates for initiation are confirmed and they are presented to the maṇḍala deities. On the seventh day the material to be used during the ceremony is prepared and appropriately placed: metal water pots, gold and silver bowls, jeweled flowering fruit trees, candles, plates of different kinds of food, lamps, incense burners, and so on.<sup>36</sup>



In this ceremony the core initiation rites take place during the seventh night, probably because night is suitable to its Esoteric (“secret”) character. Deities are invited to their seats on the maṇḍala. The blindfolded candidates are led to the maṇḍala and told to throw a flower into it and to remember on which deity’s seat their flower falls.<sup>37</sup> Candidates are then led to the *abhiṣeka* platform, and before the water is poured over them, each one is asked to name the deity on whom his flower has fallen. Each candidate is then instructed in the mudrā appropriate to the deity with whom he has been shown to have karmic affinity, and holding a flower inside this mudrā, the candidate receives the water.<sup>38</sup> After *abhiṣeka*, treasures that had earlier been placed inside the water pots are given to the candidates, who are to wear them constantly along with the attached “spell cord.”

A fire ritual (*homa*) is performed, all the deities are invited one by one into the fire, and then the deities are dismissed. Gifts are distributed, and the maṇḍala is eventually dismantled and erased.

### THE OVERALL ORGANIZATION OF THE COLLECTED DHĀRAṆĪ SŪTRAS

In this All-Gathering Ceremony deities are categorized and grouped as buddhas, Prajñā[pāramitā] deities, bodhisattvas, Vajra deities, and heavenly deities; each group (sometimes called *bu* 部, “division”) is seated together in its own part of the maṇḍala.<sup>39</sup> The Buddha occupies the center. Avalokiteśvara deities occupy the seats to the north, Vajra deities the seats to the south.<sup>40</sup>

This organization of the maṇḍala matches the organization of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* itself. The first eleven fascicles contain instructions for ritual addressed to individual deities. Here again they are grouped: as buddhas, Prajñāpāramitā deities, Avalokiteśvaras, Vajra deities, and heavenly deities.<sup>41</sup> This grouping is marked by an interlinear note at the beginning of each fascicle: fascicles 1 and 2 deal with the Buddha section, fascicles 4–6 with the Avalokiteśvara section, fascicles 7–9 with the Vajra deity section, and fascicles 10–11 with the heavenly deities section.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the ritual instructions relate specifically to the groups of deities who appear in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala.

The bridge between the layout of the maṇḍala and the organization of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* appears to be the core rite, in which the blindfolded candidates throw, or toss, flowers into the maṇḍala, and thus each establish a special affiliation with a particular deity. The candidate

is then qualified, or expected to learn, to perform the rituals for that deity. Instructions for the rituals pertinent to each deity appear (as noted above) in the first eleven fascicles. Ritual instructions for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala are described in fascicle 12 (and briefly in fascicle 4). Thus, diverse types of dhāraṇī, mudrā, and maṇḍala practices are first set forth and finally brought into a grand synthesis around the idea of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala.

Early in fascicle 12, in the introductory statement presenting the teaching of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala to the Buddha, the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara states that, unless one has entered the All-Gathering Maṇḍala, the dhāraṇīs, spells, and mudrās one has received at other times from buddhas and bodhisattvas will not prove efficacious.<sup>43</sup> Using the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara as his “voice,” the compiler of *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* is here insisting that initiation into the larger All-Gathering Maṇḍala is a prerequisite to effective performance of all the other dhāraṇī practices. In the preceding eleven fascicles, some passages also explicitly note that only those who have been initiated into a larger (All-Gathering) Maṇḍala may use the ritual techniques being presented. By contrast, other passages indicate that the rite being described can be effective even in the absence of the maṇḍala initiation.<sup>44</sup> But these other passages paradoxically confirm a shared understanding that in most cases, initiation into the All-Gathering Maṇḍala was necessary for the success of other rituals.<sup>45</sup>

The placement of the deities’ seats on the All-Gathering Maṇḍala is discussed in the instruction for the sixth day in fascicle 12.<sup>46</sup> A deity called Tejorāśi (C: *Dishuluoshi* 帝殊羅施) is named as the central deity (C: *zuozhu* 座主) of the maṇḍala. Also called Buddhōṣṇīśa Buddha, this is the “transformation Buddha” who sits atop the crown of Tathāgata Śākyamuni.<sup>47</sup>

Then a remarkable qualification appears. Key points of this somewhat obscure passage can be summarized as follows:

1. Other deities may substitute for this central deity.<sup>48</sup>
2. But in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony only buddhas, Prajñā, and the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva (and no other deities of the maṇḍala) can serve as the central deity.<sup>49</sup>
3. In other kinds of maṇḍalas—“water maṇḍalas” (*shuitan* 水壇) used for healing, and maṇḍalas for overnight repentance ceremonies—deities from other groups (*bu*) may serve as the central deity.<sup>50</sup>

This establishes a fundamental distinction between two types of maṇḍalas: the “All-Gathering,” in which only buddhas, Prajñā, and the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara can serve as the central deity, and

which are the principal concern of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*; and all other maṇḍalas and their accompanying rituals, which are subsumed into these. The introduction of these synthesizing (i.e., All-Gathering) maṇḍalas may have affected the nature of maṇḍala practice fundamentally and may have been a relatively new development when Atikūṭa compiled the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* in the mid-seventh century.

In many other kinds of maṇḍalas, typically called “water maṇḍalas,” and in other similar maṇḍalas, any divinity can serve as the central deity.<sup>51</sup> I surmise that these maṇḍalas developed within the larger context of evolving dhāraṇī practices, as the latter assimilated image worship and as spells became closely linked with corresponding mudrās. Maṇḍalas that developed during this evolution would have been closely related to specific deities and their magical powers and placed the images of those deities at the center.<sup>52</sup>

All-Gathering Maṇḍalas, in which the identity of the central deity is left only somewhat open, must have formed a notable contrast. The All-Gathering Maṇḍala and its rituals brought together many deities with their own individual maṇḍala rituals into a comprehensive maṇḍala. In addition to presenting a detailed account of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony, the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* gives the ritual instructions for many of these deities. These instructions are what we find in the first eleven fascicles, and as noted above, they are closely integrated into the ritual structure of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala. As we proceed to a more detailed examination, it will become clearer that the translators or editors imposed a common format on all the ritual instructions in this collection. Detailed cross-references are frequent, strengthening the impression of a strong organizational logic behind what appear at first to be diverse and independent ritual instructions. This is not to imply uniformity in the material collected—far from it. Because much of this text evidently was fairly closely based either on preexisting material or on material being translated at the time the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* was compiled, the collection also attests to the wide range of contemporary mudrā, dhāraṇī, and maṇḍala practices.

## TWO GUIDING QUESTIONS

Let us put two key questions to the contents of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. Extensive accounts of maṇḍala ceremonies form a part of the instructions for rituals directed to individual deities; these occur here and

there in the first eleven fascicles of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. Hence the first question: what does this diverse and extensive material tell us about the early development of maṇḍala ceremonies?

Particularly important for our purposes is the ambiguous and ambivalent relationship between images and maṇḍalas. Images seem to figure more naturally in rituals devoted to individual deities. In rituals employing maṇḍalas that represented the broad range of the Esoteric pantheon (such as the All-Gathering Maṇḍala), the deities are represented by their locations, or seats, and the images are diminished in importance.

Perhaps at a deeper level the introduction of images had from the beginning created tensions in Esoteric ritual performance. We have seen that visions signaled the efficacy of dhāraṇī rituals. Images (paintings or statues) could concretize these visions, but material objects and visionary objects are fundamentally different. In an image, iconographic details could be codified and then further elaborated. By contrast, visions appear during the enactment of a ritual and then disappear, allowing no further manipulation. Images, like visions, could become animated and activated in the course of a ritual, but unlike visions, they exist before the ritual begins and remain after its end. So how does an image serve in a ritual that first invites and then dismisses the deity? I would suggest that as the Esoteric Buddhist ritual tradition evolved, the status of images became increasingly uncertain. The ambivalent relationship between image worship and maṇḍala ceremony also reflects this fundamental tension.

The second question focuses more specifically on the All-Gathering Maṇḍala: how did it evolve out of maṇḍalas devoted to individual deities? There are remarkable parallels between the maṇḍala initiation rituals devoted to individual deities (in the first eleven fascicles) and the All-Gathering Maṇḍala ceremony (in fascicles 4 and 12). Some of the instructions for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala ceremony also cite explicitly mudrās and spells attributed to individual deities and presented in greater detail in the entries on them. Yet, the All-Gathering Maṇḍala also marked a fundamentally new departure: rituals closely linked with individual deities, once “gathered” together, created a new awareness of a comprehensive and coherent Esoteric Buddhist tradition.<sup>53</sup>

Of particular interest are certain key passages in the account of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala in fascicle 12, particularly those that deal with the identity of the central deity. They offer important clues to the earlier history of the ceremony. The limitation on the categories of deities who can serve as the central deity in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala, particularly the exclusion of the group of deities designated as “Vajra,” may be under-

stood as establishing some sort of control, or boundary within a larger process—a wide range of increasingly important deities is becoming incorporated into a comprehensive pantheon. Atikūṭa’s collection is the first known text that presents the deities in categories (including the group called Vajra), and the differentiation of status among these groups might reflect the somewhat tentative nature of this pantheon; some newly incorporated deities were not quite equal in standing with others.<sup>54</sup>

## THE RITUALS OF THE DEITY VAJRAGARBHA IN THE COLLECTED DHĀRAṆĪ SŪTRAS

All the ritual instructions in the first eleven fascicles of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* are closely affiliated with individual deities and classified accordingly. These rituals are widely and highly diverse. Simpler rites of reciting spells or dhāraṇīs were reshaped into more complex practices requiring the use of mudrās, images, and maṇḍalas. Reconstructing the steps that led to the complex maṇḍala initiation ceremony presided over by individual deities, which incorporated a fire offering and *abhiṣeka* as well, will reveal more clearly the overall logic of maṇḍala initiation, including that of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala.

The formats in which the rituals in fascicles 1–11 are presented in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* reflect a number of different organizing schemes, applied to concrete bodies of ritual instruction. The schemes are not always compatible with each other, and some places suggest arbitrary and artificial manipulation of the material.<sup>55</sup> After a brief overview of these schemes, we can study their actual application in the entry on the deity Vajragarbha (C: Jingangzang 金剛藏), in fascicle 7. Review of the mudrās and spells closely affiliated with Vajragarbha offers evidence of the diversity of ritual practices contained in this text. This entry also provides information about the status of the Vajra category of deities in the maṇḍala (and secondarily also of the category of “heavenly deities”).

## SCHEMES OF PRESENTATION

As noted above, the title of Atikūṭa’s work indicates that it was intended as a collection of Buddhist sūtras, or more specifically, dhāraṇī sūtras. They purport to be records of the Buddha’s teaching on specific occasions,

though many of the sūtras named in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* are not attested elsewhere. Many sections of the collection begin with the familiar “Thus have I heard,” followed by an account of the audience.<sup>56</sup>

But the editor/compiler of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* at some stage imposed on the material another artificial scheme: the rituals applicable to a given deity are presented as numbered entries, each devoted to the mudrā and spell (*yinzhou* 印呪) “belonging to” that deity.<sup>57</sup> Typically, each entry first gives the mudrā and then the spell, and then explains their use, sometimes describing the larger ritual context and then describing their distinctly practical (magical) functions. Perhaps to further clarify this organization, below the titles of individual deities are often interlinear notes listing the numbers of mudrās and spells that follow.<sup>58</sup>

From time to time extended narrative passages are inserted within this scheme. Narratives describing the setting of the Buddha’s sermon are introduced outside the list of numbered entries (e.g., in fascicle 11).<sup>59</sup> Longer and more detailed descriptions of image paintings and maṇḍala rituals grow into separate essays (e.g., the essay on the eight-*hasta* maṇḍala ceremony for Buddhōṣṇīṣa at the end of fascicle 1, and one on painting the image of this deity at the beginning of fascicle 2).<sup>60</sup> By contrast, the description of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala in fascicle 12 is a continuous narrative, consisting largely of a day-by-day description of the seven-day and seven-night ritual. Mudrās and spells are frequently mentioned, but they are not separated out from the continuous narrative as independent sections.

The numbered scheme and narrative passages may be combined without explanation. For example, in fascicle 4 a detailed description of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony appears first. As noted above, in this account the central deity of the ceremony is Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara. Then come the instructions on mudrās and dhāraṇīs,<sup>61</sup> broken up into fifty-two numbered entries on fifty-two different mudrās and spells. How to make the image of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara follows, and the entire fascicle concludes with the description of the ritual to be performed around this image.

Throughout the collection the two styles of presentation, the continuous narrative and the numbered entries on mudrās and spells, are often closely interwoven. At several points, for example in the narrative describing the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony in both fascicle 4 and fascicle 12, mudrās and spells associated with individual deities are mentioned.<sup>62</sup> These had also been imparted in detail elsewhere in numbered entries for individual deities.

## THE ENTRY ON VAJRAGARBHA (FASCICLE 7)

Let us now turn to a specific example, the ritual pertaining to the deity Vajragarbha, and see how simpler rites, such as reciting spells or dhāraṇīs, became more complex practices that also employed mudrās, images, and maṇḍalas.

## The Introductory Narrative

As noted above, the instruction for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala in fascicle 12 distinguishes between categories of deities who can serve as the central deity of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala—buddhas and bodhisattvas (or buddhas, Prajñāpāramitā, and the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara)—and other deities who cannot (including Vajra deities).<sup>63</sup> This distinction appears to be carefully underscored in the introductory narrative that appears at the beginning of the section on Vajra deities in fascicle 7 and partly recapitulated at the beginning of fascicle 11, on the section on heavenly deities.

Fascicle 7 begins with a chapter title: “Chapter on the Buddha’s Teaching on the Mudrās and Spell of the *Samādhi* Method [That Activates] the Great Powers of Vajragarbha.”<sup>64</sup> This appears to be closely related to the chapter title in fascicle 11: “Chapter on the Mudrā and Spell of the *Samādhi* Method, [Whereby] Heavenly Deities Offer Assistance to the Buddha.”<sup>65</sup> Fascicle 11 consists of entries attributed to specific heavenly deities, starting with Brahmā, Śakra, and Maheśvara and concluding with an extended section on Cāmuṇḍā.<sup>66</sup>

Vajra deities and heavenly deities, though appearing in separate fascicles, also share a common framing story. The introductory narratives in fascicle 7 and fascicle 11 both place the Buddha at Mount Vipullā 毘富羅山,<sup>67</sup> teaching the secret dharma storehouse of dhāraṇī and mudrās.<sup>68</sup> These deities are authorized to assist and protect the Buddha. This common frame may well have been introduced as these deities were incorporated into the growing pantheon and hence into an already existing collection.

In fascicle 7 a bodhisattva called Vajragarbha speaks up: he presents the fourteen divisions of his retinue to the Buddha.<sup>69</sup> Beginning in the distant past, these deities have preserved their knowledge of spells. He himself is called their king, Vajrapāṇi, and is their leader.<sup>70</sup> They wish to help protect the Buddha’s teaching, presumably by their spells.<sup>71</sup> He requests that the Buddha certify their attainments and permit them to call

themselves his attendants.<sup>72</sup> The Buddha assents, and the Vajra deities are each introduced by name.<sup>73</sup>

Māra kings, ghosts, and spirits are frightened on hearing the names of the Vajra deities, and Vajrapāṇi declares to them that his secret teaching, called “the mudrā of the divine spell, the great dhāraṇī of the secret dharma storehouse,” has been approved by the Buddha for the purpose of assisting him.<sup>74</sup> He also instructs the gods, ordinary humans, monks, Brahmins, human kings, god Śakra, eight divisions of supernatural beings, and others in the audience to accept and guard the teaching offered here. The point of this narrative appears to be that the leader of the Vajra deities presented them and their secret teaching of spells and mudrās to the Buddha, and ordered other members of the Buddhist community to honor the teaching.

In the larger context of the evolution of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala, this story may be read as justifying the incorporation of Vajra deities, each carefully named, into the maṇḍala. The emphasis on their role as *assisting* the Buddha is consistent with the rule that only buddhas, bodhisattvas, Prajñā, and Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara can serve as the central deity of the maṇḍala; other deities, including Vajra deities, can only “assist.”<sup>75</sup>

The title of fascicle 11 also speaks of assistance, and the introductory narrative of this fascicle returns to this basic story from fascicle 7. When heavenly deities and other supernatural beings hear how powerful are the spells of Vajra deities, they are amazed and frightened.<sup>76</sup> The Buddha reassures them that this teaching (“the storehouse of vajra teachings”) is very beneficial, and adjures them to listen carefully to the instruction. These deities then pledge before the buddhas, bodhisattvas, and Vajra deities to protect those who teach Mahāyāna and recite dhāraṇīs while forming appropriate mudrās. With the Buddha’s approved spell teachings, they too will benefit all sentient beings.<sup>77</sup>

Again, this narrative in fascicle 11, particularly if we read it as returning to the narrative that opens fascicle 7, suggests that the roles of Vajra deities and other heavenly deities, such as Brahmā, Śakra, Maheśvara, and the Four Heavenly Kings, listed individually in the sections that follow, were carefully introduced as the pantheon grew and these groups were taken into the All-Gathering Maṇḍala in subsidiary roles—as “protectors.”

## Mudrās and Spells of Vajragarbha

### *Dhāraṇī Practices*

In fascicle 7 an extended instruction for painting the image of the bodhisattva Vajragarbha follows the introductory narrative.<sup>78</sup> Then come



fifty-seven numbered entries, each presenting a specific mudrā and its associated spell.<sup>79</sup> The first eighteen entries relate to Vajragarbha, while the second group, starting with entry 19, relate to Vajragarbha's attendants: Vajra mother Māmākī (entries 19–21), Vajra mother Ceta (? possibly a corruption of Vajramuṣṭi, entry 22), Vajra Śṛṅkhalā (entries 23–33; entry 33 includes an instruction on the maṇḍala initiation ceremony for Śṛṅkhalā),<sup>80</sup> and Vajrāṅkuśī (entries 34–40).<sup>81</sup> The last section is devoted largely to the most succinct form of Vajragarbha's spell, called *suixin* 隨心 (S: *upahṛdaya*) (entries 41–52). An extended discussion of the initiation ritual for Vajragarbha's maṇḍala concludes the fascicle.<sup>82</sup>

In many of the entries in this fascicle that present specific mudrās and spells, healing is mentioned frequently. Most of the illnesses are described as “demon[-induced] illness” (*guibing* 鬼病). Entries 9–14 appear to form a single larger section, describing different applications of a spell called “the longer body spell of Vajragarbha.”<sup>83</sup> Let us review this material briefly as an example of dhāraṇī practice.

In entry 9 the text of the *dhāraṇī* is transcribed. The explanatory comment that follows first notes that this long spell may be used on all sorts of occasions. As routine daily practice, after one has bathed and enters the ritual space, in front of the Buddha and bodhisattvas, one forms the mudrā described earlier, recites the spell, and presents offerings, and communicates with all gods, Māras, and demons. On hearing the spell, sentient beings will all experience the thought of seeking enlightenment and will become compassionate and gentle, all evil thoughts banished. All this is attributed to the powers of Vajra deities.<sup>84</sup>

Next it is noted that the spell can also be used for healing. In this passage it is described as having the effect of converting the demons causing the illness, or having them “experience the thought of seeking enlightenment.” Several specific healing rituals based on the spell are then presented. For a sick person who spits blood or a woman with irregular menstruation, one should bless rice with the mudrā and spell, wash the rice, and mix the rice water with honey. On taking this concoction, the woman (and the person who spits blood?) will be cured. The spell should be pronounced over the rice before washing it three times.

In combination with another mudrā called “the head of Vajragarbha,” the spell cures headaches (entry 10). Make the mudrā, recite the spell, strike one's head, and the pain will be lifted. Together with the mudrā “Vajragarbha's crown (*uṣṇīṣa*),” the spell may prevent pains in one's feet or in a horse's legs (entry 11). The mudrā “Vajragarbha's mouth” subdues all Māra kings and non-Buddhist teachers (entry 12). Seeing this mudrā, all the powerful demons, frightened, take flight. Then comes a

note that the mudrā is also very effective against all kinds of demon-induced illnesses.<sup>85</sup>

In contrast to the broad and coherent explanation above (“they will all experience the thought of seeking enlightenment”) that this spell works by converting to Buddhism the demons causing diseases, the list of cures that appears here is strikingly diverse and unsystematic. I suspect that these ritual cures originally existed separately, and that at some point they were brought together around this “longer body spell” and their efficacy was explained by a larger theory regarding the general efficacy of the spell in converting demonic beings. In the last example a different explanation appears; the mudrā and the implied application of the spell, enacted with terrifying facial expressions, frighten the demons and cause them to flee. The illnesses caused by the demons will then be cured.

It was widely believed that demons cause all sorts of illnesses and that spells could frighten them away. The section on Vajragarbha concludes with a passage that bears the heading “Vajragarbha Rite of Conquering Demons” (entries 13–18).<sup>86</sup> Diverse practices, brought together here, offer cures from demon-induced illnesses. A variety of weapons are mentioned: a *vajra*, a rope or a noose used to bind demons, an arrow, a shield, a sword, a skull club (*khaṭvāṅga*). Each entry, bearing the name of one of these weapons, begins with a description of a mudrā, suggesting that the mudrā, by a kind of sympathetic magic, ritually constructs a weapon; the spell, also a different one for each weapon, is to be pronounced. The instruction for the arrow and shield states that the spell master, while forming the mudrā, should think about destroying demons. The mudrās and spells presented in these eighteen entries are closely tied to different types of rituals.

The mudrās and spells in entries 1–8 appear to be primarily intended for use at important points of a ritual presentation of offerings to the deity: the ritual space is secured (entry 3) and the body of the spell master is protected (entries 2, 4), the deity is invited into the seat (mentioned in entry 5), flowers are scattered (entry 6), and after the deity is dismissed, the spell master again protects his body (entries 7, 8).<sup>87</sup> These mudrās and spells are presented as a group, each primarily characterized according to its use in a larger ceremony. Yet the mudrās and spells in entries 2 and 6 have separate, elaborate ritual instructions appended; like the spells in the *Sūtra of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara*, they may be used by themselves to address a variety of demon-induced illnesses and other difficulties.

Entry 9 introduces a long spell that is used not only with the mudrā presented there but also with those in entries 10–12 and 14. With the ex-

ception of the mudrā and spell in entry 11 (for distant travelers), these mudrās and spells are said to cure demon-induced illnesses. In the course of instructions for the use of the mudrā and spell, entries 2 and 12 describe water maṇḍala rituals. Apparently those two mudrās and their associated spells were typically used for special purposes, apart from any larger ritual.

### *Maṇḍala Ceremony*

Entry 12, which describes the use of the “Vajragarbha’s mouth” mudrā, concludes with a brief account of a maṇḍala ritual.<sup>88</sup> This is the first of the two related but distinct maṇḍala rituals that appear in this fascicle. Here the ritual space is inside a room, and a water maṇḍala is constructed, decorated with hanging banners and an umbrella. A water pot is placed at the center of the maṇḍala; the pot is filled with clean water in which Five Grains are placed.<sup>89</sup> The mouth of the pot is stoppered with green cedar and bamboo leaves, and a piece of silk is attached. Then an image of the Vajra deity (Vajragarbha) is set up. The ritual space is secured (keeping demons out) and the spell master’s body is ritually protected. A hearth for a fire offering is also constructed, and 1,008 balls, each made of three kinds of incense, are prepared.

At noon the spell master bathes, puts on fresh clothes, and enters the ritual space. After securing the ritual space and ritually protecting his body, he invites the Vajra King (again Vajragarbha?) and places him at the center of the maṇḍala, where various kinds of offerings are presented to him. Inside the hearth a flower seat is painted. The Vajra King is invited from the maṇḍala to this flower seat. When the king is seated, the spell master picks up the balls prepared earlier and throws them one by one into the fire. When all 1,008 balls have been burned, the Vajra King appears above the Vajra image and asks the practitioner (i.e., the spell master) what he wishes. Then the practitioner picks up the incense burner and answers freely, and the ritual will prove greatly efficacious.

This maṇḍala ritual, performed on the thirteenth day of the tenth month or on the fifteenth day of the twelfth month, is described in greater detail in a separate entry on Vajragarbha’s maṇḍala ceremony at the end of fascicle 7, as a part of a closely related ritual.<sup>90</sup> In this later account the performance of the fire offering is followed by the *abhiṣeka* initiation. The candidates are taken outside to a separate water maṇḍala, and water is poured over each in turn.<sup>91</sup> In the concluding part of this passage the Buddha is said to have spoken to Vajragarbha and his retinue, perhaps bringing the opening narrative to its conclusion. The Buddha tells them

that he has known the spells from the distant past, long, long before they presented them.<sup>92</sup> They should uphold these spells in order to attain the stage of non-retrogression and the realization of the truth of nonarising; moreover, they should take refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṃgha, and thus safeguarded, constantly travel the Six Realms of Rebirth, protecting (the teaching?) and encouraging sentient beings to experience the thought of seeking enlightenment.

The entry on Vajragarbha introduces in some detail the range of practices in the first eleven fascicles of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* and in Esoteric Buddhism of the period. These include spell recitation for healing, image worship, initiation rituals, and maṇḍala rituals. A further discussion of maṇḍalas and maṇḍala ceremonies in the first eleven fascicles will serve as a prelude to examination of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony.

### MAṆḌALAS AND MAṆḌALA CEREMONIES FOR INDIVIDUAL DEITIES IN FASCICLES 1–11 OF THE *COLLECTED DHĀRAṆĪ SŪTRAS*

In many places this *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* describes the construction of elaborate maṇḍalas for a variety of individual deities and the initiation of candidates into their practices. Fascicle 12 relates the elaborate practice for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala, which must have evolved gradually out of the rich and varied tradition documented in part by the body of material collected in the first eleven fascicles. In what follows, I shall first summarily reconstruct—as a hypothesis—the outline of this evolution. Stages in the evolution are marked by the different treatments of image(s) on the maṇḍala. Like the different ritual scenarios, my hypothetical outline is an analytical tool. Having laid out the model, I shall study specific ritual instructions as they appear in the seventh-century historical record compiled by Atikūṭa.

Initially the core of maṇḍala practice was the recitation of spells and forming of mudrās that were understood together to secure certain desired results. These results are noted carefully in the entries for the spells and mudrās throughout the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, by whose time these spells and mudrās had become closely linked with specific deities.<sup>93</sup> This is clearly indicated by the transcription of the spells and mudrās in entries for the particular deities to whom they pertain. In an earlier stage, spells were recited without any reference to specific deities, and visions of “all the buddhas” confirmed the success of the rite.<sup>94</sup> At a

later stage, spells for a particular deity were recited before its image. The transition to this step is traced in the preceding chapter. Spell recitation before an image did not initially involve a maṇḍala.

Maṇḍalas and images related awkwardly to each other. Initially the central element of the maṇḍala appears to have been a water pot.<sup>95</sup> In the next stage of evolution an image was placed next to the pot—a physically clumsy juxtaposition. Thereafter an image, sometimes surrounded by ritual objects or by other deities, was placed at the center. But this was not the final arrangement in the evolution of the maṇḍala ritual.

The previous chapters have shown that from a very early time the efficacy of the spell and mudrā was demonstrated first by a vision of deities and subsequently by the image's miraculous animation (speech and motion). As suggested above, at least some of the changes in Esoteric ritual were motivated by the practitioner's need for better control over the ritual process. The image miracles were, strictly speaking, independent of the will of the practitioner, and their appearance (or failure to appear) was observable by others. By contrast, in the maṇḍala rituals the ritual specialist controls the presence of the deity more firmly. The practitioner invites specific deities into the ritual space, sometimes by enlivening their images through spells and mudrās, but more often by simply inviting the deities to the seats on the maṇḍala, by which they are often represented. Images need not be used.

Now let us set out concrete examples that illustrate the hypothetical evolution of the maṇḍala ritual. We will first identify types of maṇḍalas by reviewing their construction, then examine the rituals performed around these maṇḍalas.

### TYPOLGY OF MAṆḌALAS

At the beginning of the instruction for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala in fascicle 12 of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, this maṇḍala is contrasted explicitly with what is called a “water maṇḍala.”<sup>96</sup> This latter term appears to have been applied to a wide range of maṇḍalas constructed for different purposes (e.g., repentance and healing) and for different deities.<sup>97</sup> Only loosely defined and understood in its widest usage, it is applied to virtually all the maṇḍalas described in the first eleven fascicles of the collection.<sup>98</sup>

Sometimes “water maṇḍala” seems to be the maṇḍala used in an *abhiṣeka* initiation ceremony. In the description of a maṇḍala ritual

for Prajñāpāramitā, a two-*hasta* water maṇḍala of five colors is said to be prepared outside the principal four-*hasta* maṇḍala, and it is on this smaller water maṇḍala that the *abhiṣeka* is performed.<sup>99</sup> The same instruction also appears in an entry for the Vajra deity Śṛṅkhalā.<sup>100</sup> In these cases the term “water maṇḍala” simply means a maṇḍala on which the candidate for initiation is seated and water is poured over his head.

Two passages note that the general instruction for water maṇḍalas also appears in other parts of the collection.<sup>101</sup> In both passages the maṇḍala in question is a four-*hasta* maṇḍala, suggesting that a more or less fixed procedure for the four-*hasta* maṇḍala ritual existed and was widely known. But water maṇḍalas are not always of this size; one is said to be two *hasta* and another is either a square or a circle and one, two, or four *hasta* on a side or in diameter.<sup>102</sup>

Water maṇḍalas appear to be made for specific purposes, some of which are clearly indicated. The water maṇḍala constructed for the deity Sarvabuddhoṣṇīṣa removes sins and heals ailments. The spell master may use the two-*hasta* water maṇḍala to heal himself.<sup>103</sup> A different water maṇḍala is used to cure demon-induced maladies of domestic animals.<sup>104</sup> And yet another water maṇḍala is used in praying for rain.<sup>105</sup>

Diverse maṇḍalas described in the first eleven fascicles of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* can be identified by the ways the deities are represented, the primary tokens being water pots, images, ritual objects, or seats.

### Type 1. Maṇḍalas with a Water Pot at the Center

The simplest form of water maṇḍala is without images.<sup>106</sup> Some passages speak of a single water pot placed at the center,<sup>107</sup> with Five Grains in the water and willow branches covering the mouth of the pot.<sup>108</sup> In several instructions the spell is pronounced directly on the maṇḍala.<sup>109</sup>

### Type 2. Maṇḍalas with a Single, Central Image

In many of these maṇḍalas the one deity, at the center, is represented by an image. Typically, it is not specified whether the image is a painting or a statue. In the detailed description of the sixteen-*hasta* maṇḍala linked with the thousand-times-turned dhāraṇī, only a painted image of white-colored Avalokiteśvara is (somewhat abruptly) mentioned.<sup>110</sup>

As noted above, in the water maṇḍala for Vajragarbha the image of this deity is invited in, “behind the water pot at the center,”<sup>111</sup> which contains the Five Grains and is stoppered with leaves and branches. Here the relationship between the water pot and image is left unexplained,

perhaps deliberately. As the spell master makes a variety of offerings, the deity Vajragarbha King, or Vajra King, is said to appear as a vision above the Vajragarbha image. He asks the reason for the ritual, then brings about the desired results.<sup>112</sup> Here it appears to be the vision and not the image that guarantees the efficacy of the rite. The ritual is described twice, and in the longer account, it is said that a mudrā may be substituted for the image.<sup>113</sup>

In the maṇḍala described in the entry for the long Kuṇḍalin spell, an image is placed on the central seat made for the deity.<sup>114</sup> In these two examples and in the maṇḍala for Śṛṅkhalā (Śṛṅkhalā), an image is first specified, but then this requirement is qualified: in the absence of an image, the deity may be brought to the seat by a mudrā.<sup>115</sup>

### Type 3. Maṇḍalas with a Central Image, Surrounded by Seats Representing Other Deities

In some maṇḍalas the central deity is an image, surrounded by other deities who are represented only by their seats. Again, the image is often not specified as either a painting or a statue.

The image of Hayagrīva at the center is surrounded by lotus-flower seats for the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara (east) and the Eight-Armed Avalokiteśvara (north), and by the eight Dragon Kings, who do not sit on lotus flowers.<sup>116</sup> How these kings are represented is not told.

At the center of a four-*hasta* maṇḍala is Ucchuṣma's image, and around it in the four cardinal directions are lotus seats, which alone signify the deities named in the instruction.<sup>117</sup>

Marīci's image, centered on a four-*hasta* maṇḍala, is surrounded by the seats for the deity's messengers; though they are named in the instruction, they appear to be represented only by these seats.<sup>118</sup>

### Type 4. Maṇḍalas with Multiple Images

In a second maṇḍala for Prajñāpāramitā, the deity as an image at the center is surrounded by other deities in the inner hall. These are only mentioned by name, and whether they are represented as images or seats is not specified; but the sixteen Divine Kings arranged on the four sides of the outer hall are explicitly said to be images.<sup>119</sup>

In the twelve-*hasta* maṇḍala used for praying for rain, the image of the Dragon King at the center, eight *hasta* tall, is surrounded by dragons both outside and inside the gates at the four directions. These dragons, made of mud, are variously sized and have different numbers of heads.<sup>120</sup>

An image of Vināyaka, as the king of demons, is surrounded by images of ninety-nine demons on a maṇḍala composed only of demons.<sup>121</sup>

### Type 5. Maṇḍalas in Which All the Deities Are Represented by Their Seats

These maṇḍalas encompass a variety of central deities.<sup>122</sup> As noted, the deities on the All-Gathering Maṇḍalas are represented by their seats.

## MAṆḌALA CEREMONIES

The instructions on maṇḍalas in the first eleven fascicles of the collection vary greatly in length and degree of detail, presumably becoming more elaborate and complex over time.<sup>123</sup> Let us now examine how maṇḍala rituals evolved to incorporate fire offerings and *abhiṣeka* initiation into the simpler activities that focused on setting up the maṇḍala.<sup>124</sup>

To illustrate this process with one small example, we saw above that the entry on “Vajragarbha’s mouth” mudrā describes a maṇḍala ceremony, and that a very closely related ceremony is described in greater detail in a separate essay at the end of the entry on Vajragarbha.<sup>125</sup> Both accounts emphasize the fire offering, but the shorter version is missing the *abhiṣeka* ceremony that concludes the longer version. Thus, this ceremony, characterized by the prominence it gives to a fire offering, appears to have evolved by incorporating an *abhiṣeka* initiation ceremony at the end.

In what follows I shall further illustrate this general hypothesis with several examples from the first eleven fascicles of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. The first example, an instruction that describes a maṇḍala in considerable detail, appears still to consist primarily of reciting spells.

### The Maṇḍala for Practical Problems: The Bhr̥kuṭi Maṇḍala

This maṇḍala, of the kind often called a water maṇḍala, is used for a variety of purposes, some of which are described in considerable detail. Here is an entry for the deity Bhr̥kuṭi, containing an extended account of the use of Bhr̥kuṭi maṇḍala (in the Avalokiteśvara section, fascicle 5) for healing.<sup>126</sup>

The procedure for setting up this maṇḍala is explained as identical to the procedure used in the seven-day ceremony of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara.<sup>127</sup> The ground is prepared, painted with fragrant mud



(cow dung mixed with water?); multicolored banners and umbrellas are hung; and jeweled utensils are made ready.

But in its arrangement the Bhṛkuṭi maṇḍala obviously departs from the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara maṇḍala. At the center of the four-*hasta*, five-colored maṇḍala is the seat of Bhṛkuṭi. To the east, on a lotus-flower seat, is placed a sword. On the lotus-flower seat to the north is placed a mirror, its reflecting side upward. On the lotus-flower seat to the south are placed three arrows. The mat for the spell master is set outside the maṇḍala's western gate.<sup>128</sup>

Five water pots, each of less than one *sheng* 升 (about 0.59 liter) in capacity, are filled with water and Five Grains are placed in each. The mouth of each pot is covered with green leaves of cedar and leaves and branches of bamboo and pear. These pots are placed at the center and at each of the four corners. Ten plates of buns and twelve lamps are presented. Various kinds of incense and flowers are offered, and the spell is recited ceaselessly for seven days. The spell is not named explicitly here, but the following sentence appears to identify it as the *suixin* (i.e., the shorter *upahṛdaya*) spell of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara,<sup>129</sup> which is transcribed earlier in fascicle 5 (entries 6, 7).<sup>130</sup> Waiting for the efficacy of the *suixin* spell and mudrā to be demonstrated, the sick man repents sincerely.<sup>131</sup> Obstructions are removed and the success of the ritual is quickly demonstrated.<sup>132</sup>

Then, if this maṇḍala ritual is to be used for healing,<sup>133</sup> the patient is placed to the east of the spell master, facing north, and white mustard seeds are burned around the patient's head for three days. The ritual is said to work best near the time of solar or lunar eclipse.<sup>134</sup>

The maṇḍala is preferably to be set up outdoors, but it is also permitted to place it inside a temple.<sup>135</sup> A white horse or, if one is not available, a horse made of silver is to be given to the spell master as a gift. If a silver horse is not available either, the spell master should choose a substitute. If no acceptable substitution is available (and therefore the spell master will not perform the ceremony), someone who is obedient, follows the precepts strictly, and never departs from the teacher's instruction can perform this ceremony.<sup>136</sup>

In this ritual the maṇḍala serves as the site where a spell is recited endlessly. The recitation results in some form of confirmation (*yan* 驗) of successful outcome.<sup>137</sup>

### The Role of the Fire Offering (*Homa*)

In the story about Avalokiteśvara's painted image, discussed in chapter 1, the arrival and the vision of Avalokiteśvara mark the culmination of the

fire offering ritual. In the example of Vajragarbha's maṇḍala ceremony, mentioned above, the fire ceremony culminates in the deity appearing in a vision above its image.<sup>138</sup>

In the story told in fascicle 9 to illustrate the benefits of Ucchuṣma's spell, the spell master burns in the hearth a piece of willow branch that has been blessed.<sup>139</sup> When this burnt offering is repeated 8,000 times, the deity of the spell manifests himself, sometimes in a dream. The spell master is instructed not to be afraid when the deity appears. If he remains unmoved, and steady in meditation, then whatever he wishes will be realized.<sup>140</sup>

In the instruction for the initiation ritual for Śṛṅkhalā, to be examined in detail below, the spell master is told to visualize (*xinxiang* 心想, "think of" or "imagine") a large lotus flower with Śṛṅkhalā sitting on it.<sup>141</sup> The visionary appearance of the deity at the culmination of the fire offering appears here to have evolved into a visualization practice. A fire offering and the hearth to be used for it are mentioned frequently in the accounts of maṇḍalas and maṇḍala practices in this collection. Though the vision is not always mentioned, in the ritual scenarios the central deity who is invited into the maṇḍala by means of his mudrā and spell is also, somewhat redundantly, understood to appear in response to the offerings thrown into the fire.

### The Introduction of *Abhiṣeka* Initiation: Śṛṅkhalā Maṇḍala Ceremony

An *abhiṣeka* rite is mentioned often in the entries for deities in the first four fascicles.<sup>142</sup> Well-developed accounts of the rite appear in entries for deities of the Vajra category. Śṛṅkhalā (in detail below) and Kuṇḍalin.<sup>143</sup> In the entries for the Vajra deity Vajragarbha (as mentioned above) and the heavenly deity Marīci, shorter references appear.<sup>144</sup> Many instructions, particularly those explicitly described as of practical use (typically healing), do not mention an *abhiṣeka*. Nevertheless, *abhiṣeka* initiation appears to have been widely practiced in rituals directed to various groups of deities. Here I shall summarize Śṛṅkhalā's maṇḍala initiation ceremony as described in fascicle 7.<sup>145</sup>

Those who hope to benefit from the efficacy of Vajra Śṛṅkhalā are told that they must first make daily offerings, burn incense, and request Śṛṅkhalā to come to the deity's seat. The heart spell must be recited one hundred thousand times, and the practitioner must vow to rescue and protect all sentient beings.<sup>146</sup>

Then the ritual space is set up in an appropriate place. On the fifteenth day of the month the practitioner bathes in fragrant water and puts on

fresh clothes, and hangs banners and umbrellas at the ritual space. Ritual utensils, flowers, incense, and whatever else is needed for the ritual are procured.

At the center of the ritual space the four-*hasta* maṇḍala is created, using white, red, and black powders. At the center of the maṇḍala an image of Śṛṅkhalā is called for, but as noted above, if an image is unavailable, the deity may be brought to the seat by a mudrā or a drawing made on the ground.<sup>147</sup> East of the central seat a vajra is drawn; in the north, an iron chain; and to the south a club—the mudrā form of Khaṭvāṅga. The elaborate description of the mudrā form that follows suggests that this “club” had a stick for the body, topped by a human face crowned with a standing vajra, both face and vajra painted.<sup>148</sup> The western seat is for the spell master.

Placed on the maṇḍala are eight plates filled with a variety of food and drink, twelve lamps, and nine water pots. Each pot is filled with water, and its mouth is covered with green cedar twigs, bamboo branches, and leaves of pear trees.<sup>149</sup> A three-*chi* long piece of raw silk is attached to the branches.<sup>150</sup> One pot is placed at the center of the maṇḍala and one at each of the four gates and four corners. Outside the western gate of the maṇḍala, toward the south, a hearth for a fire offering is made. Materials to be burned in the fire—branches of firewood, sesame seeds, rice, a mixture of ghee and honey—are blessed 108 times with the heart spell, which is also the blessing for all the incense.

Once these preparations are accomplished, on the fifteenth day of the month the spell master bathes, puts on fresh clothes, and enters the maṇḍala. He secures the ritual space, protects his body with appropriate mudrās, then burns incense and makes the vow.

The spell master then forms a mudrā, recites a spell inviting Śṛṅkhalā, and presents offerings of various kinds of incense and flowers. The master then invites the deity to sit inside the hearth and visualizes (*xinxiang*) a large lotus flower there, with Śṛṅkhalā sitting on it.<sup>151</sup> Then he burns the various prepared and blessed materials in small incremental offerings, with each increment uttering a spell. This is repeated 108 times.

Three or four steps west of the main maṇḍala, a separate water maṇḍala has been prepared beforehand. On this a chair is placed, and after the fire offering the candidate for initiation is seated there and water from the water pot is poured over his head. The candidate makes an inward vow (*xinkou fayuan* 心口發願), “I, disciple so-and-so, make the following wish: I will perform the Vajra deity Śṛṅkhalā’s rites to rescue and protect all categories of sentient beings. Let all Vajra deities grant disciple so-and-so various proofs of the efficacy of the rituals.” Then the

candidate makes the *mudrā* for protecting his body and puts on fresh clothes. He or the spell master then dismisses the deity. Henceforth the rituals that the candidate performs will all prove successful. In healing illnesses, the ritual will be powerful like a fire burning dry grass, or boiling water melting snow.<sup>152</sup>

The section concludes with a brief instruction for a two-*hasta* water maṇḍala used for healing.<sup>153</sup> At the center of it are placed a plate of buns, a bowl of rice, and a bowl of water. The patient is placed west of the maṇḍala, facing east. The spell master takes white mustard seed, blesses it twenty-one times with a spell, and touches the patient's head with it. Then the white mustard seeds are burned in a sacrificial fire, after which the same spell is repeated twenty-one times. Then the "long spell" is pronounced, and the spell master brushes the patient with a willow branch. If the illness is not immediately healed, the ritual is repeated for three successive days for an assured healing.

This instruction for a maṇḍala ritual forms the second part of the long entry (number 33) that first transcribes the "long spell" for Śṛṅkhalā.<sup>154</sup> The transcription is first followed by a brief instruction for its use,<sup>155</sup> which notes that the five *mudrās* in the immediately preceding entries are to be used with this long spell.<sup>156</sup> These *mudrās* (in entries 27–31) have specific healing functions.<sup>157</sup> The instruction that follows the transcribed spell runs as follows:

Each day one is instructed to bathe and put on fresh clothes and to stand before the buddhas and bodhisattvas to make a vow. (The buddhas and bodhisattvas here must have meant images. The deity Śṛṅkhalā is not mentioned by name. The vow is to bring salvation to all sentient beings and also to eliminate one's own suffering.<sup>158</sup>) Having made it, one is to burn *anxi* incense and place flowers, water, buns, fruits, oil, lamps, and other offerings in front of the image. Then for seven days and seven nights one recites the "long spell," from time to time making the five *mudrās* given earlier and repenting. At the end of these days and nights one is to record the number of recitations, which must exceed 100,000. A rosary is used to count. After the count is fulfilled, one chooses the date for initiation. (This ceremony of offerings and recitation of spells is followed by the initiation ceremony, discussed above, which in turn appears to be required before various practices prove efficacious.<sup>159</sup>)

The separate instruction for the initiation ceremony appears to expand the first simpler ritual, performed in front of Buddha and bodhisattva images, into a more complex set of practices that center around an individual Vajra deity and a maṇḍala.

We can see that some of the important elements and the overall scenario of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala initiation ceremony also appear in the rituals devoted to individual deities such as Śṛṅkhalā: inviting the deities to their seats on the maṇḍala, presenting offerings to them (*pūjā*), performing a fire offering (*homa*) and a lustration/initiation (*abhiṣeka*). Missing from these entries, however, is the crucial rite of throwing flowers into the maṇḍala to identify one's personal deity, which characterizes the All-Gathering Maṇḍala. Also the fire offering is directed to one specific deity rather than to the whole Esoteric pantheon, as in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala.

In the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* Śṛṅkhalā is grouped among the Vajra deities. But fully developed maṇḍala initiation ceremonies are not particularly limited to this group. As noted above, a fully developed All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony is tendered to the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara. Maṇḍala rituals culminating in an *abhiṣeka* initiation appear to have been shared among the cults of many deities.

### The Status of Painted Images

In the All-Gathering Maṇḍala deities are represented by their seats. Fascicles 4 and 12 do not mention images in the instructions for this maṇḍala.<sup>160</sup> By contrast, in entries for individual deities, detailed instructions for making (i.e., painting) images appear alongside the instructions for maṇḍala rituals,<sup>161</sup> yet the relationship between the painting and the maṇḍala ritual is not explained. I conjecture that the images and the maṇḍala rituals were two separate yet almost equally powerful concerns, and that the combination of separateness and equivalence informs the arrangement of the instructions for each.

Above, in my hypothetical reconstruction of the evolution of Esoteric rituals, I suggested that images introduced as specific spells became closely linked with particular deities. Even as maṇḍalas were gradually replacing images, in maṇḍalas devoted to individual deities, those deities often appear in the center as images (see Hayagrīva, Ucchuṣma, Marīci, above).

Instructions for painting or constructing images would have been introduced in the context of this complex development. As the rituals came to focus on images, the iconography of the deities would have become standardized, necessitating detailed instructions for painting them. The ritual specialists who performed the ceremony also, at least in theory, painted the images, but as the iconography became increasingly complex, the instruction may also have been directed to professional artists. I suspect that the elaborate instructions for painting in the *Collected Dhāraṇī*

*Sūtras* were meant for artists. Indeed, as we shall see below, the instruction for painting the image of bodhisattva Prajñā[pāramitā] begins by inviting the most skillful painter.<sup>162</sup> The elaborate paintings described in detail in the many instructions in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, in which the spell master also appears, may not always have been the ritual objects that were placed and manipulated on a maṇḍala. Instead, they may have described the culminating vision of the ritual. As the focus of ritual shifted gradually from painted or sculpted images to maṇḍalas, probably the painting instructions and the maṇḍala ritual instructions became increasingly separate and independent essays.

Often (and somewhat awkwardly), however, in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* instructions for painting images are incorporated into maṇḍala initiation rituals and vice versa. Brief ritual instructions regarding maṇḍalas often appear amid instructions for painting images.<sup>163</sup> Often, too, an instruction for the ritual use of the image immediately follows the detailed account of how to paint it.

I propose that the separate essays in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* on how to paint images should be read in the light of the development of ritual and the concomitant development of instruction manuals. Painted images do not have a significant place in the ritual of the All-Gathering Maṇḍalas. Even in instructions regarding individual deities in the first eleven fascicles of the collection, how to paint images appears secondary to how to use a maṇḍala in a specific ritual setting. But paintings would have served to record accepted iconographies and perhaps to stimulate further elaborations on the iconographies of maṇḍala deities.<sup>164</sup> Two sets of instructions, one for painting the deity Prajñāpāramitā and the other for painting the Vajra deity (Amṛta) Kuṇḍalin, illustrate the development of the relationship between images and maṇḍalas and the development of the rituals that employed them both.<sup>165</sup> I summarize these instructions in some detail.

### *Prajñāpāramitā*<sup>166</sup>

On the fifteenth day of the eighth month, one secures a piece of refined silk cloth, two or three *fu* 幅 square.<sup>167</sup> A water maṇḍala is set up inside the monastery, and the Great Prajñā[pāramitā] spell is recited.<sup>168</sup> The silk cloth is blessed 108 times with the spell.

A most skillful painter is summoned and is ordered to take the Eight Precepts. He relieves himself, bathes, and puts on fresh clothes. The ritual master makes the mudrā for protecting body for the painter. Paints are mixed with different kinds of incense. Animal glue is not to be

used. Three times each day, mixed colored flowers are scattered on the maṇḍala and incense is burned. The spell is recited and offerings are made to the bodhisattva (Prajñāpāramitā). At night seven lamps are lit. Then the painter may begin.

The painting depicts a triad, with the bodhisattva Prajñāpāramitā at the center, the god Brahmā to the right, and Śakra to the left. Other heavenly deities are depicted above them. An incense burner and other ritual utensils are depicted below the bodhisattva. On each side of these utensils are arranged eight images of Divine Kings, in different colors and with angry faces. Below them in the right-hand section the spell master is depicted.

Each of these figures is described in great detail, which must have been meant for the painter:

The height of the bodhisattva (Prajñāpāramitā), excluding the heavenly crown, is one *hasta*. The body is white all over; there are three eyes; the bodhisattva looks like a heavenly maiden. She is handsome, has the body marks of a bodhisattva, and sits cross-legged on a lion seat. On the head paint a heavenly crown that emits a winnow-shaped halo. She has pearl rings in her ears and a necklace of seven jewels hanging just below her neck.

Both arms are bent.<sup>169</sup> The left arm is bent at the elbow and placed on the chest. The left hand faces upward, and its five fingers are extended facing upward. Inside the palm a jeweled sūtra box is painted, containing the twelve divisions of sūtras. These sūtras constitute the scriptural storehouse of Prajñāpāramitā. The right arm is lowered to touch the right knee, and five fingers are extended to form the bodhisattva mudrā bestowing fearlessness.<sup>170</sup> The bodhisattva (Prajñāpāramitā) wears a jacket of embroidered transparent silk and a skirt the color of morning mist. Above the skirt a blouse with yellow flowers is painted. A heavenly robe covers all these garments, and from below the bodhisattva's arms the robe whirls upward, as if blown by the wind. On both wrists she wears jeweled bracelets.

The god Brahmā is placed in the section (*xiang* 相) to the bodhisattva's right.<sup>171</sup> His body is white and jeweled rings adorn his ears. He wears a seven-jewel necklace around his neck and stands on a carpet. The right arm is bent toward the shoulder, and the right hand holds a white whisk. The left arm is stretched out, and the left hand holds a water pot. The deity wears a morning mist skirt and a transparent silk jacket; all of the clothing is decorated with embroidery. Brahmā wears a purple monastic robe. A flower crown, also with winnow-shaped halo, is on his head, and his arms and legs are adorned with jeweled circlets. The god Śakra is

placed in the section (*xiang*) to the left, and his features are similar. His right hand holds a white whisk and his left a vajra surrounded by flames.

In the lower right-hand section (*xiang*) the spell master, kneeling, holds an incense burner as an offering. He faces upward, looking at the face of the bodhisattva.

The instruction continues: After the painting is finished, a ritual space is to be established and decorated with hanging banners, umbrellas, and a variety of bells. Fragrant mud is painted on the ground, marking the area of a four-*hasta* water maṇḍala. The bodhisattva (Prajñāpāramitā) image is brought there and placed on the maṇḍala, facing west. I surmise that this image is a separate statue, though it is also possible that it is the large and elaborate painting described earlier. The spell master faces east, presumably in front of the image. After protecting his body and securing the ritual space, he recites the spell, making a variety of offerings to Prajñāpāramitā.<sup>172</sup> The spell may be recited one hundred thousand times. At appropriate times, sins are confessed and the obstructions from all past sins are removed.<sup>173</sup> This ritual is said to prove efficacious in different ways.<sup>174</sup> The instruction on painting the image of Prajñāpāramitā concludes with this observation.

Instructions for painting the images of other deities use the same format, clearly marking different sections (*xiang*) of the painting and describing the features of the deities in great detail. The paintings of Sarvabuddhoṣṇīṣa, Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, Bhṛkuṭi, Mañjuśrī, and Lakṣmī also depict triads of deities.<sup>175</sup> Striking parallels, such as the presence of the spell master in the paintings for Prajñāpāramitā and for Mañjuśrī, suggest that these instructions may have been taken from a common source.<sup>176</sup> This may also help explain the curious fact that no part of the detailed iconography of the painted images appears to relate specifically to any part of the maṇḍala ritual instructions that appear in this collection. Image painting and maṇḍala rituals may have become separate and largely independent traditions by the time the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* was compiled. Images appear frequently in descriptions of maṇḍalas, but iconographic details of these images do not appear to affect their roles in the rituals. In fact, as noted above, images are often said not to be absolutely necessary, and their functions may be accomplished by other means.

Instructions for painting images and the maṇḍala initiation ceremony appear in different configurations in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. I suggest that these configurations reflect the ambivalent relationship between images and maṇḍala. The instructions for painting images and the maṇḍala initiation ceremony are often given as separate essays in ritual



instructions for individual deities, as noted above. In other cases the image painting and maṇḍala ritual are described as separate phases of one continuous ritual. Maṇḍalas, often explicitly termed water maṇḍalas, appear in many of the rituals for painting images, either in the introductory section describing the ritual preparation of the painter or in the account of rituals that follow the completion of the painting.<sup>177</sup>

An instruction for preparing a Buddhōṣṇīṣa image (not specifically identified as a painting) appears early in fascicle 1.<sup>178</sup> In this passage the fifteen-day ritual that immediately follows the preparation of images is a fairly typical maṇḍala ritual. The subject of the painting is Buddhōṣṇīṣa, but Tejorāśi, a specific form of that deity, appears in the vision that confirms the efficacy of the ritual. Here a separate maṇḍala ritual instruction in which Tejoraśi plays a crucial role is somewhat artificially appended to the instruction for preparing Buddhōṣṇīṣa's image.

Image painting is often followed by maṇḍala ritual in entries for other individual deities. A ritual space is secured.<sup>179</sup> The space is decorated with banners and umbrellas.<sup>180</sup> The ground is prepared by digging, removing impure objects, and rubbing it with cow dung.<sup>181</sup> A maṇḍala is described, with the image of the deity at the center. Water pots, lamps, and other offerings, such as food and lamps, are prepared.<sup>182</sup> Deities are called and seated on the maṇḍala.<sup>183</sup> Often a fire offering (*homa*) is performed.<sup>184</sup> In many cases the deity appears in a vision to confirm the efficacy of the ritual.<sup>185</sup>

The relationship between image and ritual may be illustrated further by a detailed discussion of the image of Kuṇḍalin and the initiation ceremony.

### *Kuṇḍalin*

A detailed account of one maṇḍala initiation ritual begins with instructions for painting the image of Kuṇḍalin. In this entry, image worship and the maṇḍala initiation ritual are very closely integrated.<sup>186</sup> The only deity that appears on the maṇḍala is Kuṇḍalin, represented by the painted image.

In the painting the deity has a dark blue body, red eyes, a flame-shaped coiffure with black and red hair, and a furious expression. Two red snakes, each two-headed, entwine against his chest. The positions of the deity's eight arms, their mudrās, and the objects they hold in their hands are described in great detail. The image stands on a lotus flower (figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3). Below his left foot is a demon king. The appearance of this demon is described carefully.



FIG. 3.1. Kuṇḍalin  
(*Kakuzenshō*, fascicle 91, no. 329)

Once this image has been painted, the spell master burns incense in a clean room or a Buddha hall and speaks, presumably expressing the intent to perform a maṇḍala ritual.<sup>187</sup> The ground is prepared: bad soil, bricks, stones, and other impure substances are removed, and clean soil is brought from elsewhere to replace them. Both the spell master and the donor bathe in fragrant water and put on fresh clothes. Next, the ground is painted once with fragrant mud (cow dung mixed with water). The ritual for securing the space is performed and wooden pegs are placed at the four corners. Using the long heart spell, each peg is blessed 108 times. These pegs are never to be removed. After blessed mustard seeds are buried, the ground is once more painted with the mixture of cow dung and fragrant water. The ground is again ritually secured.

The ritual space for the Initiation Rite for Repentance of Sins is then established.<sup>188</sup> Different sizes of space may be chosen. Banners are hung, umbrellas are set up, and treasures are prepared. The ritual space is secured once again. A few flowers and some incense are offered. The Vajra deity, who appears to have been invited earlier into the space, is (temporarily) sent away.<sup>189</sup>

After the deity leaves, a four-*hasta*, five-colored maṇḍala is prepared. Fragrant water is blessed 108 times with the long heart spell of Kuṇḍalin, and then the ground is painted with the water. After the ground dries, a square is marked out using a rope and then decorated with varicolored powders. At the center a lotus-flower seat is prepared, where the image of Kuṇḍalin is placed.<sup>190</sup> Again, I surmise that this image was a statue and not the elaborate painted image described in the preceding part of the instruction.

Vajras are placed on the eastern, southern, and northern sides.<sup>191</sup> At each corner are placed two crossed vajras. The west side is divided into two parts by a gate, on each side of which are placed two vajras. Above (next to?) these vajras, food and drink are offered on ten plates: one at each side and corner, one at the center, and one outside for ghosts and demons. Fifty-two—or, if this number is prohibitive, sixteen lamps are prepared: one lamp at each of the four corners, both inside and outside the hall; two lamps at each of the four gates. At each of the four corners a long sword is stood upright. Inside each gate an arrow is plunged upright into the ground. A mirror, facing upward, occupies the center.<sup>192</sup>

The spell master sits at the western gate, facing east,<sup>193</sup> with a hearth for a fire offering to the south of him. Various foods, drinks, incense, and flowers to be burned in the hearth later are laid on a cloth nearby. After securing the ritual space once more, the spell master blesses the incense burner by reciting a spell and forming a mudrā, picks up the incense



FIG. 3.2. Kuṇḍalin  
(Bessonzakki, fascicle 33, no. 170, Taishō zuzō 3, 376)

burner, burns incense in it, and makes a statement.<sup>194</sup> The ritual here is the same as mentioned earlier; particularly the rules for protecting the body, ousting demons, securing the ritual space, and inviting deities are the same as in the ceremony for the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara.<sup>195</sup> The procedures of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Maṇḍala Ceremony are taken as the norm, perhaps as the best-known example of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala.

Then follows a distinctive rite that combines offering and repentance, closely affiliated with the deity Prajñāpāramitā and described in greater detail in fascicle 3.<sup>196</sup> Using the incense burner, the spell master makes offerings, in order, to Amitābha, to all buddhas, bodhisattvas, Vajra deities, gods, Brahmā, Śakra, and the Four Heavenly Kings, first to the east and then in each of the Ten Directions.<sup>197</sup> Then the spell master puts down the incense burner, respectfully bows to the deities three times, and scatters flowers everywhere. The spell master circumambulates (around the maṇḍala?) and burns the ghee, honey, and other food and drink in the hearth.

If incense, flowers, food, and drink are not available, the spell master may form the mudrā for “all offerings” as a substitute.<sup>198</sup> After the spell for this mudrā is pronounced, the spell master makes the Prajñāpāramitā mudrā and places his hands on his heart.<sup>199</sup> He confesses his sins aloud, sits correctly and unmoving, and repeats a verse praising the Buddha.<sup>200</sup> Thereafter, he makes a vow, expressing the wish to hear the Mahāyāna teaching and the secret dhāraṇīs and mudrās; to avoid doing evil deeds, hearing evil words, and so on; and at the time of death to be reborn in one of the Buddha realms in the Ten Directions and to see the Buddha; furthermore, he wishes this for all sentient beings.<sup>201</sup> Having made the vow, he recites the long spell 1,008 times.<sup>202</sup> Then, offerings are made to the deities, using the mudrās that are appropriate for the categories of deities to whom the offerings are presented.<sup>203</sup>

An instruction for a daily practice, presumably during the days of the ceremony, follows: each morning after having washed his hands and cleaned his teeth with toothpicks, the practitioner must recite the short heart spell over water in his cupped hand.<sup>204</sup> Having recited the spell seven times, he splashes the water to the east. The practitioner repeats this blessing and splashing three times, after which he recites the spell seven times over clean water in his cupped hand and then sprinkles the water over his head. Next, he bathes. If he cannot bathe, sprinkling suffices for purification. The practitioner enters the chamber, ritually protects his body, and makes offerings in the way described above. Again it is noted that if he cannot afford food and drink for offering every day,





FIG. 3.3. Kuṇḍalin  
(Bessonzakki, fascicle 33, no. 171, Taishō zuzō 3, 377)

mudrās will suffice. The practitioner should make offerings and confess his sins for one period of worship each night; he should recite spells for three periods of worship during the day.

The instruction for an *abhiṣeka* rite follows; this is no longer a part of the Prajñāpāramitā rite and does not appear in fascicle 3. After having recited the spell one million times, the practitioner removes the maṇḍala and prepares the ground afresh with mud. He decorates it as before and performs the rite of offering for one night. Then he takes the water pot from the center of the maṇḍala and prepares a separate small maṇḍala outside the western gate. In the middle of this he places a chair, seats the candidate for initiation on it, and pours water over the candidate's head. During this *abhiṣeka* the candidate makes a vow. After the *abhiṣeka* the ritual specialist puts on fresh clothes and goes back to the ritual space, and the proper mudrā sends the invited deities back one by one.<sup>205</sup> With this, the candidate is said to receive the protection of Kuṇḍalin, and the rituals he performs will have miraculous efficacy.<sup>206</sup> A series of instructions for healing rituals follows.

In this extensive instruction, an elaborate guide to painting the image of Kuṇḍalin is incorporated into the procedures of a well-developed maṇḍala initiation ceremony. The core rite of making offerings to deities and performing repentance in front of them is taken from an independent rite for the deity Prajñāpāramitā. Another rite, of *abhiṣeka* initiation, is then appended. The content of the painting and the elaborate ritual have very little in common, and I am inclined to read these passages as illustrating a larger development in which concerns with iconography and painted images become marginalized as maṇḍala rituals evolve into elaborate initiation ceremonies. The sequential development of maṇḍala rituals (as I have attempted to work it out) thus appears to have shaped the treatment of images in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. This eventually results in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala as a comprehensive synthesis of Esoteric rituals.

## 4. THE FORMATION OF THE ALL-GATHERING CEREMONY

In this chapter I first turn to the second of the two guiding questions put forth in chapter 3 and examine how the account of the All-Gathering Ceremony relates to the rich and diverse accounts of maṇḍala initiation rituals for individual deities assembled earlier in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. Then in the second section I broaden the scope of investigation and re-examine the All-Gathering Ceremony in the larger context of medieval and post-Vedic ritual developments in India.

### THE EVOLUTION OF THE ALL-GATHERING MAṆḌALA CEREMONY (FASCICLES 4 AND 12 OF THE *COLLECTED DHĀRAṆĪ SŪTRAS*)

### *THE BACKGROUND OF OTHER MAṆḌALA INITIATION CEREMONIES*

As noted above, many elements of the initiation ceremony that employed the All-Gathering Maṇḍala appear to have been based on familiar rituals



for various maṇḍalas devoted to individual deities. A few examples can illustrate this in greater—and hence more convincing—detail.<sup>1</sup>

In the instruction for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony, on the first day, the ground on which the maṇḍala is to be constructed is dug to a specified depth and impure objects in the soil are removed.<sup>2</sup> The practice of digging and removing impure objects from the site of the maṇḍala is mentioned briefly in the entry for Bhaiṣajyaguru Vaidūryaprabha Buddha in fascicle 2 and in the instruction given by the Sixteen Yakṣas in the entry for Prajñāpāramitā.<sup>3</sup> It also is mentioned in the entry for Kuṇḍalin.<sup>4</sup>

On the second day of preparation for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony, a jar of fragrant mud is prepared and the ground is painted with it.<sup>5</sup> In the instruction in fascicle 4, this is the principal activity for days 2 and 3.<sup>6</sup> Covering the ritual space with mud, or a mixture of cow dung and water, was crucial to preparing the ground for the construction of maṇḍalas. This practice is meticulously noted in numerous instructions for a variety of maṇḍalas in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*—even in relatively short instructions.<sup>7</sup>

On day 3, after the ground has been painted afresh with mud, the outline of the maṇḍala is drawn, using a rope to measure. Crucial points of the outline are marked with white powder, and at each of these points a small hole is dug and Seven Jewels and Five Grains are buried in it.<sup>8</sup> The practice of burying a bag containing Five Grains and Seven Jewels also appears in a number of accounts of maṇḍalas intended for individual deities. The instructions in fascicle 1 for the Buddhōṣṇīṣa maṇḍala mention burying these items, and the practice is presented as a familiar one (“as before”).<sup>9</sup> In the maṇḍala practice for Prajñāpāramitā, Seven Jewels and Five Grains are buried at the center of the maṇḍala at a depth of one hand (*vitasti*).<sup>10</sup>

The entries for Amitābha and Kuṇḍalin call for placing pegs made of *khadira* (acacia) wood at the four corners.<sup>11</sup> Once hammered into the ground, these pegs are never to be removed (see above in Kuṇḍalin entry). The ritualist must then bury white mustard seeds, to a depth of one hand, at the center and four corners of the maṇḍala.<sup>12</sup>

For day 5, fascicle 12 describes in detail the elaborate process of distinguishing different areas of the maṇḍala.<sup>13</sup> The instruction on measuring and marking sections with a rope and colored powder appears also in the entries on specific deities, for example, in the detailed instruction for the eight-*hasta* Buddhōṣṇīṣa maṇḍala in fascicle 1.<sup>14</sup> This practice is also briefly mentioned in the instructions for Prajñāpāramitā’s and Kuṇḍalin’s maṇḍalas.<sup>15</sup> The elaborate procedure described in detail for the two All-Gathering Maṇḍalas thus appears to have borrowed or expanded upon existing practices for other types of maṇḍalas.

The instruction for day 6 begins by describing how spell strings are prepared.<sup>16</sup> While reciting the Hayagrīva spell, five colored strings are knotted together, forming fifty-four or fifty-five knots, and a piece of silk wrapped around Seven Jewels and Five Grains is attached. Making carefully numbered knots on a string as one recites spells is a practice with deep roots. As we saw above, the recitation of dhāraṇīs attributed to the Seven Past Buddhas and eight bodhisattvas mentions this practice in considerable detail.

The seven-day, seven-night All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony culminates in a sequence of rites during the seventh night. After the principal maṇḍala is carefully arranged and offerings are made to the deities that have been invited to their seats on it, the blindfolded candidates throw flowers into the maṇḍala, and according to the deity on which his flower lands, each candidate receives *abhiṣeka* at a separate but nearby maṇḍala, sitting on a chair placed there for this purpose. A fire offering then follows.

Except for the key rite of flower throwing, this All-Gathering Maṇḍala Initiation Ceremony follows the procedure of maṇḍala initiation ceremonies devoted to individual deities, as exemplified by the initiation ritual under the auspices of the Vajra deity Śṛṅkhalā, summarized above.<sup>17</sup> Though Śṛṅkhalā's ceremony is small in scale, using a four-*hasta*, three-color maṇḍala, it is remarkably similar to the more complex ritual for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala. In both ceremonies, the maṇḍala is set up and water pots, their mouths stopped with twigs from different trees and a silk cloth pendent from their necks, are placed at the center and at each of the four corners;<sup>18</sup> west of the maṇḍala, a hearth is set up,<sup>19</sup> and there the spell master performs the fire offering. *Abhiṣeka* comes later on a separate maṇḍala where a chair has been placed for the candidate;<sup>20</sup> as the water is poured over the head, the candidate makes a silent vow to rescue and safeguard all sentient beings and to end his own suffering.<sup>21</sup> In broad outline, the initiation ritual in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony thus appears to have been taken from the tradition of maṇḍala initiation rituals associated with individual deities. In those earlier rituals, though, where only one deity is present, the rite of throwing the flower onto the maṇḍala would be meaningless; likewise, the fire offering is made to the only deity present.

The description of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala in fascicle 12 (summarized in the appendix) also draws in other ways on the material in the first eleven fascicles. At various points, spells associated with individual deities are recited. These spells are described in greater detail in fascicles 1–11, suggesting that the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony borrowed them from rituals in which those deities play sole or prominent roles. The same

rite of securing the ritual space that is associated with Amṛta Kuṇḍalin occurs repeatedly in the instruction for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala.

On the first day, after declaring his intention to perform the seven-day, seven-night ceremony at the selected site, the *ācārya* secures the ground, using Kuṇḍalin's rite. The mudrās and spells for this rite are said explicitly to have been described in the section for Kuṇḍalin. This, I believe, refers to the three entries in the section for this deity in fascicle 8; these present the mudrās and spells used to secure the ritual space, on the ground (entry 6), in the four directions (entry 7), and in the empty space (entry 8).<sup>22</sup> The same set of mudrās and mantras also appears in fascicle 3, as a part of the maṇḍala ritual for Prajñāpāramitā.<sup>23</sup>

The passage in entry 8, fascicle 8 mentions the application of these mudrās and spells in the "great maṇḍala gathering," which I take to mean the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony.<sup>24</sup> According to this passage, the threefold rites in which the spells are repeated seven times are performed seven times in the All-Gathering Ceremony: 1) in choosing the site; 2) when the ground is prepared; 3) when a framed structure is set up and curtains, umbrellas, and bells are hung and some incense and flowers are offered; 4) when the colored powders are used to mark different sections of the maṇḍala; 5) when the lamps are placed on the maṇḍala; 6) when water pots and ritual offerings such as flowers, incense, prepared food and drink, ghee, honey, sesame, and rice are placed inside the ritual space; 7) just before the deities are invited into the maṇḍala. The expression used consistently for all these occasions implies that the site is marked and evil spirits and demons have been banished from it.<sup>25</sup> This list of the junctures at which the ritual space is secured corresponds closely with what has been meticulously indicated in the instructions in fascicles 4 and 12.<sup>26</sup> Performing Kuṇḍalin's rite in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony appears to have been a fairly well-established practice.

Hayagrīva's mudrā and spell are mentioned near the beginning of the ritual instructions in fascicle 12.<sup>27</sup> The first entry in the Hayagrīva rituals (fascicle 6) presents this mudrā and spell as protection for one's body in the ritual, marking off and securing the ritual space.<sup>28</sup> In the All-Gathering ritual, having confirmed the candidates' wish to be initiated in a ritualized exchange, the *ācārya* blesses some water seven times, using Hayagrīva's mudrā and spell. The spell attributed to Hayagrīva appears again, transcribed slightly differently, in the Hayagrīva section.<sup>29</sup> The slight difference must reflect transcription on two separate occasions. The mudrā for Prajñāpāramitā's expiation of sins, described in entry 11 of the section for this deity, is also mentioned in the instruction for the All-Gathering Ceremony.<sup>30</sup>

These examples indicate that the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony, both in its basic outline and in its use of mudrās and spells, evolved out of a long tradition of maṇḍala initiation rituals devoted to individual deities. Though the logic of Atikūṭa's collection becomes more intelligible if we highlight the distinctive character of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala and the particular way it differs from maṇḍalas devoted to individual deities, the contents of the collection also enable us to see its close relationship with them.

### THE ROLE OF THE ELEVEN-FACED AVALOKITEŚVARA

As noted above, the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* is organized around the idea and nature of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony, a detailed instruction for which appears in fascicle 12, the concluding section of the collection. It is therefore striking that another, fairly detailed account of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala appears in fascicle 4, in the entry for an individual deity, the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara. This shorter account basically follows the more detailed account in fascicle 12, though some differences suggest that the two accounts may represent two somewhat distinct traditions of a more widely known ceremony.<sup>31</sup>

In fascicle 12 the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara is said to have presented the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony to the Buddha. This more extensive account also *suggests* that Avalokiteśvara rather than Tejorāśi might have been the central deity of the maṇḍala.<sup>32</sup> In the instructions for the seventh night, at the crucial moment when the core ritual begins, a revealing statement appears. The *ācārya* enters the building, circumambulates the maṇḍala, and bows three times. Then, at the western gate of the maṇḍala, he is to recite Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara's spell 108 times. *But*: if another Buddha should be chosen as the central deity, then that Buddha's own spell is to be substituted.<sup>33</sup> This qualification appears to *assume* that the central deity of this 12-*hasta* maṇḍala is most likely to be the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara. But fascicle 4 *states unequivocally* that it is the central deity of this instruction. We may have here a glimpse of an earlier version of the ritual, before the identity of the central deity was switched from the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara to Tejorāśi.

In the instructions for the *homa* (fire offering), which conclude the main part of the ceremony, another revealing statement appears: the spell for the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara is to be used for presenting fire offerings to the king, down through to teachers, parents, all sentient be-

ings in the six realms of existence, and finally the spell master himself.<sup>34</sup> To each deity represented on the maṇḍala, a specific spell given in earlier parts of the text is to be used in this concluding fire offering. But no specific spell is known for each of the human beings who appears in the above list, so for them the spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara is recited. It must have enjoyed a special status among the spells for maṇḍala deities. Again, Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara appears to be understood as the default central deity.<sup>35</sup>

Though in fascicle 12 the central deity for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala is formally identified as Tejorāśi (or another deity from an appropriate category), these passages describing details of the ritual suggest that it is in fact Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara who is paramount throughout the entire ceremony, perhaps as a sort of *eminence grise*. At some point in its evolution the All-Gathering Maṇḍala in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* must have been constructed around this figure.

That Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara was prominent in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony is not entirely unexpected. As noted in some detail above, there existed a well-established tradition of spells attributed to the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, and ritual practices accompanying these spells can be documented in a series of Chinese translations dating from the sixth to eighth century.<sup>36</sup> This textual tradition first appears fully spelled out in a translation by Yaśogupta, *The Sūtra of the Divine Spell of Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara*, dated circa 570.<sup>37</sup> An account of the origin and benefits of the spell is followed by the text of the root spell, as well as the texts of other spells to be used at other points in the ritual. Concluding the sūtra are detailed instructions for producing the image and for the ritual to be performed before it. In the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle 4, Atikūṭa reshaped Yaśogupta's translation around an account of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony. Taken intact and word for word from Yaśogupta's translation are the introductory narrative and the detailed account of image worship, but the spells have been incorporated into different parts of fascicle 4. Atikūṭa, compiler of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, being familiar with the tradition of the spell and ritual of Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, organized his instructions for the new All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony around the older practice.<sup>38</sup>

We must keep in mind, however, that Yaśogupta's version of the ritual of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara speaks only of this deity; Yaśogupta knew nothing of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala. It must have been introduced into fascicle 4 of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* from some other source; its instructions appear as a separate extended section within

the fascicle, where they are referred to as the Seven-Day Maṇḍala Ceremony.<sup>39</sup> In theory, an account of an All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony with the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara as the central deity must have existed separate from Yaśogupta's translation.<sup>40</sup> Such an account would have contained in broad outline the more detailed instructions we find in fascicle 12, but the two would also have diverged significantly at several important points, as noted above. Atikūṭa, who produced the account of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara rituals in fascicle 4 of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, would have taken this earlier account of an All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony and synthesized it with the *Sūtra of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara's* spell that had been translated by Yaśogupta.

To summarize: if, as suggested above, the fuller account of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle 12, also originally named the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara as its central deity, then given the differences between this account and the account in fascicle 4, an instruction on the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony with Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara as its central deity must have existed in more than one version. The All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony first appeared as a popular ritual associated with Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara. By the time the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* was compiled, with the fascicle 12 version as its principal scriptural source, this ceremony, for reasons still unclear, had been separated from that deity.

Though the central deity of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala is identified as Tejorāśi or another deity from the qualified categories listed in fascicle 12, a close reading of the instruction suggests that in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara appears to be the principal figure in the entire ceremony, even if he is not named as the central deity. At some point in its evolution, before becoming a fundamentally different kind of maṇḍala in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, the All-Gathering Maṇḍala appears to have been closely associated with Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara.<sup>41</sup>

The scenario of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony, the first synthesis in the Esoteric ritual tradition, proved to be profoundly influential. The second chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* describes an elaborate maṇḍala initiation ceremony.<sup>42</sup> Although visualization plays an important role, in its external aspects this ceremony is remarkably similar to Atikūṭa's All-Gathering Ceremony. But here the recipient of the Buddha's instruction is identified as a Vajra deity, namely "Vajradhara, Lord of Mysteries." In the initiation ceremony described in *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra*, this Vajra deity had the position held in the earlier ritual by Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, a change consistent with

the broad development in which Avalokiteśvara deities appear gradually to have been supplanted by Vajra deities.

The first part of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, translated by Amoghavajra circa 754, first describes how the deities on the Vajradhātu maṇḍala (Vajra Realm) are generated as Vairocana enters into different states of *samādhi*.<sup>43</sup> Then it briefly describes preparation of the physical maṇḍala, and gives an extended account of the initiation ceremony in which each of the blindfolded candidates throws a flower into the maṇḍala and then is initiated by the act of the *ācārya* pouring water over his head.<sup>44</sup> Vairocana is said to have “received the further shore of the Dharma-knowledge of Avalokiteśvara of All the Tathāgatas.”<sup>45</sup> Yet the emphasis in this version of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony has decisively shifted from Avalokiteśvara to Vajra deities. All the deities in this Vajradhātu maṇḍala are now identified as Vajra deities.

The maṇḍala initiation ceremonies in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* and the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* represent later stages in the evolution of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony.<sup>46</sup> The central deity is now Vairocana, and Vajra deities dominate the ritual. The ritual is also reshaped extensively by the introduction of visualization. I shall return to these later developments in part III below. The *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* describes an earlier synthesis of this ritual tradition and comprises a rich body of material that helps explain how that new, Vajra-dominated ritual tradition came into being.

## THE ALL-GATHERING CEREMONY AND THE POST-VEDIC RITUAL CULTURE

I shall now address the larger question of the place of the Buddhist All-Gathering Ceremony in medieval Indian ritual culture. Buddhism disappeared from India, and very little of Indian Esoteric Buddhist sources for the relevant period—preceding the compilation of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*—is preserved in Indic languages. Indian Esoteric Buddhism of this earlier period cannot be reconstructed on the basis of the fragmentary sources in Indic languages, but a large body of non-Buddhist ritual instructions is preserved in Sanskrit. This literature enables us to situate the account of the All-Gathering Ceremony preserved in Chinese in its original Indian context.

There is a new and rapidly growing body of scholarship on post-Vedic ritual innovations, particularly the increasing role of a distinct category of *śānti* or appeasement rituals. This ritual culture is recorded in a group



of texts known as *Gṛhyasūtrapariśiṣṭas*, from the first millennium C.E. These rituals also appear in the famous *Bṛhatsamhitā* by Virāhamihira, dated to the sixth century; more elaborate versions appear in later Purāṇic literature. Much of the later Hindu ritual culture can be traced to this development. My argument here is that the ritual outline of the All-Gathering Ceremony is clearly modeled after the paradigm of *śānti* rituals, and some details of the complex instructions in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* become more intelligible if read against this background.

I shall first compare the basic ritual outline of the All-Gathering Ceremony to the ritual of the royal consecration called Puṣyasnāna.<sup>47</sup> An informative description of this ritual appears in the sixth-century *Bṛhatsamhitā* by Virāhamihira, an astrologist and specialist in omens. This paradigm is followed by later, more detailed accounts in Puraṇic sources.<sup>48</sup> It is also followed, with significant modifications, in the Esoteric Buddhist All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony.

Specialists on post-Vedic Indian rituals interpret the Puṣyasnāna ceremony in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* as incorporating many of the post-Vedic ritual innovations that are recorded in the *Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa* literature. In the second part of this investigation I turn to these, specifically rituals of appeasement or *śānti* rituals, and compare some of their details with what we find in the All-Gathering Ceremony. I focus on two examples. First, the All-Gathering Ceremony begins with an instruction for building a structure to cover its main maṇḍala. This instruction, though detailed, is in many ways confusing. I propose that this structure is a version of the ritual hut called *maṇḍapa* in post-Vedic rituals. A passage describing it in the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* enables us to make better sense of this instruction in the All-Gathering Ceremony. My second example focuses on the distinctive rite of marking space that occurs repeatedly in the course of the All-Gathering Ceremony. Invoking the deity Kuṇḍalin, the space-marking ritual is organized around a general schema of protecting the earth, the four directions, and the sky above. I suggest that this threefold scheme is borrowed from the Atharvavedan appeasement (*śānti*) rituals that played such a central role in post-Vedic ritual innovations.

### THE RITUAL OUTLINE OF THE ALL-GATHERING AND PUṢYASNĀNA CEREMONIES

The Puṣyasnāna and the All-Gathering Ceremony are two different rituals, from different traditions, performed in very different settings and



for different purposes. Nevertheless, a similar sequence and several strikingly similar ideas appear in both. They seem to share a common ritual scenario and culture, which they have adapted to their respective settings and purposes.

In this basic scenario a large number of deities, a sort of pantheon, is called to a carefully prepared altar or a maṇḍala, and offerings are presented to them.<sup>49</sup> The candidate for consecration or initiation receives an *abhiṣeka*, a sprinkling or bath, with carefully prepared water. A fire offering follows, the deities are dismissed, and the ritual specialists are rewarded.

The Puṣyasnāna is performed on a variety of occasions for different purposes. It is most effective if performed at the time the moon enters the constellation Puṣya. This brings about happiness, fame, and increased wealth.<sup>50</sup> It is also performed when disasters and confusion occur in a kingdom, or when bad astronomical omens are observed, such as a lunar or solar eclipse, a comet, or invasion of planets into constellations.<sup>51</sup> The ceremony is also performed at the time of the coronation of a king who aspires to reign over an empire or desires the birth of a son.<sup>52</sup> In contrast, the Buddhist All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony is performed to initiate *ācāryas*, or ritual specialists, and the best time for it is said to be on the first day of the third, ninth, or twelfth month.<sup>53</sup>

I reconstruct the outline of the Puṣyasnāna Ceremony in *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, 47 as follows.<sup>54</sup>

- (i) Selecting the site
  - a. Selecting the site, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, 47: 4–17 (list of possible sites, 47: 4–15; conditions of the ground, 47: 16–19)
  - b. The declaration of the intention to hold the ceremony, 47: 18–22 (during the previous night, by the astrologer, the minister, and the priest; offerings)
  - c. Dream divination, 47: 22
- (ii) Construction of the maṇḍala
  - d. Presentation of offerings at daybreak, 47: 23
  - e. Drawing the maṇḍala, 47: 24–26
  - f. Coloring and offering to maṇḍala deities, 47: 27–33
  - g. Fire offering at the western altar, 47: 34–36
- (iii) Bathing ceremony
  - h. Preparing water pots, 47: 37–42
  - i. Preparing the royal seat, 47: 43–47
  - j. The king sits on the throne, etc., 47: 46–48
  - k. *Abhiṣeka* with ghee, 47: 50–53
  - l. *Abhiṣeka* with water, 47: 54–74

- (iv) Fire Offering (*homa*) at the second (southern?) altar (including the divination of fire), 47: 75–78
- (v) Dismissing the deities, 47: 79
- (vi) The king offers gifts to the astrologer and the priest, 47: 80–81.

The All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony lasts for seven days. The main part is devoted to the construction of the maṇḍala and the preparation of the candidates, corresponding to section (i) in the outline of the Puṣyasnāna ceremony summarized above. The core initiation ritual consists of an *abhiṣeka* rite and fire offering and takes place at night. This corresponds to sections (ii) through (vi) in the Puṣyasnāna ceremony.

The *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle 12, spells out the ritual activities for each day as follows.<sup>55</sup>

- Day 1: Announcing the location to the deities, ritually marking and protecting the location, and preparing the ground.
- Day 2: Adorning of the Outer Structure of the ritual space. Paired images of supernatural kings are placed at the four gates, and thirty-six flags are used to decorate the structure.
- Day 3: Measuring the ground of the ritual space with a rope; digging small holes and burying a bag containing Seven Jewels and Five Grains in each hole.
- Day 4: The Adorning of the Upper Part; setting two two-*hasta* white maṇḍalas.
- Day 5: Drawing the outline of the maṇḍala on the ground, measuring distances with a rope, and marking the lines that separate sections and the doors. This is done with water into which powder has been placed.
- Day 6: Testing the qualifications of the candidates, fire offering, coloring sections of the maṇḍala, and setting up the seats of the deities.
- Day 7, before sunset: Preparation of ritual objects and offerings for the ceremony.
- Day 7, after sunset: Placing water pots and offerings on the maṇḍala; bringing candidates to the ritual space, inviting the deities into the maṇḍala, flower-throwing rite, *abhiṣeka* initiation, *homa*, concluding rites.

Let us now turn to a closer examination of some details. Both the similarities and the differences are striking.

### The Selection of the Site

The selection of the site is described in much greater detail in the instructions for the Puṣyasnāna Ceremony. Here the ceremony is assumed to take place either outdoors or in a building.<sup>56</sup> In the shorter instruction for the All-Gathering Ceremony in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle

4, the maṇḍala is constructed outdoors. But the more detailed instruction in fascicle 12 speaks of large monastic buildings as the site, adding that the ceremony could also be performed outdoors.<sup>57</sup>

The ground suitable for the Puṣyasnāna Ceremony is described carefully in *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (47: 16–19): “free from ashes, charcoal, bones, sandy mud, husk, hair, pits, burrows of crabs as well as from burrow-dwelling animals, holes of porcupines and rats, and ant-hills” (16).<sup>58</sup> Similarly, in the instruction for the All-Gathering Ceremony, the ground is to be dug, and undesirable matter, such as bones, hair, ashes, bricks, pebbles, tree roots, and chaff, are to be removed.<sup>59</sup>

### Preparatory Rituals on the Previous Night

According to the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, during the night, the astrologer, the minister, and the sacrificial priest leave the city and make food offerings to deities in the eastern, northern, or northeastern direction. The priest invites the deities to partake of the offerings, adding that they will go back “after receiving worship and bestowing peace and prosperity on the king.”<sup>60</sup> The astrologer, minister, and priest are to spend the night in the same place and receive auspicious or inauspicious omens in dreams. This ritual serves to announce to the deities that a ceremony is to be performed.

In the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony the *ācārya* announces the intention to perform the ceremony to various deities on more than one occasion. At the beginning of the ceremony, on day 1, the *ācārya*, after confirming the willingness of the candidates to receive the initiation, invites deities to the chosen location and requests them to serve as witnesses. Evil demons are expelled from the marked ritual space.<sup>61</sup>

After sunset on day 6 the *ācārya* enters the ritual space and invites the deities to their seats in the appropriate sections of the maṇḍala. At this point offerings of flowers and food are presented and sixteen lamps are lit.<sup>62</sup> Then the *ācārya* calls the candidates to the ritual space and lines them up at the western gate. After performing protective rites, the *ācārya* asks the candidates to confirm their willingness to be initiated.<sup>63</sup> A willow branch is given to each candidate; they are to chew one end of it and then throw it in front of them. The direction in which the branch falls determines whether the ceremony is auspicious or not for the candidate. After this rite the *ācārya* tells the candidates to go back to their chambers to sleep. They are to remember but not to tell others their dreams.<sup>64</sup> The *ācārya* then returns to the main ritual space (maṇḍala) and addresses the deities, requesting them to come back on the next day and confirm the efficacy of the initiation.<sup>65</sup>

### Setting up the *Maṇḍala*

The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*'s summary of the Puṣyasnāna Ceremony first speaks of arranging named deities in their proper locations on the maṇḍala, and coloring these locations.<sup>66</sup> It then discusses appropriate offerings. Offerings are identified in general as to the maṇḍala as a whole and more specifically as to particular types of deities.<sup>67</sup> A fire offering is presented at the hearth set up to the west of the maṇḍala.<sup>68</sup>

In the account of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony in *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle 12, the preparation of the maṇḍala is described in two stages: on day 5 the outline and sections of the maṇḍala are determined and marked with a rope and colored powder.<sup>69</sup> On the evening of day 6, having sent the candidates back to their chambers with the instruction to remember their dreams, the *ācārya* enters the ritual space and announces to the deities that the candidates will present offerings (that is, they will perform the initiation ceremony).<sup>70</sup> Then the *ācārya* and two or three of his assistants cover different sections in white, yellow, red, green, and black powder.<sup>71</sup> A detailed instruction on the placement of the seats of the maṇḍala deities follows.<sup>72</sup> A large lotus flower is to be marked at the center of the maṇḍala.<sup>73</sup>

### Preparation of Water Pots

The instruction for the preparation of the maṇḍala in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* concludes by noting that a fire altar is to be set up to the west or to the south of the maṇḍala. Then carefully prepared water pots are to be placed at the four corners (37–38). Their mouths are stopped with juicy sprouts and fruits; a white string is attached to the neck. The pots are filled with water containing herbs prescribed for bathing and with gems.<sup>74</sup>

The instruction for the All-Gathering Ceremony in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle 12, describes the preparation of the water pots used in the *abhiṣeka* rite with considerable care. On the morning of day 7 the *ācārya* fills pots made of gold and silver with water, adding the Five Grains, incense, and the Seven Jewels wrapped in silk.<sup>75</sup> The mouth of each pot is stopped with leafy branches of willow, bamboo, pear, and cedar; only one end of the string that closes each silk bag hangs out of the pot. A pomegranate is placed inside the stopper, and a three-*chi* long piece of raw silk is attached to the branches and leaves stopping the mouth of each pot.<sup>76</sup>

The Five Grains and the Seven Jewels wrapped in silk cloth are attached to “spell cords.” Early on day 6 the *ācārya* puts together five

colored threads and knots them fifty-four times, uttering Hayagrīva's spell as he makes each knot.<sup>77</sup> A bag of silk containing Seven Jewels and Five Grains is attached to the string with five colored threads. The same number of bags as the number of the candidates is prepared.<sup>78</sup>

Just before sunset on day 7 the *ācārya* picks up an incense burner and enters the ritual space.<sup>79</sup> He circumambulates it once and pays respect three times. Setting down the incense burner, he picks up a golden water pot and at the western gate of the maṇḍala kneels, concentrates his mind, and recites the spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara 108 times.<sup>80</sup> Entering the maṇḍala, the *ācārya* places that water pot at the seat of the central deity, then one pot at each of the four corners of the inner hall of the maṇḍala and one at the midpoint of the east side.<sup>81</sup> An assisting disciple hands him the pots, one at a time. They also place one pot at each of the four corners and the east, south, and north gates of the outer hall. At the western gate, one pot is placed on both sides. A five-colored string is placed on a plate atop the branches on the water pot at the western gate. This string is stretched to encircle the ritual space.

As the *abhiṣeka* rite begins, the *ācārya* takes the water pot placed at the central seat of the maṇḍala and goes to the inner courtyard, where a separate *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala has been set up. The *ācārya* enters that maṇḍala through its western gate to stand next to the chair. He forms the *abhiṣeka* mudrā, described here, and then picks up the water pot. Raising it above his head and reciting the heart spell seven times, he pours the water over his own head.<sup>82</sup> Then the *ācārya* calls the candidates one by one into the main maṇḍala. Taking another water pot, he exits the building and goes to the *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala, entering it from its west gate. The *abhiṣeka* is performed with this water pot and the sequence is repeated for each candidate.<sup>83</sup> The bag of jewels inside the pot, attached to a spell cord, is never to leave the body of the initiated disciple. I describe the *abhiṣeka* in the next section.

### *Abhiṣeka*

In the *Brhatsamhitā* the *abhiṣeka* is performed twice, first with pots filled with ghee and then with pots of water. In the latter a large number, or a pantheon, of deities, is named, each granting *abhiṣeka*, as its mantra is recited.<sup>84</sup> The king receives a separate *abhiṣeka* from each deity who has been summoned.

In the All-Gathering Ceremony this part takes a different form in accordance with its specific purpose. In the preceding ceremony of throwing a flower into the maṇḍala, each candidate had established a

bond with a specific deity. The candidate is then initiated as an *ācārya* who specializes in the rituals for that deity. These rites are described as follows:

Taking yellow cloth, the *ācārya* covers the eyes of the first (“oldest”) candidate. He forms the hands of the candidate into the mudrā of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara’s *samādhi*.<sup>85</sup> With his hand on the candidate’s head, the *ācārya* guides the candidate into the building. They both stand facing the maṇḍala at its western gate, the *ācārya* to the north and the candidate to the south. The *ācārya* utters the spell of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara’s *samādhi* seven times,<sup>86</sup> tells the candidate to throw the flower in his hand onto the maṇḍala,<sup>87</sup> then removes the silk blindfold and lets the candidate see on which seat his flower has landed. After the candidate has paid respect to that deity three times, the *ācārya* says, “The flower you threw fell at the seat of such and such buddha, or Prajñāpararamitā, or bodhisattva, Vajra deity, or heavenly deity. Remember well and do not forget where it fell.”<sup>88</sup>

When the *abhiṣeka* rite is performed, the *ācārya* forms the mudrā for the rite, takes the water pot, and asks the candidate on which deity’s seat his flower fell.<sup>89</sup> The candidate forms the mudrā appropriate to that deity, first holding the mudrā over his head and then raising his hands higher. With the mudrā formed, a flower is placed inside his palm, and as the *ācārya* recites the deity’s spell, he pours water over the candidate’s head (“*abhiṣeka*”).<sup>90</sup>

### After the *Abhiṣeka* Ceremony

In the Puṣyasnāna Ceremony the fire offering that follows is performed at the second altar. The court priest (*purohita*) offers firewood, sesame seeds, and ghee into the fire with verses praising Rudra, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Nārāyaṇa, and Vāyu. The astrologer reads the signs in the flames of the fire. Then the court priest dismisses the deities, requesting them to bring success and to return again. The king bestows ample gifts on the court priest and the astrologer. Those who are learned in scriptures and others also receive gifts. Safety is guaranteed to people, animals in slaughterhouses are released, and prisoners are freed (75–81).

In the instruction for All-Gathering Ceremony in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle 12, the *abhiṣeka* rite is also immediately followed by a fire offering (*homa*). The *ācārya* sits at the western gate of the maṇḍala, near the hearth. He lights the firewood inside the hearth, forms the mudrā for the fire god, and recites the spell, calling the deity into the hearth. Incense, flowers, ghee, honey, food and drink, sesame, and so forth are

burned; for each, the spell is recited seven times. Silently, the *ācārya* notes, “The fire god comes out and sits by the hearth. I will now make offerings to the buddhas, Prajñāpāramitā, bodhisattvas, and so on.”<sup>91</sup>

The instruction in fascicle 12 then describes inviting Hayagrīva.<sup>92</sup> His mudrā is formed and his spell recited, and with the lotus-flower mudrā he is invited to sit inside the hearth (on the prepared lotus-flower seat inside the hearth?). The *ācārya*, holding a vajra, calls the initiates one by one. Each in turn comes to the right side of the *ācārya*, pays respect, and kneels, holding the palms together. The initiate holds the head of the vajra in his hands, and the *ācārya* with his right hand holds the vajra in the initiate’s hand and with his left hand throws sesame seeds into the fire, reciting the heart spell of Hayagrīva.<sup>93</sup> Reciting the spell twenty-one times, the *ācārya* burns ghee. Having made the fire offering, the *ācārya* tells the initiate to pay respects, then sends him back to his original seat. When all the initiate have finished this rite, the *ācārya* makes the mudrā of Hayagrīva, recites the heart spell, and sends Hayagrīva to his original seat.

The central deity, and all the deities in the inner hall, are invited in the same way; incense, flowers, sesame seeds, ghee, honey, milk, curd, drink, fruits, and oil are offered in the fire, then the deity is sent back to his original seat. Spells are pronounced 108 or 49 times. Offerings are made in the same way to the deities in other parts of the maṇḍala. Then fire offerings are made to the king and other members of the royal family and to government officials, then to all teachers and parents through past kalpas, and so on. Finally, fire offerings are made to the *ācārya* himself and to the sponsor and his household. From the king to the sponsor, the spell is the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara’s longer spell.<sup>94</sup>

In concluding the ceremony the *ācārya* offers incense, flowers, food, and drink; apologizes for the mistakes in the performance of the ritual; and asks for forgiveness. The deities are then dismissed. Gifts (*dakṣiṇā*) are distributed. Earlier during the day these gifts were placed at the seats of maṇḍala deities.<sup>95</sup>

This review suggests that the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony follows the Puṣyasnāna ceremony in the basic sequence of the principal rites. The basic scenario is that a large number of deities are invited to a maṇḍala and the beneficiary of the ceremony, namely the king in the Puṣyasnāna and the candidate to be initiated as *ācārya* in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony, receives the *abhiṣeka*. A fire offering follows. In the All-Gathering Ceremony described in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, these rites often take more elaborate and complex forms, but strikingly similar ideas also appear in the accounts of the specific rites

in the two ritual instructions. We may also note that at one crucial point the All-Gathering Ceremony is adapted to make it particularly suitable as a general initiation ritual. This is the rite of throwing a flower into the maṇḍala, which establishes an affiliation between the newly initiated *ācārya* and a specific maṇḍala deity.

## THE ALL-GATHERING MAṆḌALA CEREMONY AND THE RITUALS OF GR̥HYAPARIŚIṢṬA

Shingo Einoo and his colleagues explicated how new ritual ideas appeared in what Einoo calls “the texts belonging to the Gr̥hyapariśiṣṭa level” and highlighted their significance.<sup>96</sup> Many of these ideas later became prominent features of Purāṇic Hindu rituals. In his article Einoo proceeds to examine these ideas under the following headings: *maṇḍapa*, *kuṇḍa*, *maṇḍala*, *sthaṇḍilalakṣaṇa*, and *homa*.<sup>97</sup> Here I will focus on his discussion of the ritual hut or *maṇḍapa* to illustrate the significance of this analysis for the reading of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony.<sup>98</sup>

### THE MAṆḌAPA AND THE “ADORNMENT OF THE UPPER PART”

The instruction for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle 12, calls the construction of an outer structure of poles and banners “the Adornment of the Upper Part,”<sup>99</sup> contrasting this with “the Adornment of the Lower Part,” in which the sections of the maṇḍala are marked and colored with white, yellow, red, green, and black powder, and on which the seats of the deities are placed.<sup>100</sup>

The Construction of the Upper Part is described in considerable detail, though some of the instructions are obscure. I offer here a tentative reading. At each corner a log is placed, with one end planted deep in the ground. On top of these logs serving as pillars, logs (beams) are laid on all four sides. These logs are large and are carefully squared. The tops of the logs serving as pillars fit into the holes at both ends of the logs serving as beams. An interlinear note in fascicle 12 observes that bamboo poles may substitute for the logs.<sup>101</sup>

The beams are draped with pieces of colorful silk cloth. A large banner (*dafan* 大幡) serves as a canopy over the whole structure, extending to all four cardinal directions and the four points between. Above this



large banner flags (*fanzi* 幡子) in pairs of different colors are hung: dark green to the east, crimson to the south, white to the west, and dark blue to the north. In the center, four yellow flags are hung.<sup>102</sup> These curtains are all attached above the large banner.

On all four sides of the structure a curtain (again a “large banner”) is attached; these serve as side panels (*lan’e* 闌額). On these curtains are depicted copper-colored *paohua* 泡花 flowers, gold and silver objects, and jeweled mirrors. The pillars are decorated with similar motifs. Finally, a rope is strung high up around the four pillars, and from it are hung colorful curtains as well as belts of jeweled bells and other treasures. Pearls and jeweled nets add yet more decoration.

The *homa* hearth is constructed outside the western gate of the maṇḍala at a distance of two feet. Another four-*hasta* water maṇḍala is constructed next to the ritual space, in the northeastern direction.

I propose that what is described here is best understood as a version of the post-Vedic ritual hut or *maṇḍapa*. A passage from *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 21 describes this structure (also called *śāntigr̥ha*, 6.1). I summarize Eino’s reading of this passage as follows:<sup>103</sup>

The structure (“pavilion”) is square (“quadrangular”) 16 *hasta* long on each side (4.5; or ten or twelve . . . , 5.1).

It has four doors (or has only one high door) (4.5).

In the northeastern corner a bathing altar is made (5.1).

The structure is said to be “twofold surrounded” (5.4). There are four pillars inside, each four times the height of the sacrificial priest. These are surrounded by twelve pillars half as tall (twice the height of the sacrificial priest). Four of these twelve pillars are positioned at the four outside corners to make a second, larger square. Each side of this larger or outer square is then subdivided by two pillars, which are placed so as to divide each side of the square into three sections. All together there are sixteen pillars. By drawing vertical and horizontal lines to connect the pillars, the area of the large square becomes a grid with nine sections.

Water pots are placed at each pillar (5.3).

The structure is roofed with wickerwork in all directions, but the part of the hut just above the fire pit is not covered (5.4).

The structure is beautifully adorned with a canopy *ulloca* and flags of various colors (6.2).

There are sixteen flags of different colors. The passage names the colors and then inserts an alternative scheme (6.2 and 6.3).

“Above the sixteen water pots there is a big flag (*mahādhvaja?*)” (6.5).

Each water pot is covered with cloths and provided with gold, gems, agreeable flowers, and sweet fruits (6.4).

The pavilion is decorated with lamps in each direction (6.6).

Certain parts of the Adornment of the Upper Part in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony may be identified with these distinctive features of the *maṇḍapa*. The “large flag” placed over the framework of pillars in the All-Gathering Ceremony corresponds to the canopy *ulloca* in the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 21 passage. This canopy is placed over the four taller pillars constituting the inside square, and from this taller center colorful flags are hung. The colors of these flags varied. The *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 21 passage lists two schemes. The All-Gathering Ceremony incorporated the familiar Chinese scheme of directional colors. The “side panels” in the All-Gathering Ceremony correspond to the *mahādhvaja* placed over the sixteen water pots as described in the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 21 passage.

But the model of the *maṇḍapa* described in *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 21 is significantly modified in the Adornment of the Upper Part in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle 12. In the All-Gathering Ceremony as described there, the inner structure of the “twofold surrounded” structure in *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 21 appears to be set up within the larger structure of the temple building. The four pillars in the description of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle 12 frame this inner structure. The outer structure is substituted by the temple building itself. The relationship between the taller inner section and surrounding lower sections in *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 21 is adapted accordingly; the core ritual structure marked by four pillars is encased with the temple building, which is in fact taller.

The *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle 12, describes how on day 2 the four outside gates are decorated with flags of supernatural kings. The account there does not make clear how this decoration, or adornment, relates to the elaborate description of the four-pillared structure constructed on day 4. But it must be the outside temple building that is decorated on day 2. The instruction for day 2 also specifies that two areas are marked with rope just outside the temple buildings, on both sides of the central gate (on the south side). This is the space where material used in the course of the ceremony was placed, and it is mentioned repeatedly in the account of the later parts of the ceremony.<sup>104</sup>

In the All-Gathering Ceremony the hearth is moved outside of the structure. The bathing platform is placed to the northeastern direction in the

*Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 21 passage; in the All-Gathering Ceremony, it seems to have been moved to the southwestern direction in the inner courtyard.<sup>105</sup>

The canopied structure supported by four pillars identifies the Adornment of the Upper Part as a *maṇḍapa*. Flags of different colors are hung from the canopy. Construction of such a hut was a distinctive feature of post-Vedic rituals. The care taken to describe a similar structure for the All-Gathering Ceremony indicates that the Buddhist ritual specialists who designed this ceremony participated in this larger development in Indian ritual culture.

### THE RITES OF APPEASEMENT (ŚĀNTI) AND THE PROTECTIVE RITES IN THE ALL-GATHERING MAṆḌALA CEREMONY

Marko Geslani took the discussion of *From Material to Deities* a step further by looking closely at the evolution of *śānti* rituals. Geslani first focused on Atharvavedan sources and traced how fragmentary instructions for preparing *śānti* water in the *Kauśika Sūtra* led to a systematic construction of the *śānti* rite in the *Śāntikalpa*, and then how this paradigm was imposed on the royal rituals that Atharvavedan priests as court priests (*purohita*) promoted. In the course of this development, the Atharvavedan *śānti* was combined with the astrological rites designed to appease omens. This basic paradigm became popular and was widely adopted by other priestly groups in a variety of rituals. The basic ritual paradigm was enacted with different non-Atharvavedan sets of mantras.<sup>106</sup> I propose that the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony represents a Buddhist response to this development.

What drove this process is the concern with protection. *Śānti* rites are performed to ward off or appease misfortunes predicted in omens, particularly astrological phenomena. In the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony these rites appear in the context of rites of marking the boundary (*jiejie* 結界) affiliated with the Vajra deity Kuṇḍalin. The rite of marking the boundary has a long history in Buddhist monastic rituals, but with no specific Esoteric connections.<sup>107</sup> The combination of marking the boundary with dhāraṇī practice appears in the *Sūtra of the Great Divine Spells of Auspiciousness*, *Dajiyi shenzhou jing* 大吉義神呪經 T. 1335, translated in 456. In this sūtra, Śakra's army is said to have lost a battle to *asuras* (demons) and fled into the city. Śakra then sought help from the Buddha, and the Buddha taught a spell that marks a boundary that no creatures

can cross (“the rite of marking the spell boundary,” *jie zhoujie fa* 結咒界法).<sup>108</sup> Here the rite of marking the ritual space is turned into a strategy that protects the king and his army.<sup>109</sup>

In the All-Gathering Ceremony, protective rites are performed repeatedly.<sup>110</sup> These rites are designated as either marking a boundary or protecting the body and call for the mudrās and spells for Hayagrīva or Kuṇḍalin.

Day 1: Both Hayagrīva and Kuṇḍalin rites to mark the boundary of the site.<sup>111</sup>

Day 2: The Kuṇḍalin rite is performed twice, first after the building is decorated with flags of the supernatural kings<sup>112</sup> and then after the ground is smeared with mud.<sup>113</sup>

Day 3: Small holes are dug in the ground, and a bag containing Seven Jewels and Five Grains is placed in each. Holding a vajra, the *ācārya* performs the threefold Kuṇḍalin rite to mark the boundary.<sup>114</sup> The [Kuṇḍalin] rite of expelling Vināyakas is also performed.<sup>115</sup>

Day 4: The Kuṇḍalin rite appears to be performed again early in the morning.<sup>116</sup> After the Adornment of the Upper Part is completed, the [Kuṇḍalin] rite of marking the boundary is performed again (“Great Rite of Marking Boundary”).<sup>117</sup> The Hayagrīva spell is recited and spell cords are prepared.<sup>118</sup>

Day 6, as the sun sets: The Hayagrīva rite is performed for protecting the body (of the candidates).<sup>119</sup> The *ācārya* takes white mustard seeds and hits the head, the face, and the heart of each candidate. After confirming the intention of the candidate to receive the initiation, the *ācārya* sprinkles the candidate’s head with fragrant water, and placing his right hand on the chest of the candidate, recites the Hayagrīva heart spell. After the deities’ seats have been set up on the maṇḍala, the Great Rite of Marking the Boundary is performed again.<sup>120</sup>

Day 7, morning: Protection of the body (of the *ācārya*) and marking the boundary, first with the Hayagrīva spell, then with the Kuṇḍalin rite, and finally marking the boundary with the Hayagrīva mudrā and spell.<sup>121</sup>

Day 7, after sunset: After the deities are invited to their seats, the Great Samaya Rite of Marking the Boundary is performed.<sup>122</sup> The affiliation of the rite is not noted.

The *ācārya* comes to welcome the candidates to the ritual space; he sprinkles water over them with the Kuṇḍalin heart spell and then touches the top of the head of each candidate with white mustard.<sup>123</sup> At the southwest corner of the space (building), the *ācārya* touches the head of each candidate again with white mustard, reciting the Hayagrīva spell seven times. Here the Kuṇḍalin mudrā is used for protection.<sup>124</sup> In the corresponding passage in fascicle 4, only the Hayagrīva spell is mentioned.<sup>125</sup>

The redundancy of prescribing the Hayagrīva and Kuṇḍalin rites, sometimes even at the same crucial points of the ceremony, is striking. Let us now examine more closely the relationship between the Hayagrīva and Kuṇḍalin rites by focusing on the first rite of marking the boundary that takes place very early on day 1. The *ācārya* comes to the site where the ceremony is to be performed, picks up a vajra, and asks the candidates whether they have faith in the Buddhist teaching. Then the *ācārya* forms the mudra over the incense burner and purified water. The water is made pure with the Hayagrīva mudrā and by reciting the Hayagrīva spell 21 times. Then the *ācārya* announces to the maṇḍala deities that he is about to perform the seven-day, seven-night ritual at that particular location, adding that he is about to perform the rites of “protecting the body, marking the boundary, and making offerings.”<sup>126</sup> He then proceeds to purify the ritual ground, circumambulating it clockwise and sprinkling the above-mentioned purified water.

In the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* the instruction for the All-Gathering Ceremony appears in fascicle 12, which concludes the entire collection. The preceding eleven fascicles are organized as a collection of ritual instructions for individual maṇḍala deities. The section for Hayagrīva appears in fascicle 6, which begins with an entry on “protecting the body and marking the boundary.”<sup>127</sup> After describing the mudrā and transcribing the spell, it prescribes the rite for those “who wish to receive the bodhisattva teaching” for protection (of their bodies). They are to recite the given spell seven times, over pieces of wood, water (which is also stamped with the mudrā), white mustard seeds, and ashes. Then the pieces of wood are made to stand at the four corners to mark the ritual space, while mustard seeds, ashes, and water are scattered in the ten directions to mark the boundary. In this passage the two themes of protecting one’s body and marking the boundary are closely fused. I believe that it is this rite, or a version of it, that is performed with the Hayagrīva mudrā and spell for marking the boundary on day 1.

The instruction for day 1 of the All-Gathering Ceremony in fascicle 12 then abruptly mentions something called the Kuṇḍalin rite of marking the boundary, referring explicitly to the explanation in a previous section of the text, the Vajra Amṛta Kuṇḍalin section (fascicle 8).<sup>128</sup> I suspect that a ceremony originally relying on the Hayagrīva mudrā and spell for marking the boundary and protecting the *ācārya* and recipients of the initiation was at some point revised by doubling, and to some extent replacing, an original Hayagrīva rite with the newly popular Kuṇḍalin rite.<sup>129</sup>

In fascicle 8 the Kuṇḍalin ritual of marking the boundary for a maṇḍala ceremony is presented in three entries, each consisting of the description of the appropriate mudrā and the transcription of the spell to be recited seven times. Entry 6, by marking the boundary on the ground, expels all demonic beings from the ground, all the way down to the netherworld. Entry 7, by marking the space in four directions, removes demonic beings in all four directions. Entry 8, by marking the empty space to the top of the heavens, removes all demonic beings in the sky all the way to the top of the universe. This threefold scheme characterizes the Kuṇḍalin rite of marking the boundary.<sup>130</sup>

I believe that this threefold Kuṇḍalin rite reflects the origins of this ritual in post-Vedic *śānti* rituals. The *Śāntikalpa*, a work in the Atharvavedan corpus, prescribes *āmrtā mahāśānti* for “[omens] of the earth, atmosphere, and heavens.” This threefold scheme appears as the standard classification for omens in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, a sixth-century astrological work.<sup>131</sup> The All-Gathering Ceremony, and no doubt other rituals like it, appropriated this structure of *mahāśānti* rituals and transformed it into rituals for marking the boundary. During the process, the ritual became connected to the Vajra deity Kuṇḍalin.

The passage on the Kuṇḍalin rite for marking the boundary in fascicle 8 lists seven points at which this rite is performed in the Maṇḍala Ceremony of the Great Ritual Space (*da daochang fatan zhi hui* 大道場法壇之會), which I believe refers to the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony.<sup>132</sup>

1. When the site is chosen.
2. When the ground is prepared, smeared with fragrant mud, and small amounts of offerings are presented.
3. When the upper structure is constructed and small amounts of incense and flowers are offered.
4. When the areas of the maṇḍala are colored.
5. When lamps are placed on the maṇḍala.
6. When water pots, flowers, incense, food, etc. are placed in appropriate locations.
7. At the time the deities are invited.

The entire All-Gathering Ceremony is mapped out here, though the points at which the Kuṇḍalin rite is performed do not correspond strictly to the places where it is performed according to the description of the ceremony in fascicles 12 and 4 of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. The differences in detail between what we find in fascicle 8 and in fascicles 4 and 12 hint at the gradual evolution of the All-Gathering Ceremony, in which

something like the Kuṇḍalin rite described in fascicle 8 became incorporated into the more elaborate rituals of fascicle 12. The incorporation of this Kuṇḍalin rite may well have been an essential part of the formation of the All-Gathering Ceremony.

In summary, I suggest that the repeated performances of the rites of marking the boundary and protecting the *ācārya* and the candidates for initiation in the All-Gathering Ceremony reflect the growing influence of the *śānti* ritual culture. These rites might well have been performed at one time with the Hayagrīva mudrā and spell, but this scheme was subsequently revised by incorporating the Kuṇḍalin rites. Here the connection with the larger ritual culture of astrological and Atharvavedan omen classification seems clear.

The passage on the Kuṇḍalin rite of marking the boundary concludes by noting that it should be performed as if it were a royal ceremony. This comment is repeated twice and might reflect this rite's root in Atharvavedan court ritual.<sup>133</sup> In the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle 12, the instruction for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony lists different kinds of maṇḍalas and specifies their sizes. For the emperor the maṇḍala should be 200 *hastas*, and for initiation ceremonies 16 or 12 *hastas*. Water maṇḍalas for repentance ceremonies and healing are between 1 and 4 *hastas*.<sup>134</sup> Here the reference to maṇḍalas for emperors is out of place. A 12-*hasta* maṇḍala is described in detail in this instruction for the All-Gathering Ceremony and a 16-*hasta* maṇḍala is outlined as an alternative at the end of the chapter. Water maṇḍalas of smaller sizes are mentioned repeatedly throughout all twelve fascicles of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. But the larger maṇḍala for emperors is not mentioned anywhere else in this collection of maṇḍala ceremonies that culminates in the initiation of *ācāryas*. I suspect that here again the earlier setting of royal ceremonies, of the kind represented in the Puṣyasnāna ceremony discussed earlier, casts its shadow on the All-Gathering Ceremony.

Above, I attempted to show that the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony was a Buddhist response to the post-Vedic ritual developments documented in the *Grhyapariśiṣṭa* literature. The All-Gathering Ceremony and the Puṣyasnāna Ceremony of the *Brhatsamhitā* follow basically the same ritual scenario, though major differences in the identities of the deities invited and the recipients of *abhiṣeka* reflect their different purposes and religious affiliations. Certain crucial details of the All-Gathering Ceremony become more intelligible when placed in the context of the new ritual culture. The elaborate instructions for the construction of the ritual space, involving the adornment of outer gates and the erection of a four-pillared structure with a large canopy and flags of many colors, is

best understood as describing the ritual hut, typically called *maṇḍapa* in *Gr̥hyapariśiṣṭa* literature. The Kuṇḍalin rite of marking the boundary is prominently repeated at crucial points in the All-Gathering Ceremony. The threefold scheme of the earth, the four directions, and the sky that characterizes this rite presupposes the threefold classification of omens that became incorporated as a distinctive feature of the Atharvavedan *śānti* rites.

The All-Gathering Ceremony sheds important light on early Buddhist and Hindu ritual evolution. For students of Esoteric Buddhism, this connection offers some important insights into the nature of this ritual tradition. The Atharvavedan ritual innovations brought diverse protective rites under the larger umbrella of royal consecration; in the Puṣyasnāna a wide range of deities are brought together to confer royal *abhiṣeka*. This logic is also seen in the basic design of the All-Gathering Ceremony, in which many deities are summoned for the *abhiṣeka* of the candidates. As noted briefly above, the shadow of a royal ceremony can also be detected in certain obscure features of the All-Gathering Ceremony.

In later developments in Esoteric Buddhist rituals, courtly rituals and diverse magical rites are closely integrated.<sup>135</sup> The rhetoric of the universal monarch appears frequently in later Esoteric literature. I suggest that this Esoteric Buddhist rhetoric might also be understood as reflecting the inherent logic of Atharvavedan and post-Vedic ritual innovations, in which new rituals for the king predominated. In this reading, at an early stage in its evolution the Esoteric Buddhist tradition was fundamentally shaped by a non-Buddhist connection to royal rituals. Frequent references to the royal ideal in Esoteric Buddhist ritual literature might then be understood as later transformations of an earlier familiar and distinctly Buddhist ideal, rather than as a reflection of contemporary political conditions.



## PART II

### *The Evolution of Dhāraṇī Sūtras and the Introduction of Visualization Practice*

Esoteric Buddhist ritual instructions are attributed to the Buddha himself. Esoteric Buddhist sūtras typically begin by describing the setting of Buddha's teaching and explaining how he was led to present the Esoteric teaching in question. These sūtras emerged over time and underwent significant changes as the content of the Esoteric teachings evolved. The three distinct scenarios described in part I were presented in such sūtras and reappeared repeatedly in later works. These sūtras also present other familiar features of Esoteric Buddhist rituals. Particularly important is the introduction of visualization practices, which transformed Esoteric rituals fundamentally.<sup>1</sup> In part II I trace this complex development in some detail.

The first challenge in such an investigation is the choice of the sūtras to be examined. The scholarship so far has privileged the *Mahāvairocana* and *Vajraśekhara* sūtras and neglected the large number of sūtras that exist in Chinese translation (often characterized pejoratively as "miscellaneous" teachings). But these neglected sūtras are as important as the privileged ones for a historical inquiry. I attempt here to reconstruct the continuous development in which different formulations of Esoteric teachings emerged one after another. In this preliminary study I focus on the group of sūtras on dhāraṇīs translated by the

Indian monk Bodhiruci (d. 727) at the beginning of the eighth century, immediately before the *Mahāvairocana* and *Vajraśekhara* sūtras were translated. These were known to Bodhiruci and those around him and were considered important enough to be included in the major translation project housed in major monasteries in the capital city. The sūtras I examine below either had been translated earlier by others or exist in more than one form. A careful comparison of these translations will yield insights regarding the evolution of these sūtras.

The Chinese titles of these sūtras end with *Tuoluonijing* 陀羅尼經 (“dhāraṇī sūtras”). Esoteric sūtras began as instruction on dhāraṇīs. In Bodhiruci’s translations and their immediate antecedents, the basic practice of reciting the dhāraṇī, presented as the root (or complete) spell and also in two simplified forms, evolved into more complex Esoteric ceremonies; other practices, such as forming mudrās, painting images, creating maṇḍalas, and making fire offerings, were combined with basic spell recitation, and visualization techniques were introduced. The basic scenario in the ceremonies described in these dhāraṇī sūtras is image worship, whose hoped-for outcome is more self-consciously called “accomplishment.”

## 5. DHĀRAṆĪ SŪTRAS AND THEIR EVOLUTION IN ESOTERIC SŪTRAS TRANSLATED BY BODHIRUCI

### NEW DEVELOPMENTS AMONG DHĀRAṆĪ SŪTRAS

Titles in Chinese translation of Indian sūtras that present dhāraṇī instructions typically end with the words *Tuoluonijing* 陀羅尼經 (“dhāraṇī sūtra”); the specific identity of the dhāraṇī is spelled out in the preceding part of the title, which often includes the name of the deity with whom the dhāraṇī is associated. It may have been Chinese translators who began using the term “dhāraṇī sūtras” consistently. These titles appear to be translations of original Sanskrit titles that ended with the word “dhāraṇī,” preceded by “nāma,” meaning “this is the dhāraṇī called such and such.”<sup>2</sup> Below I shall follow the Chinese convention and refer to these works as dhāraṇī sūtras.

A variety of dhāraṇī sūtras bear such a title, but here I am particularly interested in a distinctive subgroup that developed over time to include not only the transcribed text of the dhāraṇī itself but also its background and instructions on its ever more complex ritual context.<sup>3</sup> These typically begin with a narrative describing the setting in which the Buddha is teaching, and their content is presented as the Buddha’s words; possibly that is the reason they are “sūtras.” This introductory narrative is followed by the text of the dhāraṇī itself. In the smaller group of longer

and more complex sūtras, often a sequence of spells is introduced, each intended for a specific step in the performance of a long ceremony. This mapping of the ceremony by spells is frequently supplemented with a sequence of mudrās, each paired with its own spell. Also included in these longer sūtras will be an instruction on creating the image of the central deity, often in the form of a painting in which the central deity is surrounded by other carefully named deities. Generally this is followed by a description of the ritual performed before the image, and the culminating miraculous signs of “accomplishment.” In many dhāraṇī sūtras, instructions for creating a maṇḍala and performing the maṇḍala initiation ceremony are also included, as is the manner of conducting a fire offering. Typically these various instructions are clearly marked as separate chapters or sections. Broad developments in Esoteric ritual practice must have shaped this distinctive genre of sūtra writing.

In the material examined so far we have seen the early stages of development toward such complex dhāraṇī sūtras. The *Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*, first translated into Chinese by Yaśogupta around 570, begins by relating the Buddha’s permission to Avalokiteśvara to teach this heart spell.<sup>4</sup> The text of Avalokiteśvara’s spell is followed by a series of spells to be used at given points in the ceremony. The sūtra concludes with a detailed instruction for creating an image of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara and for performing the ritual before it. That ritual, a fire offering, will, according to the text, culminate in miraculous signs emanating from the image. This sūtra is framed as an instruction on a “divine spell,” and the term dhāraṇī does not appear in it, but it may be read as an early example, or a precursor, of the dhāraṇī sūtras discussed below. Elements that become important in later dhāraṇī sūtras, such as the use of mudrās and the creation of a maṇḍala, are still absent from this sūtra.

In chapter 3 I discussed in detail a collection of Esoteric rituals whose translation and compilation in 654 is attributed to Atikūṭa. I read the title of the work, *Tuoluonijing* 陀羅尼集經, as describing a collection of dhāraṇī sūtras, and translated it as *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. The first named sūtra in that collection is titled a dhāraṇī sūtra; others are not, yet they focus on specific dhāraṇīs.<sup>5</sup>

A number of other narrative passages in this collection relate the scene of the Buddha teaching.<sup>6</sup> Most importantly, the first entry in each of the major sections—on the buddhas, Prajñāpāramitā, Avalokiteśvara, Vajra deities, and heavenly deities—begins with a narrative that describes the setting in which the Buddha is teaching.<sup>7</sup> Read separately, each narrative frames only the material that immediately follows it, not the entire sec-

tion. But in fact each of these formulaic narratives can be seen to pertain to all of the following ritual instructions. Therefore, the compiler who so methodically imposed this organization must have understood all of the massive and diverse body of ritual instructions in this collection to be the Buddha's teaching. These instructions are presented as having been drawn from a number of separate records, or "sūtras," of the Buddha's teaching, and it is in this sense that the entire collection was designated as "dhāraṇī sūtras."

As reviewed in greater detail in chapter 3, the instructions pertaining to the named deities in this collection are largely presented as numbered sets of paired mudrās and spells. Separate instructions for creating maṇḍalas and making paintings of the deities are inserted from time to time.<sup>8</sup> Here a more or less coherent understanding of dhāraṇī sūtras frames a diverse body of ritual material appropriate to each deity.

### THE THREE SŪTRAS TRANSLATED BY BODHIRUCI

The investigation in this chapter focuses on three Esoteric sūtras whose translation is attributed to the south Indian monk Bodhiruci.<sup>9</sup>

*The Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra* (*Guangda baolouke shanzhu mimi tuoluoni jing* 廣大寶樓閣善住祕密陀羅尼經, T. 1006)

*The Cintāmaṇīcakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (*Ruyilun tuoluoni jing* 如意輪陀羅尼經, T. 1080)

*The One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin Sūtra* (*Yizi foding lunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經, T. 951)

Between 706 and 710 Bodhiruci translated these dhāraṇī sūtras at the Western Chongfusi 西崇福寺 monastery in Chang'an. Except for *The Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion*, translated in 706, a disciple named Prajñākuṭa is said to have assisted him by reciting the Sanskrit text.<sup>10</sup>

Earlier translations of these dhāraṇī sūtras are also preserved. Throughout this analysis, my assumption is that each of these Chinese translations reproduces more or less faithfully a separate and distinctive original Sanskrit version. *The Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion* (T. 1006) was preceded by a translation that appears to date from the sixth century, titled *Mouli Maṇḍala Spell Sūtra*, or *Mouli Sūtra* (*Mouli mantuoluo zhou jing* 牟梨曼陀羅咒經).<sup>11</sup> We have a later translation of *Great Jewel Pavilion* as well, by Amoghavajra.<sup>12</sup>

The *Cintāmanicakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra* also appears to have had predecessors in translation: the translation by Maṇicintana (d. 721) presents a simpler and less developed ritual, consisting only of spell recitation.<sup>13</sup> Another translation of the *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Sūtra*, with a different title, is also attributed to Bodhiruci.<sup>14</sup> The contents of the two translations are closely related; Bodhiruci may have known two different versions of this sūtra. There also exists a later translation by Amoghavajra (705–774).<sup>15</sup>

All three translations by Bodhiruci examined in detail here are designated as dhāraṇī sūtras and share the common outline of developed dhāraṇī sūtras, albeit with some significant differences. Their introductory narratives describe the setting in which the Buddha is teaching and his audience. In some of them, the introductory narrative has Avalokiteśvara presenting the spell to the Buddha;<sup>16</sup> in others, the introductory narrative has the Buddha teaching the dhāraṇī to a Vajra deity.<sup>17</sup> The narratives of these sūtras thus offer another window onto the relationship between the Avalokiteśvara deities and Vajra deities discussed in the context of the evolution of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala—the two groups appear to be treated differently.

The *Mouli Maṇḍala Spell Sūtra*, simpler than the *Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra* and rather chaotic, is nonetheless the outcome of a complex development.<sup>18</sup> Strangely, its introductory narrative is lacking. It appears that a ritual was identified as a specific dhāraṇī practice by the introductory narrative, and this sūtra got its new name (*Great Jewel Pavilion*) when the new introductory narrative was incorporated into the version translated by Bodhiruci. The *Mouli Sūtra*, relating an existing ritual practice including distinctive mudrās and maṇḍalas, appears to have acquired a new identity with the addition of an introductory narrative.

We also see in the sūtras translated by Bodhiruci how dhāraṇī sūtras began to be reshaped by the introduction of visualization practice. The various versions of the *Cintāmanicakra Dhāraṇī of Avalokiteśvara* (as I collectively term the four translations) enable us to see in detail how earlier ritual becomes transmuted into visualization practices. The *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Sūtra* incorporated the tradition of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Initiation into the existing *Five-Buddhōṣṇiṣa Samādhi Dhāraṇī Sūtra* as a separate chapter entitled “The Great Maṇḍala,” with appropriate adjustment in the choice of the spells to be used.<sup>19</sup> I read this as a sign of the continuing importance of the maṇḍala initiation in Esoteric Buddhism.

This comparative examination of the three traditions of dhāraṇī sūtras reveals what forces shaped the evolution of this particular genre

of Esoteric sūtras. Although image worship and the language of “accomplishment” are central, these same instructions consistently highlight the core practice of reciting the spell, or dhāraṇī, often requiring counting the number of recitations with a rosary. Instructions on constructing maṇḍalas and the ceremony to be performed for the maṇḍala appear repeatedly, and often are remarkably similar to the instructions for the All-Gathering Ceremony. The three basic scenarios of Esoteric rituals, identified earlier, continue to shape the rituals in these sūtras.

## THE CONSTRUCTION OF DHĀRAṆĪ SŪTRAS

Let us begin by tracing the evolution of a dhāraṇī sūtra, examining one sūtra tradition closely. The *Kaiyuan Catalogue* dates the translation of Bodhiruci’s *Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra* to 706.<sup>20</sup> But, as noted above, the *Mouli Maṇḍala Dhāraṇī Sūtra* preserves an earlier form. We shall first see how this relatively early and simpler dhāraṇī sūtra is constructed, and then how its content became the more developed version translated by Bodhiruci.<sup>21</sup>

### THE MOULI SŪTRA

Though the translator of the *Mouli Maṇḍala Spell Sūtra* is unknown, the *Kaiyuan Catalogue* tentatively dates the text to the Liang period (502–557).<sup>22</sup> Its early date, combined with rich content and complex organization, makes it an important text<sup>23</sup> that yields intriguing clues to reconstructing the evolution of Esoteric Buddhist rituals.

The textual history of this scriptural tradition is complicated. The *Mouli Sūtra* contains irregularities that suggest recurrent editorial work behind the version known today. It begins as an instruction for performing a ritual using a maṇḍala called Mouli (S: Mauli?). Its organization, however, is somewhat chaotic. Diverse ritual instructions are assembled with no apparent logic in the organization. For our purposes the contents of this sūtra may be subdivided into four parts: 1) description of maṇḍala practices around the three basic forms of dhāraṇī;<sup>24</sup> 2) presentation of a set of paired mudrās and spells;<sup>25</sup> 3) explanation of what the painted image should look like and the steps of the ritual that will produce miraculous signs (the practitioner emitting light and acquiring visions), listing the remarkable powers that may be acquired by performing the ritual;

4) an extensive instruction on fire offerings.<sup>26</sup> The topics of these four sections reappear as central themes in later dhāraṇī sūtras.

The *Mouli Sūtra* lacks an introductory narrative, which typically would describe the setting of the Buddha's teaching and name the dhāraṇī. Thus, we cannot be certain from which deity this came. But certain later parts assume that such a narrative had existed: the long section on mudrā is introduced by a Vajra deity (拔折囉半那, Vajrapāṇi?) rising from his seat and addressing the Buddha.<sup>27</sup> And concluding the instruction on the mudrās, the Vajra deity asks the Buddha for further instruction on two other maṇḍalas, called Yuli 於 [口\*梨] and Uboluo 烏波囉 respectively.<sup>28</sup> These fragmentary narrative passages presuppose a larger narrative context. The *Mouli Sūtra*'s instruction on mudrās may have been taken from another source, which presented instructions within the narrative framework typical of dhāraṇī sūtras: an account of the Buddha teaching and his audience.

### Maṇḍalas and Dhāraṇīs

The sūtra begins with a description of a maṇḍala ritual, and the focus on maṇḍala may explain the sūtra's title. This opening discussion is organized according to the three forms of dhāraṇī: the root dhāraṇī (S: *mūla*; C: *genben*) and the two shorter versions, the heart dhāraṇī (S: *hṛdaya*; C: *xin*) and *suixin* 隨心 (S: *upahṛdaya*; C: *suixin*) dhāraṇī.<sup>29</sup> Three different forms of maṇḍala and maṇḍala rituals are listed, the Mouli, Yuli, and Uboluo, but only the form of dhāraṇī used in the ceremony distinguishes them.<sup>30</sup> The benefits of each of these rituals are listed in terms of the number of times the spell is recited.

I believe that the present form of this part of the sūtra is muddled, possibly due to some heavy-handed editing on more than one occasion. But because that editing is incomplete, we can still gain an idea of the more coherent account that lay behind it. Since the presentation of the dhāraṇī in three forms is a standard feature of later dhāraṇī sūtras, I shall briefly summarize what I believe to have been the earlier description in this part of the *Mouli Sūtra*.

In its present form the *Mouli Sūtra* begins with a brief description of the core maṇḍala ritual.<sup>31</sup> To perform the ritual successfully (*chengyan* 成驗), all one's acts must be pure. The ceremony is to be performed near a relic stūpa in the first half of the month. The best day is the fifteenth of the month (when the moon is full?). After bathing with fragrant water and putting on a fresh robe, the practitioner presents offerings to the buddhas, all bodhisattvas, and Vajra beings. Four lamps are lit, and



flowers of the season are offered. The practitioner eats only the three kinds of white food.<sup>32</sup> Each day he circumambulates the stūpa and the maṇḍala, reciting the spell once for each circuit. Having circumambulated 108 times, if sleep overcomes him, he sleeps in front of the stūpa. If he dreams of a buddha or a Vajra deity, that is an auspicious sign that all wishes will be fulfilled.

This brief description is followed by a passage that describes the efficacy (*yan* 驗) of the practice in greater detail.<sup>33</sup> If one recites the spell more than 30,000 times, even the Five Gravest Sins will be expunged. If one recites the spell 108 times daily, all one's wishes will be granted and no ills can occur. Possible ills, including a variety of illnesses, are listed. Some rites for specific purposes and effects are described, ending with those to be used in praying for rain. A variety of existing spell rituals appears here to have been incorporated into the text. A statement concludes this section: "The merits of the root maṇḍala have been briefly summarized in this way."<sup>34</sup> Next comes the transcription of the root spell (*mūla*) itself. The same statement appears for the other two maṇḍalas, together with the texts of the appropriate transcribed spells.<sup>35</sup>

This part of the sūtra is schematized around three kinds of maṇḍala merits (*mantuoluo gongde* 曼陀羅功德), a structure derived from the above-mentioned three forms of dhāraṇī. The maṇḍala at which the spell in root form is recited is called "Mouli"; the heart form, "Yuli"; and the *suixin* form, "Uboluo." Although each passage is presented as describing the "merits" of the maṇḍala ritual accompanying its form of the spell, these passages in fact focus on the efficacy of ritual recitations. The language of *chengjiu* ("accomplishment") does not appear here, but as in later translations of Esoteric sūtras, the ritual practices are explained or described mostly in terms of their successful outcomes.<sup>36</sup>

As noted above, the opening account of the core maṇḍala ceremony is followed by a list of the effects of reciting different forms of spell at the maṇḍala.<sup>37</sup> Each instruction also specifies the number of recitations required for different purposes. A series of rites, each representing a discrete magical use of the spell, are listed for the first and second maṇḍala rituals (the Mouli and Yuli, respectively).<sup>38</sup> For the second and third maṇḍala rituals (the Yuli and Uboluo), the instruction first lists, more schematically, the different numbers of recitations that produce different specified results.<sup>39</sup>

The *Mouli Sūtra* describes in greater detail the ceremony for the third maṇḍala, or the Uboluo great maṇḍala. This description consists of a numbered list of spells to be used at different points in a complex ceremony in which deities are invited to the maṇḍala to receive offerings

and later dismissed.<sup>40</sup> With these spells the ritual space is marked, the practitioner is protected, flowers and incense are presented, the lamps are lit, food offerings are made, and the deities are brought to the ritual space. After the ceremony the deities are dismissed with another spell. Since this account of the ceremony in the form of a numbered list of spells appears misplaced with no explanation, in only this one of the three maṇḍala rituals, it might have been a later insertion.<sup>41</sup> Similar lists of spells are a common feature of later dhāraṇī sūtras.

## Mudrās

A long section on mudrās begins with a narrative passage in which a Vajra deity requests the Buddha to instruct on mudrās.<sup>42</sup> As in the previous section on spells, the sixteen mudrās here are numbered. Each is accompanied by a corresponding spell.

The instruction for the first mudrā begins by telling the practitioner to sit upright and cross-legged, then goes on to describe the mudrā in detail,<sup>43</sup> after which the practitioner is instructed to concentrate the mind, contemplate the Buddha's appearance (*xiang fo rongzhi* 想佛容旨), and recite twenty-one times the given spell.<sup>44</sup> Doing this will confer an extraordinary amount of merit toward ultimate enlightenment. All evil karma will be destroyed. If a moribund person sees this mudrā, the illness will be cured and their life span extended. The instruction for the second mudrā also speaks of concentrating the mind and thinking of the Buddha (*nianfo* 念佛).<sup>45</sup> By forming this mudrā, one gains access to ("enters") the teachings of all the Buddhas of the Ten Directions and their maṇḍalas, and is incorporated into their retinues. Grave sins and karma accumulated over a large number of world ages will disappear. All beings of whatever categories in the Ten Directions who have made trouble will fall to the ground and beg for mercy. Merely seeing the mudrā and hearing the spell will benefit them; their evil intentions will disappear and they will gain merit. The third mudrā will cause all the Buddhas of the Ten Directions to praise and protect the person who forms it. All saintly beings will speak with that person.<sup>46</sup> One is also told while forming the fourth mudrā to concentrate the mind and think of the Buddha (*yixin xiangfo* 一心想佛).<sup>47</sup>

Some mudrās appear to have more specific ritual functions. Thus, while forming the fifth mudrā, one is to think of one's body as being the body of a Vajra being and with a Vajra hand rub from the top of the head to the bottoms of the feet. Thereafter, one should wish to sit surrounded by Vajra beings and to be in the body of the Buddha. As the

mudrā is formed and the spell is recited, the place where one sits will be surrounded in the Ten Directions by Vajra beings, and one will acquire the seat of the Buddha. To Māras, evildoers, and unbelievers one will be invisible. This mudrā is called “Vajra lion’s seat of all the Buddhas.”<sup>48</sup> The seventh mudrā is the mudrā that all buddhas form when they are about to turn the wheel of the dharma. When one forms the eighth mudrā, called “*aparājita*,” all evil beings will go into hiding and cease their disruptions. To invite heavenly deities and make offerings to them, one makes the fifteenth mudrā. The sixteenth mudrā is used when lotus flowers are painted on the maṇḍala.<sup>49</sup>

Mudrās were of enormous consequence in the evolution of Esoteric rituals. Their introduction turned the simple recitation of spells into a practice that simultaneously required appropriate bodily postures and elaborate and carefully differentiated hand gestures. Mudrā instructions also contain repeated references to mental concentration and to “thinking” of the Buddha, possibly a form of visualization. Individual spells are often at the core of a given ritual to a given deity, but in expanded dhāraṇī sūtras a series of spells is used to mark important steps in the long ceremony. In the list of mudrās summarized above, a similar distinction is made between mudrās that function singly to bring about specific outcomes and those that work in series to mark key steps in an extended ceremony.<sup>50</sup> In this sūtra and others translated by Bodhiruci, the steps of the ceremonies are often mapped out both by a series of spells and by a series of mudrās that appear separately.<sup>51</sup> We saw above that in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, rituals are consistently marked by paired spells and mudrās.

This section on mudrās concludes with three separate and unnumbered entries on the Mouli maṇḍala mudrā, Yuli maṇḍala mudrā, and Uboluo mudrā.<sup>52</sup> Thus they encompass the earlier longer list of mudrās within the larger scheme of the three kinds of maṇḍalas and dhāraṇī (root, heart, *suixin*) that were introduced earlier in this sūtra.

## Image Ritual

At this point in the *Mouli Sūtra* a short instruction on a fire offering is introduced, including a list of practical magical uses.<sup>53</sup> Then follows a long discussion of the painted image.<sup>54</sup> The central deity is simply called the Buddha, and the deities flanking him are identified as a twelve-armed Vajra deity at his right and “bodhisattva” Maṇivajra, with four faces and sixteen arms, to his left.<sup>55</sup> The iconography of these deities and others placed around them is described in considerable detail.

Later, in the second instruction for fire offering, a similar arrangement of deities appears. There, the Buddha on a lotus flower is flanked by Vajra deities, the one to the right named as Maṇivajra.<sup>56</sup> Other deities mentioned in the painting instruction, such as the Four Heavenly Kings and Mahādeva, also appear in the fire offering instruction. The name Maṇivajra appears in the heart spell transcribed earlier.<sup>57</sup> Since the two deities flanking Śākyamuni appear to be Vajra deities, this ritual is affiliated with the Vajra group. No deities unambiguously affiliated with the Avalokiteśvara group appear in this painting.<sup>58</sup>

The ritual to be performed for this image is described briefly. The ritualist purifies himself and from the eighth to the fifteenth day of the month recites the spell 100,000 times. The image then moves spontaneously, and fire appears above the head of the ritualist. The ritualist then acquires a heavenly eye. Details of the description at this point are obscure, but the ritualist is said to become a cakravartin and to see all the Buddhas of the Three Ages in the Ten Directions.<sup>59</sup>

This instruction on image ritual is followed by another detailed account: incense is presented to the buddhas, the ground for the maṇḍala is prepared, and the ritual space is marked, following by repentance and making of a vow. The core of this ritual is the recitation of a spell and visualization of the Buddha. The practitioner focuses attention on the Buddha. Viewing or visualizing his features, the practitioner recites the spell while counting the recitations with a rosary.<sup>60</sup> The relationship between these two accounts remains unclear, though the new reference to visualization suggests that an earlier, simpler image ritual may have been reworked with new emphasis.

### Fire Offering

A new, very long and detailed discussion of the fire offering concludes the instruction.<sup>61</sup> In the *Mouli Sūtra* the fire offering appears to play an important role.

This reading of the *Mouli Sūtra* suggests that at a very early stage, it was organized as a fairly well-developed dhāraṇī sūtra. It presents a dhāraṇī in its full and two abbreviated forms and describes in considerable detail the efficacy of reciting these spells at the maṇḍala. This core practice expands into a more elaborate ritual. The course of the ceremony is denoted by spells and mudrās. Matsunaga Yūkei has suggested that the *Mouli Sūtra* is the earliest known one in which mudrās are introduced to

mark the steps of the Esoteric ritual, a practice that becomes normative in later sources.<sup>62</sup> The core ritual is also supplemented with other kinds of practices, such as image worship and fire offering.

These ritual acts also appear prominently in the first eleven fascicles of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. There too the spell is presented in three forms, as root (S: *mūla*), heart (S: *hṛdaya*), and *suixin* (S: *upahṛdaya*).<sup>63</sup> In that collection the numbered lists of paired spells and mudrās describe the ceremonies. The instruction on painting the image and on fire offering emphasizes the ways the efficacy of the ritual is demonstrated. Significant parallels between the rituals described in the *Mouli Sūtra* and those in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, dated 654, suggest that these two records may have emerged out of a common ritual evolution.

*THE SŪTRA OF THE SECRET DHĀRAṆĪ THAT  
RESIDES WELL IN THE GREAT JEWEL PAVILION  
TRANSLATED BY BODHIRUCI*

### The Introductory Narrative

This translation reshapes the *Mouli Sūtra* rather dramatically by introducing a long and elaborate opening narrative.<sup>64</sup> The origin of the spell that forms the core of the *Mouli Sūtra* is here explained in an intricate visionary story, tersely summarized in the title. The *Mouli* and the *Great Jewel Pavilion* sūtras present the same set of ritual instructions, but very differently. Amoghavajra's translation inherits Bodhiruci's title, slightly modified, and it tells the same opening story.<sup>65</sup>

In the opening narrative of the *Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra* the Buddha is teaching for the first time at Rājagṛha. By then the Buddha had conquered Māra's army, defeated all the non-Buddhist teachers, transcended life and death, and crossed the violent stream of desires. Before his enlightenment, an astronomically large number of Māra's warriors were everywhere in the world. The Buddha transformed the ground into *vajra* (diamond) and the weapons of Māra's army into flowers. On the occasion of this first teaching in Rājagṛha, a huge jeweled lotus flower emerged from the ground, and a voice heard from it pronounced a dhāraṇī called Good Awakening (*shanjue* 善覺). Having uttered the dhāraṇī, the voice then praised Śākyamuni; he had crossed over the ocean of life and death and scattered Māra's army. He had been liberated from desires, conquered ignorance, and become the Great Torch of the Dharma. It was

with the power of this dhāraṇī just pronounced that he, at the time of enlightenment, transformed the ground into *vajra* and defeated Māra's army. Bodhisattva Vajra Secret Trace (*Jingangmiji pusa* 金剛密跡菩薩), a Vajra deity who was in the audience at the Rajagrha teaching, was delighted and asked for the origin of the dhāraṇī (Good Awakening).

The Buddha responded by telling him of the dhāraṇī whose name was The Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion.<sup>66</sup> The root form of this dhāraṇī is given in the next section of the sūtra,<sup>67</sup> and it does not agree with the text of the Good Awakening dhāraṇī. It is, in fact, the same root dhāraṇī that appears in the *Mouli Sūtra*. The Good Awakening spell is displaced by the *Mouli Sūtra*'s dhāraṇī, now renamed the Great Jewel Pavilion dhāraṇī.

The story of the origin of the Great Jewel Pavilion dhāraṇī is told in two clearly discrete steps. First the Buddha tells the Vajra deity, here also characterized as a great *yakṣa* general, of a distant buddha land to the east.<sup>68</sup> In this buddha land, called Jewel Lamp (*baodeng* 寶燈), a buddha called Jewel of Many Marvelous Colors Who Resides in Purity (Mi-aozhongzhongsebao shanzhu qingjing rulai yingzhengdengjue 妙種種色寶善住清淨如來應正等覺) unceasingly recites (*nian* 念) the name, or perhaps the text, of The Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion. Hearing that dhāraṇī, beings who reside there will not be reborn in inferior realms of existence. They will be reborn in heavenly realms and experience the thought of seeking enlightenment.

When the Buddha describes that dhāraṇī, miraculous signs appear and the Tathāgatas of all directions instruct the Buddha to go to the Jewel Lamp world and its Tathāgata.<sup>69</sup> A screened structure decorated with seven jewels emerges in front of the Buddha, and as he touches it a lion seat appears; the Buddha takes his seat on it and enters into a *samādhi*, in which he travels to the buddha land called Jewel Lamp.<sup>70</sup>

When the Buddha reaches that Tathāgata, Jewel of Many Marvelous Colors Who Resides in Purity, the Tathāgata tells the Buddha to turn the wheel of dharma once more and widely to circulate The Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion.<sup>71</sup> The Tathāgata then emits light from the white hair between his eyebrows, a sign that the teaching of the dhāraṇī is to take place, and all beings from everywhere in the universe gather together.

A bodhisattva called Jewel Storehouse, or *Baozang* 寶藏, observing that all the buddhas and other categories of beings, headed by Vajradhara, are gathered together, requests the Tathāgata Jewel of Many Marvelous Colors Who Resides in Purity to teach that dhāraṇī for the benefit of sentient beings.<sup>72</sup> But this Tathāgata instructs him to go to Śākyamuni,

and it is Śākyamuni who, in response to that request, tells the story of a jewel pavilion and a golden stūpa contained in it.<sup>73</sup>

In this complex story, the origin of The Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion is traced to a distant buddha land, but that account appears also to be clumsily merged with a story about the Buddha's defeat of Māra's army at the time of his enlightenment and his first teaching at Rājagṛha. Two tales were artificially combined into one. Each is centered on its own dhāraṇī, so these stories may have existed separately earlier.

We noted in considering the *Mouli Sūtra* that the instructions in it must have been affiliated with Vajra deities, though their identities remain conjectural, since the introductory narrative is missing. Vajra deities are prominent in the painted image.<sup>74</sup> Other signs, such as the abrupt introduction of the exchange about mudrās between the Buddha and a Vajra deity in the middle of the *Mouli Sūtra*, confirm that sūtra's hypothetical focus on Vajra deities.

The opening story in the *Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra* is told as an answer to a Vajra deity, but in the story reviewed so far, the origin of The Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion is traced to the Tathāgata Jewel of Many Marvelous Colors Who Resides in Purity in the buddha land Treasure Lamp. Bodhisattva Jewel Storehouse is not identified as a Vajra deity. The introductory narrative of the Great Jewel Pavilion dhāraṇī tells yet another complex story in which the origin of the dhāraṇī is traced further back to an even more distant past.<sup>75</sup> A vajra hammer plays an important role.

As Śākyamuni began to tell the story of the origin of the dhāraṇī to bodhisattva Jewel Storehouse, he told Vajra Secret Trace to bring a vajra hammer. And when this Vajra deity hit the ground with the hammer, a jeweled pavilion emerged.<sup>76</sup> This pavilion contained within it ("in a banner") a jeweled stūpa made of rose-apple (*jambu*) gold.<sup>77</sup> Within this stūpa were the whole-body relics of three Tathāgatas. The Buddha was invited into the stūpa and invited to sit with the other Tathāgatas, whereupon the Buddha told an extraordinary story about the three Tathāgatas.

In an incalculably distant past, as three holy men living on a jewel mountain, they had meditated on the Three Jewels, the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha, and then heard a voice in the sky.<sup>78</sup> This voice mentioned a dhāraṇī called The Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion, and described its numerous merits. The holy men were delighted, and entering into the ground, reappeared as three golden bamboos. Their roots were made of seven jewels and their stems, leaves, and branches of gold; pearls were found everywhere on their



branches. After ten months each of the bamboos split, and from it a boy appeared. Having grown up, the three boys sat under the bamboo and meditated, achieving enlightenment after seven days.<sup>79</sup> The three bamboos transformed themselves into one great jewel pavilion (?), and The Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion appeared in the sky, written in golden letters.<sup>80</sup> Earlier in the story, at the point when the jeweled golden stūpa of the three whole-body relics appeared, this same dhāraṇī is also said to have appeared, written in golden letters in the cloud in the sky.<sup>81</sup>

This story connects the origin of the Great Jewel Pavilion dhāraṇī to a relic stūpa. In its present form the *Mouli Sūtra* begins by stating that the ritual is to be performed around a relic stūpa,<sup>82</sup> so the ritual may have had some connection with the relic stūpa cult. The story about the immeasurably distant origin of the dhāraṇī in the *Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra* may also have developed around the relic stūpa cult and become incorporated in the *Mouli Sūtra* through this connection.

The new elaborate introduction of the *Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra* appears to have been awkwardly grafted onto the *Mouli Sūtra*. The opening Good Awakening dhāraṇī section of the *Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra* does not involve either a stūpa or a jewel pavilion. The story of the Great Jewel Pavilion and the stūpa containing the relics of three Tathāgatas must have had a long history of its own, perhaps rooted in the relic stūpa cult. These stories were bound together through the identity of the dhāraṇī—in the case of the Good Awakening, awkwardly through a twist in the narrative, and in the case of The Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion, through inserting its text from outside the narrative itself at a later point in the sūtra. In the end, the unnamed dhāraṇī in the *Mouli Sūtra* acquires a new and clearer identity.<sup>83</sup>

### The Ritual Instruction

The remaining part of Bodhiruci's translation is closely related to the *Mouli Sūtra*, but is carefully crafted in the newly emerging format of the dhāraṇī sūtra. As noted above, the spells marking the stages of the ritual, which appeared irregularly numbered in the Uboluo section of the *Mouli Sūtra*, are not numbered in Bodhiruci's translation.<sup>84</sup> Without the consecutive numbering, the incompleteness of the list that begins abruptly with an item numbered six—so conspicuous in the *Mouli Sūtra*—is no longer recognizable in the *Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra*, but that the opening part of this ritual instruction, missing in the *Mouli Sūtra*, is also absent is perfectly clear. Although the spells in the two sūtras match fairly closely,





FIG. 5.1. Jewel Pavilion Maṇḍala  
(Bessonzakki, fascicle 13, no. 38, *Taishō zuzō* 3, 109)

they are phonetically transcribed somewhat differently, often using different characters and diverging in detail. The two translations probably were made independently, but they share a common textual tradition.

In Bodhiruci's translation the instructions clumsily assembled in the *Mouli Sūtra* are organized into ten sections. The introductory narrative (section 1), missing from the *Mouli Sūtra*, is followed by the texts of the root spell (in section 2) and of the heart (S: *hṛdaya*) and *suixin* (S: *upahrdaya*) spells (in section 3). Sections 4 and 5 offer the instructions on the practice of the latter two spells and describe the different benefits of their successful outcomes. Section 6 reproduces the list of spells that appeared in the *Mouli Sūtra*.<sup>85</sup> Section 7 presents instructions for constructing the maṇḍala, and section 8 tells how the image is to be painted. Section 9 is a short instruction on the fire offering. The instruction on mudrās is moved to section 10, at the end of the sūtra.<sup>86</sup>

One significant difference occurs in the section on creating the maṇḍala (section 7).<sup>87</sup> In the *Mouli Sūtra* the instruction is simpler, but the *Mouli Sūtra* describes a second maṇḍala created around the hearth for the fire offering.<sup>88</sup> The instruction on creating the maṇḍala in the *Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra* appears to have been extracted from the *Mouli Sūtra*'s section on the fire offering, simplified and shortened (section 9; figure 5.1).

In summary, the comparison of the *Mouli Sūtra* and the *Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra* offers us a glimpse of the kind of complex development in which a variety of instructions on dhāraṇī practice were reconfigured into a more coherently organized dhāraṇī sūtra.

## THE EVOLUTION OF VISUALIZATION PRACTICE

The tradition of *The Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (*Ruyilun tuoluoni jing* 如意輪陀羅尼經) offers another window into the gradual evolution of dhāraṇī sūtras. Furthermore, this tradition enables us to see how the ritual associated with dhāraṇī was transformed by the introduction of visualization practices.

The *Kaiyuan Catalogue* (dated to 730) notes that this sūtra, translated by Bodhiruci in 709, had three previous translations.<sup>89</sup> The *Taishō* collection also reproduces three other translations:

*The Cintāmaṇi Heart Dhāraṇī Spell Sūtra of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara* (*Guanzizai pusa ruyixin tuoluoni zhou jing* 觀自在菩薩如意心陀羅尼呪經, T. 1081), translated in 710 by Yijing 義淨 (635–713).

*The Divine Spell Cintāmaṇīcakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's Secret Storehouse* (*Guanshiyin pusa mimizang ruyilun tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 觀世音菩薩祕密藏如意輪陀羅尼神呪經, T. 1082), translated by Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀 (652–710) sometime between 695 and 704.

*The Cintāmaṇī Dhāraṇī Sūtra of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara* (*Guanshiyin pusa ruyi mani tuoluoni jing* 觀世音菩薩如意摩尼陀羅尼經, T. 1083), translated by Ratnacintana 寶思惟 (?–721), between 693 and 706.<sup>90</sup>

The translations by Śikṣānanda and Ratnacintana cannot be dated precisely, but both preceded Bodhiruci's translation.<sup>91</sup> Perhaps because Yijing's translation is simpler than Bodhiruci's, the compilers of the *Kaiyuan Catalogue* may have assumed that Yijing's was the earlier of the two. Or they may have known another translation that also preceded Bodhiruci's.

These four translations were produced within a relatively short period (end of the seventh to the beginning of the eighth century), and the relationship among them is not entirely clear. The same set of dhāraṇīs is transcribed differently in Chinese characters, and often with small differences in wording. Though some passages suggest that the translator knew earlier translations and borrowed phrasing from them, other differences, in content as well as in phrasing, suggest that on the whole the translations were made from different Sanskrit manuscripts. Because they were all produced within a short time, the substantive differences among them suggest that this sūtra evolved over a longer time in India and thus was available to the translators in different Sanskrit versions.

These translations share a common core, which is about a spell that, when recited, causes jewels to rain down from a massive jewel tree.<sup>92</sup> The translations begin with the introductory narrative that describes how Avalokiteśvara asked the Buddha for permission to teach this dhāraṇī, following which come the texts of the long root dhāraṇī and its two shorter versions. Then comes the description of the miraculous signs, including the ground shaking, demonic beings taking fright, and the rain of heavenly incense, flowers, necklaces, bracelets, crowns, and other ornaments from the sky; and heavenly music. The Buddha praises Avalokiteśvara for the dhāraṇī, designated variously as “essential teaching” (*fayao* 法要); “the teaching of subtle cintāmaṇī heart cakras dhāraṇī” (*weimiao ruyixinlun tuoluoni fa* 微妙如意心輪陀羅尼法); “the teaching of the great supernatural king dhāraṇī” (*dashentongwang tuoluoni fa* 大神通王陀羅尼法); and “superior secret function” (*zuishang mimi gongneng* 最上祕密功能).<sup>93</sup>

In all the translations, a series of different specific ritual instructions follows. At the heart of these rituals, specified for a wide range

of purposes, is the recitation of the spell, and this part concludes with the prediction that reciting the spell will bring about a vision of Avalokiteśvara, of Amitābha and his Pure Land where bodhisattvas gather together, and of Avalokiteśvara's palace at Mount Potalaka.<sup>94</sup>

The core instruction summarized above appears in all the translations mentioned. In the translations by Bodhiruci, Śikṣānanda, and Ratnacintana, a long ritual instruction follows. It begins by specifying the number of recitations for different categories of people and continues by listing numbers for visions of different deities.<sup>95</sup> I suggest that the numbers for categories of people are also intended as requirements for establishing a visionary connection with these people.<sup>96</sup> A vision of the deity (as “accomplishment”) consequent on reciting the dhāraṇī is the basic scenario of the longer *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra*.

### YIJING'S TRANSLATION

All versions of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī of Avalokiteśvara* begin with a common introductory narrative, though some tell it in greater detail than others. The translations by Bodhiruci, Yijing, and Śikṣānanda begin by specifying the location of the Buddha's teaching. Both Yijing and Śikṣānanda transcribe the name of the obscure mountain as Jialisishan 伽栗斯山, whereas in Bodhiruci's translation the same name is Jilasis-han 雞唎斯山. Yijing may have known and used Śikṣānanda's earlier translation, but he must have had other sources as well. The introductory narrative in Yijing's much shorter version of the sūtra refers to the tree of *maṇi* jewels, a reference absent in Śikṣānanda's version. The reference to a *cintāmaṇi* tree appears in both Maṇicintana's and Bodhiruci's translation.<sup>97</sup>

Yijing's translation consists largely of the core instruction described above, though he appears to attribute the ritual instruction that follows Avalokiteśvara's presentation of the three forms of the dhāraṇī to the Buddha himself.<sup>98</sup> An interlinear note inserted after the last part of the core instruction states that the “medicine practice” (*yaofa* 藥法) was deliberately not reproduced.<sup>99</sup> The editor who inserted this note treated the core teaching as more essential than the long ritual instructions that follow in other translations.

This version of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī of Avalokiteśvara* may be read as an example of a basic dhāraṇī sūtra, lacking other ritual instructions such as maṇḍala initiation and fire offering. These, when in-

corporated, would turn it into the kind of distinctive and more complex dhāraṇī sūtra we are examining in this part of our study.

### RATNACINTANA'S VERSION

Although this version does not mention the location of the Buddha's teaching, the introductory narrative tells the same story as the other translations: bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara presented the dhāraṇī to the Buddha. In Ratnacintana's translation the account of the core practice is followed by further instructions on recitation, noting different numbers of recitations required for establishing visionary connections with different categories of people and different deities.<sup>100</sup>

Following these instructions on recitation are other kinds of instructions for dhāraṇī practice. The dhāraṇī is recited 1,008 times over a carefully prepared compound, which is then applied to various parts of one's body; carefully prepared and blessed eye medicine is pasted on one's eyes.<sup>101</sup> This must have been the "medicine practice" that is said to have been deliberately omitted from Yijing's translation. Instruction for the fire offering comes next.<sup>102</sup> Thus, to the basic instructions on dhāraṇī recitation were added instructions for "medicine practice" and the fire offering, expanding the ritual and making it more complex.

### ŚIKṢĀNANDA'S TRANSLATION

In this version the text is divided into six sections and expanded significantly.<sup>103</sup> Section 2 introduces the classification of "worldly" and "other-worldly" goals, then reproduces the instruction on the requirement of different numbers of recitations, as discussed above.

Section 3 introduces the topic of "medicine," first dealing with medicine that one carries on one's body (section 3, *shenshang daixing* 身上帶行), then with pills that one takes by mouth (section 4, *kouhan* 口含), and finally with medicine for the eye (section 5, *dianyao zhuoyantou* 點藥著眼頭).<sup>104</sup> Section 6 is devoted to the fire offering, which is also called a medicine.<sup>105</sup>

No instruction for image worship or for the maṇḍala ceremony appears in this translation.

## BODHIRUCI'S TRANSLATION

Bodhiruci organized his translation into ten sections and expanded the scope of instruction considerably, particularly by incorporating the long list of mudrās that map the steps of the maṇḍala ceremony (section 4) and the instruction for creating the maṇḍala (section 5).<sup>106</sup> In the opening section (section 1), Avalokiteśvara tells the Buddha about a spell that causes wish-fulfilling *maṇi* jewels to fall like rain on sentient beings and satisfy all their wishes, and asks the Buddha's permission to teach it to others. Having secured permission, Avalokiteśvara then speaks the root spell along with its two shorter versions to the Buddha. The Buddha then tells Avalokiteśvara to instruct beings on the ritual use of the spell. The remaining sections of the sūtra are devoted to describing a range of ritual practices. Sections 2 and 3 in Bodhiruci's translation correspond to the second half of section 1 and all of section 2 in Śikṣānanda's version, and prescribe the ritual of recitation.<sup>107</sup> Śikṣānanda's account of recitation is more straightforward, closely resembling the corresponding passage in the translations by Ratnacintana and Yijing; Bodhiruci transforms a recitation ritual into a visualization ritual.<sup>108</sup>

Thus, in Śikṣānanda's translation Avalokiteśvara says to the Buddha, "If a good man or a good woman, a monk or a nun, a layman or a laywoman, a boy or a girl wishes to attain a positive reward in this life, he or she should practice single-mindedly day and night. Do not forget this dhāraṇī. Whether the day or the time is pure or impure, the recitation will prove efficacious."<sup>109</sup> Whatever one seeks, recite 108 times and a hundred thousand matters will be taken care of. . . . Evil karma and heavy obstructions from past and present [lives] will all be destroyed" (section 1).<sup>110</sup> What is described here is a relatively simple recitation practice.

In Bodhiruci's translation, the sentence "whether the day or the time is pure or impure" appears as: "regardless of whether the sun or the moon is in an auspicious constellation, and even if one has not fasted for one or two days, or if one has not bathed or set up a maṇḍala."<sup>111</sup> Then a new instruction on visualization practice is inserted: put on ordinary clothes, purify oneself with clear water, and eat vegetarian food. Perform the ritual of accomplishment (*chengjiufa* 成就法). Through day and night and in a quiet chamber, sit in the lotus position facing the east. Visualize (*xiangguan* 想觀) the body of Avalokiteśvara, with perfect features, emitting bright light like the sun rising and sitting on a lotus seat. Seeing the visualized deity right before one's eyes, one should recite in an orderly fashion and burn incense, again in visualization, as offering. . . . Recit-

ing the dhāraṇī 1,080 times at each of the six periods of daily service and continuing the recitation ceaselessly, the number of syllables reaches three *lakhs*. By means of this recitation in yogic visualization, all sins, even the gravest, spontaneously disappear. The term “accomplishment,” *chengjiu*, appears throughout this new instruction on visualization.<sup>112</sup>

As discussed briefly above, section 2 of Śikṣānanda’s translation, which closely resembles Ratnacintana’s translation, instructs in the secret technique of seeing, or having the vision of, different categories of people through reciting the dhāraṇī.<sup>113</sup> Though in these passages the practitioner is instructed to “think of” or to “remember” Avalokiteśvara while reciting the name of Avalokiteśvara, the Cintāmaṇicakra dhāraṇī, and the name of the person the practitioner wishes to have the visionary connection with, no specific visualization practice is described.<sup>114</sup> At most, it is suggested in rudimentary form.

In Śikṣānanda’s translation the practitioner is instructed to call the name of Avalokiteśvara, recite the name of Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva, the dhāraṇī of the wheel of wish-fulfilling jewels, and pronounce the name of the person he or she wishes to see.<sup>115</sup> After prescribing different numbers of recitations for communicating with people of different ranks, such as kings, queens, princes, members of the court, princes, brahmins, kṣatriyas (warriors), vaiśas (merchants and peasants), monks and nuns, upāsakas and upāsikās (male and female lay Buddhists), and male and female children, the passage concludes by specifying the number of recitations that enable one to see the true body of Avalokiteśvara, or the Vajra deity, or the Buddha and other heavenly deities. As the practitioner recites through seven days and seven nights, the appropriate deity appears and fulfills their wishes.<sup>116</sup>

In Bodhiruci’s translation the emphasis seems to shift from recitation to visualization. The corresponding passage in section 3 of Bodhiruci’s version begins with an instruction to visualize Avalokiteśvara, with perfect features and emitting bright light like the sun coming out. If one recites the dhāraṇī free of deluded thoughts, continuously and without mistakes, then Avalokiteśvara will manifest himself with a golden-colored body, remove all sins, and give supernatural protection. All wishes will be fulfilled. Finally, the practitioner will secure a variety of supernatural powers, which are listed.<sup>117</sup>

Then comes the passage on the number of recitations required to envision people of different ranks. But the meaning of the instructions appears to have shifted. The benefit of the required number of recitations is loosely described by Bodhiruci as “attainment of all superior matters (*shengshi* 勝事).”<sup>118</sup> That reciting the appropriate number of repetitions



for the category of the person one wishes to see while repeating the person's name will bring about a visionary encounter with that person is an idea that appears to have been lost or not understood.<sup>119</sup> This newly reinterpreted passage is then sandwiched between two passages describing visualization.

Next one is instructed again to visualize Avalokiteśvara, Vajradhara, all the buddhas and bodhisattvas, or other deities, while reciting the Cintāmaṇicakra dhāraṇī. These deities will then appear and fulfill one's wishes.<sup>120</sup> With this new emphasis on visualization practice, the coherence of the original passage appears to have been lost.

Section 4 in Bodhiruci's translation introduces for the first time a step-by-step description of an extended maṇḍala ceremony. It is encompassed in a list of thirty mudrās, each accompanied by its own spell.<sup>121</sup> Section 5 describes the creation of an elaborate maṇḍala. This also is a topic that appears for the first time in Bodhiruci's translation; it marks a significant evolution of the Cintāmaṇicakra ritual.

The newly introduced rituals in Bodhiruci's translation reconfigure the basic recitation practice described in earlier translations into a more formal ritual ceremony.<sup>122</sup> Thus, the simpler practice of dhāraṇī recitation is transformed into recitation before a central deity who has first been visualized by the practitioner.<sup>123</sup> The practice is then spelled out step by step in the detailed description of mudrās, each paired with a corresponding spell, which occurs for the first time in Bodhiruci's text in section 4. Many of the steps in this more detailed instruction also include visualization.

Following are some details of these step-by-step instructions.

In section 4, at the beginning of the instruction, Avalokiteśvara summarizes the scenario as "protection, offering, invitation, welcoming, and dismissing [the deities]."<sup>124</sup> If all these actions are carried out correctly and accompanied by clear visualizations, then one can "accomplish" (*chengjiu*) this secret *samaya*.<sup>125</sup> The instruction is then organized as a sequence of thirty entries, each dealing with a specific mudrā and its accompanying spell (except for entries 3, 14, 16, 27, and 30, which only give spells). The first entry describes the creation of the maṇḍala. The mudrā described, "the Mudrā of the *Samaya* of the Large Lotus Flower," is blessed seven times with the spell given here and pointed and waved three times in all Ten Directions. Then one visualizes an open flower with a hundred thousand petals made of seven jewels and presents it to all the buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other deities.

Entries 2–10 describe elaborate bathing rituals, during which one is supposed continuously to visualize Avalokiteśvara.<sup>126</sup> These apparently took place outside the main ritual space.



Having bathed, the practitioner enters the ritual space and pays respect to the Three Jewels and Avalokiteśvara; he blesses the water, cleans the objects to be used as offerings, and sweeps the ritual space. The mudrās and spells in entries 11–13 protect the practitioner’s body ritually. The spell in entry 14 secures the ritual space, and the spell in entry 15 establishes the boundary of the maṇḍala. The seats of the deities are marked inside it. A vessel of fragrant water with flowers floating on it is presented.

The path in the sky through which the deities are to arrive is secured, and Avalokiteśvara and other deities are awakened (entry 16). The deities are invited and arrive at the ritual space (entry 17); with a mudrā and a spell they are welcomed, and the practitioner visualizes making offerings to them as they approach the maṇḍala (entry 18). Fragrant water is presented (entry 19), and flower seats are offered to the deities. The practitioner spreads the flower seats for the deities, utters welcoming words and forms the mudrā of inviting the deities to their seats, while visualizing them taking their seats. The Kuṇḍalin rite protects the boundary (entries 20, 21). All flowers, incense, and other objects to be offered are blessed with a mudrā (entry 22). With a mudrā and a spell the offerings are made, while the practitioner visualizes the presentations. At this point the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha) and Avalokiteśvara are praised. The practitioner makes a vow to transfer merit, repents his sins, and arouses the thought of seeking enlightenment (entry 23). With another mudrā and spell the practitioner demonstrates to the deities his delight at receiving their protection and fulfillment of his wishes (entry 24).

The ceremony reaches its climax as the root mudrā is formed (entry 25), the request for the attainment of the goal is made to Avalokiteśvara with another mudrā (entry 26), the rosary (C: *nianzhu* 念珠) is purified with a spell (entry 27), and the rosary is handled with the five fingers on both hands (entry 28). Next, a distinctive visualization practice is described. One concentrates exclusively on visualizing the syllables of the Avalokiteśvara dhāraṇī. One visualizes light, bright as the sun, forming the halo (?) and not dispersing. One recites the dhāraṇī as many times as possible, as many as 100 myriad times, stopping only when exhausted. Then the practitioner opens his eyes and sees Avalokiteśvara, to whom he offers respect and praise. As the practitioner leaves the ritual space, he again offers fragrant water.

The passage concludes with an instruction for “accomplishing the medicine” (*chengjiu yao* 成就藥).<sup>127</sup> Entries 25 to 28 seem to form a unit describing the recitation of the three forms of the spell— root, longer

heart (“heart”; S: *hrdaya*), and shorter heart (“heart-in-heart”; C: *suixin*, S: *upahrdaya*); the references to medicine here appear to indicate that the recitation is to be performed over medicine, as described later.<sup>128</sup>

Section 5 explicates in detail the creation of the maṇḍala, which is also briefly touched on in the previous section, in the entry for mudrā 15, in the course of the ritual outlined there.<sup>129</sup>

Sections 4 and 5 together reconfigure the simpler ritual described in the three other texts into a visualization ritual in which deities are invited into a maṇḍala. The maṇḍala on the ground is divided into two halls, inner and outer.<sup>130</sup> At the center of the inner hall is painted an open lotus flower with thirty-two petals, and seated on it is bodhisattva Cintāmaṇicakra, Wheel of Wish-Fulfilling Jewels Avalokiteśvara, facing west. He wears a crown that holds, front and center, an image of a transformation Buddha. In the bodhisattva’s left hand is an open lotus flower, on it a wish-fulfilling *maṇi* jewel. On the four sides of this central deity, a number of Avalokiteśvara-group deities are painted. Painted in all directional sectors in the outer hall are many deities, including Śakra, King Yama, dragon kings, Vaiśravaṇa, and a fire deity, each flanked by attendants. No Vajra deity is named explicitly in this maṇḍala. Paintings of jeweled staircases separate the inner and outer halls. On the boundary of the inner hall, wish-fulfilling jewels encompassed by flames are painted. The outer hall is bounded by painted single-pointed vajras, also encircled by flames.<sup>131</sup> The deities in this maṇḍala are normally to be painted as complete figures, but a note following the description qualifies this, saying that if necessary, the deities’ seats alone may be painted, each topped by a cartouche enclosing the name of the deity (figure Con.4).<sup>132</sup>

This maṇḍala instruction is designated “the *samaya* of the secret maṇḍala.”<sup>133</sup> Those who follow the proper manner of presenting offerings are to be rewarded with “accomplishments” (C: *chengjiu*). A description of the ritual that the painter is to observe and the list of offerings to be presented to the deities follows, and then the proper manner of presenting offerings. An account of the outcome of a properly conducted ritual concludes the section. Through the *samaya* of the secret maṇḍala, Avalokiteśvara manifests himself and grants wishes; the maṇḍala is where all heavenly and saintly beings praise the practitioner’s accomplishments and offer protection.<sup>134</sup> It is also the place where the two kinds of accomplishment (also called “medicine”), worldly and otherworldly, take place. After death, those who practice will be reborn in the Western Pure Land and ultimately attain enlightenment. They will never be reborn in the inferior realms (of hell, hungry ghosts, or animals).

The distinction between worldly and otherworldly benefits appears in Śikṣānanda's translation in the opening paragraph of section 2.<sup>135</sup> The discussion of the three kinds of medicine then follows in three separate sections (sections 3, 4, 5). The language of "accomplishment" does not appear.<sup>136</sup> In Bodhiruci's translation a passage distinguishing worldly from otherworldly accomplishment first appears at the beginning of section 3.<sup>137</sup> The distinction is made again at the end of section 5, which is followed by three sections discussing the three medicines (sections 6, 7, 8).<sup>138</sup> In summary, in Śikṣānanda's translation the presentation of the dhāraṇī and the ritual instruction for putting it into practice (sections 1, 2) are followed immediately by a systematic discussion of the dhāraṇī's benefits in the form of three kinds of medicines (sections 3, 4, 5). In Bodhiruci's translation, between the presentation of the dhāraṇī and the description of its benefits as three medicines comes an elaborate account of the ritual of *chengjiu* (sections 3, 4, 5). The maṇḍala ceremony is outlined using the format of a sequence of mudrās and their corresponding spells. The ritual scenario laid out in section 4 culminates in the practice of counting the recitations with the rosary.<sup>139</sup> The benefits of this ceremony are then presented, again framed as three kinds of medicines (sections 6, 7, 8).<sup>140</sup>

In the ritual tradition of the Wheel of Wish-fulfilling Jewels, or Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī, simple dhāraṇī recitation evolved, as we have seen, into a much more elaborate ceremony in the version translated by Bodhiruci, which includes a visualization ritual. This development appears also in the increasingly complex ways the ritual's efficacy is described. First, various uses and effects of the spell are organized around a distinctive scheme of three kinds of medicines. In practice, this means that different compounds of various herbs were blessed with repeated recitations of the spell and then used for different purposes. Thus, one of the benefits of the dhāraṇī involved material substances. The language that describes the efficacy of the ritual is above all that of "accomplishment," or *chengjiu*.<sup>141</sup> The language of "three medicines" is retained, and the "accomplishment" is described as the creation ("accomplishment") of the three forms of medicine in the section about the maṇḍala ceremony (section 5).<sup>142</sup> In the following sections, these three are identified as medicine to be carried on one's body, medicine kept in one's mouth, and medicine for the eye.<sup>143</sup> With each type of medicine the term *chengjiu* is used, to indicate the success of the ritual.<sup>144</sup> Interpolated into the discussion of medicine taken by mouth is a separate section specifically focusing on the uses of that form of medicine (*yong-yaozhe* 用藥者).

## THE INTRODUCTION OF THE MAṆḌALA INITIATION CEREMONY

The *Kaiyuan Catalogue* treats the *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin Sūtra* (Yizi foding lunwang jing 一字佛頂輪王經) in five fascicles and the *Five-Buddhōṣṇīṣa Samādhi Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (Wu foding sanmei tuoluoni jing 五佛頂三昧陀羅尼經) in four fascicles as referring to the same translation, made by Bodhiruci at the Western Chongfusi 西崇福寺 monastery, assisted by his disciple Prajñākuṭa.<sup>145</sup> They began work in the summer of 709 and finished in the winter of the same year.<sup>146</sup> The contents reveal that the two works are closely related, but with some significant differences.<sup>147</sup> The initial translation may have been revised extensively. It is also possible that two closely related original versions, under different titles but representing different stages in the development of the same sūtra, were known to Bodhiruci. Another translation of the same work is attributed to Amoghavajra, the *One-Syllable Uṣṇīṣa Cakravartin Taught at the Site of Enlightenment Sūtra*.<sup>148</sup>

The shared main body of Bodhiruci's two translations may be read as a dhāraṇī sūtra. It contains an introductory narrative that attributes the teaching to the Buddha, the text of the spells, an instruction for visualization practice, and also a number of specific accomplishment rituals. Particularly interesting to us is the long section on maṇḍala initiation in the longer translation; this is clearly a version of the general initiation ceremony, sharing many features with the instruction of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. Here the scenario of maṇḍala initiation (scenario 3 above) is incorporated into the larger setting of the ritual scenario of image worship and "accomplishment" (scenario 2). Let us begin by reviewing briefly the features of dhāraṇī sūtras that are common to Bodhiruci's two translations.

### THE INTRODUCTORY NARRATIVE

The setting of the Buddha's sermon is identified as the site of the Buddha's enlightenment.<sup>149</sup> Jeweled curtains decorate the site. The tree under which enlightenment took place is described in elaborate detail as a jeweled tree. It is a Vajra deity, bodhisattva Vajra Secret Trace, who asks the Buddha to instruct him on the spell of the One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin and presents a long list of topics related to this spell.<sup>150</sup> The

Buddha enters a *samādhi*,<sup>151</sup> emitting light from all his thirty marks of the superior being; the light from the *uṣṇīṣa* fills all the buddha lands in all universes, and the sins of all sentient beings are dissolved.<sup>152</sup> The Buddha then emerges from the *samādhi* and teaches the “king of spells,” the great spell of the One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin.<sup>153</sup> The benefits of the spell and the method of wearing it on one’s body are described.

## THE CONTENT OF THE INSTRUCTION

The instructions in this sūtra on the One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin are organized around a fivefold scheme of deities and their spells. The other four spells—of the Buddhōṣṇīṣa of All the Tathāgatas’ White Umbrella Cakravartin, of the High Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin, of the Victory Buddhōṣṇīṣa (*Vijayoṣṇīṣa*) Cakravartin, and of the Great Pile of Light Cakravartin—all come from (or have their basis in) the Buddha’s *samādhi* and are powerful, but less powerful than the spell of the One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin.<sup>154</sup> The power of this spell is described, and then the spell is given in transcription.<sup>155</sup> When the Buddha pronounced the spell, all the universe shook, and other extraordinary signs appeared. The Buddha then taught the other four spells. The circumstances under which he taught the spells are described, and the spells are given in transcription.

In section 2 in the five-fascicle translation and sections 3 and 4 in the four-fascicle translation, the Buddha gives elaborate instructions for painting images of the deities named in these spells.<sup>156</sup> The subject of the first painting is the Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin.<sup>157</sup> At the center of the painting should sit the Tathāgata (Śākyamuni), with his thirty-two primary and eighty secondary marks beautifully rendered, surrounded by a mandorla of flaming light. Around the Buddha should be painted Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin and four other Cakravartins, along with many bodhisattvas and other deities. In the following section the Buddha tells how to paint the images of each of the four other Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartins (section 4 in the four-fascicle translation).

As in other dhāraṇī sūtras, this instruction on preparing the image and the rich body of ritual material that follows and constitutes the substance of the sūtra is in fact an instruction on “accomplishment” (C: *chengjiu*), which spells out the proper procedure for reciting the spell to guarantee a successful outcome. First the ceremony is outlined as a series of spells (section 4 in the five-fascicle translation; second half of section 5 in the

four-fascicle version).<sup>158</sup> The instruction begins with bodhisattva Vajra Secret Trace asking the Buddha to explain how those who practice the One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin spell should “practice visualization and maintain purity”; the teaching is also called “the purity instruction for bathing and mind instruction of visualization.”<sup>159</sup> The substance of the instruction the Buddha gives may be understood in the light of this twofold division: an elaborate ritual instruction on bathing and protecting oneself is followed by an instruction on entering the ritual space (called the altar or *maṇḍala*; *tan* 壇).<sup>160</sup> Before the image of the Cakravartin, the practitioner presents offerings, then, sitting on grass mat, the practitioner single-mindedly visualizes the buddhas and the bodhisattvas (as painted according to previous instructions?). The practitioner first recites the spell and forms the *mudrā*, inviting the deities and making a vow (expressing his/her wishes). The practitioner then looks at the image closely, with still body and unblinking eyes, and forms the Lotus Flower *mudrā* and the *mudrā* for presenting the Buddha’s seat.<sup>161</sup> In this way the seats of the buddhas and bodhisattvas are prepared.

The instruction on the use of the rosary follows.<sup>162</sup> The terminology of different groups of deities (“the Buddha group”)<sup>163</sup> and the threefold classification of rites (*śāntika* [“appeasement”], *pauṣṭika* [“prosperity”], *abhicāra* [“sorcery”]), to be discussed in chapter 7 below, appears in this instruction.<sup>164</sup> The passage concludes by returning to the earlier instruction on visualization, now with an intriguing qualification that this visualization may be carried out without the Five-Buddhōṣṇīṣa image.<sup>165</sup> The practitioner visualizes the Buddha appearing in front of him. A series of elaborate visualizations follows.<sup>166</sup>

Above the *mudrā* that one has formed, one visualizes a mountain made of jewels, with a massive seven-jewel lotus flower on it and a great ocean below it. Inside the flower, surrounded by jewel curtains and covered by the net of jewels, bells, chimes, and pearls, Tathāgata Śākyamuni sits on a lion throne. Within this pavilion all the deities in the Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin painting are present. Visualized above the pavilion is a seven-jewel umbrella, and on its four sides are jeweled nets. The scope of visualization gradually expands, till the vision reaches the Akaniṣṭha heaven. Within that visualized *maṇḍala* the practitioner bathes and adorns Śākyamuni and all the other buddhas and bodhisattvas, afterward presenting offerings of food and drink to them. The practitioner then confesses his sins, and taking up the rosary, recites the spell. The recitation is completed, the *maṇḍala* is dissolved, and the deities are dismissed. After practicing this visualization three times each day for 36 months or 300 days, one is able to realize *samādhi*.<sup>167</sup>

In this summary instruction, the ritual for the Buddhōṣṇiṣa deity is presented primarily as a visualization practice whose goal is the attainment of a *samādhi*. Externally, this practice, as in other rituals described in Bodhiruci's translation and in some rituals in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, takes the form of counting the number of recitations with a rosary.

This summary is followed by a section designated "secret," which comprises a large body of ritual instructions on "accomplishment."<sup>168</sup> Most notably, here visualization practices are not mentioned at all, but again the rituals are classified into *pauṣṭika*, *śāntika*, and *abhicāraka*.<sup>169</sup> In both of Bodhiruci's translations another instruction on image worship appears in the following section.<sup>170</sup> In the section after that is a group of mudrās.<sup>171</sup>

Section 10 in the *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Sūtra* and section 9 in the *Five-Buddhōṣṇiṣa Samādhi Dhāraṇī Sūtra* are designated, respectively, "accomplishment" and, in Sanskrit transcription, "*siddhi*," and describe the miraculous signs that indicate the success of the ceremony, including image miracles.<sup>172</sup> The instruction in both translations concludes with a discussion of the fire offering.

In the two translations by Bodhiruci, then, many different ritual practices are assembled and organized largely around the painted image, and image miracles demonstrate the success of spell recitation. At a crucial point in this ritual, however, an elaborate visualization ritual is somewhat artificially introduced.

## MAṆḌALA INITIATION

The principal difference between Bodhiruci's two translations is the inclusion of a long and detailed instruction on maṇḍala initiation only in the *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Sūtra*, where it may have been a later insertion.<sup>173</sup> Common to the both translations is the scenario in which the recitation of spells in front of an image or in a fire offering brings miraculous responses. No *abhiṣeka* initiation is mentioned in either translation outside of this one section on maṇḍala initiation,<sup>174</sup> which appears suddenly in a sūtra that otherwise presents the rituals of "accomplishment," focusing on image worship and dhāraṇī recitation.

In the *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Sūtra*, section 8, the instruction on creating the maṇḍala is followed by a detailed account of the ceremony to be performed for it, explicitly said to be modeled on various universal initiation ceremonies.<sup>175</sup> In fact, this extensive instruction

TABLE 5.1

Mantras of the <i>One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Sūtra</i> 's Maṇḍala Ceremony			
	<i>One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Sūtra</i>	<i>Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras</i>	
	T. 951	T. 901, fasc. 4	fasc. 12
I. Preparatory rites			
1. Question to candidates	19.246b13–17	18.813c16–19	18.886a9–13
2. Declaration to the deities of the intent to perform the maṇḍala ceremony	19.246b18–c1	18.813c19–814a2	18.886a13–25
3. Burying Seven Jewels and Five Grains	19.246c6–14	18.814a11–16	18.886c15–22
4. Setting up bamboo poles and flags	19.246c16–21	18.814b20–23	Ref., 18.887a5–b4
5. Addressing the deities and requesting support	19.247a5–10	Ref. 18.815a1–5	Ref. 18.888a23–27
II. Construction of the maṇḍala	19.247a20–249a16	18.814a25–815b12	18.886c7–889b7
III. Core rites			
6. Inviting the deities to their seats	19.249c10–250b19	Ref., 18.817b16–26	18.890b19–c17
7. Visualization	19.250c7–251a11		
8. Confirming the candidate's intention again	19.251a14–17	18.814c10–11	18.891a11–12
9. Attaching spell cord to candidates	19.251a18–20	18.814c15–16	Ref., 18.891c19–21
10. Touching different parts of the candidate's body with white mustard seed	19.251a20–21	18.814c7–8	18.891a13–14; Ref., b11–12
11. Blindfolded flower-throwing ceremony	19.251a25–b9	18.815c27–816a15	18.891b12–29
12. <i>Abhiṣeka</i> initiation	19.251b12–c8 (c17)	18.816a16–27	18.891b29–c22
13. Homa ceremony	19.251c18–252b9	18.816a28–20	18.891c27–892b10



TABLE 5.1 (continued)

Mantras of the <i>One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Sūtra</i> 's Maṇḍala Ceremony			
	<i>One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin Sūtra</i>	<i>Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras</i>	
	T. 951	T. 901, fasc. 4	fasc. 12
IV. Concluding rites			
14. Apologizing for possible mistakes	19.252b10–12	18.816b21–23	18.892c3–7
15. Dismissing the deities	19.252b12–16	18.816b23–24	18.892c7–10
16. Leading disciples around the maṇḍala, identifying the seats of the deities, and collecting offerings	19.252b16–24	18.816c3–4	18.892c16–22
17. Distributing the gifts	19.252b24–28	18.816b24–c3	18.892c10–16

shares a great deal with the instruction on the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Initiation Ceremony in fascicles 4 and 12 of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* (T. 901).<sup>176</sup> Close parallels between specific rites in the maṇḍala ceremony as they appear in Atikūṭa's work and in Bodhiruci's can be confirmed from the table 5.1.

One striking difference between the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony described in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* and the *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin Sūtra* is the introduction of the elaborate visualization ritual in the latter.<sup>177</sup> Since the immediately preceding rites spells out in considerable detail how to invite the deities into the maṇḍala, this visualization appears redundant. Perhaps it was introduced to expand the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony, which was, however, a more coherent ritual scenario without it.

Although in outline the One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin Ceremony follows the All-Gathering Ceremony described in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, the two use different sets of spells and mudrās. For example, after the intention to perform the ceremony is announced to the buddhas, bodhisattvas, Vajra and other deities, and all evil deities such as Vināyaka are told to stay away, and before the preparation of the ground on which the maṇḍala is to be created, the heart spell of all Uṣṇīṣa Cakravartins is formed and the smashing spell of the Uṣṇīṣa

Cakravartin is recited while the fragrant water is being sprinkled to mark the space.<sup>178</sup> In the corresponding part of the All-Gathering Ceremony it is the Kuṇḍalin rite that is performed.<sup>179</sup> This rite is described in greater detail in the entry for the Vajra deity Amṛtakūṇḍalin.<sup>180</sup> Again in the One-Syllable Buddhhoṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Ceremony, before the central rite of throwing a flower into the maṇḍala is performed, the spell cord is attached to the arm of the candidate while the heart spell of all Uṣṇiṣa Cakravartins is recited.<sup>181</sup> At the corresponding point in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony it is the Hayagrīva spell that is pronounced.<sup>182</sup> In the One-Syllable Ceremony, as the *ācārya* instructs the candidate to throw the flower, he recites the One-Syllable Buddhhoṣṇiṣa Cakravartin spell 108 times. In the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony, the Avalokiteśvara *Samādhi* spell is recited, and only seven times.<sup>183</sup>

The maṇḍala ceremony in the *One-Syllable Buddhhoṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Sūtra* (section 8) initiates candidates into the cults of their particular deities. The arrangement of the deities on the maṇḍala reflects this basic design. The maṇḍala is either thirty-two, sixteen, twelve, or eight *hasta* in size and is divided into four halls; it has only one gate, which opens on the west side.<sup>184</sup> At the center of the inner hall is Śākyamuni, along with the One-Syllable Uṣṇiṣa Cakravartin; they are surrounded by a number of Buddhhoṣṇiṣa deities as well as deities representing the eyes, fang, and *ūrṇā* of the Tathāgata.<sup>185</sup>

The Buddhhoṣṇiṣa deities appear to have been closely affiliated in this sūtra with deities representing different parts of the Buddha's body. In the sūtra's introductory section the Buddha is said to have entered a *samādhi*, "the great *samādhi*, miraculous demonstration of the One-Syllable Buddhhoṣṇiṣa Cakravartin of All Tathāgatas," during which he emitted light from his *uṣṇiṣa*.<sup>186</sup> After emerging from the *samādhi*, the Buddha then told the bodhisattva Vajra Secret Trace to listen carefully to a series of "spell kings": the One-Syllable Buddhhoṣṇiṣa Cakravartin spell king; the Buddha's Eyes spell king; and the Four Uṣṇiṣa spell kings, identified as Tathāgata's arm, Tathāgata's lips, Tathāgata's mouth, and Cakravartin Who Turns the Wheel of the Dharma.<sup>187</sup>

In section 7, where a series of mudrās are each paired with its spell, the entry on the mudrā of the One-Syllable Buddhhoṣṇiṣa Cakravartin is followed by entries on the four Buddhhoṣṇiṣa Cakravartins (entries 4–8).<sup>188</sup> Entry 9 describes the mudrā of turning the wheel of the dharma. Then comes a series of mudrās and spells invoking different parts of the Tathāgata's body: eyes (entry 16), *ūrṇā* (entry 17), mouth (entry 18), navel (entry 21), nail (entry 22), hair knot (entry 23), ear (entry 24), fang (entry 25), head (entry 26), lips (entry 27), tongue (entry 28), ribs (entry 29),

shoulder bone (entries 30 and 34), nipple (entry 31), lower belly (entry 32), back (entry 33), knee (entry 35), heel (entry 36), and leg (entry 37). The cult of Buddhōṣṇīṣa (the Buddha's crown) thus was related loosely to the cults of different parts of the Buddha's body parts—an association articulated in this long list of mudrās, in the arrangement of the deities in the inner hall of the maṇḍala, and in the introductory narrative.<sup>189</sup>

As the above-mentioned explicit reference to the maṇḍala initiation ceremony indicates, by the time the extended instruction in section 8 of the *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin Sūtra* was compiled, maṇḍala initiation in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicles 4 and 12, appears already to have become well established.<sup>190</sup> In the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* the ceremony is closely affiliated with the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, who in fascicle 12 is replaced by the Buddhōṣṇīṣa deity Tejorāśi. The account in the *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin Sūtra* indicates further elaboration of this new connection. The center hall of the maṇḍala is no longer occupied by the somewhat obscure and tentatively identified deity Tejorāśi, but rather by a large pantheon of Buddhōṣṇīṣa deities.

In particular, substituting Buddhōṣṇīṣa spells for spells more or less clearly derived from Avalokiteśvara deities reduces the presence of these deities, though (as is the case with the All-Gathering Maṇḍala in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*) one section of the maṇḍala (the northern side of the second hall) is still assigned to them.<sup>191</sup>

A general maṇḍala initiation into the entire set of Esoteric rituals, as spelled out in full in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, is incorporated in yet another dhāraṇī sūtra. In Bodhiruci's translation of the *Thousand-Handed and Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (*Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa mu tuoluoni shen jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩姥陀羅尼身經; T. 1058) is a striking reference to an All-Gathering Ceremony.<sup>192</sup> This ritual is designated the "Three-Maṇḍala Vajra Ground of Practice," and the reference is appended to the sūtra's extended instruction on its own maṇḍala ceremony. The *Thousand-Handed and Thousand-Eyed Sūtra* prescribes an eight-*hasta* maṇḍala and the initiation performed for it, including the visualization of the deity and the visionary appearance of the deity.<sup>193</sup> Appended to this is the instruction for constructing a smaller four-*hasta* "water maṇḍala" for attaining specific objectives. But, says the appended instruction, those who have undergone the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony need not create the eight-*hasta* maṇḍala and undertake its rituals; they can proceed with the rituals for the four-*hasta* maṇḍala for attaining their specific objectives. The point appears to be that the All-Gathering Initiation Ceremony is

the functional equivalent of the eight-*hasta* maṇḍala initiation ceremony required in the *Thousand-Handed and Thousand-Eyed Sūtra*.<sup>194</sup>

In his study of Esoteric buddhas, Yoritomi Motohiro focused on the arrangement of the five buddhas in Esoteric sūtras and produced a comprehensive account of the evolution of the Esoteric pantheon. The *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Sūtra* occupies an important place in this reconstruction: except for the identity of the central deity, the arrangement of the five buddhas in section 8 (“Great Maṇḍala”) is identical to their arrangement in chapter 2 of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, the “Full Accoutrements and Mantras for Entering the Maṇḍala.”<sup>195</sup> And the instructions in the “Great Maṇḍala” section seem significantly related to the account of the maṇḍala ceremony in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, translated by Śubhākarasiṃha and Yixing in 724–726, though available evidence does not enable us to determine the exact nature of this relationship. A similar complex relationship to the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* can be detected in the long *Amoghapāśa Supernatural Display Mantra Sūtra*, also translated by Bodhiruci.

This chapter has examined three examples of dhāraṇī sūtras translated by Bodhiruci and others, to see how a distinctive genre with common formats, still called “dhāraṇī sūtra” but with a very rich ritual context, emerged out of the general category of dhāraṇī sūtras. The genre’s development was shaped by the fundamental changes in ritual practices that I have described as “three ritual scenarios.” The earlier dhāraṇī sūtras, texts for the first of these scenarios, had simply transmitted spells and described their benefits. The later texts describe a panoply of rituals: recitation of spells, image worship, construction of maṇḍalas, initiation rituals, and visualization. The dhāraṇī sūtra has become a full-fledged ritual manual, as is evident in the translations by Bodhiruci examined here.

We have also gained further insight into the shifting roles of different deities as the new rituals developed. Among the three examples above, the Cintāmaṇīcakra dhāraṇī is presented by Avalokiteśvara to the Buddha.<sup>196</sup> By contrast, in the newly introduced opening narrative in the *Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra*, its central dhāraṇī is given by the Buddha to a Vajra deity; Avalokiteśvara deities do not appear.<sup>197</sup> It is also the Buddha who offers the instruction in the *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Sūtra*, in response to questions from the Vajra deity. Again, Avalokiteśvara is hardly mentioned.<sup>198</sup> Ritual instructions associated with Avalokiteśvara deities and Vajra deities must have continued to be perceived as mutually distinct, as they are in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. Bodhiruci later translated the very long

*Sūtra of the Mantra of Amoghapāśa's Miraculous Transformations*, whose long framing narrative begins as an exchange between the Buddha and Avalokiteśvara. But as the sūtra continues, a Vajra deity, called Lord of Mysteries, begins to play an increasingly more prominent role. In the end the format of the sūtra comes to resemble that of other Vajra sūtras.

## 6. THE TRADITION OF THE AMOGHAPĀŚA SŪTRAS

In this chapter we turn to the rich tradition of ritual sūtras associated with the deity Amoghapāśa. Bodhiruci translated an unusually large and complex sūtra from this tradition, in which instructions on visualization of syllables appear scattered in several places. This is of particular interest for the present investigation. Visualization of syllables occupies a central place in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*. Other sūtras for this deity present simpler forms of dhāraṇī recitation practice. Together the group of Amoghapāśa dhāraṇī sūtras enables us to trace how simpler dhāraṇī practices evolved into a more complex form that contained elements characteristic of the so-called “pure” Esoteric teaching.

The tradition of Amoghapāśa sūtras can be traced back to the short *Sūtra of the Amoghapāśa Spell*, first translated in 587 by Jñānagupta (ca. 522–600), a fellow student of Yaśogupta, who translated the *Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*, and like him, a missionary-monk-translator resident in China.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra* that Jñānagupta translated is very similar in format to the *Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*. Both conclude with instructions for creating a material image and for the ritual to be performed before it, and in both the success of the ritual is confirmed by miraculous signs that appear around the image.

This brief *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra* comes from a very early stage in the evolution of the genre I have called dhāraṇī sūtras.

A different tradition of Amoghapāśa sūtras is preserved in two translations, apparently based on the same manuscript, that appeared about the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century—one by Mañicintana 寶思惟 (d. 721) and the other by Li Wuchan 李無諂.<sup>2</sup> The chapter on the maṇḍala ceremony in these parallel translations describes an initiation ceremony very similar to that of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. Image-worship ritual, the concept of “accomplishment,” and the scenario of maṇḍala initiation were all important in the evolution of the Amoghapāśa tradition.

Slightly later in the eighth century (707–709), Bodhiruci translated the massive thirty-fascicle Amoghapāśa sūtra, which he titled *Amoghapāśa's Supernatural Display Mantra Sūtra*.<sup>3</sup> In this sūtra a large body of ritual instructions deriving from the Amoghapāśa tradition is organized around a coherent narrative. Its opening chapter is a version of the short sūtra translated by Jñānagupta and others.<sup>4</sup> Much of *Amoghapāśa's Supernatural Display* is a long series of dhāraṇīs, along with instructions for their recitation, image rituals, and maṇḍala initiation. It also includes a complex visualization practice. The format of a dhāraṇī sūtra is followed in the organization of each section. Bodhiruci's translation also contains elements strikingly similar to parts of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*. We shall begin by reviewing the short sūtra translated by Jñānagupta.

### THE AMOGHAPĀŚA SPELL SŪTRA, AS TRANSLATED BY JÑĀNAGUPTA 闍那崛多 AND XUANZANG 玄奘

The *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra* 不空罽索咒經 was translated first by Jñānagupta in 587, then by Xuanzang (ca. 600–664) in 659, and much later (tenth century) again by Dānapāla 施護.<sup>5</sup> Bodhiruci also produced a separate translation of this shorter sūtra relatively early in his career in 693.<sup>6</sup> Xuanzang and Bodhiruci called their translations “heart sūtra,” which I take to imply that the texts they translated offer only the essential core of the Amoghapāśa teaching.<sup>7</sup>

Examining the *Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* allowed us to trace how the simpler practice of reciting spells that produces visions came to be recast around image worship. A very similar process can be identified in the early translations of the *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra*. These two developments may in fact have been related.

The shorter *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra* translated by Jñānagupta and the *Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* translated by Yaśogupta show significant similarities (as noted by Soeda and others).<sup>8</sup> One is particularly interesting in the context of the chronology of translations traced above. Xuanzang, toward the end of his 656 translation of the *Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*, distinguishes between “not established” and “established” uses and speaks of image worship as the way of performing the ritual in the “established” fashion. Jñānagupta, in his translation of the short *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra*, introduces the same distinction in a similar context with slightly different wording: as a matter of “not upholding” and “upholding” the spell. Even if one does not “uphold 不受持” the spell, we are told, and simply recites the dhāraṇī, one can still eliminate all obstructions and accomplish all goals. To uphold this spell, one should weave a white cloth and on it paint one Buddha.<sup>9</sup> A detailed prescription for that image and its ritual follows. “Upholding,” like “establishing,” must be specifically related to image worship.

In his 659 translation of the *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra*, Xuanzang follows Jñānagupta and uses the term “uphold.”<sup>10</sup> In Bodhiruci’s one-fascicle translation dated to 693 the crucial term is “accomplishing” (*chengjiu* 成就), but it applies both to recitation alone and to recitation before an image. Recitation before an image ensures the accomplishment of whatever goals have not been accomplished by recitation alone.<sup>11</sup>

In summary, in Xuanzang’s 656 translation of the *Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*, the functional distinction between “not established” and “established” is unambiguous.<sup>12</sup> Yaśogupta’s translation (ca. 570) makes the distinction, though his terminology is less clear. Translating in 587, some seventeen years after Yaśogupta and well before Xuanzang translated the *Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* in 656, Jñānagupta in translating the *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra* introduced the language of “not upholding” and “upholding,” for a distinction between dhāraṇī recitation alone and recitation addressed to an image. This distinction appears to have been present in the original Sanskrit from which Jñānagupta translated.

All the versions of the *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra* begin with the setting of the Buddha’s sermon. Then Avalokiteśvara rises and speaks to the Buddha, describing the spell called *Amoghapāśa*,<sup>13</sup> which he received ninety-one kalpas ago from a buddha. He describes at length the benefits of the spell, whereupon the Buddhas of the Ten Directions appear.<sup>14</sup> Lists of twenty this-worldly benefits and eight auspicious occurrences at the moment of death follow.<sup>15</sup> At last he gives the text of the spell and the



method of its use; this includes effigies to counteract a curse<sup>16</sup> and “spell strings” (S: *pratisara*) to wear for protection.<sup>17</sup> Nowhere in this extended discussion do images of deities appear.

One passage in Jñānagupta’s version describes the ritual to counteract pestilence. Construct a ritual space; smear cow dung over the ground and spray with fragrant water; place newly made water jars holding flowers at the four corners of the ritual space and also scatter flowers over the ritual space; spread grass over the space and on it place food and drink; at the four corners place lamps made of dough with wicks made of clean cloth; offer the best incense; have the spell master bathe with fragrant water, put on fresh clothes, spread fresh cloth over his seat, sit down, and recite the spell.<sup>18</sup> In the following passage describing the fire offering, 108 lotus flowers or pieces of sandalwood are to be thrown into the fire. Again, Avalokiteśvara, the speaker here, does not mention any image.

In contrast, the ritual for “upholding” the spell should be performed around an image. Avalokiteśvara continues: weave a white cloth, five *chi* (about 1.5 m) wide and one *zhang* (about 3 m) long and uncut, paint a Buddha on it with a mixture of incense, milk, and color and without animal glue; to the right of the Buddha paint an image of Avalokiteśvara resembling the god Maheśvara with his topknot braided in a snail shape and wearing a flower crown; with a piece of black deerskin cover his left shoulder, and with a variety of necklaces adorn other parts of his body;<sup>19</sup> tell the painter to observe the eight lay precepts and abstain from mixed (nonvegetarian?) food, and each day to bathe in scented water and put on clean clothes.

The practitioner who upholds the spell must set the image in a clean place and paint the ground in front of the image, six *zhang* (about 18 m) square, with cow dung; cover this pure space with white flowers; place eight one-*tou* (about 0.6 l) water pots on the ritual space, each pot holding scented water and flowers; spread fresh grass at the eight grass seats in the eight directions and put food on each grass seat; then line up sixty-four portions of food as well as other comestibles, excluding only the five strong-flavored vegetables, meat, and wine.

The practitioner should fast and burn incense for three days and nights and bathe at three set times before reciting the spell. If three days and three nights are not possible, one day’s and one night’s fast will suffice; (at other times?) he may eat only three kinds of “white food” (milk, yogurt, and rice). The practitioner should kneel before the image, and after setting up food and drink (as offerings), he should recite the spell 1,008 times, after which he will see himself before the image, which

emits flames of light. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara will arrive and then manifest himself, and all the wishes of the practitioner will be granted. Examples of specific wishes, including the power to be invisible and to fly, are listed.<sup>20</sup>

The distinction identified above in the *Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*, between reciting spells without an image and the image-centered practice, is made even clearer in the *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra*. References to images of the Buddha and Avalokiteśvara, which appear at the end of the latter text, may have been added, at the time when image worship came to be more widely practiced in the context of these rituals.

### THE SŪTRA TRANSLATED BY MAṆICINTANA AND LI WUCHAN

The ritual of the *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtras* follows the ritual scenario of image worship (scenario 2 above). Another tradition of Amoghapāśa ritual instruction existed, somewhat separate from these “heart” sūtras translated by Jñānagupta, Xuanzang, and Dānapāla.<sup>21</sup> This sūtra, entitled in Maṇicintana’s translation the *Sūtra of Amoghapāśa Dhāraṇī, the Supernatural King of Spells* and in Li Wuchan’s translation the *Sūtra of Amoghapāśa Dhāraṇī*, presents a series of instructions on Amoghapāśa rituals.<sup>22</sup> Of particular significance is the central place given to the maṇḍala initiation ceremony (scenario 3).

This sūtra, also known as the *Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sūtra*, is divided into separate sections according to the ritual to which these sections apply. Maṇicintana begins each with the term “accomplishment” (C: *chengjiu* 成就).<sup>23</sup> The conventional introductory description of the setting of the Buddha’s teaching is absent from both translations. In the first section the sūtra describes the benefits (“accomplishment”) of the spell, devoting the second section to the practice that results in a vision of Avalokiteśvara 聖觀自在菩薩, who promises fulfillment of all wishes (again termed “accomplishment”).<sup>24</sup> Section 3, describing how one attains the vision of Avalokiteśvara, comprises an extended instruction on preparing a painted image, creating a maṇḍala, and performing the ritual. The “accomplishment” of this ritual takes place when the image shakes and emanates smoke or flames.<sup>25</sup> A variety of rituals for specific ends is described in sections 5–12 and 14.<sup>26</sup> Section 13 offers an extended instruction for a maṇḍala ritual. Section 15 describes a vision of Amoghapāśa.<sup>27</sup> Section 16 concludes the instruction.

Soeda Ryūshun once argued that this *Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sūtra* evolved out of the presentation of the fifty-two mudrās of the Avalokiteśvara ritual in the fourth fascicle of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*.<sup>28</sup> A recent study by Reis-Habito has subjected this hypothesis to critical examination and overturned Soeda's full assertion.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, some important connection may have obtained between the Mañicintana/Li Wuchan version of the *Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sūtra* and the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*.

Section 13 in both Mañicintana's and Li Wuchan's translations describes a large maṇḍala with Avalokiteśvara as its central deity, and the description of this maṇḍala and the ritual prescribed for it may have a more meaningful connection with the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*.<sup>30</sup> Notably, although the maṇḍala in both translations is centered on Avalokiteśvara, Vajra deities (and deities that came to be known as such in later sources) also occupy important places. Equally significant, the crucial rite of blindfolded candidates throwing their flowers onto the maṇḍala forms the core of the initiation ceremony in both translations, just as it does in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*.

Mañicintana and Li Wuchan, in their sections on the creation of a maṇḍala (section 13), describe in some detail a large 32-*hasta* maṇḍala intended for a ceremony sponsored by a king.<sup>31</sup> Its internal divisions are powdered in five colors, blue-green, yellow, red, white, and black. On each of its four sides is a gate, and not far outside each gate are two decorated pillars (called an "auspicious gate").<sup>32</sup> "Divine" or "heavenly" king images flank both sides of each gate. Mañicintana and Li Wuchan name these deities: outside the east gate, Dhṛtarāṣṭra to the left and Virūḍhaka to the right; outside the south gate, "Ugly-Eyed" (Virūpākṣa?) to the left and "Red-Eyed" to the right; outside the west gate, the yakṣa king Mañibhadra to the left and Pūrṇabhadra to the right; outside the north gate, Vaiśravaṇa to the left and Vajradhara/Vajrapāṇi to the right.<sup>33</sup> At the center is painted bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

With the maṇḍala built, the instruction shifts to prescribing what should be painted on it, adding somewhat later an instruction for the painter.<sup>34</sup> To the left of the maṇḍala's central deity is bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta, and to the right bodhisattva Samantabhadra. Below Samantabhadra should be the heavenly maidens, Māmakī and Vajraceṭī, and below Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Tārā and Bhṛkūti. At the center, in front of (or below) Avalokiteśvara, an image of the spell king Amoghpaśa.<sup>35</sup> Thus, in this maṇḍala of Avalokiteśvara, the deities of the lotus family led by Mahāsthāmaprāpta and those of the Vajra family led by Samantabhadra are deliberately brought together.<sup>36</sup> Other deities are also

drawn into this maṇḍala: further flanking Amoghapāśa, the heavenly deities Śakra, Brahmapurohita, Nārāyaṇa, and Maheśvara and his retinue; on the four sides of these deities, four dragon kings; to the north (or at each of the four corners), four *asura* kings.<sup>37</sup> These dragons and *asura* deities are carefully named. Drawings of ritual implements and mudrās are added.

Banners in four colors of blue-green, yellow, red, and white are to be hung around the maṇḍala, and a white cloth should cover the top. Eight metal water pots, flowers attached to their necks, should be filled with water and placed on the maṇḍala. Varieties of offerings are described.

As in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, next comes an extended instruction for the *abhiṣeka* initiation ceremony. Maṇicintana's translation mentions creating another small maṇḍala apart from the main maṇḍala, where, as in the ritual described in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, the *abhiṣeka* will take place. At the climax of the ceremony the king and his retinue are to be introduced to the maṇḍala; the ritual master rises from his seat, pays respect to Avalokiteśvara and his retinue on the main maṇḍala, and leaves the maṇḍala. He takes the king's right hand and guides him to a gate of the maṇḍala. There the ritual master covers the king's eyes with a piece of white cloth and the king pays respect to the buddhas, bodhisattvas, and the spell king (Amoghapāśa?), along with all the deities on the maṇḍala. The ritual master leads the king as he confesses his sins and makes a vow. A flower is placed in the king's hands, and the king, approaching the maṇḍala, throws (or places) the flower inside. The deity on whom the flower comes to rest will bring about the success of the king's ritual performances, or become the king's teacher.<sup>38</sup>

Li Wuchan may have understood the instruction for this maṇḍala and its ritual as closely related to the instruction for the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara ritual in fascicle 4 of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. The list of spells and mudrās that Li Wuchan placed at the end of his translation of the *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra* may have been inspired, as Soeda suggests, by the similar list that appears after the instruction for the maṇḍala ceremony in fascicle 4 of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*.

### AMOGHAPĀŚA'S SUPERNATURAL DISPLAY MANTRA SŪTRA

This thirty-fascicle sūtra, translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci in 707–709, presents a wide range of Amoghapāśa rituals (termed *sa-*

*maya*). A divergent and possibly earlier version has been translated into Tibetan (Derge canon, Tohoku no. 686, and elsewhere).<sup>39</sup> A Sanskrit manuscript recently came to light, of which a photographic reproduction was published in 1996. The content of this Sanskrit manuscript is reported to agree fairly closely with the version preserved in Tibetan and to diverge significantly from Bodhiruci's Chinese translation as reproduced in the *Taishō* canon.<sup>40</sup> The pervasive divergences between the Chinese translation and the newly discovered Sanskrit and the Tibetan translation suggest that these versions may represent different transmissions of the sūtra, possibly as separate developments or as different stages in its evolution.<sup>41</sup> Preliminary discussion below will focus on Bodhiruci's Chinese translation and attempt to situate this massive sūtra in the larger context of ritual evolution discussed here.<sup>42</sup>

The title of Bodhiruci's translation appears to place this sūtra in the lineage of dhāraṇī sūtras, substituting the related term "mantra" for dhāraṇī. In Bodhiruci's translation the thirty-fascicle *Supernatural Display Sūtra* seems to be a collection of loosely, though deliberately integrated dhāraṇī sūtras. Bodhiruci's translations of the *Great Jewel Pavilion*, the *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī*, and the *One-Syllable Buddhoṣṇīṣa Cakravartin Sūtra/Five-Buddhoṣṇīṣa Samādhi Dhāraṇī Sūtra* discussed above each begin by presenting a single dhāraṇī.<sup>43</sup> Various ritual practices affiliated with the dhāraṇī or its associated deity then follow. This basic organization of ritual instructions around dhāraṇīs characterizes the thirty-fascicle sūtra as well.

In reviewing the *Great Jewel Pavilion* and the *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī*, we saw how a shorter set of instructions on spells and mudrās developed into a formally framed sūtra that begins by describing the setting of the Buddha's teaching and presents elaborate image and maṇḍala rituals, often incorporating visualization practice. In Bodhiruci's translation of *Amoghapāśa's Supernatural Display*, we can observe this development proceeding further. I shall examine the narrative logic that binds these separate dhāraṇī sūtras, each with its associated instructions, into a single sūtra. I shall then turn attention to the ritual practices and look closely at visualizing syllables. As noted above, this practice is further developed in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*. Its earlier appearance in Bodhiruci's long *Amoghapāśa Sūtra* helps us understand how the long tradition of dhāraṇī sūtras may have prepared the ground for the appearance of the so-called "pure" esoteric teaching.

### THE NARRATIVE AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AMOGHAPĀŚA'S SUPERNATURAL DISPLAY SŪTRA

As in the *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra*, translated by Jñānagupta and others, the setting of the thirty-fascicle *Supernatural Display Sūtra* is Avalokiteśvara's palace on Mount Potalaka. The transcription of a long mantra called "Mother Dhāraṇī Mantra of Mind-King Amoghapāśa" (*Bukong juansuo xinwang mu tuoluoni zhenyan* 不空罽索心王母陀羅尼真言) is followed by a description of miraculous signs: when the mantra was taught, light illuminated the entire mountain and the ground of the place shook six ways; heavenly flowers, jeweled incense burners, crowns, and heavenly robes, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments filled the sky. Flower petals on the ground reached one's knees. Heavenly music was heard.<sup>44</sup>

Miraculous signs appearing after the spell is presented follow a well-established rhetorical convention. Often in the *Sūtra on the Divine Spells Taught by Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* dhāraṇīs are said to have the power to make the universe shake in six ways.<sup>45</sup> So also in Bodhiruci's dhāraṇī sūtras, reviewed above.<sup>46</sup> The ground shaking six ways and other unusual signs appear repeatedly in later parts of the *Supernatural Display Sūtra*.<sup>47</sup>

The mantras enable us to mark the basic units of this sūtra. The entire thirty-fascicle scripture is divided into seventy-eight sections (*pin* 品). As Avalokiteśvara presents each new named mantra, miraculous signs or visions follow. Twelve principal mantras are introduced, each followed by a description of miraculous visions: in sections 1, 2 (closely affiliated with the passage in section 1), 13, 15, 20, 22, 30, 41, 47, 52, 58, and 67 (the last three closely related). Instructions for manifold rituals accompany each of these mantras. As Avalokiteśvara presents these principal mantras to the Buddha, a new figure, Vajradhara, the Lord of Mysteries 執金剛祕密主菩薩摩訶薩, is somewhat abruptly introduced, gradually assuming an increasingly dominant role. As in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, the ritual tradition rooted in the Avalokiteśvara cult appears to have been expanded by incorporating cults of Vajra deities.

### RITUAL INSTRUCTIONS

Throughout the sūtra, key mantras are accompanied by instructions for their associated rituals. In this sense the sūtra may be read as a large

compendium of ritual instructions. These rituals are termed *samaya* (*sanmeiye* 三昧耶), first in section 2 and then consistently throughout the sūtra.<sup>48</sup> As noted, the framing narratives and the sequential introduction of new mantras also suggest that this long sūtra must have come into being over time, as new mantras and their accompanying ritual instructions were incorporated. Within the diverse body of material in this sūtra, however, it is difficult to detect the pattern of accretion. Even if the sūtra grew by incorporating later ritual material, efforts to homogenize the ritual instructions that are found in different parts of the overall narrative are detectable.

For example, the mantra of the Universal King of Spells Aṅkuśa is mentioned repeatedly throughout the sūtra: in the instruction for *homa* sacrifice in section 7, in the instruction for visualization in section 23, as a part of the initiation ceremony in section 24.<sup>49</sup> And yet it is only toward the end of the sūtra, in section 52 (cycle 3), that Avalokiteśvara first presents the text of the mantra to the Buddha.<sup>50</sup> It appears as the first of the three mantras that bear the name of Aṅkuśa.<sup>51</sup> Knowledge of the text of the mantra has been repeatedly presupposed. Striking similarities in ritual instructions that occur in different parts of the sūtra (e.g., in the prescriptions of visualization practices) also suggest that the ritual instructions incorporated at different points in the text came out of a world of shared ritual knowledge.

We have seen above how the basic scenarios of spell recitation, image worship (and “accomplishment” rituals), and maṇḍala initiation shaped the evolution of a particular genre of dhāraṇī sūtras, to which this text translated by Bodhiruci belongs. Attention to these scenarios helped decipher the structures of the earlier and shorter Amoghapāśa sūtras. The large and complex body of ritual instructions in the *Amoghapāśa’s Supernatural Display* may be understood in a similar vein.

At the core of all these rituals is the repeated recitation of mantras. It is the recitations, sometimes requiring a rosary to keep count, that evoke the miraculous signs of “accomplishment.”<sup>52</sup> As in the dhāraṇī sūtras reviewed above, shorter forms of the mantras, here identified as the Secret Heart Mantra, the Wrathful King Mantra, and so on, figure in the ceremonies more frequently than the long or “root” forms.<sup>53</sup>

Image-worship rituals are featured often in this sūtra.<sup>54</sup> Typically, the instructions for painting an image of the deity, surrounded by other deities and beings, are followed by a description of the ritual to be performed for the image. These rituals are termed “accomplishment,” as are the miraculous signs in which they culminate: the image emits light and the deity, or its image, in a thunderous voice announces the fulfillment



of all wishes. In many cases the instructions for image rituals are incorporated into those for a larger set of rituals: instructions for painting images, creating maṇḍalas, conducting an initiation ceremony, and a *homa* sacrifice are all grouped together. Instructions for painting images and creating maṇḍalas are particularly closely integrated.<sup>55</sup> *Homa* sacrifice is also described as an “accomplishment.”<sup>56</sup>

Maṇḍala initiation ceremonies are also mentioned repeatedly,<sup>57</sup> and often the instructions for the creation of the maṇḍala and for the initiation ceremony to be performed around it occur in separate sections. Some initiation ceremonies, of the type described in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, are reconfigured as rituals of “accomplishment.” Image miracles, which, like image-worship rituals, are often referred to as “accomplishments,” demonstrate the success of the initiation ceremony. The growing integration of image worship and maṇḍala rituals, and this association of “accomplishment” with both, must reflect the same general development.

Visualization practice is introduced in a number of places in this sūtra. Several important passages, particularly those concerning visualization of syllables, appear to be closely related. Distinctively novel visualization practices lie behind this sūtra.

### VISUALIZATION OF SYLLABLES

A number of instructions regarding visualization appear in the *Amoghapāśa's Supernatural Display Sūtra* translated by Bodhiruci, and virtually all pertain to visualizing syllables.<sup>58</sup> Some instructions appear to be constructed around the schema in which the five syllables are associated with the five elements and assigned to five different parts of the body and the five cosmic wheels. This visualization became more widely known later and is described in greater detail in Yixing's commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*. In some visualizations in the *Supernatural Display Sūtra* specific syllables represent specific deities, such as Vairocana, Avalokiteśvara, and Śākyamuni. In section 42 one set of visualizations is described before the instruction on creating the maṇḍala begins.<sup>59</sup> Another set appears as the central part of the maṇḍala ritual that culminates in image miracles.<sup>60</sup> In other teachings, visualization is described as part of a ceremony, which typically culminates in an image miracle in which the image shakes and speaks, and sometimes the deity appears in a vision. Visualization, typically combined with recitation of mantras,



appears to be well integrated into the larger scenario in which the recitation of mantras before images brings about “accomplishment.” Let us now turn to specific examples.

## Section 20

In the instruction on image worship in section 20, the practitioner engages in an elaborate visualization, called the Visualization of the Mind of Great Compassion (*dabeixin guan* 大悲心觀).<sup>61</sup> The syllables *a*, *va*, *ra*, *hum*, and *kha* are first visualized, and stand for “nonarising of dharmas,” “cutting off of speech,” “removing defilements,” “the quietude of self nature,” and “empty space,” respectively. They are further described as “the seat of the Vajra Wheel in the lower body,” “the sun penetrating through a fog, visualized in the upper body,” “the moon at the heart [that looks like] the sun at daybreak,” “eyebrows of dark blue color,” and “the crown of the head endowed with all colors.” All these visualizations are identified as physical aspects of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara.<sup>62</sup> The syllable *a* is visualized as the light at the head and the syllable *ra* is visualized as the eyes. First the deity is invited with the Wrathful King Mantra and offerings are presented. The Mantra of the All-Pervasive Heart Mudrā is recited, and as each syllable is sounded, flames of different colors illuminate each letter of the mantra. The syllables circle clockwise above the heart, visualized as a moon.

In other sources the visualization of the body as five wheels is known as the Five-Wheel Visualization of the Body (*wulun chengshen guan* 五輪成身觀). In this practice the syllables *a*, *vaṃ*, *raṃ*, *haṃ*, *khaṃ* represent the elements of earth, water, fire, wind, and sky (in that order) and are affiliated with the five regions of the body (from bottom to top), each represented (in the same order) by elemental wheels.<sup>63</sup> Yixing’s commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, fascicle 14, discussing a passage in the Secret Maṇḍala chapter of that sūtra, also presents a visualization practice: before the Womb Maṇḍala of Great Compassion (*dabei taizang* 大悲胎藏) is created, the *ācārya* is instructed to visualize his body in yogic meditation.<sup>64</sup> Different parts of the body are labeled as different wheels: the lower part of the body is the Vajra Wheel (yellow); the part between navel and chest, the Water Wheel (white); the part between the throat and top of the head, the Fire Wheel (red); the top (“crown”) of the head, the Space Wheel (black). On each of these wheels, visualized in different shapes (square, circle, triangle, half moon, and a dot, respectively) is the appropriate one of the five syllables, *a*, *va*, *ra*, *ha*, and *kha*, the seed syllables of the five elements earth, water, fire, wind, and space.<sup>65</sup>

The Visualization of the Mind of Great Compassion described in section 20 of the *Amoghapāśa's Supernatural Display Sūtra* translated by Bodhiruci is the same as Yixing's Five-Wheel Visualization of the Body, though in the latter the syllables are not only mapped on one's body but also projected on the image of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara.

In section 20 the meaning of the five syllables is explained in abstract doctrinal terms. These explanations largely agree with the corresponding parts of the teaching on the "syllable dhāraṇī" that appears in section 23.<sup>66</sup> The explanation in section 20 may have been taken from this glossary in section 23, or it may have been incorporated in the glossary at some later point.

### Section 23

The glossary in section 23 is appended to an extended account of a visualization practice in which Śākyamuni is speaking to Avalokiteśvara, addressing him as Padmapāṇi. The central dhāraṇī of this practice is called the Mantra of the Supreme Secret Mind Contemplation (or Visualization) Dhāraṇī.<sup>67</sup> Here is a summary of the visualization practice described in considerable detail there.<sup>68</sup>

One visualizes a "dharma body," a ritual space (C: *daochang* 道場), which is purified by the syllable *ra* shining like the sun. Below its ground, in empty space, this site is supported by vajras. At the base is the Wheel of Wind, spreading as black flames, and above it the Wheel of Water, of the color of milk. Within this wheel one visualizes the syllable *vaṃ*, brighter than the moon. Above the Water Wheel one visualizes a gold-colored flaming maṇḍala that shines everywhere. Inside it is an eight-petaled lotus blossom made of white jade; its stem is a vajra, and surrounding it are numerous other lotus blossoms. On the maṇḍala is an elaborately decorated lion seat. Music sounds. As one visualizes the syllable *a* on this seat, Tathāgata Vairocana appears. Bright flames envelop the body of the Tathāgata, and all the buddhas in their buddha lands appear inside these flames. Above Vairocana's heart one visualizes a large moon disk encircled by one hundred *a* syllables, and a buddha within each of these syllables. These buddhas fill the universe, and then, spinning clockwise, merge into the body of Vairocana. To the left one visualizes the syllable *va*, which becomes bodhisattva Vajradhara, and to the right the syllable *cha*, which becomes bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who sits on a lotus seat and is surrounded by all the bodhisattvas of the lotus group. To the right of Avalokiteśvara one visualizes the practitioner who recites the mantras.

As the ceremony proceeds, the practitioner recites the mantras and forms their mudrās. The practitioner is now said to dwell in the “dharma body [which takes] the form of the Tathāgata” and also to be in a *samādhi*, or state of extreme concentration.<sup>69</sup> The culmination of the ritual is described with three similes: the moon reflected in water, rain falling and seeds sprouting, and the wheel of fire spinning in the sky above the burned-out fire.

This instruction on visualization is followed by a glossary of the syllables; the meaning of each syllable is explained in doctrinal terms, and it is from this glossary that the explanation in section 20 reviewed above may have been taken.

## Section 8

A visualization taught in section 8 is strikingly similar to the one in section 23.<sup>70</sup> Whereas in the latter, the setting for the prescribed visualization is not specified and the emphasis is on the doctrinal significance of the practice as prescribed by Śākyamuni, the teaching in section 8 applies explicitly to an *abhiṣeka* initiation. In broad outline, that ceremony begins with the creation of a four-*hasta* maṇḍala; placing an image of Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara on the eastern side, the practitioner visualizes the syllables and the mental pictures they evoke. Next comes the recitation of mantras, which culminates in an image miracle at midnight: the ground shakes, and a great ray of light is emitted from a point between the eyebrows of the image; the image speaks loudly, confirming the success of the ritual. In the early morning, bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara appears and rubs the top of the practitioner’s head.<sup>71</sup>

In greater detail: after creating the maṇḍala, the practitioner is instructed to visualize all the Tathāgatas of the Ten Directions emitting light.<sup>72</sup> The practitioner is to pay respect to Avalokiteśvara, namely, the image placed on the eastern side of the maṇḍala, and present offerings. After repenting his sins, taking refuge (in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha?), experiencing *bodhicitta*, and directing merit (toward salvation?), the practitioner visualizes himself as being identical with the dharma realm.<sup>73</sup> He visualizes all the buddhas surrounded by all the bodhisattvas in quietude. Then he visualizes the syllable *raṃ*, bright as the sun haloed by flames, and with this visualization the ritual ground is purified and prepared as the vajra ground. Above the Wheel of Wind the syllable *ka* is visualized, and above that the Wheel of Water, of the color of snow or milk. The syllable *va* is visualized in the wheel as a bright moon, and above the moon disk (“wheel”), the Great Mudrā Vajra Wheel

Maṇḍala emits gold-colored light. Above it the syllable *cha* transforms itself into an eight-petaled lotus blossom. As in the visualization in section 23, its stem is a vajra, emitting bright light,<sup>74</sup> and it is surrounded by innumerable other lotus flowers. Above a jewel platform is a jewel lion throne, richly adorned. Music fills the air. The syllables *va* and *po*, visualized on the lion throne, become Śākyamuni, gold-colored and occupying the throne. To the right the practitioner is to visualize Avalokiteśvara and to his left Vajradhara, Lord of Mysteries, attended by their respective bodhisattvas. To the right of Avalokiteśvara the practitioner visualizes himself as sitting and reciting the mantra.

Though differing in setting, wording, and other details, the visualizations prescribed in section 8 and section 23 are essentially the same. In section 8's visualization the buddha who sits on the lion throne is Śākyamuni; in section 23's it is Vairocana. In section 8 also, the visualization and recitation culminate in a familiar image miracle.

References to dharma body and dharma realm, supported by vajras or forming the vajra ground, and the Wheels of Wind and Water indicate that the visualizations in section 23 and section 8 are basically identical. Both sections refer to the syllables *ra* and *va* in connection with these wheels, but both focus on visualizing the syllables that transform into individual deities, *a* for Vairocana in section 23 and *cha* for Avalokiteśvara in section 8.

### THE AVALOKITEŚVARA SYLLABLE CHA

#### Section 2

Sections 2, 15, 42, and 44 all mention the syllable *cha* transforming into Avalokiteśvara during visualization.<sup>75</sup> In section 2 first the Vajra Wind Wheel at the base of the universe is visualized underground, and above it the syllable *va* transforms itself into a vajra from which a bright flame issues and burns one's body, turning it into white ashes.<sup>76</sup> These ashes then transform into the shining gold-colored maṇḍala. One visualizes above the maṇḍala an eight-petaled lotus blossom, on which is a gold-colored syllable *cha*. Emerging from this syllable is the holy one, Avalokiteśvara, seated. His body is golden and his expression happy. His left hand holds a lotus flower in front of his chest and his right, a rosary.

If the practitioner recites the Secret Heart Mantra 108 times with compassion ("the mind of compassion"), he will be praised by all the Ta-

thāgatas in numerous worlds and his sins will disappear. Avalokiteśvara will soon appear in a dream and fulfill the practitioner's wishes.

The reference to the Vajra Wind Wheel under the ground suggests that this summary account too is a version of the visualization described in greater detail in sections 23 and 8.

## Section 15

In section 15 the passage on visualization appears in the extensive instruction on the ritual of the deity Lakṣmī/Mahāśrī (*gongde tian* 功德天).<sup>77</sup> Here it is the syllable *cha* that issues flames that burn one's body.<sup>78</sup> The ashes are used to decorate a maṇḍala. The syllable *ṛ* is placed on the maṇḍala, and on it an eight-petaled open golden lotus flower supporting a jeweled palace. Inside the palace is a jeweled lion throne and on that throne the syllable *po*, which transmutes into Śākyamuni. To Śākyamuni's left, bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and associated deities, including Lakṣmī, are visualized, and to his right, bodhisattva Ten Pāramitās. The practitioner envisions himself to the right of Avalokiteśvara.

This visualization resembles the one described in section 2, though they differ in some details.

## Section 42

Visualizing the body through a series of syllables appears in the instruction for visualization in section 42, devoted to the Heart Maṇḍala of the All-Pervasive Liberation (*pubian jietuo xin mannaluo* 溥遍解脫心曼拏羅).<sup>79</sup> Here the syllable *a* identifies the body of the practitioner with all reality, and empowers him as bodhisattva mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara, elaborately qualified as the Amogha King of the Deity Family of All the Tathāgatas, All-Pervasive, Nondiscriminating, and Secret. The syllable *va* is placed at the heart of the practitioner, which becomes a maṇḍala, and thereupon his body is empowered and becomes the pure dharma realm.<sup>80</sup> With a series of visualized syllables his body is transmuted: with *ra* his body becomes pure, a brightly shining wheel of white light; with *ka* his body as the newly appearing sun shines everywhere, removes all harms, and causes him to transcend life and death; with *mo*, which represents quietude and the seat of enlightenment, his body becomes like the moonlight that dispels all fear; with *he*, which is a forceful syllable, his body, as a wheel of flames, destroys all evils; with *om* he is empowered to dwell securely in the dharma realm.

This visualization is immediately followed by the instruction for creating a five *hasta*-maṇḍala,<sup>81</sup> placing on it an image of the eighteen-armed Amogha king Avalokiteśvara, and presenting offerings.

The main part of the maṇḍala ritual is also described as a series of visualizations. On the eighth day of the first half of the month, the practitioner sits at the western gate of the maṇḍala.<sup>82</sup> He visualizes a lotus flower, and above it the syllable *cha*, which becomes a full moon illuminating all sentient beings. The syllable *cha* manifests the deity bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the Amogha king, whose golden body resides inside the round moon. The syllables *om* and *ra* are visualized as free of blemishes like a crystal moon and as the shining light of the sun. Again the ritual culminates in image miracles.

### LARGER CONTEXT

The earliest known Amoghapāśa sūtra describes a ritual in which a long spell is recited 1,008 times in front of a painted image of Avalokiteśvara.<sup>83</sup> The body of the practitioner emits light, and Avalokiteśvara appears, rubs the top of his head, and fulfills his wishes. This is the basic scenario of image worship, later consistently designated by the term “accomplishment”; it appears repeatedly in ritual instructions for this deity. Another familiar scenario is of maṇḍala initiation, clearly and purposefully described in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*; it appears in the section on maṇḍala initiation in Li Wuchan’s translation of *Amoghapāśa Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (section 13, 20.415a–416a). Versions of this maṇḍala ritual also appear repeatedly in the thirty-fascicle *Amoghapāśa’s Supernatural Display Sūtra* translated by Bodhiruci, often described in considerable detail. In the *Amoghapāśa’s Supernatural Display Sūtra* the scenarios appear to be deliberately conflated.

The All-Gathering Maṇḍala of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtra* and its ritual appear to have originated within the Avalokiteśvara cult but became a universal initiation ceremony by incorporating other groups of deities, particularly those designated as Vajra deities. The narrative of the thirty-fascicle *Amoghapāśa’s Supernatural Display Sūtra* reveals a similar broadening of the range of deities. The sūtra begins as an instruction that Avalokiteśvara, with the Buddha’s permission, delivers, but a Vajra deity, called Vajradhara, Lord of Mysteries, suddenly appears, bursting with questions for Avalokiteśvara, and as the sūtra unfolds, this deity, accompanied by others, assumes an increasingly important role. The All-

Gathering Maṇḍala of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtra* is organized around the groups of deities—the buddhas, Perfection of Wisdom, Avalokiteśvara deities, and heavenly deities. A well-developed language of the families of deities appears repeatedly in the *Supernatural Display Sūtra*.<sup>84</sup>

Bodhiruci's translations of Esoteric sūtras tend to emphasize visualization, prescribing it often and in some detail in several passages in the thirty-fascicle sūtra translated by Bodhiruci. Some visualizations have as their subject a series of transforming syllables, a practice that becomes important in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*.

Another striking feature of the thirty-fascicle *Amoghapāśa's Supernatural Display Sūtra* as translated by Bodhiruci is the repeated appearance of the Tathāgata Vairocana.<sup>85</sup> For example, the topic of sections 22–25 is the teaching called the Lotus-Flower Maṇḍala and Mudrā of the Supreme and Universal Liberation 最上廣大解脫蓮花曼拏羅印三昧耶.<sup>86</sup> The maṇḍala used in this instruction is described in section 24, and the central deity is Tathāgata Vairocana.<sup>87</sup> This instruction makes for a very well-developed ritual, and the title of the sūtra itself figures in this instruction. At the beginning of section 22 Tathāgata Śākyamuni is said to have instructed bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara to teach the Lotus-Flower Secret Mind-King Maṇḍala and Mudrā of Otherworldly and Supreme Universal Liberation.<sup>88</sup> Avalokiteśvara begins by introducing the Dhāraṇī of Contemplation Beyond Comprehension. He further identifies this teaching, which is “beyond comprehension,” with a series of differently named teachings, among them the teaching of Maṇḍala and Mudrā of Tathāgata Vairocana's Universal Liberation.<sup>89</sup> As discussed above, section 23 offers a detailed visualization in which Vairocana plays the central role. This visualization is organized around a series of syllables, whose meaning is explained in the appended glossary. The *homa* ritual prescribed in section 25 is performed as a part of the maṇḍala ceremony prescribed in section 24.<sup>90</sup> The ritual cycle of Universal Liberation, in sections 22–25, is thus explicitly affiliated with Vairocana, and its distinctive ritual is organized around the visualization of syllables.<sup>91</sup> This entire section forms a coherent whole, which at some point may have been inserted as a unit into the longer *Amoghapāśa's Supernatural Display Sūtra*.

Yoritomi Motohiro noted that the references to Vairocana do not appear in the Tibetan translation of the *Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sūtra*.<sup>92</sup> Parts of the Chinese translation that specifically mention this deity may have been incorporated relatively late, or may have been part of a separate transmission. On the basis of similar comparisons, earlier Japanese scholars had suggested that Bodhiruci's thirty-fascicle *Amoghapāśa's Supernatural Display Sūtra* must reflect knowledge of the *Mahāvairocana*

*Sūtra* and the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*.<sup>93</sup> This seems to me to be an unnecessarily cumbersome conclusion, given that Bodhiruci's *Amoghapāśa's Supernatural Display Sūtra* is earlier than those two texts.

It is more straightforward to see the *Supernatural Display Sūtra's* ritual instructions as elaborations and variations on the basic scenarios of Esoteric rituals in earlier Esoteric sūtras. Gradually, these earlier scenarios were turned into rituals of visualization, a development that appears to have continued in Bodhiruci's thirty-fascicle translation, where the practice of visualizing syllables appears in a variety of contexts, as does the name Vairocana. In what follows I shall turn my attention to accounts of later "pure" Esoteric Buddhist rituals, and trace this broad development further.



## PART III

### *Toward a New Synthesis*

#### “MATURE” RITUALS OF VISUALIZATION

In part II of this investigation we saw, in the Esoteric sūtras translated by Bodhiruci, visualization practices being introduced and becoming increasingly important. In Bodhiruci’s translation of the *Cintāmanicakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra*, for example, the rite of reciting dhāraṇī in the hope of achieving a vision of Avalokiteśvara has been transformed into an elaborate visualization practice. In the following two chapters I propose to look closely at two examples from the so-called “pure” Esoteric Buddhist ritual: first the detailed instruction for the maṇḍala initiation ceremony in Yixing’s commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, and then Amoghavajra’s ritual manuals, particularly the two manuals for Cintāmaṇicakra of Avalokiteśvara attributed to Amoghavajra. The first converted the ritual tradition we have reviewed earlier into a new format; the second deliberately attempted to reconfigure this ritual as a form of *Vajraśekhara* visualization ritual and explicitly designated it a yoga practice.



## 7. YIXING'S COMMENTARY ON THE *MAHĀVAIROCANA SŪTRA*

### Creating the Great Maṇḍala

Examples in the preceding chapters of the sūtras translated by Bodhiruci early in the eighth century indicated that the rituals prescribed there followed a general scenario of reciting mantras, which resulted in icons emitting miraculous signs that demonstrated the success of the ritual, i.e., the granting of a wish (termed “accomplishment”). Another scenario was also frequent: the one I have called a maṇḍala initiation ceremony, spelled out in detail in Atikūṭa's All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony. Sometimes these scenarios were combined. And visualization practices, which characterize later Esoteric rituals, began to appear.

Over time these basic scenarios of “accomplishment” and maṇḍala initiation were both systematically recast into rituals of visualization, a process that can be traced very concretely and clearly in specific examples. To properly understand these later visualization rituals, we need to begin by understanding the ritual logic of earlier scenarios that did not involve visualization.

The maṇḍala initiation rite described in the second chapter of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* shows similarities to Atikūṭa's All-Gathering Ceremony, though the account in the sūtra is relatively brief and often cryptic. Detailed ritual instructions on this maṇḍala ceremony appear in the commentary attributed to Yixing (683–727), who collaborated

with the Indian monk Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735) in translating the sūtra into Chinese in 724–725. Śubhākarasiṃha and Yixing were familiar with the yogic visualization teaching in the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, and their reading of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* is informed by that awareness.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the detailed discussion of the maṇḍala initiation ceremony in Yixing's *Commentary* serves as a particularly useful beginning for our investigation. In explaining details of the maṇḍala ceremony, Yixing frequently cites the *Guhya Tantra* along with the *Susiddhikara Sūtra*.<sup>2</sup> The account of the maṇḍala ceremony in the *Guhya Tantra* follows the outline of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony fairly closely and does not involve visualization.

My study of Yixing's *Commentary* therefore has two parts. I shall first briefly review the ritual instructions in the *Guhya Tantra*, as the baseline and background for the recasting of the ritual as a visualization practice in Yixing's *Commentary*. Then I shall focus on Yixing's *Commentary* itself.

### GUHYA TANTRA

The existing Chinese translation of the *Guhya Tantra* bears the title *Ruixiye jing* 蕤呬耶經 and is attributed to Amoghavajra.<sup>3</sup> The text is quoted frequently in Yixing's commentary as *Juxi[jing]* 瞿醯經, and for most of these quotations, the corresponding passage can be located in Amoghavajra's translation. Yixing, who died in 727, could not have been citing Amoghavajra's translation, since the latter was not done until after 746.<sup>4</sup>

The maṇḍala ceremony described in detail in *Guhya Tantra* is a seven-day ceremony containing many striking parallels to the All-Gathering Ceremony described in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*.<sup>5</sup> For example: on the next-to-last day, candidates chew and then throw wooden toothpicks to test their qualifications;<sup>6</sup> the *ācārya* invites the deities, announcing to them that the Maṇḍala of Great Compassion is to be created on the following day;<sup>7</sup> then the deities are dismissed.<sup>8</sup> At dawn on the seventh day the *ācārya* asks the candidates to recount their dreams, again to determine their suitability;<sup>9</sup> on the morning of the seventh day, the outline of the maṇḍala is marked with a rope of five colors;<sup>10</sup> pegs are placed at appropriate places;<sup>11</sup> the overall layout of the maṇḍala, consisting of three halls, is described; and the teaching is explained as the comprehensive maṇḍala teaching *Dushuo mantuoluo fa* 都說曼荼羅法 (“[one that] explains, i.e., applies to, all maṇḍala practices”).<sup>12</sup>

In the afternoon the ground of the maṇḍala is first smeared with cow dung and urine, then with fragrant water, and finally strewn with flow-

ers.<sup>13</sup> Curtains and banners are hung on poles.<sup>14</sup> At sunset the various areas of the maṇḍala are colored, and in these areas either pictures of deities or their mudrās are drawn, or their seats are placed.<sup>15</sup> The hearth is placed outside the maṇḍala, and for disciples ready to receive *abhiṣeka* a place for that ceremony is prepared.<sup>16</sup> Offerings of incense paste, flowers, burned incense, food and drink, and lamps are made to each deity.<sup>17</sup>

The next step in the ceremony is the fire offering,<sup>18</sup> followed by the ritual of throwing a flower, which in turn is followed by another *homa*.<sup>19</sup>

For the *abhiṣeka* a seat is prepared inside the *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala. The *ācārya* pays respect to all the deities on the maṇḍala, picks up a filled water pot that had earlier been blessed one hundred times, and slowly circumambulates the maṇḍala three times. Then he blesses the water pot with three kinds of spells, forms a mudrā above the head of the candidate, and recites the root maṇḍala (of the central deity), and with that spell performs *abhiṣeka*.<sup>20</sup> After the *abhiṣeka* the *ācārya* takes the white umbrella that has been held above the candidate and circumambulates the maṇḍala three times; before the western gate of the maṇḍala he bows several times. The *ācārya* then addresses the deities, announcing that the *abhiṣeka* has been completed. Setting down the umbrella, the *ācārya* then stands before the maṇḍala and confers on the candidate a *samaya* precept; the candidate is now said to have become an *ācārya*, one who upholds the storehouse of spells, and is told to create maṇḍalas and instruct others who are suitable on the rituals of recitation.<sup>21</sup>

At the site of fire offering the disciples pay respect to (or bow in front of) the *ācārya* and present donations to him.<sup>22</sup> Another *samaya* precept is given, which prohibits telling those who have not received the precept the secret teachings of the storehouse of spells contained in the sūtras.<sup>23</sup>

In basic outline the maṇḍala ritual presented in this *Guhya Tantra* is virtually identical to the outline of Atikūṭa's All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony. Both scenarios begin with elaborate and closely parallel instructions on the creation of a maṇḍala, calling of deities into it, and making elaborate offerings to them (*pūjā*), and culminate in the initiation ceremony, in which a bond between each candidate and a specific deity is established by the rite of throwing a flower into the maṇḍala, after which the candidate receives *abhiṣeka*. An elaborate *homa* concludes all.

Yet in the *Guhya Tantra* this same maṇḍala ceremony and its meaning have undergone a fundamental change. What is offered here is not a set of rules for a specific and distinct kind of maṇḍala, as in Atikūṭa's account of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony, but rather a general program that applies to all maṇḍala ceremonies.<sup>24</sup> The *Guhya Tantra*

frequently mentions the central deity of the maṇḍala (called “maṇḍala king”), and the spell and mudrā of that deity are to be recited and performed at many crucial points in the unfolding of the ceremony.<sup>25</sup> But the deity’s identity is left unspecified. In contrast to the All-Gathering Maṇḍala, no restriction applies to the choice of the central deity. In addition, as we shall see below, the flower-throwing ritual is associated with the achievement of specific capabilities as well as functioning to establish a link between the candidate and a deity.

A comparison with the instruction given in the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* is useful here. The *Susiddhikara Sūtra*, translated by Śubhākarasiṃha, begins as the bodhisattva Wrathful Kuṇḍalin pays respect to Vajradhara and requests him to explain the rules for reciting mantras and realizing (“accomplishing”) the benefits (“quickly gaining success,” a phrase that seems to translate *susiddhi* in the title and appears repeatedly in the text).<sup>26</sup> Kuṇḍalin observes, “Although the syllables of these mantras are of one essence, the rites that they accomplish (*chengjiu fa* 成就法) are countless in number.”<sup>27</sup> Here, as in the sūtras translated by Bodhiruci discussed above, Esoteric ritual is understood as practices for securing “accomplishment.”

The central message of the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* is that when the mantra teachings offered in other sūtras fail to produce results (or “accomplishment”), the mantras in this one will make for successful ritual.<sup>28</sup> For this reason, the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* is said to be the “king” among the sūtras devoted to specific deities.<sup>29</sup> A complicated discussion of mantras identifies the appropriate mantra to be used in specific instances where the teaching of this sūtra is applied along with a conventional teaching.<sup>30</sup> Here the classification of the three groups of deities (the Tathāgata group, Lotus-Flower [Avalokiteśvara] group, and Vajra group) is combined with the three types of Esoteric rituals, *śāntika* (“pacification”), *pauṣṭika* (“prosperity”), and *ābhicāraka* (“conquest”), and with other classifications of “accomplishments.”<sup>31</sup>

As noted above, the *Guhya Tantra* affords a general program that applies to all maṇḍalas. The differences between a formula to be followed after the other ritual procedures have failed to produce results and a formula that can be used, with appropriate adjustments, for all categories of rituals may not be very great. But they are intriguing. The ritual instruction in *Susiddhikara* is clearly focused on achieving “accomplishment,” and it does *not* include the rite of throwing a flower into the maṇḍala. The *Guhya Tantra*, which does include a version of such a rite, has turned the familiar maṇḍala initiation ceremony into a distinctive form of “accomplishment” ritual.

The three categories of ritual, articulated at the outset of the *Susiddhikara Sūtra*, appear at various crucial points in the *Guhya Tantra*. The opening paragraph speaks of 3,500 maṇḍalas.<sup>32</sup> These are also grouped into three categories: the Buddha (Tathāgata), Lotus-Flower (Avalokiteśvara), and Vajra. Each category is represented by the maṇḍala associated with its “king spell,” or *vidyārāja*, as the leader.<sup>33</sup> Thus, in the *Guhya Tantra* as in the *Susiddhikara Sūtra*, the wide range of maṇḍalas to which the rules apply are carefully classified into distinct categories of the three types of ritual and three groups of maṇḍalas. In fact, the author of the *Guhya Tantra* appears to have been familiar with the classificatory scheme of the *Susiddhikara Sūtra*.

The threefold classification of rituals—*śāntika*, *pauṣṭika*, and *abhicāraka*—mentioned frequently in the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* also figures in the *Guhya Tantra*'s prescription for the appropriate site and timing of the ceremony, the choice of flowers to be offered, and the different ways the *homa* ceremony is to be performed in different types of maṇḍala ceremonies.<sup>34</sup>

The term *mahāmaṇḍala* appears as the title for the section that describes the main part of the ceremony on the seventh day.<sup>35</sup> The long account of the core rites that parallel closely the rites performed in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala begins in this section, and the arrangement of deities is prescribed in detail. Again maṇḍalas are classified as *śāntika*, *pauṣṭika*, or *abhicāraka* depending on what they are expected to achieve.<sup>36</sup> Later in this section the extended instruction focuses on the *homa* ritual, and in section 10 the *homa* ritual is again discussed in terms of these three categories.<sup>37</sup> For *mahāmaṇḍalas* a ritual practice very similar to that described for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala was followed, but here the same general procedures are further differentiated according the function, or expected outcome, of maṇḍalas.

As the overall framework of the instructions for the maṇḍala ceremony shifted, the meaning of specific rites also changed. One such change is seen in the treatment of the central rite of flower throwing. In the *Guhya Tantra*, as in the All-Gathering Ceremony, the place where the flower falls determines the deity with whom the candidate will henceforth be affiliated.<sup>38</sup> But in the *Guhya Tantra* a new and further distinction is made: which of three different grades of accomplishment is granted to the candidate depends on how, *in relation to the form of the deity*, the flower has fallen.<sup>39</sup>

According to the *Guhya Tantra*, if the flower falls above the Buddha's head, then the candidate “accomplishes” (or will be able to successfully use) the deity mantra (*zun zhenyan* 尊真言) of such deities as the Buddha's

*uṣṇīṣa* (Buddhoṣṇīṣa), or *ūrṇa* (the white hair between the Buddha's eyebrows); if the flower falls over the face of the Buddha, then the candidate accomplishes the spell mantra (*ming zhenyan* 明真言) of such deities as the Buddha's eyes. If the flower falls on the middle part of the Buddha's body, then the candidate accomplishes the heart mantra (*xin zhenyan* 心真言). If the flower falls on the lower part of the Buddha's body, then the candidate accomplishes the mantra of the Buddha's messenger (*shizhe zhenyan* 使者真言).<sup>40</sup> Thus, depending on the part of the deity's bod, on or near which the flower falls, the accomplishments that the ordained candidate can bring about with mantras will be higher (namely, consummate), middling, or lower (or lesser).<sup>41</sup>

The scheme summarized above pertains to the deities of the Buddha group. It also applies to the Lotus-Flower group ("those holding a lotus-flower"; namely, Avalokiteśvara deities) and the Vajra deities ("those holding a vajra").<sup>42</sup> Other deities also afford higher, middling, and lower accomplishment.<sup>43</sup>

In a somewhat obscure passage the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* also speaks of the higher, middling, and lower "accomplishments." After identifying the mantras of the Buddha group, the Avalokiteśvara group, and the Vajra group as *śāntika*, *pauṣṭika*, and *ābhicāraka*, respectively, their body sections that confer higher, middling, and lower accomplishments are precisely defined: from the top of the head to the armpit, from the armpit to navel, and from navel to the foot, respectively.<sup>44</sup>

The explanation of the rite of flower throwing in the *Guhya Tantra* appears to be based on this discussion of the higher, middling, and lower accomplishments in the *Susiddhikara Sūtra*. The emphasis again appears to have shifted from the identity of the deity indicated by the flower to the different levels and kinds of "accomplishment" that the rite confers.

The *Guhya Tantra* goes on to specify the "accomplishments" due for almost every possible locality of the flower when it falls. For the deities other than those in the Buddha, Lotus-Flower, and Vajra groups, if the flower falls at a distance from the deity, then the candidate will achieve the mantra after a very long time. If the flower falls over the food offering, then the candidate will achieve the mantra of the deity to which the offering belongs. If the flower falls between two deities, then the candidate will achieve the mantra of the closer deity. If the flower falls in the inner hall and then bounces out into the outer hall, then the faith of that candidate is insufficient; if the candidate persists in reciting the mantra, he may achieve the lower level of "accomplishment." If the flower falls on boundaries or in the passage, then the candidate lacks determination and is denied any "accomplishment." If the flower falls at the exact mid-



point between two deities, on boundaries, or on the passageway, and the candidate wishes to throw again, that person must first perform a *homa* fire offering. If the flower falls inside the inner hall, then all the deities inside the inner hall become his. If the flower falls where the food offerings are placed, the “accomplishments” of *pauṣṭika* (prosperity) rites are his. If the flower falls over the central deity, it proves that the maṇḍala ceremony was efficacious. If the flower falls over the Seven Past Buddhas, then the mantras of all three groups of deities are conferred on the candidate. If the flower falls over the section of Lotus-Flower deities, then the mantras of two groups (of the Buddhas and Avalokiteśvaras?) are “accomplished.” If the flower falls over the section of Vajra deities, then the mantras of Vajra deities are “accomplished.” If the flower first falls on the third hall (or the second outer hall) and bounces into the passageway, the candidate is rejected; he can be initiated later. If he insists on being initiated, he should first do a *homa* and then throw a flower. This may be attempted three times. If the flower still falls in the wrong place, then the candidate is to be expelled.<sup>45</sup>

In this minutely detailed account of the flower-throwing rite, the emphasis has shifted from establishing a bond between the candidate and a specific deity to establishing the level of the candidate’s “accomplishment.” The level identifies the nature of the “accomplishment” rites to which the candidate is entitled and the mantras that he may use in performing the rites. Where the flower falls still indicates the identity of the deity with whom the candidate will henceforth be associated, but more importantly, it indicates the degree of success of the entire initiation ceremony.

Here is a fundamental contradiction. If the entire ritual instruction is understood to apply to all maṇḍala ceremonies, each centered on a specific deity, then the rite of throwing the flower to establish a bond with a particular deity is pointless. Having been initiated into a maṇḍala devoted to one particular deity, how could a candidate take a fallen flower as pointing toward affiliation with some other deity? The flower-throwing rite made perfect sense in the context of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala, but as the instructions for that ceremony were reshaped to apply to all maṇḍalas, whatever specific deity they were devoted to, the original meaning of the rite suddenly had no relevance. The *Guhya Tantra* passage summarized at some length above may be an attempt to reassign the meaning of flower throwing and thus preserve its relevance. In the new meaning of the rite, where the flower falls indicates not the identity of the deity one is bonded to, but rather the degree of the success of the entire initiation ceremony. The universal maṇḍala initiation has here been recast and rewritten in the language of “accomplishment.”

In another passage describing the placement of deities on the maṇḍala, the *Guhya Tantra* speaks of three ways of “drawing the deity.”<sup>46</sup> The deity may be drawn as an image, or the mudrā of the deity may be drawn, or the seat of the deity may be marked. Each of these options is further elaborated.<sup>47</sup> In the maṇḍala used for the flower-throwing rite, the Buddhas, “Lotus-Flower holders” (Avalokiteśvara deities), and “Vajra holders” must have been drawn as images, so that the upper, middle, and lower sections of their bodies could be clearly distinguished.<sup>48</sup>

### YIXING’S COMMENTARY ON THE MAHĀVAIROCANA SŪTRA

#### OUTLINE OF THE MAṆḌALA INITIATION CEREMONY IN CHAPTER 2 OF YIXING’S COMMENTARY

Instruction on creating a maṇḍala and performing an initiation ceremony appears three times in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*: most extensively in chapter 2, more briefly in chapter 8 (“Maṇḍala Practices for the Revolving Syllable Wheel”), and in chapters 11–13 (“The Secret Maṇḍala”).<sup>49</sup> Even the most detailed account of the maṇḍala and its initiation ceremony, in chapter 2, is still somewhat cryptic, but Yixing’s *Commentary* supplements that account amply, often quoting or referring to other, more detailed ritual instructions.

Yixing wrote his *Commentary* as a line-by-line exegesis of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, based on the instruction given him by its translator, Śubhākarasiṃha, when Yixing was serving as the recorder of the translation (*bishou*).<sup>50</sup> Both Śubhākarasiṃha and Yixing were familiar with *Vajraśekhara* teachings as well, and this *Commentary* presents a reading of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* that takes account of later developments in the teachings of the yoga tantra and its visualization practice, particularly in the *Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas* (*Sarvatathāgata tattvasaṃgraha*).<sup>51</sup>

According to the *Commentary*, the discussion of the practical aspect of the maṇḍala ceremony starts in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (referred to as the *Sūtra* in the *Commentary*); the Buddha’s speech begins with “First the ācārya” and concludes with “should one wish to see the Buddha, then one should look at them,” toward the end of the chapter.<sup>52</sup> This practical discussion frequently refers to three sources. The source described as “the ritual for making offerings” appears to refer to the instructions

given in fascicle 7 of the Chinese translation (not found in the Tibetan version).<sup>53</sup> The *Susiddhikara Sūtra* is also frequently mentioned, with certain passages quoted.<sup>54</sup> Most significantly, the *Commentary*'s reconstruction of the seven-day ritual draws heavily from the *Guhya Tantra*. Many passages are quoted directly, though not all quoted passages are found in the existing version attributed to Amoghavajra.

The *Commentary* weaves *Sūtra* passages and quotations and references to other sources into a complex whole.<sup>55</sup> Yixing's heavy reliance on the *Guhya Tantra* is evident from frequent quotations from this source. I shall illustrate this relationship by listing the quotations pertaining to each major phase of the initiation ceremony.

The preparation of the candidates: *Sūtra* T. 848: 18.5b18–6b8. *Yixing's Commentary* T. 1796: 39.624b7–630b2. The *Guhya Tantra* quoted in the *Commentary* T. 1796: 39.626b16–20 (this passage seems to correspond loosely to the passage in the *Guhya Tantra*, T. 897: 18.763a26–b4); T. 1796: 39.627b25 (*Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.763b28–29); T. 1796: 39.628a21 (*Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.763c3).

The creation of the maṇḍala: *Sūtra* T. 848: 18.6b6–8c6. *Commentary* T. 1796: 39.630b2–644c10. The *Guhya Tantra* quoted in the *Commentary* T. 1796: 39.630b23 (*Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.764b29–c1); T. 1796: 39.631b17 (*Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.765a8–11); T. 1796: 39.644b4 (ref., *Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.765a13–15).

Preparing offerings of food, incense, and flower: *Sūtra* T. 848: 18.10c5–11a13. *Commentary* T. 1796: 39.658a24–660a25. The *Guhya Tantra* quoted in the *Commentary* T. 1796: 39.658b06 (ref., *Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.767b3–20); T. 1796: 39.659a (*Guhya Tantra*, T. 897: 18.768a14); T. 1796: 39.659b25 (*Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.766c12–767a2).

The core empowerment instruction (including the flower-throwing rite): *Sūtra* T. 848: 18.11a13–b1. *Commentary* T. 1796: 39.660b6–662a11. The *Guhya Tantra* quoted in the *Commentary* T. 1796: 39.660c4 (*Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.767a18–19); T. 1796: 39.661a10 (*Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.768c24–26); T. 1796: 39.661a28 (*Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.768a21–22); T. 1796: 39.661c19 (*Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.769c2–770a3).

Fire offering (*homa*): *Sūtra* T. 848: 18.11b2. *Commentary* T. 1796: 39.662a10–664c11. The *Guhya Tantra* quoted in the *Commentary* T. 1796: 39.664b7 (ref., *Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.770a); T. 1796: 39.664c2 (ref., *Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.763c).

Initiation (*abhiṣeka*): *Sūtra* T. 848: 18.11c12–12b22. *Commentary* T. 1796: 39.665b7–672c9. The *Guhya Tantra* quoted in the *Commentary* T. 1796: 39.666b7 (*Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.770c15–16); T. 1796: 39.666c18 (*Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.770c29–771a7); T. 1796: 39.672b14–c8 (*Guhya Tantra* T. 897: 18.771a11–15).

In the previous section I pointed out that the model, or outline, of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala initiation, spelled out in great detail in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, also orders the ritual instructions in the *Guhya Tantra*. This same outline is evident in the account of the maṇḍala ceremony in the second chapter of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and in the *Commentary*. In the *Guhya Tantra* this outline is reframed as instructions that apply to all maṇḍala ceremonies, and the crucial rite of throwing a flower into the maṇḍala is understood differently. Yixing's *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana Sūtra* presents the maṇḍala ceremony explicitly as a gathering of all deities, as does the *Sūtra* itself.<sup>56</sup> This maṇḍala is an All-Gathering Maṇḍala, but in the *Sūtra* and in Yixing's *Commentary* the ritual is profoundly reconfigured by the introduction of visualization.

Let us first confirm that the outline of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala is again followed in Yixing's *Commentary*, and secondly point out that in the *Commentary* the ritual is extensively reworked to emphasize yogic visualization. Visualization does not play a prominent role in the ritual described in the *Guhya Tantra*. Elements appear in the brief account in the *Sūtra*, but visualization becomes a major emphasis in the *Commentary*, where its application is carefully worked out. Let us begin by tracing the broad outline of the ceremony in the *Commentary*.<sup>57</sup>

In describing the creation of the maṇḍala, the *Sūtra* states: "Lord of Mysteries, one prepares a site from among the places such as were described [above] and hardens it. Taking *gomayī* (cow dung) and *gomūtra* (cow's urine) that have not fallen to the ground, one mixes them together and smears them [over the site]. Then, reciting the mantra for fragrant water, one purifies [the site] by sprinkling [it with the fragrant water]."<sup>58</sup> About this passage, the *Commentary* first notes that the maṇḍala is created in seven days.<sup>59</sup> The instructions that follow are organized around the seven-day scheme.

On the first day, when the ground is prepared, five jewels, five grains, and five medicinal herbs are buried.<sup>60</sup> On the third day a water jar to be used for *abhiṣeka* is placed on the site. The jar is filled with water, but not to the top, and branches with flowers and fruits, five grains, and five medicinal herbs are put in it.<sup>61</sup> After this, three times each day, mantras are recited 108 times over the jar. Toward the evening of the fourth day the mantra for perfuming water is recited 108 or 1,000 times and the ground is purified.<sup>62</sup>

When the five jewels are buried (on the third day), the ritual master pays respect to the Buddhas of the Ten Directions and declares that on the next day he is going to perform the rite of inviting them to the site.<sup>63</sup> Beginning on this third day, the size and directional orientation of the maṇḍala as well as the seats of the deities are to be marked with white

sandalwood (incense). After the ground has been purified with fragrant water, a round maṇḍala is to be painted on it with white sandalwood.<sup>64</sup> This “white maṇḍala” is described in some detail.<sup>65</sup>

Toward the evening of the fifth day the ground is empowered using the Acala or Trailokyavijaya mantra.<sup>66</sup>

As in other accounts, the core initiation rites begin on the evening of the sixth day.<sup>67</sup> The first part is devoted to the preparation of the candidates. The *ācārya* and candidates (“disciples”) bathe and put on fresh clothes and return to the site where the maṇḍala was mapped out in white (“white maṇḍala”). The candidates perform the rite of throwing a toothpick.<sup>68</sup> Vajra cords, woven of five different colored threads (“spell cords”), are attached to the left arm of the candidates.<sup>69</sup> “The precepts of unobstructed wisdom for the three ages” are given.<sup>70</sup> The candidates are told that they will be receiving an *abhiṣeka* initiation the next day.<sup>71</sup>

The *ācārya* then announces to the deities that a *Garbha* Maṇḍala of Great Compassion will be established the next day, inviting them to gather to take part.<sup>72</sup> After the announcement, the deities are dismissed.<sup>73</sup> Further instructions are given to the candidates, and they are told to report their dreams the next morning.<sup>74</sup>

At sunset on the seventh day the preparation of the maṇḍala begins.<sup>75</sup> After the maṇḍala has been set up, flowers, incense, and food are prepared for offering.<sup>76</sup> The deities are invited.<sup>77</sup>

In the evening the ritual space is secured.<sup>78</sup> Offerings are presented with appropriate mantras.<sup>79</sup> The candidates for initiation are brought in and blindfolded with a piece of cloth.<sup>80</sup> Standing at the gate of the maṇḍala, they throw flowers into the maṇḍala one by one.<sup>81</sup>

Unlike in the *Guhyā Tantra*, in the ceremony described in the *Commentary*, a *homa* rite is then performed.<sup>82</sup> Only after the gifts are presented does the *abhiṣeka* take place.<sup>83</sup> Each of these steps is explained in detail, relying heavily on the account in the *Guhyā Tantra*. For example, the rite of a blindfolded candidate throwing a flower into the maṇḍala is first briefly described and then explained in greater detail by a quotation from the *Guhyā Tantra*.<sup>84</sup> When the sequence of rites departs from that in the *Guhyā Tantra*, the difference is explicitly noted, as mentioned above.

## VISUALIZATION

This heavy reliance on the *Guhyā Tantra* notwithstanding, the ceremony in Yixing's *Commentary* is reshaped fundamentally by the introduction of visualization practice.

## Maṇḍala Creating as Visualization

Regarding the *Sūtra* passage “on the following day, having empowered himself as Vajrasattva and made obeisance to the World-Honored One Vairocana,”<sup>85</sup> Yixing first identifies the day as the evening of the seventh day, then comments,

When one makes a maṇḍala, one always should empower oneself as Vajrasattva. [This means] to visualize oneself as Vajradhara (or to contemplate that one is none other than Vajradhara). This method (*fangbian* 方便, or “skill in means”) is discussed later in the *Sūtra* and in the [appended] ritual instructions. An *ācārya*, who has attained insight (i.e., one who has been initiated), dwells in [the state of] Vajrasattva’s mind, or the mind of incomparable enlightenment. Because of this secret empowerment [received through an initiation ceremony], nothing he does will be obstructed. Then he mentally (*yunxin* 運心) pays respect (or “makes obeisance”) to Vairocana.<sup>86</sup>

The term *yunxin* (“transporting the mind”) appears frequently in Yixing’s *Commentary* (also in the *Sūtra*) and appears to mean visualization, or the act of constructing a mental picture.<sup>87</sup> In a long section discussing the qualifications of the *ācārya* early in the discussion of the maṇḍala ceremony, Yixing takes the *Sūtra* phrase “have thoroughly practiced yoga” and spells out what this yoga consists of:<sup>88</sup> mastery of the three levels of “accomplishment” of mantras; the “skillful” use of the three types of rituals—*śāntika*, *pauṣṭika*, and *abhicāraka*; and finally, the “skill” in *yunxin* to observe (or visualize) for all maṇḍala deities their *samaya* shape, color, syllable, mudrā, character, and iconography, when offerings are made to secure the rite’s “accomplishment.”<sup>89</sup> Here, clearly distinguished from knowledge of mantras, rituals, and details of maṇḍalas, the term “yoga” appears to mean the act of visualization. The practice is again called a *fangbian* 方便, “skill in means.” In many passages, the term *yunxin* appears combined with “making offerings to deities,” or in a context where offerings are discussed.<sup>90</sup> In these passages the term appears to mean *visualizing* the act of offering. In one passage the expression “to make an offering mentally” in the *Sūtra* is explained as *yunxin*.<sup>91</sup> But the term *yunxin* is also used more broadly, though always in a context in which it can be understood as some form of visualization.<sup>92</sup>

Yixing thus interprets the *Sūtra* passage quoted above as an act of visualization; one visualizes oneself as Vajrasattva who pays respect to

Vairocana. Visualization consists not only of visualizing deities and specific ritual actions but also of visualizing oneself as a deity.

The context of this yoga is the creation of the maṇḍala. When the sun is about to set on the same seventh day (or starting from the fifth day), the *ācārya* and his assistants, having bathed and put on fresh clothes, come to the maṇḍala. After performing the rite of protection for them, the *ācārya* has them sit together in front of the ritual space. Then the *ācārya* moves “the mind everywhere” (*yunxin*) and pays respect to all the Buddhas in the Ten Directions. Then the *ācārya* sees himself, his own body, as Vairocana. This is said to be the meaning of the statement in the *Sūtra*, “He empowers himself as Great Vairocana.”<sup>93</sup>

Yixing comments that Vairocana is the *ācārya* of the maṇḍala (“the *Garbha* Maṇḍala of Great Compassion”). Therefore, when the ritual practitioner performs the role of the *ācārya*, he makes himself Vairocana.<sup>94</sup> When he is looking after the practicalities of creating the maṇḍala, he makes himself Vajrasattva. Again, this practice is called a *fangbian*.<sup>95</sup>

Later, in describing the placement of the deities on the maṇḍala and commenting on the *Sūtra* passage “with a sincere mind and respect he arrays the holy deities,” Yixing observes that when one draws the deities one must first practice, or “dwell in,” yoga, contemplating or visualizing, for each of the many deities gathered in this maṇḍala, their shape, color, appearance, gestures, characteristics, seats, and various mudrās.<sup>96</sup> They should appear (or become present) in one’s mind’s eye fully detailed and clearly. Then one can draw them.<sup>97</sup>

Commenting on the statement in the *Sūtra*, “To explain *samādhi* in brief, it is to dwell single-mindedly upon an object,” Yixing further explains this as a yoga practice.<sup>98</sup> The practice is called yoga of “manifested forms” (*youxiang yuqie* 有相瑜伽) and is described as three levels of contemplation or visualization: of the bodies of Tathāgatas, such as Vairocana (high); of bodhisattvas such as Mañjuśrī (middle); and of beings (worldly gods?) such as Indra (low). Each of the deities may be visualized as he appears in the maṇḍala, as a colored image, in iconographic gestures, as secret signs, or as mudrās, or syllables. One concentrates one’s mind on each manifestation. This is the *samādhi* teaching for each deity.<sup>99</sup>

## Initiation of the Candidates

Having completed the drawing of the maṇḍala on the seventh night, the *ācārya* mentally (*yunxin*) pays respect to all the Tathāgathas, repents, and purifies (i.e., rids himself of) the evil karma caused by wrong bodily



actions, wrong speech, or wrong thoughts. He then employs mantras to protect his body and cleanse the offerings.<sup>100</sup>

The *ācārya* proceeds to the maṇḍala, takes his proper seat,<sup>101</sup> and begins to practice yoga.<sup>102</sup> The first step consists in bringing the deities to the maṇḍala and presenting them with proper offerings. Much of this is done through visualization.

The maṇḍala is visualized. The *ācārya* uses the syllable *ra* to purify his mind, then the ritual space, removing all hindrances from it and visualizing it as empty space. Then, with the syllable *ha*, he raises, or causes to come into being (i.e., visualizes) a large Wheel of Wind. Above the Wheel of Wind, with the syllable *va* he raises (visualizes) an ocean of fragrant water, and with the syllable *a* he raises (visualizes) Mount Sumeru on the *vajra* ground. He “sees” the maṇḍala placed on this mountain. The maṇḍala is to be decorated (i.e., through visualization) as described in the ritual instructions in the seventh fascicle of the *Sūtra*, and empowered by the spell of Vidyārajñī Gaganagañjā.<sup>103</sup>

On the seat of each deity on the maṇḍala, the *ācārya* then visualizes the deity’s seed syllable. These syllables transform themselves (in visualization) into the bodies of the deities.<sup>104</sup>

If the *ācārya* fears that his ability to visualize is limited and may therefore prolong the performance, he may visualize the syllable *a* on the Lotus-Flower platform at the center of the *Garbha* Maṇḍala. When infinite light emitted by the syllable illumines all the seats of the deities, the deities appear in a vision.<sup>105</sup>

The next step is to identify oneself with the deities: the *ācārya* visualizes each deity in turn as identical with his own body; thus he internalizes them.<sup>106</sup>

After visualizing the deities in this way, the *ācārya* visualizes (*yunxin*) various jeweled carriages and empowers them using Acala’s mantra and mudrā. This is done to welcome the deities and to make sure that the road they travel is in good repair.<sup>107</sup> Then the deities are invited.<sup>108</sup>

When offerings to deities and to demonic beings such as Vināyaka, Graha, and Ḍākinī have been made, the flower-throwing rite begins.

The *ācārya* is to perform a complex visualization that employs the Five Wheel Syllables, first for himself and then for the candidates.<sup>109</sup> Its purpose appears to be to ritually transform the bodies of the *ācārya* and the candidates.<sup>110</sup> This visualization appears to be a version of the one employed to bring the deities to the maṇḍala.<sup>111</sup> Sitting at his seat, the *ācārya* empowers himself with the Syllables (*a*, *va*, *ra*, *ha*, *kha*) of the Five Wheels.<sup>112</sup> He places the syllable *a*, representing the King of One Hundred Lights That Illumine Everywhere, on his neck (head), and with



the undefiled eye (i.e., having placed the syllable *ra* on the eyes to turn them into dharma eyes) the *ācārya* sees the syllable (*a*) of original nongeneration (*ādyanutpāda*) on the flower platform in his own heart.<sup>113</sup>

When the *ācārya* recites Vairocana's mantra of the Universal Gate, he first visualizes the mantra shining brilliantly inside the moon disk of Vairocana's heart; only then does he recite it and form ("show") the secret mudrā.

Having visualized all the deities in the eight-petaled core of the *Garbha* Maṇḍala, the *ācārya* turns to the deities in the second hall and to all the deities on the maṇḍala.<sup>114</sup> Visualizing each deity as if it stood before him, the *ācārya* visualizes himself as the deity, and in the deity's mind-moon visualizes the seed syllable of the deity's mantra, while reciting the mantra. Suddenly, as he recites the mantra, the *ācārya* becomes the deity's maṇḍala body (i.e., the form in which the deity is represented on the maṇḍala?).<sup>115</sup>

Next, the *ācārya* visualizes the candidate's bodies as Five Wheels, ritually empowering them with the five syllables as he earlier empowered himself.<sup>116</sup> The *ācārya* places the syllable *a* on the flower platform in the candidate's heart, identifying it with the Great Sun deity, or Vairocana. With the mudrā of "bringing in the Buddha" *samaya* (rite), the *ācārya* stamps (or touches) the top of the candidate's head.<sup>117</sup> With the mudrā of "generating *dharmadhātu*," he stamps the candidate's heart. With the "turning of the Wheel of Dharma" mudrā, the *ācārya* stamps above the candidate's navel. With each stamping or touching, the appropriate mantra is recited three times. Then the *ācārya* transforms the syllable *a* in the candidate's heart into the syllable *va*. Forming Vajrasattva's mudrā, the *ācārya* stamps the five limbs of the candidate's body, the so-called five places.

In concluding this visualization practice, the *Commentary* observes, all this is done because a "vajra enterprise" is being carried out.<sup>118</sup> The term might refer to the initiation rite. In this elaborate visualization ritual the *ācārya* and the candidate are both ritually identified with Vairocana and other deities on the maṇḍala.

Elaborate visualization practices are also introduced into the *Commentary's* account of the core initiation rites. For example, in the flower-throwing rite, the candidate is blindfolded with a piece of cloth.<sup>119</sup> The *samaya* precept, that is, the precept for this ritual of initiation, is whispered into the candidate's ear. Then the *ācārya* visualizes the syllable *ra* at the top of the candidate's head, with a dot above it, as mentioned in the *Sūtra*.<sup>120</sup> Flames appear at the four corners of the syllable, wheels of flame linked together like flowers in a garland. From the syllable white

light emanates, like light shining from a full moon. This is understood as the purification of reality (the dharma realm) as it is empowered by the mind. As a result of this purification, all internal and external obstructions (to the success of the rite?) are removed.<sup>121</sup> The candidate is taken to the gate guarded by the Dragon Kings Sunda and Upasunda. The *ācārya* has the candidate form the mudrā for this rite (*samaya*) and, reciting its mantra three times, places a flower over the mudrā and has the candidate throw the flower into the maṇḍala.<sup>122</sup> Where the flower falls reveals how far the candidate has come through spiritual practice in the course of his past births. A long quotation from the *Guhya Tantra* then follows. No visualization is mentioned in that quotation.<sup>123</sup>

In the *homa* sacrifice, the *ācārya* in yogic meditation visualizes the seed syllable of the fire god (*a*) as it transforms itself into the fire deity inside the maṇḍala.<sup>124</sup> The *ācārya* chooses the appropriate one of the twelve fire deities mentioned in the *homa* chapter of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and visualizes (“contemplates” *guan* 觀) the body of that fire deity as being one with his own body.<sup>125</sup> The “fire maṇḍala,” i.e., the hearth for *homa*, is also identified with this body. The *ācārya*’s body, the body of the fire deity, and the fire in the hearth are thus visualized as one. Then the deities are to be invited into the fire by reciting the mantra of the fire god. The offerings are thrown into the fire. Through visualization (*yunxin*) the *ācārya* guides the fire god back to its original seat (on the maṇḍala?) and invites other maṇḍala deities to the fire. The *ācārya* takes a flower, purifies and empowers it with mantras, and saying, “I wish the deities to empower this place and receive my offerings,” throws the flower across the hearth into the maṇḍala.<sup>126</sup> As he throws the flower, the *ācārya* visualizes (*guan*) that the flower, as it reaches the maṇḍala, becomes the seats appropriate to each of the categories of the deities.<sup>127</sup> After cleaning and purifying the hearth with a mantra, he invites each deity one by one with its own mantra. As the hearth has already been identified with the fire realm, which I take here to mean the maṇḍala as a whole, the *ācārya* visualizes the deities arriving without leaving their seats. After the offerings are made, they return to their seats, again without moving (“leaving”).<sup>128</sup>

In the *abhiṣeka*, which is performed at a separate maṇḍala, the *ācārya* visualizes the syllable *ra* as a fire that burns the body of the candidate into ashes, and then the *ācārya* pours the water from four jars over the candidate.<sup>129</sup> The *ācārya* then visualizes the ashes forming the syllable *va*. Its color is pure white. Five syllables, *a[m̐]*, *vaṃ*, *raṃ*, *hūṃ*, *khaṃ*, emerge from it. Visualizing (“holding”) them as five wheels, the *ācārya* visualizes the syllable *aṃ* above the crown of the candidate’s head. That

syllable becomes the eight-petaled core of the Womb Maṇḍala (S: *Garbha maṇḍala*). A flame of light emanates from the syllable. The first layer of the flame surrounds the area above the candidate's throat, and where it shines the deities of the first hall of the maṇḍala appear. The second layer of the flame of light surrounds the area above the heart, and where it shines the deities of the second hall of the maṇḍala appear. The third layer surrounds the area above the navel, and the deities thus illumined form the third hall of the maṇḍala. The candidate's body has become the maṇḍala. Earlier the *ācārya*, by visualizing the Five Wheel Syllables, identified himself with all the deities of each hall of the maṇḍala; now he has performed the same visualization on the body of the candidate.<sup>130</sup> It would have been this identification that confirmed and conferred "initiation." In tandem with this elaborate visualization as initiation is the physical rite of pouring water over the candidate.

The ceremony concludes with a series of rites that closely resemble the concluding part of the initiation ceremony in Vajrabodhi's summary translation of the *Vajraśekhara* recitation.<sup>131</sup> When the golden stylus is applied to the candidate's eye, verses are recited and the syllable *ra* is visualized, removing obstructions in the eye. When the clear mirror is shown to the candidate, verses are recited and the syllable *maṃ* is visualized, removing obstructions in the mind, and when the turning of the dharma (wheel) conch is conferred on the candidate, verses are again recited.<sup>132</sup>

The core of the visualization for the maṇḍala initiation ceremony described above is the cosmic visualization of one's body as the Five Wheels around the syllables *a*, *va*, *ra*, *ha*, *kha*. As also noted above, the visualization of one's body as the same cosmic Five Wheels appears in Bodhiruci's thirty-fascicle translation of the *Amoghapāśa Sūtra*, in sections 20, 23, and related passages, including the account of the *abhiṣeka* ceremony in section 8. A distinctive and elaborate visualization practice informed both these sūtras.

In Yixing's *Commentary* an extended instruction on the Five Wheel visualization first appears in fascicle 4, as part of the instruction on visualization for the creation of the maṇḍala, and then in fascicle 8, where the maṇḍala initiation ceremony is described.<sup>133</sup> Both of these passages are comments on the instruction for the Great Maṇḍala in chapter 2 of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*.

### Secret Maṇḍala Ceremony

The discussion of visualization in Yixing's *Commentary* above has focused on the extended discussion of the Great Maṇḍala in chapter 2 of

the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*. There the detailed instruction on the Great Maṇḍala “born of Matrix (or Womb, *Garbha*) of Great Compassion” is followed by two shorter accounts of the same maṇḍala, first in the chapter on “Maṇḍala Practices for the Revolving Syllable Wheel” (chap. 8) and then in the chapter on “The Secret Maṇḍala” (chap. 11–13).<sup>134</sup> In the instruction in the “Revolving Syllable Wheel” chapter, the creation of the maṇḍala is recast as a series of steps, each consisting of forming an appropriate mudrā and writing a syllable. In the instruction on the “Secret Maṇḍala,” the maṇḍala is mapped on the body of the practitioner.<sup>135</sup> Here the *Garbha* Maṇḍala of Great Compassion is characterized as the “most secret of secrets,” and also as “the internal maṇḍala.”<sup>136</sup>

Yixing’s comments on these subsequent chapters of the *Sūtra* also reveal the transformation of maṇḍala ritual through the introduction of visualization. Yixing repeatedly observes that these later chapters address aspects of the maṇḍala ceremony that were not adequately considered in chapter 2.<sup>137</sup>

Yixing elaborates this view further in relation to the passage describing five kinds of *samaya* 三昧耶 in fascicle 15 in the *Commentary*.<sup>138</sup> Here he treats the maṇḍala ceremony as *samaya*, which he describes as having five levels (“kinds”). The first, lowest, level is described as “seeing the maṇḍala only at a distance.”<sup>139</sup> Here a candidate sees a completed maṇḍala and is delighted and wishes to worship it. He is taken by the *ācārya* to stand outside the maṇḍala and is allowed to offer flowers and incense from a distance. That person’s sins will be removed, but no mantra or mudrā is conferred. The second level is called “seeing the seats of the deities inside the maṇḍala.”<sup>140</sup> The aspirant is taken inside the maṇḍala and pays respect to the deities and makes offerings to them. After the candidate throws a flower, the master tells the name of the deity on whom the flower fell. The aspirant may be instructed in the mantra and mudrā of the deity. The third level is called “seeing the maṇḍala and the seats marked by mudrās, and performing rites.”<sup>141</sup> At this level the *ācārya* guides the aspirant from beginning to end of the ceremony. The *ācārya* creates a maṇḍala for the aspirant, identifying all the deities and their mudrās, and confers mantras and mudrās on the aspirant, teaching him all the rites one by one. At the fourth level the aspirant has learned all the rules of the mantra ceremony, thoroughly understands them, and is familiar with all the skills needed for the maṇḍala ceremony. Such a person is qualified to take the *ācārya*’s seat. For such an aspirant the *ācārya* performs the “Transmission Maṇḍala,” saying that from then on he may create a maṇḍala and initiate new disciples.<sup>142</sup> The fifth level is the “Secret Maṇḍala.”<sup>143</sup> Even if the aspirant has been instructed on the

mudrās, the maṇḍala, and the arrangements of the seats of the deities, unless he has undergone this [level of the] maṇḍala initiation, he will not have attained the “secret wisdom.” To achieve “secret wisdom” one must undergo *abhiṣeka* initiation on the secret maṇḍala. Chapter 2 of the *Sūtra* and chapter 8 of the *Commentary* pertain only to the third level of maṇḍala *samaya*.<sup>144</sup>

Instruction for the Secret Maṇḍala initiation then follows, again categorized into five levels. It is described as an elaborate yogic visualization that culminates in visualizing oneself being initiated in the presence of all the buddhas.<sup>145</sup>

Elsewhere in the *Commentary* the account of the more profound secret maṇḍala practice is presented around the scheme of the Five Wheel visualization.<sup>146</sup> As noted earlier in the discussion of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Initiation Ceremony was performed in the middle of the night and understood as a secret rite. In Yixing's discussion of the Secret Maṇḍala chapter in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, this basic ceremony is transformed into a set of visualization practices, in which the “internal maṇḍala” is also presented as a secret maṇḍala.<sup>147</sup>

### IMPLICATIONS OF VISUALIZATION

Along with the introduction of visualization, Yixing's *Commentary* highlights the transformation of the meaning of the flower-throwing rite. In Atikūṭa's All-Gathering Maṇḍala the role, status, and even the identity of the central deity are left unclarified. That All-Gathering Maṇḍala represents a broad assembly of Esoteric deities, and the rite of throwing a flower into it establishes a special bond between the candidate and the deity on whom the flower falls. The central deity of the maṇḍala does not play any role in this crucial rite, and various deities can serve as the central deity, though the latter can only be chosen from among a limited class of deities.<sup>148</sup>

In the instruction in the *Guhya Tantra* the central deity is prominent throughout the ceremony, may be chosen from among any class of deities, and is referred to as the “maṇḍala king.” The instructions, modeled after the All-Gathering Maṇḍala, are presented by the *Guhya Tantra* as applicable to all kinds of maṇḍala initiation ceremonies, as in the *Suśiddhikara Sūtra*. The flower-throwing rite has acquired added meaning: not only does the image or seat on which the flower falls determine the deity specific to the candidate, but where on that deity's body the flower

falls determines the candidate's level of "accomplishment," that is, which mantras and mudrās the candidate is entitled to use.

In Yixing's *Commentary* on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* the maṇḍala is also presented as an All-Gathering Maṇḍala. But the relationship between the central deity, who is now indubitably Vairocana, and all the other maṇḍala deities is yet more different from Atikūṭa's account. Through visualization the *ācārya* first becomes ritually identified with Vairocana.<sup>149</sup> Yixing explains that the Tathāgata Great Sun (Mahāvairocana) is the *ācārya* of the Great Compassion *Garbha* Maṇḍala, and so when a practitioner serves as an *ācārya* in ceremonies around this maṇḍala, he should turn himself (ritually) into Vairocana.<sup>150</sup> The *ācārya*, as Vairocana, also ritually identifies himself with each deity on the maṇḍala;<sup>151</sup> thus the central deity Vairocana is, through the *ācārya*, identified with all the other maṇḍala deities. The questions of the relationship and status between the central deity and other maṇḍala deities appear to have been resolved decisively. It is the nature of visualization that one can see oneself as different deities, and thus all deities become equally and more or less simultaneously accessible.

In the instruction in Yixing's *Commentary*, the rite of throwing a flower into the maṇḍala is preserved; the deity on or adjacent to whom the flower falls is determined by the initiate's past karma and is henceforth the initiate's "good friend"; the initiate should practice according to the rituals (*fangbian*, "skill in means") of this deity.<sup>152</sup> Then follows a long quotation from the *Guhya Tantra*, explaining that the position of the fallen flower relative to the deity's body determines to which of the three grades of "accomplishment" the candidate has succeeded (or if, in fact, he has succeeded at all). Like the *Guhya Sūtra* itself, Yixing's *Commentary* does not seem to recognize the deeper tension between the earlier (simpler) and later (more complex) interpretations of the flower's position.

Although it is nowhere noted, one cost of the identification of all the deities with the *ācārya* and through him, with Vairocana, might be that throwing the flower into the maṇḍala loses its meaning and function. If all the deities are ultimately one, how would the candidate establish a special bond with a particular deity? In Atikūṭa's All-Gathering Maṇḍala the rite served to overcome the tension between discrete rituals in which specific deities are addressed individually and more or less exclusively and the universal ritual in which all these deities are brought together and represented simultaneously. Visualization practice, as described in Yixing's *Commentary*, renders this tension moot. The central deity of the universal maṇḍala is at the same time each of the individual deities rep-

resented there. The rite that enabled a multiplicity of deities on a unitary maṇḍala may have become unnecessary, therefore eventually obsolete.

In Yixing's instructions the *ācārya* visualizes the seed syllable above the seat of the deity, and the syllable transforms itself into the "body" of the deity.<sup>153</sup> Or, alternatively, as the *ācārya* visualizes the syllable *a*, the light emitted by it shines on their seats and the maṇḍala deities appear.<sup>154</sup> The *ācārya* also identifies his "body" with Vairocana and with the other maṇḍala deities.<sup>155</sup> The deities are thus embodied not in images but in the ritual performer. Visualization replaces images, but at the same time the iconography of images necessary to determine the content of the visualization would again have become important. Yixing's elaborate explanations of yoga practice make this clear.

In the maṇḍala ceremony described in the *Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas* (or *Sarvatathāgata Tattvasaṃgraha*), this idea of representing maṇḍala deities as visualizations is spelled out more dramatically, as a narrative in which the deities first come into being through the yogic concentration ("samādhi") of similarly generated deities.

In summary, the synthesis of Esoteric rituals presented in Atikūṭa's All-Gathering Maṇḍala served as the basis for later instructions on maṇḍala initiation, but the meaning of that original All-Gathering instruction, particularly of the core rite of throwing a flower into the maṇḍala, became nebulous and uncertain in these new settings. In the *Guhya Tantra* the idea of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala ceremony is replaced by the idea of a universal model for all maṇḍala initiation ceremonies. The function of the flower-throwing rite is reinterpreted as a test of different levels of "accomplishment" of the candidate. In Yixing's *Commentary* the relationship between Vairocana, the distinctive central deity, and the other deities of the maṇḍala is reformulated based on the flexibility of visualization practice.

## 8. AMOGHAVAJRA'S RITUAL MANUALS

The ritual manuals (*yigui* 儀軌) attributed to Amoghavajra frequently warn that the rituals prescribed in them are to be performed only by those who have undergone the maṇḍala initiation ceremony.<sup>1</sup> These manuals were making the same basic distinction that appeared in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, in which the general initiation through the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony was carefully differentiated from the wide variety of rituals performed to gain tangible benefits from individual deities.<sup>2</sup> Amoghavajra added a further, and concrete, stipulation: in his ritual manuals marked explicitly as “yoga,” more or less the same set of mantras used in the *Vajraśekhara* initiation ceremony is to be employed in rituals for individual deities.

Amoghavajra had to fundamentally reconfigure the two kinds of ceremony, because his new ritual system had extensively incorporated yogic visualization practices. Amoghavajra's ritual manuals for individual deities, the subject of this chapter, need to be interpreted as new attempts to fashion rituals addressed to individual deities for purposes of worldly gain into a novel and coherent whole.

The opening section of the *Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas* (*Sarvatathāgata Tattvasaṃgraha*) describes how the thirty-seven Vajra deities on the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala were generated by Vairocana



through a series of *samādhis*.<sup>3</sup> After the four buddhas seat themselves in the four directions (around Vairocana), Vajrasattva and the rest of the sixteen bodhisattvas emerge. All the deities to emerge from Vairocana's *samādhis* subsequent to Vajrasattva are called *vajradharas*. Here the meaning of the maṇḍala has undergone an important shift, from the gathering place of an all-Esoteric pantheon to the site of thirty-seven Vajra deities, all understood as forms of Vairocana. As noted below, subsequent chapters of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, translated only much later (980–1017) by Dānapāla, describe a number of other maṇḍalas and maṇḍala ceremonies modeled after the account in the first chapter. Other sets of deities are present in these maṇḍalas.<sup>4</sup>

In Atikūṭa's collection the newly introduced All-Gathering Maṇḍala Initiation Ceremony was only loosely integrated, through the rite of throwing a flower onto the maṇḍala, with the wide range of other ritual practices for individual deities. In Amoghavajra's system, where the emphasis shifted dramatically to visualization, this relationship between the maṇḍala initiation and rituals for individual deities would have made little sense and thus become difficult to sustain. Whom should the candidate visualize, as he physically throws a flower into the maṇḍala?

In Amoghavajra's new system the rituals for specific deities, as spelled out in the ritual manual for each, and the initiation ceremony are integrated by means of a different model: the initiation ceremony introduces the candidate to a specific visualization practice, which enables him to perform the core visualization in rituals for individual deities. But manuals attributed to Amoghavajra vary in approach and emphases. In the sūtras translated by Bodhiruci and others, the ritual traditions pertaining to the various individual deities had evolved into more complex Esoteric rituals. Some of Amoghavajra's manuals simply carry this evolution a little further, placing greater emphasis on visualization practices. But others, often designated in their titles as "yoga," recast traditional ritual practices in light of the larger framework of *Vajraśekhara* yogic visualization.<sup>5</sup> Manuals of this type are structured around the ritual scenario and the mantras that appear in the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. I understand the didactic logic of these "yoga" manuals as follows: the general initiation ceremony introduces the candidate to a specific ritual sequence of visualizations and a set of mantras employed in it; therefore, in rituals for individual deities the practitioner uses the same ritual sequence, encapsulated in the same set of mantras, in order to achieve specific goals ("accomplishment"). The *Vajraśekhara* visualization ritual into which one has been initiated, i.e., a specific set of mantras, is combined with

various existing ritual practices that have long been affiliated with various individual deities.

The introduction of these “yoga” manuals would have brought about an important shift in the relationship between the general initiation into Esoteric rituals and the rituals for individual deities that these manuals prescribe. All Esoteric rituals are now understood to follow the model of the initiation ritual. In contrast, in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, Esoteric rituals in the form of recitation of the dhāraṇīs for individual deities existed independently of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala. These had been the rituals of individual deities that happened to be invited to the All-Gathering Maṇḍala. This maṇḍala defined the Esoteric pantheon, and the existing rituals affiliated with the individual deities were consolidated into a body of diverse Esoteric rituals.

In my reading, the body of ritual manuals attributed to Amoghavajra offers a glimpse of a ritual tradition in transition. Amoghavajra is known as a prolific translator, with a large body of translations attributed to him.<sup>6</sup> He was familiar with the three dhāraṇī sūtras that Bodhiruci translated, reviewed above; and for the *Sūtra of the Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion* and the *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Sūtra* separate translations attributed to Amoghavajra exist, very close in content to Bodhiruci’s translations and similarly titled.<sup>7</sup> Amoghavajra’s *Manual for Amoghapāśa Dhāraṇī* loosely reproduces the first two and the beginning of the third fascicle of the thirty-fascicle sūtra translated by Bodhiruci.<sup>8</sup> Corresponding to Bodhiruci’s *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra*, two separate ritual manuals attributed to Amoghavajra exist, one designated the “recitation manual” (*niansong yigui*) and the other simply the “yoga.”<sup>9</sup>

These two ritual manuals for *Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara* offer a convenient starting point for our exploration. Here a ritual with a long history recorded in a series of dhāraṇī sūtras is first translated into a more conventional “recitation” ritual and then recast into a “yoga” ritual inspired by the newly introduced *Vajraśekhara* teaching.

## SECTION 1. MANUAL FOR THE RECITATION RITUAL FOR BODHISATTVA CINTĀMAṆICAKRA AVALOKITEŚVARA

I read this manual as an example of ritual manuals attributed to Amoghavajra that can simply be understood as further steps in the evolution of dhāraṇī recitation ritual; these manuals constructed more sys-

tematic Esoteric ceremonies, bringing together elements that can be documented in a variety of earlier sources. As noted above, one section in Bodhiruci's *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra* spells out the steps of the ceremony in considerable detail, and visualization plays an important role.<sup>10</sup>

Amoghavajra's work is also organized around a series of steps for the recitation ceremony, but modifies extensively the specific steps of Bodhiruci's summary. The elaborate preparatory rites in Bodhiruci's version (sections 1–15) are simplified. The crucial rite of protecting one's body by placing a mudrā on five spots on the body is kept intact, but the mudrā and its mantra, though the same according to both monks, are described and transcribed differently.<sup>11</sup> Amoghavajra has the deities brought to the ritual space within the scenario of visualizing a jeweled pavilion and a carriage for their transport (but he uses the same spell as Bodhiruci).<sup>12</sup> In the section on "offering," which contains instructions for the core ritual of recitation, Amoghavajra introduces the spell on expanding space that appears in a simpler form in Bodhiruci's translation.<sup>13</sup> In a brief passage therein, the practitioner is told to visualize the presenter of the offering, who praises the Three Jewels and Avalokiteśvara; Amoghavajra's manual transcribes the verses of praise.<sup>14</sup>

Bodhiruci's translation of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara* and Amoghavajra's *Recitation Manual* both conclude with instructions to recite the spell using a rosary, in the familiar three forms ("root," "longer heart" ["heart"], and "shorter heart" ["heart-in-heart"]), and with appropriate mudrās. The same set of mantras appears in both versions, though not in identical transcription, and the mudrās are described differently.<sup>15</sup> The visualization of the central deity is described in greater detail in Amoghavajra's instructions.<sup>16</sup>

This brief comparison suggests that in the *Recitation Manual*, Amoghavajra reconfigured the *Cintāmaṇicakra* ritual into more of a visualization practice than we have seen in Bodhiruci's translation. Reconfiguring the ritual for an individual Esoteric deity around visualization obviously necessitated transforming the familiar ritual scenario of dhāraṇī recitation before the deity's image, with success ("accomplishment," *chengjiu*) demonstrated by miraculous emanations (light, voice, etc.) from the image. As visualization increasingly became the crucial action of the ritual, the recitation of the spell came to be primarily the context for a detailed visualization of the deity, and "success" was determined by the vivid appearance of the deity to the practitioner. This visionary experience was a familiar feature of dhāraṇī recitation practices very early in the history of the tradition. In later visualization practice, however, the practitioner and the visualized deity come to be understood

as one and the same. Image miracles are replaced by this remarkable visualization-cum-identification. Let us now look more closely at the manual itself.

In Amoghavajra's *Manual for Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara Recitation*, as in other manuals attributed to him, the ritual of recitation explicitly presupposes a general initiation, which is to have taken place at "the site of *abhiṣeka* [in the presence of] the ocean[-like] gathering of the [numerous] Buddha Tathāgatas."<sup>17</sup> Only after that initiation is the teacher to instruct the disciple on the rules of recitation.<sup>18</sup> The substance of this manual appears thus to consist of the instructions that the teacher is to confer in person.

A ritual space is marked off in a mountain forest with flowing water, a place of great beauty. The central image is put in place, and the practitioner faces east and prepares the maṇḍala. Preparatory rites include purification with a mantra (mantra 1) and repentance facing the buddhas and bodhisattvas.

Sitting before the central image, the practitioner then "awakens" the deities in the Buddha group, the Lotus-Flower group, and the Vajra deity group.<sup>19</sup> As he proceeds from one group to another he forms a carefully described mudrā, visualizes the features of the deity, and recites a mantra seven times (mantras 2–4). The ceremony that follows seems to have been understood as performed before the entire Esoteric pantheon, reminiscent of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*.

Next the practitioner forms the armor mudrā and places it on five spots on his body to protect himself against Vināyaka and other demonic beings (mantra 5). The ritual space is marked off with "vajra spikes" and "vajra walls" (mantras 6–7).

The practitioner then visualizes on the maṇḍala (or the altar) a large eight-petaled lotus flower.<sup>20</sup> Above it, also visualized, is a lion seat, and above the seat a seven-jeweled pavilion. Draped around it are garlands and embroidered flags and umbrellas. Jeweled pillars in a line are hung with heavenly robes. Fragrant clouds spread everywhere, and flowers fall like rain. Music sounds, and precious jars of *argha* water and heavenly foods appear. *Maṇi* jewels serve as lamps. Following this visualization, another mudrā and mantra accompany visualized offerings (mantra 8).

With the sequence of mudrās, mantras, and visualization that follows, a jeweled carriage is sent to the Pure Land and in it Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara and attending deities are brought to the ritual space and receive the offerings (mantras 9–11).<sup>21</sup>

The deities that have gathered at the ritual space are then protected with the mantra and mudrā of Hayagrīva, vajra net, and the threefold layer of flames (“fire hall”) outside the vajra wall (mantras 12–14).

*Argha* water (mantra 15) is presented to the deities, who take their respective seats inside the jeweled pavilion (mantra 16). This too seems to be visualized.<sup>22</sup>

The core rite of recitation is designated an “offering,”<sup>23</sup> and begins with visualizing perfume, flower garlands, incense, food and drink, and lamps, in amounts infinite as “an ocean of clouds.” With a special mantra, these are all presented as offerings (mantras 17).

Verses of praise are then pronounced (mantra 18) and Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara is visualized, his root mudrā is formed, and his root mantra is recited (mantra 19).<sup>24</sup> Next, the heart mudrā is formed and its spell pronounced (mantra 20), followed by the heart-in-heart mudrā and its mantra (mantra 21).

Instruction on reciting the heart-in-heart mantra using a rosary follows. Then the root, heart, and heart-in-heart mudrās are formed and the practitioner enters a *samādhi*. As he contemplates his mind, it expands to cover all of the dharma realm. His body and mind become the entire pure realm (universe) of the dharma. Afterward he emerges from the *samādhi*.

Once more offerings are presented to the deities. The practitioner praises the deities and makes a wish. The fire hall is resolved and the deities are sent back to the Pure Land in the carriage by the same set of mudrās used to bring them. Similarly, the same steps used to protect the practitioner’s body and awaken the deities of the three groups are repeated to resolve the ritual space. The practitioner then leaves the ritual space and recites Mahāyāna sūtras.<sup>25</sup>

The instructions conclude by promising that if the practitioner carries out this recitation three times a day, his sins will disappear and he will obtain great wisdom. As the *samādhi* is “accomplished” (*chengjiu*), the central deity appears, and the practitioner obtains the merits as described in sūtras.

Amoghavajra’s *Recitation Manual*, itself rooted in the long history of ritual instructions specifically for Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, seems also to have served as a model for other ritual manuals pertaining to other deities, also attributed to Amoghavajra. I shall illustrate this first by reviewing the occurrence of the mantras of this Cintāmaṇicakra manual in other manuals, by showing that the same basic ritual procedure appears in a seemingly unrelated *Manual for the One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Recitation*. This latter text also enables us to confirm that

Amoghavajra's manuals often relied heavily on the account of ritual in the dhāraṇī sūtras translated earlier by Bodhiruci.

(i) Mantras of the *Manual for Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara Recitation*

The set of mantras in this manual is virtually identical to sets of mantras in two other manuals, pertaining to other deities, that are also attributed to Amoghavajra. Ritual manuals attributed to Amoghavajra are often modeled, with appropriate adaptations, after other earlier manuals. Table 8.1 is based on the information from Hatta Yuko's *Shingon jiten* 真言事典 ("Dictionary of Mantras").<sup>26</sup> For each step of the ritual, I list the mantra as numbered by Hatta ("H."), and in the right-hand column identify the manuals in which it appears by giving the number of the text in the *Taishō* collection and, following a hyphen, the number of the mantra in the sequence of mantras in that manual.<sup>27</sup>

The starred entries in this table indicate sets of mantras found in the *Manual for Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara Recitation* that also appear in the *Ritual Manual for Contemplation of and Offerings to Amitāyus Tathāgata*, T. 930, as well as in the two manuals for the deity Ucchuṣma, *Ritual Manual for the Great Wrathful Deity Ucchuṣma*, T. 1225 and 1226.<sup>28</sup> I conjecture that it was in the *Recitation Manual for Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara* that this common schema first appeared. That manual is derived from Bodhiruci's summary of the ceremony (T. 1080), as suggested by the occurrence of three identical spells in the two instructions. The manual for Amitāyus, a Buddha closely affiliated with Avalokiteśvara, may have been composed in light of the *Cintāmaṇīcakra* manual.<sup>29</sup>

Mantras H. 178 and H. 425 appear repeatedly in the group of texts affiliated with the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*. The *Taishō* numbers for these texts are italicized in the table (8.1) of mantras for the *Recitation Manual for Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara*. *Taishō* number 874, in which mantra 15 appears, is marked in bold to indicate that this mantra also appears in a manual derived from the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*.

(ii) Ritual Procedure and Mantras of the *Manual for One-Syllable Buddhoṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Recitation*

Though the ritual program of the *Recitation Manual for Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara* appears to have been borrowed virtually intact in other recitation manuals with the same set of mantras, in one striking case, the

TABLE 8.1

Mantras of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara Recitation Manual*  
(T. 1085)

Purity of self-nature:

1 H. 1809 T. 868-14; T. 1123-1; T. 1124-1

The Buddha, Lotus-Flower, and Vajra groups of deities:

2 H. 309 T. 900-2\*; T. 930-3\*; T. 1225-1\*; T. 1226-1\*

3 H. 559 T. 900-3\*; T. 930-4\*; T. 1225-2\*; T. 1226-2\*

4 H. 1501 T. 900-4\*; T. 930-5\*; T. 1225-3\*; T. 1226-3\*

5 H. 1422 T. 900-5\*; T. 930-6\*; T. 1080-14; T. 1225-4\*; T. 1226-4\*

6 H. 150 T. 900-6\*; T. 930-7\*; T. 1225-10\*; T. 1226-10\*

Vajra walls:

7 H. 1766 T. 900-7\*; T. 930-8\*; T. 1225-11\*; T. 1226-11\*

Visualization of the altar and the generation of vajra treasure from space:

8 H. 179 T. 864-21; T. 900-9\*; T. 915-2; T. 930-9\*; T. 1122-42

Sending the jeweled carriage to the Pure Land:

9 H. 327 T. 900-10\*; T. 930-11\*; T. 1080-19; T. 1225-18\*; T. 1226-18\*

Bringing the deities in the jeweled carriage:

10 H. 428 T. 900-11\*; T. 930-12\*; T. 1225-19\*; T. 1226-19\*

The arrival of the holy assembly:

11 H. 62

Expelling demons from the ritual space:

12 H. 43 T. 900-13\*; T. 908-2; T. 909-2; T. 930-14\*

Setting up the vajra net above:

13 H.1536 T. 900-14\*; T. 930-15\*; T. 1225-22\*; T. 1226-22\*

Fire hall; threefold flames surrounding the ritual space:

14 H. 71 T. 900-15\*; T. 930-16\*; T. 1225-23\*; T. 1226-23\*

Presenting scented water to deities:

15 H. 178 T. 848-16, T. 848 fasc. 7-25; T. 849-24/37; T. 850-24, T. 851-45, T. 852-56, T. 853-60. T. 858-10; T. 859-13; T. 860-24; T. 861-6; T. 864-47; T. 874-76; T. 900-16\*; 930-18\*

TABLE 8.1 (*continued*)

Mantras of the <i>Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara Recitation Manual</i> (T. 1085)		
Offering lotus seats to deities:		
16	H. 123	T. 900–17*; T. 930–18*; T. 1225–15*; T. 1226–15*
Universal offering:		
17	H. 425	T. 848–141, T. 848 fasc. 7–19, T. 850–17; T. 851–19, 52; T. 852–68; T. 853–72; T. 849–20/44/ 45; T. 859–8; T. 860–16; T. 1080: 24; T. 1225–16*; T. 1226–16*
Verses of praise:		
18	H. 122	
The three forms of Cintāmaṇicakra's mantra:		
19	H. 436	T. 1086–35; T. 1087–35 (Cintāmaṇicakra root mantra)
20	H. 481–b	
21	H. 1503	T. 1086–37; T. 1087–37

same ritual sequence is combined with a divergent set of mantras. A very similar ritual program is found in the *Manual for One-Syllable Buddhoṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Recitation*, attributed to Amoghavajra.<sup>30</sup> But here some mantras more closely match those found in the sūtra of this deity.<sup>31</sup>

In Amoghavajra's *One-Syllable Buddhoṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Recitation Manual* the mantras for the first, preparatory part of the ritual—addressing the three groups of deities, putting on the protective armor, and forming the Buddha's eye—are largely taken from Bodhiruci's *Five-Buddhoṣṇiṣa Samādhi Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (T. 952). Those for the visualization that follows are taken from the same translation and the very closely related *One-Syllable Buddhoṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Sūtra*, also attributed to Bodhiruci (T. 951). They also appear in Amoghavajra's translation of the same sūtra, the *Sūtra of the One-Syllable Uṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Taught at the Site of Enlightenment* (T. 950). The mantras for recitation using a rosary in Amoghavajra's manual also appear in his and Bodhiruci's translations of the *One-Syllable Sūtra*. I offer a table showing these complex relationships.

In addition, the mantras that are listed for the five deities in Amoghavajra's *One-Syllable Manual* show a close affinity with those in Bodhiruci's two translations.<sup>32</sup>



TABLE 8.2

Mantras of the *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Recitation Manual*  
(T. 954A and B)

Mantras	Amoghvara Manual	Bodhiruci Translation	Amoghavajra Translation	
	T. 954	T. 952	T. 951	T. 950
Buddha group	307c17	275a12		
Lotus-Flower group	307c21	275a21		
Vajra group	307c25	275a28		
Buddha's eye	3087a9–11	276c19–20		
Ocean	308a14	271a7	235a1	202c11
Mount Sumeru	308a17	271a11	235a5	202c13
Pavilion	308a21–23	271a19–20	235a15–18	202c17–19
Picking up rosary	310b1–2	270b23–24	234b18–19	202a18–19
Counting with rosary	310b7–8	270c2–3	234b26–28	202a27–28

The ritual steps marked by these mantras frequently appear in Amoghavajra's ritual manuals for other deities. What is significant about the *Manual for the One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Recitation* is that these same steps are marked by a unique set of mantras that can be traced back to earlier translations of the sūtra devoted to this deity. These mantras do not appear in other manuals.

But Amoghavajra's *Manual for the One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Recitation* also includes some mantras, though a smaller number, reproduced in other manuals: the mantras for bringing the central deity to the ritual space in a carriage are also in the ritual manual for Amitāyus.<sup>33</sup> The mantra for setting up the protective circles of fire around the ritual space is also found in both these manuals.<sup>34</sup> The set of mantras for visualizing the ocean and Mount Sumeru reappear in the influential manuals for *Vajraśekhara* visualization.<sup>35</sup>

These complex duplications suggest that certain parts of the ritual schema in Amoghavajra's manuals were widely shared, and may well have first taken shape as a kind of generic program of the ceremony.

But steps of the various similar rituals were not rigidly tied to a specific set of mantras; mantras that were considered appropriate for a particular setting would be incorporated into the program, and often these were taken from already existing ritual instructions for an individual deity.

### (iii) The Core Visualization: The Identification of Deity and the Practitioner

In Amoghavajra's *Manual for Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara Recitation* the climactic moment in the ritual is the visualization executed during repeated recitations of the deity's mantras, which are being counted using a rosary. In an image ritual, as noted earlier in reviewing the long evolution of Esoteric rituals, it is typically during the concluding recitation of the dhāraṇī of the deity, often carried out before the image, that the sign of success ("accomplishment," *chengjiu*) appears, often in the form of some image miracle. In rituals with greater emphasis on visualization this culminating point appears to have evolved into a detailed visualization practice in which the deity, vividly visualized, and the practitioner become one. It is not always made clear in what form this identity is expressed, but something corresponding to image miracles seems to be indicated.

Before the recitation of the spells begins, the practitioner utters verses of praise.<sup>36</sup> Then the practitioner visualizes the full moon inside, above it an eight-petaled lotus flower, and inside the lotus flower a bright cintāmaṇi jewel. The light emitted by the jewel illumines numerous universes, and inside this light the central deity, Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva, emerges. He is six-armed, his features are perfect, and he remains in pensive attitude.<sup>37</sup> With the heart of Great Compassion, the practitioner forms the Cintāmaṇīcakra root mudrā. He sees vividly before him the deity Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva, and recites the root spell seven times while dissolving (? *san* 散, "scattering") the mudrā above his head. He forms the heart mudrā and dissolves it above the head while uttering the heart spell seven times. The heart-in-heart mantra mudrā is formed and dissolved above the head with the corresponding spell. Taking the rosary in his hand, the practitioner blesses it with the heart-in-heart spell seven times, and placing it on his heart, the practitioner recites the spell 108 or 1,008 times, again counting the recitations on the rosary. The recitation finished, the rosary is returned to its place, and forming the root, heart, and heart-in-heart mudrās, the practitioner enters a *samādhi* and visual-

izes his heart (mind), round and bright (like the moon), expanding to cover the entire universe.<sup>38</sup>

The corresponding section in the manual for the Buddha Amitāyus is considerably more detailed,<sup>39</sup> though more or less the same visualization practice is described. But the Tathāgata Amitāyus is visualized face to face immediately, and after that the practitioner utters the verses of praise.<sup>40</sup> To awaken the Tathāgata Amitāyus, the practitioner is instructed to recite these verses of praise at the three times of worship each day.<sup>41</sup> If light shines on the practitioner (as he recites), it removes all his sins. His mind and body will be at peace, and extended sitting and recitation will not exhaust him.

At this point the practitioner enters the *samādhi* of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.<sup>42</sup> Closing the eyes and with clear mind, the practitioner sees a perfect white moonlike disk facing upward inside his heart (mind). On this moon disk the practitioner visualizes the syllable *hriḥ* emitting light.<sup>43</sup> The syllable transforms into an eight-petaled lotus flower, above which is bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, his features perfectly clear. In his left hand the bodhisattva holds a lotus flower. An elaborate description of this visualization follows. The eight-petaled lotus flower expands until it resembles empty space. Those whom the flower touches are liberated from all suffering and become identified with bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.<sup>44</sup> Then the practitioner visualizes the flower shrinking and drawing back into his body. This appears to be a more elaborate version of the visualization described in the *Manual for the Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara Recitation* (as summarized above). Instructions on Avalokiteśvara's mudrā and mantra conclude this part of the text. This instruction on visualizing Avalokiteśvara—inserted unexpectedly into an Amitāyus ritual—suggests that this manual for Amitāyus was composed with the preexisting manual for Avalokiteśvara very much in mind.

We are then returned to Tathāgata Amitāyus and told his root mudrā and dhāraṇī.<sup>45</sup> The procedure as prescribed above for Avalokiteśvara—forming the mudrā and dissolving it above the head, while reciting the spell seven times—appears here, though only for the root dhāraṇī of the central deity Amitāyus.<sup>46</sup> Those who recite the dhāraṇī even once will have the gravest of their sins removed. Those who recite it 10,000 times will attain the *samādhi* of never forgetting the intention to seek enlightenment (*bodhicitta*). This mind of seeking enlightenment appears in the practitioner's body, pure and perfect, like the clear moon. And at the moment of death the Buddha, surrounded by his attendants, will arrive and take them to the Pure Land.<sup>47</sup> The recitations should be counted with a rosary that has been blessed with a mudrā and a spell.

Holding the rosary above his head, the practitioner vows to make the worldly and otherworldly wishes of all sentient beings realized quickly. Using the rosary to count, the practitioner recites the spell of the Buddha Amitāyus, while the Pure Land, with the Buddha Amitāyus sitting on the altar, takes shape in a visualization. The body and mind of the practitioner are purified, and whether his eyes are open or closed he has the Buddha Amitāyus in constant view, and he hears the Buddha preach. Then the practitioner's body becomes identical with bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and he quickly reaches the Pure Land (in visualization).<sup>48</sup>

After reciting the spell of Buddha Amitāyus, the practitioner expresses the wish to have sentient beings be reborn in the Pure Land, see the Buddha, hear his teaching, and quickly attain enlightenment.

The practitioner is then to form the mudrā of meditative concentration, whereupon he will see inside his body the mind of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), bright and perfectly round like the moon. Then the practitioner should entertain the thought that the mind of enlightenment transcends all "things," the realm of the *skandhas* and the dualism between the subject and the object of attachment. Dharmas are free of essence ("self"), being one and lacking distinctions. The mind (of *bodhicitta*) does not arise; its essence is empty and therefore, it is round and perfect like the moon disk. The practitioner visualizes the syllable *hriḥ*.<sup>49</sup> From it infinite light flows, and in each ray of this light the Pure Land is visualized, with holy beings encircling the Buddha Amitāyus. Thus the *samādhi* concludes.<sup>50</sup>

In this visualization the practitioner becomes identical with the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and proceeds to the Pure Land of the Tathāgata Amitāyus. The identification with Avalokiteśvara rather than with Amitāyus, who is the central deity of the ceremony, again suggests that this core ritual originated in an Avalokiteśvara ritual and was later incorporated into the ritual of a closely affiliated deity, namely the Buddha Amitāyus.

One striking finding from the comparative table of mantras that appears in Amoghavajra's *Manual for Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara Recitation* (T. 1085) is this: besides relying on the tradition of sūtras associated with Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, particularly the version translated by Bodhiruci, Amoghavajra, in compiling this *Manual*, appears also to have relied on the ritual tradition associated with the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*—but *not* on the sūtras of the *Vajraśekhara* tradition.<sup>51</sup> Apart from parallels in the *Eighteen Mudrās* (T. 900), a later work, the *Manual* contains only one direct reference to *Vajraśekhara* sources (mantra 15).<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, this mantra (H. 178), along with mantra 17 (H. 425), also

appears in Śubhākarasiṃha's translation of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (T. 848) and in various ritual manuals associated with this sūtra. Awareness of this point will be significant in interpreting the *Cintāmaṇīcakra Yoga of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara*, another *Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara* ritual manual attributed to Amoghavajra.

## SECTION 2. CINTĀMAṆĪCAKRA YOGA OF BODHISATTVA AVALOKITEŚVARA

“Yogic” visualization of *Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara* in the other ritual manual attributed to Amoghavajra, *Cintāmaṇīcakra Yoga of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara* (cited below as *Cintāmaṇīcakra Yoga Manual*), is based on the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*.<sup>53</sup> A virtually identical version of the same work, bearing a slightly different title, *Essential Instruction of the Cintāmaṇīcakra Yoga of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara*, is attributed to Vajrabodhi (669–741).<sup>54</sup>

The *Cintāmaṇīcakra Yoga Manual* begins by identifying its affiliation with the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* and calling itself the instruction for the recitation ritual for the deity *Cintāmaṇī[cakra Avalokiteśvara]* in the maṇi lotus-flower group.<sup>55</sup> Through cultivating this *samādhi* one can become like Avalokiteśvara.<sup>56</sup> Again, the teacher is to confer these instructions only on a disciple who has received the *abhiṣeka* initiation and is ready to achieve accomplishment.<sup>57</sup>

We have seen above that Amoghavajra's *Manual for Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara Recitation* also insists that the practitioner undergo a more general *abhiṣeka* initiation before receiving the instructions offered in that manual.<sup>58</sup> But that manual is affiliated with the ritual tradition of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, although only loosely; its connection with *Vajraśekhara* sūtras is tenuous. In contrast, the *Cintāmaṇīcakra Yoga Manual* explicitly presents itself as a reworking of the ritual following the *Vajraśekhara* tradition.<sup>59</sup>

The implication of this shift was profound. A specific set of mantras, originally affiliated with specific groups of deities, is taken out of its original context and imposed on ritual manuals devoted to different deities. These mantras enjoyed a privileged status as *Vajraśekhara* mantras, and as the rituals for a variety of deities were recast as *Vajraśekhara* rituals, their long-traditional mantras were replaced by *Vajraśekhara* mantras. But the disparity between deities of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, which privileged Vajra deities, and the deities of specific ritual manuals, such as *Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara* in the *Cintāmaṇīcakra Yoga*

*Manual*, will gradually surface and help explain the evolution of this ritual manual.<sup>60</sup>

The main part of the first “assembly” of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, the *Compendium of the Truth*, or [*Sarvatathāgata*] *Tattvasaṃgraha*, is organized into four large sections, titled respectively, as instructions for Vajradhātu great maṇḍala (part I, for Buddha group deities), Trāilokavijaya great maṇḍala (part II, for Vajra group deities), Sarva-jagadvinaya great maṇḍala (part III, for the Lotus-Flower deities), and Sarvārthasiddhi great maṇḍala (part IV, for the jewel deities).<sup>61</sup> The basic model of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala, in which deities of different groups are brought together into the comprehensive initiation maṇḍala, is now fundamentally modified: the maṇḍala and its ceremony are divided into separate units, each intended for the four separate groups of deities. This fundamental shift in the design of maṇḍala rituals is reflected in the opening statement of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* cited above. As an Avalokiteśvara deity, Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara belongs to the Lotus-Flower group. In the basic schema of the *Compendium of the Truth* (*Tattvasaṃgraha*) the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* corresponds to the instruction given in part III. Part I, on Vajradhātu maṇḍala, first presents Mahāvairocana as having attained the wisdom, *abhiṣeka*, yoga, and mudrā of All the Tathāgatas, but its focus quickly shifts to explaining how Vairocana, through vajra *samādhis*, generated the deities of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, mostly named explicitly as Vajra deities. Lotus group deities do not appear on this Vajradhātu maṇḍala.

We need to keep in mind that, following the precedent of Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra translated only part I of the *Compendium of the Truth* (*Tattvasaṃgraha*).<sup>62</sup> All four parts of this text were translated into Chinese by Dānapāla only much later, around the cusp of the eleventh century.<sup>63</sup>

Close examination of the sources of the mantras that appear in the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* reveals that this ritual manual for Avalokiteśvara deities was constructed in two recognizable stages. An earlier effort to produce a general Avalokiteśvara manual based on the *Vajraśekhara* teaching closely followed the existing basic *Vajraśekhara* recitation manual, which drew its mantras from the *Compendium of the Truth*, part I, particularly the version translated by Vajrabodhi. The adaptation of the new Avalokiteśvara deities manual consisted of the modification of one key mantra. But the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* attributed to Amoghavajra modifies and expands this earlier general Avalokiteśvara manual by introducing a set of mantras taken from the *Compendium of the Truth*, part III. Visualization itself remained important, along with a new concern to adopt the correct set of mantras, taken

from the appropriate section of the *Compendium of the Truth*. In what follows I shall attempt to unpack the agenda of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* by tracing the mantras taken from the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* that appear in it.

In the *Manual for Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara Recitation* attributed to Amoghavajra, the ritual concludes with the visualization of the central deity and the practitioner's heart (mind), round and bright, expanding to cover the entire universe.<sup>64</sup> This basic visualization practice, which can be traced back to Bodhiruci's earlier (709) translation of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra* and Amoghavajra's *Cintāmaṇicakra Recitation Manual*,<sup>65</sup> is described in greater detail in the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual*, which introduces a set of mantras, many taken from the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*.

Following the preparatory rites of purification (mantra 1) and of paying respect to the deities (mantras 2–4), the *Yoga Manual* introduces a series of visualizations. The *Yoga Manual*'s description of the core visualization of *Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara* exceeds in both detail and complexity the descriptions in Bodhiruci's *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra* and in Amoghavajra's *Cintāmaṇicakra Recitation Manual*. The two doors of the heart (mind) are opened and all sins, in the figure of black and naked demons, are obliterated (mantras 5–7). Inside the heart (mind) an eight-petaled lotus flower, containing the syllable *a* held in a vajra fist, is visualized (mantras 8–9). At this point the practitioner, while meditating, forms a lotus-shaped *samādhi* mudrā below his navel (mantra 10). Then the heart (mind) is visualized as a moon disk, with a lotus flower above it and a jeweled vajra on the flower (mantras 10–12). Lotus flower and vajra appear to be identified (mantra 13).<sup>66</sup>

In the second half of the visualization the lotus flower expands to fill the universe, and in the rays of light emanated from it an infinite number of buddha lands is seen (mantra 14). The practitioner visualizes Avalokiteśvara (a lotus deity) holding a jeweled lotus banner. A voice from the banner promises to satisfy all the wishes of sentient beings. In this way, the instruction explains that bodhisattvas who dwell in the *samādhi* emit light from the Lotus-Flower Womb and compassionately teach sentient beings, using numerous expedient devices and manifesting themselves as being born and entering *nirvāṇa*, and as turning the Wheel of Dharma. These bodhisattvas emerge from the *maṇi* jewel, and their teaching finds accomplishment (*chengjiu*) in the wheel.<sup>67</sup> As the scope of visualization narrows (mantra 15), the practitioner sees the jeweled lotus become the six-armed *Cintāmaṇi Avalokiteśvara*. All the features of the bodhisattva are then said to be visualized on the practitioner's own



body (mantra 16).<sup>68</sup> The practitioner touches his heart, forehead, throat, and the top of his head (crown) with a mudrā, visualizing different syllables at each point. With this visualization the practitioner acquires a vajra body. At the culminating point the practitioner visualizes the Buddha conferring *abhiṣeka*.<sup>69</sup> In the concluding part of the visualization the practitioner visualizes before himself the syllable *hriḥ*, which turns itself into a lotus flower containing the syllable, with an attendant syllable on each side. Finally the syllable transforms into the deity, who is holding the wish-fulfilling jewel, the *cintāmaṇi*.<sup>70</sup>

The ritual of fetching the deity with a hook, a rope, a chain, and a bell comes from the *Vajraśekhara* teaching (mantra 22–25).<sup>71</sup> Other well-known *Vajraśekhara* rites follow: the One Hundred-Syllable mantra is recited (mantra 26) and the Four Inner and Four Outer offerings are presented (mantras 27–34).

Concluding the instruction are the descriptions of the mudrās and the texts of the root, heart, and heart-in-heart spell of Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara, followed by the prescription for the wheel of syllables visualization (mantras 35–37).

The deity is then sent away (mantra 38).

The mantras employed in this yoga ritual manual reveal its close relationship with the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. Also, the *Vajraśekhara* ritual in Amoghavajra's translation of part I of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *Compendium of the Truth*) is carefully adapted to the ritual for Avalokiteśvara. Key mantras in the *Yoga Manual* come from *Tattvasaṃgraha*, part III (describing the Lotus-Flower deities' maṇḍala), which in Amoghavajra's time had not yet been translated into Chinese.

The mantras that appear in the *Cintāmaṇīcakra Yoga Manual* occur also in other sūtras and ritual manuals. A tentative table may be drawn on the basis of the information collected in Hatta's *Shingon Jiten* (table 8.3).<sup>72</sup>

Apart from the root mantra for Cintāmaṇīcakra (no. 35, H. 436) and its heart (*hrdaya*) (no. 36, H. 481b) and heart-in-heart (*upahrdaya*) (no. 37, H. 1503) forms given at the end of the *Yoga Manual*, none of the mantras from the *Cintāmaṇīcakra Recitation Manual* (T. 1085) discussed above appears in this *Cintāmaṇīcakra Yoga Manual*. Mantras more deeply rooted in the tradition of *Cintāmaṇīcakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra* are replaced by mantras taken from the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. The more or less common set of mantras examined above, shared by rituals for a variety of deities, is set aside completely in this effort to develop a different kind of Cintāmaṇīcakra ritual manual.

The *Yoga Manual* appears to consist of two distinct parts. Mantras 1–12, in the first part, are also found in part I (for the Vajradhātu maṇḍala) of



TABLE 8.3

Mantras of the <i>Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga</i> (T. 1086, 1087)		
Mantras	Occurrences in Taishō	
1 H. 1808	864-39; 866-20; 868-2, 64; 874-2*; 900-1; 930-1; 1122-1*	
2 H. 527		
3 H. 1114	866-31; 873-21*; 874-21*; 882-III, 42 [Horiuchi, 1544]; 1122-19*; 1124-12*	
4 H. 1605	866-26; 873-19*; 874-19*; 1122-16*; 1125-9*	
5 H. 1147	865-95; 866-27; 873-15*; 874-15*; 882-I, 94 [Horiuchi, 299]; 868-4; 1119-5; 1120-5*; 1120B-4*; 1122-17*; 1123-6*; 1124-6*; 1125-5*	
6 H. 1723	866-227; 1122-23*	
7 H. 1128	866-228; 873-26*; 874-26*; 882-II, 34 [Horiuchi, 841]; 908-14; 1122-24*	
8 H. 1466	862-11; 868-73; 866-28, 226; 873-16, 68*; 874-16, 73*; 882-I, 95 [Horiuchi, 300]; II, 80 [Horiuchi, 897]; 1119-6; 9. 1120-6*; 1120B-5*; 1122-18*; 1123-7*; 1124-7*; 1125-6*	
9 H. 1186	866-29, 127; 873-17; 874-17; 1119-7; 1120-7*; 1120B-6*; 1121-3; 1122-14*; 1123-8*; 1124-8; 1125-7	
10 H. 1609		
11 H. 222	865-1; 866-67; 868-9; 873-30*, 72; 874-30*; -917-3; 882-I, 1 [Horiuchi, 20]; 1122-28*	
12 H. 622	T. 848-VII, 5; 849-5; 860-5; 864-28; 865-2; 866-68; 868-10; 873-31, 73*; 874-31*; 882-I, 2 [Horiuchi, 22]; 915-5; 917-2; 1122-29*; 1124-15*	
13 H. 317		
14 H. 1801		
15 H. 1576		
16 H. 352		
17 H. 849		
18 ?		
19 H. 516		

TABLE 8.3 (continued)

Mantras of the <i>Cintāmaṇicakra</i> Yoga (T. 1086, 1087)		
Mantras		Occurrences in <i>Taishō</i>
20	H. 32	882–III, 89 [Horiuchi, 1637: Lotus-flower armor]
21.	H. 497	
Four steps of fetching the deities:		
22	H. 490	882–III, 159 [Horiuchi, 1725: Lotus-flower wisdom hook]
23	H. 492	882–III, 160 [Horiuchi, 1725: Lotus-flower wisdom rope]
24	H. 488	882–III, 161 [Horiuchi, 1725: Lotus-flower wisdom chain]
25	H. 270	882–III, 162 [Horiuchi, 1725: Bell]
26	H. 1338	865–103; 874–192; 866–94; 882–I, 102 [Horiuchi, 307]; <u>1122–61*</u> ; <u>1125–29*</u> [100 syllable mantra]
Four inner and four outer offerings:		
27	H. 266	882–III, 151 [Horiuchi, 1723: Wisdom lotus-flower joy]
28	H. 261	882–III, 152 [Horiuchi, 1723: Wisdom lotus-flower garland]
29	H. 248	882–III, 153 [Horiuchi, 1723: Wisdom lotus-flower song]
30	H. 256	882–III, 154 [Horiuchi, 1723: Wisdom lotus-flower dance]
31	H. 485	882–III, 155 [Horiuchi, 1724]: Lotus wisdom incense]
32	H. 486	882–III, 156 [Horiuchi, 1724: Lotus wisdom flower]
33	H. 484	882–III, 157 [Horiuchi, 1724: Lotus wisdom lamp]
34	H. 482	882–III, 158 [Horiuchi, 1724: Lotus wisdom unguent]
35	H. 436	1085–19, Cintāmaṇicakra root mantra
36	H. 557	1085–20, Cintāmaṇicakra heart mantra
37	H. 1503	1085–21, Cintāmaṇicakra heart-in-heart mantra
38	H. 533	

the *Compendium of the Truth* (*Tattvasaṃgraha*) in both the Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra translations. I suggest that this set of mantras was deliberately appropriated for the ceremonies performed for deities of the Avalokiteśvara, or Lotus-Flower group.

Most of these mantras also appear in the two general *Vajraśekhara* recitation manuals attributed to Amoghavajra, listed as T. 874 and T. 873 in table 8.3. The first of these manuals, T. 874, in two fascicles, bears the same title as Amoghavajra's three-fascicle translation of the *Compendium of the Truth*.<sup>73</sup> But the two-fascicle work is a ritual manual based on part I of the *Compendium of the Truth*,<sup>74</sup> and describes a maṇḍala ceremony for the deities that appear there. The content of the second manual, T. 873, is virtually identical to that of T. 874, though this resemblance is not reflected in their titles.<sup>75</sup> The title of T. 873 describes the text as a ritual manual for "mind" recitation (meaning recitation involving visualization?) for the deities of the Lotus-Flower (Avalokiteśvara) group. These two texts, T. 874 and T. 873, therefore are to be read as recitation manuals for two separate groups of deities, both drawing their material from Vajrabodhi's *Summary Translation of the Vajraśekhara Recitation (Compendium of the Truth, part I)*.

At one point the *Ritual Manual for the Mind Recitation for the Lotus-Flower Group Deities of the Vajraśekhara* (T. 873) seems to be deliberately differentiated from the above *Vajraśekhara* recitation manual (T. 874).<sup>76</sup> The mantras that appear as number 33 in the two manuals are characterized by Hatta as identical and reconstructed as number 319 in his dictionary. But in fact the two manuals give slightly different mantras, and the difference is significant. In his dictionary Hatta cites this mantra as "tiṣṭha vajra," the form in which it appears in T. 874.<sup>77</sup> It is to be pronounced as one visualizes "the five-pronged *vajra*."<sup>78</sup> This is also the form in which the mantra appears in Vajrabodhi's *Summary Translation*, where it is mantra 69.<sup>79</sup> In Amoghavajra's translation of the *Compendium of the Truth*, where it is mantra number 3, it appears in exactly the same two words.<sup>80</sup> But in his *Ritual Manual for the Mind Recitation for the Lotus-Flower Group Deities of the Vajraśekhara*, Amoghavajra gives the mantra as "tiṣṭha vajra padma," and it is pronounced as one visualizes "the five-pronged *vajra lotus flower*."<sup>81</sup> The mantra and the visualization that it evokes it must have been adapted deliberately to the context of Avalokiteśvara deities.<sup>82</sup>

The mantras in the second part of Amoghavajra's *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* (T. 1086, mantras 13–38) do not appear in either of the two *Vajraśekhara* recitation manuals attributed to Amoghavajra. But a number of these mantras (mantras 20, 22–25, 27–34) do appear in part III

of the “first assembly” in the *Compendium of the Truth*, which was not translated either by Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi. These mantras occur, in different transcriptions, in the later translation by Dānapāla 施護 (d.u.), who was translating in 980–1017.<sup>83</sup> Dānapāla’s translation includes the entire “first assembly” of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, namely, the *Compendium of the Truth (Tattvasaṃgraha)*, not merely its part I (which was translated by Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi). Mantras 20, 22–25, and 27–34 in Amoghavajra’s *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* are taken from part III, which is devoted to the Lotus Deity Maṇḍala. They appear in chapter 17 in Dānapāla’s translation, particularly in the section on the Eight Offerings and the Four Ways Fetching for Wisdom Maṇḍala.<sup>84</sup>

By the time Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra translated the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual*, the mantras from part III of the first assembly of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* must have been already incorporated into the Sanskrit text of the *Manual*. This manual came into being in India, where both parts I and III of the first assembly of the *Compendium of the Truth* must have existed by then. The *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* has gone a step beyond the *Ritual Manual for the Mind Recitation for the Lotus-Flower Group Deities of the Vajraśekhara*. Instead of just adapting the basic *Vajraśekhara* recitation manual (intended for Vajradhātu maṇḍala), the compiler of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* also took from the later section of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, which specifically discusses the Lotus (Avalokiteśvara) maṇḍala ceremony, the mantras given there, and incorporated them into the new *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual*.

But the compiler of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* did not simply turn to part III of the *Compendium of the Truth*, intended for Lotus-Flower, or Avalokiteśvara, maṇḍala deities, and compose the manual exclusively from the material found there. Mantras 1–12 are drawn largely from the earlier *Ritual Manual for the Mind Recitation for the Lotus-Flower Section Deities of the Vajraśekhara*,<sup>85</sup> for which they were borrowed, in turn, from the earlier part of the *Compendium of the Truth*, as translated by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. Mantras 1–12 appear infrequently in the more comprehensive version of the same sūtra translated by Dānapāla. The compiler of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* appears to have tried deliberately to create a new manual, based on but expanding the scope of the earlier *Ritual Manual for the Mind Recitation for the Lotus-Flower Section Deities of the Vajraśekhara*.

We can demonstrate concretely that for the latter part of the ceremony, where the mantras for the Four Ways of Fetching and the Four Inner and Four Outer Offerings appear, the compiler of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* rejected the mantras in the *Compendium of the Truth*, part I.

As noted above, the instruction in the *Compendium of the Truth* in the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* is organized as a series of instructions for different maṇḍalas that share a common ritual procedure. Thus, the basic outline of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, as described in Vajrabodhi's translation, is also followed in the ritual for the Lotus-Flower deities' maṇḍala. In this scenario the generation of maṇḍala deities ending with the sixteen bodhisattvas (mantras 33–52) is followed by the presentation of the Four Inner and Four Outer Offerings (mantra 53–60), and then the deities are brought in with the Four Steps of Fetching (mantras 61–64).<sup>86</sup> In the culminating visualization the practitioner becomes one with the deity (mantras 65–73).<sup>87</sup>

Since the instructions for the four “great” maṇḍalas in the *Compendium of the Truth*, parts I–IV, follow this same basic outline, the instructions for Four Inner and Four Outer Offerings and Four Steps of Fetching the Deities also appear in part I of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* translated by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra as well as in the two closely parallel *Vajraśekhara* visualization manuals based on these translations (T. 873, 874).<sup>88</sup> But these instructions are not intended for the Avalokiteśvara (Lotus-Flower group) maṇḍala deities. Different sets of mantras, taken from part III, appear for these rites in the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manuals*.<sup>89</sup> Its compiler deliberately rejected the mantras taken from the Vajradhātu maṇḍala ceremony.

I shall show this correlation by recasting table 8.3 (as table 8.4 below). The thirty-eight mantras in Amoghavajra's *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual*, T. 1086, are identified by the numbers assigned in Hatta's *Shingon Jiten*. Columns to the right show the locations of the same mantras as they appear in the two general *Vajraśekhara* recitation manuals (T. 873 and T. 874) and in the three translations of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* (T. 866, 865, and 882).<sup>90</sup> The locations of the Fetching and Offering mantras in the general *Vajraśekhara* recitation manuals (T. 874, T. 873) and in the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra/Tattvasaṃgraha*, part I (T. 866, T. 865) are shown in square brackets. These were mantras intended for Vajradhātu maṇḍala deities rather than Lotus (Trāilokavijaya) maṇḍala deities and differ from those in the Lotus group mantras that appear in the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* (T. 1086, T. 1087) and in Dānapāla's translation, which are given without brackets.<sup>91</sup>

The compiler of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* (T. 1086) began composing a new recitation manual for the Lotus-Flower deities, following the model of the *Ritual Manual for the Mind Recitation for the Lotus-Flower Group Deities of the Vajraśekhara* (T. 873). For the preparatory part of the ceremony the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* follows the *Mind*

TABLE 8.4

Positions of <i>Cintāmaṇīcakra</i> Yoga Mantras in Related Manuals							
Mantras	T.1086	T. 874	T. 873	T. 866	T. 865	T. 882	Horiuchi no.
H. 1808	1			20			
H. 527		2					
H. 1114	3	21	21	31			
H. 1605	4	19	19	26			
H. 1147	5	15	15	27	27		
H. 1723	6			227			
H. 1128	7	26	26	228		II, 34	841
H. 1466	8	16	16	28		III, 95	300
H. 1186	9	17	17	29			
H. 1609	10						
H. 222		11	30	30	67	I, 1	20
H. 622	12	31	31	68	2	I, 2	22
H. 317		13					
H. 1801	14						
H. 1576	15						
H. 352		16					
H. 849	17						
?	18						
H. 516		19					
H. 32	20					III, 89	1637
H. 497	21						
Four steps of fetching:							
H. 490	22	[112]	[105]	[61/136]	[34]	III, 159	1725

TABLE 8.4 (continued)

Positions of <i>Cintāmaṇīcakra</i> Yoga Mantras in Related Manuals							
Mantras	T.1086	T. 874	T. 873	T. 866	T. 865	T. 882	Horiuchi no.
H. 492	23	[113]	[106]	[62/137]	[35]	III, 160	1725
H. 488	24	[114]	[107]	[63/138]	[36]	III, 161	1725
H. 270	25	[115]	[108]	[64/139]	[37]	III, 161	1725
H. 1338	26	192		94	103		
Four inner and four outer offerings:							
H. 266		27	[104]	[97]	[53/128]	[26]	III, 151 1723
H. 261	28	[105]	[98]	[54/129]	[27]	III, 152	1723
H. 248	29	[106]	[99]	[55/130]	[28]	III, 153	1723
H. 256	30	[107]	[100]	[56 / 131]	[29]	III, 154	1723
H. 485		31	[108]	[101]	[57/132]	[30]	III, 155 1724
H. 486	32	[109]	[102]	[58/133]	[31]	III, 156	1724
H. 484	33	[110]	[103]	[59/134]	[32]	III, 157	1724
H. 482	34	[111]	[104]	[60/135]	[33]	III, 158	1724
H. 436		35					
H. 557		36					
H. 1503	37						
H. 533	38						

*Recitation*, which, as noted above, largely reproduced the yoga manual for the *Vajradhatu Recitation Manual* (T. 874). This *Vajradhatu Recitation Manual* took its mantras from Vajrabodhi's translation of the *Compendium of the Truth*, part I (T. 866). For the most part these mantras do not appear in Dānapāla's more comprehensive translation (T. 882).<sup>92</sup>

The compiler of the *Cintāmaṇīcakra Yoga Manual* thus appears to have composed a distinctive manual intended for Lotus-Flower deities, draw-

ing mantras for the first part from an earlier well-established *Vajraśekhara* recitation manual (T. 873 and T. 874) and then supplementing them with a set of distinctively Lotus-Flower maṇḍala mantras taken from part III of the *Compendium of the Truth* (the “first assembly” of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*) that probably was not known to the compiler of the earlier manuals.

On examining the two *Cintāmaṇicakra* ritual manuals attributed to Amoghavajra, T. 1085 and 1086 (and 1087), we are led to surmise that the effort to compile a ritual manual for the recitation of the *Cintāmaṇicakra* mantra unfolded in different directions and stages. In Bodhiruci’s translation of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (T. 1080) the ritual tradition for this deity was reconfigured through incorporating visualization practice. In Amoghavajra’s *Recitation Manual* (T. 1085) this reconfiguring was taken further. The set of mantras and a framework of ritual that emerged from this development became a model for other recitation manuals. In the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* (T. 1086 and T. 1087) this set of mantras is replaced by a set of mantras taken from the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. The visualization practice is described in greater detail, following the model that is described repeatedly in the accounts of many maṇḍalas and their ceremonies presented in this sūtra.

The tradition of Atikuṭa’s All-Gathering Maṇḍala continued to provide the general outline for the initiation rituals in the *Vajraśekhara* tradition, as indicated by the prominence of the rite of throwing a flower into the maṇḍala in Vajrabodhi’s description of the ritual.<sup>93</sup> At the same time, the differentiation of maṇḍalas according to the deities with whom they were associated in the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* resulted in a significant shift. Whereas the *Cintāmaṇicakra Recitation Manual* required as prerequisite a general maṇḍala initiation, in the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* this requirement seems to have been understood as the authorization to employ certain key mantras taken from the initiation ceremony (as described in Vajrabodhi’s translation of the *Compendium of the Truth*), and the ceremony was reconstructed around them. Over time the set of mantras used in this way was adjusted for the Lotus-Flower deities’ maṇḍala. As the relationship between the initiation and “accomplishment” rituals (as described by the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual*) changed, a new focus on and preoccupation with the specific sources of mantras was introduced.

The All-Gathering Maṇḍala was presented to the Buddha by the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara. This ceremony appears to have evolved out of the tradition of Esoteric rituals closely affiliated with Avalokiteśvara deities. Vajra deities were incorporated into this synthesis, but their introduction was carefully negotiated and they were given a subsidiary status. The relationship between these two groups of deities appears to be under ne-



gotiation in the *Amoghapāśa's Supernatural Display Mantra Sūtra*. As the narrative of this massive sūtra unfolds, Vajra deities begins to play increasingly important roles. Vajra deities dominate the *Vajraśekhara* rituals and Amoghavajra's ritual manuals. But Avalokiteśvara deities remained prominent in Esoteric rituals, and the relationship between Vajra and Avalokiteśvara groups of deities continued to be carefully negotiated. The examination of Amoghavajra's manuals for Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara offers a glimpse of this complex negotiation, suggesting once again that the so-called "pure" Esoteric teaching need to be understood as a part of a long development and remains very much a work in progress.

## CONCLUSION

A broad outline of the evolution of the Esoteric Buddhist ritual tradition emerges from the investigation presented above: two separate developments contributed to the formation of this tradition. At the core of Esoteric rituals is the simple practice of reciting spells. Over time, this practice became increasingly more complex, incorporating image worship and elaborate visualization. One crucial development was the introduction of the general maṇḍala initiation ceremony (often called the All-Gathering Ceremony). The Esoteric Buddhist tradition became more clearly defined through this maṇḍala initiation ritual, and versions of the ritual appear repeatedly as crucial parts of many later accounts of Esoteric Buddhist practice.

The All-Gathering Ceremony emerged against the background of the far-reaching shift in ritual culture in medieval India, which produced distinctive post-Vedic rituals and eventually the Hinduism known in Purāṇic sources. Remarkable parallels with these post-Vedic rituals indicate that the Buddhist All-Gathering Ceremony was also profoundly shaped by this larger ritual development.

The dhāraṇī collections examined here indicate that the simpler practice of reciting spells underwent complex developments that resulted in a diversity of rituals. While the benefits of many spells are described in

narrowly this-worldly terms, such as healing, birth of children, wealth, or defeat of enemies, other goals, such as the removal of sins, are also often mentioned; some spells are even said to bring about breakthroughs along the otherworldly Buddhist path toward salvation. Spells are often, though not always, affiliated with specific deities. Sometimes these deities present the spells in question to the Buddha, who will promulgate them widely. At other times they appear in visions in response to recitation, confirming its efficacy. The deity Avalokiteśvara is mentioned frequently in these early sources.

Image worship introduced a new dimension to this practice. Miraculous signs around the image now confirm the efficacy of the practice; the image is said to emit light, the ground shakes, and a loud voice praises the practitioner. These signs are described in highly formulaic narratives in a large number of ritual instructions that prescribe the recitation of spells in front of images. This development is documented in some detail in the ritual for the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara.

The rich body of ritual practices involving spell recitation and image worship acquired a new identity with the introduction of the maṇḍala initiation ceremony, called the All-Gathering Ceremony. An early and detailed account of this ceremony, preserved in Chinese, suggests that the ritual may have been first constructed around the figure of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara. But other categories of deities are also invited to the maṇḍala. A schematic narrative explains how new and distinctive groups of deities were introduced, designated as Vajra deities and Heavenly deities. The description of the pantheon begins with the group marked as the Buddhas, and a large part is devoted to rituals for the deity Buddhōṣṇisa. The incorporation of Prajñāpāramitā as a separate section may reflect the emphasis on repentance and sin in this ritual tradition. A large section on Avalokiteśvara deities is followed by the sections on Vajra and Heavenly deities. This maṇḍala presented a distinctive Esoteric Buddhist pantheon, and the elaborate initiation ceremony, described in detail in the concluding section, qualified the *ācāryas* to perform properly the rituals that already existed for each of these deities.

The All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony assimilated elements of the post-Vedic culture of *śānti* rituals, both in its outline and in the details of specific rites. But the All-Gathering Ceremony is also marked clearly as a Buddhist ritual. Deities are largely Buddhist, and the spells recited throughout the ceremony are also distinctly Buddhist. A large body of existing Buddhist dhāraṇī rituals is organized around this core initiation ceremony.

Over time both the rituals performed in front of images and the All-Gathering initiation underwent profound changes as the emphasis of

Esoteric Buddhist rituals shifted to visualization. The meaning of the familiar ceremony and the specific rites that constituted it came to be explained differently. But visualization remained closely tied to the recitation of mantras, and in what were to become the canonical presentations of these rituals (in the *Mahāvairocana* and *Vajraśekhara* sūtras), visualization in practice could be reduced to mantra recitation. As earlier Esoteric rituals were translated into rituals centered around visualization, a new preoccupation with these specific mantras came to characterize Esoteric Buddhist ritual manuals.

As noted earlier, different ritual “scenarios” emerged in the course of this larger development, and rituals that followed each of these scenarios continued to be performed as other, more complex scenarios were introduced. The history of Esoteric Buddhist ritual has been multifaceted and complicated. Nevertheless, the rich body of ritual instructions preserved in Chinese translation enables us to distinguish these different scenarios and understand the internal logic that drove their development.

One of the major changes in Esoteric Buddhist ritual that I have highlighted is in the relationship between images and rituals. As the worship of images assumed a prominent role in the rituals and the rituals became more complex, an entire pantheon of Esoteric Buddhist deities was codified, often on the basis of the information provided in texts like the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, examined here in detail. Let me conclude this investigation by illustrating this claim with a few examples taken from later Japanese compilations of Esoteric Buddhist iconographies.

Esoteric deities were often represented in different forms. The appearance of each deity was recorded in schematic drawings that found their way into medieval Japanese compilations of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as *Zuzōshō* 図像抄 (1139–40) and *Bessonzakki* 別尊雜記 (1117–80). In two larger compilations, the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 (1176–1213) and *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄 (1242–81), the entries on individual deities are accompanied by drawings of the deity’s various iconographies along with descriptions of rituals, and cite passages from sūtras and commentaries.<sup>1</sup> *Kakuzenshō*’s entry on the Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, for example, includes drawings of this deity with two arms (no. 163), four arms (no. 164), six arms (no. 164), ten arms (no. 166), and twelve arms (nos. 167, 168).<sup>2</sup> Each drawing is paired with corresponding textual passages from sūtras and related sources, and the drawings may simply illustrate these descriptions. But *Kakuzenshō* also contains references to images that actually existed at the time it was compiled. The passage on drawing no. 172, for example, cites a passage in the *Jikkanshō* 十卷抄 where it is noted that the iconography of the drawing is also that of the image at Ryūgaiji



FIG. CON.1. Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara with Two Arms  
(*Kakuzenshō*, fascicle 44, no. 136, *Taishō zuzō* 4, 424)

龍蓋寺 and of the Cintāmaṇicakra image on the left side of the great Buddha at Tōdaiji 東大寺.<sup>3</sup> Some of these drawings thus illustrate images that existed at the time of writing.

The passages from instructions for painting and sculpting images in the dhāraṇī sūtras discussed in this study appear frequently in the Japanese compilations. Let us consider a few examples.

Both the *Kakuzenshō* and the *Asabashō* repeatedly quote from the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. As noted above, the description of the carved image of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle 4, is based on the account in the sūtra for this deity, as translated by Yaśogupta. Both the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* and the sūtra translated by Yaśogupta are mentioned by name, and the description is reproduced both in *Kakuzenshō* and in the *Asabashō*.<sup>4</sup> A brief description of a seated image of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, in fascicle 2 of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, is illustrated in a drawing in *Kakuzenshō* (figure 9.1).<sup>5</sup> These images have eleven faces and two arms. In contrast, the first fascicle of Amoghavajra's three-fascicle *Recitation Manual for the Bodhicitta Mantra of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara* (T. 1070) also contains the *Sūtra on the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara*, but describes the image as four-armed.<sup>6</sup> Two drawings in *Kakuzenshō* match this iconography (figures 9.2 and 9.3).<sup>7</sup>

The section on Hayagrīva in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* includes two separate instructions for painting the four-faced image, both of which are cited in the *Kakuzenshō*.<sup>8</sup> The entry on the ritual for the bodhisattva Prajñā in the *Kakuzenshō* cites extensively from the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* (fasc. 67).<sup>9</sup> The *Kakuzenshō* entry on Kuṇḍalin, with one face and eight arms, cites the long passage on this deity from the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fascicle 8, also noting that, according to the *Jikkanshō*, an image with this iconography existed in Tōji 東寺.<sup>10</sup> This iconography is illustrated (figure 3.1).<sup>11</sup>

The Jewel Pavilion, or *Baolouke* 寶樓閣, figures in the three related sūtras, *Mouli Sūtra*, in section 9 in Bodhiruci's *Sūtra of the Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Great Jewel Pavilion* and section 8 in Amoghavajra's *Sūtra of the Secret Dhāraṇī That Resides Well in the Broad Jewel Pavilion*.<sup>12</sup> Fascicle 80 of the *Asabashō* is devoted to this pavilion, mentions these sūtras, and presents a schematic drawing of it as drawing no. 21.<sup>13</sup> Similar drawings also appear in the *Bessonzakki* as drawing nos. 38 (figure 5.1) and 39.<sup>14</sup>

These iconographical descriptions and the drawings corresponding to them are largely based on sūtra passages that provide detailed instructions on how to paint or carve images. In addition, the Japanese iconographical collections also cite sūtra passages that portray visualization





FIG. CON.2. Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara with Four Arms  
(*Kakuzenshō*, fascicle 44, no. 137, *Taishō zuzō* 4, 425)



FIG. CON.3. Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara with Four Arms

(*Kakuzenshō*, fascicle 44, no. 139, *Taishō zuzō* 4, 427)



practice, in which the deities are described in detail, and treat these passages as descriptions of actual physical images.

Let us now turn to the Cintāmaṇicakra images. Bodhiruci's translation of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra* includes a chapter on maṇḍala initiation.<sup>15</sup> Here, as noted above, the practitioner is instructed to draw a 32-petaled lotus flower at the inner core of the maṇḍala, with a seated Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, centered in the lotus, facing west. The Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara is described as a two-armed image, holding in his left hand a lotus flower bearing a *maṇi* jewel and with the right hand making the preaching mudrā.<sup>16</sup> A drawing of this maṇḍala appears in the *Kakuzenshō*, fascicle 49 (figure 9.4).<sup>17</sup>

Amoghavajra's *Recitation Manual*, however, in its visualization instruction describes Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara as having six arms.<sup>18</sup> In Amoghavajra's *Yoga Manual* for Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, these six arms are described in even greater detail.<sup>19</sup> A drawing in *Zuzōshō* (*Jikkanshō*) matches this account (figure 9.5).<sup>20</sup> It is also this six-armed image that is commonly seen among the presently existent statues of Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, for example the famous Early Heian image in Kanshinji 観心寺.<sup>21</sup>

The description of this six-armed Cintāmaṇicakra image as visualized in Amoghavajra's *Recitation* and *Yoga Manuals* was taken as the model for sculptures and paintings of that deity. But the manuals contain no indication whatsoever that the deity visualized in the ritual must or should also be constructed as a physical image. This apparent inconsistency suggests that, although the culture of Esoteric images drew its iconography from ritual instructions in Esoteric sūtras and visualization manuals, image making also became a separate and independent practice, particularly as the focus in Esoteric rituals shifted from physical images to visualizations of them.

Images appear gradually to have acquired two overlapping yet distinct identities, one as objects that played a role in a ritual enactment and the other as objects made by specialized artisans, but not necessarily as a part of a specific Esoteric ritual scenario. Already in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* there is a gap between the elaborate instructions for painting images and the instructions for maṇḍala initiation ceremonies, in which images often played a role. This gap was ignored when the instruction for visualization, a ritual action, was taken as one for making a physical image, as in the case of the six-armed images of Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara. Yet this development needs to be interpreted against the background of further evolution in which visualization became more elaborate and more abstract, e.g., visualizations of abstract syllables, as in the rituals described in the long Amoghapāśa sūtra and the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*.



FIG. CON.4. Cintāmaṇicakra Maṇḍala  
(*Kakuzenshō*, fascicle 49, no. 169, *Taishō zuzō* 4, 489)



FIG. CON.5. Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara with Six Arms  
(Zuzōshō, fascicle 6, no. 61, Taishō zuzō 3)

The distance between image and ritual visualization would have become greater. The two activities became increasingly separate.

Yet Esoteric rituals continued to be performed before images or maṇḍalas. Amoghavajra's *Manual for Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara Recitation* (T. 1085), for example, requires the ritual space to be centered on an image of this deity.<sup>22</sup> The ritual described in Amoghavajra's *Recitation Manual for the Bodhicitta Mantra of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara* (T. 1070), fascicle 2, offers another example. This ritual involves extensive visualization, but it is also performed before an image of the deity.<sup>23</sup> Curiously, in these manuals the image mentioned at the outset plays no role in the core recitation practice. Nor does the ritual instruction offer any specific instruction regarding the iconography of the image before which the ritual is performed.

The conclusion that we can draw from all of this might then be that, even though images continued to play an important role in Esoteric rituals, the ritual significance of these images had become increasingly uncertain. At an earlier stage, the ritual was largely addressed to images, and the function of the images was explained clearly in the ritual instructions. Even after the focus of the ritual shifted from images to visualization, images continued to be made, often taking the description of the visualized deity as their model. But these images became marginal in the rituals performed around them.

In this extended study of Esoteric Buddhist rituals I have attempted to trace the process whereby ritual that began with a focus on sound rather than sight ended by producing a rich visual culture. The idea that visions confirmed the efficacy of spell recitation triggered this development, which was powerfully augmented by the introduction of physical images. Yet the relationship between the ritual and the physical images remained somewhat ambiguous. The visionary and visual ritual function of images was not entirely implemented by physical images. Continued references in ritual instructions to *samādhi* make this clear. Even at the beginning of the ritual evolution reviewed above, the vision that confirmed the efficacy of a ritual was often labeled *samādhi*, which refers to a state of utmost mental concentration. Visualization is likewise often described as *samādhi*.<sup>24</sup>

Those who made or commissioned physical images appear to have ignored the distinction between image ritual and visualization ritual. Therefore, what drove the continued making of physical images must have been more than the immediate requirements of specific rituals. The evolution of physical images and the evolution of rituals performed around them need to be studied as separate developments. They certainly affected each other, but neither is coterminous with the other.

## APPENDIX

### The Day-by-Day Instructions for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*

The *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* presents instructions for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala in two places. In the instructions in fascicle 4 for an eight-*hasta* maṇḍala, the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara is the central deity.<sup>1</sup> In the more detailed instruction in fascicle 12 for a twelve-*hasta* maṇḍala, the central deity is Tejorāśi, though this identification is immediately followed by the qualification that other deities, including the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, may substitute.<sup>2</sup>

The two fascicles clearly describe the same ceremony. More or less identical sets of rites are enacted following the same general order. At many points the instructions are in identical or nearly identical terms, indicating that fascicles 4 and 12 are closely related, perhaps drawing from a common source.

But there are also significant differences, aside from the identity of the central deity. Some of the preparatory activities carried out in the first five days in the more detailed fascicle 12 instructions also appear in fascicle 4, but they are done later, closer to the climactic events of the sixth and seventh days. Some of the rites are described differently.

Fascicles 12 and 4 both state that the maṇḍala may be created either outdoors or in a monastery building.<sup>3</sup> But the instructions in fascicle

4 in fact seem to apply only to an outdoor maṇḍala, in preparation for which the ground is dug up and bags containing Seven Jewels and Five Grains are buried in prepared holes at the site. The ritual space is simply designated as a maṇḍala (*tan* 壇); there is no reference to a building. In contrast, fascicle 12 appears to oscillate between instructions clearly intended for an outdoor and an indoor maṇḍala. The same instruction for digging the ground and burying symbolic objects appears, but other parts of the instructions contain otherwise unexplained references to buildings, staircases, and an inner courtyard. The ceremony described here may originally have been performed outdoors and sometime later moved inside a monastery building. The term *daochang* 道場 (which I translate as “ritual space”), more ambiguous than maṇḍala, in fascicle 12 may reflect this subtle shift.<sup>4</sup> Holding the ceremony inside a building may reflect the Chinese setting, and the instructions in fascicle 12 may have incorporated certain other Chinese practices, perhaps describing a specific enactment of this ceremony in China (such as the one supervised by Atikūṭa), perhaps as a general model for future enactments in China. In one passage of fascicle 12 the classic Five Colors are correlated with the Five Directions, incorporating a familiar Chinese ritual symbolism.<sup>5</sup>

Both fascicle 4 and fascicle 12 describe the ritual sequence day by day, and the two sequences correspond closely, notwithstanding the greater detail in fascicle 12. The following summary largely recapitulates the common elements in the two accounts, while following the sequence in fascicle 12.<sup>6</sup>

## DAY-BY-DAY SUMMARY

The seven-day initiation ceremony culminates in the series of initiation rituals that take place during the night following the seventh day. The instructions for the first seven days prescribe in detail the preparation for these rituals.

## PREPARATORY RITUALS

Before the seven-day ceremony begins, the site for the creation of the maṇḍala is chosen.

Day 1: Marking and Securing the Ritual Space<sup>7</sup>

Fascicles 4 and 12 set out the instruction for day 1 very similarly. In the morning the *ācārya* and disciples bathe in fragrant water, put on fresh clothes, and bring flowers to the chosen site.<sup>8</sup>

The *ācārya* picks up a vajra and asks each candidate for initiation whether he is firm in the wish to receive the “secret dharma storehouse of the buddhas” (*zhufo mimi fazang* 諸佛祕密法藏), namely, to be initiated into this category of Esoteric rituals. Each candidate answers affirmatively. This exchange is repeated three times.<sup>9</sup>

The *ācārya* forms a mudrā (and points it to?) an incense burner and water, and blesses the water with a spell.<sup>10</sup> In the fascicle 12 version the *ācārya* uses the Hayagrīva mudrā (and spell), and blesses the water twenty-one times.<sup>11</sup>

Taking up the incense burner, the *ācārya* kneels and burns incense. He addresses the deities, “buddhas, Prajñā, bodhisattvas, Vajras, heavenly deities,” declaring his intention to perform the seven-day, seven-night maṇḍala meeting and to make offerings to these deities at the chosen site. He requests the deities to confirm that “the entire secret dharma storehouse” is a great teaching beyond understanding, and also to make the ceremony efficacious. He declares that he is going to perform the rites of protecting his body and marking and securing the ritual space. Vināyaka and all other demons who destroy the Correct Teaching are to be banished from around the monastery hall to a distance of seven *li*. Deities who protect the Correct Teaching are invited to stay.<sup>12</sup>

After the above pronouncements, the *ācārya* secures the ritual space using the Kuṇḍalin rite.<sup>13</sup> Fascicle 12 explains that the water mentioned (“blessed”?) earlier is used to sprinkle the ritual space, and also notes that the Kuṇḍalin rite has been described in fascicle 8, in the section devoted to that deity.<sup>14</sup>

After the site is ritually secured, the ground is dug. Fascicle 12 specifies that the four corners of the ritual space are to be marked; fascicle 4 states that the ground is to be dug within an area ten *hasta* square. “Good” ground may be dug only to the depth of one hand (C: *zhe*, S: *vitasti*); ground of middling quality to one *hasta*, and inferior ground to two or three *hastas*. All undesirable matter, such as bones, hair, ashes, bricks, pebbles, tree roots, and chaff, are removed; clean soil is brought in as fill; and a flat and preferably raised platform is constructed.<sup>15</sup> Fascicle 12 specifies different sizes of maṇḍalas for different rituals and notes that it is unnecessary to dig the ground for water maṇḍalas.<sup>16</sup>



Day 2: Adorning the Space<sup>17</sup>

Fascicle 4, for both the second and third day, simply mentions smearing mud on the ground. This may have been broadly understood as the most basic ritual for these two days. Fascicle 12 mentions several other activities, which seem to presuppose the enactment of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony in a Chinese setting.

At dawn the *ācārya* and the disciples bathe and put on fresh clothes. Four or five (already initiated?) disciples accompany the *ācārya* into the ritual space and assist him in driving evil beings from the site (*yongli qushi* 用力驅使) and adorning (*zhuangyan* 莊嚴) it. The ritual site's four gates and the four corners are embellished (*weiyān* 威嚴), with sculptures of the Divine Kings (*shenwang* 神王) flanking each of the four gates.<sup>18</sup> On the walls to the right and left of the gates are hanging banners (*fan* 幡) bearing pictures of these Divine Kings. Inside each gate are hung multicolored curtains or banners, thirty-six in all. These curtains, newly made for the ceremony, are eight *chi* 尺 (about eight feet) long. Each of the four corners also flaunts multicolored banners picturing the Divine Kings.<sup>19</sup>

The “ritual space” described above appears to be set up in open space, since the instruction for setting it up inside a building (*she* 舍) is given separately.<sup>20</sup> As we shall see below, the instructions in fascicle 12 in several places assume that the ritual space is indoors. A ritual space inside a building has only two gates, in front and back. Like the gates of the outdoor ritual spaces, these are flanked by Divine Kings or guardians all newly made for the occasion. To the right and left of the (front?) gate, four upright pegs girdled by a rope are placed to demarcate a square. The area inside the rope is covered with fragrant mud (cow dung mixed with water?) and ritually protected as an area of purity. All offerings will be placed inside these areas.<sup>21</sup>

How does this setting of the indoor ritual space—explicitly located indoors by the word *she* 舍 (“building”)—accord with instructions and explanations of what must be done on later days? In the instructions on preparing materials to be used in the ceremony, these roped areas are described as being outside the gate, or entrance, to the building.<sup>22</sup> Although the building has a back gate as well, the entrance gate appears to have been on the southern side. Later, in the instruction for the evening of the seventh day, the *ācārya* is said to leave the ritual space in order to place ritual implements in front of the two Divine Kings, or guardians, flanking the gate or entrance to the building.<sup>23</sup>



If the white *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala is set up inside the inner courtyard (*zhongting* 中庭),<sup>24</sup> which may be common practice, the *ācārya* descends the stairs of the building to reach it.<sup>25</sup> The term “courtyard” suggests a temple complex. Since the *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala in the courtyard is placed southwest of the principal maṇḍala inside the building, the entrance to the building in which the principal maṇḍala will be created would face south, and the staircase that led to the *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala would be on the western side. The ritual space adorned on the second day with banners of divine kings, in which the main twelve-*hasta* maṇḍala will be created, appears then to have been inside the building.

To return to the instruction for day 2, the *ācārya* once more secures the space using the Kuṇḍalin rite, and then prepares a container of mud mixed with various kinds of incense. He stirs it with a willow branch, reciting the long heart spell of (the deity) Prajñāpāramitā.<sup>26</sup> The number of recitations is said to vary according to the social standing (of the patron). The ground is covered with the incense-mud.<sup>27</sup> Once again the ritual space is secured with the Kuṇḍalin rite.<sup>28</sup>

### Day 3: Preparing the Ground of the Maṇḍala, Continued<sup>29</sup>

Continuing with the instruction in fascicle 12, on day 3, after bathing, the *ācārya* or his assistant catches cow dung in a clean vessel before it hits the ground and mixes it with water. After blessing it with a spell, he paints the ground with it.<sup>30</sup>

Using a rope as a guide, the *ācārya* marks the four corners and the center of what will become the maṇḍala with white powder. At each marked spot he digs a small hole, deeper than a hand's length (*zhe* 磔, *vitasti*), and in each hole buries a silk bag containing five kinds of grains and seven kinds of precious material. The opening of each bag is tied with a five-colored string, one end of which, about five fingers (*aṅgula*) in length, is left visible above ground. Once these precious objects are buried, they must never be unearthed.<sup>31</sup> From this point on the place becomes a vajra realm made of seven jewels, where buddhas turn the wheel of Mahāyāna. The place is most suited for the future construction of a Buddha hall. An ordinary person who stays on it will not benefit from it.<sup>32</sup>

Once again the ritual space is secured by the Kuṇḍalin rite. The (*ācārya*) circumambulates the perimeter of the space three times; he forms the mudrā and recites the spell for expelling Vināyakas.<sup>33</sup> In this way, above and below and in the four directions, the ritual space is secured.

When the evening comes, lamps are lit.<sup>34</sup>

Day 4: Further Preparation<sup>35</sup>

The fourth day in fascicle 12 begins with disciples being sent to smear the surface of the ground of the maṇḍala with a mixture of cow dung and water.<sup>36</sup> They are to begin at the northeast corner and work clockwise, following the sun.<sup>37</sup>

Next comes a detailed instruction for the adornment of the square, four-gated ritual space.<sup>38</sup> The space is a square with four gates.<sup>39</sup> At each corner a log is set up, with one end pushed deep into the ground. On top of these logs serving as pillars, logs (beams) are placed on all four sides. These logs are large and are carefully squared. The tops of the logs serving as pillars fit into the holes at both ends of the logs serving as beams. An interlinear note in fascicle 12 observes that bamboo (poles) may substitute for the logs.<sup>40</sup> In maṇḍala ceremonies in general, bamboo poles figure frequently. Fascicle 1, in the instruction for the eight-*hasta* Buddhōṣṇiṣa maṇḍala, mentions setting up (bamboo) poles (*shugan* 竖竿) and adorning the site.<sup>41</sup> The use of logs in the fascicle 12 instructions may represent an elaboration of the better-known practice of marking the ritual space with bamboo poles.

Fascicle 12 in the instruction for day 2 also describes the outward appearance of the ritual space.<sup>42</sup> The structure described here must have been set up inside this ritual space, above the maṇḍala itself. The beams are draped with pieces of colorful silk cloth. A large banner (*dafan* 大幡) canopies the whole structure, extending to all four cardinal directions and the four points between. This complex decoration is said to be “the adornment of the upper part” (of the maṇḍala).<sup>43</sup> Elsewhere the expression “the adornment of the lower part” describes the arrangement of deities in the maṇḍala.<sup>44</sup>

Above this large banner, flags (*fanzi* 幡子) in pairs of different colors are hung: dark green to the east, crimson to the south, white to the west, and dark blue to the north. In the center, four yellow flags are hung. These are all attached above the large banner. The correlation between colors and directions reflects Chinese five-agent symbolism, and an interlinear note at this point speaks of knowing the *qi* 氣 of the rulers of the five directions.<sup>45</sup> This part of the instructions is unmistakably intended for a Chinese audience, and again suggests that the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony in fascicle 12 may have been in many ways adapted to a Chinese context.

On all four sides of the structure a curtain (again a “large banner”) is attached; these serve as side panels (*lan'e* 闌額). On these curtains are depicted copper-colored *paohua* 泡花 flowers, gold and silver objects, and

jeweled mirrors. The pillars are decorated with similar motifs. Finally, a rope is strung high up around the four pillars, and from it are hung colorful curtains as well as belts of jeweled bells and other treasures. Pearls and jeweled nets add yet more decoration.<sup>46</sup>

About two *chi* to the south of the western gate of the ritual space, a cubic hole, two *chi* in each dimension, is dug. At the center of the hole the earth is left (or piled higher), and on this platform a lotus-flower seat is made with a clay of water and cow dung.<sup>47</sup> This appears to be the hearth for the fire offering (*homa*). It is typically made on the western side, south of the ritual specialist's seat.<sup>48</sup>

An umbrella (*gai* 蓋) of purple cloth and another of crimson are constructed on bamboo frames to shield the *ācārya* and the candidates on their traversals to and from the ritual space.<sup>49</sup>

Two or three *chi* northeast of the ritual space, a four-*hasta* water maṇḍala is created.<sup>50</sup> The passage immediately following describes yet another “white” four-*hasta* maṇḍala southwest of the principal maṇḍala.<sup>51</sup> At each of its four corners is set a bamboo pole, with a flag hung from it. This second, four-*hasta* maṇḍala is later designated the *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala.<sup>52</sup> So there were two four-*hasta* maṇḍalas: the first “white” water maṇḍala northeast of the main maṇḍala and the *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala that was set up outside the ritual space southwest of the principal maṇḍala in the inner courtyard.<sup>53</sup>

Once more the ritual space is secured.<sup>54</sup> Lamps are lit and incense is burned.

#### Day 5: Marking the Different Halls of the Maṇḍala<sup>55</sup>

According to fascicle 12, on day 5 at dawn the *ācārya* and two (older) disciples bathe and put on fresh clothes.<sup>56</sup> One of the disciples is required to take a silver bowl filled with fragrant mud and the other to carry a gold bowl filled with fragrant water (colored) with powder and a thin rope. These disciples are to follow the *ācārya* into the ritual space, which the *ācārya* circumambulates once, uttering praise and paying respect. He calls the disciple holding the plate of fragrant mud to come into the space and paint the ground, starting from the northeast corner and moving clockwise as before (on the fourth day).

After the surface dries, the *ācārya* reenters the space together with the disciples who carry powder water and fragrant water (mud?). The *ācārya* measures and marks *hasta*-lengths along the rope (measuring against the length of his own elbow?). Though fascicle 12 in one passage called the All-Gathering Maṇḍala a twelve-*hasta* maṇḍala, this marking of the rope

appears intended to accommodate maṇḍalas of different sizes as circumstances require.<sup>57</sup> Further along in fascicle 12 an *eight-hasta* rope is mentioned, with the same instructions as appear for an *eight-hasta* maṇḍala in fascicle 4.<sup>58</sup>

The *ācārya* first marks the corners of the square maṇḍala, proceeding clockwise from the northeast corner.<sup>59</sup> Then the *ācārya*, after soaking the rope in powder water, holding the marked rope, sends one disciple, holding an end of the rope, to the northeast corner. The disciple kneels, placing one end of the rope on the marked spot. The *ācārya*, holding the other end of the rope, goes to the southeast corner and places it at that marked spot. The *ācārya* and the disciple then pull the rope tight along the ground (marking the line of the east side).<sup>60</sup> The other disciple is sent to mark the ground at the midpoint of the rope. Then the disciple at the northeast corner goes to the southwest corner and sits down. Holding the rope tightly stretched between them, he and the *ācārya* mark the south side of the maṇḍala on the ground.<sup>61</sup> The *ācārya* at the southeast corner goes to the northwest corner, and thus the west side is marked on the ground.<sup>62</sup> Finally the disciple moves back to the northeast corner, thereby marking the northern boundary of the maṇḍala.<sup>63</sup>

Inside the perimeter of the square thus bounded, at a distance of one *hasta*, another square is marked inside.<sup>64</sup> Between the two squares lies the outer hall.

Next come obscure instructions for marking the gates on the four sides. Tentatively, on each side of the outer perimeter two additional points are marked, each two *has*tas from the midpoint; just outside the maṇḍala will be the “gate wall” (*menbi* 門壁) around this four-*hasta* space.<sup>65</sup>

A pathway one *hasta* wide (is secured) between the outer and middle hall.<sup>66</sup> The middle hall is thus four *hasta* long on each side with gates on all four sides. Inside the middle hall, one *hasta* from each side, a two-*hasta* hall is marked. It has no gate.<sup>67</sup>

## Day 6

### *During the Day: Candidates Are Prepared for Entry Into the Maṇḍala*<sup>68</sup>

Fascicle 12 begins its instructions with the preparation of “spell cords” (*zhousuo* 咒索; S: *pratisara*?). The *ācārya* puts together five colored threads and knots them fifty-four times, uttering Hayagrīva’s spell as he makes each knot.<sup>69</sup> The text of the spell is given in transcription.<sup>70</sup> A bag of silk containing Seven Jewels and Five Grains is attached to the string

with five colored threads. The same number of bags as the number of the candidates is prepared.<sup>71</sup>

*Toward Sunset:*<sup>72</sup>

The *ācārya* and the candidates for initiation bathe and put on fresh clothes.<sup>73</sup> The candidates (still called disciples) are made to line up and sit outside of the ritual space, toward the western side. The *ācārya* and the candidates perform the rite of securing the ritual space and protecting their bodies.<sup>74</sup>

*After Sunset:*<sup>75</sup>

From here on the preparatory rituals fall into two parts: first the candidates are made ready, and then the maṇḍala is completed.

The *ācārya* enters the ritual space and invites the deities, “the buddhas, Prajñāpāramitā bodhisattva, Vajras, and heavenly deities” to enter the maṇḍala and take their seats. The middle seat is for the Buddha. Avalokiteśvara and related deities sit to the north, Vajra deities to the south. Flowers, food, and drink, as well as sixteen lighted lamps, are offered to the deities.<sup>76</sup>

Offerings having been made, the *ācārya* steps outside the ritual space and calls for the candidates. At the ritual space, they stand in line outside the western gate and pay respect by offering a small amount of burning incense.<sup>77</sup>

Again the *ācārya* forms the body protection mudrā, utters the spell, and places the mudrā above each disciple.<sup>78</sup> The candidates are sent to their seats (outside the ritual space?), to kneel facing east.<sup>79</sup> Taking white mustard seeds, the *ācārya* utters a spell and hits each disciple three times on the head, face, and chest. Once more, with the Hayagrīva mudrā and spell, (the *ācārya*) protects (the candidate’s) body in the same way.<sup>80</sup>

Then the *ācārya* kneels and asks each candidate, starting with the most senior, whether he actually wishes to receive each of the rites to be conferred. Each responds affirmatively.<sup>81</sup>

From the vessel containing fragrant water, the *ācārya* sprinkles each candidate’s head. Placing his right hand on each candidate’s chest in turn, (the *ācārya*) recites aloud the heart spell of Hayagrīva for protection. Taking the spell cords, the *ācārya* attaches them to the left arms of the candidates.<sup>82</sup>

The *ācārya* then leads the candidates away, going down the steps to the east and then letting the candidates kneel in line on the ground at

the foot of the western staircase.<sup>83</sup> These staircases must lead down from the building (“ritual space”) inside of which the maṇḍala was created, perhaps into the inner courtyard, as described earlier.<sup>84</sup> The *ācārya* sprinkles fragrant water mixed with the juice of the *śāla* tree in front of each candidate, and walks clockwise around (each candidate?) three times,<sup>85</sup> first without and again with a torch.<sup>86</sup> On one final circumambulation the *ācārya* gives each candidate a willow branch and flowers.

On receiving the willow branch, each candidate is to chew one end of it and then throw the branch in front of him.<sup>87</sup> The *ācārya* checks to see how each branch has fallen. If the chewed end points to the person who threw it, it is auspicious. If it points to the south, it is inauspicious. If it points in any other direction, the implication is neutral.<sup>88</sup>

Fragrant water is poured into each candidate’s palm and each candidate drinks of it three times. After all the candidates have done this, the *ācārya* blesses the water with a vajra and he drinks of it.<sup>89</sup>

The *ācārya* then takes the candidates back up to the ritual space. At the top of the western staircase they sit down in a line outside of the ritual space.<sup>90</sup>

Incense is offered. The *ācārya* tells the candidates (to go back to their residence and) to lie down to sleep. If they dream, the next morning they should describe their dreams in detail to the *ācārya*, but to no one else.<sup>91</sup> The *ācārya* and the candidates descend from the eastern staircase and the candidates return to their own chambers.<sup>92</sup>

The *ācārya* returns to the ritual space and tells the deities that the candidates will be initiated the next day. He dismisses the deities, requesting them to return again then.<sup>93</sup>

Moving to the northern side of the maṇḍala, the *ācārya* lights the hearth.<sup>94</sup> He takes white mustard seeds, blesses them with the long Hayagrīva heart spell, and throws them into the hearth, repeating this 108 times. The sins of the candidates will be expunged.<sup>95</sup>

So ends the ritual sequence intended to prepare the candidates for initiation.

The second part of the instructions for the evening of day 6 deals with the completion of the maṇḍala and the arrangement of the deities’ seats on it.<sup>96</sup>

The *ācārya* together with two or three (older) disciples decorates the ground with five colors of powder. First white powder on the inner hall, then areas of yellow, red, dark blue, and finally black are applied, covering the entire inner hall. Then the outer halls, starting from the north-east corner and working clockwise, are similarly colored.<sup>97</sup>

The coloring completed, Tejorāśi is placed on the central seat. The passage regarding a possible substitute, discussed in chapter 3 above, appears at this point.<sup>98</sup>

Each deity's seat on the maṇḍala is identified.<sup>99</sup> The maṇḍala in fascicle 12 measures twelve *hasta*, but instructions for an even larger sixteen-*hasta* maṇḍala are appended at the end of the text in an attached "diagram" representing the "adornment of the lower part."<sup>100</sup> In fascicle 4 the deities are seated on eight-*hasta* maṇḍala.<sup>101</sup>

With the deities' lotus seats placed in the maṇḍala and the "adornment of the lower part" completed, in fascicle 12 the *ācārya* colors the lotus flower in the hearth with red and white powder.<sup>102</sup>

According to the instruction in fascicle 12, as noted above, four feet northeast of the principal maṇḍala, a four-*hasta* maṇḍala is created, marked only in white and red, including the boundaries, the passageway, and the lotus-flower seats.<sup>103</sup> On the *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala in the inner courtyard, white is used to mark the boundaries, passageway, and lotus-flower seats.<sup>104</sup> These instructions do not appear in fascicle 4.

The *ācārya*, standing outside the western gate, checks the deities' seats and the boundaries, making corrections as necessary.<sup>105</sup> Taking a vajra and performing various protective rites, he secures the ritual space one more time.<sup>106</sup> In fascicle 8 this is the fourth securing of the ritual space using the Kuṇḍalin rite.<sup>107</sup> The *ācārya* then leaves an initiated disciple to guard the space and forbid entrance.<sup>108</sup>

## Day 7

Fascicles 12 and 4 follow the same outline of preparations, though the instructions in fascicle 12 are more detailed. In brief, first on day 7, material that is to be used in the main ritual is prepared and placed inside the roped-off area outside the gate of the building (*tangmen* 堂門) containing the maṇḍala.<sup>109</sup> We recall that on day 2 the areas on both sides of the entrances to the ritual space were marked off by ropes and reserved for the material for the offerings.<sup>110</sup> After sunset the *ācārya* goes into the building and ritually places this material at appropriate places on or near the maṇḍala.<sup>111</sup> Meanwhile the candidates sit inside the inner courtyard facing the building.<sup>112</sup> During the night the core sequence of the initiation ceremony takes place: throwing flowers on the maṇḍala, *abhiṣeka*, and fire offering, all in the presence of the deities. Let us examine these activities in more detail.

In the morning, after bathing in fragrant water, the *ācārya* dresses in fresh clothes. He covers his head with a three-foot-long yellow cloth,

binding it in place with a four-foot crimson forehead band. This is called “the rite of wearing the heavenly crown.”<sup>113</sup>

Attaching to his arm the five-colored spell cord (prepared earlier), the *ācārya* performs the Hayagrīva protection rite. Forming the *mudrā* above his head, he enters the ritual space. There he picks up a vajra and recites Kuṇḍalin’s longer body spell with the appropriate *mudrā*.<sup>114</sup> After circumambulating three times, he exits the ritual space and carries out several more rites.<sup>115</sup> Again forming the Hayagrīva *mudrā* and reciting the Hayagrīva spell, he secures the ritual space in the ten directions.<sup>116</sup>

The *ācārya* fills pots made of gold and silver with water, adding the Five Grains, incense, and the Seven Jewels wrapped in silk that were prepared during day 6.<sup>117</sup> The mouth of each pot is stopped with leafy branches of willow, bamboo, pear, and cedar; only one end of the string that closes each silk bag hangs out of the pot. On the occasion of the *abhiṣeka* each candidate is given one of these bags. A pomegranate is placed inside the stopper, and a three-foot-long piece of raw silk is attached to the branches and leaves stopping the mouth of each pot.<sup>118</sup>

Two jeweled gold bowls are filled with fragrant water and two jeweled silver bowls with various flowers.<sup>119</sup> The *ācārya* places various jeweled flowering fruit trees on the *maṇḍala*.<sup>120</sup> He lines up ten five-colored candles in copper candle holders inside the roped-off area outside the gate of the building.<sup>121</sup> A long list of material to be prepared for use in the ceremony follows: plates of various foods, lamps, and so on. A bronze incense burner and one each of several other ritual implements are placed at the center and the four gates of the *maṇḍala*. Materials to be used in the fire offering are also listed.<sup>122</sup> Two copper pots, one for clean material and the other for soiled, are added. Torches for the participants entering the ritual space and charcoal are made ready. All this material is placed in the area roped off for offerings.<sup>123</sup>

The *ācārya* scrutinizes the preparations and places inside the roped-off area water pots, flowers, and incense—the water pots on the west side and the candles, food plates, lamps, torches, and fuel on the east.<sup>124</sup>

Musicians with a variety of instruments sit face to face, east and west of the entrance.<sup>125</sup>

At the *ācārya*’s behest, two (older) disciples enter the ritual space to place a carpet (or mat) near the western wall.<sup>126</sup>

Now this important phase in the preparation is complete, and the *ācārya* performs the protective rite on both sides of the entrance.<sup>127</sup>

The *ācārya* requires the candidates to bathe and put on fresh clothes and line up inside the inner courtyard facing the ritual space.<sup>128</sup>



Offerings taken from the roped area are distributed onto and around the maṇḍala.<sup>129</sup> The deities are invited to take their seats on the maṇḍala.<sup>130</sup> A series of rites is performed by the *ācārya* and a small number of assisting disciples. Details are as follows.

Just before sunset the *ācārya* picks up an incense burner and enters the ritual space.<sup>131</sup> He circumambulates it once and pays respect three times. Setting down the incense burner, he picks up a golden water pot and at the western gate of the maṇḍala kneels, concentrates his mind, and recites the spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara 108 times;<sup>132</sup> or the spell of another deity, if that deity has been made the central deity.<sup>133</sup>

Entering the maṇḍala, the *ācārya* places that water pot at the seat of the central deity, then one pot at each of the four corners of the inner hall of the maṇḍala and one at the midpoint of the east side.<sup>134</sup> An assisting disciple hands him the pots, one at a time. They also place one pot at each of the four corners and the east, south, and north gates of the outer hall. At the western gate of the (outer hall of the) maṇḍala, one pot is placed on both sides.

A five-colored string is placed on a plate atop the branches on the water pot at the western gate. This string is of the length to encircle the ritual space once.<sup>135</sup>

The jeweled trees are moved into the inner hall of the maṇḍala.<sup>136</sup> One tree is placed at the seat of the central deity and one at each of the four corners and at each of the four gates. One (such) flowering fruit tree is placed at each of the deities' seats. Two five-colored candles are placed before the seat of the central deity; one candle is placed in front of the seat of the deity at the midpoint on each of the four sides of the outer hall; one candle is placed at each of the four corners of the outer hall.<sup>137</sup> The lamps are positioned: one at each corner of the inner hall of the maṇḍala, four around the seat of the central deity, four at each of the other seats (of the inner hall?). Then come plates of incense and flowers. Food plates are placed, first before the central deity of the inner hall (four plates), then one plate in front of each of the seats.<sup>138</sup>

Gifts are placed in front of the deities' seats:<sup>139</sup> before the seats of the buddhas and of Prajñāpāramitā, objects of gold and beautiful silk weaving; before bodhisattvas, objects of silver and good-quality textiles. Vajra deities receive copper coins and plain silk cloths, and heavenly deities, coins and solid-colored objects.

Incense burners are next to be distributed:<sup>140</sup> one burner before the central deity in the inner hall and one at each of the four gates of the outer hall. A large incense burner at the western gate, near the water pot placed there, is for the use of the *ācārya* during the ceremony.

Fine-quality incense is burned in each. Next to the hearth is a water pot, along with a plate of food and a lamp.<sup>141</sup>

At each gate (of the maṇḍala) the *ācārya* checks the arrangement.<sup>142</sup>

Holding the (large) incense burner, the *ācārya* circumambulates the maṇḍala once, then returns the burner to its original place.<sup>143</sup>

The *ācārya* takes the end of the five-colored string that was placed above the water pot outside the western gate and with it encircles the maṇḍala once, placing the string atop the bamboo poles planted outside of the ritual space.<sup>144</sup>

One disciple lays a mat or carpet for the *ācārya* outside of the western gate, over three *chi* from the gate of the maṇḍala.<sup>145</sup> Later, the objects to be offered (to deities) are placed in line on it.

Holding the incense burner and chanting, the *ācārya* leaves the building to receive the incense, flowers, and whatever else is to be offered (to the deities at the maṇḍala inside the building).<sup>146</sup> Four disciples follow, carrying these objects on a cart. The *ācārya*, still holding the incense burner, reenters the building, circumambulates the maṇḍala once, and deposits these offerings in proper arrangement (lined up on the mat placed earlier outside the western gate of the maṇḍala). Material to be used in the fire offering is placed near the hearth.

Two umbrellas are leaned against the side (of the building of the ritual space), the purple to the north and the crimson to the south.<sup>147</sup> At the white maṇḍala to the northeast, just outside (of the ritual space), are placed five plates of food and five lamps.<sup>148</sup>

Outside of the ritual space (the building), the *ācārya* places an incense burner, a lamp, and a plate of food in front of each Divine King or Guardian. He then descends the stairs to the inner courtyard and places four lamps and four plates of food on the white *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala. He places a platform and a chair where each candidate receives *abhiṣeka*.<sup>149</sup> Musicians line up facing each other before the entrance to the building.

The *ācārya* inspects the arrangements.<sup>150</sup>

Reentering the ritual space (i.e., the building), the *ācārya* kneels at the west gate of the maṇḍala, picks up the incense burner, and speaks to the deities, presenting offerings and praising them. As he finishes, the musicians outside play the melody for offering flowers to the Buddha. When the musicians stop, the rite of inviting the deities to their seats on the maṇḍala begins.<sup>151</sup> This rite is then described.

The *ācārya* picks up a flower from a bowl, dips it in water, holds it in his palm, and forms the mudrā for inviting the Buddha.<sup>152</sup> He first invites the central deity of the inner hall, then makes the mudrā for the flower seat; for each action he recites the spell seven times.<sup>153</sup> Once the deities

are seated, the *ācārya* places the flower in his palm (at the seat of the deity), then recites the spell and makes the *mudrā* seven times before each deity, beginning in the east and moving north, south, and west, following which he proceeds to the first outer hall and thence to the second outer hall.<sup>154</sup>

After all the deities have been invited, the *ācārya* secures the ritual space for the ceremony (*samaya*; *sanmaye dajiejiefa* 三摩耶大結界法) by offering the (Kuṇḍalin) *mudrā* and the spell for this rite, to be repeated seven times.<sup>155</sup> This *mudrā* and spell appear in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*' entry for the deity Kuṇḍalin; in that passage the rite is to be performed after a maṇḍala is set up and the deities have been invited and seated.<sup>156</sup> This is a different Kuṇḍalin rite from the one performed earlier, when creating the maṇḍala.

Incense and flowers are scattered over the deities; the *ācārya* pays respect three times and circumambulates the maṇḍala three times. The musicians play the melody for Amitābha Buddha.<sup>157</sup>

Led by the *ācārya*, six assisting disciples, each holding one object to be used in the ceremony, such as flowers in water, five cooked grains, a plate of food, a cup of honey water, and a torch, make offerings to all the subsidiary and protective gods and deities as well as to hungry ghosts and similar creatures everywhere.<sup>158</sup>

Then the *ācārya* washes his hands and mouth, enters the ritual space, and bows three times. He chants verses of praise, after which the musicians outside play the melody of Avalokiteśvara.<sup>159</sup>

This appears to mark the end of the preparatory cycle.

## CORE INITIATION RITUALS

### Bringing the Candidates to the Maṇḍala

This part of the ceremony begins in earnest as the *ācārya* returns to the candidates, who have been stationed in the middle of the courtyard.

Picking up a vajra, the *ācārya* calls ten (assisting) disciples to come to the front of the building.<sup>160</sup> (They proceed to where the candidates are sitting in the inner courtyard.)<sup>161</sup> Five disciples precede the *ācārya* as he comes out of the building, holding, respectively, a candle, an incense burner, a plate of incense, and a piece of cloth; five others follow the *ācārya*, holding, respectively, a water pot, three robes, a plate of white mustard seeds, a plate of powdered incense, and a plate of *anxi* incense.

Musicians follow after in a line.<sup>162</sup> The *ācārya* picks up a vajra, turns it around several times, and as he walks chants verses of praise. In this way they go to welcome the candidates.<sup>163</sup>

On the *ācārya*'s approach, the candidates rise<sup>164</sup> and the assistant holding the incense burner comes to the fore, leaving all the rest standing (on both sides) of the gate.<sup>165</sup> When the *ācārya* goes to the side of the gate, the three holding the water pot, white mustard seeds, and three robes follow closely. The *ācārya* preaches the Buddha's teaching and asks the candidates whether they want to learn the "secret teaching."<sup>166</sup>

The candidates reply affirmatively and the *ācārya* sprinkles water over their heads, reciting Kuṇḍalin's heart spell.<sup>167</sup> He then touches the candidates with white mustard seeds while pronouncing spells, as described earlier.<sup>168</sup> Once more chanting verses of praise, the *ācārya* leads the candidates, followed by the musicians, toward the building in which the maṇḍala is set up. There is uninterrupted music and singing, and each of the candidates entertains good thoughts.<sup>169</sup>

Close to the building, at the southwest corner, under a staircase, they kneel and concentrate their minds. The music continues until the melody finishes. The *ācārya* takes white mustard seeds, recites the Hayagrīva spell seven times, and touches the head of each candidate. He forms the protection mudrā above each candidate, following the instruction in the Kuṇḍalin entry.<sup>170</sup> The water from the pot (carried by an assistant following him) is given by the *ācārya* to the candidates for washing their hands and rinsing their mouths.

Right in front of the building entrance, above the staircases, mats had been spread beforehand for the musicians. The *ācārya* leads the candidates up the western staircase to stand on these mats. They pay respect (or bow) three times and repent past, present, and future sins, not omitting small offenses. Below the staircase, music sounds.<sup>171</sup>

Entering the building, the *ācārya* lets the assistants to spread a mat inside.<sup>172</sup> Incense, flowers, and candles are set down, but not the water pot or the other objects. (The assistants holding these) follow the *ācārya* as he makes offerings and pays respect. Uttering verses of praise, the *ācārya* walks the passageway.<sup>173</sup> He pays respect three times and exits the building. The musicians outside immediately begin to play.

The *ācārya* performs the protective rite for the candidates again.<sup>174</sup> White mustard seeds are applied once. He forms the body mudrā to defeat Māras in the mind.<sup>175</sup> With water from the water pot, the *ācārya* touches the heart of each candidate while uttering a spell and forming a mudrā for each. He sprinkles them with fragrant water. An incense burner is lit for protection. With a vajra the *ācārya* touches the top of

each candidate's head. Again the candidate is given fragrant water to wash the hands and rinse the mouth. The music stops.

Then the *ācārya* calls the candidates to sit in order of seniority on the seat on the side of the building entrance.<sup>176</sup>

### The Rite of Throwing a Flower Into the Maṇḍala<sup>177</sup>

Taking yellow cloth, the *ācārya* covers the eyes of the oldest candidate. He forms the candidate's hands into the mudrā of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's *samādhi* and places a flower in it.<sup>178</sup> With his hand on the candidate's head, the *ācārya* guides him into the building. They both stand facing the maṇḍala at its western gate, the *ācārya* to the north and the candidate to the south. The *ācārya* utters the spell of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's *samādhi* seven times,<sup>179</sup> tells the candidate to throw the flower in his hand onto the maṇḍala,<sup>180</sup> then removes the silk blindfold and lets the candidate see on which seat his flower has landed. After the candidate has paid respect to that deity three times, the *ācārya* says, "The flower you threw fell at the seat of such and such buddha, or Prajñāparāmitā, or bodhisattva, Vajra deity, or heavenly deity. Remember well and do not forget where it fell."<sup>181</sup> That candidate kneels inside the building on the southern side of the maṇḍala's (western) gate, where he stood earlier, till the next candidate arrives. Then the first candidate leaves the building and remains on its western side. When all the candidates have completed their ritual, the *ācārya* throws a flower in the same way.<sup>182</sup>

The effect of this ritual on the candidates must have been dramatic. Until this point they had been kept outside. They are brought to the maṇḍala blindfolded. The moment when the blindfold is removed must have been comparable to a vision, as when, in many simpler dhāraṇī practices, deities appear to the practitioner at the conclusion of an extended dhāraṇī recitation.

What follows is the consecration or initiation of the candidates in front of these deities. The *ācārya* calls the musicians to come up the stairs. Facing the maṇḍala, they play.<sup>183</sup> The *ācārya*, leading the disciples, pays respect to the maṇḍala, addresses the deities, and circumambulates the maṇḍala three times. All sit according to their ranks.<sup>184</sup>

### *Abhiṣeka*<sup>185</sup>

Now comes the *abhiṣeka* ceremony.<sup>186</sup> Taking the water pot that was placed at the central seat of the maṇḍala, the *ācārya* leaves the maṇḍala through

its western gate.<sup>187</sup> A disciple, bearing the crimson umbrella, follows the *ācārya*. They circumambulate the maṇḍala, then enter the inner courtyard where the *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala is set up.<sup>188</sup> The *ācārya* enters that maṇḍala through its western gate to stand next to the chair. He forms the *abhiṣeka* mudrā, described here, then picks up the water pot. Raising it above his head and reciting the heart spell seven times, he pours the water over his own head. As he performs this *abhiṣeka*, he makes a silent vow.<sup>189</sup>

The *ācārya* then puts on fresh clothes and reenters the building. A disciple at the side of the building entrance holds the purple umbrella over the *ācārya*'s head as they walk (together) to the western gate of the maṇḍala and circumambulate it. Then the *ācārya* calls the candidates one by one. The *ācārya* returns to the maṇḍala, takes (another) water pot, and goes to the *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala, entering it from its west gate. The assistant holding the crimson umbrella follows, holding the umbrella above a candidate.

The *ācārya* forms the mudrā for the rite, takes the water pot, and asks the candidate on what deity's seat his flower fell.<sup>190</sup> The candidate forms the mudrā appropriate to "his" category of deity, first holding the mudrā over his head, then raising his hands higher. With the mudrā formed a flower is placed inside his palm, and as (the *ācārya*) recites the deity's spell, water is poured over the candidate's head ("*abhiṣeka*").<sup>191</sup> The candidate makes a silent vow.

In the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony, each candidate is first bonded with *one* of the many deities who are gathered in the maṇḍala, and the *abhiṣeka* is carried out with regard to that particular deity, though in the presence of all the other maṇḍala deities.

After the *abhiṣeka*, the disciple puts on fresh clothes and reenters the ritual space (the building), ceremonially shielded all the way by the purple umbrella of the *ācārya*.<sup>192</sup> When he comes to the western gate of the main maṇḍala, the disciple is ordered to pay respect three times. He then goes to back to his original seat.<sup>193</sup>

Using separate water pots, the *ācārya* performs an *abhiṣeka* for each of the candidates. He then pays respect to the deities, circumambulates the maṇḍala (inside the building) three times, and returns to his own seat.

### *Homa*<sup>194</sup>

In fascicle 12 the instructions for the *homa*, or fire offering, ritual follow. The *ācārya* sits at the western gate (of the maṇḍala), near the hearth. He lights the firewood inside the hearth, forms the mudrā for the fire god,

and recites the spell, calling the deity into the hearth. Incense, flowers, ghee, honey, food and drink, sesame, and so forth are burned; for each, the spell is recited seven times. Silently, the *ācārya* notes, “The fire god comes out and sits by the hearth. I will now make offerings to the buddhas, Prajñāpāramitā, bodhisattvas, and so on.”<sup>195</sup>

The mudrā and the spell appear in the entry on the fire god in fascicle 11.<sup>196</sup> Though their use is intended for all types of maṇḍala ceremonies,<sup>197</sup> the accompanying paragraph is virtually identical with the corresponding description in fascicle 12.

Fascicle 12 then proceeds to describe inviting Hayagrīva.<sup>198</sup> His mudrā is formed and his spell recited, and with the Lotus-Flower mudrā he is invited to sit inside the hearth (on the prepared lotus-flower seat inside the hearth?). The *ācārya*, holding a vajra, calls the initiates one by one. Each in turn comes to the right side of the *ācārya*, pays respect, and kneels, holding the palms together. The initiate holds the head of the vajra in his hands, and the *ācārya* with his right hand holds the vajra in the disciple’s hand and with his left hand throws sesame seeds into the fire, reciting the heart spell (of Hayagrīva).<sup>199</sup> Reciting the spell twenty-one times, the *ācārya* burns ghee. Having made the fire offering, the *ācārya* tells the disciple to pay respect, then sends him back to his original seat. When all the disciples have finished this rite, the *ācārya* makes the mudrā (of Hayagrīva), recites the heart spell, and sends Hayagrīva to his original seat.

The central deity and all the deities in the inner hall are invited in the same way: incense, flowers, sesame seeds, ghee, honey, milk, curd, drink, fruits, and oil are offered in fire, then the deity is sent back to his original seat. Spells are pronounced 108 or 49 times. Offerings are made in the same way to the deities in other parts of the maṇḍala. Then fire offerings are made to the king and other members of the royal family and to government officials, then to all teachers and parents through past kalpas, and so on. Finally, fire offerings are made to the *ācārya* himself and to the sponsor and his household. From the king to the sponsor, the spell is the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara’s longer spell.<sup>200</sup>

Inviting all the maṇḍala deities one after another into the fire is the essence of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala. In *homa* rites for maṇḍalas devoted to specific deities, the fire offering is presented to one specific deity.

After the *homa*, the *ācārya* forms the mudrās for all the buddhas, Prajñāpāramitā, bodhisattvas, Vajra deities, and heavenly deities, but *without pronouncing the spells*. He shows the mudrās one by one to the new initiates, so that they can present offerings (to these deities).<sup>201</sup> This indicates that mudrās are activated by spells; without spells, they are

inert. Here the *ācārya* appears to be instructing the new initiates on the proper way of forming the mudrās; he does not wish to activate them.

### Concluding Rites

When all these rites are completed, the *ācārya* forms the mudrā for the expiation of sins through Prajñāpāramitā and holds it above his heart.<sup>202</sup> He relates his past and present sins of body, speech, and thought, describing them one by one and sincerely repenting. The disciples repeatedly pay respect to the buddhas.<sup>203</sup>

Then the *ācārya* forms the Vajragarbha Kuṇḍalin mudrā, praising the completion of the maṇḍala ritual and the fulfillment of all wishes.<sup>204</sup> The accompanying spell is pronounced forty-nine times, and after each time a verse of praise is uttered.

Each of the initiates makes the vow, pledging that from then on, if all sentient beings hear the profound teaching of the Great Vehicle, the storehouse of dhāraṇīs, the compassionate names of all the buddhas in the ten directions, “when their lives come to an end, they will be reborn in the Pure Lands in the Ten Directions, where they will see the buddhas (face to face).”<sup>205</sup>

The *ācārya* calls the disciples, ritually protects them one by one, and when dawn breaks leads the participants (around the maṇḍala?) three times, pays respect, and withdraws.<sup>206</sup>

Following the familiar formula, the *ācārya* then apologizes to the deities for lapses from the correct teaching regarding the offerings.<sup>207</sup>

The *ācārya* forms the mudrā for dissolution (not explained), turns counterclockwise, and utters the spell seven times.<sup>208</sup> He forms the mudrā for dismissing the deities one by one, starting with the central deity. This ritual for dismissal is said to be the same as that for inviting the deities. The mudrā is formed, one turns counterclockwise, and the deity is dismissed.<sup>209</sup>

Distribution of gifts (*qinshi* 餽施; *S. dakṣiṇā*) follows.<sup>210</sup> These gifts had been placed before the deities, and the instructions at that point had identified different kinds of gifts to be offered to different categories of deities, and furthermore told how these gifts were to be distributed after the ceremony.<sup>211</sup> The gifts placed in front of the buddhas are to be used by, or to become the property of, the buddhas; those put before Prajñāpāramitā, namely, the copy of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and other sūtras, as well as the objects placed in front of bodhisattvas are to be used by bodhisattvas. Gifts to Vajra deities and heavenly deities are to be given to the *ācārya*.<sup>212</sup> At the conclusion of the ceremony, after the



deities have been dismissed, one (assisting) disciple is sent to collect all the gifts on the maṇḍala, and they are so distributed. The *ācārya*'s portion is to be divided in three: one third is given to the community of the monastery, the second to the poor and orphans, and the third is to be donated to all sentient beings, on the ground, in water, and in the sky. Neither the initiated disciples nor the sponsor of the ceremony nor the *ācārya* may eat the food offered to deities. If they eat it, then the ceremony will come to naught.<sup>213</sup>

The *ācārya* then takes a torch and leads all the disciples around the maṇḍala, pointing for remembrance to the seats that held the buddhas, Prajñāpāramitā, bodhisattvas (referring above all to the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara?), Vajra deities, holy monks, heavenly deities, spirits, ghosts, and dragon deities. Then the colored seats on the maṇḍala are covered over with mud, before the sun rises.<sup>214</sup>

This appears to be the end of the instructions offered by the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara.<sup>215</sup> The setting shifts back to the Buddha's teaching described at the beginning of the fascicle. The Buddha addresses the assembly, describing the benefits of the secret teaching.



## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

1. The state of this scholarly discussion is briefly summarized in the introduction to the recent *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen and Richard Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 3–18.

2. The history of this distinction between “*junmitsu*” 純密 and “*zōmitsu*” 雜密 is reviewed in Misaki Ryōshū, 三崎良周, *Taimitsu No Kenkyū* 台密の研究 (Tokyo: Sobunsha, 1988), 146–65. The distinction was discussed in detail in Ekō 慧光 (1666–1734). The expression “miscellaneous section” (*zōbu* 雜部) first appeared in Kūkai’s 空海 *Sangakuroku* 三學錄 or *Shingonshū Shogaku Kyō Ritsu Ron Mokuroku* 真言宗所学経律論目錄, Teihon Kōbō Daishi Zenshū 定本弘法大師全集 (Wakayama-ken Kōyasan: Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1991–1997), vol. I, 55. See also Matsunaga Yūkei 松長有慶, *Mikkyō Kyōten Seiritsushi Ron* 密教經典成立史論 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), 20–21. For a brief discussion of this classification see Robert Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 265–67; Ryūichi Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 152–54; Yoritomi, Motohiro 頼富本宏, *Chūgoku Mikkyō No Kenkyū: Hannya To Sannei No Mikkyō Rikai O Chūshin To Shite* 中国密教の研究: 般若と贊寧の密教理解を中心として (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1979), 119–24, and *Mikkyōbutsu No Kenkyū*, 密教仏の研究 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), 4–6. More recently, Ronald Davidson has spoken of

the “mature esoteric system” to describe this development; see *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 117; Michel Strickmann speaks of “mature rite” in “Homa in East Asia,” in *Agni, the Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*, ed. Frits Staal (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), vol. II, 434. Davidson mentions the tradition that a copy of the *Mahāvairocanaḥbhisambodhi Tantra* (our MVS) was sent by Wuxing to China in about 680 as one of the markers for dating the rise of this “mature esoteric system” in the second half of the seventh century (*Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 118).

3. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, 269.

4. Original Indic-language sources have largely disappeared. Tibetan translations were produced much later and are less helpful for reconstructing the early history of these rituals. This state of affairs is not entirely anomalous. A significant part of early Buddhism—both so-called Mainstream Buddhism (particularly, *vinayas* and *abhidharmas*) and Mahāyāna—is now known only in Chinese translations.

5. The sources mentioned in Michel Strickmann’s discussion of the genealogy of spirit possession, including the passage from the *Amoghapāśa Dhāraṇī the Supernatural King of Spells Sūtra* (*Bukong juansuo tuoluoni zizaiwang zhou jing* 不空罽索陀羅尼自在王咒經, T. 1097) and the *Questions of Subāhu* (*Supohu tongzi qingwen jing* 蘇婆呼童子請問經, T. 895) were dated to 707–709 and 726 respectively; see Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 204–5, 211–14. The scripture describing the eye-opening ceremony in the *Taishō* canon, *Ritual Manual for the All the Tathāgatas Samādhi of Installing Images* (*Yiqie rulan anxiang sanmei yigui jing* 一切如來安像三昧儀軌經, T. 1417) was translated toward the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century.

6. Ronald Davidson argues, following R. Giebel, that *jingangding* 金剛頂 should be rendered “Vajra-uṣṇīṣa”; see “Sources and Inspirations,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 24; Rolf Giebel, “The Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch’ieh shi-pa-hui chih-kuei: An Annotated Translation,” *Journal of Naritatan Institute for Buddhist Studies* 18 (1995): 109. Giebel’s evidence seems mixed, and he himself continues to use *vajrasekhara* to translate *jingangding*, for example, on 110.

7. Michel Strickmann discusses this collection in considerable detail, but he does not give serious attention to its overall structure; see *Mantras et Mandarins: Le Bouddhisme Tantrique en Chine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 132–36, 146–63. In fact, in an earlier study, “Homa in East Asia,” Strickmann comments that this work attests “the general lack of system” in what he calls “Proto-Tantric ritual” (433).

8. Robert Sharf suggested that the term “visualization” may not be an appropriate translation in esoteric ritual manuals; see “Visualization and Maṇḍala in Shingon Buddhism,” in *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 151–97, esp. 163. Referring to Shingon rituals, Sharf argues that the “technical Sino-Japanese terms such as

*kansō* [觀想] and *kannen* [觀念] refer to procedures whose elements are often more discursive, literary, or tropical than they are visual or graphic” (163). In the early dhāraṇī scriptures I review below, the visual and graphic dimensions appear to be primary, and for that reason I have retained “visualization.” Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that in the original sources the deliberate mental construction of visual images is described with a range of different terms.

9. The importance of this collection is also noted by Ronald Davidson. See, for example, his contribution on “Sources and Inspirations: Esoteric Buddhism in South Asia,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles Orzech et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 23, 268–69. Davidson calls attention to the Yizi Foding Lunwang ritual described in this collection and identifies the significance of the collection quite differently from the view presented here.

10. Nevertheless, Yixing’s commentary and Amoghavajra’s manuals came to play enormously important roles in the later development of Esoteric Buddhism in East Asia.

11. Avalokiteśvara is mentioned frequently in early rituals in which images begin to be important. In the All-Gathering Maṇḍala described in Atikūṭa’s *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, a large number of maṇḍala deities are mentioned, and they are grouped into categories such as “the Buddhas,” “Avalokiteśvaras,” “Vajra deities,” and “Heavenly deities.” These categories are ordered hierarchically. The “Vajra deities,” for example, enjoy a lesser status. This appears to have changed later. In the narrative account of the origin of the maṇḍalas in the *Compendium of the Truth (Tattvasaṃgraha)*, the first part of the *Vajrasekhara Sūtra*, Vajradhātu, Vajrasattva, and other Vajra deities play prominent roles.

## 1. THE RECITATION OF SPELLS IN THE DHĀRAṆĪ COLLECTIONS

1. The *Kaiyuan Catalogue* (730) dates a work with a shorter title, *The Divine Spells Taught by the Seven Buddhas (Qifo suoshuo shenzhou jing 七佛所說神咒經)*, in four fascicles, to the Eastern Jin period (317–420 C.E.) (T. 2154: 55.603b11). The two titles appear to refer to the same work. Jonathan Silk recently reviewed relevant references in Chinese catalogues of the Buddhist canon in “The *Jifayue sheku tuoluoni jing*—Translation, Non-translation, Both or Neither,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 31, no. 1/2 (2010): 376–78. Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et Mandarins* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 73, places the work about the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century.

2. T.1336: 21.580c14–637c6. The *Kaiyuan Catalogue* tentatively assigns the collection to the Liang period (502–557) (T. 2154: 55.539a28–b4; 624b4–7). Silk comments on this work and its relationship with the *Seven Buddhas and Eight*

*Bodhisattvas* in “The *Jifayue sheku tuoluoni jing*—Translation, Non-translation, Both or Neither,” 378–81.

3. T. 2154: 55.654b10, also in *Zhenyuan Catalogue* (800), T2157: 55.991b6. Though listed in the section of abbreviated copies, this text may in fact have preserved an earlier form of the collection.

4. The association between dhāraṇī recitation and the past Seven Buddhas is attested by the beginning of the fifth century. The *Dafangdeng tuoluonijing* 大方等陀羅尼經, translated by Fazhong 法眾 during the Yong’an period of Northern Liang (401–411) in Gaochang, describes a seven-day ritual in which past buddhas Vipasyin, Śikhin, Viśvabhū, Kanakamuni, and then the Seven Buddhas and finally innumerable Buddhas of the Ten Directions appear in the sky in response to mantra recitation (T. 1339: 21.652b8–653c13). Bodhisattvas Ākāśagarbha and Mañjuśrī also appear in that account. Another work, called *Xukongzang pusa wen qifo tuoluoni jing* 虛空藏菩薩問七佛陀羅尼咒經 (T. 1333: 21.561b11–564c23) is attributed to the Liang period (502–557). Alternative translations of this text exist, by Jñānagupta (T. 1334) and by Fatian (Dharmadeva?) (T. 1147). Tibetan translations also exist; see *Bussho Kaisetsu Daijiten* 佛書解說大辭典, 3.241a.

5. T. 1332: 21.543c9–544c26.

6. T. 1237: 21.178b2–c1, c20–21, 179a2–9. Another longer version of the same sūtra is reproduced as T. 1238 and the same set of spells also appears in it, 21.179c18–180a17, b7–13, 18–23.

7. Silk, “The *Jifayue sheku tuoluoni jing*—Translation, Non-translation, Both or Neither,” 369–420. The *Ji yue sheku tuoluoni jing* is appended at the end of another work, *Guan Xukongzang pusa jing* 觀虛空藏菩薩經 (T. 409: 13.679c29–680b23). Silk’s article also offers a nuanced discussion of the Indian origin of this “scripture.”

8. T. 1332: 21.544b5.

9. T. 21.586a19.

10. T. 2154: 55.624b4–7. Jonathan Silk, while agreeing with the conclusion of the *Kaiyuan* editor, observes that Chinese translators producing a new translation may still have incorporated existing translations from Sanskrit, “The *Jifayue sheku tuoluoni jing*—Translation, Non-translation, Both or Neither,” 380.

11. The *Tuolinnibo jing* 陀鄰尼鉢經 (T. 1352, trans. Zhu Tan Wulan 竺曇無蘭 sometime in the last two decades of the fourth century) is mentioned in *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, T. 1336: 21.628c12 and 630b4–631a3; *Hu zhutongzi tuoluonijing* 護諸童子陀羅尼經 (T. 1028A, trans. Bodhiruci under the Later Wei dynasty, 508–537) appears in *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, T. 1336: 21.598a13 and 600a13–601a18. In addition, the editor notes that *Zuisheng dengwang jing* 最勝燈王經 (Aṅgraprādīpadhāraṇī?, T. 1354, translated by Jñānagupta 585–600 and mentioned in *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, T. 1336: 21.598a15 and 602c2–603a17) is in fact an alternative translation of *Tuolinnibo jing* (T. 2154: 55.624b6–7). The *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*

recognizes this fact, but nevertheless reproduces the excerpt from the *Zuisheng dengwang jing* separately (T. 1336: 21.602c2).

12. Fascicles 8, 9, and 10 of the Kongōji version are each marked as *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* at the end. Curiously, fascicle 10 is titled *Zazhouji* at the beginning, yet at the end is also identified as fascicle 10 of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*.

13. Ochiai Toshinori's discussion is found in "Darani zōshū shoshū no kyōten nitsuite 陀羅尼雜集所収の經典について," *Kokusai Bukkyōgaku Daigakuin Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō* 国際仏教学大学院大学研究紀要 6 (2003): 59–83. Akatsuka Yūdō 赤塚祐道 further refined Ochiai's reconstruction.

14. The title appears in the *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄 as 雜咒集十卷 T. 2146: 55.125b27. In Jintai's 靜泰 catalogue, T. 2148 dated to 665, the title of this collection appears to have changed to *Tuoluoni ji* 陀羅尼集 (T. 2148: 55.195c25). The title of ten-fascicle *Zashouji* was later changed first to *Tuluoni ji* 陀羅尼集, or *Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, and eventually to *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*.

15. Ochiai, "Darani zōshū shoshū no kyōten nitsuite," 77 and 82, note 2.

16. In addition to the works mentioned by the editor of the *Kaiyuan Catalogue*, other examples include *Dayun jing* (S: *Mahāmegha sūtra*: T. 1336: 21.609a25, b20 [though the exact source of the cited passage cannot be identified in existing literature]); *Guanfo sanmeihai jing*, T. 1335: 21.633a6 [T. 643: 15.682b26–c6]). The sources for the entries in the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* have been reviewed in Ochiai, "Darani zōshū shoshū no kyōten nitsuite," 60–76. The ultimate sources for a large number of these entries cannot be identified.

17. According to Ochiai, the content of the Kongōji *Zazhouji*, fascicle 3 matches the content of fascicle 6 in the *Taishō* version of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*; see Ochiai, "Darani zōshū shoshū no kyōten nitsuite," 79.

18. T. 1336: 21.634c22–635c28.

19. This second collection included spells that are also found in fascicle 1 of the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas*, T. 1336: 21.636b16–26/T. 1332: 21.541b15–25; 1336: 21.636b27–c3/T. 1332: 21.541b11–14.

20. Ochiai also comments on these redundancies, but he attributes them only to editorial carelessness; see "Darani zōshū shoshū no kyōten nitsuite," 69–70.

21. Namely, entry 16, fascicle 10; entry 2, fascicle 6; entries 6 and 7, fascicle 9; entry 1, fascicle 6; entries 15 and 16, fascicle 10 corresponding to fascicle 6, entries 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20.

22. Entries 14, 15, and 16 in fascicle 10 corresponding to entries 12, 19, and 20, fascicle 6; entries 6 and 7 in fascicle 9 corresponding to entries 15 and 16, fascicle 6. The exception is entry 2 in fascicle 6, which appears to be an alternative version of entry 14 in the same fascicle.

23. T. 1332: 21.537a11, c21–22. These refer to the realms of hell beings, hungry ghosts, and animals.

24. For example, in Aksobhya's land, T. 1332: 21.537a10–11, or in Trāyastriśa heaven, T. 1332: 21.538a16.

25. T. 1332: 21.538a24, b7; also 539b7–8. The four fruits consist of becoming a stream-attainer, a once-returner, a nonreturner, and an arhat.

26. T. 1332: 21.537a16–17, b26. Eric Greene in his recent doctoral dissertation discusses carefully and insightfully what he calls “verificatory vision” in fifth-century Chinese meditation texts. See “Meditation, Repentance, and Visionary Experience in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2012).

27. *Shoujue* 授決, T. 1332: 21.537a17.

28. T. 1332: 21.537a11–18. In the *Flower Garland Sūtra*, the Buddhas of the Ten Directions are said to have appeared, and extending the right hand, rubbed the crown of a bodhisattva and praised him (*Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T. 278: 9: 408c8–10, 441b1–4, 488b20–21, 542c18–19, ref., 783c1–2, 785a14–15; T. 279 10.33b9–17, 80b27–29, 124b25–26, 179b14–15, ref., 439b7–9, 441b9–12). The Entrustment chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* begins as Śākyamuni Buddha rubs the crowns of innumerable bodhisattvas (*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, T. 262: 9.52c4–5).

29. *Jin’gang chuang* 金剛幢, T. 1332: 21.537b7.

30. T. 1332: 21.537b22–26. *Shiziwang ding* 師子王定, T. 1332: 21.537b25.

31. In the entry for the Seventh Buddha of the Past, Śākyamuni, in the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas*, the outcome of the dhāraṇī recitation and the vision is described as the attainment of the “four fruits” (*si shamen guo* 四沙門果) in the present body and purgation of all sins (T. 1332: 21.538a24, b7). The four fruits also appear in the entry on Avalokiteśvara (T. 1332: 21.539b7–8).

32. T. 1332: 21.537b8–29. A similar formulation appears in T. 1332: 21.539c2–7, in an entry on the Fourth Bodhisattva Jiutuo 救脫. Here one is instructed to pay respect to the Buddhas of the Ten Directions in “a tall building or inside the palace” (T. 1332: 21.539c3–4). At a crucial point in the popular story of Sumāgadhā, Anāthapiṇḍatha’s daughter, she goes up a tall tower, holding an incense burner in her hand, and crossing her hands [in front of her], faces and addresses the distant Tathāgata (*Zengyi ahan jing* 增壹阿含經, T. 125: 2.661c11–12; ref. *Xumotinü jing* 須摩提女經, T. 128: 2.839b23).

33. Similarly, the entry on Avalokiteśvara in the subsequent section on Eight Bodhisattvas speaks of first burning incense and scattering flowers and then confessing in the Ten Directions and reciting the name of Avalokiteśvara three times (T. 1332: 21.539a29–b3). Here again, no image may have been present. The expression “confessing in the Ten Directions” also appears in the entry on Śākyamuni in the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* (T. 1332: 21.538a28). This confession is followed by “presenting offerings” (*gongyang* 供養) to Śākyamuni Buddha, with seven-colored flowers and three kinds of excellent incense. Here Śākyamuni is represented not by an image but by a stūpa; the practitioner confesses his sins in front of a relic stūpa and recites the dhāraṇī 81 times (T. 1332: 21.538b1–2). This practice is repeated daily, first for seven days, then for another seven days, and finally for a third stretch of seven days. All sins having been thereby purged, the Buddhas of the Ten Directions are said to appear and touch



the practitioner's body (T. 1332: 21.538b4–5). The scenario appears to say that the Buddhas of the Ten Directions will come all the way from their distant lands and appear before the practitioner. No images appear to be present. An elaborate account of repentance that results in visions of the Buddhas appears in *Guan Puxian puta xingfa jing* 觀普賢菩薩行法經 (T. 277: 9.390b9–393c10).

34. For example, the entry on the dhāraṇī that enables one to see the Buddha and be cleansed of sins speaks of performing rites “in front of the Buddha or in front of relics” (T. 1336: 21.634a16, ref., b19). Here “the Buddha” must refer to a Buddha image. This entry in fascicle 10 of *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* is attributed to the *Rizang jing* 日藏經. Another entry, on protection of the eye, also said to have been taken from *Rizang jing*, speaks first of confessing sins before the Buddha and then of making Buddha images and copying this scripture (T. 1336: 21.637a2, 3). Here again, the expression “before the Buddha” appears to mean “before a Buddha image.” Images (*xingxiang* 形像) are listed in another passage, along with relics, scriptures, and disciples of the Buddha who teach the Buddha's words, as representing the Buddha's presence after he had entered *parinirvāṇa* and could no longer be seen (T. 1336: 21.624c20). The expression “before the Buddha” in the entry on the dhāraṇī for requesting a dream that predicts auspicious or inauspicious outcomes must also be an image; one is told to recite the dhāraṇī 108 times in front of it (T. 1336: 21.631c11).

35. T. 1332: 21.541a13–b1. The formulaic list of eight bodhisattvas and their dhāraṇīs concludes at T. 1332: 21.541a10, preceding this image passage (ref., T. 1336: 21.585a9–b8). This passage also is missing in some versions (interlinear note, T. 1332: 21.541a10–12), including the parallel section of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* (T. 1336: 21.585b8).

36. The opening lines of the dhāraṇī explicitly call on bodhisattva mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara (T. 1332: 21.541a17–18).

37. T. 1332: 21.541a29–b1. The original term for the small monastic retreat is *alianruochu* 阿練若處, T. 1332: 21.541a29. The entry on Avalokiteśvara's dhāraṇī that produced the vision in *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, fascicle 9, T. 1336: 21.631b28–c5, may represent another version of more or less the same rite, though it gives a different and much shorter dhāraṇī.

38. The second passage that also speaks of Avalokiteśvara's image appears toward the end of fascicle 1, as a part of the entry numbered 15 (T. 1332: 21.542b5–543a5; 542c15). This material appears also to have been incorporated into the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* at a relatively late stage in its evolution.

39. The two passages are found in T. 1336: 21.612a17–c9 and 634c22–635b15.

40. This passage is translated and briefly discussed in Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 52–53, and also in Strickmann, *Mantras et Mandarins*, 141–42.

41. The Buddha often appears in a vision sitting on a lotus flower: “seeing the Buddha sitting on a lotus flower” (T. 1336: 21.618a13); “seeing the Tathagata sitting on a lotus flower and preaching” (T. 1336: 21.634c16).

42. T. 1336: 21.612b17–19 and 635a22–24.

43. T. 1336: 21.612b20 and 635a25–26.

44. T. 1332: 21.612b21–24; 635a27–b1.

45. A long list of such wishes follows: becoming wealthy, flying in the sky, being able to freely give to sentient beings, hearing the dharma extensively, opportunities to debate, to enter deep into forests, or to remain in hiding, to ingest the medicine of immortals, to acquire marvelous appearances or a magical substance, *niu Huang* 牛黃 (“Ox-yellow,” *go-rocanā*), a divine eye, divine hearing, to be free of all sufferings of illnesses and other forms of bodily imperfections. All heavy burdens of past karma will be removed. If a man wishes to acquire a female body or a woman desires to have a male body, these wishes will be fulfilled.

46. This is the only reference in these dhāraṇī collections to the guest-host scenario of typical Esoteric rituals. In this perhaps earlier formulation, the deity as guest appears as a miraculous vision that confirms the efficacy of the ritual and is sent back after the purpose for which the ritual was carried out has been fulfilled.

47. T. 1332: 21.539c4. But image worship may have led to more elaborate ways of presenting offerings.

48. Even in other passages that mention images, nothing is said of worshipping or making offerings to them. Passages that describe worshipping the buddhas and making offerings such as burning incense and scattering flowers do not mention images. The expression *gongyang fo* 供養佛 (“making offering to the Buddha”) at T. 1336: 21.634c14 may be so interpreted.

## 2. THE IMAGE RITUAL OF THE ELEVEN-FACED AVALOKITEŚVARA

1. Yamada Kōji 山田耕二 discussed the sūtra in some detail, in “Jūichimen kannonbosatsu no seiritsu 十一面觀音菩薩の成立,” *Tōkai Bukkyō* 東海仏教 21 (December 1961): 13–31.

2. A brief summary of this text appears in Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 54–56.

3. Atikūṭa’s collection is discussed in Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et Mandarins: Le Bouddhisme Tantrique en Chine*, Bibliothèque des sciences humaines (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 133–63.

4. *Shiyimian shenzhou xin jing yishu* 十一面神咒心經義疏, T. 1802, is a commentary on this work by Huizhao 慧沼 (-714).

5. This text is translated into English with an introduction: Erik Grinstead, “The Sūtra of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara,” in *The Esoteric Buddhist Tradition*, ed. Henrik H. Sørensen (Copenhagen and Aarhus: Seminar for Buddhist Studies, 1994), 97–125.

6. Nalinaksha Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. 1 (Srinagar-Kashmir, 1939), 35–40. See also *Bongo Butten No Kenkyū* 梵語仏典の研究 (A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature), vol. IV (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1989), 128–29, where the locations of the Tibetan translation that exists in two versions are listed. This manuscript is dated to the fifth or sixth century in Donald Alan Wood, “Eleven Faces of a Bodhisattva,” Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1985, 3.

7. Avalokiteśvara’s dhāraṇī is here identified as the “root dhāraṇī” *genben tuoluoni* 根本陀羅尼 (T. 901: 18.813c7). Xuanzang’s translation calls it the “root divine spell,” *genben shenzhou* 根本神咒 (T. 1071: 20.153a11). In Amoghavajra’s translation the spell is called “root mantra,” *genben miyan* 根本密言 (T. 1069: 20.140b29). The term “root” marks the full version of the spell affiliated with the deity. In later sources this form of the spell is contrasted with two abbreviated forms, called “heart” or “*xin*” (*hṛdaya*) and “*suixin*” (*upahṛdaya*) respectively.

8. T. 1069: 20.143c2–3.

9. T. 1069: 20.145b28.

10. T. 901: 18.815a12, c17; 816b9–10. Could the placement of the Avalokiteśvara image inside the *homa* fire be related to the ritual in the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* discussed in chapter 1? Here the image is said to be returned to its original place after reciting the dhāraṇī 108 times.

11. These sūtras are also summarized in Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-yin*, 54–56.

12. A similar formulation appears in other presentations of dhāraṇīs, for example, in the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, fasc. 1 (T. 1336: 21.583a4–11, 589b3–5). Another example is the entry on the dhāraṇī taught by Dragon King Manasvi (T. 1336: 21.594c4–595b19). The divine spell presented there is first said to have been taught by innumerable buddhas in the past. Then an elaborate story is told. The Dragon King is said to have been a ruler in Jambudvīpa, who regretted his oppressive reign and decided to renounce the throne and go to a mountain for spiritual training. He wished also to give away the treasures his father had left and found among them a sealed golden box. In the box was the dhāraṇī. Brief references to obtaining the spells in the distant past appear repeatedly elsewhere in this collection: T. 1336: 21.588a21–23 (taught by “Bodhisattva of the North Pole, Miaojian” 妙見); T. 1336: 21.591c6–7 (“Eight-Armed Nārāyaṇa”); T. 1336: 21.592a14–15 (“Da gongde tianwang” 大功德天王; Mahāśrī or Lakṣmī); T. 1336: 21.592c4–5 (“Dragon King Upananda”); T. 1336: 21.593b6–7 (Dragon King Vāsuki); T. 1336: 21.595b28–29 (Dragon King Utpala). In all these episodes it appears that the deities presenting the dhāraṇīs learned them from one of the numerous past buddhas.

13. The Four Pārājika offenses committed by monks result in expulsion from the monastic community. These offenses consist of sexual intercourse, theft, murder, and falsely laying claim to spiritual attainments. The Five Grave Sins result in rebirth in the Avīci hell. This list is typically given as killing one’s mother, killing one’s father, killing an arhat, injuring the Buddha’s body and causing it to bleed, and destroying the harmony of the monastic community.

14. (T. 901: 18.813a18–b9). In corresponding passages of the translations by Xuanzang and Amoghavajra, images are not mentioned, though the same rite appears to be described (T. 1071: 20.152c13–23; T. 1069: 20.140b17–28).

15. T. 1070: 21.149c18–19; T. 1071: 21.152c15; T. 1069: 20.140b20.

16. The name “Eleven Faces” (sometimes rendered Eleven Heads) for the spell mentioned at the opening section (149a19; 152a20; 140a7) suggests that the spell was closely associated with a specific iconography. The spell given in this sūtra may thus have become widely known only after it had become associated with image worship.

17. T. 1071: 20.153a11–12.

18. In the version in Atikūṭa’s collection these spells appear in the section on “seals and spells” under different headings (T. 901: 18.817a11–818b15).

19. T. 1070: 20.150b11–12.

20. T. 1070: 20.150b5. In the corresponding passage in Xuanzang’s version, the spell is recited over flowers, unguent, and garland before they are either scattered over, applied on, or used to decorate an image (*zunxiang* 尊像, T. 1071: 20.153b4–6).

21. In the translations by Yaśogupta the text of the spells is preceded by a formula of paying respect to the Three Jewels, the Tathāgata, and the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The full version of the formula appears for the root spell (T. 1070: 20.150a8–13); it is then abbreviated variously for subsequent spells (T. 1070: 20.150a19–21; 26–7; b1–3; 7–8; 13–15; 22–23; c1–3). In Xuanzang’s translation a slightly modified version is translated in full and repeated for each spell (T. 1071: 20.153a2–4; 13–15; 20–22; 27–29; b6–8; 14–17; 23–25; c3–5). Buddha and Avalokiteśvara appear side by side in these formulaic introductions.

22. *Rufa xiuxing* 如法修行 (T. 1070: 20.150b20–21).

23. T. 1070: 20.151a24–27; T. 1071: 20.154a20–23; T. 1069: 20.141b26–29. The culmination of Avalokiteśvara image ritual is described in very similar terms in the instruction that occurs twice in the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, T. 1336: 21. 612b26–c9; 635b3–15.

24. In Xuanzang’s translation the second half of the spell is treated as a separate spell for returning the deity to his palace (T. 1071: 153c6–12).

25. In Yaśogupta’s version, T. 1070: 20.150c7–19; in Xuanzang’s version, T. 1071: 20.153c13–154a2; in Amoghavajra’s version, T. 1069: 20.141b3–9.

26. T. 901: 18.818b17–c14.

27. T. 1070: 20.150c19; T. 901: 818c10–11.

28. Protection against difficulties caused by evil demons and ghosts is mentioned among the benefits of the spell at the outset of this text (T. 1070: 20.149a27–28; T. 1071: 20.152a29).

29. The passage is found at T. 1070: 20.150c7–19. The statement (*cizhou biegyou shenli* 此呪別更有神力) appears at T. 1070: 20.150c7–8.

30. T. 1070: 20.150c18.

31. 能依觀世音作法者 (T. 1070: 21.150c21). Virtually the same statement appears to introduce the practice centered around a carved image in the ver-

sion translated by Atikūṭa (T. 901: 18.824b12). There, however, a large section on maṇḍala initiation and mudrās is inserted between the earlier presentation of the root dhāraṇī (T. 901: 18.813b23–c4) and this instruction on image worship (T. 901: 18.824b10). Atikūṭa presents the entire practice as “practicing according to the instruction” 依於此教如法修 (T. 901: 18.813b7). This statement follows a passage about decorating an Avalokiteśvara image with a variety of banners and umbrellas, and making offerings to it. Again, this practice, centered on image worship, may have been understood as the practice that “follows the instruction.”

32. In Yaśogupta’s translation the worship of the Avalokiteśvara image had been introduced earlier in the introductory section (T. 1070: 20.149c14–17). In Amoghavajra’s version the section on image worship is introduced with the phrase “If you wish to have accomplishment (or success) *chengjiu* 成就” (T. 1069: 20.141b12). In the Esoteric ritual texts closely associated with Amoghavajra and his contemporaries, the term “accomplishment/success” refers to the efficacious outcome of Esoteric/Tantric rites. Amoghavajra’s version in the *Ritual Manual for the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara* (T. 1069) needs to be read in this later context. The image worship prescribed in this section is necessary to secure the efficacy of the ritual, and the various cures brought about by the spell (Passage A) are presented simply as “benefits of recitation.” These are realized without “prior cultivation” (T. 1069: 20.141b3).

33. In this version Passage A appears at T. 1071: 20.153c13–154a2. The cited statement is found at T. 1071: 20.153c13–14.

34. T. 1071: 20.154a3.

35. The significance of this expression “establish” is not noted in Huizhao’s 慧沼 (650–714) commentary on this text, *Shiyimian shenzhoxin jing yishu* 十一面神咒心經義疏 (T.1802: 39.1009b11), which reads “Passage A,” plus the section on image worship divided into two separate parts (T. 1071: 20.154a3–25 and 154a26–c22), as three sections on the method of practice (T. 1802: 39.1009b1). The first section is said to describe the benefits of the spells and the second the instruction on making images, and the third is the principal instruction on practice (*zhengquanxingfa* 正勸行法). The contrasting expressions “not established” and “establish” are ignored. Huizhao’s biography appears in *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Song gaosengzhuan* 宋高僧傳; T. 2061: 50.728c2–14).

36. Yaśogupta (T. 1070: 20.149c11–27); Atikūṭa (T. 901: 18.813a18–b9); Xuanzang (T. 1071: 20.152c13–22); Amogavajra (T. 1069: 20.140b19–24).

37. In Xuanzang’s version the practitioner is instructed to place the image of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara inside a *caitya* of Buddha’s relics (T. 1071: 20.154a26–27). Amoghavajra’s version marks this part of the ceremony as the second set of rules (T. 1069: 20.141c3) and also charges the practitioner to place the image in a relic stūpa (T. 1069: 20.141c3–4). Atikūṭa’s version explicitly speaks of setting up another ritual space in the morning of the fifteenth day of the second half of the month and placing two images in it, one a reliquary

image and, immediately adjacent, the image of Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara (T. 901: 18.824c29–825a3).

38. T. 1070: 20.151b16–c29.

39. T. 1070: 20.151b16–20.

40. These signs appear to be distinctive and different from the signs that miraculous images, such as those attributed to King Aśoka, manifest in the miracle stories told of them. For example, Aśokan images walk by themselves, indicating where they were to be taken, or sweat to predict imminent disasters.

41. T. 1070: 20.151a24.

### 3. THE MAṆḌALA INITIATION CEREMONY

1. A shorter version of the discussion that follows may be found in Koichi Shinohara, “The All-Gathering Maṇḍala Initiation Ceremony in Atikūṭa’s *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*: Reconstructing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Ritual,” *Journal Asiatique* 298, no. 2 (2010): 389–420.

2. T. 901; *Foshuo tuoluoni jijing* 佛說陀羅尼集. The name of the translator, given in transcription as Adiquduo 阿地瞿多, is elsewhere translated as Wujigao 無極高.

3. T. 901: 18.785a12. This collection is discussed at some length in Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et Mandarins: Le Bouddhisme Tantrique en Chine*, Bibliothèque des sciences humaine (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 132–36, 146–63, and “Homa in East Asia,” in *Agni, the Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*, ed. Frits Staal (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), vol. II, 433. See also Matsunaga Yūkei, *Mikkyō Kyōten Seiritsu Shiron* 密教經典成立史論 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1980), 119–20; Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研, *Mikkyō Bijutsu O Yomu* 密教美術を読む (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1984), 225–35; Yasumoto Tsuyoshi, “Girugitto chiiki tarupan no darani kokubun to kannon zuishinju ni tsuite ギルギット地域 タルパンの陀羅尼刻文と観音く随心呪について——観音信仰からターラー信仰へ,” *Mikkyō Zuzō* 密教図像 29 (December 2010): 17.

4. *Pujihuitan* 普集會壇; T. 901: 18.785a22. The history of Huirisi 慧日寺 is briefly summarized in Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年, *Chūgoku Zuitō Chōan Jiin Shiryō Shūsei, Kaisetsu-hen* 中国隋唐長安寺院史料集成 解説編 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1991), 198–99 (with sources in Shiryō-hen 史料編, 309–10). Xuankai 玄楷 is mentioned as the head administrator (*sizhu* 寺主) of the Huiri monastery (T. 2061: 50.717b8–9).

5. T. 901: 18.785a22.

6. 譯梵本且翻要抄. The original text is called *guangben* 廣本, or the “extended text” (T. 901: 18.785a23).

7. *Jin’gang dadaochang jing* 金剛大道場經; the dhāraṇī section is described as 大明呪藏分之少分. As I shall discuss in greater detail below, the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* consists mostly of numbered entries, each dealing with a spe-

cific mudrā and related spell. This may be what the “dhāraṇī section” in the preface refers to.

8. The colophon at the end of Yaśogupta’s translation of the *Sūtra of the Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara* (T. 1070) notes that it is an abbreviated translation from the section on this deity in the larger sūtra *Jin’gang dadaochang shenzhou jing* 金剛大道場神咒經 (*Sūtra of the Divine Spells of the Great Vajra Practice Ground*) (T. 1070: 20.152a6). Thus, according to Yaśogupta, the *Sūtra of the Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara* (dated to c. 570) was taken from a source that bears a virtually identical title to the source for the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* (dated to 654), given in its preface. The two titles may refer to one fictitious source believed to have contained a wide range of Esoteric teachings. As noted below, a version of the *Sūtra of the Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara* is incorporated into fascicle 4 of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. More broadly, the All-Gathering Ceremony appears to have been closely affiliated with the figure of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, as discussed in some detail below. The shared reference to the probably imaginary Vajra Practice Ground Sūtra also testifies to this deeper affiliation.

9. T. 2154: 55.562c5, 19–20. This information is reproduced in the biography of Atikūṭa in the *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* (dated to 18.988) (50.718b26). In his biography, appended to the biography of Daoyin 道因, Xuankai is identified as the abbot of the Huirisi monastery (T. 2061: 50.717b8–9).

10. T. 901: 18.812b13–813c7 and T. 1070: 20.149a14–150a19.

11. T. 901: 18. 825c21–826c9 and T.1035: 20.17b22–18b13. Zhitong’s work is entitled *Qianzhuan tuoluoni Kuanshiyin pusa zhou* 千轉陀羅尼觀世音菩薩咒.

12. T. 1035: 20.18a29–b1.

13. T. 901: 18.874b26.

14. *Jinguangming jing* 金光明經 (S: *Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra*), T. 663. The parallels appear as T. 901: 18.874b27–c28 and T. 663: 16.345a4–345b7; T. 901: 18.875a3–10 and T. 663: 16.345b8–13; T. 901: 18. 875c13–876a4 and T. 663: 16.345b14–c6.

15. T. 901: 18. 875a16–18 and T. 1332: 21.549b15–17/T. 1336: 21.590b27–28.

16. T. 901: 18.875c10–12 and T. 1332: 21.548c14–16; T. 1336: 21.589c27–29.

17. Another translator is named at T. 901: 18.806c20.

18. T. 901: 18.870a4, 19.

19. A small number of Sanskrit fragments that correspond to passages in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* have been identified; see Tsukamoto Keishō 塚本啓祥, Matsunaga Yūkei 松長有慶, and Isoda Hirofumi 磯田熙文, eds., *Bongo Bitten No Kenkyū* 梵語仏典の研究 (A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature), IV (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1989), 96, 129, 132, 136.

20. As we shall see later, the overall outline of Atikūṭa’s All-Gathering Maṇḍala initiation ceremony appears in the *Guhya Tantra*, a later Indian work that also exists in Tibetan translation.

21. Michel Strickmann mentions some distinctively Chinese elements in this collection; see *Mantras et Mandarins*, 153–56.



22. Funayama Tōru recently discussed the complexity of Chinese Buddhist translation in “‘Kanyaku’ to ‘chūgoku senjutsu’ no aida—Kanbun batten ni tokuyūna keitai wo megutte 漢訳と中国撰述の間をめぐって——漢文仏典に特有の形態をめぐって,” *Bukkyō Shigaku Kenkyū* 45, no. 1 (2002): 1–28. Funayama, however, explicitly excludes the case of Esoteric Buddhist sūtras. Jonathan Silk also explored the issue of Chinese Buddhist translation in “The *Jifayue sheku tuoluoni jing*—Translation, non-translation, Both or Neither,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 1 (2010): 376–78.

23. T. 2154: 55.572a22.

24. T. 1796: 39.579a3.

25. For example, the comment that the original version of the sūtra had one hundred thousand verses (T. 1796: 39.579c10–11).

26. *Puji huitan* 普集會壇; T. 901: 18.785a18.

27. *Douhui daochang* 都會道場; T. 901: 18. 885b17–897b18.

28. The preface notes that Atikūṭa’s maṇḍala was constructed during the first ten days of the third month (T. 901: 18. 785a17). At the beginning of fasc. 12 the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara begins his instruction for the ritual by identifying the first day of the third month as the date for beginning the ceremony in the spring (T. 901: 18. 886a2). The ceremony lasts seven days and seven nights (T. 901: 18. 886a4–5). Other distinctive details of the instruction in fasc. 12 also support its identification with the ceremony performed at Huirisi. For example, the terminology describing the physical setting of the ceremony suggests that a ritual is taking place in a Chinese monastery.

29. 佛說諸佛大陀羅尼都會道場印呪品; T. 901: 18.885b17.

30. 陀羅尼三昧神呪法印壇等祕密法藏; T. 901: 18.885b21.

31. T. 901: 18.885c2–3, 5.

32. T. 901: 18.886a4, 17.

33. T. 901: 18.813c9–816c6.

34. T. 901: 18.813c12. The entry on the All-Gathering Maṇḍala, or “Toedan mandara 都會壇曼荼羅,” in *Mikkyō Daijiten* 密教大辞典 (compact edition, Kyoto, 1998) first notes that the term typically refers to the great maṇḍalas of the Two Division Teaching on which the attendants of the central deity Vairocana are represented. The maṇḍala in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* is then mentioned (1673a). This maṇḍala is discussed in greater detail and with a diagram under the heading “Fushūe mandara” 普集會曼荼羅 (1918c–1920a). Saichō’s 最澄 *Naishō Buppō Sōjō Kechimyaku Fu* 内証仏法相承血脉譜 (817) lists the lineage of Atikūṭa’s Universal Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony under the category of *zōmandara* 雜曼荼羅 (“miscellaneous maṇḍalas”), *Dengyō Daishi Zenshū* 伝教大師全集 (Tokyo: Tendaishū Shūten Kankōkai, 1912), vol. II, 559–60.

35. This seven-day ceremony is also briefly described in Toganoo Shōun 梅尾祥雲, *Mandara No Kenkyū* 曼荼羅の研究 (1927), reprint *Toganoo Zenshū* 梅尾全集, vol. IV (Wakayama-ken Kōyasan: Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1958), 23–27.

36. T. 901: 18.889b14–c12.



37. T. 901: 18.891b22–23.

38. T. 901: 18.891c17–18.

39. T. 901: 18.886a18–19; 887c17–18; 891b22–23, c16–17.

40. T. 901: 18.887c18–19. This passage specifying the location of the seats for different categories of deities appears in the instruction for the sixth day. After the sun has set, the *ācārya* enters the maṇḍala and invites “the buddhas, Prajñā deities, bodhisattvas, Vajra deities, and heavenly deities.” The seat of the Buddha is said to be at the center. Avalokiteśvara deities are placed in the seats to the north. Vajras are in the seats to the south. Then the *ācārya* enters the maṇḍala and addresses “the buddhas, bodhisattvas, and Vajra deities, and so on,” explaining that he is “to perform the initiation into the maṇḍala” (T. 901: 18.888a21–24). These rites are performed long before the core initiation rites that take place during the seventh night.

From the beginning of this seven-day, seven-night ceremony, the deities who take part are addressed as groups. On the first day the *ācārya*, having determined the location of the ceremony, addresses the deities who are to take part in it: buddhas, Prajñāpāramitā deities, bodhisattvas, Vajra deities, and heavenly deities (T. 901: 18.886a15–16, 18–19).

After the *homa* ceremony that concludes the initiation ritual on the seventh day, the *ācārya* is said to form the mudrās of “all the buddhas, Prajñā deities, bodhisattvas, Vajra deities, and heavenly deities.” At the end of the entire ceremony the *ācārya* goes around the maṇḍala, pointing and explaining to those who have gathered for the ceremony where each of the assembled deities has been seated. Here the deities are listed as “buddhas, Prajñā deities, bodhisattvas, Vajra deities, holy monks, gods, spirits, dragons” (T. 901: 18.892c16–20). Then the maṇḍala and the seats of the deities are covered over and removed.

41. Prajñāpāramitā appears to be a single deity, but the Prajñāpāramitā section in fasc. 3 also mentions the sixteen yakṣas who promise to protect those who recite the Prajñāpāramitā spell and to help fulfill their wishes (T. 901: 18.808c, 809a6–10).

42. The title for fasc. 3 lacks this note and is not marked as a separate section (T. 901: 18.804c10). Nonetheless, it is devoted largely to rituals for Prajñāpāramitā.

43. T. 901: 18.885c6–15.

44. T. 901: 18.836c4–5.

45. The larger initiation maṇḍala is called by different names: “the Three Maṇḍala Great Practice Ground of Vajra Deities,” *Sanmantuoluo jin’gang dadaochang* 三曼荼羅金剛大道場 (T. 901: 18.795a2) or simply *tan* 壇 (T. 901: 18.825c1–2). In a rain prayer maṇḍala ritual in fascicle 11, it is noted that only those initiated into the “comprehensive maṇḍala,” *tou daochang* 都道場, can enter the maṇḍala for this ritual (T. 901: 18.880c12). Explicit references to the All-Gathering Maṇḍala appear at T. 901: 18.885b5–6 and 877c24. The expression “the Three-Maṇḍala Great Vajra Practice Ground” appears in the *Dhāraṇī Sūtra for Thousand-Eyed and Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara*, translated by

Atikūṭa's contemporary Zhitong (probably before Yonghui 4, or 654, ref., T. 2061: 50.719c23). Here those who have undergone the initiation into the Three-Maṇḍala Practice Ground are permitted to form the mudrās and recite the spells without constructing the specified water maṇḍala (T. 1057: 20. 87a20–21, or 93b24–26).

46. Here the seats of the deities for the most part follow the directional scheme mentioned above, though the groups seated on them are not explicitly named as buddhas, Prajñās, etc. (T. 901: 18.888b7–889a24). No images are mentioned and the arrangement of the seats here is called the instruction for the “decoration of the lower part” of the maṇḍala (T. 901: 18.889a26, also 894a25); earlier in the text the arrangement of poles and curtains was named “the decoration of the upper part” (T. 901: 18.887a12).

47. Misaki Ryōshū 三崎良周 reviewed the history of the Buddhōṣṇīsa cult in Tang China: “Bucchōkei mikkyō no kenkyū—Tōdai mikkyōshi no ichishiten” 仏頂系の密教——唐代密教史の一視点 in *Dōkyō Kenkyū Ronshū* 道教研究論集 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1977), 477–99.

48. T. 901: 18.888b9–15.

49. T. 901: 18. 888b10–11. Ref., T. 901: 18.894a28–29.

50. *Jingyisu chanhui tan* 經一宿懺悔壇, T. 901: 18.888b11–14. Ref., T. 901: 18.889c23–24.

51. Water maṇḍalas will be discussed in greater detail below. A closely related distinction between different types of maṇḍalas appears at the beginning of the description of the seven-day, seven-night ceremony, in the instruction for day one. Here different types of maṇḍalas are distinguished by size (T. 901: 18.886a29–b4). For imperial rulers the maṇḍala would have been 120 *hasta* on a side; for initiation ceremonies, 16 or 12 *hasta*. For repentance or healing the maṇḍala would have been between 4 and 1 *hasta*. These last are called “water maṇḍalas” in contrast to “the great maṇḍala,” which presumably referred to all the larger maṇḍalas.

52. Matsunaga Yūkei 松長有慶 observes that the earliest reference to mudrā appears in T. 1007, *Mouli mantuoluo zhou jing* 牟梨曼陀羅咒經, translated during the Liang dynasty (502–557); see *Mikkyō Kyōten Seritsushi Ron* 密教經典成立史論 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1980), 119.

53. I will discuss the evolution of maṇḍala ceremonies in greater detail below. Comparison of the four descriptions that appear in Atikūṭa's collection suggests that the All-Gathering Maṇḍala in this collection was still evolving. The deities in the Vajra group, for example, gradually begin to outnumber those in the Avalokiteśvara group, which, I suggest, indicates newer developments in maṇḍala practice.

54. This has been pointed out by Yoritomi, Motohiro 頼富本宏, *Mikkyōbutsu No Kenkyū* 密教仏の研究 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), 117.

55. Different schemes appear to have been introduced in a series of separate editorial efforts. For example, in the entry for the deity Bhṛkūti, in fascicle 5, the first fourteen entries are numbered (T. 901: 18.829a16–830a11). Following

these a number of entries appear, all on specific mudrās and spells. These are not numbered in the main text, but interlinear notes count them as a continuation of the numbered list that went before them.

56. See, for example, fascicle 1, T. 901: 18.785b9; fascicle 2, T. 901: 18.800a4; fascicle 3, T. 901: 18.804c13; fascicle 4, T. 901: 18.812b16; fascicle 7, T. 901: 18.841a5; fascicle 8, T. 901: 18.851c10 (without the standard phrase); fascicle 10, T. 901: 18.869b23; 874b25 (without the phrase); fascicle 11, T. 901: 18.877b5 (without the phrase); and fascicle 12, T. 901: 18.885b18.

57. The collection shows signs of a series of editorial efforts. Ronald Davidson, for example, suggests that the entire collection is also organized as a series of seventeen chapters, and proposed the Sanskrit forms of the Chinese chapter titles that appear in Atikūṭa's collection; see "Observation on the Uṣṇīṣa Abhiṣeka Rites in Atikūṭa's *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha*" in *Transformation and Transfer of Tantra/Tantrism in Asia and Beyond*, ed. István Keul (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011).

58. For example, T. 901: 18.785b5; 804c12; 812b11; 833c4.

59. T. 901: 18.877b5–c5.

60. I take the Chinese measure term *zhou* 肘 as the translation for *hasta*, the length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger.

61. T. 901: 18.816c7–824b10.

62. Such as Kuṇḍalin, T. 901: 18.814a2, 20; 886a26–27 and Hayagrīva, T. 901: 18.815b16, c27; 816b3; 889b14; 892a3; also more generally, 890c4–8.

63. T. 901: 18.888b9–15.

64. 佛說金剛藏大威神力三昧法印呪品 (T. 901: 18.841a3). The interlinear note under this heading mentions that there are 57 mudrās, and 32 spells in this fascicle. The remainder of the note is obscure and does not seem to correspond to the content of the fascicle in the *Taishō* version. This title is incorrectly numbered 1 (T. 901: 18.841a3); the new and correct numbering begins later, following an extended instruction on painting the image of "bodhisattva" Vajragarbha (T. 901: 18.841b25–842c1).

65. 天等獻佛助成三昧法印呪品 (T. 901: 18.877b4).

66. The entries on gods begin in fasc. 10 with long excerpts from separate, named works, first on Mārīci "in one fascicle" (T. 901: 18.869b22) and then on Lakṣmī in "one fascicle" (T. 901: 18.874b25). This format is unusual, and I suspect that at some point in the evolution of the collection, this fasc. 10 was inserted at the beginning of the section on heavenly deities. Consequently, the common narrative frame introducing first the section on Vajra deities (fasc. 7) and then the section on heavenly deities (fasc. 11) in two consecutive fascicles was disrupted. The section on heavenly deities now begins with excerpts from named sūtras (fasc. 10) preceding the introductory narrative for this section (fasc. 11).

67. The location of the Buddha's preaching is given variously in different parts of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. In the opening narrative in fascicle 1, the section on buddhas, the Buddha is teaching at Jetavana Park in Śrāvastī (T. 901: 18.785b9). In the framing narrative for the first entry of the Avalokiteśvara section in fascicle 4, the Buddha is at Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa near Rājagṛha (T. 901: 18.812b13).

68. T. 901: 18.841a7 (陀羅尼印祕密法藏) and T. 901: 18.877b8 (諸金剛陀羅尼印祕密法藏神呪壇法).

69. T. 901: 18.841a10.

70. T. 901: 18.841a13–14 (Mahāvajrapāṇirāja 摩訶跋折羅波尼囉闍; *shang-shou* 上首).

71. T. 901: 18.841a15 (我等亦願堅成助護佛之正法).

72. T. 901: 18.841a18 (聽許我稱眷屬名字).

73. T. 901: 18.841a21–b1. The term for “approval” is *yinke* 印可, T. 901: 18.841a20.

74. The name of the teaching is given as *Mimi fazing datuoluoni shenzhou fayin* 祕密法藏大陀囉尼神呪法印. The original term I translated as “assisting” is *zhucheng* 助成 (T. 901: 18.841b7).

75. A similar relationship between a more central deity and demonic figures who assist and protect exists between the Prajñāpāramitā and the sixteen *yakṣas* in fasc. 3 (T. 901: 18.808c7–809a10).

76. T. 901: 18.877b10–11 (*jin’gang shentong zizaifa zhou gongneng* 金剛神通自在法呪功能).

77. T. 901: 18.877b22–c5.

78. T. 901: 18.841b25–842c1.

79. The same spells are often used with different mudrās.

80. T. 901: 18.847c–848a. This deity is known as one of the 1,000 forms of Maheśvara, *Mikkyō Daijiten*, 1465b. Ref., T. 1796: 39.634c6–9; also, 633a14–15. Also, Mochizuki Shinkyō, *Buddhyō Daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Tokyo: Bukkyō Daijiten Hakkōjo, 1831–36), Vol. 3, 2563b–2563a.

81. T. 901: 18.845b2–849b3. Fascicle 8 is devoted to the Vajra deity Amṛta Kuṇḍalin 金剛阿蜜哩多軍荼利菩薩 and fascicle 9 to Ucchuṣmā 金剛烏樞沙摩.

82. T. 901: 18.851a23–b26.

83. T. 901: 18.843c–844a.

84. T. 901: 18.844a12.

85. T. 901: 18.844b15.

86. T. 901: 18.844b28.

87. Similar lists of spells appear in the sūtras on the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara discussed above and in many of the dhāraṇī sūtras discussed in part II below.

88. T. 901: 18.844b16–27.

89. The term “Five Grains” appears frequently in early Chinese sources, often listing different sets of “grains.” The term became a part of the formulaic description of water pots in Esoteric Buddhist initiatiovn rituals.

90. T. 901: 18.844b16–27; 851a24–c4.

91. T. 901: 18.851b23.

92. T. 901: 18.851b26–28.

93. In the *Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* (T.1332) and the opening narrative of the *Sūtra of the Divine Spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara* (T. 1070), spells are identified according to the deities who transmit them. In other

and probably later examples the deities appear to those who recite the spells and grant their wishes (e.g., T. 901: 18.786a26); they also promise to protect those who recite the spells (e.g., T. 901: 18.809a3–5).

94. Above, in examining dhāraṇīs affiliated with Avalokiteśvara, I suggested that the untranslatable spells that typically follow the formula *tadyathā* must originally have lacked association with specific deities.

95. T. 901: 18.817c27–29; 842c21–23.

96. T. 901: 18.886b1–3.

97. T. 901: 18.886b2.

98. In the discussion of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala in fasc. 12, “water maṇḍala” is first mentioned as a maṇḍala made for the purpose of repentance and healing (T. 901: 18.886b1–2). In a later passage commenting on the central deity for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala, a water maṇḍala for healing is listed separately from that for overnight repentance (T. 901: 18.888b13). Again, the term “water maṇḍala” appears to have been used rather loosely.

99. T. 901: 18.808a25, 28.

100. T. 901: 18.848a10–15.

101. T. 901: 18.837c23; 856a3–4.

102. T. 901: 18.817c27 and 871b11. As noted above, different types of maṇḍalas are discussed in some detail in the opening section of fascicle 12, T. 901: 18.886a29–b8.

103. T. 901: 18.817c26–27.

104. T. 901: 18.842c20–21.

105. T. 901: 18.881c22–24.

106. In some instructions images are mentioned, but their status seems somewhat qualified. Two examples exist of a water maṇḍala prepared before painting images of specific deities. In one the ritualist recites a Prajñā[pāramitā] spell 108 times inside the maṇḍala over the silk cloth on which the painting is to be made (T. 901: 18.805b2). In the other the painter paints the image of Hayagrīva while remaining inside the maṇḍala (T. 901: 18.837c25). In these cases, though a nuanced connection between maṇḍalas and images is established, no images appear to have existed as a part of the maṇḍala itself.

107. T. 901: 18.817c27–29; 842c21–23; 786a6; 862a29.

108. T. 901: 18.817c28–29. T. 901: 18.842c22 only mentions water, though later the use of willow branches is described. T. 901: 18.862a29 mentions that a pot containing Five Grains is placed at the maṇḍala’s center; plates of food and lamps are arranged on the maṇḍala (T. 901: 18.862b2). The mouth of the pot is covered using different kinds of leaves and branches (T. 901: 18.786a7).

109. T. 901: 18.796a23 (to bless the medicine); 805b2–3 (over the silk on which the painting of the deity is made); T. 901: 18.817c29; T. 901: 18.842c22, 26; T. 901: 18.881c25.

110. T. 901: 18.826b20–21.

111. T. 901: 18.851b5–6; ref., T. 901: 18.844b19.

112. T. 901: 18.851b18–21; T. 901: 18.844b24–27.

113. T. 901: 18.851b6–7.
114. T. 901: 18.856a4–6.
115. T. 901: 18.856a6; T. 901: 18.847c11–13.
116. T. 901: 18.838a24–b2.
117. T. 901: 18.865b13–16.
118. T. 901: 18.871a19–23.
119. T. 901: 18.809a29–b4.
120. T. 901: 18.880b19–29.
121. T. 901: 18.873a2–4.
122. For Amitābha, T. 901: 18.801c11; for Śākyamuni Buddha in the first maṇḍala described for Prajñāpāramitā, T. 901: 18.808a6; for Avalokiteśvara (in the succinct or *suixin/upaḥṛdaya* teaching), T. 901: 18.827a24; and for Bhṛkuṭi, T. 901: 18.832a24.
123. For an example of a very simple maṇḍala, T. 901: 18.848a20–22.
124. Here again I am presenting a conceptual model for analytical purposes. In practice, and in history, rituals would have often been performed in abbreviated and simplified forms and instructions for them written accordingly. Nevertheless, I propose to interpret more complex rituals by breaking them down into simpler units and to interpret the evolution of complex forms as a process in which simpler units grew as other relatively simple units were attached to them (in the absence of compelling reasons not to do so).
125. T. 901: 18.844b15–27 and T. 901: 18.851a23–b26.
126. T. 901: 18.832a17–b14.
127. T. 901: 18.832a22. This seven-day ceremony must be the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony for Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara described in fasc. 4 (T. 901: 18.813c9–816c6).
128. T. 901: 18.832a24–28.
129. T. 901: 18.832b4.
130. T. 901: 18.827a5–6. The *suixin* (J: *zuishin*) spell, also called *xinzhongxin* 心中心 (J: *shinchūshin*) mantra is explained in *Mikkyō Daijiten* (1319, 1294) as one of the three forms of the mantra of a deity: the root mantra, *xin* (“heart” or “essence”) mantra, and *xinzhongxin* (“essence of essence”) mantra. The *suixin* mantra is the most succinct form of the spell. This form of the Avalokiteśvara mantra is discussed in some detail in Yasumoto Tsuyoshi, “*Girugitto chiiki tarupan no darani kokubunn to kannon zuishiju ni tsuite* ギルギット地域 タルパンの陀羅尼刻文と観音く随心呪について——観音信仰からターラー信仰へ,” 10–34. The reference to the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* passage appears on 16–18 in this article.
131. T. 901: 18.832b4–5. Ref., T. 901: 18.827b23.
132. Entries 6, 7 and 8 in fasc. 5, at T. 901: 18.827a10–b25, present Avalokiteśvara’s *suixin* mudrā and spell, and entries 6 and 8 each describes a four-*hasta* water maṇḍala. These maṇḍalas appear to be closely related to the healing maṇḍala described in T. 901: 18.832a17–b14, discussed here.
133. T. 901: 18.832b5.

134. The maṇḍala described at T. 901:18.827a21–25 is also said to be constructed at the time of a solar and lunar eclipse (T. 901:18.827a21).

135. T. 901: 18.832a19–22; 832b10.

136. T. 901: 18.832b13–14.

137. T. 901: 18.832b4–5. The instruction that after the recitation, the spell master should maintain a mudrā until the efficacy is demonstrated suggests that the some sort of miraculous demonstration is anticipated.

138. The deity variously designated as Vajra (T. 901: 18.844b19; 851b5), Vajra King (T. 901: 18.844b26), bodhisattva Vajra (T. 901: 18.851b14), and Vajragarbha King (T. 901: 18.851b20) is the central deity of the maṇḍala.

139. T.901: 18.866b15.

140. This entry describes further effects of this ritual to the Vajra deity Ucchuṣma. After the efficacy is demonstrated, the practitioner is to construct another maṇḍala high up in remote mountains (T. 901: 18.866b18). The practitioner recites the spell 100,000 times and then calls in a loud voice for the gates of Immortals and *asuras* to open. Pieces of turnip are prepared, and combining each with his own blood, the practitioner burns them one by one in fire, altogether 8,000 times. Then female *asuras* and Immortals appear, and the practitioner is rejuvenated and after 1,000 years will be reborn in Tuṣita heaven (T. 901: 18.866b25).

141. T. 901: 18.848a3–4.

142. For Buddhōṣṇīṣa, T. 901: 18.794b18–27; Amitābha, T. 901: 18.802a17–b3; Prāññāpāramitā, T. 901: 18.808a23–b10; for Avalokiteśvara, T. 901: 18.819a15–b17 in addition to the passage in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony for the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, T. 901: 18.816a20–27.

143. T. 901: 18.857b24–29. In these instructions the chair placed in the middle of the *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala is mentioned, a detail that appears in the instruction for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala in fasc. 4 (T. 901: 18.816a11), but not in the other instructions in the first four fascicles.

144. T. 901: 18. 851b22–25; 871b2–4.

145. T. 901: 18.847c4–848a17.

146. The spell is transcribed at T. 901: 18.846a17–20, where it is given as *xinfa zhou* 心法咒. I translate “*xin Zhou*” (心咒; T. 901: 18.847c7, 27) as “heart spell,” taking “heart” to mean “essence.” Another possible translation may be “mind spell,” as contrasted with the “body mudrā” (*shenzhou* 身印; T. 901: 18.846a23).

147. T. 901: 18.847c12–13.

148. T. 901: 18.847c16–20, where the image is described in greater detail.

149. Ref., T. 901: 18.832a29–b1.

150. One *chi* is about 30 cm.

151. T. 901: 18.848a3–4. This may be an early reference to the practice of visualization, though the term “contemplation,” *guan*, is not used here. In the fasc. 12 ceremony the *ācārya* is instructed to call the fire deity into the hearth and then mentally note that the fire deity comes out and sits at the side of the

hearth (T. 901: 18.891c29–892a2). Sometimes the lotus flower is painted inside the hearth (T. 901: 18.851b12; 884b10).

152. T. 901: 18.848a18–19.

153. T. 901: 18.848a20–26.

154. This appears to be the “root” spell for this deity.

155. T. 901: 18.847b25–c2.

156. T. 901: 18.847b23.

157. These *mudrās* are grouped together as a unit in the interlinear note, T. 901: 18.846b14.

158. T. 901: 18.847b26–27.

159. T. 901: 18.847c2–3; 848a17.

160. In fascicle 4 the instruction for making the image of Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara appears apart from the instruction for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala, toward the end of the fascicle and after the fifty-two entries on *mudrās* and spells.

161. In many entries the instruction for painting the image appears at the beginning and the maṇḍala ritual instruction at the end, following the numbered instructions on specific *mudrās* and spells. In fasc. 1 the instruction for painting the image of Buddhōṣṇiṣa appears first in the Buddha’s instruction on Buddhōṣṇiṣa ritual (T. 901: 18.785c18–786a3); a clearly marked instruction for an eight-*hasta* Buddhōṣṇiṣa maṇḍala ritual appears at the end (T. 901: 18.793a25–795a1). The instruction for painting the image of Prajñāpāramitā is at the beginning of the entry for this deity (T. 901: 18.805abc); the maṇḍala instruction is given at the end (T. 901: 18.808a–810a). But this pattern is not followed consistently. The instruction for making the image of Hayagrīva, for example, is immediately followed by the instruction for the maṇḍala ritual (T. 901: 18.837c–838b). The instruction for painting the image of Kuṇḍalin is incorporated into the instruction for the maṇḍala ritual (T. 901: 18.856bc).

162. T. 901: 18.805b3.

163. For example, T. 901: 18.800b17–c3; 805a29–b8; 832c13–14; 837c20–25.

164. The practice of placing certain ritual implements around the central deity on the maṇḍala may also have highlighted certain distinguishing iconographic features of the deity, though more crudely than in detailed instructions for painting images. In the later recasting the All-Gathering Maṇḍala was a ritual confirmed by yogic visualization; knowing in detail the iconographic details of deities may have become more crucial.

165. Statues are described only exceptionally, and are relatively small and mostly made of wood.

166. T. 901: 18.805a29–c20.

167. T. 901: 18.805b1. One *fu* was two *chi* and two *cun* (49.5 cm) in early sources.

168. The spell is transcribed at 806c29–807a15.

169. T. 901: 18.805b12.

170. T. 901: 18.805b16.



171. The term *xiang* appears at T.901: 18.805b20; 805b25; 805c5.
172. T. 901: 18.805c15. Ref., T. 901: 18. 811a26–b3.
173. Ref., T. 901: 18.805c16; 811b4–7.
174. T. 901: 18.805c17.
175. Sarvabuddhoṣṇīṣa (T. 901: 18.795b6–18), Amitābha (T. 901: 18.800c7–9), Prajñāpāramitā (T. 901: 18.805b20–c2), Avalokiteśvara (T. 901: 18.828a28–b5), Bhṛkuṭi (T. 901: 18.832c14–15), Mañjuśrī (T. 901: 18.839a6–11), and Lakṣmī (T. 901: 18.876a21–22).
176. T. 901: 18.805c8 and 839a13.
177. In the ritual preparation of the painter: T. 901: 18.805b2, 837c23, 864a23, and after the completion of the painting: T. 901: 18.786a6, 805c12, 857a4. 864b27.
178. T. 901: 18.785c16–786B4. Another more detailed instruction for this, or a closely related, deity, Sarvabuddhoṣṇīṣa, appears at the beginning of fascicle 2, T. 901: 18.795A20–796a12.
179. Sometimes with the Kuṇḍalin mudrā and pegs, as for Amitābha (T. 901: 18.801a5–14); and for Kuṇḍalin (T. 901: 18.856c24–28).
180. For Buddhoṣṇīṣa (T. 901: 18.786a5); Prajñāpāramitā (T. 901: 18.805c10–11); Kuṇḍalin (T. 901: 18.857a1–2); ref., Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, though here no maṇḍala is mentioned (T. 901: 18.824c3).
181. For Prajñāpāramitā (T. 901: 18.805c11–12); Kuṇḍalin (T. 901: 18.856c19–23).
182. For Buddhoṣṇīṣa, T. 901: 18.786a6–21; Amitābha, T. 901: 18.801b4; Kuṇḍalin, T. 901: 18.857a7–19; ref., Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, T. 901: 18.824c3–11.
183. For Buddhoṣṇīṣa, T. 901: 18.786a20.
184. For Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, T. 901: 18.824c13–18.
185. For Buddhoṣṇīṣa, T. 901: 18.786a26–b4; Five yakṣas, T. 901: 18.869a21–29; ref., Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, T. 901: 18.824c19–22; Mañjśrī, T. 901: 18.839a29–b1.
186. T. 901: 18.856b16–857c1.
187. T. 901: 18.856c19.
188. C: *chanhui zuizhang shoufa daochang* 懺悔罪障受法道場, T. 901: 18.856c22–23.
189. A similar rite is described for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony in fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.888a27.
190. T. 901: 18.857a9.
191. T. 901: 18.857a10–11.
192. T. 901: 18.857a18.
193. T. 901: 18.857a19.
194. T. 901: 18.857a23.
195. T. 901: 18.857a24. Ref., T. 901: 18.815b16–c11. Elements of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony appear to have been imported into this ritual for one individual deity.

196. T. 901: 18.857a24–b24 abbreviates T. 901: 18.811a20–812b7.

197. T. 901: 18.857a25–27. These deities appear to have been invited to the maṇḍala, though, as noted above, only the image of Kuṇḍalin is placed on the maṇḍala.

198. *Yiqie gongyang zhi yin* 一切供養之印. T. 901:18.857b1. Ref., T. 901: 18.811a25–27. In fascicle 3 the mudrā is first called *yique gongyang yin* 一切供養印 and then immediately renamed as *pugongyang yin* 普供養印 (T. 901: 18.811a26–27). In both passages the spell to be pronounced with the mudrā is the reproduced in virtually identical transcription (T. 901: 18. 857b3–4; 811a29–b1). The spell is also reproduced in the instruction for the All-Gathering Ceremony in fasc. 12, where it is called the divine spell for Vajragarbha Kuṇḍalin (T. 901: 18.892b18–19).

199. The Prajñāpāramitā mudrā, in different variations, is given in entry 1 of the Prajñāpāramitā section (T. 901: 18.805c19–806a17); the Prajñāpāramitā repentance mudrā and its use are described in T. 901: 18.806b4–10. Ref., T. 901: 18.811b3–8.

200. T. 901: 18.857b7–9.

201. T. 901: 18.857b9–13.

202. This appears to be the long spell transcribed in entry 14 of the Prajñāpāramitā section (T. 901: 18.806c29–807a15). Ref., T. 901: 18.812a15. The version of the instruction in fasc. 3 describes the use of rosary in some detail (T. 901: 18.811c8–812a15).

203. T. 901: 18.857b14. In fasc. 3 the categories of the deities are listed (“the buddhas, bodhisattvas, Vajra deities, heavenly deities,” T. 901: 18.812a19).

204. T. 901: 18.857b14–22. Short heart spells of Pajñāpāramitā are given in entry 19 of the Pajñāpāramitā section (T. 901: 18. 807c7–9). This instruction elaborates on a brief passage in fasc. 3 (T. 901: 18.812a14–16).

205. T. 901: 18.857b28–29; ref., T. 901: 18.816b23–24.

206. T. 901: 18.857c1.

#### 4. THE FORMATION OF THE ALL-GATHERING CEREMONY

1. The All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony is described in detail in the appendix.

2. T. 901: 18.886b8–14.

3. T. 901: 18.799c4–6 and 809a24–26. Rituals for Sixteen Yakṣas occupies the second half of the section for Prajñāpāramitā initiation (T. 901: 18.808c7–806c15).

4. T. 901: 18.856c19–21.

5. T. 901: 18.886b26–c6.

6. T. 901: 18.814a6–7.

7. For example, in the description of the maṇḍala for Sixteen Yakṣas (T. 901: 18.809a26–27); in the healing maṇḍala of Bhṛkūti (T. 901: 18.832a22–23); in the Hayagrīva maṇḍala ritual (T. 901: 18.838a20).

8. T. 901: 18.886c16–17; 814a15. The phrase “seven jewels,” or *sapta-ratna*, appears frequently in Buddhist scriptures, though often different sets of precious substances are named.

9. T. 901: 18.793a26.

10. T. 901: 18.808b29–c1.

11. T. 901: 18.801a5–7 and 856c24–27.

12. T. 901: 18.801a 7–13; 856c27–28.

13. T. 901: 18.887b5–c7; ref. T. 901: 18.a814a24–b15.

14. T. 901: 18.793a27–794a9.

15. T. 901: 18.809a27–29 and 857a7–8.

16. T. 901: 18.887c7; 814b16–20.

17. Fasc. 7, T. 901: 18.847c4–848a19.

18. T. 901: 18.847c22–25. Ref., fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.889b15–21, c25–28; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815b21–28.

19. T. 901: 18.847c25. Ref., fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.891c27; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b23.

20. T. 901: 18. 848a11. Ref., fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.889a29–b1; 891c13; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a20.

21. T. 901: 18.848a13–15. Ref., fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.891c19; 892b25–c2; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a24–25.

22. T. 901: 18.853a4–b28. In fasc. 8 the ritual is described in considerable detail. A mudrā, slightly modified for each zone, is directed to the ground, pointed in the four directions, and finally held above the ritualist’s head (for the sky, or “empty space”). As it is directed to the ground, the spell given in entry 6 is repeated seven times, and this is said to banish all demons from the ground and underground, all the way to the very bottom of the universe. As the spell in entry 7 is repeated seven times, the modified mudrā is pointed in the four directions, and the ritualist turns clockwise following the sun; all *yakṣas* and demons flee. And as the again slightly modified mudrā is placed above the ritualist’s head and he turns clockwise three times, repeating the spell given in this entry seven times, all ghosts and demons in the sky, all the way to the top of the universe, scatter.

23. T. 901: 18.810a23–811a25.

24. 道場法壇之會, T. 901: 18. 853b6. Ref., 813c23 (七日七夜都大道場法壇之會).

25. The expression 結界辟除 also appears in fascicle 3, T. 901: 18.814a2.

26. For example, at T. 901: 18.886b26; 886c26; 889b12; 814a1920; 815b17.

27. T. 901: 18.886a14. Ref., T. 901: 18.813c20.

28. T. 901: 18.833c5–17.

29. T. 901: 18.887c10 and 834a8–9. Ref., Hatta, mantra 43, *Shingon Jiten* 真言事典 (Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1985), 36; *Mikkyo Daijiten*, 1821c.

30. T. 901: 18.892b13 and T. 901: 18.806b4–10. The rite of offering and repentance associated with Prajñāpāramitā was discussed above in the examination of the Kuṇḍalin initiation ceremony.

31. Whereas in the instruction in fasc. 12 the ceremony appears to take place inside a monastic building, in fasc. 4 the ceremony appears to take place outdoors. Certain rites are assigned to different days. For example, most of the rites assigned to day 3 in fasc. 12 are assigned to day 4 in fasc. 4. The rite of outlining the maṇḍala carried out on day 5 in fasc. 12 is assigned to day 6 in fasc. 4.

32. It appears significant in this connection that, in the passage that lists the deities who can serve as the central deity, Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara is named specifically (except for Prajñāpāramitā, other references are to categories of deities). In contrast, in the instruction for the 16-*hasta* maṇḍala the listing of possible central deities does not single out the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara but refers more broadly to the category of bodhisattvas. In this instruction the choice of central deity is left to the patron; T. 901: 18.894a28–29.

33. T. 901: 18.889c23–24.

34. T. 901: 18.816b20; 892b9–10.

35. Curious references to Avalokiteśvara appear elsewhere as well, for example, in T. 901: 18.890c26, 891b15, as noted above.

36. T. 1070; 1071; 1069.

37. *Shiyimian Guanshiyin shenzhou jing* 十一面觀世音神咒經, T. 1070.

38. Atikūṭa also kept Yaśogupta's translation of the instruction on the preparation of the image and the ritual to be performed before it (T. 1070: 20.150c20–151b15) but separate from the entry on the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony; he appended them after the 52 numbered entries on specific mudrās and dhāraṇīs (T. 901: 18.824b10–825a12; ref., 816c7 and 824b10). The instruction on the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony concludes explicitly at 816c6. As noted above, the version of Yaśogupta's translation reproduced in *Taiśhō* ends with a curious colophon explaining that the sūtra was translated from a 100,000-verse work called the *Sūtra of the Divine Spells of the Great Vajra Practice Ground*, a title that also appears as the source of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. A now lost connection may have existed between these two works.

39. T. 901: 18.813c9–816c6.

40. The instruction that describes the All-Gathering Ceremony in fasc. 4 identifies the central deity explicitly as the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara (T. 901: 18.815a12).

41. The ritual rules for Bhṛkūti (T. 901: 18.832a22) and Kuṇḍalin (T. 901: 18.857a24), for example, are modeled after those for Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara.

42. T.848: 18.4a10–17b8. The Chinese version of this sūtra, dated 724–725, is translated by Rolf Giebel as the *Vairōcanaḥisambodhi Sutra* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2005).

43. T. 865. This work was translated by Rolf Giebel as “The Adamantine Pinnacle: The Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgata and the Realization

of the Great Vehicle, Being the Sūtra of the Great King of Teachings” in *Two Esoteric Sutras* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2001).

44. T. 865: 18.216c21–219a28. This initiation ceremony is described in greater detail in Vajrabodhi’s earlier translation, *Jingangding yuqiezhong lüechu nian-song jing* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (T. 866).

45. Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*, 26, also 25; T. 865: 18.208b1, 11.

46. See Mikkyō Daijiten entry on “Toedan mandara” noted above, 1673.

47. Marko Geslani first called my attention to this ritual.

48. The ceremony is described briefly in J. Gonda, *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion* (The Hague: Mouton, 1965), 395–97, and *Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View* (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 93–96. See also P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Poona, 1962), Vol. V, Part II, 792–98. Marko Geslani proposes a new reading of this ritual in “Śānti Rites in the Development of the Purāṇic Rājyābhiṣeka,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 55 (2012): 321–37724. See also “The Ritual Culture of Appeasement: Śānti Rites in Post-Vedic Sources” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2011), 162–68.

49. The term *samāgatāḥ*, or “all come together,” and related terms appear repeatedly in this context in the account of the Puṣyaśnāna in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. See Gelani, “Śānti Rites in the Development of the Purāṇic Rājyābhiṣeka,” 340.

50. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, 47: 82.

51. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, 47: 83.

52. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, 47: 85.

53. T. 901: 18.886a1–5.

54. A more elaborate version appears in the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, 86. This summary is discussed in Yasuhiro Tsuchiyama, “Abhiṣeka in the Vedic and Post-Vedic Rituals,” in *From Material to Deity: Indian Rituals of Consecration* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2005), 90–91.

55. For further details, see the appendix.

56. Buildings are also mentioned as a possible site: 47: 7, 13, 14.

57. T. 901: 18.886a5–7.

58. M. Ramakrishnan Bhat, *Virāhamihira’s Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (Delhi, 1981 [1995]), 409.

59. T. 901: 18.886b10–11.

60. Bhat, *Virāhamihira’s Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, 410; Yano Michio and Sugita Mizue, *Buritatto Sanhitā: Kodai Indo No Zenchō Uranai* ブリハット・サンヒター: 古代インドの前兆占い (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1995), 202–203.

61. T. 901: 18.886a13–25.

62. T. 901: 18.887c16–22.

63. At this point a spell cord is attached to the left arm of the candidate (T. 901: 18.888a3–4).

64. T. 901: 18.888a19.

65. T. 901: 18.888a20–27.

66. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, 47: 24–28.

67. *Brhatsaṃhitā*, 47: 29–33.
68. *Brhatsaṃhitā*, 47: 34–36.
69. T. 901: 887b5–c7. See appendix for details.
70. T. 901: 18.888a20–27.
71. T. 901: 18.888b2–6. In the instruction for Puṣyaśnāna in the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, chapter 86, the marking of the maṇḍala is described in detail, using “woolen or silk threads” (42, III, 1332) and five-colored powder or dust (44). The five-colored powder is described here as “rice powder, saffron dusts, turmeric powder, powder of green plants, and dust of collyrium; these are to be white, red, yellow, black, and green.” The rite of throwing the powder (dust) is described in considerable detail (46–49).
72. The arrangement of the seats is called the “Adornment of the Lower Part” (T. 901: 18.889a26–27).
73. T. 901: 18.888b7.
74. The preparation of the water pots and the use of the water in *abhiṣeka* are described in similar terms for the *śatābhiṣeka* in the *Bodhāyanagrhyasūtra* (Tsuchiyama, “*Abhiṣeka* in the Vedic and Post-Vedic Rituals,” 88–89). Also, ref., *Kālikāpurāṇa*, 58–94.
75. He is said to wear the five-colored spell cord on his arm and perform protective rites, marking the ritual space before proceeding to the preparation of these water pots (T. 901: 18.889b10–14).
76. T. 901: 18.889b20. Earlier, on day 2, Seven Jewels and Five Grains, wrapped in silk with a string attached, are to be buried in the small holes dug at the carefully marked ritual ground. The bags are covered with one end of the string showing above ground. These bags are never to be removed and mark the site as the place, made of Seven Jewels, where Mahāyāna is taught (T. 901: 18.886c15–24). The Seven Jewels and Five Grains are identified in detail in this passage, and the bags appear to be made exactly the same way as those that are attached to spell cords on day 6. Yet these two sets of bags are prepared separately at separate points in the ceremony.
77. T. 901: 18.887c7–12.
78. T. 901: 18.887c12–13.
79. “When the sun is to the west,” T. 901: 18.889c19.
80. T. 901: 18.889c22–23.
81. T. 901: 18.889c26.
82. T. 901: 18.891b29–c9.
83. T. 901: 18.891c12–19.
84. *Brhatsaṃhitā*, 47: 55–70.
85. T. 901: 18.891b15; ref., T. 901: 18.816a5; 827a3. Here Avalokiteśvara appears to represent the entire maṇḍala pantheon. This suggests that the central deity of this rite may originally have been Avalokiteśvara.
86. T. 901: 18.891b18–19. This spell is given slightly differently in fasc. 4, as the spell of Avalokiteśvara’s *samaya* (T. 901: 18.816a5).
87. T. 901: 18.891b20; T. 901: 18.816a8.

88. T. 901: 18.891b22–23; ref., T. 901: 18.816a9–10.
89. T. 901: 18.891c16.
90. T. 901: 18.891c17–19.
91. T. 901: 18.892a1–3; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816b2.
92. T. 901: 18.892a3; ref., fascicle 4, T. 901: 18.816b3.
93. T. 901: 18.892a8; ref., T. 901: 18.834a6–9.
94. T. 901: 18.892b9; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816b20; ref., T. 901: 18.817a1–27.
95. T. 901: 18.890a10–18.
96. See Shingo Einoo and Jun Takashima, eds., *From Material to Deity: Indian Rituals of Consecration* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2005).
97. Einoo's article is entitled "The Formation of Hindu Ritual," and appears in *From Material to Deity*, 7–49. The list of these texts appears on 9–10.
98. Einoo notes that "the tradition of building a mandapa in a ceremonial rite began with the prescription of the *Atharvavedaparisista* and was handed down through the Purāṇa texts," *From Material to Deity*, 20.
99. T. 901: 18.887a12.
100. T. 901: 18.889a26. The construction of the structure with bamboo poles and banners is mentioned in a variety of maṇḍala initiation ritual instructions in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, for example, in fasc. 1 (T. 901: 18.786c22–787a3). This structure is described only briefly in the other shorter instruction for the All-Gathering Ceremony in fasc. 4.
101. T. 901: 18.887a10. The use of logs in the fasc. 12 instructions may represent an elaboration of the better-known practice of marking the ritual space with bamboo poles.
102. The correlation between colors and directions reflects Chinese five-agent symbolism. The interlinear note at this point speaks of knowing the *qi* 氣 of the rulers of the five directions (T. 901: 18.887a16). This part of the instructions is intended for a Chinese audience, and suggests that the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony in fasc. 12 was adapted to a Chinese context.
103. "The Formation of Hindu Ritual," 16–18. The form of the pavilion was not rigidly fixed. Einoo also gives a simpler and earlier form from *Mānavagṛhyasūtra* 2.6.4 (19). This simpler form may be compared with the accounts of simpler structures mentioned repeatedly in the first eleven fascicles of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*.
104. T. 901: 18.886b22–25; 889c9–10; 890b10–11.
105. T. 901: 18.887b2.
106. Marko Geslani, "The Ritual Culture of Appeasement: *Śānti* Rites in Post-Vedic Sources" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2011); "Appeasement and Atone-ment in the *Mahādānas*, the Hindu 'Great Gifts,'" *Journal Asiatique* 299, no. 1 (2011): 133–92; "Śānti Rites in the Development of the Purāṇic Rājyābhiṣeka," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 55 (2012): 321–77.
107. A separate chapter is devoted to this topic in Daoxuan's (596–667) vinaya commentary, *Notes on the Four-Part Vinaya, Redundancies Removed and Gaps Filled [With Explanations in Other Vinayas]*, Sifenlü Shanfan Buque

*xingshichao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, T. 1804: 40.14a18–18a16. This commentary, dated to 630 C.E., is roughly contemporary with the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*.

108. T. 1335: 21.569b15.

109. The term “auspiciousness,” *dajiyi*, in the title of this sūtra might translate something like *svastyayana*, a term used elsewhere to describe a daily ritual of protection for kings. I discussed this sūtra in the forthcoming article “Dhāraṇī and Visions in Early Esoteric Buddhist Sources in Chinese Translation,” special issue of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies: Mantra and Dhāraṇī in the Religious Traditions of Asia*, ed. Michael Willis (forthcoming).

110. The appendix marks the points at which these rites are prescribed in the All-Gathering Ceremony.

111. T. 901: 18.886a26–28; 814a2. This outline of the ceremony follows the account in fasc. 12; corresponding references to the shorter account in fasc. 4 are noted in parentheses.

112. T. 901: 18.886b26.

113. T. 901: 18.886c7.

114. T. 901: 18.886c26; 814a16–20.

115. T. 901: 18.886c27; 814a18.

116. T. 901: 18.886c28–29.

117. T. 901: 18.887b4; 814b27.

118. T. 901: 18.814c9.

119. T. 901: 18.887c17–888a3; 814c3–9. In 887c23–26 and 814c3–6 the protective rite may be performed with the Kuṇḍalin spell and mudrā, though this deity is not explicitly named. The same rite is then said to be repeated with the Hayagrīva mudrā and spell.

120. T. 901: 18.889b5.

121. T. 901: 18.889b10–14; 815b16–20.

122. T. 901: 18.890c9–16.

123. T. 901: 18.891a13–22.

124. The rite of protecting one’s body also appears in the Kuṇḍalin section in fasc. 8 (18.852b28–c5).

125. T. 901: 18.815c27–29.

126. T. 901: 18.886a21–22.

127. T. 901: 18.833c5.

128. T. 901: 18.886a27–28. The Kuṇḍalin passage in fascicle 8 is found at T. 901: 18.853a4–b27. The same passage on the threefold scheme also appears in fasc. 2, in the section for the deity Prajñāpāramitā (T. 901: 18. 810a and b). Here, as in fasc. 8, three entries on marking the boundary (on the ground, in the four directions, and in the sky) are preceded by the entry on removing Vināyakas using the Kuṇḍalin rite. Ref., for Bhṛkūṭi maṇḍala, T. 901: 18.829c16–830a11; Śṛṅghalā, 846c15; Ucchuṣma, 864c2–865a13; Marīci, 871a5–9; also, in the section for the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara, 824b3–10.

129. This may have occurred as the All-Gathering Ceremony evolved from a ceremony dominated by the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara to a more compre-



hensive one in which the deities of the Vajra group also took part. I discussed this development in some detail in chapter 3. In the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* Hayagrīva is classified as an Avalokiteśvara deity; Amṛta Kuṇḍalin belongs to the Vajra group.

130. In the shorter account of the All-Gathering Ceremony in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtra*, fasc. 5, the Kuṇḍalin rite is repeatedly qualified by the threefold scheme of ground, four directions, and sky, 814a18–19; 815b18.

131. Geslani, “Ritual Culture of Appeasement,” 66.

132. T. 901: 18.853b6–27.

133. T. 901: 18.852c20; 853b26.

134. T. 901: 18.886a29–b1. See also T. 901: 18.897b12–17.

135. Ronald Davidson, for example, reads the Esoteric Buddhist tradition as contrasting the “institutional esotericism,” supported by the royal court, with the “non-institutional or even anti-institutional” *siddha* tradition; *Indian Esoteric Buddhism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 113–16.

## 5. DHĀRAṆĪ SŪTRAS AND THEIR EVOLUTION IN ESOTERIC SŪTRAS TRANSLATED BY BODHIRUCI

1. Robert Sharf subjected the term “visualization” to critical examination in his 2001 article, “Visualization and Mandala in Shinogon Buddhism.” Eric Greene discusses the genealogy of this term in his 2012 dissertation, “Meditation, Repentance, and Visionary Experience in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism,” chapter 3, 146–98. “Visualization” is an interpretive translation that does not correspond to one specific Sanskrit or Chinese term, but is introduced to describe a distinctive practice in passages where a variety of terms are used in a technical sense.

2. Many of these sūtras are no longer preserved in Sanskrit, so their Sanskrit titles remain unknown. For some the Sanskrit titles can be inferred from the corresponding Tibetan translations, which reproduce the Sanskrit title in transcription. For one of the sūtras to be examined in detail below (T. 1006), for example, the Tibetan translation gives the Sanskrit title as “Ārya Mahāmaṇi-vipulavimānasupratīṣṭhitaguhyaparamarahasyakalparāja-nāma-dhāraṇī” (Tōhoku no. 506). That title’s ending appears to have been translated in Chinese as if it had been “dhāraṇī sūtra.” Similar examples of works in the *Taishō* collection whose Sanskrit titles can be surmised, from the existing Tibetan translations, as ending in “dhāraṇī” include T. 918/919 *Zhufo xinyin tuoluoni jing* 諸佛心陀羅尼經 (Tōhoku no. 514); T. 1008 *Putichang zhuangyan tuoluoni jing* 菩提場莊嚴陀羅尼經 (Tōhoku no. 508); T. 1009, 1011–1018 *Chusheng wubianmen tuoluoni jing* 出生無邊門陀羅尼經, etc. (Tōhoku no. 525); T. 1024 *Wugou jingguang datuoluoni jing* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 (Tōhoku no. 510); T. 1346 *Zhufo jihui tuoluoni jing* 諸佛集會陀羅尼經 (Tōhoku no. 513); T. 1360 *Liumen tuoluoni jing* 六門陀羅尼經

(Tōhoku no. 526); T. 1387 *Zhantanxiang shen tuoluoni jing* 栴檀香身陀羅尼經 (Tōhoku no. 518); T. 1409 *Sheng Zuisheng tuoluoni jing* 聖最勝陀羅尼經 (Tōhoku no. 542). For T. 1023 *Yiqie rulai zhengfa mimiqie yin xintuoluni jing* 一切如來正法祕密篋印心陀羅尼經 (Tōhoku no. 507) the transcribed Sanskrit title in the Tibetan translation ends with *dhāraṇī mahāyāna sūtra*, thus defining the work as a sūtra, just as does the Chinese ending “*tuoluonijing*.”

3. Dhāraṇī sūtras are discussed from a different viewpoint in Jacob Dalton’s forthcoming article, “How Dhāraṇīs WERE Proto-Tantric: Liturgies, Ritual Manuals, and the Origins of the Tantras,” in *Tantric Traditions on the Move* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

4. T. 1070: 20.149a19–20; 149c27–150a4.

5. T. 901: 18.785b7 and T. 901: 18.800a3, 804c12, 869b22, 874b24.

6. For example, T. 901: 18.785b9–c15; 800a4–9; 804c13–15; 841a5–9; 877b5–10.

7. T. 901: 18.785b9–c15, 804c13–15, 812b16–17, 841a5–9, and 877b5–10 respectively.

8. For example, T. 901: 18.793a25–795a1; 795a20–796a12; 808a4–809b8; 828a18–c29; 841b25–842c1; 856b16–877c1.

9. *Kaiyuan Catalogue*, fasc. 9, T. 2154: 55.569b23–c10; 570a28–b2. Bodhiruci reached Loyang in 693, during the reign of Empress Wu (624–705), and is known particularly as the translator of the massive *Dabaoji jing* 大寶積經 in 120 fascicles (T. 310), completed in 713. For recent studies on the biography of Bodhiruci, see Antonino Forte, “The South Indian Monk Bodhiruci (d. 727). Biographical Evidence,” in *A Life Journey to the East: Sinological Studies in Memory of Giuliano Bertuccioli (1923–2001)*, ed. Antonino Forte and Federico Masini (Kyoto: Scuola Italiana di Studi sull’Asia Orientale, 2002), 77–116; Timothy H. Barrett, “Stūpa and Śarīra in China, 656–706 C.E.,” *Buddhist Studies Review* 18, no. 1 (2001): 1–64; Chen, Jinhua, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang (643–712)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 232–38.

10. The *Kaiyuan Catalogue* gives the name of the disciple as Banruoqiū 般若丘 (T. 2154: 55.569b22–c10). In the *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks*’s more detailed description of the translation team for the *Dabaoji jing*, Banruoqiū’s name is given as Banruoquduo 波若屈多, phonetically transcribing Prajñākūṭa (*Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, T. 2061: 50.720b19).

11. T. 1007.

12. T. 1005. Matsumura Hisashi 松村恒 identified a fragmentary Sanskrit manuscript from Gilgit as a part of this scripture in “Girugitto shoden no mikkyō zuzō bunken ギルキット所伝の密教図像文献,” *Mikkyō Zuzō* 密教図像 no. 2 (1983): 71–79. See also Tsukamoto Keishō 塚本啓祥, Matsunaga Yūkei 松長有慶, and Isoda Hrofumi 磯田熙文, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV (Kyoto: Heirakusha, 1989), 68–69. A Tibetan translation of this scripture also exists, given in note 2 above (Tōhoku no. 506).

13. T. 1083.

14. T. 952.

15. T. 950.
16. For example, T. 1080: 20. 188b23–24.
17. T. 1006: 19.639c15–641c4, T. 951: 19.226b4–27. One passage in the *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin Sūtra* lists Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and the Vajra deity as especially protected by the Buddha (T. 951: 19.225c28–29; ref., 264b3–4, 194a26–27). These deities appear also to compete as leading figures in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, as noted above.
18. An inordinate amount of attention is given to fire offering in the *Mouli Sūtra*, and is abbreviated in Bodhiruci's translation.
19. Chapter 8, T. 951, 19.246a24–256c1.
20. T. 2154, 55.569 c3–4. Bodhiruci's translation was produced with assistance of the East Indian monk Yisheluo 伊舍羅 (later, in 723, this monk is said to have also assisted Vajrabodhi at the Zishengsi 資聖寺 (T. 2061: 50.712a4), and others, including a Chinese monk named Yunguan 雲觀, copied down the translation 筆受).
21. Bodhiruci's translation circulated in two versions. The editor of the *Taishō* collection notes that from one point on Bodhiruci's translation (T. 1006) as it appears in the Korean canon diverges significantly from the version that appears in the Song, Yuan, and Ming canons (T. 1006: 19.642, n. 7). The Korean canon and what are marked as Song, Yuan, and Ming canons in *Taishō* represent two separate printing traditions. Ref., Kōgen Mizuno, *Buddhist Sutras: Origin, Development, Transmission* (1982; reprint, Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 1995), 173–86. In the *Taishō* canon the Korean canon version is given first and the divergent part of the Song, Yuan, and Ming canon version is appended (T. 1006: 19.649c1–654a11, corresponding to 642b11–649b27).
22. T. 2154: 55.539a11–b4.
23. This suggested date may be a bit too early. The *Mouli Sūtra* describes rituals a good deal more complex and developed than those that appear in the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇī* (T. 1336), for which the same date is proposed in the *Kaiyuan Catalogue*.
24. T. 1007: 19.657c11–661a15.
25. T. 1007: 19.661a16–663b15.
26. T. 1007: 19.664a2–664b29 and T. 1007: 19.665a16–668b17 respectively.
27. T. 1007: 19.661a16.
28. T. 1007: 19.663a20.
29. I thank Jacob Dalton for identifying the original Sanskrit terms for these spell forms. The prefix “*upa*,” expressing nearness or resemblance, may be translated as “*sui*” 隨 in the Chinese expression *suixin*. The *suixin* spell is also known as *xinzhongxin* 心中心 “heart-of-heart” spell, *Mikkyō Daijiten*, 1319b, 1294a, 1302b. In *Dafangguang pusazang Wenshuli genben yigui jing* 大方廣菩薩藏文殊師利根本儀軌經 (T. 1191; dated to 1100), translating Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, the three forms of the mantra are called *genben zhenyan* 根本真言 (T. 1191: 20.835c1, *mūla*), *neixin zhenyan* 內心真言 (“inner heart,” T. 1191: 20.835c4; *S. paramahrdaya*), and *waixin zhenyan* 外心真言 (“outer heart,” T. 1191:

20.835c6, S: *upahr̥daya*). Horiuchi Kanjin 堀内 寛仁, “Monju giki kyō no kōgai-shutoshite kyō no setsumeī nitsuite, 文殊儀軌經の梗概—主として經の説明について,” *Mikkyō Bunka* 7 (1949): 37. No scholarly consensus on the date of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa appears to exist; see Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature* (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1989), vol. IV, 76. Matsunaga Yūkei argues, largely basing himself on other partial Chinese translations, that a part of this work, chapter 9 in the Chinese translation (T. 1191), must have existed by the end of the seventh century; see Matsunaga Yūkei, *Mikkyō Kyōten Seiritsu Shiron* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1989), 322. The two shorter forms are differently named in the translations of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī of Avalokiteśvara*, as “large-heart” (大心) dhāraṇī and “small-heart” (小心) dhāraṇī (T. 1080: 20.188c.27 and 189a.2); or “large-heart” spell and *suixin* spell (T. 1081: 20.196c15 and 17); or “body spell 身咒” and “mind spell 心咒” (T. 1082: 20.197c16 and 19).

30. Hirakawa, Akira, ed., *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary* (Tokyo: The Reiyukai, 1997) reconstructs 烏波囉大曼陀囉 as “utpala-mahā-maṇḍala” (751). In the present context, however, 烏波囉 may simply be transcribing *upahr̥daya*.

31. T. 1007: 19.657c11–24.

32. This term is explained as rice gruel, milk, and yogurt in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* (T901: 18.840a25–26).

33. T. 1007: 19.657c25–658b29.

34. T. 1007: 19.658b29.

35. The statement for the “heart maṇḍala” appears at T. 1007: 19.659a29–b1, and for the *upahr̥daya* maṇḍala at T. 1007: 19.661a3–4. Following “in this way” come the respective text of the spell to be recited: the root dhāraṇī at T. 1007: 19.658b29–c7; the spell for the *hr̥daya* maṇḍala at T. 1007: 19.659b1–2, and the spell for the *upahr̥daya* maṇḍala at T. 1007: 19.661a4–5.

Curiously, the *suixin* or *upahr̥daya* spell has also been transcribed earlier at T. 1007: 19.659b3–4. Nevertheless, the long section for the *upahr̥daya* maṇḍala properly begins with the statement “I will now speak of the merits of the *upahr̥daya* great maṇḍala” (T. 1007: 19.659b5) and ends with the “in this way” statement (T. 1007: 19.661a3). Likewise, “I will now speak of the merits” precedes an earlier instruction on the heart or *hr̥daya* maṇḍala (T. 1007: 19.658c9).

The Korean canon text reproduced in *Taishō* mistakenly calls the heart maṇḍala “Mouli,” whereas variant texts call it “Yuli” (T. 1007: 19.658, nn. 28, 29). The final summary speaks of the “Mouli maṇḍala, Yuli Great Maṇḍala, and *Uboluo* Great Maṇḍala” as “three spells” (T. 1007: 19.660c19–661a3). These three are also named at T. 1007: 19.661a19–20. Read in this way, “I will now speak of the merits” (T. 1007: 19.658c9) should end with the “in this way” statement at T. 1007: 19.659a29.

36. In the existing *Mouli Sūtra*, frequent irregularities appear. According to the basic scheme, each statement of the merits of the given maṇḍala (“in this way”) should be followed by the transcription of the apposite spell. But the text of the *suixin* spell (the shortest form; also called the *uboluo* or *upahr̥daya*

spell; T. 1007: 19.659b3–4) immediately follows the text of the heart spell (the second-longest; T. 1007: 19.659b1–2) with the passage on its merits coming *after* instead of before (T. 1007: 19.659b5–661a4). Conforming to the basic scheme, the transcription of the spell itself reappears, although worded slightly differently (T. 1007: 19.661a4–5; this sequence is interrupted by a long list of spells that appears to have been inserted later), following the passage on the spell's merits (T. 1007: 19.659b5–661a4). The *suixin* spell was also known as the *uboluo* spell. At T. 1007: 19.663b5 a later hand appears to have overwritten the three characters for *uboluo* with the two characters for *suixin*, so that the character *u* is separated from the characters for *bo* and *luo*. An editor might have failed to recognize the identity of *suixin* and *uboluo*.

37. T. 1007: 19.657c22–658b29; 658c9–659a29; 659b5–22.

38. T. 1007: 19.657c22–658b29; 658c9–659a29.

39. T. 1007: 19.658c9–26; 659b5–22.

40. T. 1007: 19.659b24–660c18.

41. This numbered list of spells is introduced somewhat abruptly and begins, incongruously, with the spell numbered six (for setting up the seat). A section that preceded it appears to be missing; the editor of the Korean version recognized this irregularity and observed in an interlinear note that the section was missing in all versions available to him (T. 1007: 19.659b24). This note is missing from the Song, Yuan, and Ming canons as well as from the version in a Japanese manuscript dated to 1210 C.E., consulted by the editor of the *Taishō* canon (T. 1007: 19.657, no. 7, and T. 1007: 19.659, no. 14). In the *Mouli Sūtra* this numbered list of spells appears in the *suixin* or *upahr̥daya* spell section (T. 1007: 19.659b22–660c18). Later in the *Mouli Sūtra* (T. 1007: 19.661a3), the *suixin* spell is introduced for the second time, and three separate spells marking early stages of the ceremony are introduced (T. 1007: 19.661a6, 11, 13). Only three spells appear here, and this passage may have been a part of the missing five entries in the preceding list of dhāraṇīs (T. 1007: 19.659b24–660c18). These observations suggest that a numbered list of the spells used in the course of the ceremony was incorrectly introduced in the preserved version of the *Mouli Sūtra*.

42. T. 1007: 19.661a16.

43. T. 1007: 19.661a27–9.

44. T. 1007: 19.661b1–5.

45. T. 1007: 19.661b20, c3.

46. T. 1007: 19.661c16.

47. T. 1007: 19.661c25.

48. T. 1007: 19.662a22.

49. T. 1007: 19.663a18.

50. I noted above a similar distinction in the section on the spells attributed to Vajragarbha in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*.

51. The spells in these two series do not appear to be correlated with each other.

52. T. 1007: 19.663a20–b15. These mudrās are designated as the “three mudrā teachings” (T. 1007: 19.663a22). This list of the maṇḍalas appears as “three spells” (T. 1007: 19.660c19–20). In the list of mudrās, in both cases of Yuli maṇḍala mudrā (T. 1007: 19.663a29) and Uboluo mudrā (T. 1007: 19.663b5) their alternate designations as *xinyin* 心印 and *suixin* respectively are inserted incorrectly into the names of the mudrās. This suggests, as noted above, that these designations were written as glosses over the original passage, and then were incorrectly incorporated into the text.

53. T. 1007: 19.663b16–664a2.

54. T. 1007: 19.664a2–b12.

55. T. 1007: 19.664a6 and T. 1007: 19.664a8, 13–14. The title “bodhisattva” for Mañvajra appears to be irregular.

56. T. 1007: 19.667b6–9. The deity to the left appears to be named “Vajrapani,” T. 1007: 19.667c1.

57. T. 1007: 19.659b2.

58. In a different context the Buddha is said to have instructed a Vajra deity to make offerings first to Vajra deities, and then to Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya (661a21–22).

59. T. 1007: 19.664b17–18.

60. T. 1007: 19.664c4–665a15.

61. T. 1007: 19.665a16–668b17.

62. Matsunaga Yūkei, *Mikkyō Kyōten Seiritsu Shiron*, 119.

63. The terms *xin* and *suixin* as applied to spells and mudrās appear in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, for example, *xin Zhou* 心咒, T. 901: 18.787a8; *xinyin Zhou* 心印咒, T. 901: 18.796a25, 825c13, 826c22, 834a4; *suixin* 隨心, T. 901: 18.849b4, 5, 11, 14, 17, 19, 22; *xinzhongxin* 心中心咒, T. 901: 18.787a22, 828a10.

64. T. 1006. As described in note 2, a Tibetan translation of this sūtra appears in the Derge canon (Tohoku no. 506). Ref., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, vol. IV, 68–69. Amoghavajra’s translation (T. 1005A) follows the phrasing in Bodhiruci’s translation closely in many places and may at least in part have been based on it.

65. T. 1005: 19.619b14–624a18.

66. T. 1006: 19.636c5–6.

67. T. 1006: 19.640c9–14.

68. T. 1006: 19.637a1.

69. T. 1006: 19.637c1–2.

70. T. 1006: 19.637b15, 637c20.

71. T. 1006: 19.637c27, 638a10–13.

72. T. 1006: 19.638b3–6.

73. T. 1006: 19.638b12.

74. The *Great Jewel Pavilion* reproduces the instruction on image painting of the *Mouli Sūtra* and mentions the same set of deities. T. 1006: 19.644a26–c13; T. 1006: 19.652b6–c23; ref., T. 1006: 19.651a15–b15.

75. T. 1006: 19.638c25.

76. T. 1006: 19.638b17.

77. T. 1006: 19.638b20.

78. T. 1006: 19.639a6.

79. T. 1006: 19.639b24.

80. T. 1006: 19.639b3–4.

81. T. 1006: 19.638c3–4.

82. T. 1007: 19.657c12.

83. T. 1006: 19.640c15.

84. T. 1007: 19.659b23–660c19 and T. 1006: 19.642b11–643b27.

85. In section 3, the presentation of the two shorter spells is followed by an instruction on the root spell that corresponds to the first extended ritual instruction in the *Mouli Sūtra* (T. 1007: 19.657c11–658b29). Section 4 of the *Great Jewel Pavilion Sūtra* corresponds to T. 1007: 19.658c9–659a29; sections 5 and 6 to T. 1007: 19.659b5–660c18.

86. Here I am following the Korean canon version of this text. In the version based on other printed canons separately reproduced in *Taishō*, a part of the section on mudrā appears as section 8; the numbering of subsequent sections is adjusted accordingly.

87. T. 1006: 19.651a10–c13.

88. T. 1007: 19.658b2–13 and 667a25–668b17.

89. T. 2154: 55.569b26–27. The Tohoku catalogue identifies no. 692/898 (53) as the Tibetan translation of this sūtra from Chinese (*kanbun zōyaku* 漢文蔵記, 119, 150). The translation does not mention the Sanskrit title of the work. Ref., *Bussho Kaisetsu Daijiten* 仏書解説大辞典, 8: 367c and 2: 170c, 171b.

90. T. 1084 觀世音菩薩如意摩尼輪陀羅尼念誦法 reproduces the set of the three spells of this deity as transcribed in T. 1083, and is thus affiliated with the latter. But the version reproduced in *Taishō* is based only on a Japanese manuscript and includes a reference to the *jūhachidō* 十八道 system, the introductory training of Japanese Esoteric Schools (T. 1084: 20.203b19). This work appears to be a later Japanese apocryphon.

91. For the dates of T. 1081 and 1083, see T. 2154: 55.567b7–8 and T. 2154: 55.566c20–21; 567a1–18.

92. In the ritual manual preserved in two versions, attributed to Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi respectively (T. 1986 and T. 1087), the deity is described with six arms, including one holding a jewel (*yibao* 意寶) and another a wheel (T. 1086: 20.208c25 and 29; T. 1087: 20.213b21 and 25). Following this iconography, the name of Cintāmaṇi Avalokiteśvara is sometimes rendered as “Avalokiteśvara who holds a wish-fulfilling jewel and a wheel,” for example in Nakamura Hajime, *Kōsetsu Bukkyōgo Daijiten* 広説佛教語大辞典 (Tokyo: Tōkyōshoseki, 2001), 1306a. This iconography, however, does not appear in the earlier sūtras examined here. In these, Avalokiteśvara’s dhāraṇī is described only as one that makes wish-fulfilling jewels rain down from a tree. I believe that in these sūtras the wheel and cintāmaṇi are understood to be one and the same, and would translate the name of the dhāraṇī and the deity as “the wheel of wish-fulfilling jewels.”



93. T. 1080: 20.189b5, T. 1081: 20.197b8; T. 1082: 20.198a4; T. 1083: 20.201a6.  
 94. T. 1080: 20.189c10–21; T. 1081: 20.197a23–b2; T. 1082: 20.198a26–b5; T. 1083: 20.200c26–201a5.

95. This instruction follows the prediction in the immediately preceding paragraph that the recitation would produce a vision of Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara. Similarly, it concludes by specifying the number of recitations required to see Avalokiteśvara and other deities. This new passage may be read as a further elaboration of the preceding ritual. It may also be read as the core scenario for the long set of Esoteric ritual instructions that follows.

96. The meaning of this practice is explained most clearly in Śikṣānanda's translation (T. 1082: 20.198b20–28). I take the term *qinjin* 親覲 to refer to a vision.

97. T. 1083: 20.200b9 and T. 1080: 20.188b25. Ref., T. 1081: 20.196c2.

98. T. 1081: 20.196c29.

99. T. 1081: 20.197b6.

100. The core instruction appears at T. 1083: 20.200c12–201a5. The passage specifying different numbers of recitations is at T. 1083: 20. 201a6–b3. This instruction does not appear in Yijing's translation.

101. T. 1083: 20.201b4–11 and 201b15–c29.

102. T. 1083: 20.201c29–202a13.

103. Manuscript copies of this text from Dunhuang are known: P3835 (*Catalogue des Manuscrits Chinois de Tuouen-huang: Fonds Pelliot Chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. IV, 320–321); P2799; S4376; 北7467 (余85).

104. T. 1082: 20.198c14, 198c29, 199a28.

105. T. 1082: 20.199c3.

106. Two manuscripts are known from Dunhuang: P3137 and P3920. See *Catalogue des Manuscrits Chinois de Tuouen-huang: Fonds Pelliot Chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. IV, 411.

107. T. 1080: 20.189b7–190b16 corresponds to T. 1082: 20. 198a4–b5 and 198b8–198c27.

108. T. 1083: 20.200c9–201a5, T. 1081: 20.196c29–197b6, T. 1080: 20.189b8–c21.

109. At this point Yijing's translation more closely resembles Bodhiruci's instruction (197a3–5).

110. T. 1082: 20.198a4–9.

111. T. 1080: 20.189b11–13.

112. T. 1080: 20.189b13–22.

113. T. 1080: 20.198b6–c27. The corresponding passage in Ratnacintana's translation appears at T. 1083: 20.201a14–b3.

114. *sinian* 思念, T. 1082: 20.198b18; *nianyi* 念憶 T. 1082: 20.201a13.

115. T. 1082: 20.198b16–18.

116. T. 1082: 20.198c1–10.

117. T. 1080: 20.190a2–10.

118. T. 1080: 20.190a20. Examples of these things are briefly listed, as wealth, happiness, property, grain and silk, slaves, elephants, and horses.



119. The instruction about the number of recitations is called *kefa* 課法 (190a20), or “requirement.” Śikṣānanda’s translation renders it as *qinjin kefa* 親覲課法 (taking the variant reading for 親近課法 in the Korean canon, 198b28), which would have meant, more specifically, the “requirement for attaining the visionary encounter.” In Ratnacinta’s translation the practice is called more broadly “the instruction for recitation,” or *niansongfa* 念誦法 (201a21). This term also appears as a part of the title of Bodhiruci’s section 3, in which this instruction appears.

120. T. 1080.190a25–b16.

121. T. 1080: 20.190b17–193b15.

122. As noted earlier, I read each of these translations as a more or less faithful representation of a Sanskrit version of the scripture that is no longer preserved. A comparison of these “translations” thus enables us to reconstruct how different versions in original Sanskrit evolved over time.

123. T. 1080: 20.189b14, 190a3, 28.

124. T. 1080: 20.190b19–20.

125. T. 1080: 20.190b21. The term *samaya* 三昧耶 in this context appears to mean a specific ritual, or the convention for the performance of the ritual in question.

126. T. 1080: 20.191b24–26.

127. T. 1080: 20.193a25–28.

128. T. 1080: 20.195a20. The same sentence, describing how the medicine becomes realized (*chengjiu*) when the sun and the moon are full and the medicine becomes warm, smoke comes out, and the light becomes brighter, appears in section 8 (T. 1080: 20.195a19–20). The instruction on medicine in sections 6–8 thus needs to be read in connection with this step in the sequence of the ritual mapped out in section 4.

129. T. 1080: 20.191c28–29.

130. The construction of a four-, five-, or eight-*hasta* maṇḍala takes place fourteen days before a lunar or solar eclipse (T. 1080: 20.193b20–21).

131. T. 1080: 20.193c23.

132. T. 1080: 20.193c25.

133. T. 1080: 20.193c24, 194a8.

134. T. 1080: 20.194a8.

135. T. 1082: 20.198b10.

136. The term “accomplishment” (C: *chengjiu*) appears repeatedly in Ratnacintana’s translation.

137. T. 1080: 20.189c24–25. The teaching of this sūtra is said to be a secret (T. 1080: 20.189c28–190a1). It corresponds to the opening passage in section 2 in Śikṣānanda’s translation (T. 1082: 20.198b9–14).

138. T. 1080: 20.194a10–11.

139. T. 1080: 20.193a12–28. The ritual of counting the number of recitations with a rosary appears several times in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*. In fascicle 4, devoted to the ritual for the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara (ref., T. 901: 18.825c9),

the practice is mentioned three times: first in the story that the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara tells about receiving the spell for the second time from a past buddha, Mandāravagandha (T. 901: 18.813a27–28); then in a separate entry on this practice (entry 11) in the list of mudrās and dhāraṇīs (T. 901: 18.818c15–21); and finally in a short description of a maṇḍala ceremony associated with the mudrā of flower decoration (T. 901: 18.820a19).

In the entry on Prajñāpāramitā as a maṇḍala deity the rosary practice appears in the instruction of the sixteen *yakṣas* (T. 901: 18.811c13–812b7). Here the same mudrā as in the instruction of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara (T. 901: 18.818c15–19) is first presented (T. 901: 18.811c14–16). An elaborate description of the ten miraculous signs follows, concluding with an account of the visions of the buddhas, Vajra deities, and other figures (T. 901: 18.812a7–10). A detailed account of the ceremony also mentions the hearth for a fire offering (T. 901: 18.812a16). The term accomplishment (C: *chengjiu*) appears to describe the success of the ritual (T. 901: 18.812a25).

140. In section 6, where the medicine that is worn on one's body (*peiiao* 佩藥) is discussed, the ingredients, given in a long list, are said to be pounded and turned into pills on a maṇḍala in a marked ritual space while a spell is repeated 1,080 times. Ordinary speech is forbidden as the spell is repeated to make sure that the rite is successful (accomplished, *chengjiu*). The medicine in a container is placed inside the maṇḍala, in front of [the image of?] Avalokiteśvara. The three core dhāraṇīs, the root spell, the longer heart spell, and the shorter heart spell are recited to empower the medicine. When the sun and the moon are full, the medicine shows four different signs; it may become warm, smoke may come out of it, it may grow in size, or it may emit light. If one puts on a robe permeated with fragrance and places the medicine on one's forehead, on an eyelid, or between the eyebrows, different benefits are attained (the term "accomplishment" appears here). The instructions for the other two types of medicine follow the same format, though the medicine is applied differently, either by taking it into the mouth or applying it as a paste on the eye.

141. T. 1080: 20.190b21, 193b18–19; 194a22, 28; 194b20; 195a3–4, 12; c11, 13, 16.

142. T. 1080: 20.193b19.

143. T. 1080: 20.194a16–17.

144. T. 1080: 20.194a22, b20; 195a20.

145. T. 2154: 55.569c5–6. The two works are reproduced in the *Taishō* collection as T. 951 and T. 952.

146. The translation appears to have been a part of the project at this monastery to translate several important Esoteric sūtras. The *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (T. 1080) discussed above was also translated in the summer of 709 (T. 2154: 55.569b27–28). The *Thousand-Handed and Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteśvara Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (T. 1058), mentioned briefly below, was also translated in the same year (569b25–26). Prajñākuṭa, who assisted in the translation, is mentioned in the entries for all these translations in the *Kaiyuan Catalogue*.

147. The relationship between different Chinese translations of this sūtra is discussed in considerable detail in Yoritomi Motohiro, *Mikkyōbutsu No Kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), 112–14.

148. *Pudizhang suoshuo yiziding lunwang jing* 菩提場所說一字頂輪王經 (T. 950). In Kokuyaku issaikyo, mikkyō-bu 5, 1–6, Tajima Ryūjun reviews parallel sources for *Yizi qite foding jing* 一字奇特佛頂經 (T. 953), attributed to Amoghavajra. In this review the three translations, two by Bodhiruci and one by Amoghavajra, are treated along with others as versions of the same work, though extensive differences between the three translations and the work in question are also noted (6).

149. T. 951: 19.224a22; T. 952: 19.263c1. I shall outline Bodhiruci's two similar translations side by side, noting some of the significant differences between them.

150. T. 951: 19.225b11–c9; T. 952: 19.263c23–264a24.

151. T. 951: 19.226a2; T. 952: 19.264b7.

152. T. 951: 19.226a22.

153. T. 951: 19.226b4–5; T. 952: 19.264b17.

154. T. 951: 19.226c2–3; T. 952: 19.264c10–11.

155. T. 951: 19.226c24–25; T. 952: 19.264c24. Ref., Hatta, *Shingon Jiten*, mantra no. 119.

156. T. 951: 19.229c22–232c27 and T. 952: 19.266c28–269a15.

157. T. 951: 19.229c25–232a2; T. 952: 19.267a1268b21.

158. T. 951. 19.233c5–235b27 and T. 952: 19.269c17–271b12. The corresponding section in Amoghavajra's translation is designated explicitly as a ritual manual (*yigui* 儀軌) (950: 19.201a11).

159. 觀想護淨 T. 952: 19.269c18 and 沐浴淨法觀想心法 T. 951: 19.233c7.

160. T. 951: 19.234b9; T. 952: 19.270b14.

161. T. 951: 19.234b13–15; T. 952: 19.270b19–20.

162. T. 951: 19.234b25c8; T. 952: 19.270b22–11.

163. T. 951: 19.234b20, 29; T. 952: 19.270b25.

164. T. 951: 19.234c2, 5, 7; T. 952: 19.270c6, 8, 10.

165. T. 951: 19.234c16; T. 952: 19.270c19.

166. T. 951: 19.234c19–235b26; T. 952: 19.270c22–271b12.

167. T. 951: 19.235b23–26; T. 952: 19.271b11–12.

168. Section 5, T. 951: 19.235b29; section 6, T. 952: 19.271b15.

169. T. 951: 19.236c15237a26; T. 952: 19.272c5–26.

170. In section 6 in T. 951: 19.239b2–c5, and in section 7 in T. 952: 19.274b12–c13.

171. Section 7 in T. 951; section in T. 952. A large majority of the mudrās and spells listed here are named after different parts of the Tathāgata's body.

172. T. 951: 19.253c28; T. 952: 19.281a7–9.

173. Section 8, T. 951: 19.246a24–253b26.

174. The term *guan ding* 灌頂 (S: *abhiṣeka*) appears at T. 951: 19.230a1/T. 952: 19.267a6; T. 951: 19.234a2/T. 952: 19.270a12; and T. 951: 19.257b27/T. 952: 19.282b19, but without the instruction for a maṇḍala initiation ceremony.

175. T. 951: 19.250b20–22.

176. Yoritomi Motohiro has suggested that central parts of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* were reorganized in *Yizi foding lunwang jing* (T. 951, trans. by Bodhiruci), and further that the maṇḍala teaching in this work may be taken as a preliminary formation leading eventually to the maṇḍala teaching in the second chapter of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (*gendainichikyōkei* 原大日經系); see Yoritomi Motohiro, *Mikkyōbutsu No Kenkyū*, 116–17, ref., 105).

177. T. 951: 19.250c7–251a11.

178. T. 951: 19.246c1–3. The heart mudrā of all Uṣṇīṣa Cakravartins is described at T. 951: 19.241b2–9. The smashing spell of the Uṣṇīṣa Cakravartins appears at T. 951: 19.257b23–29.

179. T. 901: 18.814a2, 886a26–27.

180. T. 901: 18.853a4–b6.

181. T. 951: 19.251a18–20.

182. T. 901: 18.814c14.

183. T. 951: 19.251a24, ref., 226c23–25 and T. 901: 18.816a5, 891b19.

184. T. 951: 19.246b12–13; 247a23.

185. T. 951: 19.247a24–c12.

186. T. 951: 19.226a2; 226a18–19.

187. T. 951: 19.226b4–7.

188. These are the “Four Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartins” discussed in the section “Content of the Instruction,” above.

189. Mudrās and spells invoking different parts of the Buddha’s body also appear in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, for example, for the Buddha’s heart, T. 901: 18.796a25–797b26; the Buddha’s eyes, T. 901: 18.792b27; 797c27; the Buddha’s uṣṇīṣa, T. 901: 18.796a13; the Buddha’s fang, T. 901: 20.797c19.

190. T. 951: 19.250b22.

191. T. 951: 19.247c23–248a11.

192. T. 1058: 20.101a20. The *Kaiyuan Catalogue* first notes that this was the second translation of this sūtra (T. 1058), succeeding the translation by Zhitong (T. 1057), and then proceeds to say that like the *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra* reviewed above, it was translated in year 709 at the Western Chongfu monastery, and Bodhiruci was assisted by his disciple Prajñā (T. 2154: 55.569b25–26).

193. T. 1058: 20.100a3–c13.

194. Zhitong’s earlier translation, preserved in two different versions, includes a brief instruction on maṇḍala ceremony, also followed by an instruction for a four-*hasta* maṇḍala ritual, but no reference to an All-Gathering Maṇḍala Initiation (T. 1057: 20.86b8–c16; 92c12–93a16). A simpler maṇḍala ceremony in Zhitong’s translation appears to have been reworked into an All-Gathering Initiation Ceremony in the version translated by Bodhiruci.

195. *Mikkyōbutsu No Kenkyū*, 108–17. Yoritomi also notes that the classification of deities into the Tathāgata group, Lotus-Flower group, and Vajra group, mentioned repeatedly in the *One-Syllable Buddhōṣṇīṣa Cakravartin Sūtra*, appears frequently in other sūtras, including the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*.

196. T. 1080.
197. T. 1006.
198. In one section Avalokiteśvara is named alongside the Vajra deity (T. 951: 19.227a4–5, 17; T. 952: 19.265a7, 19).

## 6. THE TRADITION OF THE AMOGHAPĀŚA SŪTRAS

1. *Bukong juansuo zhou jing* 不空罽索咒經, T. 1093.
2. T. 1097: *Amoghapāśa Dhāraṇī the Supernatural King of Spells Sūtra* (*Bukong juansuo tuoluoni zizaiwang zhou jing* 不空罽索陀羅尼自在王咒經) and T. 1096: *Amoghapāśa Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (*Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing* 不空罽索陀羅尼經) respectively.
3. *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空罽索神變真言經, T. 1092.
4. The *Kaiyuan Catalogue* identifies the first chapter of the 30-fascicle sūtra as the shorter version translated earlier (T. 2154: 55.569b22; c16–17). Ref., R. O. Meizezahl, “The Amoghapasahrdaya-Dharani. The Early Sanskrit Manuscript of the Reijunji Critically Edited and Translated,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 17, no. 1/4 (1962): 265–328. Also Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 56–58.
5. T. 1093 reproduces Jñānagupta’s translation and T. 1094 Xuanzang’s. The date of translation for the latter is given in the *Kaiyuan Catalogue* (T. 2154: 55.556a5). Dānapala’s translation is T. 1099.
6. T. 1095. See T. 2154: 55.390c27.
7. The translations are called the *Amoghapāśa Divine Spell Heart Sūtra* (*Bukong juansuo shenzhou xinjing* 不空罽索神咒心經, T. 1094) and the *Amoghapāśa Spell Heart Sūtra* (*Bukong juansuo zhou xinjing* 不空罽索咒心經, T. 1095) respectively.
8. These translations are reproduced as T. 1093 and T. 1070 respectively. Jñānagupta and Yaśogupta are said to have been fellow students whom their teacher Jñānayaśa brought to China together (*Gujing yijing tuji* 古今譯經圖紀, T. 2151: 55.365c11–19). But the similarities between their translations of the *Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* and the *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra* cannot be entirely attributed to this connection. Bodhiruci, who translated the *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra* twice, must have relied on independent Sanskrit traditions.
9. T. 1093: 20.401c25–402a1. The original term for “uphold” is *shouchi* 受持.
10. T. 1094: 20.405b17–18.
11. T. 1095: 20.409a4–21.
12. T. 1071: 20.153c13; 154a3.
13. T. 1093: 20.399a15, T. 1094: 20.402b20, T. 1095: 20.406b6–7, T. 1092: 20.227b22–23. In these texts Amoghapāśa is the name of a spell, not of a bodhisattva. The spell of the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara is also called “Eleven-Faced” by Avalokiteśvara (T. 1070: 20.149a13), but in that sūtra he also applies

the term to an eleven-faced image. No noose (S: *pāśa*) is mentioned in the description of the image in the texts of these earlier *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtras*.

14. T. 1093: 20.399b29; T. 1094: 20.403a16–17; T. 1096: 20.406c5; T. 1092: 20.228a26–27.

15. T. 1093: 20.399c24–400a25; T. 1094: 20.403b8–c3; T. 1095: 20.406c23–407a18.

16. T. 1093: 20.401b1–2; T. 1094: 20.404c20; T. 1095: 20.408b27; 231c11.

17. T. 1093: 20.401b3–12; T. 1094: 20.404c16–18; 29–405a3; T. 1095: 20.408b28–c7; T. 1092: 20.231c5–8.

18. T. 1093: 20.401b19–27; T. 1094: 20.405a9–17; T. 1092: 20.231c27–232a4.

19. T. 1093: 20.401c27–402a4; T. 1094: 20.405b19–24; T. 1092: 20.232b4–8.

20. T. 1093: 20.401402a20–25; ref., T. 1094: 20.405–c9–13.

21. Maria Reis-Habito, in “Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sūtra,” *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions: Journal of the Seminar for Buddhist Studies* 11 (1999): 39–67, examined the similar translations by Mañicintana (T. 1097) and Li Wuchan (T. 1096) and dated them to the Sui dynasty (589–618). Mañicintana and Li Wuchan appear to have based their translations on the same manuscript. Charles Orzech translated a part of this sūtra in *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 116–20.

22. *Bukong juansuo tuoluoni zizaiwang zhou jing* 不空罽索陀羅尼自在王咒經, T. 1097 and *Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing* 不空罽索陀羅尼經, T. 1096. The *Hōbōgirin* catalogue of the *Taishō* canon gives *Amoghapāśakalparājasūtra* as the Sanskrit title of this sūtra (98). Its content is summarized in Reis-Habito, “Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sūtra.” See also Soeda Ryūshun 添田隆俊, “Fukūkenjakukyō no seiritsu ni tsuite,” 不空罽索經の成立について, *Mikkyō Kenkyū* 密教研究 40 (1930): 97–143 and 42 (1931): 73–121. Antonino Forte discussed the activities of Mañicintana and Li Wuchan in “The Activities in China of the Tantric Master Mañicintana (Pao-ssu-wei 寶思惟: ?–721 C.E.) from Kashmir and of His Northern Indian Collaborators,” *East and West* 34, nos. 1–3 (1984): 301–47.

23. In Li Wuchan’s translation the section titles include the term “lord of the spell” (*mingzhu* 明主).

24. Attaining the rank of Cakravartin king is repeatedly mentioned: T. 1097: 20.421c9–10, 430c29–431a1, ref., T. 1097: 20.423b17.

25. T. 1097: 20.423b15.

26. We have seen elsewhere that the description of “accomplishment” is often followed by a series of shorter entries describing rituals intended for specific purposes (for example, in the *Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*, T. 1070: 20.151b16–c29; 154b7–c22; in Śikṣānanda’s translation of the *Cintāmaṇicakra Dhāraṇī Sūtra*, T. 1082; 198b6–199c23).

27. T. 1097: 20.430c11–431a16.

28. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* (T. 901). The last part of Li Wuchan’s translation shows the influence of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, but this section, lack-

ing in Mañicintana's translation, appears to have been added sometime after Li Wuchan had completed his translation.

29. Reis-Habito, "Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sūtra," 67.

30. T. 1097: 20.427b17–429c3 and T. 1096: 20.415a5–417a8.

31. T. 1096: 20.415a26 and T. 1097: 20.427c12–13.

32. T. 1097: 20.427c15.

33. T. 1096: 20.415b1–12; T. 1097: 20.427c16–29.

34. T. 1096: 20.415c19; T. 1097: 20.428b6–9.

35. T. 1096: 20.415c3–8.

36. The pairing of these deities and the pairing of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Virūḍhaka in the maṇḍala in fasc. 4 suggest that either the author of the *Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sūtra* translated by Mañicintana and Li Wuchan was familiar with the account of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala presented in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, or both Sanskrit originals derived from a common ritual tradition. In the instruction for the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony for the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 4, the following deities are placed in the four directions: to the east, Amitābha at the center, Śākyamuni to his right and Prajñāpāramitā to his left; to the north, Mahāsthāmaprāpta at the center, the mother of Avalokiteśvara to the right and Hayagrīva to the left; to the south, Vajra king at the center, Vajra mother to the left and Vajramuṣṭi to the right; and to the west, on the southern side Dhṛtarāṣṭra and on the northern side Virūḍhaka (T. 901: 18.815a14–19). In the larger maṇḍala described in fasc. 12, a slightly different version of the same arrangement appears, again with Avalokiteśvara deities to the north and Vajra deities to the south, but here the attendant deities to Vajrarāja, or Vajra king, are named as Vajra mother Māmākī to the right and Vajra messenger "Modina" 摩帝那 to the left (T. 901: 18.888b21).

37. T. 1097: 20.428a28–29.

38. T. 1096: 20.416b25–26; T. 1097: 20.429a22–23.

39. Yoritomi Motohiro discussed the content of the Tibetan translation in *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), particularly 99–103. Yoritomi also notes that a four-chapter version of a sūtra with a similar name was translated into Tibetan early in the ninth century. See *Mikkyōbutsu No Kenkyū*, 99.

40. The title of the text is given as *Amoghāṅkuśyākālpaparājādhirāja* in the colophon of the Sanskrit manuscript, where it is also noted that the manuscript is incomplete. Kumura, Takayasu, Nobuo Otsuka, and Tsunehiko Sugiki, "Transcribed Sanskrit Text of the Amoghapāśakalparāja, Part I," *Taishōdaigaku sogobukkyokenkyūjo nenpō* 20 (1998): (3)–(4), also note 3. In Tibetan translation the Sanskrit title of this sūtra is given as *Āryāmoghapāśa Kalparājā*. The editors of the Sanskrit manuscript adopted this shorter title for their transcription. Kimura Takayasu has prepared a "collation table" indicating the corresponding sections in the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions; see "Transcribed Sanskrit Text of the Amoghapāśakalparāja, Part I," (7)–(10). A group of scholars at Taishō University has been publishing the transcribed version of this text in a series of articles, as yet not completed.



41. Some scholars attributed the differences narrowly to the circumstances of Bodhiruci's translation, but these differences may have occurred in the development of the Sanskrit texts themselves. Striking similarities to the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* appear only in Bodhiruci's Chinese translation, among them the frequent references to Vairocana and certain visualization practices. Parallels with passages in the *Sarvatathāgata Tattvasaṃgraha* that have been observed in Bodhiruci's translation may be explained similarly (ref., Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu No Kenkyū*, 93). But neither the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (translated in 724–725) nor the *Tattvasaṃgraha* section of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* (translated by Amoghavajra, ca. 754) had been translated into Chinese when Bodhiruci produced the *Amoghapāśa's Supernatural Display Sūtra* in 707–709 (T. 1092). Yoritomi's attempt to explain the similarities nevertheless by positing earlier versions of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata Tattvasaṃgraha* in Sanskrit (“proto-Mahāvairocana” and “proto-Tattvasaṃgraha”) that Bodhiruci possessed and used in translating the *Amoghapāśa's Supernatural Display Sūtra* is contrived (*Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, 105).

42. Although I shall take into account some of the relevant parallels with the newly discovered Sanskrit version and the Tibetan translation, a more thorough examination of the relationships among Bodhiruci's translation, the recently discovered Sanskrit, and the Tibetan translation will have to be postponed.

43. Or five closely affiliated dhāraṇīs in the case of the *One-Syllable Buddhoṣṇiṣa Cakravartin Sūtra/Five-Buddhoṣṇiṣa Samādhi Dhāraṇī Sūtra*, T. 951 and 952, discussed in chapter 4.

44. T. 1092: 20.231b15–26.

45. For example, T. 1332: 21.537b21; c17.

46. For example, T. 1006: 19.640a7, c16; T. 1080: 20.189a8; T. 951: 19.226c26–27.

47. For example, T. 1092: 20.234b23; 273c23; 280c7.

48. T. 1092: 20.234a12.

49. T. 1092: 20.300a4, 261b27, 303a5, 9.

50. T. 1092: 20.362b5–363b14.

51. T. 1092: 20.362a20. The charge to recite the Wrathful King Mantra first appears in the ritual instruction in section 2 (T. 1092: 20.235a2), but the instruction on the mudrā of this name, paired with a brief mantra, appears farther on in section 4a (T. 1092: 20.245c18–246a6), and a longer version of the mantra yet farther on in section 14 (T. 1092: 20.275b20–276a16). The Wrathful King Mantra is also mentioned repeatedly before this longer version is introduced: sections 6a (T. 1092: 20.250c13, 17), 6b (T. 1092: 20.255a8, 13), 7 (T. 1092: 20.260b19), 8 (T. 1092: 20.264c19), 9 (T. 1092: 20. 265c10, 266a15), and 12 (T. 1092: 20.269c19).

52. Use of a rosary is mentioned, for example, at T. 1092: 20.253b13 and 266a22.



53. Ref., T. 1092: 20.260b19, 266a15, 275b6.
54. For example, in sections 6a (T. 1092: 20.250a16–c7), section 9 (T. 1092: 20.265a4–267c7), section 20 (T. 1092: 20. 292b20–293b12), section 46a (T. 1092: 20.343b9344a5), section 46b (T. 1092: 20.345a5–b21), and section 47 (T. 1092: 20.349b22–c22).
55. For example, in sections 11–12 (particularly, T. 1092:20.271c16–17) and in sections 35–36, 46a, 46b.
56. For example, T. 1092: 20.268b8–9, 29.
57. For example, in section 12 (T. 1092: 269c16–272b14) and 24 (T. 1092: 20.301b23–304a1).
58. Exceptions include, in section 13 (T. 1092: 20.274a–b26) the ritual associated with the mantra introduced at the outset, the Mantra of the Supreme Spell King 最勝明王真言, which is organized around the scheme of *śāntika* (“pacification” [T. 1092: 20.274a15]), *pauṣṭika* (“prosperity” [T. 1092: 20.274a24]), and *abhicāraṇa* (“conquest” [T. 1092: 20.274b10]). For each category the practitioner is instructed to sit facing a different direction and to visualize Avalokiteśvara with a different expression. No visualization of syllables appears here.
59. T. 1092: 20.334c29–335a17.
60. T. 1092: 20.335a28–b9.
61. T. 1092: 20.293a1.
62. T. 1092: 20.293a6.
63. Yukio Hatta, *Shingon Jiten* (Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1985), mantra no. 65, ref., also mantras nos. 5, 68, 69, 98. The syllables appear as a mantra in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (T. 848: 18.20a19), and the visualization is described in section 11 on the secret maṇḍala (T. 848: 18.31a21–29).
64. T. 1796: 39.727c9–28.
65. T. 1796: 39.727c16–18.
66. Particularly T. 1092: 20.300a23, 25; T. 1092: 20.300b13, 24, 28; ref. T. 1092: 20.300b4.
67. T. 1092: 20.299a27.
68. T. 1092: 20.299c4–300a16. According to Ōtsuka Nobuo 大塚伸夫, this part of the sūtra in Bodhiruci’s translation (T. 1092: 20.299b22–301b1) does not appear in the Sanskrit manuscript recovered in Tibet and the Tibetan translation; “Transcribed Sanskrit Text of the Amoghapāśakalparāja, Part V,” *Taishōdaigaku Sōgō bukkyō kenkyūjo Nenpo* 26 (2004): (124)–(125). Earlier, Soeda Ryūshun had noted the similarity of this passage to the teaching of *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (particularly in *cha* 1 and 2), “Fukūkenjakukyō no seiritsu ni tsuite,” Part II, *Mikkyō Kenkyū* 42 (1931): 1078.
69. T. 1092: 20.300a12–13.
70. T. 1092:20.264b12–c23.
71. T. 1092; 20.265a4.
72. T. 1092: 20.264b12.

73. T. 1092: 20.264b15. The “dharma realm” (C: *fajie* 法界) must refer to the “dharma body” (C: *fashen* 法身) in fasc. 23 (T. 1092: 299c4, 300a12).

74. T. 1092: 20.264b24; ref., T. 1092: 20.299c10.

75. T. 1092: 20.234c14–17, 283b20, 335b1, 338a13–b6, respectively.

76. T. 1092: 20.234c10–12.

77. T. 1092: 20.283b10–c10.

78. T. 1092: 20.283b21.

79. T. 1092: 20.334c29–335a17.

80. *jīng fajie* 淨法界, T. 1092: 20.335a9.

81. T. 1092: 20.335a17.

82. T. 1092: 20.335a27.

83. The *Amoghapāśa Spell Sūtra*, T. 1093, discussed above.

84. Yoritomi Motohiro has discussed the groups in some detail; see *Mikkyōbutsu No Kenkyū*, 95–99.

85. For example, in section 22 (T. 1092: 20.296a28), section 23 (T. 1092: 20.299b5–6, c18), section 24 (T. 1092: 20.301c9), section 25 (T. 1092: 20.304b10; 305b6–7), section 37 (T. 1092: 20.328a23, b21), section 43 (T. 1092: 20.337b1), section 45 (T. 1092: 20.340a23), section 46a (T. 1092: 20.341c11–12, 14; 343a25), section 46b (T. 1092: 20.346b11, c9), section 51 (T. 1092: 20.360a28), section 67 (T. 1092: 20.381a17–18), section 68 (T. 1092: 20.384c26–27, 385a7, 12, c7, 9, 11), section 69 (T. 1092: 20.386c7), and section 76 (T. 1092: 20.395b26).

86. T. 1092: 20.296a6–7; 299a27; 301b25.

87. T. 1092: 20.301c9.

88. T. 1092: 20.296a6–7.

89. T. 1092: 20.296a28. Along with the “Tathāgata Vairocana’s Teaching of Broad Liberation Maṇḍala and Mudrā,” a teaching called “the Broad, True, Miraculous Liberation Maṇḍala and Mudrā” is mentioned in this passage. The same pair of teachings is mentioned later in section 23, 299b4–6.

90. T. 1092: 20.303a15.

91. The name Vairocana also appears repeatedly in the last part of the sūtra, from sections 67 to 69: sections 67 (T. 1092: 20.381a17–18), 68 (384c26–27, 385a7, 12, c7, 9, 11), 69 (386c7), and also in section 76 (395b26). Sections 67–72 present teachings around the mantra called Spell Master Pure Lotus Flower, forming a coherent unit. In this section Vairocana appears in a curious formula, “All the Tathāgatas, Tathāgata Vairocana, and Tathāgata Śākyamuni” (T. 1092: 20.381b25–26; c10; 384c3–4) or as “All the Tathāgatas of the Three Ages and Tathāgata Vairocana” (T. 1092: 20.384c15–16), “All the Tathāgatas of the Three Ages” (T. 1092: 20.384c20; 385a6–7).

92. *Mikkyōbutsu No Kenkyū*, 102.

93. *Mikkyōbutsu No Kenkyū*, 90. Toganoo Shōun, *Himitsu Bukkyō Shi* 秘密佛教史 (Wakayama-ken Kōyasan: Kōyasan Daigaku Mikkyōbunka Kenkyūsho, 1982 (1957), 41. Soeda Ryūshun, “Fukūkenjakukyō no seiritsu ni tsuite,” Part II, 109–21.

## 7. YIXING'S COMMENTARY ON THE MAHĀVAIROCANA SŪTRA: CREATING THE GREAT MAṆḌALA

1. Yixing received Vajrabodhi's instruction when the latter arrived in the capital in 720 and began performing maṇḍala ceremonies; see *Kaiyuan Catalogue*, T. 2154: 55.571c4–6. According to Rolf Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras*, BDK English Tripitaka 29-II, 30-II (Berkeley, Calif: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2001), 7–8, the first part of the *Vajrasekhara*, the *Sarvatathāgata Tattvasaṃgraha* (*Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas*) came into being in its present form toward the end of the eighth century. Two earlier translations of this text by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra are dated 723 and ca. 754 respectively; see *Kaiyuan catalogue*, 55.571c6–7. Śubhākarasiṃha's translation of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* is reported to have been based on the version that the Chinese monk Wuxing sent from India. Wuxing died in 674 in India.

2. A version of the *Guhya Tantra* (*Ruixiye jing* 蕤呬耶經) is reproduced in the *Taishō* collection (T. 897). There the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* (*Suxidi jieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯囉經) is numbered T. 893. Vajrabodhi also refers to the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* for the creation of the maṇḍala, T. 866: 18.239c12.

3. In some manuscripts the title of this work is given as *Juxi Tantaluo jing* 瞿醯壇怛囉經, or *Guhya Tantra*, as noted at the beginning of the *Taishō* entry, note 5, T. 897: 18.760. The heading for section 10 in this translation mentions *Juxi Tantaluo jing* as the title of the entire work, T. 897: 18.770b5. *Busshokaisetsu daijiten*, 2.371b, gives the Sanskrit title as *Sarvamaṇḍalasāmānyavidhi-Guhya Tantra*, based on the Tibetan translation. This dictionary entry also gives the Japanese pronunciation of the title as *Gu-hu-ya kyō*, presumably reading the obscure Chinese characters as a phonetic transcription for the Sanskrit term *guhya*. The Tibetan version of this text diverges from the Chinese translation at a number of points, as pointed out in some detail by Tajima Ryūjun, *Kokuyaku Issaikyō*, Mikkyōbu 2, 106–110 and in the *Busshokaisetsu daijiten* entry, 2.371–373.

4. Perhaps, as in other cases, Amoghavajra's "translation" was a revised version of an earlier translation, possibly known as *Juxi[jing]*. Yixing would have been citing such an earlier translation.

5. T. 897: 18.762b11. These parallels will be identified in endnotes.

6. T. 897: 18.763b10–15. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.888a10–11; ref. T. 901: 18.814c20–22.

7. T. 897: 18.763b21. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.888a26; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815a2.

8. T. 897: 18.763b29. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.888a27; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815a4.

9. T. 897: 18.763c2–26. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.888a17–19, and fasc. 4, 814c27–28.

10. T. 897: 18.764a10–25. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.886c10–15; 887b5–c7; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814a26–b15.
11. T. 897: 18.764a25–26, b13. Ref., *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.886c15–25.
12. T. 897: 18.764b10.
13. T. 897: 18.764b26–28. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.886c29–887a5.
14. T. 897: 18.764b28–29. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.887a5–22; fasc. 4, 81420–23.
15. T. 897: 18.765a20–766b7. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.888b2–889a24; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815a7–b9. The time is specified in the *Guhya Tantra* account at T. 897: 18.764c3.
16. T. 897: 18.766b8–9 and 766b23–27. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.889a27 and 889b1.
17. T. 897: 18.766c1–769a13. After the offerings are placed, the *ācārya* performs a series of simple visualizations (*xinyun* 心運) to present the offerings to the deity (T. 897: 18.769a5, 9).
18. T. 897: 18.769b12–25.
19. T. 897: 18.769c1–770a17 and 770a18–c3. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, 891b14–26; fasc. 4, 816a1–15.
20. T. 897: 18.770c18–25. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.891b29–c25; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a20–27.
21. T. 897: 18.771a4–7.
22. T. 897: 18.771a15–23. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.892c10–16.
23. T. 897: 18.771b3–5.
24. T. 897: 18.760c6.
25. For example, for spells, T. 897: 18.766c10, 16, 767a24, 770c8, and for mudrā, T. 897: 18.769c1.
26. T. 893: 18.603a5–b13 (version 1); 633c5–634a11 (version 2); 663b4–c2 (version 3).
27. Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras*, 125.
28. T. 893: 18.603b21–22, 634a18–20, 663c8–10; Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras*, 129. The instruction in this sūtra is not to be given to those who have undergone the maṇḍala initiation (606b13–14; 620c17).
29. T. 893: 18.603b22–23, 634a20–21, 663c10; Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras*, 129.
30. Ref., 604c12–15; 635b26–29, 664c23–26; Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras*, 134.
31. T. 893: 18.603c4–6, 634b3–5, 663c10–12; Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras*, 130.
32. Section 1, T. 897: 18.760c11.
33. T. 897: 18.760c6–12. For the Buddha group maṇḍalas, the *vidyārāja* Aparājita is named (T. 897: 18.760c7–8). The name of this deity appears in

the list of “wrathful” deities in section 2 of the *Susiddhikara Sūtra*, T. 893: 18.604a18, 635a1, 664b8–9.

34. T. 897: 18.761a14–16, 767b2–4, 770b6–c3. In section 3, on the choice of the site for maṇḍala creation, different types of maṇḍalas are treated separately. At the heart of this discussion is the threefold scheme of *śāntika*, *pañṣṭika*, and *abhiṣāraka* (T. 897: 18.761a14–22). The category of the “higher accomplishment” (T. 897: 18.761a24), introduced to describe one type of maṇḍala, must have been taken from the threefold categories of the higher, middle, and lower accomplishment in the *Susiddhikara Sūtra*. Other phrases used to describe different kinds of maṇḍalas here include “auspicious accomplishment” (T. 897: 18.761a25, 26), “inferior vajra” (T. 897: 18.761a28), “vajra hook” (T. 897: 18.761b1), and “Kuṇḍalin Wrathful” (T. 897: 18.761b3–4). The threefold categorization of maṇḍalas into Buddha, Lotus-Flower (Avalokiteśvara), and Vajra deity (T. 897: 18.761b4–6), reappears, again naming explicitly the three representative maṇḍalas in each category.

35. Section 7, T. 897: 18.764a7. The term *mahāmaṇḍala* (T. 897: 18.761c25, 27), or “great maṇḍala” (T. 897: 18.762a3), first appears in the section in discussing the appropriate dates on which different types of maṇḍalas are to be created. This is a maṇḍala that is to be constructed in the first (Caitra, March–April) or second (Viśākhā, May–June) month of spring, under appropriate circumstances, including when disciples are to be initiated, or when (inauspicious occurrences of) solar and lunar eclipses or other extraordinary signs appear (T. 897: 18.761c24–a3). The “great maṇḍala” ceremony is to be performed during the night (T. 897: 18.762a10–11). When the ceremony is enacted for a great maṇḍala, after sunset, gods gather to observe (T. 897: 18.762a15–16).

36. T. 897: 18.766b1–4.

37. T. 897: 18.770b6–c3.

38. T. 897: 18.769c6.

39. T. 897: 18.769c15–22. This classification appears in the *Susiddhikara Sūtra*, as noted above, but there its significance remains obscure. The implications of this classification are much clearer in the *Guhya Tantra*'s account of the flower-throwing rite.

40. As noted above, in the *Susiddhikara Sūtra*, the mantras of the deities called messengers are called “lower accomplishment” (T. 893: 18.603c10, 634b9–10, 663c26; Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras*, 140).

41. T. 897: 18.769c21–22.

42. T. 897: 18.769c22.

43. T. 897: 18.769c23.

44. T. 893: 18.603c3–7, 634b2–7, 663c18–23. Ref., Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras*, 130.

45. T. 897: 18.770a16.

46. *huazunfa* 畫尊法, T. 897: 18.765a21–22.

47. T. 897: 18.765a22–b29.

48. T. 897: 18.769c16–23.

49. The brief instruction in chapter 13 is translated into Japanese with extensive notes in *Chūgoku Mikkyō* 中国密教, *Daijō Butten Chūgoku Nihon Hen* 大乘仏典 中国日本篇 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1988), 36–40.

50. *Dapiluzhena chengfoshu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏, T. 1796. After Yixing's 一行 death in 727 this *Commentary* was revised by Zhiyan 智儼 (d.u.) and Wengu 溫古 (d.u.), and the version with Wengu's preface is known as *Darijing yishe* 大日經義釈. This traditional narrative is examined in Osabe Kazuo 長部和雄, *Ichigyō zenshi no kenkyū* 一行禪師の研究 (Kōbe: Kōbe Shōka Daigaku Keizai Kenkyūsho 神戸商科大学経済研究所, 1963), 151–59.

51. The *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* is dated to sometime in the seventh century; ref., Stephen Hodge, *The Mahā-Vairocana-Abhisambodhi Tantra* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 14. Śubhkarasimha's Chinese translation is dated to 724–725, and the collaboration between Yixing and Śubhākarasimha that resulted in the *Commentary* ended in 727 with Yixing's death. Thus there is a significant chronological gap between the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* itself and Yixing's commentary on it. For the use of the term “yoga” in Esoteric Buddhist literature, see Charles D. Orzech, “The ‘Great Teaching of Yoga,’ the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 34 (2006): 29–78, particularly 45–52.

52. The *Sūtra* passages are found in Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 20; T. 848: 18.4a24; and Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 60; T. 848: 18.12b22. The corresponding section of the *Commentary* extends from T. 1796: 39.611b25, where this comment is made, to T. 1796: 39.672c9. The *Sūtra* passage is reproduced at T. 1796: 39.672a14–17. Both here and at T. 1796: 39.611b25 the cited passage is slightly different from the corresponding passage in the existing version of the *Sūtra*. It has been noted that the version of the *Sūtra* cited in Yixing's *Commentary* corresponds more closely with the Tibetan translation than with the existing Chinese version (Sawa Ryūken et al., eds., *Mikkyō Jiten* [Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1975], 476b12–13).

53. The ritual is described as *gongyang cidi* 供養次第 or *gongyangfa* 供養法. T. 1796: 39.613c4, 621a10 (ref., T. 848.18.52c2), T. 1796: 39.622b17 (ref., T. 848: 18.47c16, particularly c21), T. 1796: 39.623c29 (ref., to mantras), T. 1796: 39.626b21, 630a4, 630a12 (ref., T. 848.18.49b2), T. 1796: 39.630c13 (ref., T. 848: 18.47b6–20; 49c4–19), T. 1796: 39.642a29 (on mantras and mudrās as given throughout), T. 1796: 39.658c8, 659c2, 660b8, 20, and 661b12.

54. T. 1796: 39.612b15, 630a14, 650b1, 658c12, 660b13, 663a3 (T. 893: 18.621a6–7; 651a29–b1; 688c1), 664b26 (651c8; 689a8; 622a22).

55. It speaks of sections *zhifen* 支分 (or essays) on specific topics.

56. T. 1796: 39.619c9. Also, T. 1796: 39.643a11; 646a4–5; also 610c14–15, citing the *Sūtra* T. 848: 18.4a19; 645a29; ref., T. 1796: 39.620a6.

57. Parallels with the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* will be identified in notes.

58. Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 23–24; T. 848: 18.5a6–8.

59. T. 1796: 39.621a5–9.

60. T. 1796: 39.621a11–27. Ref., *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.886c16–22. The preparation of the ground is also discussed earlier at T. 1796: 39.617a14–c18, in commenting on the verse T. 848: 18.4c2–4 in the *Sūtra*. This discussion is followed by comments on the choice of the date for performing the ceremony.

61. T. 1796: 39.621b2. Ref., *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.889b19–21.

62. T. 1796: 39.621b6.

63. T. 1796: 39.622a25–27. Ref., *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, 888a23–27; fasc. 4, 815a1–4.

64. T. 1796: 39.622b2–3.

65. T. 1796: 39.622b2–623b10.

66. T. 1796: 39.623b12 and b14. The passage on the evening of the fifth day loosely refers to the *Guhya Tantra* (T. 1796: 39.623b18).

67. T. 1796: 39.626b11.

68. T. 1796: 39.626c26–627a7. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.888a7–11, where the toothpick is called a willow branch; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814c19–22.

69. T. 1796: 39.627a8–16. Ref., *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.887c7–12; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b16–17.

70. T. 1796: 39.627a27, 629a9.

71. T. 1796: 39.627b17. ref., T. 848: 18.6a1.

72. T. 1796: 39.627b22–25. The term “establish” (*jianli* 建立) must mean performing the maṇḍala initiation ceremony.

73. T. 1796: 39.667b27. Ref., *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.888a27; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815a4.

74. T. 1796: 39.627b28–628a21. Ref., *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.888a17–20; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814c27–29.

75. T. 1796: 39.630a2.

76. T. 1796: 39.658a27, 658b19, 27, 658c10. Also ref., T. 1796: 39.660b8.

77. T. 1796: 39.660c4. Ref., *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.890b22–c8; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815c3–9.

78. T. 1796: 39.660c19–21.

79. T. 1796: 39.661a3–5.

80. T. 1796: 39.661b13–14 and 661c7.

81. T. 1796: 39.771c17. *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.891b20; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a8.

82. T. 1796: 39.662a11. Ref., *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 8891c27–892b10; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a28–b20. The difference is explicitly noted at T. 1796: 39.665a2–3.

83. The presentation of the gift is discussed at T. 1796: 39.664c11–665b6, *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.892c10–16. The *abhiṣeka* appears at T. 1796: 39.665b7, *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.891b29–c25; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a16–27.



84. T. 1796: 39.661c17–19 and T. 1796: 39.661c19–662a11, which cites T. 897: 18.769c2–770a3.

85. The sūtra passage appears at T. 848: 18.6b4–6 (Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 30). The passage is cited in the *Commentary*, T. 1796: 39.629c29–630a1.

86. T. 1796: 39.630a2–8. The ritual instruction here refers to the *gongyang cidi* 供養次第 that is appended as fasc. 7 to the *Sūtra*.

87. For the occurrence of the term in the *Sūtra*, see T. 848: 18.54a29. This term *yunxin* appears in passing in the *Guhya Tantra* (for example, T. 897: 18.769a5, 9, 770a5). At one point the *Commentary* quotes a passage with this term and attributes it to the *Guhya Tantra* (T. 1796: 39.659a21), though the passage does not appear in the version that is reproduced as T. 897. The term also appears in *Susiddhikara*, T. 893: 18.609a19 (*yun xinxiang* 運心想), 615c6, 645b17, 682c16.

88. T. 1796: 39.611c1–614a23. The *Sūtra* passage appears at T. 848: 18.4b1 (Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 20).

89. T. 1796: 39.613c14–22. The original term, translated here as “iconography,” is *weiyi* 威儀. The three levels of accomplishment of mantras, along with the three types of maṇḍala rituals, i.e., *śāntika*, *pauṣṭika*, and *abhicāraka*, are mentioned in the opening section of the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* (T. 893: 18.603c3–13; Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras*, 129–30).

90. T. 1796: 39.626b22; 659a21; T. 1796: 39. 659b11, 17; 660c23; 661b2; 663a28; 697a7; and 710c22–23, respectively.

91. *Yixin gongyang* 以心供養, T. 848: 18.11a4; T. 1796: 39.659b11–13.

92. T. 1769: 39.619a14; 733c20.

93. T. 1796: 39.630b29–c9; T. 848: 18.6b17 (Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 30).

94. T. 1796: 39.630c9–11. Ref., T. 1769: 39.644c20.

95. T. 1796: 39.630c12; the passage speaks of “the *fangbian* of empowerment,” *jiachi fangbian* 加持方便.

96. The scriptural passage appears at T. 848: 18.6c10 (Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 31).

97. T. 1796: 39.631b24–27. Here visualization is given priority over physical images. Nevertheless, this instruction might explain in part why the iconography of the deity is carefully drawn in later maṇḍala drawings. Ishida Hisatoyo 石田尚豊 traced meticulously how the sūtra instructions on the *Garbha Maṇḍala* evolved through earlier versions (the earlier *Taizō zuzō* 胎藏圖像 and *Taizō kyūzuzō* 胎藏旧圖像 that followed) into the more familiar but even later design of the Shingon mandara (*Genzu mandara* 現図曼荼羅), Ishida Hisatoyo, *Mandara No Kenkyū* 曼荼羅の研究 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1975), particularly 4.

98. The *Sūtra* passage appears at T. 848: 18.9a19 (Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 43).

99. T. 1796: 39.645a12–646a3. The *Sūtra* returns to this issue toward the end, in the section on “Deity *Samādhi*” (chapter 28) (T 848: 18.44a9–25; Giebel,



*The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 219–20). Yixing's comments for that chapter appear at T. 1796: 39.782c22–784a2.

100. The Acala mantra is used to cleanse the offerings. T. 1796: 39.660b9–10.

101. T. 1796: 39.660b15.

102. *zhu yu yuqie* 住於瑜伽, “stays in yoga,” T. 1796: 39.660b16.

103. T. 1796: 39.660b20–21, *Kokuyaku Issaikyō*, Kyōshobu, 14, 255. The *Sūtra* description mentioned here appears in T. 848: 18.47c25–8b3 (Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 244–45). The mantra of Vidyārājñī Gaganagañjā is given in T. 848: 18.48b6–9 (Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 245).

104. T. 1796: 39.660b21–22. The same practice is mentioned in fasc. 4, T. 39.622c28–623a2.

105. T. 1796: 39.660b25.

106. T. 1796: 39.660b26. As will be noted below, the same practice is mentioned in fasc. 4, T. 1796: 39.623a2–4. Śubhākarasiṃha's comment is introduced at this point: if the practitioner has not mastered this yoga, he cannot perform this maṇḍala ceremony. When the maṇḍala is set up, the practitioner visualizes it in himself and then draws it. An advanced *ācārya* is constantly with these *garbha* deities and has attained the insight to see them as being identical to his own mind, like the ten well-known examples of illusory existences. Apart from one's mind, there is no independent essence in these deities that one can obtain, or hold on to (T. 1796: 39.660b27–c2). The point of this comment appears to be once again to emphasize the importance of yogic practice.

107. T. 1796: 39.660c2–4.

108. T. 1796: 39.660c4. The instruction in *Guhya Tantra* is quoted and followed by a brief qualification that in the teaching presented in the *Commentary* the deities receive the request in their own distant locations (“seats”) and then come to the place of ritual performance “in the form of ‘not coming’” (T. 1796: 39.660c7).

109. *Wulunzi* 五輪字, T. 1796: 39.661b3.

110. *Chishen* 持身, T. 1796: 39.661b3; *yi wuzi chizhi* 以五字持之, T. 1796: 39.661b25–26.

111. T. 1796: 39.661b3–13 comparable to T. 1796: 39.660b24–26.

112. T. 1796: 39.661b3.

113. The King of One Hundred Lights That Illumine Everywhere may be Vairocana. The original name of the deity is Boguang bianzhaowang 百光遍照王. Earlier in the *Commentary* (fasc. 4) after the deities of the white maṇḍala have been placed, this same rite is described in greater detail (T. 1796: 39.623a4–13). The *ācārya* visualizes his own mind (heart) opening up as an eight-petaled lotus flower to form a seat. On this platform the *ācārya* visualizes the letter *a* in vajra (diamond?) color. The *ācārya* places the King of One Hundred Lights That Illumine Everywhere on his neck and with undefiled eye he visualizes. Since the *ācārya* has empowered himself (in this way?), he transforms himself into the body of Vairocana. This visualization is described in the

ritual instructions in fasc. 7 of the *Sūtra*, T. 848: 18.51c22–52c13. Ref., T. 1797: 39.804c23–805b17. The practice intended for an inexperienced *ācārya* that appears in the passage on visualizing maṇḍala deities in fasc. 8 (summarized above) also appears in fasc. 4 immediately preceding the passage discussed above (T. 1796: 39.623a2–4).

114. T. 1796: 39.661b7.

115. T. 1796: 39.661b9. If the power of the *ācārya*'s visualization is not strong enough to carry out what is described above, he may concentrate his mind and recite the mantra of the head of each of the groups (on the maṇḍala, i.e., the Buddha, Lotus-Flower, and Vajra groups?) one hundred times; for other leading deities, he simply recites their mantras seven times and forms their mudrās (T. 1796: 39.661b10–12).

116. T. 1796: 39.661b25.

117. *Rufo sanmeiye* 入佛三昧耶, T. 1796: 39.661b27. This “bring in the Buddha *samaya*” is discussed in *Mikkyō Daijiten*, 1711c–1712a. See also the entry on the three *samayas*, *Mikkyō Daijiten*, 794ab (section 2).

118. T. 1796: 39.661c2.

119. The cloth is ritually purified with the Acala mantra, or with the mantra of the appropriate section of the maṇḍala. Here the instructions appear to be intended for different types of maṇḍala, not only of Vairocana but also of the Lotus-Flower or Vajra deities (T. 1796: 39.661c4–6).

120. T. 848: 18.11a23 (Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 54).

121. T. 1796: 39.661c13.

122. T. 1796: 39.661c16–17.

123. T. 1796: 39.661c19–662a11.

124. T. 1796: 39.662c26–27.

125. T. 848: 18.43b13–c1 (Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 215–16); T. 1796: 39.662c29–663a1.

126. T. 1796: 39.663b3.

127. T. 1796: 39.663b4.

128. T. 1796: 39.663b9.

129. T. 1796: 39.666b16–17.

130. Ref., T. 1796: 39.661b25.

131. This passage, which mentions a golden stylus applied to the eye, a mirror, and a turning of the dharma wheel conch (T. 1796: 39.666b29–c11), parallels the comparable account of initiation in Vajrabodhi's summary translation of the *Vajrasāekhara* recitation (T. 866: 18.252a17–b6).

132. T. 1796: 39.666c5. The text of these verses is given later in transcribed Sanskrit and in translation (T. 1796: 39.669c19–670c14).

133. T. 1796: 622b18–623a15; 661b3–c2.

134. The maṇḍala described in these chapters is identified as the same *Garbha* Maṇḍala of Great Compassion in several passages: T. 848: 18.23a28; 31c4; 34a5, 16.

135. T. 848: 18.31a25.

136. *Mizhongzhi mimi* 密中之祕密, T. 848: 18.34a5; *neixin mantuoluo* 內心漫荼羅, 36c2.

137. For example, T. 1796: 39.710c14–15, commenting on the “Maṇḍala Practices for the Revolving Wheel” chapter and T. 1796: 39.736c27–737b10, 748c,10–12 749c25–750b1 on the “Secret Maṇḍala.”

138. T. 1796: 39.736c27–737a4. Yixing begins by defining *samaya* as voluntarily making a vow in an important public gathering, honored by kings and ministers, never to do such and such a thing and to do such and such. Violations of such a vow would be punished as grave offenses. Yixing also compares *samaya* to a precept.

139. *Dande yaojian mantuoluo* 但得遙見漫荼羅, T. 1796: 39.737a5.

140. *Jian manuoluo zuowei* 見漫荼羅坐位, T. 1796: 39: 737a10.

141. *Jian mantuoluo ji yinwei bing zuo zhushi* 見漫荼羅及印位并作諸事, T. 1796: 39.737a14–15.

142. T. 1796: 39: 737a18–22.

143. *Mimi sanmeiye* 祕密三昧耶, T. 1796: 39.737a23.

144. T. 1796: 39.737a26–27.

145. T. 1769: 39.737a28–b15.

146. For example, in T. 1796: 39.727c7–28. The expression “secret essence” appears at 727c7. This passage was mentioned in chapter 5 above in identifying the Five Wheel visualization in Bodhiruci's translation of the thirty-fascicle Amoghapaśa sūtra.

147. See, for example, Yixing's discussion, T. 1796: 39.749b12–750b1.

148. This limitation may also reflect the transitional character of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala ceremony; it was formulated when the range of maṇḍala deities was expanding (particularly by incorporating Vajra deities).

149. T. 1796: 39.630c8, based on the *Sūtra*, T. 848: 18.18.6b17 (Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 30); ref., T. 848: 18.6b4–6 (Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra*, 30) and T. 1796: 39.630a3.

150. T. 1796: 39.630c9–11.

151. Ref., T. 1796: 39.646a8–9.

152. T. 1796: 39.661c17–19.

153. T. 1796: 39.660b21–22.

154. T. 1796: 39.660b25–26.

155. T. 1796: 39.630c7–8; T. 1796: 39.660b26.

## 8. AMOGHAHAJRA'S RITUAL MANUALS

1. See 無量壽如來觀行供養儀軌 T. 930: 19.67c7; 一字頂輪王念誦儀軌 T. 954A 19.307c9–11; 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼念誦儀軌法 T. 972: 19.364b11–12; 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經 T. 1056: 20.72a9–14; 觀自在菩薩如意輪念誦儀軌 T. 1085: 20.203c12–13; 金剛頂經多羅菩薩念誦法 T. 1102: 20.454a21–23; 金剛頂勝

初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法 T. 1123: 20.528a18–20; 普賢金剛薩埵略瑜伽念誦儀軌 T. 1124: 20.531b1–5; 金剛王菩薩祕密念誦儀軌 T. 1132: 20.571a2–15; 大虛空藏菩薩念誦法 T. 1146: 20.603a19; 甘露軍荼利菩薩供養念誦成就儀軌 T. 1211: 21.42c7. Geoffrye C. Goble examined Amoghavajra's life in “Chinese Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra and the Ruling Elite” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2012).

2. In the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, ritual instructions in the first 11 fascicles are presented according to a standardized format, and the content of the instructions appears largely based on practices brought from India. The requirement first to undergo the Three-Maṇḍala All-Gathering Vajra Initiation is mentioned in Bodhiruci's translation of the *Sūtra of the Avalokiteśvara with One Thousand Arms and One Thousand Eyes* (T. 1058: 20.101a20–21). The *Susiddhikara* lists a number of conditions under which one can receive precepts, among them that one has entered a maṇḍala (T. 893: 18.606b13–14; 637b6–7; Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras*, BDK English Tripitaka 29-II, 30-II [Berkeley, Calif: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2001], 145). Some of the often highly formulaic ritual instructions attributed to Amoghavajra may have been compiled by Amoghavajra's followers. Ref., Osabe Kazuo 長部和雄, *Tōdai Mikkyōshi Zakkō* 唐代密教史雜考 (Kōbe: Kōbe Shōka Daigaku Gakujutsu Kenkyūkai, 1971), 1.

3. This work, translated by Amoghavajra, forms the opening section of the *Vajrasekhara Sūtra*. The passage in question appears in T. 865: 18.208b9–216a11, or in Giebel's translation, *Two Esoteric Sūtras*, section II, 26–64. Another version of this sūtra was translated by Vajrabodhi as the *Sūtra on Recitation, A Summary Translation from the Yoga Teaching of the Vajrasekhara*. Here the corresponding section appears as a part of the practice in which the practitioner visualizes the deities emerging from the body of the Buddha Vairocana. T. 866: 18.227b24, 227b5–236c16. The passage appears in *Kokuyaku Issaikyō* 國譯一切經, Mikkyōbu 1, 241–270. Yoritomi Motohiro, *Mikkyōbutsu No Kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), 188–189; 204, observes that the expression “All the Tathāgata” refers to Mahāvairocana as undifferentiated *dharmadhātu* as a whole.

4. T. 882. The Sanskrit text of this account of the first of the eighteen assemblies of the *Vajrasekhara Sūtra* is found in Horiuchi Kanjin, *Bon-Zō-Kan Taishō Shoe Kongōchōkyō No Kenkyū* 梵藏漢对照初会金剛頂經の研究, in two vols. (Kōya-machi: Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1983), critically edited and compared with Tibetan and Chinese translations.

5. For example, T. 1085 discussed below.

6. A list of earlier translations that Amoghavajra presented for inclusion in the canon is preserved; T. 2120: 52.839a1–840a11.

7. T. 1005 by Amoghavajra parallels T. 1006 by Bodhiruci; T. 950 by Amoghavajra parallels T. 951 by Bodhiruci.

8. T. 1098 by Amoghavajra and T. 1092 by Bodhiruci.

9. T. 1080 consists of Bodhiruci's translation. Amoghavajra's manuals are numbered T. 1085, *Guanzizai pusa ruyilun niansong yigui* 觀自在菩薩如意輪念誦儀軌 (*Manual for the Recitation Ritual for Bodhisattva Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara*) and T. 1086, *Guanzizai pusa ruyilun yuqie* 觀自在菩薩如意輪瑜伽

(*Cintāmaṇīcakra* Yoga of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara). A part of the yoga manual appears in the Dunhuang manuscript 3916–9 (*Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-huang*, IV, 404).

10. Section 4, T. 1080: 20.190b17–193b15.
11. T. 1095: 20.204b26–c3 corresponding to Bodhiruci's section 11, T. 1080: 20.191c1–8.
12. T. 1080: 20.192a13 and T. 1095: 20.205a26.
13. T. 1085: 20.206a15–17 corresponding to Bodhiruci's entry 23, T. 1080: 20.192c3–8. The mantra that appears in Amoghavajra's manual is listed as no. 425 in Yukio Hatta, *Shingon Jiten* (Tokyo: Hiraikawa Suppan, 1985), 70.
14. T. 1080: 20.192c10 and T. 1085: 20.206a19–22. The verse in Amoghavajra's manual is reproduced in Hatta, *Shingon Jiten*, as mantra no. 122.
15. T. 1080: 20.188c9–189a5; T. 1086: 20.206b4–19. Bodhiruci's instructions only mention the mudrās for the root and the longer heart spells (T. 1080: 20.192c20–193a3).
16. T. 1085: 20.206a23–28 compared with T. 1080: 20.193a21–22. Ref., T. 1080: 20.190a28–b1.
17. *Zhuforulaihaihui guanding daochang* 諸佛如來海會灌頂道場, T. 1085: 20.203c12–13.
18. *Niansong faze* 念誦法則, T. 1083: 20.203c13.
19. *Jingjue* 警覺, T. 1085: 20.204a29.
20. T. 1085: 20.205a7.
21. T. 1085: 20.205a21–b16.
22. T. 1085: 20.206a4.
23. T. 1085: 20.206a9.
24. The visualization is described in T. 1085: 20.206a23–b2.
25. T. 1085: 20.206c2–3.
26. Hatta's information on the occurrences of each mantra is not exhaustive. The list of manuals here is only tentative.
27. *Shingon Jiten*, 306–38, numbers the mantras that appear in each work sequentially. Stars indicate that a virtually identical set of mantras appears in manuals and in sūtras. Sūtras and manuals associated with the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* in the *Taishō* collection are italicized. The one text from the *Vajraśekhara* group is in boldface.
28. The manual for Amitāyus is called *Wulingshourulai guanxing gongyang yigui* 無量壽如來觀行供養儀軌 (*Manual for Visualization Practice and Presenting Offering to Tathāgata Amitāyus*), T. 930: 19:67b20–72b20. The manuals for Uchusma are listed as *Daweinu Uchusemo yigui jing* 大威怒烏芻湍麼儀軌經 T. 1225 and *Wuchuse mingwang yigui fanzi* 烏芻湍明王儀軌梵字 T. 1226, respectively. The manual for Amitāyus is discussed in Charles D. Orzech, "A Tang Esoteric Manual for Rebirth in the Pure Land: Rites for Contemplation of and Offerings to Amitāyus Tathāgata," in *Path of No Path: Contemporary Studies in Pure Land Buddhism Honoring Roger Corless*, ed. Richard K. Payne (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2009), 31–55. *Eighteen*

*Mudrās* or *Shiba qiyin* 十八契印, T. 900, appears to be a later source constructed on the basis of T. 930, *Mikkyō Daijiten*, 889. See Robert Sharf, "Thinking Through Shingon Ritual," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 26, no. 1 (2003): 62.

29. Both manuals are included in the list of sūtras Amoghavajra presented in 771 for inclusion in the canon (T. 2120: 52.839c9, 20). The prominent role that Avalokiteśvara plays in the description of the culminating visualization, noted in detail below, also supports this hypothesis.

30. The manual is reproduced in *Taishō* as T. 954 A and B.

31. I discussed this sūtra in detail above, in chapter 4: one translation of the sūtra (T. 950) is attributed to Amoghavajra, and two similar versions (T. 951 and T. 952) are attributed to Bodhiruci.

32. T. 954: 19.309b1–26 and T. 952: 19.275c2–29; T. 951: 19.240c2–241a5.

33. T. 954: 19.308b15, 18–20 and T. 930, 19.69b16, 21–23.

34. T. 954: 20.308c10 and T. 930: 19.70a67.

35. T. 954: 19.308a14, 17 and T. 874: 18.315b24, 26; T. 873: 18.303b29, c3.

36. T. 1085: 20.206a18–22.

37. T. 1085: 20.206a23–27.

38. T. 1085: 20.206b26–27.

39. T. 930: 19.70b23–72a19.

40. T. 930: 19.70b23–27.

41. T. 930: 19.71a6–7.

42. T. 930: 19.71a10.

43. 想日哩 (二合) 字, T. 930: 19.71a12.

44. T. 930: 19.71a22, 28–29.

45. T. 930: 19.71b1–19.

46. T. 930: 19.71b2–3. The passage in the *Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara Recitation Manual* appears at T. 1085: 20.206b2–3, 13, 18; ref., 1086: 20.210c4–27.

47. T. 930: 19.71b24–26.

48. T. 930: 19.72a10.

49. T. 930: 19.72a17.

50. T. 930: 19.71c2–72a20.

51. *Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara* is mentioned in passing in an inter-linear note in Yixing's commentary on *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, fasc. 16, T. 796: 39.744c19. Zhufo jinjie she zhenshi jing 諸佛境界攝真實經, T. 868, in which the first mantra of the *Recitation Manual* appears, shows significant parallels to the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. Sawa Ryūken nevertheless classifies it as a "Miscellaneous Esoteric" sūtra; *Mikkyō Jiten* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1975), 399.

52. This mantra appears in the recitation manual for the *Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas*, T. 874 (mantra 76). T. 874: 18.317a4–5.

53. Guanzizai pusa ruyilun yuqie 觀自在菩薩如意輪瑜伽 T. 1086: 20.206c7–211b16.

54. *Guanzizai ruyilun pusa yuqie fayao* 觀自在如意輪菩薩瑜伽法要 T. 1087: 20.211b17–215c23. The circumstances of the translation in 730 are not-

ed in *Kaiyuan Catalogue*, T. 2154: 55.571b24–25, c9–11; *Zhenyuan Catalogue*, T. 2157: 55.875a10–11, 25–26. Goble identifies the monk Zhizang 智藏 who assisted in the translation as Amoghavajra in “Chinese Esoteric Buddhism,” 56. This account confirms the Indian origin of this ritual manual attributed to Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. The same distinctive terminology for describing mudrās appears in this text as in Vajrabodhi's translation of the *Vajraśekhara* recitation. Dunhuang manuscript P3916 is a copy of this text, dated by the editor to the tenth century. See *Catalogue des Manuscrits Chinois de Tuouen-huang: Fonds Pelliot Chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. IV, 406.

55. T. 1086: 20.206c13–207a1.

56. T. 1086: 20.207a2.

57. T. 1086: 20.207a16–18.

58. T. 1085: 20.203c12–13.

59. Charles Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 174–91, examined the development in which the *Sūtra of Humane Kings* attributed to Kumārajīva (T. 245) was revised in the translation attributed to Amoghavajra (T. 246), and then recast into a *Vajraśekhara*-based ritual in Amoghavajra's ritual manuals (T. 994–996). In this study Orzech speaks of a “boilerplate” or “template” to describe the more or less fixed sequence of Amoghavajra's *Vajraśekhara* rituals (155).

60. Harriet Hunter discusses the tension between *Vajraśekhara* mantra-mudrā pairs and Mahāvairocana rituals in a later and different setting in “Late Tang Chinese Handbooks for the Garbhakośa Rite,” in *Embodying Wisdom: Art, Text and Interpretation in the History of Esoteric Buddhism*, ed. by Robert Linrothe and Henrik H. Sorensen (Copenhagen: Seminar for Buddhist Studies Publications, 2002), 1–36, esp. 19–22.

61. Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu No Kenkyū*, 200–201, comments on the relationship between the four parts of the *Compendium of the Truth* and the four groups of deities. See also *Mikkyō Daijiten*, 707. Amoghavajra sketched the outline of the eighteen assemblies of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* in *Jin'gangdingjing yuqie shibahui zhigui* 金剛頂經瑜伽十八會指歸 (T. 869). See Rolf Giebel, “The Chinkang-ting ching yü-ch'ieh shi-pa-hui chih-kuei: An Annotated Translation,” *Journal of Naritatan Institute for Buddhist Studies* 18 (1995): 107–201.

62. Vajrabodhi's translation is reproduced as T. 866 and Amoghavajra's as T. 865.

63. T. 882. The *Tattvasaṃgraha*, in turn, is part one of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*.

64. T.1085: 20.206a23–b27.

65. Bodhiruci's account appears at T. 1080: 20.193a20–23.

66. This mantra, “tiṣṭha vajra-padma,” H. 223, will be discussed further below.

67. T. 1086: 20.208c10–11.

68. T. 1086: 20.208c15–209a7.



69. T. 1086: 20.209a22.

70. T. 1086: 20.209b12–19. Ref., Hatta Yukio, *Shingon Himitsu Gyōhō: Gendaigoyaku* 真言秘密行法：現代語訳 (1991; reprint, Tokyo: Tōhōshuppan, 2007), 98.

71. T. 1086: 20.209b2–23, 28, c4, 8. Ref., Horiuchi Kanjin, *Bon-Zō-Kan Taishō Shoe Kongōchōkyō no Kenkyū: Kongōkai Bon, Gōzanze Bon* 梵藏漢对照初會金剛頂經の研究：金剛界品・降三世品 (Kōyamachi: Mikkyōbunka kenkyūsho, 1983), Vol. I, 70: mantra nos. 1723–25. *Mikkyō Daijiten*, 950c, in the entry on *shishō* 四摂菩薩, explains two kinds of *shishō*: the methods used by ordinary beings to assemble holy ones, and the methods used by holy ones to gather ordinary beings.

72. In this table only the manuals containing a set of mantras similar to that in the *Yoga Manual* are starred. The sūtras and manuals rooted in *Vajrasāekhara* teaching are bolded. Texts affiliated with the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* are italicized.

73. Both the two-fascicle manual, T. 874, and the three-fascicle sūtra, T. 865, are called *Jin'gangding yiqierulai zhenshishe dasheng xiancheng dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經.

74. This fact is made clear in the more detailed title of the manuscript versions of this text identified in Dunhuang collections: P3920, *Jin'gangding yiqierulai zhenshishe dasheng hsianzheng da jiaowang jing shenmiao mimi jin'gangjie dasanmeiye xiuxi yuqie (yangqing) yi* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經深妙秘密金剛界大三昧耶修習瑜伽(迎請)儀 (ref., 北 7666 and 北 7666V [余 19]). In this longer title the work is identified as a ritual manual for a secret yogic practice. See *Catalogue des Manuscrits Chinois de Tuouen-huang: Fonds Pelliot Chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. IV, 412–13. The Taishō version of this manual is organized into four sections, and the headings for the second, third, and fourth sections all describe them as secret teachings of the mind, mudrās, and mantras for Vairocana and for All the Tathāgatas group deities of the Vajradhātu Great Maṇḍala.

75. T. 873 is titled *Jin'gangding lianhubu xinniansong yigui* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦儀軌, which may be translated as “Ritual Manual for the Mind Recitation for the Lotus-Flower Group Deities of the *Vajrasāekhara*.” Dunhuang manuscript P2105v contains this work.

76. The mantras 1–12, from the beginning of T. 873, also appear in T. 1122. *Jin'gangding yuqie tahuazizaitian liquhui Puxian xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽他化自在天理趣會普賢修行念誦儀. But in that text they appear in a different order, and the overlap may simply mean that these two texts drew from the same source. There is more agreement in the sequence of mantras between T. 874 and T. 1122, though even between these two there are irregularities.

77. Yukio Hatta, *Shingon Jiten* (Tokyo: Hiraakawa Shuppansha, 1985), 53.

78. T. 874: 18.314a14–15.

79. T. 866: 18.237b20–21.

80. T. 865: 18.208a6–7.

81. T. 873: 18. 302b18–19. Hatta, *Shingon Jiten*, 54, lists this mantra as no. 323.



82. T. 873 (for Lotus-Flower group recitation) also dropped the core sequence of mantras in T. 874 (for Vajradhātu maṇḍala recitation) that addresses Vajradhātu directly and the four directional buddhas: Vajradhātu (no. 79, H. 1076), Akṣobhya (no. 80, H. 9), Ratnasambhava (no. 81, H. 860), Lokeśvara (no. 82, H. 884), Amoghasiddhi (no. 83, H. 54). See Hatta, *Shingon Jiten*, 319–20.

83. *Yiqierulai zhenshishe dasehng xianzheng sanmei dajiaowang jing* 一切如來真實攝大乘現證三昧大教王經 T. 882.

84. T. 882: 18.407b14–409a5; Horiuchi Kanjin, *Bon-Zō-Kan Taishō Shoe Kongōchōkyō No Kenkyū*, vol. 2, 67–77. Here the five central deities of the maṇḍala are generated as “wisdom” deities, followed by the sixteen deities, all “wisdom-lotus” deities. Then the eight offerings are presented and the deities are brought to the maṇḍala by the Four Steps of fetching them. The mantras in Dānapāla's translations are transcribed differently from the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* attributed to Amoghavajra. Mantras in Amoghavajra's *Manual* appear in identical transcriptions in the *Taishō* edition and in the Dunhuang manuscript version, P3916(10); the editor of the *Catalogue des Manuscrits Chinois de Tuouen-huang: Fonds Pelliot Chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale* dates the manuscript to the tenth century (IV: 406).

85. Some of these mantras are also found scattered through the Dānapāla translation (mantras 7, 8, 11, 12), though there is little reason to think that they were taken directly from the larger version of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. They appear to have been incorporated in the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual* from the *Vajraśekhara Mind Recitation Manual* (T. 873).

86. T. 866: 18.227b19–234c7, *Kokuyaku Issaikyō*, Mikkyōbu 1, 241–63; T. 866: 18.234c10–236a14, *Kokuyaku Issaikyō*, Mikkyōbu 1, 263–67; T. 866: 18.236a15–237a15, *Kokuyaku Issaikyō*, Mikkyōbu, 267–70. In Amoghavajra's *Compendium of the Truth* the corresponding account up to the end of the passage on the Four Steps of Fetching Deities appears at T. 865: 18.208b–216a (Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras*, 26–63) (mantras 6–37). We do not know why the order between the Four Inner and Four Outer Offerings and the Four Steps of Fetching is reversed in the *Cintāmaṇicakra Yoga Manual*.

87. T. 866: 18.237a15–237c17, *Kokuyaku Issaikyō*, Mikkyōbu, 270–73. The same sequence appears again later (T. 866: 18.242b2–248b7, *Kokuyaku Issaikyō*, Mikkyōbu 1, 288–309). Mantras 112–139 appear in this section.

88. In these manuals (T. 1086 and 1087) mantras 33–64 in Vajrabodhi's T. 866 translation, describing the presentation of the offerings and fetching the deities, appear as mantras 88–115 (this sequence is for the most part also identical to Amoghavajra's T. 865 mantras 6–37).

89. Though T. 873 is intended for the Lotus ritual, for this section it simply copied the same set of mantras from T. 874. The appropriate mantras from the later part of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* appear not to have been known to the compiler of this manual.

90. The locations of mantras in these texts are again given as they appear in the lists in *Shingon Jiten*, 306–38, which numbers the mantras that appear

in each work sequentially. For Dānapāla's translation (T. 822) the mantras are numbered separately for the four parts. These parts are indicated in roman numerals. Danapāla's Chinese translation agrees largely with the Sanskrit version edited by Horiuchi. The locations of the mantras in the Sanskrit version are identified with the numbers assigned to them in Horiuchi's edition.

91. For example, for the Four Steps of Fetching, the mantras H. 490, 492, 488 and 270 are used in the *Cintāmaṇīcakra Yoga Manual*. In the recitation manual for Vajradhātu maṇḍala, T. 874, the mantras for the Four Steps of Fetching (mantras 112–115) are H. 1423, 1131, 1387, 1465.

92. Only 5 of the first 21 mantras in T. 1086 appear in Dānapāla's translation. As noted above, these mantras also appear in T. 873 and T. 874 and seem to have been taken from there.

93. T. 866: 18.250c11–251a8.

## CONCLUSION

1. A special issue of the journal *Bukkyō Geijutsu* 仏教芸術 (Ars Buddhica), no. 70, is devoted to monochrome drawings, and several articles discuss these collections in some detail (Ōsaka: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1969). Manabe Shunshō 真鍋俊照 discusses the formation of *Bessonzakki* in *Mikkyō Zuzō To Giki No Kenkyū* 密教図像と儀軌の研究 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2000), vol. I, 125–206.

2. *Kakuzenshō*, fasc. 48–49, reproduced in the *Taishō Daizōkyō Zuzōbu* 大正蔵經 図像部, IV. According to the interlinear note, *Kakuzenshō* section, 481b15 and 492b9, the drawings and accompanying notes on the iconography of *Cintāmaṇīcakra Avalokiteśvara* were taken from the material kept at the Shakamon'in 釈迦文院 at Mount Kōya.

3. *Taishō Daizōkyō Zuzōbu*, IV, *Kakuzenshō* section, 495b9–13. The *Jikkanshō* is reproduced under the title *Zuzōshō* 図像抄 in *Taishō Daizōkyō Zuzōbu*, III, and the passage in question appears in the *Zuzōshō* section, 28c6–21. This passage notes that the two-armed image that corresponds to the sūtra description could be found at Ishiyamadera at the time the passage was written. This was a new image, the original Ishiyamadera image having been destroyed by fire. The date of the fire is given as 1078 in the *Nihon Bukkyōshi Jiten* 日本仏教史事典 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1999), 22. The original image was different, with the right hand raised in the “fearlessness” (S: *abhaya*) mudrā, and the left hand lowered, palms outward, in the “wish granting” (S: *varada*) mudrā. That iconography is represented in *Kakuzenshō* drawings nos. 171–72, and was attested at Tōdaiji and Ryūgaiji.

4. *Kakuzenshō*, fasc. 44; *Asabashō*, fasc. 89. This iconography appears in drawings no. 134 (figure 2.1 above) and no. 135 in the *Kakuzenshō*.

5. T. 901: 18.800c29–801a2; *Kakuzenshō*, fasc. 44, no. 136.

6. T. 1069: 20.141b13.

7. *Kakuzenshō*, fasc. 44, drawings no. 137 and 139.

8. T. 901: 18.837a9–21 and 837c19–838a16; fasc. 46, *Taishō Daizōkyōo Zuzōbu*, IV, *Kakuzenshō* section, 444b and c.
9. The *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*, T. 901: 18.805b–c10 is reproduced in *Taishō Daizōkyō Zuzōbu*, V, *Kakuzenshō* section, 89a, 89c3–93a.
10. *Taishō Daizōkyō Zuzōbu*, V, *Kakuzenshō* section, 344a13–b14. The long citation from the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* (T. 901: 18.856b17–c18) is followed by a brief citation from the *Recitation Manual for the Sūtra of the Humane King* (T. 994: 19.514b14–15).
11. No. 329, fascicle 91, *Taishō Daizōkyō Zuzōbu*, V, *Kakuzenshō* section, 342; The passage in question appears in *Jikkanshō*, fascicle 8, *Taishō Daizōkyō Zuzōbu*, III, *Zuzōshō* section, 36a14–b10, and the iconography is drawn as no. 84 there. See also *Bessonzakki*, fascicle 33, *Taishō Daizōkyō Zuzōbu*, III, *Bessonzakki* section, 375c3–4.
12. T. 1007: 19.664a2–b12; T. 1006: 19.651a15–b15; T. 1005: 19.628b4–c4.
13. *Taishō Daizōkyōo Zuzōbu*, IX, *Asabashō* section, 152–54. The sūtras are listed on 154a26–b22.
14. The *Bessonzakki* drawings appear in *Taishō Daizōkyō Zuzōbu*, III, *Bessonzakki* section 13, 109–10.
15. Section 5, T. 1080: 20.193b16–194a13.
16. T. 1080: 20.193b24–28.
17. Drawing no. 169, *Taishō Daizōkyōo Zuzōbu*, IV, *Kakuzenshō* section, 489.
18. T. 1085: 20.206a27.
19. T. 1086: 20.208c21–209a2; T. 1087: 213b16–27.
20. *Taishō Daizōkyōo Zuzōbu*, III, *Zuzōshō* section, fasc. 6, drawing no. 61.
21. The popularity of the six-armed image is noted in the *Jikkanshō* or *Zuzōshō*, *Taishō Daizōkyō Zuzōbu*, III, *Zuzōshō* section, 28c9. The Kanshinji images is discussed in detail in Cynthia J. Bogel, “Canonizing Kannon: The Ninth-Century Esoteric Buddhist Altar at Kanshinji,” *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 1 (March 2002): 30–64.
22. T. 1085: 20.203c14–15.
23. T. 1069: 20.142b17.
24. For example, in chapter 28 of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, T. 848: 44a9–25; Rolf Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sutra*, BDK English Tripitaka, 30-I (Berkeley, Calif: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2005), 219–20.

APPENDIX: THE DAY-BY-DAY INSTRUCTIONS FOR  
THE ALL-GATHERING MAṆḌALA CEREMONY IN THE  
*COLLECTED DHĀRAṆĪ SŪTRAS*

1. T. 901: 18.814b5; 813c9–816c6; 815a11–12. This appears to be an eight-*hasta* maṇḍala.

2. T. 901: 18.889a22; 888b7–12.
3. T. 901: 18.813c12–14; 886a5–7.
4. “Maṇḍala” also appears in some places, without explaining its relationship with the more frequently used “ritual space,” for example, T. 901: 18.887b10 vs 12; c18 vs 17.
5. T. 901: 18.887a13–15.
6. Since the instructions are for the most part sequential (and indicate when they are not), each succeeding description or prescription can be assumed to refer to a succeeding action.
7. T. 901: 18.886a8; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.813c14.
8. T. 901: 18.886a8–9; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.813c14–16.
9. T. 901: 18.886a9–13; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.813c16–19.
10. T. 901: 18.886a13–14; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.813c20.
11. T. 901: 18.886a14.
12. T. 901: 18.886a15–25; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.813c21–814a1.
13. T. 901: 18.886a26–28; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814a2.
14. T. 901: 18.886a26–28. I discussed the Kuṇḍalin rite in detail in chapter 4 above.
15. T. 901: 18.886b7–14; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814a3–6.
16. T. 901: 18.886a28–b7.
17. T. 901: 18.886b14; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814a6.
18. The specific identity of these guardian deities is not stated. The images are described in the list of materials used in the ceremony as “armored” and “five *chi* tall, decorated in fresh bright colors” (T. 901: 18.893c3). Twenty-four banners on which the Divine Kings are painted are also mentioned (T. 901: 18.893b24–25).
19. T. 901: 18.886b16–20.
20. T. 901: 18.886b20–22.
21. T. 901: 18.886b22–25.
22. *tangmenwai liangxiang shengnei* 堂門外兩相繩內, T. 901: 18.889c9–10; T. 901: 18.889c12. The term for “building” throughout the main part of the instruction is *tang* 堂.
23. T. 901: 18.890b10–11.
24. T. 901: 18.887b2–4; 889a29–b1.
25. T. 901: 18.890b12.
26. T. 901: 18.886b26–c1. Ref., T. 901: 18.807b19–22.
27. T. 901: 18.886c27.
28. T. 901: 18.886c7. This enactment of the Kuṇḍalin ritual for securing the ritual space corresponds to the second of the seven instances mentioned in the Kuṇḍalin entry in fasc. 8, T. 901: 18.853b8–10.
29. T. 901: 18.886c7; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814a7.
30. T. 901: 18.886c8–10. This part of the instructions appears to presuppose that the maṇḍala is constructed outdoors on the ground, as generally in the instructions in fasc. 4. It is not clear how these instructions were carried out in

a maṇḍala built inside a building, unless the floor of the building was the dirt ground.

31. T. 901: 18.886c10–22; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814a8–16.
32. T. 901: 18.886c23–25.
33. T. 901: 18.886c25–28; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.81416–20. The mudrā and the spell for expelling Vināyaka are described in the Kuṇḍalin entry in fasc. 8, T. 901: 18.852c7–24.
34. T. 901: 18.886c28.
35. T. 901: 18.886c29; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814a8.
36. Most of the sequence of rites assigned to day 3 in fasc. 12 is assigned to day 4 in fasc. 4. The series of instructions described for day 4 in fasc. 12 is moved to day 6 in fasc. 4 (T. 901: 18.814b20–26).
37. T. 901: 18.887a1–2.
38. T. 901: 18.887a5–21; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b20–23. This instruction is obscure in places and the translation below is tentative. I identify the structure described here as a version of the post-Vedic ritual hut *maṇḍapa*. See chapter 4 above for details.
39. T. 901: 18.887a5–6.
40. T. 901: 18.887a10.
41. T. 901: 18.793a26; ref., also T. 901: 18.887b3.
42. T. 901: 18.886b16 (*qiwai weiyi* 其外威儀).
43. T. 901: 18.887a12.
44. T. 901: 18.894a24.
45. T. 901: 18.887a16.
46. T. 901: 18.887a20.
47. T. 901: 18.887a24–25; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b23–26.
48. A lotus-flower seat is painted on the side of the hearth for the Vajragarbha *homa* ritual, one *hasta* square and one *hasta* deep (T. 901: 18.851b10–12). An identical hearth is prepared for Cāmundā (T. 901: 18.884b10). In the initiation ritual for Śrīṅkhalā the spell master is to think of, i.e., to visualize a large lotus-flower seat inside the hearth with the deity sitting on it (T. 901: 18.848a3–4). The painting of a lotus-flower seat inside the hearth into which the deity is invited may have been intended as a way of assisting such visualization. Yet, as we will see below, in fasc. 12, the deities are invited into the hearth by forming mudrās and reciting spells and visualization is notably absent (T. 901: 18.891c28–29, 892a3–4).
49. T. 901: 18.887a26–28; ref., T. 901: 18.890b8.
50. T. 901: 18.887a29; 889a28.
51. T. 901: 18.887b2–4; 889a29–b2.
52. T. 901: 18.889a29.
53. The water maṇḍala to the northeast is mentioned again at T. 901: 18.890b9, but its ritual function is unclear. *Abhiṣeka* maṇḍalas appear to have been typically situated to the west or the north of the principal maṇḍala. The water maṇḍala for the maṇḍala initiation for the deity Prajñāpāramitā

is created on the western side of the principal maṇḍala (T. 901: 18.808a25); in the ritual for childless women the *abhiṣeka* is performed on the northern side, outside the four-*hasta* maṇḍala on whose center sits the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara (T. 901: 18.819a29–b13).

54. T. 901: 18.887b4. This corresponds to the third performance of the Kuṇḍalin rite as listed in fasc. 8 (T. 901: 18.853b10–11).

55. T. 901: 18.887b5; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814a21.

56. Fasc. 4 requires the same rite of securing the ground on days 4 and 5, and also that the ground is painted with cow dung, working clockwise, on day 5. Marking the halls of the maṇḍala takes place on day 5 in fasc. 12 but on day 6 in fasc. 4. Instructions in the two fascicles are virtually identical, though abbreviated in fasc. 4 (T. 901: 18.814a24–b15).

57. Ref., T. 901: 18.889a24.

58. T. 901: 18.887b24; T. 901: 18.814b5.

59. T. 901: 18.887b12–15; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814a22; 29.

60. T. 901: 18.887b18; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b1.

61. T. 901: 18.887b20.

62. T. 901: 18.887b21.

63. T. 901: 18.887b22.

64. T. 901: 18.887b23; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b4–5.

65. T. 901: 18.887b26–29; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b5–10.

66. T. 901: 18.887c3; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b12.

67. T. 901: 18.887c6–7; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b15.

68. Fasc. 12 T. 901: 18.887c7; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814a24.

69. T. 901: 18.887c7–12; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b16.

70. T. 901: 18.887c10; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b17–18. In fasc. 4 the number of knots is given as 55 rather than 54. Fasc. 12 and fasc. 4 transcribe the spell slightly differently (887c10; 814b18). This spell, in the fasc. 12 transcription, appears in the entry on Hayagrīva (T. 901: 18.834a8). Ref., Yukio Hatta, *Shingon Jiten* (Tokyo: Hiraakawa Shuppansha, 1985), mantra no. 43, p. 36; *Mikkyo Daijiten* 1821c.

71. T. 901: 18.887c12–13; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b19–20.

72. Fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.887c13; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b26.

73. In fasc. 4 the preparation of spell cords is followed by the instructions for setting up bamboo poles in the four corners, connecting them with ropes, and hanging multicolored curtains from them, and the instructions for preparing a hearth with a lotus-flower seat in the middle (814b16–26). This corresponds to the preparation performed on the fourth day in the version in fasc. 12 (887a5–25). In fasc. 4, it is then as the sun is about to set that the *ācārya* and the disciples are to bathe and put on fresh clothes (814b26–27). The *ācārya* then performs the rite of securing the ritual space.

74. T. 901: 18.887c13–16; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b27.

75. Fasc. 12, T. 901: 18.887c16; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b27.

76. T. 901: 18.887c17–21; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814b27–c1.

77. T. 901: 18.887c21–23; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814c3.
78. T. 901: 18.887c23–24; 814c3–5. In the instruction in fasc. 4 the mudrā is placed at other parts of the body as well. In the Kuṇḍalin entry in fasc. 8 this rite may be understood as a part of the third occasion when the Kuṇḍalin spell is used in the All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony (T. 901: 18.853b11–12).
79. T. 901: 18.887c25; 814c5–6.
80. T. 901: 18.887c23–27; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814c3–9.
81. T. 901: 18.888a5.
82. T. 901: 18.887c27–29; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814c9–12.
83. T. 901: 18.887c29–888a4; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814c13–16. The instruction in fasc. 4 specifies that for men the cord is attached to the left arm and for women to the right.
84. T. 901: 18.887b2; ref., T. 901: 18.890b11–12.
85. T. 901: 18.888a5–7; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814c16–17.
86. T. 901: 18.888a7; 814c17–18.
87. T. 901: 18.888a7–10; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814c19–20.
88. T. 901: 18.888a10–11; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814c20–22.
89. T. 901: 18.888a13–15; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814c22–23.
90. T. 901: 18.888a16.
91. T. 901: 18.888a17–19; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.814c27–29.
92. T. 901: 18.888a20.
93. T. 901: 18.888a20–28; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815a1–5.
94. The *ācārya* faces south, as in T. 901: 18.815a5.
95. T. 901: 18.888b1; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815a7.
96. In fasc. 12 the instruction starts at T. 901: 18.888b2. The instructions in fasc. 4 (starting at T. 901: 18.815a7) follow the same sequence, but the sequence seems to continue into the morning of the seventh day. The two disciples who assist the *ācārya* are later called “older disciples,” presumably older initiates, not candidates for initiation; they color the inner sections first, and on the morning of the seventh day, they begin working on the outer sections. The Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara is placed at the center of the maṇḍala as the principal deity (*zuozhu* 坐主). For this deity “a shape of a wheel” is placed on the Lotus-Flower seat (T. 901: 18.815a12–13; ref., *Mikkyō Daijiten*, 1919a). The text then names the deities to be “securely placed” (*an* 安) in each part of the maṇḍala. At the four corners of the inner and outer halls two crossed vajras are placed. The *ācārya*, standing outside the western gate, makes sure that everything is in order (T. 901: 18.815b10–12). Then he stations his “older disciples” to guard the maṇḍala.
97. T. 901: 18.888b2–6; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815a7–11.
98. T. 901: 18.888b7–15.
99. T. 901: 18.888b6–889a24; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815a11–b9. The arrangement of seats in the twelve-*hasta* maṇḍala is shown in a diagram in *Mikkyō Daijiten*, 1919.
100. T. 901: 18.889a22–23; 894a25–897b17.

101. In fasc. 4's eight-*hasta* maṇḍala Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara is the central deity, with Buddha deities to the east, Avalokiteśvara deities to the north, Vajra deities to the south, and heavenly deities to the west in the outer hall. These groups of deities sit in corresponding directions in fasc. 12. But the list of Vajra deities in the maṇḍala in fasc. 4 (eight-*hasta*) is undeveloped and different from those in fasc. 12 maṇḍalas (twelve- and sixteen-*hasta*). The list of Vajra deities in the fasc. 4 maṇḍala may reflect the earlier stage of the pantheon of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala; over time the list of this group of Vajra deities continued to expand and became more standardized.

102. T. 901: 18.889a27.

103. T. 901: 18.889a28–29.

104. T. 901: 18.889a29–b1. The *abhiṣeka* maṇḍala in the inner courtyard was mentioned earlier, T. 901: 18.887b2–4.

105. T. 901: 18.889b2–4; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815b10–12.

106. T. 901: 18.889b5.

107. T. 901: 18.853b12–14.

108. T. 901: 18.889b6–7; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815b12.

109. T. 901: 18.889b24; 889c7, 9–10, 12.

110. T. 901: 18.886b22–25.

111. T. 901: 18.889c11–890b15.

112. T. 901: 18.889c18–19.

113. T. 901: 18.889b9.

114. T. 901: 18.889b12. Ref., T. 901: 18.852bc.

115. Though the specific setting is described differently, this may correspond to the fifth occasion when the Kuṇḍalin rite is performed in the All-Gathering Ceremony in the entry in fasc. 8 (T. 901: 18.853b14).

116. T. 901: 18.889b13–14. Ref., T. 901: 18.833c5–17.

117. T. 901: 18.887c7–13; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815b21–24.

118. T. 901: 18.889b20; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815b24–25.

119. T. 901: 18.889b21–22.

120. T. 901: 18.889b22–23. Each “tree” is inserted into a base and placed upright.

121. *tangmen shengwei zhi nei* 堂門繩圍之內, T. 901: 18.889b24.

122. T. 901: 18.889c1–4.

123. T. 901: 18.889c10.

124. T. 901: 18.889c10–12.

125. T. 901: 18.889c12–15.

126. T. 901: 18.889c15–16.

127. T. 901: 18.889c16–17. This corresponds with the sixth occasion in the fasc. 8 passage (T. 901: 18.853b15).

128. T. 901: 18.889c19.

129. T. 901: 18.889c19–890b15.

130. T. 901: 18.890b18–c8.

131. “When the sun is to the west,” T. 901: 18.889c19.



132. T. 901: 18.889c22–23.
133. T. 901: 18.889c23–24. This passage is discussed in chapter 4 above.
134. T. 901: 18.889c26; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815b27–28.
135. T. 901: 18.889c29–890a1. The string is first measured and then stretched around the ritual space. A more detailed instruction for placing the string around the ritual space appears later: T. 901: 18.890a26–28.
136. T. 901: 18.890a2; ref., 889b22.
137. T. 901: 18.890a6.
138. T. 901: 18.890a10.
139. T. 901: 18.890a10–18.
140. T. 901: 18.890a18–22.
141. T. 901: 18.890a22–23.
142. T. 901: 18.890a24.
143. T. 901: 18.890a25–26.
144. T. 901: 18.890a27–28. This instruction appears somewhat contradictory to the one at 890a1. The earlier instruction indicates that the line has been set up earlier.
145. T. 901: 18.890a28–29.
146. T. 901: 18.890b2.
147. T. 901: 18.890b8; ref., T. 901: 18.887a26–28.
148. T. 901: 18.890b8–9. This four-*hasta* maṇḍala to the northeast, mentioned earlier, may have been created inside the building.
149. T. 901: 18.890b13.
150. T. 901: 18.890b15.
151. T. 901: 18.890b18.
152. T. 901: 18.890b19; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815c3–5. The term “Buddha” appears to be used loosely to refer to a maṇḍala deity. The bowl with the flowers was mentioned earlier at T. 901: 18.889b21–22. 153. For both these rites the instructions indicate that the details have been given earlier (T. 901: 18.890b20–22). In the corresponding passage in fasc. 4 (815c3–5), the practice is again briefly described. A more detailed account appears in fasc. 3, in a description of the maṇḍala ceremony for Prajñāpāramitā, where the shorter mantra for Kuṇḍalin, repeated seven times, is the spell to invite the deities. Incense, flowers, lamps, and food are arranged, and incense is burned. To invite the Buddha, then Prajñāpāramitā, Avalokiteśvara, Vajra deities, and gods, appropriate mudrās are formed (T. 901: 18.811a7–10). For each, the mudrā for the flower seat is formed and the seat mantra is recited (T. 901: 18.811a7–13). What appears to be a slightly different version of this sequence appears in the entry for Buddhōṣṇīṣa in fasc. 1 (T. 901: 18.788a19–c3). The same spell for the flower seat accompanies the corresponding mudrā in fasc. 4 in the entry for the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara (T. 901: 18.817b16–22). In all these examples the seat of the deity apparently stands for the deity. No reference to images appears.
154. T. 901: 18.890b22–c4; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815c7–9.

155. T. 901: 18.890c9–16; ref. fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815c10.
156. T. 901: 18.856a22–25.
157. T. 901: 18.890c18.
158. T. 901: 18.890c22–24.
159. T. 901: 18.890c26. The reference to Avalokiteśvara here is again striking.
160. T. 901: 18.890c26–27.
161. T. 901: 18.889c19.
162. T. 901: 18.890c26–891a4; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815c21–25.
163. T. 901: 18.891a5.
164. T. 901: 18.891a6.
165. The expression “that gate” *bimen* 彼門 appears here, T. 901: 18.891a8.
166. *Mimifa* 祕密法, T. 901: 18.891a11–12.
167. T. 901: 18.891a13; ref., T. 901: 18.854b28–c15.
168. T. 901: 18.891a14.
169. 口思惟善事, T. 901: 18.891a17; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a2, where it is the *ācārya* who makes the mental vow.
170. T. 901: 18.854c; ref., T. 901: 18.887c25; 814c27–29.
171. T. 901: 18.891a27.
172. T. 901: 18.891a27–28.
173. The *ācārya* circumambulates the maṇḍala once. Ref., T. 901: 18.887c3.
174. T. 901: 18.891b7–8.
175. This may refer to the mudrā described at T. 901: 18.853b28–c3.
176. T. 901: 18.891b13.
177. T. 901: 18.891b14–26; 816a1–15.
178. T. 901: 18.891b15–16; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.815c29–816a1 (“samaya mudrā”); 827a3–9. This too suggests that the central deity of this rite may originally have been Avalokiteśvara.
179. T. 901: 18.891b18–19. This spell is given slightly differently in fasc. 4, as the spell of Avalokiteśvara’s *samaya* (T. 901: 18.816a5).
180. T. 901: 18.891b20; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a8.
181. T. 901: 18.891b22–23; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a9–10.
182. T. 901: 18.891b26.
183. T. 901: 18.891b26–27.
184. T. 901: 18.891b29.
185. T. 901: 18.91b29–c25; fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a16–27.
186. T. 901: 18.891b29–c25; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a16–27.
187. T. 901: 18.891b29–c1; Ref., T. 901: 18.889c24–25.
188. T. 901: 18.891c2–3; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a17.
189. T. 901: 18.891c3–9. The term translated as “silent” here is *xinkou* 心口,
- T. 901: 18.891c9.
190. T. 901: 18.891c16–17; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a22.
191. T. 901: 18.891c18–19; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a24–26.
192. T. 901: 18.891c22–23.
193. T. 901: 18.891c23; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a27.

194. T. 901: 18.891c27–892b10; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816a28–b20.
195. T. 901: 18.892a1–2; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816b2.
196. T. 901: 18.879c19–880a3.
197. T. 901: 18.879c25.
198. T. 901: 18.892a3; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816b3.
199. T. 901: 18.892a8; ref., T. 901: 18.834a8–9.
200. T. 901: 18.892b9; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816b20; ref., T. 901: 18.817a1–10.
201. T. 901: 18.892b10–12.
202. T. 901: 18.892b13. This may be the *mudrā* described in T. 901: 18.806b4–10.
203. T. 901: 18.892b15.
204. T. 901: 18.892b16.
205. T. 901: 18.892c1.
206. T. 901: 18.892c4.
207. T. 901: 18.892c5–7; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816b22–23.
208. T. 901: 18.892c7.
209. T. 901: 18.892c8–9; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816b23–24.
210. T. 901: 18.892c10–16; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816b24–c3.
211. T. 901: 18.890a10–18.
212. T. 901: 18.890a14–17.
213. T. 901: 18.892c12–15.
214. T. 901: 18.892c16–22; ref., fasc. 4, T. 901: 18.816c3–6.
215. T. 901: 18.885c26.



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