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eJECAR is a peer-reviewed journal. The Editor in Chief for this volume of *eJECAR* is Henrik H. Sørensen; the journal was typeset by Ian Astley, using LaTeX 2$_\varepsilon$ and other Open Source software. We would like to extend our thanks to those scholars who reviewed material for this issue and to the members of the editorial board for their support.

Contents

Preface

In 1986 Henrik H. Sørensen, Per K. Sørensen (both Copenhagen) and Ian Astley (Aarhus) came together to found the Seminar for Buddhist Studies and its journal, *Studies in Central & East Asian Religions* (known affectionately as *SCEAR* and pronounced "see are"). Produced on a shoe string and very much a labour of love, ten volumes were issued before E. J. Brill of Leiden purchased the rights to the journal. Brill brought out a further two volumes.

A couple of years ago, HHS and IA—upper lips quivering and eyes beginning to moisten—mooted the idea of embarking on a similar venture anew, this time availing ourselves of the recent, significant advances in digital technology and new attitudes to the culture of publishing scholarly work, especially the growing importance of making one's scholarly production available freely (as in "freedom" as well as in "beer"). *eJECAR* is wholly electronic and is distributed thanks to the developers of Open Journal Systems at the Public Knowledge Project and the largesse and forward-thinking of the University of Edinburgh's journals service.

We are also delighted to announce that Richard Payne of the Institute of Buddhist Studies in Berkeley is co-operating with us in digitizing the ten volumes of *SCEAR* published under our auspices, thus making most of our work freely available in the foreseeable future. Our profound thanks go to him and his colleagues for this generous offer. In a parallel venture, since web publishing is also well suited to hosting our SBS Monographs series, IA has begun the task of preparing PDF files of the earliest of those works and they will be added to the site as they become available.

So, here's to spreading the word about the wonderful diversity of life at the other end of the Eurasian land mass—except that this time IA doesn't need to keep his Turbo PC running for most of the morning to compile the files, HHS doesn't need to work his magic with scissors and sellotape, and we don't really need money for postage stamps.

Henrik H. Sørensen and Ian Astley

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Introduction

The papers presented in this issue of *eJECAR* derive from a workshop on Buddho-Daoism, held in the Summer of 2012 under the auspices of the Käte Hamburger Kolleg at Ruhr University, Bochum, for the study of religious exchanges. As such, Buddho–Daoism is a term that has been coined to signal a variety of primary practices and beliefs endorsed by both traditions. The idea behind this meeting was to provide further perspectives on Buddhist and Daoist exchanges and mutual appropriations in order to acquire a better understanding of the close and continuous relationship that has persisted between the two religions from early on.

Each of the three papers and the report presented here is devoted to different aspects of Buddho-Daoism. Early Buddhist and Daoist integration is dealt with by Friederike Assandri through her investigation of epigraphical sources from the Nanbeichao period. Carmen Meinert's essay discusses one aspect of Daoist appropriation of Buddhist iconography from the early pre-modern period, and finally Henrik H. Sørensen presents a series of cases elucidating the Daoist take-over and displacement of Chinese Buddhist divinities and their cults, and presents a report on his role in the project at the Käte Hamburger Kolleg.

Underlying all these studies are questions of religious identity, the power of cultural structures and the significance of language (understood to include symbols and signs), as important factors in establishing a commonality of meaning and usage. These developments facilitated the forms of religious integration and appropriation which we see reflected in the processes that constitute the phenomena of Buddho-Daoism.

Henrik H. Sørensen

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Research Articles

Examples of Buddho–Daoist interaction: concepts of the afterlife in early medieval epigraphic sources

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Introduction

THIS paper is based on a larger study of concepts of the afterlife in the engraved texts of 496 entombed epigraphs (*muzhi* 墓誌) and 494 votive stele inscriptions (*zaoxiang-ji* 造像記) from northern China from the fifth and sixth century CE, using the database of Wei Jin Nanbeichao Stone inscriptions 魏晉南北朝石刻語料庫, part of the larger database of excavated documents from the Wei Jin Nanbeichao 魏晉南北朝實物語料庫 at the Center for the Study and Application of Chinese Characters at ECNU Shanghai.[1]

The methodological approach of the study is that of an intellectual historian rather than that of art historian or archaeologist. While this approach obviously neglects many fascinating and important aspects of the material studied, reading the inscriptions as texts can offer new perspectives on the study of intellectual history, in particular on the question of Buddho–Daoist interaction.

Epigraphic documents from the Six Dynasties period, a period that may be considered formative for Chinese Buddhism as well as Daoism, reflect the interaction of Buddhism

1. The ID numbers and image numbers used to identify the inscriptions mentioned refer to this database. The images shown are taken from that database. I thank Professor Wang Ping and Professor Zang Kehe from the Center for the Study of Chinese Characters at ECNU for allowing me to work with this database before its publication and to use its material. In addition to the database at ECNU, I have also consulted several other databases for stone inscriptions, which are listed in the references. It has to be noted that in general not all epigraphic texts we find in these databases go back to dated and localizable excavations. Some of the texts exist in the form of rubbings in collections, others were transmitted in collections. Wherever the place of excavation of an inscription is known, I add it.

Editor's note: The full-size versions of the images in this article are available for download from the same webpage.

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and Daoism and traditional Chinese concepts in a different way from the received literature. Firstly, different from the received literature, which originated mostly from the social levels of the educated elite, epigraphic documents offer a glimpse on writings deriving from a broader array of social classes. Furthermore, while received literature has come down to us through a process of copying and collecting, which also involved the editing and streamlining of documents, epigraphic documents have survived unedited; sometimes because of calligraphic or artistic considerations, but often simply by chance, good climate conditions, or similar factors, which did not interfere with the intellectual content of the documents. They offer therefore something like a "cross-section" of ideas at a given time and place.

In terms of concepts, Buddhism as well as Daoism were dynamically evolving sets of ideas in a big pool of other sets of ideas. Mixing, co-option, etc., occurred on all levels;[2] yet, mixing or not, Buddhism and Daoism existed as two different entities. And it was in early medieval China that Daoism and Buddhism began to compete as such different entities. Understanding the processes, mechanisms and criteria of these contemporaneous trends of mixing and differentiating, poses one of our challenges in the study of the religions of the Six Dynasties period. The difficulties are amplified by the fact that the process did not occur in an intellectual or religious vacuum; it occurred in the context of a backdrop of firmly established traditions, beliefs and concepts, which were based on what has been called "classical religion".[3] The epigraphic materials might offer a glimpse of some facets of these complex processes.

Votive stele inscriptions and entombed grave inscriptions both concern the after-life of the dead, yet their purpose and outlook is very different. Engraved in stone in early medieval China, these epigraphic documents portray an amazing variety of concepts of the after-life. They offer glimpses of the process of intermingling concepts whose origins defy our scholarly categorization into Buddhist, Daoist or Confucian, building images that go beyond sectarian or doctrinal definitions.

Concepts of the afterlife in early medieval China

Death, the end of all life-processes, as one of the great and unavoidable events of human life, has always raised questions, needs, fears and anxieties. In China as in many cultures, religions developed strategies to help human beings deal with the many different issues that arise when a beloved person dies: commemoration, consolation, proper disposal of the corpse, alleviating anxieties and fears, as well as answers to the burning question

2. See, e.g., Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), for several examples. See also Friederike Assandri, "Early Medieval Daoist texts: Strategies of Reading and Fusion of Horizons", *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 37, no. 3 (Sept. 2010): 381–396.

3. C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese society: a study of contemporary social functions of religion and some of their historical factors* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 23.

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whether there could be some continuation after physical death and if so—what, how, and where?

In early medieval China, different religious traditions co-existed side by side, offering a wide variety of concepts of the afterlife. In an "institutional" framework of religions there were established well delineated responses to the question of afterlife, responses that were usually also cemented in rituals dealing with the dead, funerals, and mourning. Yet, since different religions and traditions existed side by side, ultimately any individual confronting the loss of a beloved person had a variety of concepts and beliefs of different origins to choose from in his efforts to find consolation and create meaning of the experience of death. This comparative freedom of choice with regard to personal beliefs is reflected in the variety and diversity of concepts of afterlife present in epigraphic documents of the Six Dynasties period. In terms of the question of "mixing", "borrowing", "co-opting", "influence", "hybridity", "syncretism" or however we choose to term the phenomenon of the combination of ideas originating in different religions in order to create meaning—or in the case at hand express a vision of afterlife—these documents are valuable. Carved in stone (and hence never edited) during a period that saw intense interaction between Buddhism, Daoism and traditional Chinese worldviews as well as the proliferation and formative development of the first two, they document a great variety of concepts of the afterlife current at the time.

The background: Ancient afterlife beliefs—ascent, descent, and immortality

In China, from about the sixth century BCE a concept of dual souls emerged, one more rarefied, the other more physical. At death the two souls separate. The rarefied or spiritual soul ascends, and the physical or bodily soul descends with the corpse into the grave —from where it enters the underworld. Common names are *hun* 魂 and *bo* 魄; however, other designations are also employed and even the numbers vary.[4]

Since the dual concept of soul seems crucial for the interpretation of the epigraphic material under study, a short discussion of the background of this concept is needed. Lo surmises that possibly prior to the sixth century CE there existed differing concepts of the soul in the north and in the south, respectively called *hun* and *bo*.[5] The earliest term for a soul would have been *bo*, a term traceable to an oracle bone inscription from the eleventh

4. Spiritual components could be also called *shen* 神, *ling* 靈, or *jing* 精; the physical part is also referred to as *xing* 形, form, or *zhi* 質, material substance; occasionally the number is not one each but three *hun* and seven *bo* souls; cf. Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 63.

5. Yuet-Keung Lo, "The destiny of *shen* (soul) and the genesis of early medieval Confucian metaphysics in China (221–578 AD.)" (PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1991), 285; cf. also Yü Ying-shih, "Oh Soul, Come Back! A Study in the Changing Conceptions of the Soul and Afterlife in Pre-Buddhist China", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (1987).

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century BCE. The term was found mainly in the north; according to Lo, it designated a principle of life and also of thought and action, the absence of which eventually—not necessarily immediately—would lead to death.[6]

In the south, documented in the *Chuci* [Songs of Chu], there existed a concept of soul called *hun* in addition to a rather vague concept of *bo*.[7] As described beautifully in the poem "Zhao hun 招魂" [Calling Back the Soul] of the *Chuci*, this *hun* soul was assumed to depart from the body after death and travel or roam—the poem's warnings against going in the four directions, heaven or the underworld imply that the soul was supposed to be able to go there—even if from the point of view of the living human beings calling the soul back, it would be wiser to stay in the comfort of one's home and body.[8] According to Lo, the dualistic concept of *hun* and *bo* emerged roughly in the sixth century BCE, as the concept of *hun* also spread in the north.[9]

The resulting dualistic concept of a soul, of which we find traces in the classics, assumed a person had two souls residing in the body, one was the *hun* soul and one was the *bo* soul (in some texts also three *hun* and seven *bo* souls[10]). The *hun* soul is related to *yang* 陽, ascension and spirit, while the bo soul is related to *yin* 陰, the body and the grave. This is not the place to research in detail the developments that led from two distinct concepts of one soul to a concept of dual souls of each human being; here we shall only describe the phenomenon based on a few citations.

A passage of the *Liji*, "Jiao te sheng 郊特牲", discusses different sacrificial practices of past dynasties, and here the terms *hun* and *bo* are employed clearly in reference to what ascends to heaven (*hun*) and what descends to the underworld (*bo*). The terms are further used in binomial expressions *hunqi* 魂氣, soul-ether, and *xingbo* 形魄, "physical form"-soul, and they are said to return to heaven and earth respectively. Thus here we have a concept of *bo* related to physical form descending to the underworld and a concept of *hun* related to *qi* 氣 (ether) ascending to the heavens. Since both are to receive sacrifice, we may reasonably assume that they refer to the ancestors and thus to "souls".

> 有虞氏之祭也、尚用氣; 血腥爓祭、用氣也。殷人尚聲、臭味未成、滌蕩其聲; 樂三闋、然後出迎牲。聲音之號、所以詔告於天地之間也。周人尚臭、灌用鬯臭、郁合鬯; 臭、陰達於淵泉。灌以圭璋、用玉氣也。既灌、

6. Yuet-Keung Lo, "The destiny of *shen* (soul)", 285.

7. Yü Ying-shih, "Oh Soul, Come Back!", 373.

8. An alternative interpretation of this is that the soul is recalled not to the body, but to the grave—which was equipped with replicas of all the comforts a house would offer. Compare Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety*, 52 and 78–79.

9. Yuet-Keung Lo, "The destiny of *shen* (soul)", 287. For a different interpretation of the emergence of the two souls concept see Ng, Zhiru, "The Formation and Development of the Dizang Cult in Medieval China" (PhD thesis, University of Arizona, 2000), 277: Ng assumes that the emergence of the two soul concept between the Warring States and Han is connected to a religious trend related to "a growing consciousness of individuality which led to the birth of a twofold classification of the self into the *hun* (heavenly) and *bo* (earthly) spirits".

10. Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety*, 63.

然後迎牲、致陰氣也。蕭合黍稷; 臭、陽達於墻屋。故既奠、然後焫蕭合膻薌。凡祭、慎諸此。魂氣歸于天、形魄歸于地。故祭、求諸陰陽之義也。殷人先求諸陽、周人先求諸陰。[11]

14. At the sacrifices in the time of the lord of Yü the smell was thought most important. There were the offerings of blood, of raw flesh, and of sodden flesh—all these were employed for the sake of the smell.

15. Under the Yin, sound was thought most important. Before there was any smell or flavour, the music was made to resound clearly. It was not till there had been three performances of it that they went out to meet (and bring in) the victim. The noise of the music was a summons addressed to all between heaven and earth.

16. Under the Kâu, a pungent odour was thought most important. In libations they employed the smell of millet-spirits in which fragrant herbs had been infused. The fragrance, partaking of the nature of the receding influence, penetrates to the deep springs below. The libations were poured from cups with long handles of jade, (as if) to employ (also) the smell of the mineral. After the liquor was poured, they met (and brought in) the victim, having first diffused the smell into the unseen realm. Artemisia along with millet and rice having then been burned (with the fat of the victim), the fragrance penetrates through all the building. It was for this reason that, after the cup had been put down, they burnt the fat with the southernwood and millet and rice.

17. So careful were they on all occasions of sacrifice. The intelligent spirit returns to heaven, the body and the animal soul return to the earth; and hence arose the idea of seeking (for the deceased) in sacrifice in the unseen darkness and in the bright region above. Under the Yin, they first sought for them in the bright region; under Kâu, they first sought for them in the dark.[12]

The *Liji* also contains one of the oldest classical text sources that explains what happens upon the death of a human being with the two souls. The *Liji*, *Jiyi* 祭義, says:

宰我曰。吾聞鬼神之名。不知其所謂。子曰。氣也者。神之盛也. 魄也者。鬼之盛也。合鬼與神。教之至也。衆生必死。死必歸土。此之謂鬼。骨肉斃於下陰為野土。其氣發揚于上為昭明 ...[13]

1. Zâi Wo said, "I have heard the names Kwei and Shan,[14] but I do not know what they mean." The Master said, "The (intelligent) spirit is of the *shen* nature, and shows that in fullest measure; the animal soul is of the *kwei*

11. *Liji zhengyi* (in *Shisan jing zhushu*, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 26, 1457a.

12. James Legge, transl., *The Lî Kî (The Book of Rites)*, Part I (Sacred Books of the East, vol. 27/The Sacred Books of China, vol. 4), 1885, online edition; accessed 2013–08–31.

13. *Liji zhengyi*, 47, 1595b–c.

14. i.e. *gui* and *shen*.

> nature, and shows that in fullest measure. It is the union of *kwei* and *shen* that forms the highest exhibition of doctrine.
>
> "All the living must die, and dying, return to the ground; this is what is called *kwei*. The bones and flesh moulder below, and, hidden away, become the earth of the fields. But the spirit issues forth, and is displayed on high in a condition of glorious brightness. The vapours and odours which produce a feeling of sadness (and arise from the decay of their substance), are the subtle essences of all things, and (also) a manifestation of the *shen* nature.[15]

In this passage, we find the concept of two elements, one that ascends after death and one that remains with the body and disintegrates to become part of the earth. The terms are *shen* 神 and *gui* 鬼, *qi* and *bo*.

The belief in the existence of a *hun* and *bo* soul as two components related to ascent and descent and to Yin and Yang seems to have pervaded Chinese beliefs thoroughly.[16] Anna Seidel described the beliefs of the lettered class (on whose writings our current knowledge is based) as follows: "At the moment of death one (or later three) pneumatic, more refined *Yang* component of man, the *hun* (let us not call it a 'Soul') escapes from the body, is ritually summoned back in the *chao-hun* ceremony, is then guided by careful steps to the realm of the deified ancestors, and was perhaps thought to descend to the Clan's ancestral temple on the occasion of the sacrifices. Three (or later seven) vital or vegetative *Yin* energies, the *p'o*, follow the corpse back into the earth and have to be appeased with grave goods."[17]

The concepts of the possible abodes of these souls changed over time, yet basic associations of descent, cold, water, *yin*, related to the more physical soul and ascent, light, *yang*, related to the spiritual soul, remained constant. According to Mu-chou Poo, "toward the end of the Warring States period the abode of the soul, whether the Yellow Springs or the Dark City, was seen as a terrifying place."[18] Geographically, the netherworld destinations of the dead were imagined in the north, the region traditionally associated with cold, water and death,[19] either under Mount Tai 泰山 or, possibly older, under Mount Fengdu 酆都山 or Mount Luofeng 羅酆山. Countering the rather terrifying prospect of the cold

15. Legge, transl., *The Lî Kî (The Book of Rites)*, Part II, online edition; accessed 2013–08–31.

16. The Eastern Han dynasty dictionary *Shuowen Jiezi* defines the terms *hun* and *bo* in terms of Yin and Yang: 魂: "陽气也。从鬼云聲" (5791); and 魄: "陰神也。从鬼白聲" (5792). Cited from The Chinese Text Project, ed. Donald Sturgeon, online edition; accessed 2013–08–31.

17. Anna Seidel, "Post-Mortem Immortality, or: The Taoist Resurrection of the Body", in *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions*, ed. Shaked D. Shulman and G. G. Strousma (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 226; cf. also Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 4.

18. Mu-chou Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial in Pre-Han and Han China," *Asia Major* (1998.1): 158.

19. Marcel Granet, "La vie et la mort: croyances et doctrines de l'antiquité chinois" (Annuaire de l'École des Hautes Etudes, section des sciences religieuses, 1920–1921; digital edition, Chicoutimi: J.-M. Tremblay, 2004, 7–9; accessed 2013–08–29.

and dark underworld, the concept of immortality promised eternal life, thus avoiding the dreadful abode of the souls. Immortality concepts came to the forefront in Qin and Han times;[20] realms of the immortals were thought to be located either in islands in the eastern sea, or on Mount Kunlun in the west. In both places the elixir of immortality could be obtained.[21]

The concept of dual souls was not limited to the Confucian belief system. It also penetrated the Daoist Weltanschauung, as many occurrences in the third century Daoist text *Baopuzi* document.[22] Another influential Daoist scripture, *Huangting jing* [The Scripture of the Yellow Court],[23] also clearly states, 魂欲上天魄入淵: "the *hun* soul wants to ascend to Heaven and the *bo* soul descends to the watery underworld." Focusing on the problem of avoiding death, this text proposes to keep the souls together or to reverse the process of separation: 還魂返魄道自然.[24] It is noteworthy in this context that, as Pregadio has shown, later concepts of Daoist transcendence, as presented in the early Tang Dynasty text *Daojiao yishu* (*DZ* 1129), distinguish between different ways of liberation, the highest being ascension to heaven in broad daylight, the lowest being release from the corpse (or physical body), which involved a descent into the grave and the underworld.[25]

Thus, in the autochthonous Chinese tradition, even if Daoism and Confucianism had different approaches to death and post-mortem destinies, a basic duality of a light/dark, ascent/descent, heaven/earth or *yin*/*yang* persisted in both worldviews. The difference lay rather in the attitude towards the separation of the two souls: the ancient Confucian concept took the separation of two elements upon death for a given fact, while the Daoist tradition endeavoured to keep them together.

The Buddhist contributions to concepts of the afterlife

Buddhism, coming from India, brought new and different views on what happens at the death of a person. Based on its Indian cultural background, Buddhism assumed that the deceased would eventually reincarnate; they would be reborn in another existence, de-

20. cf. Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial," 159–160, for citations from the classics and pre-Qin philosophers that point to a concept of immortality. See also Michael Loewe, *Faith, Myth and Reason* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2005), 25ff.

21. Loewe, *Faith Myth and Reason*, 25–34. See also Loewe, *Ways to Paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality* (London: Unwin Hyman), 1979.

22. See Ge Hong, *Baopuzi neipian*, ch. 2, "Lun xian 論仙", for several occurrences.

23. *Taishang huangting waijing yujing*, *DZ* 332, j. 2.

24. A later elaboration of this concept was that immortality could be achieved "after death," as Anna Seidel has argued in her study on "post-mortem immortality", based on Daoist liturgical texts and grave-quelling writs. This "post mortem immortality" would be comparable to a resurrection, brought about by a reconstitution of the two (or more) souls together with the body. See Anna Seidel, "Post-Mortem Immortality", 231, on *shijie* 尸解, deliverance from the corpse.

25. Fabrizio Pregadio, "The Notion of 'Form' and the Ways of Liberation in Daoism", *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 14 (2004): 121–2.

pending on their accumulated karma.[26] While the Buddhist concept of rebirth in its original Indian notion did not presume an individual identity being reborn, in the Chinese adaptation, the concept of rebirth came to imply that according to one's conduct in life, a person would be reborn either in one of the hells, or in positive rebirths like rich families or heavenly paradises. The following short description of Buddhism, which is recorded by Falin in the seventh century, but based on a third century text, shows clearly how the afterlife concepts of Buddhism were understood in a Chinese conceptual frame, offering even a physical description of the "afterlife" existence:

> 後漢郊祀志曰。佛者漢言覺。將以覺悟群生也。統其教以修善慈心為主。不殺生類。專務清淨。其精進者為沙門。漢言息心。剃髮去家絕情洗欲而歸於無為也。又以人死精神不滅隨復受形。所行善惡後生皆有報應。所貴行善修道。以練其精神。練而不已以至無生而得為佛也。身長丈六尺黃金色。項中佩日月光。變化無常。無所不入。故能化通萬物而大濟群生也。有經書數千卷。以虛無為宗。[27]
>
> The *Hou Han jiaosi zhi*[28] has "Buddha", which in Chinese means "enlighten". It refers to enlightening all beings. What runs through his teaching [like a red thread] is that the main concern is to cultivate goodness and a compassionate mind, not to kill living beings, and its sole business is purity. The initiates are called Śramanas, which in Chinese signifies "stopping the mind". [It implies] cutting one's hair, leaving one's family, cutting off all feelings and washing away desires, and returning to *wuwei* (non-activity). They also assume that when man dies his essence and spirit (*jing shen*) do not become extinct, but assume thereafter yet another form; good and bad deeds all have their retribution in the next life. Those who value doing good and practising the Dao [of the Buddha], follow it to exert and cultivate their spirit and essence (*shen jing*). They cultivate ceaselessly in order to reach the state of no rebirth and become Buddhas. [A Buddha's] body is one *zhang* and six *zhi* long [approximately 5.2 meters] and of a golden yellow colour. The back of his neck is adorned with the radiance of the sun and the moon [i.e. the light radiates from his neck and engulfs his head in a halo]; he can transform himself and has no constant shape, there is nothing he does not enter. This is why he can transform and penetrate the ten thousand things and it can make all things equal to a

26. Buddhist philosophy strictly speaking does not teach the persistence of an individual through different cycles of birth, but only karmic residues which would re-aggregate. However, this abstract theory was hard to grasp, and the concept that an individual would reincarnate became much more popular than the abstract philosophical theory.

27. *Poxie lun*, by Falin, *T.* 2109, 52: 479a7–15; cited from CBETA; accessed 2013-08-29.

28. The Hou Han shu does not contain such a chapter. The citation seems to originate instead in the *Yuan Hong Han ji* 袁宏漢紀, a Jin-Dynasty commentary on the *Hou Han shu*. See the note on the term "Futu [Buddha]" in the biography of Liu Ying, Prince of Chu (楚王 [劉] 英), *Hou Han shu* 42, 光武十王列傳第三十二, in the database edition of the *Hou Han shu*, 1428.

> great extent. [Buddhism] has several thousand scrolls (*juan*) of scriptures and books; they take emptiness as their principle.

This concise characterization of Buddhism mentions clearly the concept of rebirth, including the fact that the individual has a moral and ethical responsibility for its afterlife destination, since this life's deeds condition the next life. We can note that there is no reference to dual souls with dual destinations. The concepts of reincarnation and karma —leaving aside the more sophisticated philosophical question of whether it is an individual soul that reincarnates, which pertains to Buddhist scholastics and most probably had rather little impact on the thinking of the general public—introduced the element of the morality of the individual's life as a possible determinant for the destination in the afterlife. Thus, the post-mortem fate of the deceased came to be seen as dependent not only on correct mourning, care and commemoration by the descendents, but also on the moral qualities of the deceased's life.[29] This change, in addition to the turmoil of the times, may have been cause for a change of attitude towards the otherworld and ancestors, which Bokenkamp has aptly described as "anxiety" over the fate of the deceased.[30]

Countering this tendency, Buddhism offered the prospect of salvation, with a large pantheon of saviour deities and the concept of merit transfer[31] to ancestors in the underworlds, concepts which seem to have been very attractive in early medieval and medieval China, as the development of the Buddhist and Daoist votive steles also indicates. With the host of Buddhist salvational deities came a number of heavenly paradises as possible destinations, where the souls would reincarnate if their karma was good. On the downside there were concepts of hell and purgatory, where the individual would spend time atoning for his or her misdeeds. The original Buddhist scope of achieving Nirvana, which would imply total extinction and exit from the cycle of life and death, seems to have been limited to rather few religious practitioners. Instead, the Mahayanistic concept of saviour deities, which would welcome the deceased to their paradise and there grant liberation to him, seems to have gained widespread acceptance. Foremost among them were Amitābha presiding over the Pure Land paradise in the West and Maitreya in the Tuṣita heaven. Cults for both began in the fifth century, as is documented by numerous votive steles.[32]

29. Compare John D. Johnson, "The Nature and Origin of the Taoist Underworld of the Han and Six Dynasties Period" (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1999), 5. He notes that the underworld in China's antiquity served as a "storehouse" for the souls of the dead, assuring they were properly managed to prevent them from bothering the living. In addition, according to him, possibly in connection with Buddhist concepts like karma, it also came to serve as a place of punishment for the wicked. See further Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, 4–6 and 14–15.

30. Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety*, 18.

31. This concept was introduced to China by Buddhism, and it became extremely important, continuing so until the present; see Griffith Foulk, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, ed. Charles Muller, s.v. 廻向; accessed 2013–12–30.

32. For these cults, see Eugene Y. Wang, *Shaping the Lotus Sutra: Buddhist Visual Culture in Medieval China* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2005), 382; and for the steles, Hou Xudong, *Wu liu shiji*

The early Buddhist vision of afterlife and the dual soul concept

Buddhist soteriological and reincarnation theories did originally not build on a concept of two souls that separate upon physical death. Yet, Chinese Buddhists had to engage with the concept of dual souls, as is well documented in the received literature. One of the earliest apologetic treatises, dating probably to the second or third century CE, which is recorded in the *Hongming ji* (*T.* 2102) by Sengyou (445–518), is the *Mouzi lihuolun* 牟子理惑論, where we find a discussion of the concept of rebirth in terms of *hun* and *bo*:

> 問曰。佛道言。人死當復更生。僕不信此之審也。牟子曰。人臨死。其家上屋呼之。死已復呼誰。[33]或曰呼其魂魄。牟子曰。神還則生。不還神何之呼。曰成鬼神。牟子曰是也。魂神固不滅矣。但身自朽爛耳。身譬如五穀之根葉。魂神如五穀之種實。根葉生必當死。種實豈有終已。得道身滅耳。[34]
>
> Question: Buddhism says, "When a man dies he has to be born again. I don't believe this." Mouzi said, "When man approaches death, his family goes up to the roof of the house to call him [in the *zhaohun* ceremony]. When someone is dead, whom do they call then? Some say his *hun* and *bo*." Mouzi said: "If the *shen* 神 returns, then he lives. If it doesn't return, then what do they call it?" [The opponent answered:] "It becomes a *guishen* 鬼神." Mouzi said, "This is right. The Hun and the Spirit [*hun shen* 魂神] certainly don't disappear. But it is only that the body withers by itself. The body is comparable to the root and leaves of the five cereals. *Hun* and *shen* are like the reality of the seed of the five cereals. How could the force of the seed end? When one reaches the Dao, it is just the body that disappears."

This text employs the terms *hun* and *shen* seemingly synonymously as a designation for that which survives physical death. The Buddhist Mouzi's answers seem to indicate that he claims that the basic post-mortem duality is not two souls, one physical and one spiritual, which both continue to exist in different locations, but that only the spiritual part—which he terms *hun* and *shen*—can continue to exist and reincarnate, while the body withers away.

A Buddhist encyclopedia from the early seventh century, *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, in a general discussion of funeral rites, shows that several centuries later the issue of *hun* and *bo* souls was still occupying Buddhists:

> 淮南子曰。天氣爲魂。地氣爲魄。[35] 魄問於魂曰。道何以爲體。魂曰。以無有形乎。魄曰。有形也。若也無有。何而問也。魂曰。吾直有所遇之耳。視之無形。聽之無聲。謂之幽冥者。所以喻道。而非道也。

beifang minzhong fojiao xinyang (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1998), 104–5.

33. *Author's note:* Punctuation emended.

34. *Hongming ji*, *T.* 2102, 52: 3b10–16, SAT Daizōkyō Database; accessed 2013–08–29.

35. See *Huainanzi* (*Zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 7; Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1986), 9, 127: 天氣為魂、地氣為魄。反之玄房、各處其宅。守而勿失、上通太一。—"A person's spiritual souls come from the vapors of

問曰。既知魂與魄別。今時俗亡何故以衣喚魂。不云喚魄。

答曰。魂是靈。魄是屍。故禮以初亡之時。以己所著之衣。將向屍魄之上。以魂外出故。將衣喚魂。魂識己衣。尋衣歸魄。若魂歸於魄。則屍口纊動。若魂不歸於魄。則口纊不動。以理而言。故云招魂不言喚魄。[36]

The *Huainanzi* says : The *qi* of heaven makes up the *hun* soul, the *qi* of the earth makes up the *bo* soul. The *bo* soul asked the *hun*: What is the body of Dao? The *hun* answered: it is no form. The *bo* responded: [But] there is form. If there was not 'being' [form], then how could I ask for it? The *hun* said: I have just met something. Looking at it there is no form, listening for it, there is no sound. I call it dark and dim. It serves as a metaphor for Dao, it is not Dao [itself].

Question: Since we know *hun* and bo are different, then why do today's people when someone dies use clothes to call back his *hun*? Why don't they call back the *bo*?

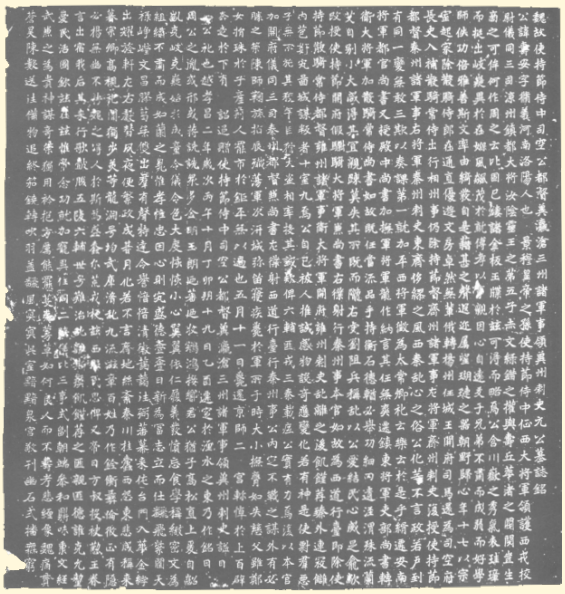
Answer: *Hun* is numinous spirit (*ling*). *Bo* is the corpse. Therefore the Rites prescribe at the moment when someone just has died, that one take the clothes which that person had worn, and spread them on the corpse-*bo*. This is because the *hun* has [at this moment after physical death] gone outside. They use clothes to call the *hun* back, [because] the *hun* knows its own clothes, and following the clothes [can] return to the *bo*. If the *hun* returns to the *bo*, then the cloth placed over the mouth of the corpse will move [because breathing sets in again]. If the *hun* does not return to the *bo*, then the piece of cloth does not move. Speaking of it with reason. This is why it is called calling back the *hun* but not the *bo*.

The text analyzes *hun* and *bo* as different entities, associated with the spirit and the corpse respectively (魂是靈。魄是屍). According to this text, the *hun* soul leaves the *bo* soul/corpse and ascends. The text also explicitly recognizes that the *hun* soul has consciousness, because it is able to recognize its own clothes (魂識己衣) in the *zhaohun* ("Summoning of the Soul") ceremony.[37] Thus, Buddhist texts, both in apologetic discussions and in an encyclopedic compilation, also recount the basic distinction of two souls, *hun* and *bo*, associated with ascension to Heaven and descent to the grave with the corpse respectively, attesting to the continued popularity and widespread distribution of the

heaven; his sentient souls come from the vapors of earth. Returning these to their mysterious apartments and causing each to dwell in its proper residence, if one is able to watch over these and not lose them, he achieves communion above with the Great One." Translation cited from Thesaurus Linguae Sericae, ed. C. Harbsmeier; accessed 2013–08–29.

36. *Fayuan zhulin T*. 2122, 53: 999a14–24; SAT Daizōkyō Text Database; accessed 2013–08–30.

37. This ritual can be traced back at least to the *Chuci* and the famous poem "Zhao hun 招魂". Part of the ceremony was that a piece of clothing of the deceased was employed as a substitute for the deceased, and the soul was called to come back to this world. If the *hun* soul came back to join the *bo* soul, the dead person would be alive again.



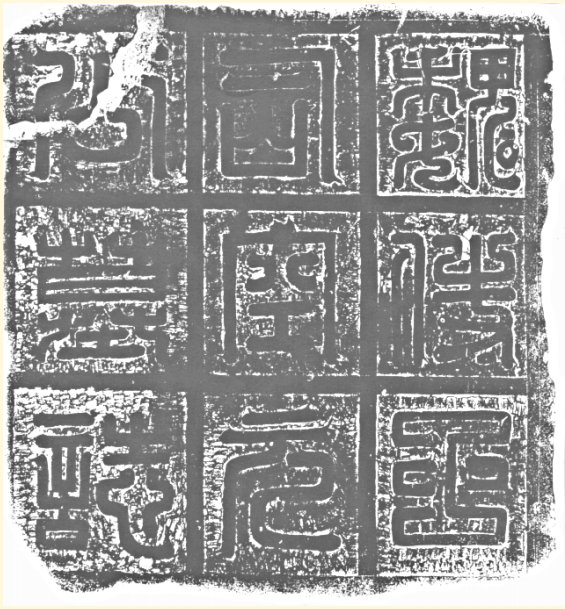


Figure 1: ID 228, 北魏, 孝昌二年 (526), 元壽安墓誌, 河南洛陽, Nos. 5041 (epitaph) and 5042 (lid).

concept. However, it seems that Buddhist reincarnation theories were attached rather to the concept of *shen*; the *bo* soul was relegated to the dead body and no particular discussion of its continued existence was attempted.

This would be a coherent discourse within the Buddhist frame of mind. Yet, in Six Dynasties China, Buddhism co-existed and consequently interacted with Daoism, Confucianism, and "diffused"[38] classical[39] religious beliefs. Did Buddhism's focus on *shen* or *hun* as the agent of afterlife and carrier of what lives on after physical death eliminate concerns for the "soul" of the physical part of the deceased, the *xing* form, or *bo*, bodily soul? Did a descent into the underworld become an alternative destination of the *shen* or *hun* soul—an unpleasant alternative associated with ethically and morally incorrect behaviour during lifetimes, as Buddhism suggested? Or did the concept of something that descends continue to exist contemporarily with the concept of ascent, as descent of a physical bodily part—the corpse that would be buried in the tomb—together with the ascent of a *hun* or *shen* spiritual soul? How did Buddhist concepts of post-mortem paradise ascension and Daoist concepts of immortality interact? These are some of the questions that come to mind when studying the interaction of Buddhist, Daoist, and traditional Chinese concepts of afterlife, and epigraphic documents of the Six Dynasties period can offer some elements to answer them.

38. See C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society*, 25 and 294f.
39. C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society*, 23.

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Written in stone: entombed epitaphs and votive steles

Grave epitaphs (*muzhi*) and Buddhist or (in lesser numbers) Daoist votive steles (*zaoxiang-ji*) are generally considered two different types of epigraphic documents; they represent different traditions, and they had different functions. Yet both developed and flourished in China during the Six Dynasties period.

Muzhi—entombed epigraphs

Typically, a *muzhi* is a large square block of stone, engraved with text and often covered with a lid, which is buried in the tomb. In this form they seem to have developed during the Six Dynasties period (fig. 1).[40] The origins of the entombed epigraphs are to be sought in a variety of elements.[41] Firstly, there were different inscribed objects buried in tombs, predating the development of the entombed epitaphs. One kind of entombed writs were commemorative inscriptions dedicated to an ancestor, found in ritual bronze vessel inscriptions of the Western Zhou;[42] possibly these account for the fact that the character for the entombed epitaph, *ming* 銘 ("to extol the virtues of the ancestors"), is written with the *jin* 金 (metal) radical.[43] Other possible precursors are inscribed stones or bricks, which presumably served as grave-markers to allow descendents to identify a coffin and the remains of their ancestors, even in cases where the burial ground was disturbed or lost.[44] Yet another kind of inscribed document buried in tombs were the "grave quelling contracts" (*zhenmu wen* 鎮墓文)[45] and "tomb contracts" (*maidijuan* 賣地

40. For a detailed description of the form of the entombed epitaph see Albert E. Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 206–7.

41. For detailed discussions of the origin and development of the entombed epitaphs see Hua Rende, "Eastern Jin Epitaphic Stones 1: With Some Notes on the 'Lanting Xu' Debate", trans. Ian H. Boyden, *Early Medieval China* 3 (1997); Angela Schottenhammer, "Einige Überlegungen zur Entstehung von Grabinschriften", in *Auf den Spuren des Jenseits: Chinesische Grabkultur in den Facetten von Wirklichkeit, Geschichte und Totenkult*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), 21–60; Timothy M. Davis, "Potent Stones: Entombed Epigraphy and Memorial Culture in Early Medieval China" (PhD thesis, Columbia University, 2008); Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*; and Kenneth E. Brashier, "Evoking the Ancestor: The Stele Hymn of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 C.E.)" (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1997).

42. Davis, "Potent Stones", 21–2.

43. Dorothy Wong, *Chinese Steles* (Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 2004), 29.

44. The earliest examples of this type were bricks discovered in the tombs of delinquents. They recorded the place of origin, personal name, social standing and date of death of the deceased; in some cases also the crime and punishment received. See Schottenhammer, "Einige Überlegungen zur Entstehung von Grabinschriften," 38.

45. Grave quelling contracts were written usually on pottery jars and buried in the tombs. Excavated specimens date to the late Han and Jin dynasties. They served to pacify the soil gods, in whose territory the grave might intrude, and to "introduce the newly deceased individual to the underworld administration" as well as to reinforce the separation of the living and dead and thus protect the living. See Davis, "Potent Stones," 57–65 for a detailed discussion.

卷),[46] which addressed the spirits and officials of the underworld. The earliest excavated examples of such contracts date to the first century CE. These three kinds of inscribed objects—grave-markers intended to secure identification of tombs to the living descendants, tomb contracts addressing officials or spirits of the underworld, and ritual vessels inscribed with commemorative texts—were all buried in the tomb.

From the Eastern Han dynasty, tombs, especially those of wealthy and important people, were also marked with over-ground steles (*mubei* 墓碑). Commemoration was one important element of their function. However, since these steles were visible and ostentatious, they soon entered the growing debate on the exaggeration of funeral expenditures,[47] and were eventually proscribed—sometimes without much effect,[48] but after the edicts of Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220) in the State of Wei 魏 in 205, and of emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 265–290) of the Jin 晉, the prohibitions began to show effect.[49] Other proscriptions of the above ground grave stele by different emperors followed. Eventually, the originally perfunctory grave markers that were buried in the grave, came to take on the commemorative functions of the above ground grave stele as well. The functions, and also form of the different elements cited, were combined in the *muzhi* of the Six Dynasties period. They were elaborated to include a eulogizing biography, focusing on the special talents as well as the social career of the dead person, the date and circumstances of death and burial, as well as a eulogistic hymn (*ming* 銘) at the end.[50]

Intended to be buried with the coffin in the grave, the afterlife imaginary contained in the texts focuses on the "world of the grave" or the underworld, images like eternal night, darkness and coldness or water abound, and frequently there is the lament that the deceased will never return.[51] This recurring lament of the eternity of the grave, the "never to return" phrase, apart from expressing mourning over the irrevocable loss of a beloved person, also expresses the wish that the soul of the deceased may remain in the underworld, since influences of the dead from the graves were greatly feared.[52] While my

46. These were documents, or contracts, intended to establish rightful ownership of the land of the tomb, which was typically said to have been acquired from some deity, like the Lord King of the East or the Queen Mother of the West or the local Earth God, often for a symbolic sum. For a detailed study, see Valerie Hansen, *Negotiating Daily Life in Traditional China: How ordinary People Used Contracts, 600–1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 149ff; for a list of known tomb contracts, see *ibid*., 231f.

47. This debate can be traced back to the Warring States period (see Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial", 25–33f), but it gained impetus in the Han dynasty, where precise laws were established to regulate funerals and avoid exaggerated lavishness (Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial", 41).

48. See Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial", 42, who cites the years 69, 77, 99, 107, and 118 CE for decrees forbidding lavish burials, but notes on page 43 that they had little impact.

49. Victor Xiong, trans., "Zhao Chao: Stone inscriptions of the Wei Jin Nanbeichao Period", *Early Medieval China* 1 (1994): 84–96; Schottenhammer, "Einige Überlegungen", 25; Wong, *Chinese Steles*, 34.

50. Schottenhammer, "Einige Überlegungen", 25.

51. See Friederike Assandri and Wang Ping, "Multiple Souls and Destinations: Early Medieval After-life Conceptions in the Mirror of Six Dynasties' Stone Inscriptions", *Hanguo hanzi yanjiu* 3 (Dec. 2010), 134–5, for examples cited from entombed epitaphs.

52. Peter Samuel Nickerson, "The Great Petition for Sepulchral Plaints," in *Early Daoist Texts*, ed. Stephen

following discussion refers to votive stele inscriptions, the *muzhi* with their distinct vision of afterlife in the dark, cold, and watery underworld[53] provide an important backdrop for understanding the diverse afterlife concepts current in the Six Dynasties period. In particular, they underscore that the traditional dual soul theory, with one soul ascending and one soul descending after physical death, was alive and wide-spread in the period under discussion.

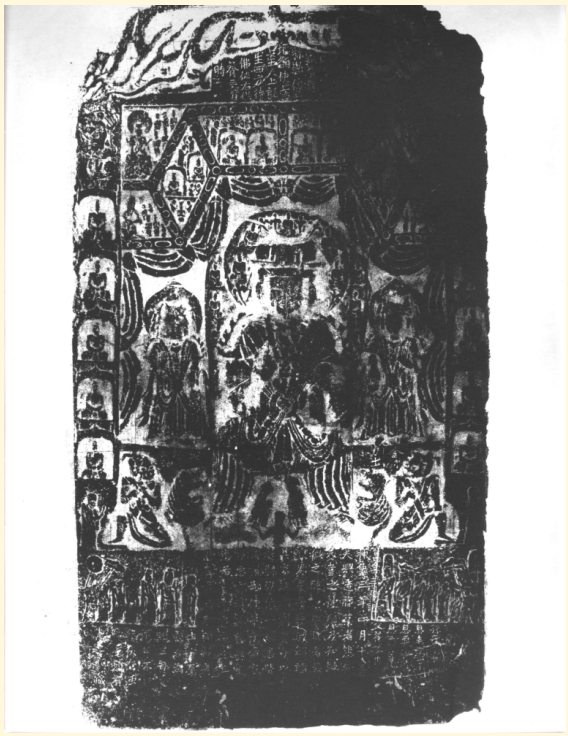

Figure 2: Two examples of *zaoxiangji*: ID 882, No. 4.080, 北魏, 神龜三年 (520), 翟蠻造彌勒像, excavated in Henan (left); ID 480, No. 8127, 北周, 天和元年 (566), 董法相造像記 (right).

Zaoxiangji—votive steles

Buddhist and Daoist votive steles (*zaoxiangji* 造像記) as a particular genre of stele and of religious art developed during the Six Dynasties period as well. They combine the ancient form of upright stele with Buddhist images. Eventually, Daoists also produced their own steles with images of Daoist deities (fig. 2).[54]

R. Bokenkamp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 231.

53. See Assandri and Wang Ping, "Multiple Souls and Destinations," 132–7, for citations of typical examples of imagination of the afterlife in *muzhi*.

54. See Zhang Xunliao, "Daoist Stelae of the Northern Dynasties", in *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220–589 AD)*, ed. John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010): 437–544,

Buddhist images were known in China since Han Dynasty. Initially they were a rare phenomenon in China, often connected to miraculous finds of ancient relics and statues associated for example with King Aśoka.[55] The production of Buddhist images gained popularity during the Six Dynasties period. Using the medium of the stele (*bei* 碑), which had been well established for ritual and commemorative functions since the Han dynasty,[56] Buddhist and later Daoist believers commemorated their faith and established merit—merit which would be transferred to the ancestors to help them reach a positive destination in the afterlife. During the fifth and sixth centuries, large numbers of votive steles were set up in monasteries, private chapels or in grottoes. They were sponsored by individuals or by larger groups, often consisting of a society of a certain village or town (*yiyi* 邑義).[57]

Inscriptions on votive steles usually declare the purpose of dedicating the stele, often for the benefit of deceased ancestors, and they document the donation, including lists of donors and payments made.[58] Like the *muzhi* described above, some *zaoxiangji* include a eulogistic hymn at the end. While votive stele are neither directly employed in funerary rites, nor set up at gravesites, they still relate to the afterlife and disclose afterlife concepts, because the merits associated with making Buddha statues refer to a large extent to the afterlife. One of the earliest translated Buddhist scriptures concerning the making of Buddha images is the *Scripture of King Udayana*,[59] the work of an unknown translator during the later Han dynasty. The scripture lists the benefits of making Buddha statues. Virtually all of them concern the afterlife; promising rebirth in various heavens, or on earth in rich families. Yet, where in this text the benefits seem to concern mainly

and Zhang Ze-xun, "The Daoist Epigraphs of Northern Wei Dynasty: A study of the Guanzhong's district Religious Culture and Ritualistic Activities with Full Transcribed texts of its Daoist Epigraphs", (PhD thesis, Chinese University of Hongkong, 2003).

55. See Alexander Coburn Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Artibus Asiae Supplementum 19, Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1959) for a discussion of the earliest Buddhist images in China on the basis of literary evidence.

56. Bei were used in funerary contexts from the Han Dynasty onwards. However, they have older functions in sacrificial and ceremonial contexts, as classical texts on ritual such as the *Liji* and *Yili* document. See Wong, *Chinese Steles*, 22–4.

57. Wong, *Chinese Steles*, 18, points out that the oldest form of upright stone used in religious contexts were upright stones that symbolized the earth god *she* 社 in the annual festivities in his honour. The local religious organizations responsible to serve the earth god were called *yishe* 邑社; they might be antecedents of the societies called *yiyi* 邑義 (Wong, *Chinese Steles*, 15).

58. As the studies by Hou, *Wu liu shiji beifang minzhong fojiao xinyang*, Amy McNair, *Donors of Longmen: Faith, Politics, and Patronage in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Sculpture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), and others have shown, the steles were central for communal activities; the lists of names and responsibilities of donors in the inscriptions indicate that there were complex ceremonies involved in the making and setting up of the statues.

59. *Fo shuo zuo fo xingxiang jing* 佛説作佛形像經, *T*. 692, 16: 788b3–c18. Compare also the translation of this text by Faju 法炬 from the years of Jin Huidi 晉惠帝 (r. 290–306 CE), *Fo shuo zaoli xingxiang fubao jing*, 佛説造立形像福報經 *T*. 693, 16: 788c21–790a08; and a long citation of yet another version of this text in Daoshi's *Fayuan zhulin*, *T*. 2122, 53: 540b25–c25.

the afterlife of the donor, in the early medieval Chinese stone inscriptions the benefits expected as a reward for the merit accrued from making statues tend to concern the ancestors of the donor rather than the donor himself—the merit was transferred to them.[60] In fact, ancestors and deceased family members, either generically as "seven generations of mothers and fathers and the parents that gave live (i.e. the donor's own parents)", or as specific deceased relatives, are mentioned most frequently as intended beneficiaries of the merit created by the production of the stele.[61]

The content of the wishes for the ancestors refers mostly to afterlife destinations in various Buddhist and non Buddhist heavens as well as in rich families among men. In addition, many inscriptions include a generic dedication to the imperial family, the emperor or the state, or generically to all beings. This underscores the public nature of these steles, which were exposed in grottoes and temples for all to see. The form of the Buddhist statue eventually was also used by Daoists;[62] excavated examples of Daoist votive steles date from the end of the fifth and sixth centuries. The art historian Wu Hong has pointed out that the symbolic significance of the medium of stone connects votive stele and tombs. He suggested that as of the Western Han immortality, death, stone and the West are closely associated in Chinese religious art.[63] He assumes that this combination may have helped the introduction of Buddhism, also because "almost all Eastern Han motifs of Buddhist origins appeared in funerary contexts".[64] Looking at the issue from a different angle, Susan A. Beningson traced how Han funerary customs and afterlife ideas, which were expressed in the structures and decorations of tombs, came to influence the earliest Buddhist cave chapels in the Gansu corridor and Dunhuang.[65]

In addition to these links between votive stele and graves relating to an interaction of Han funerary customs and Buddhism, visual aspects of some of the epigraphic documents of the Six Dynasties also hint at a link: while the genre definitions and distinctions are clear, there are examples of visual similarities between *muzhi* and *zaoxiangji*, as shown in figure 3, and there are also examples where the inscription of a votive stele gives details

60. The transfer of merit especially to parents is also found in Indian Buddhist inscriptions; see Gregory Schopen, *Figments and Fragments of Mahayana Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 230.

61. Compare also Hou, *Wu liu shiji beifang minzhong fojiao xinyang*, 152ff.

62. For a detailed discussion of the Daoist steles of the Northern Dynasties, including a description of their form, the images and inscriptions, see Zhang Xunliao, "Daoist Stelae of the Northern Dynasties", and Zhang Ze-xun, "The Daoist Epigraphs of Northern Wei Dynasty". For a translation of a Daoist votive stele inscription, which underscores the close relation to Buddhist steles, including the wishes for the ancestors, see Assandri and Wang Ping, "Multiple Souls and Destinations", 129.

63. Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 128.

64. Wu Hung, *Monumentality*, 135–6; cf. also Angela Falco Howard *et al.* (eds.), *Chinese Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 201.

65. Susan L. Beningson, "Shaping Sacred Space: Studies in the Ritual Architecture and Artistic Programs of Early Buddhist Cave temples and their Relation to Tombs in Fifth Century China" (PhD thesis, Columbia University, 2009).

Figure 3: ID 451, No. 8044, 北齊, 武平三年 (572) 暈禪師等五十人造像記陰 (left); ID 47, No. 2054, 晉, 永平元年 (291), 徐君妻管洛墓誌碑額, excavated in Luoyang (right). The latter is also called 晉待詔中郎將徐君夫人管洛墓誌銘.

of life and burial as a *muzhi* would.[66]

The Buddhist steles document the great success of Buddhism; Daoism eventually produced votive steles as well. The entombed epitaphs document the persistence of traditional afterlife beliefs and concerns. The texts engraved on these epigraphic documents offer some clues about how different concepts of the afterlife could interact in this multi-layered and multi-player scenario.

Interacting visions of the afterlife

Studying the texts of *muzhi* and *zaoxiangji* together, one is firstly struck by the different outlook of the afterlife envisioned: Where the entombed epitaphs describe gloomy darkness, cold, and an eternity of no return for afterlife, the steles speak of rebirth, light,

66. For example ID 13; No. 3001 北魏; 神瑞元年 (414), 淨悟浮圖記, is an inscription on a votive stele dedicated to the Buddhist Master Jing Wu. It details his clerical career and the different monasteries he stayed in, as well as his burial. This inscription thus unites functions of entombed epitaphs or grave stele with the votive stele.

Figure 4: Visual similarities of a *zaoxiangji* (ID 635, No. 5015, 北魏, 孝昌二年 [526], 吳高黎墓誌, excavated in Luoyang; left) and a *muzhi* (ID 1188, No. 6149, 東魏, 武定六年 [548], 志朗造像記; right).

and heavenly paradises (fig. 4).[67] Yet, they were written at the same time, in roughly the same area. There are no consistent differences in the social environment;[68] nor does the often offered explanation—that one is Confucian, one is Buddhist—really hold: There are

67. For a detailed discussion with examples from epigraphic documents see Assandri and Wang Ping, "Multiple Souls and Destinations", 132–43.

68. While a large part of votive stele was indeed written by simpler folk, we do find votive steles commissioned by high ranking officials or generals. See for example: ID 666, 北齊, 天保七年, 趙郡王高叡造像三段之造无量壽像記; ID 677, 北齊, 天統元年, 鄭述祖雲居館題記; ID 686, 北周, 明帝元年, 强獨樂文帝廟造像碑; ID 921, 北周, 天和六年, 趙富洛等 [廿] 八人造觀世音象記; ID 925, 東魏, 武定元年, 高歸彦造象記, which all mention a military officer (大將軍) as donor. The inscriptions ID 639, 西魏, 龍門山造象五段之蘇方成妻趙鬘題記; ID 654, 東魏, 黃石崖造象三段之齊州長史乞伏鋭題記; ID 666, 北齊, 天保七年, 趙郡王高叡造像三段之造无量壽像記; ID 816, 北魏, 延昌二年, 張相隊造像記; ID 834, 東魏二, 武定七年, 義橋石像碑 all mention an official of the second rank (光祿大夫) as donor.

examples of entombed epitaphs for Buddhists which depict the same afterlife vision of an unfriendly cold and dark world of no return as found in other entombed epitaphs.[69] This suggests the persistence of the traditional concepts of a soul. If we consider the issue from the perspective of a mourning person who has lost a beloved, the simultaneous presence of the traditional dual soul concept—with one element descending into a cold and dark underworld and another element ascending into the heavens or light—and a Buddhist concept of a possible reincarnation of the whole person (or whatever of it survived physical death) in a paradise filled with joy, must have posed quite a dilemma. The epigraphic documents show a wide array of possible solutions to the dilemma, and we find several interesting "Buddho-Daoist" concepts.

The motive of ascent and Buddho-Daoist paradises

In terms of spatial organization, the concept of ascent of a *hun* soul is compatible with the idea of the ascent of the soul to Mount Kunlun to obtain immortality from the hands of the Queen Mother of the West, as well as with ancient concepts of winged immortals ascending to the stars.[70] The geographical direction of the West, where Mount Kunlun as well as the Buddhist paradise of the Pure Land were located, offered yet another point of compatibility. Spatial organization as a determining factor in the assimilation or mixing of concepts of different origins seems to override at times sectarian concerns; in the following two inscriptions we find the conflation of motifs of a Pure Land Paradise and immortal realms:

> 使亡父母託生紫府安樂之鄉神飛三光普焰十地
> I wish to let my deceased mother and father be reborn in the Purple Residences [of the immortals] in the [Land of] peace and joy, and their spirit should fly up to the three luminaries (sun, moon, stars), and illuminate the tenth [and highest] spiritual stage of bodhisattvahood [or more literally: the ten lands].[71]

69. See for example the epitaph of a Buddhist nun: ID 288; No. 5126, 邢巒妻元純陁墓誌, dated to 北魏, 永安二年 (529), excavated in Luoyang, which has in the final eulogistic hymn: 離玆塵境, 適彼玄場; 幽監寂寂, 天道芒芒; 生浮命促, 晝短霄長; 一歸細柳, 不反扶桑—"She left this dusty region, and reached that dark expanse. The dark underworld supervision [offices] are so lonely, Heaven's Way is so vast; life is fleeting, one's lifespan is so short-lived, the time of daylight [in the world of light of the living] is short, the time of night [in the dark underworld] is long; once she returns to the place of the young willows, where the sun goes down, she never returns to the world of the Fusang tree, where the sun rises." Similarly ID 1003, No. 4056, 北魏, 神龜元年 (517), 高英墓誌, 魏瑤光寺尼慈義墓誌銘, another epitaph for a Buddhist nun excavated in Luoyang, while mentioning Buddhist-inspired concepts of liberation, in the end concludes that the deceased will enter forever the world of the Dark Springs: 長辭人世, 永即幽泉; 式銘玆石, 芳猷有傳—"Forever she leaves this human world, eternal are the Dark Springs, we model an epitaph on this stone so that her reputation and fame are handed down."

70. See, e.g., Edward H. Schafer, *Pacing the void* (Warren, Conn.: Floating World, 2005), 235–236.

71. ID 91, No. 3015, 北魏, 太和七年 (483), 崔承宗造像記, excavated in Licheng in Shandong (山東歷城).

Figure 5: ID 91, No. 3015, 崔承宗造像記

An inscription on a Maitreya statue, dedicated by the Buddhist Liu Gezhen and his brothers to their deceased parents, wishes that the merit of the making of the statue should:

> 使亡父母託生紫微安樂之處, 还願七世父母師僧眷屬見在居門老者延年, 少者益筭
> ... cause that the deceased father and mother are reborn in the place of Purple Tenuity (*ciwei*) of peace and joy, and furthermore [this wish should extend to] seven generations of parents and Masters and monks and all related to them, the old should have a long life and the young should augment their life account.[72]

Both inscriptions mix the Daoist heavenly location *cifu* 紫府 or *ciwei* 紫微 with the Buddhist paradise of the Pure Land in the West. *Ciwei* is a stellar location, a heavenly

72. ID 815, No. 4004, 北魏, 延昌元年 (512), 劉洛眞造像記, from the Longmen grottoes in Luoyang, Henan (fig. 6). The term 益筭 is reminiscent of the Daoist *Yisuan jing* (*DZ* 650 and 672), which was also eventually copied by the Buddhists and is found in several versions among the Dunhuang manuscripts. See Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, 100ff, for a detailed discussion of the texts as well as of the methods of augmenting one's life account.

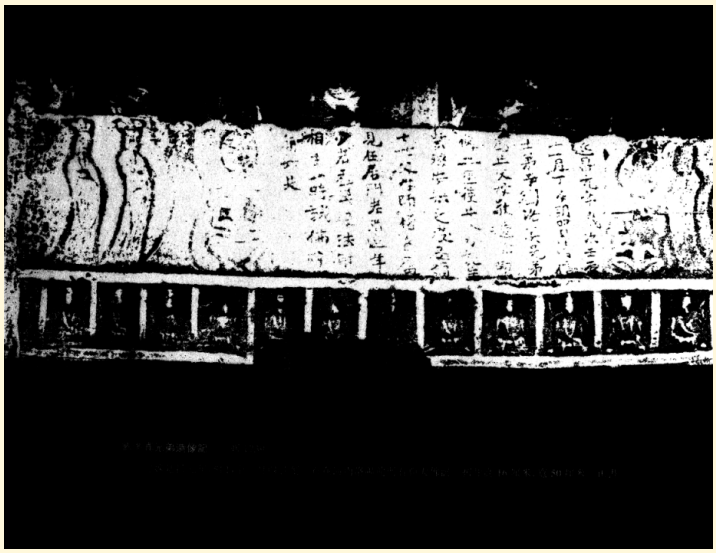

Figure 6: ID 815, No. 4004, 劉洛眞造像記.

palace where the immortals reside; it is said to be the residence of Yuanshi Tianzun 元始天尊 (the Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning), the highest deity of Six Dynasties Daoism.[73] The term *anle* 安樂, peace and joy, instead, was associated originally rather with Buddhist paradises, in particular with the Pure Land paradise of Amitābha, as numerous early Buddhist sūtras testify.[74]

73. The second chapter of the late seventh century text *Daojiao yishu* (*DZ* 1129) records the following: "今依元始天王告西王母、太上紫微宮中、金格玉書, 靈寶真文篇目十部妙經、合三十六卷—This is according to what Yuanshi Tianzun has told the Queen Mother of the West in the Highest Ciwei palace, the golden Characters of the Jade Book, the ten parts of the Wondrous Scriptures of the True Writ of the Lingbao, all together thirty-six scrolls." The preface to the *Duren jing* with four commentaries, *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu*, *DZ* 87, 4a, mentions: "於是元始天尊坐於玄都玉京紫微上宮—Thereupon the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning sat in the Jade Capitoline of the Dark Capital in the Ciwei palace." Ciwei palace here seems to be the center of the heavens, seat of the highest deity Yuanshi Tianzun, and the origin (and repository) of the Daoist texts. The term is certainly also related to Cifu, which *Wushang biyao*, *DZ* 1138, 22, 12a, lists as a palace where immortals and perfected reside: "紫府宮。右在青丘之左風山上。天眞神仙玉女遊觀—The Cifu Palace is on top of Wind Mountain to the left of Green Hill. Heavenly True ones, Transcendents and Jade Maidens roam and contemplate there."

74. To name just a few of the most popular ones: *Daban niepan jing* (*Nirvana Sūtra*), *Taishō* 374, 10 speaks of 西方安樂國土; *Miaofa lianhua jing* (*Lotus Sūtra*), *T*. 262, 6: 54c1–2, has: 即往安樂世界阿彌陀佛大菩薩衆圍繞住處; the *Da fangguang Fo huayan jing* (*Huayan Sūtra*), *T*. 278, 29: 589c3–4 and 46: 694c26–27 speaks of 安樂世界; however, there are many more occurrences in the received Buddhist canon. In a rare case, the term had also found its way into Daoism in northern China: the *Laojun yinsong jiejing*, *DZ* 785, written by Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 (365–448), uses the term *anle zhi chu* in the sense of a paradise to be reached by the dead, in a prayer: 願言、某乙三宗五祖、七世父母、前亡後死, 免離苦難, 得在安樂之處. However, the common context for the term *anle* is Buddhism, namely the Western Paradise of Amitābha. It seems possible that the term entered the Daoist text from a popular milieu, which is also reflected in the epigraphic sources—where the issue was "what happens to the dead?" rather than a sectarian concern, "to which religion do

Thus, conceptually we have a conflation of motifs pertaining to different afterlife destinations originating in different traditions—a stellar destination which would match with the concept of ascent of the *hun* soul, and which in Daoism stood for a realm of the immortals and also for a realm where the sacred potent scriptures that can show the way to immortality, are kept and conferred. The second part instead, *anle*, evokes the association of a Buddhist paradise whose most obvious association is Buddha Amitābha's Pure Land. In these examples we see Daoist motifs related to the realm of the immortals entering a Buddhist context, in inscriptions on Buddha or Maitreya statues. The different concepts or imaginations were merged in terms of spatial imagination, the motif of ascent. I should add that there are also cases, where the different Buddhist paradises are confused or conflated, by monks as well as lay believers,[75]—which also indicates that what was important was not a sectarian cult to a particular deity, but the ascension of the spirit or soul to a positive afterlife destination.

Post-mortem duality and reincarnation in paradise in Buddhist votive steles

The concept of two elements which separate after physical death, is explicitly present in some Buddhist steles, documenting an interaction of Buddhist tenets with older Chinese concepts. However, the terminology employed is rather *shen* 神 and *xing* 形, spirit and form, than the terms *bo* and *hun*; yet, the context suggests that conceptually the two terms denote something that ascends and something that descends into the grave respectively, just like the terms *hun* and *bo*.

An inscription on a statue of Maitreya originating in Linzi in Shandong (山東臨淄), expresses the hope that the *shen* of the seven generations of ancestors may be reborn in paradise (七世先亡、神昇淨境). With reference to the Buddha the text then juxtaposes

we belong?".

75. ID 599; No. 5061; 北魏; 龍門山造像九十八段之宋景如題記, an inscription on a statue of Buddha Śākyamuni from the Longmen grottoes in Henan, has: 藉此傚功願令亡比託生西方妙樂土值佛聞法見弥世勒. "I rely on the merit of this image [of the statue?] to cause the deceased ancestors to be reborn in the West in the [Land] of Wondrous Bliss, and that they can hear the dharma directly from the Buddha and see Maitreya Buddha." Here we have an example for a conflation of two Buddhist paradises, the paradise in the west, which is associated with Buddha Amitābha, and Maitreya Buddha, whose paradise is according to the scriptural tradition in Tuṣita Heaven in the north. Also in ID 878; No. 3043 後魏; 太和二十三年 (499); 僧欣造象記; an inscription on a Maitreya statue from Beijing, Fangshan (房山) commissioned by a monk Seng Xin 僧欣 for his parents and all masters and monks, we find a conflation of Amitābha's and Maitreya's paradises: 願生西方無量壽佛國龍華樹下三 [?] 説法下生人閒侯王子孫与大菩薩同生一 [?] 願一切衆生普同斯福願如是 "May they be reborn in the Western Land of the Buddha of Everlasting Life [i.e. Amitābha] and [participate] under the Longhua Tree in the three assemblies where [Maitreya] preaches the dharma. If they are born among man, may they be sons and grandsons of lords and kings and may they bear a vow like the great Bodhisattva. May all beings partake of this fortune. ... this is what [I] wish." It is noteworthy that in these conflations of Buddhist concepts of afterlife destinations, the spatial association is consistently the west. This orientation reminds us of the Queen Mother of the West and the Han concepts of immortality.

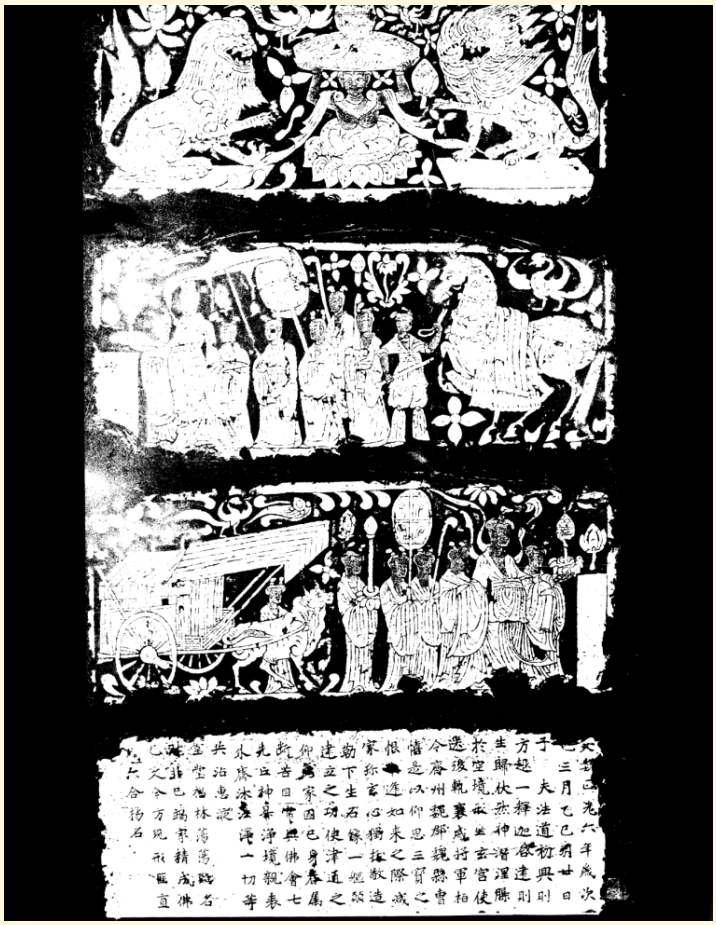

Figure 7: ID 539, No. 4181; 曹望憘造象銘.

the terms *shen* and *xing*, with *shen* entering Nirvana and the sphere of emptiness, and *xing*, the physical form, remaining in the tomb:

> 夫法道初興, 則十方趣一、釋迦啓建, 則含生歸伏。然神潛涅磐、入□空境。形坐玄宮。
> About the beginnings of the Way of Buddhism, it is the same in all ten directions. Śākyamuni Buddha explained and established, and all beings adhere to it. Thus the *shen* hides in Nirvana and enters the realm of emptiness, the *xing*, physical form, remains in the dark palace [of the tomb].[76]

The stele from Shandong mentioned above, juxtaposes a rebirth and a spirit:

> 使亡父母託生紫府安樂之鄉神飛三光普焰十地
> I wish to let my deceased mother and father be reborn in the purple residences

76. ID 539, No. 4181; 北魏; 正光六年 (525); 曹望憘造象銘; see fig. 7. The rest of the sentence is unclear, due in part to blurring in the image available to me.

> [of the immortals] in the land of peace and joy, and their spirit should fly up to the three luminaries (sun, moon, stars), and illuminate the tenth [and highest] spiritual stage of bodhisattvahood.[77]

This seems to suggest that there is "a rebirth" (*sheng*) in paradise, which contains reference to the Daoist heavenly realms of immortals (*cifu*), combined with the Buddhist concept of a Western paradise of peace and joy (*anle*), and an ascension of the rarefied *shen* to a more ethereal destination, associated with heaven and light, and the stages of spiritual development of a bodhisattva.

A similar juxtaposition can be seen in the inscription of stele ID 842 (fig. 8) in the dedication at the end of the longer, clearly Buddhist-inspired, inscription:

> 以此果緣福鍾師僧七世、願使神登紫宮、形昇妙境。見在寧康、子孫興茂
> I wish to take the fortunate karma created with this fruit (of the merit of making the statue) to cherish seven generations of masters and monks; I wish to cause their spirits to ascend to the [star constellation of the] Purple Palace and their physical form to ascend to paradise. Who is still living in this world shall be serene and healthy; sons and grandchildren shall flourish. ...[78]

Here again we find the juxtaposition of *shen* and *xing*. *Shen*, presumably the more spiritual part of post-mortem existence, is associated with ascent and the Purple Palace, a synonym for the aforementioned Ciwei, the Daoist stellar paradise of "Purple Tenuity" located in the Heavens and associated with immortals, sacred writs, and powerful deities. *Xing*, presumably the more physical part,[79] is associated with Paradise (*miaojing*), possibly referring to a vague concept of a Pure Land.[80] Here *xing* is presumably the counterpart of *shen*. Yet the physical form is not said to go to the underworld of the grave, but to ascend to a different destination, namely to paradise. This presents an interesting elaboration of the theme of dual destinations, where in the traditional scheme one part ascends and the other part descends in the underworld—a destination which, also under the influence of Buddhist concepts, must have been seen as an increasingly less desirable destination of afterlife in early medieval China. Here this destination of the physical form or component of the being is transformed into an ascent as well. However, the double ascent motive

77. ID 91, No. 3015, see above, fig. 5, p. 21.

78. ID 842, No. 7069, 北齊一、天保八年 [557]、劉碑造像銘, from Henan, Dengfeng (河南登封).

79. In a discussion of the concept of *xing* 形, form, based on different Daoist texts, Fabrizio Pregadio emphasizes that the term *xing* should be understood as "that which identifies and defines single entities as such" (Fabrizio Pregadio, "The Notion of "Form" and the Ways of Liberation in Daoism", *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 14 (2004), 98), different from *ti* 体, body, in reference to the physical frame of human beings. Form is conceived as the "vessel" of "non-form," that is of Dao (Pregadio, *ibid*., 99) and its relation to spirit or *shen* 神 in the Daoist texts is that of a state to the ruler, with *shen* being the ruler (Pregadio, *ibid*., 108–109).

80. The term *miaojing* appears for example in Buddhabadhra's (active in Chang'an in the first quarter of the fifth century) translation of the *Huayan jing*, *Da fangguang Fo huayan jing*, where the term appears several times, e.g. *T*. 278, 1: 400c19–20: 衆生一見如來身悉能斷除衆煩惱遠離一切諸魔事是名清淨妙境界.

Figure 8: ID 842, No. 7069, 劉碑造像銘.

does not imply a unified entity that lives on after death; there are still dual destinations for the rarefied *shen* and the physical component.

Also the following two votive stele inscriptions, both from Longmen Grottoes in Henan (河南洛陽龍門石窟),[81] present a double ascent motive, juxtaposing *shen* and *ji*, traces, presumably again just like *xing* referring to a more bodily or physical element that remains after physical death and is seen as a pair with *shen*. The juxtaposition here clearly implies Daoist and Buddhist terminology, namely nine heavens and ten "earths", the latter being the ten stages of bodhisattva-hood. An inscription found in the Guyang cave 古陽洞 of the Longmen grottoes (fig. 9) has:

> 願元世父母及現世眷屬、來身神騰九空、迹登十地、三有同 [願。
> We wish for the original father and mother up to all people belonging to us in this generation, that in their future bodies their *shen* spirit may soar up to the Nine Heavens, and their traces may ascend to the tenth stage [of bodhisattva-hood]. This wish is extended to all beings in the three realms of the mortal world.[82]

Another inscription from the Longmen grottoes in Henan also contains the wish that:

> 元世父母及弟子等來身神騰九空迹登十地五道羣生咸同
> The original father and mother as well as disciples in their future bodies, may their *shen* spirit soar up to the nine heavens and may their traces ascend to the tenths stage of bodhisattva-hood, and may this wish be the same for all beings of the five ways of incarnation."[83]

81. Geographical proximity of origin might have facilitated the copying of motifs in this case. Yet, the fact that the motif appears at least twice in different inscriptions still underscores its attractiveness, and is therefore significant.

82. ID 114; No. 3055 北魏; 景明三年 [502]; 高樹解伯都等卅二人造像記. The term *sanyou* 三有 refers to existence in the three realms of desire, form and formlessness.

83. ID 812; No. 3054, 北魏; 景明三年; 孫秋生等造像記 (fig. 10); *wu dao* 五道 refers to the five destinies of reincarnation: hell-being 地獄, hungry ghost 餓鬼, animal 畜生, human being 人間 and god 天上 (see the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, ed. Charles Muller, s.v. 五道 five paths, accessed 2013–08–31).

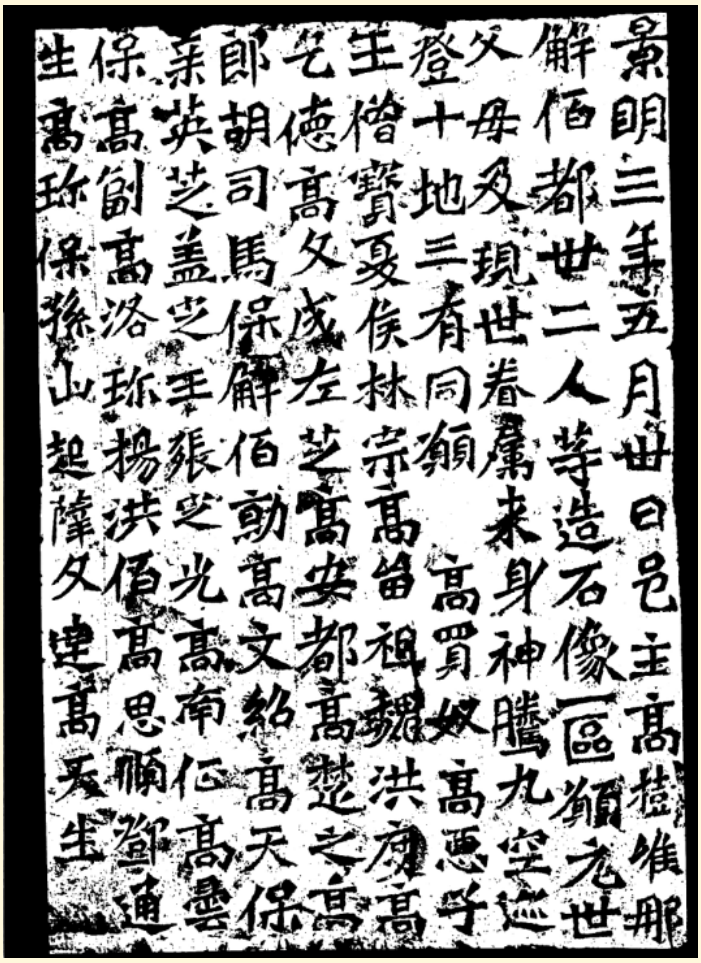

Figure 9: ID 114; No. 3055, 高樹解伯都等卅二人造像記.

The term *jiukong*, nine heavens, which is here envisioned as the destiny of the *shen*, is frequently used in Daoist texts of the medieval period and refers to the highest heavens.[84] The term *shidi*, ten stages, instead refers to a popular Buddhist concept, the concept of the

84. These heavens are the residence of the gods, where they receive or transmit the holy scriptures—holy scriptures that are frequently associated with methods for attaining immortality. The Daoist encyclopedia *Wushang Biyao*, *DZ* 1138, compiled under the Northern Zhou around 570CE, cites many texts that document these associations. See, e.g., j. 24, citing 靈樂洞真七聖元紀經, has:《回天九霄白簡青籙》、上聖帝君受於九空, 結飛玄紫旡自然之字, 玄紀後學得道之名, 靈音韻合, 玉朗示真、或以字體、或以隱音、上下四會、皆表玄名、空生刻書廣靈之堂。Here the nine heavens are the place of revelation of potent magic scriptures which can confer immortality to the person receiving it. Also j. 33, referring to *Dongzhen basu zhenjing* 洞真八素真經, speaks of a transmission of scriptures in the nine heavens; here the transmitting agent is the Queen Mother of the West: 扶桑大帝當以經傳太極四真人、諮於西龜王母。王母告大帝曰、上皇之年、所以為學, 得見寶文、便位登玉清者、皆密脩寶道祕靈、不宣於口、不形於人、替感至寂、以致上真。故道貴隱寂、化于無形、出于無聲。自我受真經於九空、已經累億之劫、未傳三人。

Figure 10: ID 812; No. 3054, 孫秋生等造像記

ten stages of the development of the bodhisattva.[85] The inscriptions listed above refer to 神騰九空、迹登十地. *Laishen* 來身 refers to an afterlife, *shen* to an ascending part, and the *ji* 迹, traces or remains, could refer to the older concept of a more physical soul which descends to the underworld.[86]

It is relevant in this context that the term *shidi* is composed of the elements *shi*, the number ten, and *di*, earth. It is therefore strictly parallel to the term *jiukong*, composed of *jiu*, the number nine, and *kong*, heaven. On the level of language, the two binominal ex-

85. The ten stages of the bodhisattva path refer to the Buddhist doctrine of a succession of ten steps or stages of spiritual cultivation that a being has to pass before becoming a bodhisattva. While different texts, notably the *Huayan* and the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*s, have different sets of ten, a general agreement that the way of the bodhisattva consists of ten successive stages, exists. Interestingly, while this process of ascending to the tenth stage is frequently associated with rebirth, a Chinese commentator, the influential Buddhist Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顗 (538–97), claimed that the tenth stage could be reached in this body. In his *Miaofa lianhua xuanyi*, *T*. 1716, 33: 698b19, he claims: 圓教肉身於一生中有超登十地之義—"The perfect teaching means that within one life in the physical body the ten stages are overcome".

86. Alternatively it could refer to karmic residue that the person has accumulated. However, this latter explanation might have been chosen only by persons familiar with the complexities of Buddhist doctrine, while the former interpretation could have been chosen by persons not familiar with Buddhist doctrines, but with traditional concepts of souls.

pressions therefore correspond nicely to the dualistic scheme expressed in the antitheses of earth/heaven, underworld/heavenly paradise, spiritual part and physical part, or Yin and Yang. On the other hand, in terms of meaning, the terms refer to two possible destinations of spiritual development: the Daoist heavens as source of potent scriptures, often containing recipes and techniques for obtaining immortality and also as a realm where the immortals roam; and the Buddhist tenth stage of bodhisattva-hood—the highest spiritual goal of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which implies full enlightenment but not necessarily complete extinction in *nirvāṇa*, since the fully enlightened bodhisattva can (and usually will) choose to stay in the world to help to liberate all beings from suffering. The term *laishen*, "future body" seems to refer to both components mentioned after (*shen* and *ji*, spirit and traces) and thus to a "complete" person. Does this mean that in a reincarnation the person was complete yet split to attain Daoist immortality and Buddhist enlightenment? Or were the two destinations conceived as ultimately one, another case of conflation of paradises? Or was there a similar concept like that of the Daoist post-mortem immortality, which Anna Seidel described, where the two souls were refined in different places, then to be joined for immortality?[87]

Possibly this indicates that the donors of the stele still would think of the dead person as "one person", no matter if there persisted a concept of the disintegration of the physical person into a more spiritual part and a more physical. However, the fact that a duality of spirit (*shen*) and something else, presumably rather physical (here *ji*, traces) is present, and that these two entities or components seem to have different destinations, one associated with Daoism, and heaven, one associated with Buddhism, and even if only on the surface of language, with earth, is significant.

It brings to mind not only the duality of a *hun* and a *bo* soul, of spirit and physical body, but reminds us also of the several early medieval apologetic texts which often in a polemical manner associate Daoism with Yang and Buddhism with Yin.[88]

Thus, there seem to be "clusters" of associations of a term, where the original meaning or intent of an expression is retained, but envisioned in a new context. In the case of the steles inscriptions discussed, the term *shidi* probably does refer to a spiritual goal of Buddhist cultivation—which would be the meaning of the term.[89] Yet, its juxtaposition

87. Seidel, "Post-Mortem Immortality".

88. See for example *Xiaodao lun*, section 8, in *Guang hongming ji*, *T*. 2103, 9: 146c2, translated by Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 79; or the Daoist *Santian neijie jing*, *DZ* 1205, trans. in Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 222–223.

89. The concept of reaching the ten stages of bodhisattvahood as an afterlife destiny is expressed also in other votive steles, where it becomes clear that the meaning was seen as related to wisdom, insight, and ascent: Inscription ID 176, No. 3142, 北魏, 永平四年 [511], 元燮造像記, from the Great Buddha cave at the Longmen grottoes in Henan, in an unfortunately badly damaged inscription combines the term *shidi* with ascent: 登十地 (ID 111, No. 3045, 北魏, 太和年間 [477–99], 謝伯違造像記); an inscription on a Maitreya statue from the Guyang cave of the Longmen grottoes in Henan, wishes for the parents' health and long life, and that their "wisdom may ascend to the ten stages" (父母康延智登十地). ID 811, No. 3033, 北魏, 太和廿二年 [498], 始平公造像記, another inscription from the Guyang cave of the Longmen grottoes, wishes

with the term *jiukong* adds other layers of meaning to it, including the possibility that the tenth stage of bodhisattvahood could have been seen here as an "alternative" afterlife destination for the part of the deceased which was usually thought to descend—into the earth and a rather unpleasant underworld.

These few examples of the eclectic mixtures we can find in Buddhist votive steles document how Buddhist beliefs did not necessarily simply replace older concepts. Instead, they supplemented them, and dynamic—and variegated—interactions evolved.

The chronological solution and the role of wisdom

Lastly, a look at the inscription of a Daoist votive stele will show yet other facets of "mixing" or "dialoguing" of Buddhist and Daoist concepts.

An inscription on a statue of Laojun from Henan, Yanshidong (河南偃師董家村), is dedicated to the deceased child Yuan Lüe (亡息元略) by his father Qiang Zuan 姜纂.[90] While the identity of the deity the image represents, is not specified in the title, the inscription speaks of Lord Lao:

> 夫靈暉西沒至理東遷圖盡神明、像窮變現、道遙業峻、因藉報遠清信士姜元略、志隆邦國、仁越州閭、衡巷仰風、鄉邑譽望。早洞玄源、夙達空旨而石火電爝儵忽從化 ... 寶散闇泉、玉碎黃壤。父纂情慕東門心憑冥福特為亡略、敬造老君像壹區左右二侍聖相。真容妙絶娑婆雕檀刻削波斯而奇鐫金鏤石優填慚巧。以此勝因追資元略直登淨境獨步虛空逍遙天服乖出六塵遨遊慧體長超八難。
>
> The sun goes down in the West and the highest principle rises in the East. The design shows the brilliance of the spirit fully, the image demonstrates the changing manifestation clearly. The Dao is distant and the Karma is stern; karmic conditions are what bring about the later retribution. The believer Yuan Lüe's [the deceased] ambition was great in the big and small states, his humaneness (*ren*) surpassed provinces and villages, [the common people] look up to the wind, he was well known among village and town companions. [We hope that] he may reach [understanding of[91]] the Dark origin fast and that he may quickly penetrate the absolute truth of emptiness,[92] and [may he] like a spark of fire or a lightning quickly follow transformation ..., the treasure [of

for a deceased father, that his spirit should fly up to the three [luminaries, i.e. sun, moon and stars?—the character is unclear], and that the wisdom may encompass the ten stages (願亡父神飛三 [?]、智周十地).

90. ID 415; No. 7164; 北齊; 天統元年 (565) 姜纂造像記 (fig. 11).

91. Note that the term *dong* 洞, as does *da* 達 in the next section, means to penetrate or reach, in a concrete sense as well as in the sense of understanding something. The double meaning is often intended in early medieval texts, especially those of Daoism. Here it may refer to reaching the origin of all being (presumably in the sense of returning to Dao after death), but also to understanding it.

92. According to the *Hanyu da cidian*, 空旨 refers to the Buddhist absolute truth of emptiness of all being (謂諸法皆空的真諦).

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> the teaching] [shall] disperse the dark springs of the underworld, [just like] Jade [could] break apart the Mound of Yellow [earth] (of the grave).[93] His father Zuan with feelings offers this letter to the gate[94] and in his heart trusts that this underworld merit will benefit especially the deceased Lüe. Reverently he [i.e. the father] made a Statue of Laojun and two accompanying sages. ...The true face [of the statue] transcends the Sahā world [i.e. the universe where human beings live], carved in sandalwood, the imposing appearance would be admired [even in] Persia. The engraving and carving would make even Udayana[95] ashamed by its skilfulness. ... With this superb karma I seek to help Yuan Lüe to ascend straight to the Pure Lands and to be able to alone pace the void and roam in the heavens,[96] skilfully to escape from the six dusts and freely to roam the substance of wisdom and to overcome forever the eight difficulties of rebirth.[97]

The inscription on a Daoist statue in figure 11 shows a "dialogue" of different traditions—even though it is an image of a Daoist deity, namely Laojun, the deified Laozi, the author of the inscription refers explicitly to the practice of making Buddhist images (cf. King Udayana). However, he claims to surpass even the original first Buddha image in beauty and skill of carving. This is a case where we can see an attempt at differentiation, yet this differentiation does not consist in any claims to originality of concepts, instead it is built on a claim to surpass the original, Buddhist image in its craftsmanship. This implies that the obviously Daoist author of the text, presumably the donor of the statue, is explicitly aware of the Buddhist tradition of statue making and the story of its origins. He is also aware of the association of statue making and merit that can be transferred to he deceased, which was established in the Buddhist context. All of these elements he seems to accept, or co-opt, in the Daoist context expressly by making a statue of Lord Lao. Yet, a level of competition seems to be present, as he declares the aim of surpassing in craftsmanship and beauty the famous first statue of the Buddha ordered by King Udayana. It is,

93. This couplet is unclear; I assume that *bao* refers to the Buddhist (or Daoist) teaching, which will lead to ascension of the deceased overcoming the descent into the underworld, just like Jade (which is hard and strong) could break apart a heap of yellow earth, which constitutes the mound of the grave.

94. It is not clear to what "gate" refers here.

95. King Udayana was according to legend the first to produce a Buddha image, as discussed above in the section on *zaoxiangji*, p. 16.

96. The term *tianfu* 天服 is not clear; it could refer to Heaven, parallel to emptiness in the phrase before. It could also refer to heavenly clothes, in a more literal translation, a term which is used in Buddhist texts frequently in descriptions of heavenly beings. In this case the translation should be "roam in heavenly clothes", or, understanding the term as *pars pro toto*, "roam as a heavenly being".

97. For the eight difficult destinies of rebirth, see *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, ed. Charles Muller, q.v. 八難, accessed 2013–08–30: The term refers to eight conditions of rebirths, in which it is difficult to hear the law of the Buddha, namely the conditions of being in hell, being a hungry ghost, being an animal, being in the long-life heavens, being in the Uttaraku lands (a paradise in the north), being deaf, blind or dumb, being a worldly philosopher, and being in the intermediate time between a Buddha and his successor.

Figure 11: ID 415; No. 7164; 姜纂造像記.

however, not quite clear if the emphasis in this competitive attitude is on a Daoist statue surpassing its Buddhist models, or if it is simply his personally commissioned statue being more beautiful than even its most famous predecessor.

The wishes for the afterlife destination, and the vision of afterlife expressed, combine Buddhist and Daoist concepts on different levels. We find the rather abstract concepts of "understanding the Dark origin" [of Dao] and realizing the truth of emptiness [a reference to the Buddhist concept of emptiness as ultimate reality], in addition to the combination of Buddhist and Daoist concepts of ascent: the Buddhist Pure Land Paradise and the Daoist practice of Pacing the Void,[98] a practice related to astral imaginations and ascent. This conflation of Daoist stellar imagination and a Buddhist paradise is similar to the cases in Buddhist votive steles discussed above.

It is noteworthy that the inscription speaks of an underworld, using the term dark springs as well as yellow mount of the grave, which both refer not to Buddhist-inspired hells, but rather to the lore of traditional concepts of the netherworld—the cold and dark watery region of the yellow, dark, or cold springs,[99] where the *bo* soul would descend

98. On this term, see Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, 234ff.

99. All these terms, yellow springs, dark springs and cold springs are common epithets for the nether-

to. It also speaks of ascent, pacing the void, and the Pure Land paradise. The motif of ascent complements the explicit hope that the deceased passes quickly through the—presumably less enjoyable—underworld destination.

This is possibly early documentary evidence for the assumption of a chronological order in the afterlife destinations:[100] the deceased, or what survives of him after physical death, first descends into the underworld and then from there ascends to further destinations in the heavens. The chronological order seems to somehow "unite" the two souls and destinations, since presumably what is here assumed to descend first in the underworld and then ascends is one entity, and not two. It seems that the author of the inscription presumes that his deceased son has gone to this underworld of the "dark springs", and that he can liberate himself from this unpleasant world through insight and wisdom.

The terms denoting this liberating wisdom employ Daoist and Buddhist terminology for absolute truth, suggesting possibly that both Daoist and Buddhist concepts were seen equally efficient or identical. This suggests that this Daoist believer had accepted the Buddhist notion that final liberation from suffering can be achieved through insight or enlightenment. It is well known that in Buddhism insight into ultimate truth, or enlightenment, is assumed to lead to final liberation of the being from the cycle of rebirth and suffering. Buddhist teachings presuppose that the presence of beings in samsara, in this world which is defined as a world of suffering, is tied to the being's ignorance of their own true nature and the nature of all things as empty or non-existent. Thus the conclusion that correct insight, or wisdom, leads to final liberation as the ultimate goal of religious cultivation in the Buddhist context follows quite logically from the presuppositions. The case of Daoism however is different. Daoist teachings did not presuppose that this world is suffering and beings need to escape from it. On the contrary, Daoist cultivation aimed at prolonging the presence of the being in this world by achieving long life or immortality.

It is therefore noteworthy that in this Daoist inscription liberation through insight refers not to liberation from the sufferings of life, but from the sufferings of the underworld. Insight and wisdom are here conceived as that which enables a soul to ascend, leaving behind the dreaded dark and cold watery underworld. In addition, the merit created by making the statue of the Daoist deity Laojun is named as that which shall cause the deceased to reach paradise—the Pure Land (located in the west and associated with the Buddhist deity Amitābha), where he will "pace the void"—again a conflation of Daoist and Buddhist motifs related to ascent.

world. They appear in many entombed epitaphs of the Six Dynasties period as well; see Assandri and Wang Ping, "Multiple Souls and Destinations", 133–137.

100. A concept of a chronological order of first descent and then ascent is common in Chinese popular religion. Ascent is envisioned only after a being has passed through purgatory, located in the underworld and containing ten courts. Escape from purgatory, after atonement for the sins, is imagined on a bridge leading to the Pure Land or to the Daoist Heavens. See Ken Brashier, "Taizong's hell: A Study Collection of Chinese Hell Scrolls" [accessed 2013–08–31], and in particular images of the bridges leading out of hell. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, 5, proposes that the concept of purgatory, which is related to a temporary descent in an underworld, developed in connexion with Buddhist concepts of hell around the seventh century.

This emphasis of wisdom and insight as one way to escape the netherworld of the dark springs might offer a clue for our understanding of a larger development in Daoism: While early medieval Daoist scriptures, like for example the *Huangting jing* mentioned above, tend to emphasize physical and mental cultivation intended to lead the adept to immortality, the later Six Dynasty period Daoism saw a proliferation of scriptures which claimed to lead adepts to insight into ultimate truth.[101] This proliferation has been attributed generally—and vaguely—to "Buddhist influence".[102] Stele inscriptions like the ones discussed that associate the concept of wisdom and insight into ultimate truth explicitly with the idea of afterlife ascension, which referred generally to positive afterlife destinations, and, like the last stele discussed, even with escape from the underworld, offer a clue into one (though surely not the only) dimension of the attractiveness of the concept of wisdom as a religious goal. If wisdom was conceptually associated with ascent of the entity that survived physical death of a being, this same wisdom would have been associated, as is clearly expressed in the last inscription discussed, with positive afterlife destinations in the heavens, like Daoist stellar locations or Buddhist paradises. Such an association again might account for a spread of the concept of liberation through wisdom beyond an intellectual, educated elite.

Concluding remarks

The examples of afterlife concepts in Buddhist and Daoist votive stele discussed so far show some of the possible "fields of associations of concepts", which offer clues for the understanding of some of the processes and criteria of the "mixing" of ideas of different origin. They underscore the fact that ultimately sectarian considerations of Buddhism vs Daoism seemed to have played a minor role. Instead, it seems that spatial or geographical orientation played a decisive role, and allowed the combination of afterlife destinations pertaining to different religions, seemingly without sectarian considerations.

These concepts of spatial orientation (ascent and descent) might have their origin in the ancient concept of dual souls that separate to go to different afterlife destinations after physical death—a concept that was cemented also in the traditional funeral rites, which persisted and were elaborated in the face of new concepts of rebirth brought by Buddhism. This underscores that Buddhist beliefs did not simply replace older concepts. Instead, they supplemented them, and dynamic—and variegated—interactions evolved.

Thus when the stele entitled 劉碑造像銘 (fig. 8, p. 26) presents the wish that the *shen*

101. See Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, ed., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the* Daozang (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 516.

102. Social developments, with Daoism entering higher social strata during the Six Dynasties, might have spurred a general tendency towards intellectualizing and abstracting of religious goals as well, yet this does not exclude image and motif associations like the ones described playing a role in this process; in particular they might have been instrumental in spreading a concept of liberation through insight in the less educated social strata, too.

of the ancestor may ascend to a Daoist stellar paradise and his *xing* to a Buddhist paradise, we can see the traditional concept of a post-mortem duality, as well as a Buddhist concept of paradise, which has to be reached after physical death, and a Daoist stellar location, where the immortals or perfected Daoist beings roam. It is noteworthy that this version of afterlife destinations for post-mortem existences retains the motive of duality of what survives after physical death, form and spirit, corresponding to the concept of the duality of *hun* and *bo*, but eliminates the motive of descent into the dreaded underworld, offering a positive ascent to both parts of the post-mortem duality.

The Daoist inscription discussed last shows yet another variation of the themes: In this inscription we find the motive of post-mortem descent and ascent, yet instead of the assumption of dual souls or dual post-mortem existence, this inscription assumes a chronological order, where the deceased—seemingly not split into the duality of spirit and form or *hun* and *bo*, goes first to the underworld and from there ascends. Prerequisite for the ascension are the deceased's moral qualities and, more importantly, insight into absolute truth and the generation of merit through the votive stele by his surviving father.

The two inscriptions from the Longmen grottoes which contain the expression "*jiukong ... shidi*", present yet another facet of combining and mixing traditional, Buddhist, and Daoist themes. In their case, the term *shidi*, afterlife destination of the "traces", presumably the more physical part of the post-mortem duality, refers to a spiritual goal of Buddhist cultivation—which would be the meaning of the term. The *shen* ascends to *jiukong*, a heavenly location prominent in Daoism. Thus, in terms of meaning, these inscriptions again retain the duality of post-mortem existence, but assign an ascent motive to both, avoiding the idea of a descent to the underworld. However, on the surface of language, the parallel terms *jiukong* (nine heavens) and *shidi* (ten earths) also retain the dual destinations of the older concept of a *hun* soul that ascends to heaven and a *bo* soul that descends into the earth. These inscriptions are thus an eloquent example of the complex and multi-layered meanings and processes that could come into play in the process of "mixing", creating "clusters" of associations of terms which elaborate on foundational motifs of afterlife visions of Buddhism, Daoism, and the "diffused classical" religion.[103]

With regard to the study of Buddho-Daoist mixtures, or of "Buddho-Daoism", the examples discussed in this study emphasize the fact that Daoism and Buddhism interacted with each other within a matrix of "classical" or "traditional" religious notions.

103. The term is C. K. Yang's, see above, p. 2.

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Buddhist Traces in Song Daoism: A Case From Thunder-Rite (*Leifa*) Daoism

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Topic

AFTER the turn of the first millennium the Chinese religious landscape had developed to a degree that the production of hybrid Buddho-Daoist ritual texts was a rather widespread phenomenon. With the rise of a Daoist trend referred to as Thunder Rites (*leifa* 雷法), which matured during the mid- to late-Song 宋 Dynasty (960–1279) and did not solely pertain to any particular branch of Daoism, a new type of (often Buddho-Daoist) ritual practice had emerged, largely exorcistic in nature and that would eventually be incorporated into classical Daoist traditions.[1] Practitioners of Thunder Rites were either members of the established Daoist orthodoxy or itinerant thaumaturges, referred to as ritual masters (*fashi* 法師).[2] They had received powerful ritual techniques (*fa* 法) which, by using the potency of the thunder, aimed to correct the world's calamitous powers to regain a state of balance or harmony.

In the final years of the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1127), from 1122 to 1126, it was the Daoist ritual master named Wang Wenqing (王文卿, 1093–1153) who functioned as the court preceptor of one of the most prominent Thunder Rite lineages, the Divine Empyrean (Shenxiao 神霄) teachings. Among his repertoire of ritual techniques were, unsurprisingly, also rainmaking rituals, namely ones that, as I will demonstrate, are examples of

1. For an overview of Daoist ritual transformations in Song dynasty see Skar, Lowell, "Ritual Movements, Deity Cults, and the Transformation of Daoism in Song and Yuan Times", in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2000), 413–463.

2. For the development of the fashi as Daoist ritual master see Davis, Edward L., *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 33–34.

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such hybrid Buddho-Daoist productions. In fact, the weather in general was a paramount concern in early and medieval Chinese religion and thus religious professionals were expected to perform therapeutic and apotropaic practices as well as demonstrating the attainment of supernatural powers through their rituals. Thus rainmaking rituals have a long history from the early Han religious and throughout the medieval Daoist and Buddhist world.[3] Although the Daoist and Buddhist textual examples of rainmaking rituals dealt with in this short paper are merely a minor discovery, they might, nonetheless, contribute to understand the modes and degrees of appropriation of Esoteric Buddhist knowledge into Daoist Thunder Rites in the Song Dynasty. The main argument here with regard to Buddho-Daoist hybrid ritual texts is: By the early twelfth century elements of Esoteric Buddhism were fully embedded in the interstices of prevailing Daoist ritual practices, at least in the Thunder Rites, namely—and that is important—to a degree that they were almost rendered invisible!

Before turning to the concrete textual examples, however, I will first briefly contextualise the historical background that allowed someone like the Daoist ritual master Wang Wenqing to leave impacts of his teachings at the highest imperial level, and second sketch the major shift that is visible in Song Daoism that allowed for Thunder Rites to emerge.

Context

The flourishing and lasting impact of religious trends in medieval China was, at least to a certain degree, depending on official or local, if not imperial support. As for the Song Dynasty an important shift in imperial patronage is noticeable, which was intimately interwoven with the fabric of statecraft and emperorship and which also had an immediate influence on imperial patronage of our Daoist ritual master Wang Wenqing. The early decades of the Song Dynasty saw a remarkable degree of imperial patronage of Buddhism, which, however, is in scholarship now partly understood as an instrument of civil policy: internally to demonstrate the Song court's emphasis on literary learning as a modality for integrating the formerly divided country, and externally as a tool in diplomatic relations with neighbouring empires along the northern border.[4] One important project in favour of Buddhism at the time was the establishment of the Institute for the Translation of Buddhist Scriptures (Yijing Yuan 譯經院) which operated for around a century (982—1082) and allowed a large body of Esoteric Buddhist literature, including the latest ritual techniques, to be translated from Sanskrit into Chinese–with the assistance of Indian and

3. The following PhD thesis gives an excellent overview of the historical developments of rainmaking rituals and related topics in medieval Chinese religious history: Capitanio, Joshua, "Dragon Kings and Thunder Gods: Rainmaking, Magic, and Ritual in Medieval Chinese Religion" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2008).

4. Sen, Tansen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade. The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600–1400* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 133.

Central Asian monk-scholars.[5] However, Buddhist monks and texts became increasingly entangled in foreign affairs and turned into an instrument of diplomacy. This holds particularly true for the time of the rising of the independent states of the powerful Khitan (Liao 遼, 916–1125) and Tangut (Xixia 西夏, 982–1227) tribes in the tenth century, both of whom endorsed Buddhism as a state religion, yet simultaneously continued to remain a major military threat to the Song court.

And it was precisely this military threat at the northern borders of the Song Empire that eventually contributed to a decisive shift in the imperial religious patronage in favour of Daoism. The latter had already started with the Northern Song Emperor Zhenzong (真宗, r. 997–1022) who developed a sense of humiliation about the treaty of Shanyuan in 1005, which he had signed and which had ended warfare with the Khitan in the north, yet at the price of paying tribute to the Khitan. In the course of this event, in 1008 Zhenzong is said to have discovered a yellow silk scroll that had descended from the sky, the Heavenly Text (*tianshu* 天書), which announced heaven's approval of his rule despite the problematic results of the Shanyuan treaty. The text was venerated in a suitable Daoist temple complex and the whole affair eventually triggered the establishment of Daoist temples in each prefecture of the empire. Thus Emperor Zhenzong was at the centre of this Daoist renewal in the early years of the Song.[6]

Thereafter the Northern Song emperors' support for Daoism remained unchanged. It reached its climax under the last emperor of the Northern Song, Emperor Huizong (徽宗, r. 1100–1126) who finished the task set by Zhenzong and finally installed Daoism again as the state religion in 1116. However, his mission was perhaps accomplished only through the assistance of his Daoist advisors at the time: firstly Lin Lingsu (林灵素, 1076?–1120), a ritual master of the Divine Empyrean Thunder Rites, helped to install Emperor Huizong himself as the reincarnation of a Daoist deity and thus also as a divine emperor, and secondly our ritual master Wang Wenqing continued Lin's work and remained Huizong's Daoist councellor from 1122 until the latter's abdication in 1126. With the support of both, Huizong attempted to promote the translocal integration of society through a religious medium during times of severe military threats: the establishment of a unified empire-wide hierarchical structure of Daoist institutions, based in the prefectures and centred in the capital with himself at the top of this Divine Empyrean order. Along the way Huizong turned Buddhist institutions and monastics into Daoist ones.[7] Yet even these religious

5. Orzech, Charles D., "Esoteric Buddhism under the Song: An Overview", in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 425–426.

6. Cahill, Suzanne E., "Taoism at the Sung Court: The Heavenly Text Affair", in *The Bulletin of Sung-Yuan Studies* 16 (1980): 23–44.

7. For an overview of Huizong's activities and the establishment of the Divine Empyrean order, cf. Chao, Shin-yi, "Huizong and the Divine Empyrean Palace Temple Network", in *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics*, ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Maggie Bickford (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 324–358; Strickmann, Michel, "The Thunder Rites of the Sung: Notes on the Shen-xiao Sect and the Southern School of Taoism", in *Tōhō shūkyō* 46 (1975):

policies could not prevent the invasion of the Song capital by Jurchen tribes from the north and the ensuing huge loss of territory, with the result that Huizong eventually abdicated in 1126 on the recommendation of Wang Wenqing and continued as merely a divine or heavenly emperor.[8] Thus for a short moment in history our ritual master Wang Wenqing stood at centre stage of the Song Empire and was able to have his expression of the Thunder Rite exorcistic rituals promoted through imperial patronage. Moreover, Wang's close interaction with the secular administration—when advising Huizong in the light of the Jurchen military threat—demonstrates his intermediary position between the profane and the transcendent spheres of reality.

The emergence and maturing of Thunder Rites during the Song Dynasty may be seen as an expression of a general reorientation in the history of Daoism. Three feature may be characteristic for the Thunder Rites movements, namely (1) new revelations were therapeutic and exorcistic in nature rather than liturgical and meditational; (2) their pantheons were dominated by martial, humanized, and historicized deities rather than by cosmic powers, immortals, or emanations of Dao; and (3) texts often reflected practices of the unorganized class of lay Daoist practitioners and ritual masters (*fashi*). Moreover, in his prominent study of society and the supernatural in Song China, Edward L. Davis provided the following, very convincing argument of how the pantheon of Song Thunder Rites may have developed:

> The summoning of Thunder Gods to bring rain and to exorcise demons came to be supported by a vast ethical, cosmological, and ritual scaffolding. First, the destructive power of thunder became ethicized. Long thought to be an expression of heavenly anger, particularly with respect to unfilial behavior, thunder became, in its divinized and personified form, the executor of heavenly punishment. And the Daoist practitioner who embodied and directed its power on behalf of Heaven was, above all, an administrator of justice, upholding orthodox values against evil demons and the cults lay behind them. It was this function that would highly recommend Thunder Magic to Song magistrates.
>
> Second, thunder became bureaucratized and cosmologized. On the one hand, the various schools of Thunder Magic created complex systems of imperial courts, departments, and prisons, infinitely tesserated hierarchies of officials, spirit-generals and -soldiers, and mythic genealogies linking all these to the supreme divinities of the Daoist heavens. On the other hand, thunder was transformed from a manifestation of nature in to the controlling power of the cosmos itself, the pivot of Heaven and Earth and the power of transformation behind the continuous alternation of *yin* and *yang*. The point of Thunder

15–28.

8. Reiter, Florian C., "A Preliminary Study of the Taoist Wang Wen-ch'ing (1093–1153) and his Thunder Magic (*lei-fa*)", in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 152 (2002): 167.

> Magic, therefore, was to plug into this cosmic force and, as one texts says, literally to "hold the power of transformation in the palm of one's hand." To do so, Daoists erected a vast ritual apparatus defined above all by the complex meditations of internal or physiological alchemy (*neidan*). Using these meditations, which vary endlessly with respect to the school and task, the practitioner learned to reproduce and store thunder within his own body, to generate and summon the Thunder Gods, and to create, vitalize, and project the talismans that embody their power.[9]

One important issue in Song Thunder Rite traditions was that a new understanding of evil and the demonic is discernible: the blame for misfortune was shifted to an aberrant demonic agency. With the use of an Esoteric arsenal of incantations, talismans, and seals to summon and interrogate and type of offending spirits or evil may be expelled.

What do we then actually know about Wang Wenqing's Thunder Rites? There are several texts attributed to Wang Wenqing in an early Ming anthology of various Thunder Rite texts, the *Collection of Principal Methods of the Dao* (*Daofa huiyuan* 道法会元), available in the Ming edition of the Daoist canon. It is now thanks to the thorough work by Florian Reiter that some of these texts are easily accessible. Thunder Rites in general and rainmaking rituals in particular may thus be described in Wang's own words from the "Prefatory Statement on [Thunder] Rituals" (*Faxu* 法序) as follows:

> These rituals completely pertain to the Five Thunders of the Jade Pivot. They are [employed] to pray for rain, offer sacrifices to clear the skies, examine bewitching and evil forces, decapitate and extinguish animals spirits around mountains, rocks, earth and woods and the illicit (*buzheng*) ghosts and spirits. In case that the Original Yang, the sun, [shines] a long time the crops get burnt and dry out. [This is due to] the load of crimes [committed] by the living beings in all the world, which are that deep reaching and heavy. [...]
>
> One sets out memorializing to the Supreme God-Emperor of Prime Origin (Yuanshi Shangdi) and displays all this hardship [down on earth]. One begs to be granted the sympathy that [the God-Emperor of Prime Origin] orders and dispatches the Original Holy Lord of Thunder and Fire (Leihuo Yuansheng Jun) who keeps the amulets as to proclaim orders authorizing the operations of the Three Offices of the Five Thunders. They state their official warrant to unite those [forces] of all regions that can thoroughly extend their help, wriggling they move their intrinsic magic might and fully grant their merciful protection.
>
> This effort is surely not a little one. It is this ritual system that my immortal master had transmitted orally. In my heart I received one amulet and

9. Davis, Edward L., *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001, 25–26; also partly quoted in Capitanio, "Dragon Kings and Thunder Gods", 204.

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> one spell. Pointing to my palm and having secret visions I sat in meditation and called out for wind and rain. Immediately they greatly reacted. As to all the secret texts, the instructions on [handling] the breath, the ritual paces (*bugang*), the amulets and seal writs, I do not dare to hide them away in secrecy. On the basis of what I had received I completed [this] file [of texts], so that later students shall be informed on the principles and be enlightened in their hearts. However, the Thunder spirits are fierce, and [these matters] must not be erroneously transmitted. One should select the person to whom one transfers [these matters] for initiation. In case that there is any light-handed leak, you cannot receive any pardon. Recorded by the Supreme Counsellor of Purple Tenuity, the Grand Master of Great Purity, Attendant Wang Wenqing.[10]

Here we learn from Wang Wenqing that he held Thunder Rite teachings that were entrusted to him through an oral initiation. He performed exorcism with the use of amulets and other ritual means in order to extinguish obnoxious forces etc. His teachings encompassed meditations by means of visualisation of generals and whole armies with whose help he was able to transform even the natural environment, for example in the case of rainmaking rituals.

Examples

When we turn to examples of Wang Wenqing's actual rainmaking activities, a number of influences may be identified. Wang's ritual knowledge certainly grew out of a long and diverse Chinese ritual tradition and from several religious backgrounds. A relevant episode from his life is found in the collection of anecdotes *Record of Hearsay* (*Yijian zhi* 夷堅志) by the almost contemporary scholar Hong Mai (洪邁, 1123–1202). These miscellaneous writings of the Song literati and former officer include about two hundred stories of spirit-possesion and exorcist rites performed by Daoists and sorcerers in twelft century South China—stories which, in fact, he either heard through others or witnessed himself. Here we learn about Wang Wenqing that he took part in a Daoist offering established by the local Yamen to bring rain. During the ritual Wang Wenqing held a sword in his hand and danced the Steps of Yu (*yubu* 禹步). It is said that a rainstorm followed immediately upon Wang's submission of a writ to heaven. This story was transmitted to Hong Mai by a resident of Fuzhou named Liu Cunli (劉存禮) who, however, remained skeptical of Wang's skills and instead accused the latter of fraud.[11]

10. *Daofa huiyuan* 124, 1a–b. The translation is by Florian Reiter with minor emendations by the present author. Cf. Reiter, "The Taoist Wang Wen-ch'ing", 171.

11. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, 55. A copy of the *Yijian zhi* was not available to me at the time of writing of this article. The passage may be found in the following edition: Hong Mai 洪邁, *Yijian zhi* 夷坚志 1049 [Record of Hearsay] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 1981).

For our context it is not relevant to question the truth about Wang's skills as Liu Cunli did.[12] What is significant, though, are the little but important pieces of information that (1) while dancing the Steps of Yu, Wang (2) held a sword in his hand. Here we see two quite different aspects of a rainmaking ritual that seem to hint at two rather different sources and layers of influence. Ritual dancing in rain ceremonies is, in fact, a very ancient topic in Chinese religions. Evidence for dance rituals as a method of ritual appeasement intended to bring rain, go back as far as Shang oracle bone inscriptions. Here, however, appears the name of ritual dance known as Yu (雩)—written with a different character though. Joshua Capitanio has summarized the sources up to the Han Dynasty where the dance of Yu appears as an important part of rainmaking rituals.[13]

Wang Wenqing's dance described as the Steps of Yu, however, probably originate from the Han Dynasty ritual context of Ceremonial Masters (*fangshi* 方師), which was appropriated from the early Six Dynasties (220–589) onwards into Daoist ritual practice under the more commonly known term Walking the Guidelines (*bugang* 步罡 or 綱). In fact, the term *bugang* also appears in the above quoted "Prefatory Statement on [Thunder] Rituals" which is attributed to Wang Wenqing himself. Walking the Guidelines is a ritual walk or dance that follows the basic cosmic patterns and is a development of certain shamanistic dances attested since the late Warring States (475–221 BCE).[14] The ancient term for these dances (*yubu*) relates to the legend of Yu who, according to Chinese mythology, is known as the one who regulated waters after the great flood by walking through the world. Thus Yu's steps provide a model for the ritual Steps of Yu which became widespread in Daoist texts from the Song Dynasty onwards and were adopted in subsequent ritual milieux.[15]

A slightly more elaborate description of the Steps of Yu than the one found in the *Record of Hearsay*, occurs in the Daoist ritual text *Guide to the [Scripture] of the Golden Lock and Flowing Pearls* (*Jinsuo liuzhu yin* 金鎖流珠引), which may be the earliest text associated with the Thunder Rites movement and which dates approximately to around the ninth century. The relevant passage reads as follows:

> First, compose a proclamation detailing the unwillingness of the [local] earth spirits and dragons to bring rain. That night, in a courtyard with no people around, pace the earthly cord and heavenly net, each three times; exit with the Steps of Yu, advancing three paces with nine footsteps, each three times. Donning garments, circumambulate three times a pool of water three fingers deep located in the "Gate of Heaven".[16]

This passage actually mentions that the Steps of Yu encompass nine footsteps, which, ac-

12. In fact, Liu's criticism of Wang Wenqing does not hold true when reading the sumptuous materials about Wang which Florian Reiter has studied and which depict him as a serious Daoist practitioner (Reiter, "The Taoist Wang Wen-ch'ing").
13. Capitanio, "Dragon Kings and Thunder Gods", 39–56.
14. Anderson, Poul, "The Practice of Bugang", *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5 (1989), 15.
15. Anderson, "Bugang", 21, 36, 47.
16. The translation is from Capitanio, "Dragon Kings and Thunder Gods", 207.

cording to the study of Poul Andersen, correspond to the nine stars of the Great Dipper. This is not the context to further elaborate on the deeper meaning of that dance, which was also known to Wang Wenqing.[17] Yet it should be clear that Wang's knowledge derived from an ancient ritual tradition that was gradually appropriated into Song Dynasty Thunder Rites.

The second important piece of information provided in the episode about Wang Wenqing in the *Record of Hearsay* is that he held a sword in his hands during the rainmaking ritual. I suggest that the sword in this context hints of a Buddhist influence and in fact demonstrates a synthesis with current Buddhist Esoteric imagery. In order to provide evidence for this assumption, let us turn to the following explicit meditation instruction in Wang's rainmaking ritual, a passage that immediately follows the above-quoted "Prefatory Statement on [Thunder] Rituals", attributed to Wang. The passage is entitled "Assembling the Divine Force" (Lianshen 練神).

> Congeal the divine force, sitting quietly in meditation. Concentrate the vision on the one most shining point in the Kidney Palace. Within a short moment fire arises that gradually engulfs the whole body all around. Blow out one mouthful of breath, and the ashes are blown away completely. Furthermore, concentrate the vision on the breaths in the five colours of the five directions. They mix up and combine to shape one united aura of radiant shining in purple and golden colours, and then this radiant shining transforms itself into an infant (*ying'er*). The infant gradually grows big, [showing] the beak of a phoenix, silver teeth, red hair and a blue body. Both eyes let fiery rays penetrate [a distance] of ten thousand *chang*. Both wings also have [the glimmering of] fire. The left and right arms have each a head with eyes emerging underneath, and they also emit fiery shining. The belt has the colour of gold. The left hand clutches a fire auger, and the right hand clutches a mallet with eight angles. There is a fiery dragon winding around the body.
>
> Thereupon concentrate your vision on this Spirit General of the Five Thunders. His head touches heaven, and he stands on earth. Fiery clouds are close around him that wrap up his divine and fierce might of blazing fire. This is "Blazing Fire, the Heavenly Lord Deng" (Yanhuo Deng Tianjun) who rules and commands divinity in the system of the fire chariots.[18]

This ritual description is a very good example of a "complex meditatio[n] of internal or physiological alchemy (*neidan*)", described by Edward L. Davis as an important feature of Daoist Thunder Rites.[19] Here, Wang Wenqing identifies himself with the divinity, namely

17. Andersen's article is a very comprehensive study of the development of this ritual dance. The author also provides sketches of how to perform the Steps of Yu.

18. *Daofa huiyuan* 124, 2a. The translation is by Florian Reiter with small emendations by the present author. Cf. Reiter, "The Taoist Wang Wen-ch'ing", 172.

19. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, 26. The full quotation from E. Davis is found above, p. 43.

the Heavenly Lord Deng, through a process of visualization. This soteriological technique of identification with the divinity through a visualization is in fact also the characteristic feature of Esoteric Buddhism that distinguishes it from other forms of Buddhism.[20] In this Thunder Rite context, however, the identification is with the Daoist divinity, the Heavenly Lord Deng, and not with a Buddhist deity. Florian Reiter was able to trace the allegedly historical origins of Lord Deng in the text "Sacrifice to the Great Divinity of Law and Order" (*Ji lüling dasheng* 祭律令大神). Here, Lord Deng could be identified as Deng Bowen (鄧伯温) who allegedly helped the Yellow Emperor to suppress Chi You (蚩尤), the first renowned rebel in Chinese history and who was later appointed a general of Henan province.[21] Interestingly enough, the worldly name persisted after the hero's deification and inclusion in the Thunder Rites pantheon. Florian Reiter rightly notes that "[i]t is rather seldom that we learn how internal and external, historic aspects of a ritual tradition combine".[22] However, what he failed to understand is that the hero's imagery was most likely appropriated from an Esoteric Buddhist context, or is, in other words, an example of a phenomenon described by Stephan Bokenkamp as "Buddhist deities in Taoist guise".[23]

For a scholar of Buddhist studies certain key expressions in Wang Wenqing's visualization of the Heavenly Lord Deng are quite striking, namely "the infant gradually growing big [showing]" (1) "the beak of a phoenix [...] and a blue body", (2) "wings also have [the glimmering] of fire", and (3) "a fiery dragon winding around the body". These descriptions may remind us of an Esoteric Buddhist figure, namely of that of a Garuḍa (金翅鳥), the King of Birds, trampling on the King of *nāga*s, Nāgarāja.[24]

A close look at equivalent Buddhist materials proves that Esoteric Buddhist rain rituals were in fact also circulating during the Song Dynasty. Perhaps such Buddhist texts started to circulate as an immediate reaction to an imperial edict of the year 999, when the court ordered the circulation of the "Regulations for Praying for Rain" (*Qiyu fa* 祈雨法)

20. For this definition see Eastman, K. W., "Mahāyoga Texts at Tun-huang", *Bulletin of Institute of Buddhist Cultural Studies* 22 (1983), 45.

21. *Daofa huiyuan* 56, 14b; Reiter, "The Taoist Wang Wen-ch'ing", 174–175. For the story of the suppression of Chi You, cf. also Chang, Kwang-Chih, "China on the Eve of the Historical Period", in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China, From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, ed. M. Loewe and E. L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge, 1999), 69. In fact, there is also a tradition of rainmaking rituals in Han dynasty associated with Chi You, e.g. one that depicts Chi You as someone commanding the forces of wind and rain. These sources are dealt with in Capitanio, "Dragon Kings and Thunder Gods", 57–58.

22. Reiter, "The Taoist Wang Wen-ch'ing", 175.

23. Bokenkamp, Stephen R., "Sources of the Ling-Pao Scriptures", in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honor of R.A. Stein*, ed. Michel Strickmann (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1983), vol. 2: 434–486.

24. For an image of such a (Vajra-) Garuḍa, although from a much later (nineteenth-century) and Mongolian context, see, e.g., Meinert, Carmen, ed., *Buddha in the Yurt—Buddhist Art from Mongolia* (Munich: Hirmer, 2011), vol. 2, cat. no. 183: 363. At the time of writing this article I did not have access to similar visual materials from the Song Chinese context.

throughout the country.[25] Thus, it may be no coincidence that in the above-mentioned Institute for the Translation of Buddhist Scriptures, which enjoyed imperial patronage[26] the Kaśmīri monk Devaśāntika (Tianxizai 天息災, d. 1000), renamed by Emperor Taizong as Dharmabhadra (Faxian 法賢), translated the *Māyājāla-tantra*[27] during the years 989–99. This translation includes also instructions for rain rituals, namely one for making rain and one for stopping rain. The relevant passages read as follows:

> Then there is the rite for rain making. The one who holds the recitation visualises before [himself] an eight-pedalled lotus with the eight great dragon kings ontop. In the midst of the lotus flower is the great wrathful king of knowledge. The blazing light of his body transforms into Garuḍa who extinguishes all dragons/*nāga*s. Then the mantrika recites the syllables hum hum and the mantra of the dragon/*nāga* king. If one visualises and recites in this way, great rain will certainly fall.[28]
>
> Then there is the rite for stopping rain. The one who holds the recitation visualises his own body like samadhi-fire. From amidst the eye brows emanates the knowledge king Lord Acala. All around his body blazes light like the sun. The body of the universally shining tathāgata has six arms. The right hands hold a sword, a vajra mallet and an arrow. The left hands hold a wheel, a noose and a bow. Then visualize that all knowledge kings emanate and that their wheels and swords, theirs nooses, bows and arrows and their vajra mallets fill the space. When one recites the respective mantra and in this way relies on the yoga rite, the great rain will stop and demonic terror will be eliminated.[29]

In comparing the information given about Wang Wenqing's Daoist Thunder Rite with these Esoteric Buddhist rituals translated by Dharmabhadra the following overlaps in the imagery are striking: a phoenix beak (Daoist) and a Garuḍa who generally holds a snake in his beak (Buddhist), wings glimmering with fire (Daoist) and a wrathful deity whose body blazes like the sun (Buddhist), an auger and a sword as hand attributes (Daoist) and a sword, vajra mallet, arrow, wheel, noose and bow as hand attributes (Buddhist), and finally a dragon winding around the body (Daoist) and the Garuḍa subduing a dragon/*nāga*.

25. According to the "Regulations for Praying for Rain", an altar should be built and a clay dragon made. The local official should lead his clerks and elderly villagers to make offerings at the shrine of the dragon. After enough rain has fallen, the dragon should be sent into the water; cf. *Song shi* 宋史 [The History of the Song Dynasty], reprint, by Tuo Tuo (1314–1355) *et al.* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1977), 102.2500. Moreover, the Song court issued more, similar regulations in the ensuing years, e.g. in 1006 a regulation for Daoists to paint dragons to be used in rainmaking; cf. Jing, Anning, *The Water God's Temple of the Guangsheng Monastery: Cosmic Function of Art, Ritual and Theater* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 71–73.

26. Cf. p. 40, above.

27. (*Foshuo yujia dajiao wangjing* 佛説瑜伽大教王經), *T.* 890.

28. *T.* 890, 18: 579b17.

29. *T.* 890, 18: 579b.21.

The relevant information from the different sources may be summarized in the following chart:

Daoist Thunder Rite rain ritual	**Esoteric Buddhist rain rituals**
—visualization of Lord Deng	—summoning rain
infant growing bigger and transforming into figure with blue body, *phoenix beak*	Garuḍa subduing dragons/*nāga*s
	—stopping rain
wings *glimmering with fire*, two hands holding fire auger and *a mallet*	wrathful deity Acala, body *blazes light like the sun*, six hands hold as attributes *sword*, vajra *mallet*, arrow, wheel, noose, bow
fiery dragon winding around body	
episode from *Record of Hearsay*	
holding a *sword* in the hand	
dancing the Steps of Yu	

Conclusion

The striking similarities presented here exemplify that Buddho-Daoist interactions in the Song Dynasty developed in close interdependence with each other. Both traditions, Daoist Thunder Rites as well as Esoteric Buddhism, shared similar interests: (1) as a theme both employed apotropaeic rites, (2) as a method both used visualization techniques of spiritual beings including the self-identification with it, and (3) as for the agents both traditions concentrate on wrathful or warrior-like figures to attain the ritual goals. Therefore, I suggest this understanding of the ritual construction of Lord Deng in the Thunder Rites as a blending process including elements from two Esoteric Buddhist wrathful deities: on the one hand, the Indian mythological figure of the Garuḍa seems to have been replaced by a Chinese historical hero, the Han dynastic general Deng Bowen; and on the other, certain hand attributes of the hero Lord Deng appear to have been appropriated from the imagery of the Buddhist wrathful deity Acala.[30] Moreover, when crossing the cultural and religious boundaries, a certain tuning to Chinese cultural sensitivities took place which is here visible in the figure of the dragon: whereas the dragon/*nāga* is subdued in the Indian context it becomes a good companion of the heroic figure in the

30. In fact, Michel Strickmann had already noticed in his masterpiece published in 1996 that elements of the Buddhist deity Acala were also appropriated into another Thunder Rite deity, Lord or General Ma (Ma Yuanshuai); cf. Strickmann, Michel, *Mantras et mandarins: Le bouddhisme tantrique en Chine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 464, footnote 48.

Chinese Thunder Rite context and winds around the latter's body.[31] It therefore appears that the iconography of the central figure Lord Deng in the Daoist Thunder Rite context is seemingly not as determined yet by either doctrinal, political or other conditions, so that there appears to be a certain degree of freedom in constructing this figure on the basis of Esoteric Buddhist templates.

When looking at the broader picture, I further suggest a fine tuning of how to evaluate the impact of Esoteric Buddhism in the Song Dynasty. Some scholars of Buddhism have argued that the Institute for the Translation of Buddhist Scriptures, instituted by the early Song emperors, was a failure since it did not have lasting influence on Chinese Buddhist communities[32]—may also be due to strong imperial censorship that prevented the necessary precision in the translation work.[33] On the contrary, Charles Orzech has recently shown that "texts translated and reported out of the Institute certainly circulated and that some of them apparently gained popular status", and for example found their way into the Esoteric imagery in the Baoding Shan grottos in Sichuan, which date from the Song Dynasty.[34] Furthermore, Edward Davis has argued that Esoteric Buddhist knowledge did indeed spread within the Song Empire and went, so to speak, from "court to country" finding its way into exorcism that came to reflect exuberance, unpredictability and variations of village culture.[35] On the basis of the textual evidence presented in this paper I would go even one step further and argue: Buddhist Esoteric knowledge in the Song Dynasty was so wide-spread that it did not only find its way from "court to country", but even back to court again—namely through Thunder Rite ritual masters like Wang Wenqing, who acted as the imperial preceptor of Emperor Huizong and in whose hybrid Buddho-Daoist productions of ritual texts the Buddhist traces had become almost invisible.

31. Although many celestial beings are able to create rain, the most powerful is certainly the dragon or *nāga*. The veneration of dragons was already ubiquitous in ancient Chinese rainmaking traditions, so this part of Indian Buddhism resonated particularly well with Chinese culture. As early as the Han Dynasty a conflation of the Chinese dragon and the Indian *nāga* is visible. For a comprehensive discussion of this topic see Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, particularly 69–70.

32. Sen, Buddhism, *Diplomacy, and Trade*, 133; see also p. 40 of this article.

33. I have discussed textual examples of neglecting translations in the following article: Meinert, Carmen, "Assimilation and Transformation of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet and China: Case Study of the Adaptation Processes of Violence in a Ritual Context", in *Between Empire and* phyi dar*: The Fragmentation and Reconstruction of Society and Religion in Post-Imperial Tibet. Proceedings of the Seminar Held in Lumbini, Nepal, March 2010*, ed. Michael Walter and Robert Mayer (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, forthcoming).

34. Orzech, Charles D., "Looking for Bhairava: Exploring the Circulation of Esoteric Texts Produced by the Song Institute for Canonical Translation", *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies* 3.8 (2006): 155–156.

35. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, 122.

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Figure 1: *Guanyin mizhou tu*, from the *Xingming guizhi*; Qing dynasty.

Looting the Pantheon: On the Daoist Appropriation of Buddhist Divinities and Saints

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> *Alas! Daoism has secretly preyed upon Buddhist books. From olden times until the present they have made false fabrications and forgeries, pirating and stealing the words and sentences from the Buddhist scriptures, including pictures, structures and all of their pages [as well as their] headings and titles. [Moreover] they have slandered and vilified the Thus Come Ones by plundering falsely the former sages.*[1]

Introduction

SCHOLARS working on different Christian cults in medieval Europe are wont to deal with the rather commonplace, although highly interesting, cases of relic thefts and the associated co-option of particular saints and their cults. Such cases reinforce our perception of the period as a dynamic and creative one in regard to the transfer and proliferation of Christian cultic practices to new areas and social contexts beyond their original locales. However, in the cases I shall discuss in the following, you will not be treated to cases of intra-religious take-overs or the simple borrowing or copying of relics within a single religious tradition, but you will be presented with cases in which one religion appropriated entire cults, divinities and saints from another religion. What we shall see here concerns gods and saints in what we may term "inter-religious transit" and their ultimate adoption and inclusion into different—and as I hope to demonstrate—entirely

1. *Fozu lidai tongcai* 佛祖歷代通載 [Comprehensive Record of Buddhas and Patriarchs in Historical Periods], compiled under the Yuan; cf. *T.* 2036, 49: 719b.

new spiritual contexts. This paper will deal with a major aspect of the religious exchange between Buddhism and Daoism in medieval China, namely that of Daoist appropriation of Buddhist divinities and saints. The related and highly important issue concerning the typological copying of deities for similar, functional purposes that we see in both the Buddhist and Daoist material will not be dealt with here for practical reasons. Although it is of equal importance for our understanding of the inter-religious appropriations that took place in the meeting and co-existence in the same cultural space of the two religions, that issue is so extensive that it would require a separate discussion in its own right.

That being said, there are certain religious parameters which set the Buddhist and Daoist meeting and subsequent interaction apart from the general situation we see in medieval Europe with its distinct center–periphery situation, at least up to the time of the Reformation. In the following I shall endeavour to present the most important and obvious features of this process as it unfolded in medieval and early pre-modern China. Firstly (and perhaps most importantly), both Daoism and Buddhism were polytheistic. We are to a large measure justified in this claim, I believe, even though on a perceived deeper level, there are indeed underlying concepts of larger, divine and cosmic entities behind their respective doctrines and cosmologies. Nevertheless, on the practical and functional levels both traditions upheld the notions of numerous gods in ranked hierarchies staffing their respective pantheons, a reality which is of course also reflected in the liturgical literature such as prayer books and ritual manuals.

Secondly, both were non-centralized religions in the sense that none of them upheld a specific religio-political centre. Both Buddhism and Daoism had numerous primary and secondary centres, controlled by different schools or distinct lineages. Moreover, their professionals, i.e. the Daoist and Buddhist monks and nuns, did not enjoy universal status or authority, similar to designated representatives of the Catholic Church such as priests, bishops or cardinals. Therefore their ability to function, expand and proselytize depended in large measure on local socio-political and economic conditions. But when doing so, these professionals would appear to have enjoyed considerably more individual freedom and spiritual licence than for example their Catholic counterparts, who appear —at least in principle—to have carried out their work under some degree of papal supervision.

Thirdly, the two religions co-existed within the same social and cultural frameworks, i.e. within the boundaries of Chinese society and cultural norms. This factor is crucial for understanding how and why Buddhism and Daoism were so relatively open towards each other's teachings and practices, and why borrowings between them took place rather frequently.

Fourthly, Buddhism and Daoism shared holy sites (although not exclusively so). This holds good for both larger-scale, primary sites such as holy mountains, as well as for more localized centers like provincial towns or even localized cult-sites such as those we find at the county-level.

Fifthly, both were major book traditions. The cult of the book, or rather the cult of

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books, was central to both Buddhism and Daoism. Holy writ was universally upheld by both traditions and numinous values ascribed to books were established in more or less the same manner, such as through divine revelation or a special, sanctified transmission. On the practical level it is well known that both Buddhism and Daoism copied from each other's scriptures. In other words, as far as the the formation of their respective sets of holy books are concerned, each was indebted to the other to a considerable extent.

Finally, the degree of inter-religious influence, borrowing and appropriation that took place in the intersections and cross-overs between Buddhism and Daoism, varied in intensity, depth and significance in the course of Chinese history. There were periods where this inter-religious activity was exceptionally strong and far-reaching, impacting greatly on the development of both religions; while at other times, Buddhism and Daoism would appear to have developed without too much interference from the other, in almost autonomous fashion. However, at no time in their respective progress in Chinese history did the inter-play between the two traditions cease or disappear.

Even though some of the above aspects relating to Buddhism and Daoism can also be found—in more or less similar manner—in the interplay between the medieval Christian church and its religious rivals in Europe and beyond, I would like to stress that the decentralized, polytheistic and doctrinally polyvalent, sometimes even internally contradictory elements found within the structures of both Chinese Buddhism and Daoism, immediately set them apart from Christianity, in particular the Catholic church, as direct, comparative models.

Here I cannot address all the relevant cases or the entire range of relevant sources, but will limit myself to a few representative examples with the aim of casting light on some of the most important ones. I shall distinguish between Buddhist gods and saints which were simply borrowed, and those that were appropriated and transformed into Daoist gods or saints. Nevertheless, both categories are of interest to us here. Although the co-opting of divinities and saints was also done on the Buddhist side, in what follows I shall limit myself to the Daoist appropriations.

Co-opting gods and saints

It is my contention that the Daoist taking-over of parts of certain deities from the Buddhist pantheon conceptually and practically altered the course of Daoism, just as the copying and adaption of Buddhist scriptures and parts of their teaching did. This is because, from its very beginning as a bona fide religion, the direction Daoism took was to a considerable degree shaped and formed by the components it took over from Buddhism.[2] More than three decades ago the Dutch Sinologist Erik Zürcher identified various aspects of Daoism which had developed through the religion's close contact with Buddhism. Zürcher distinguished between so-called "soft" areas in the Daoist make-up, aspects of

2. See Erik Zürcher, "Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism", *T'oung-pao* 66 (1980), pp. 84–147.

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Daoist practice in which Buddhist influence was stronger, and "denser" areas where it was less so or not at all. This model has—with minor modifications—persisted down to the present, and although it does have a number of methodological advantages, and constituted a methodological approach of considerable significance when it appeared, it is now outmoded. In any case it is no longer adequate to explain the range, depth and dynamics which the Daoist adaption of Buddhist doctrines and practices reveal. The main reason for this being that the Buddhist influence on Daoism has now begun to be understood as a much more complex, deep-seated and variegated process than hitherto acknowledged.[3] Incidentally, one of the areas which Zürcher largely overlooked has to do with the topic of the present essay, namely the taking-over by Daoism of Buddhist divinities and a number of saintly figures as well as the appropriation of entire cults.

Let us begin our investigation by identifying in the Daoist context, the appearance of Buddhas, the highest and most primary deities in the Buddhist pantheon. Given the extensive and highly structured Daoist pantheon with its hierarchies of gods, one would perhaps expect that Buddhas did not have a place in the Daoist religion, but they actually do. Here it must be said that Buddhas generally do not appear as primary divinities, and also rarely figure with their Buddhist names in the Daoist literature, but more as a sort of "divine extras", evidently added on for good measure.[4] Nevertheless, we do encounter both buddhas and bodhisattvas to a greater or lesser extent in the Daoist scriptures, and it is therefore not surprising to find them incorporated into the pantheon of Daoism in visual representations as well.

A prominent example of a primary buddha appearing in a Daoist text, is that of Vairocana, the so-called Cosmic Buddha,[5] who came to the fore in Esoteric Buddhism in China during the middle of the Tang dynasty (618–906). Although it took some centuries for him to be included in the Daoist pantheon, he occurs by name among the divinities to be

3. For examples of this change, see Charles D. Orzech, "*Fang Yankou* and *Pudu*: Translation, Metaphor, and Religious Identity", in *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage and Ritual*, Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth (eds.), Honolulu: Hawai'i University Press, 2002, pp. 213–34; Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008; Livia Kohn, "Steal Holy Food and Come Back as a Viper: Conceptions of Karma and Rebirth in Medieval Daoism", *Early Medieval China* 4 (1998), pp. 1–48; Henrik H. Sørensen, "On the Appropriation and Borrowing of Spells in the Inter-Religious Meeting Between Daoism and Esoteric Buddhism", unpublished paper presented at the workshop, *Between Borrowing and Taking Over: The Problem of "Sinification" and its Implications for a Theory of Religious Contact*, at RUB, August 2011.

4. For such an example see the celebrated scripture, *Gaoshang Yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經 [Scripture on the Collected and Fundamental Acts of the Highest Jade Emperor], dating from the Northern Song. See *Zhentong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist canon from the Zhengtong Reign-period; hereafter *DZ*], Xinwenfeng reprinted edition, 60 vols. (Taibei, 1976), 1428. It features the Buddha (*rulai* 如來), "Qingjing Ziran Juewang 清靜自然覺王, teaching all the bodhisattvas sudden-enlightenment (*dunwu* 頓悟) of the Great Vehicle", cf. *ibid*., p. 717c.

5. For a brief presentation of Vairocana in the context of Chinese Esoteric Buddhism, see Henrik H. Sørensen, "Central Divinities in the Esoteric Buddhist Pantheon in China", in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Charles D. Orzech (General Editor), Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne (eds.), Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 4 (China), 24, Leiden: Brill, 2011, pp. 90–133 (esp. pp. 90–92).

invoked in the *Yuqing yuanshi xuanhuang jiuguang zhen jing* 玉清元始玄黃九光真經 [True Scripture [Spoken by] Original Commencement of the Heaven of Jade Purity on the Nine Luminaries of Primordial Obscure Yellow].[6] In this scripture there is a lengthy spell, actually a series of spells, uttered by the Heavenly Worthy of the Original Commencement, one of the principal divinities in Daoism,[7] in which Vairocana has a prominent position. The spells read as follows:

> Oṃ, Original Commencement who gives birth to heaven,
> Oṃ, Original Commencement who gives birth to earth,
> Oṃ, Original Commencement, who gives birth to man, the complete order of the three forces, the profusion of the ten thousand things, people, who do not cherish life, are transformed into yin spirits, spirits without their vital force (*qi* 炁) complete, continue to become lower ghosts,
> Oṃ, Lower Ghosts listen to my jade sounds, when your ghostly forms are destroyed, on giving up that ghostly appearance you will gain rebirth in my heaven, *zha*!
> Oṃ, men of the Way listen to my jade sounds,
> and I will suddenly shed my human karma and enjoy long life as a divine immortal.
> Whether in heaven or on earth my lifespan will be the same.
> Harmonizing the brightness of sun and moon,
> Let me all my life enjoy blessings,
>
> [And may] seven generations of ancestors flourish.
> After that, let the bodies of these seven generations of ancestors be liberated [and remain for] a *kalpa*[8] in [the heaven of] Jade Purity.[9]
>
> Oṃ, Heavenly Way, listen to my jade sounds.
> May heavenly blessings suddenly increase,
> and my old karma forever be exhausted.
> Do not let me sink down into the lower heavens, but always dwell in Jade Purity.
> Quickly, quickly in accordance with the august command of Original Commencement, [May] the two teachings [i.e. Daoism and Buddhism] merge into one.

6. *DZ* 42. Date uncertain, but probably from the Song–Yuan transition. For a survey, see *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, Kristoper Schipper and F. Verellen (eds.), Chicago University Press, 2003, p. 1232.

7. This god is the Supreme Emperor of Original Commencement 元始上帝. See *The Taoist Canon*, Vol. 2, p. 1231.

8. The original text is somewhat obscure at this point. Hence, I here seek to render its actual meaning rather than attempting a literal translation.

9. The heaven of Jade Purity is the three-fold paradise propounded in the Shenxiao 神霄 cycle of scriptures. For additional information on this tradition, see *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, pp. 1081–83.

> Oṃ, Quickly, quickly in accordance with the command of the pure *dharmakāya* [*fashen* 法身][10] Great Holy Vairocana.[11]

While the entire format and extensive parts of the contents of these spell-texts are full of Buddhist references and concepts, their ritual logic and referential context is otherwise fully in accord with Daoist doctrine. Nevertheless, not only does the final spell in the series refer to the harmonization between Daoism and Buddhism, it goes so far as to fuse them into one complete teaching. The fact that the final spell in the series invokes Vairocana, the primary Buddha in the Esoteric Buddhist pantheon, shows the degree of the scripture's indebtedness to that Buddhist tradition.

However, Vairocana was not the only buddha which found its way into the Daoist pantheon in the course of history. The *Quanzhen lidou qingjing keyi* 全真禮鬥清淨科儀 [Ritual Proceedings of the Quanzhen for Purifying Prostrations],[12] a ritual manual of the Quanzhen School 全真 of Daoism includes Tejaprabha, the Buddha of the Constellations among the divinities to be invoked in connexion with the worship of the asterisms.[13] Another important Daoist scripture, the ritual manual *Taishang sandong shenzhou* 太上三洞神咒 [Divine Spells of the Three Caverns of Taishang],[14] refers to the Buddha in a honorific manner as the "Old Buddha, the Golden Immortal (Gufo Jinxian 古佛金仙)".[15] This indicates that both transposition and displacement was part of the process that took place with the appropriation of the Buddhist divinities. More on this will follow.

Avalokiteśvara in Daoism

As the most popular bodhisattva in the Chinese Buddhist pantheon Avalokiteśvara was also subject to Daoist appropriation. Or stated differently, the Daoist side could not afford

10. In standard Daoist parlance *fashen* 法身 normally indicates a monastic rank, at least during the Tang period. Here, however, the traditional Buddhist concept of *dharmakāya* as the cosmic or transcendental body of a buddha is retained. Exactly how this was to be understood in the Daoist context is not immediately clear to me, and is, in any case, not evident in the text itself either.

11. *DZ* 42, p. 1300. See also the conflation between Vairocana and the Superior Emperor of Original Commencement in the spell-texts contained in *DZ* 1452, p. 768c.

12. Cf. http://canon.theway.hk/index.php?s= 全真禮斗清靜科儀. This ritual text of the Quanzhen primarily concerns the Doumu and Great Dipper cults in combination. Uncertain date but probably not much older than the early Qing, although it obviously builds on earlier material. It incorporates most of the *Taishang xuanling doumu dasheng yuanjun benming yansheng* xin jing 太上玄靈斗姆大聖元君本命延生心經 (*DZ* 621), but also additional material including the entire text of the *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhen jing* 太上玄靈北斗本命延生真經 [True Scripture of the Highest, Abstruse Numinosity Great Dipper of Original Destiny for the Extension of Life], *DZ* 751.

13. Cf. http://canon.theway.hk/index.php?s= 全真禮斗清靜科儀.

14. *DZ* 78. For further information on this text, see *Tiyao*, p. 59. Only superficially dealt with in *The Taoist Canon*, vol. II, p. 1039. Here the work is classified as belonging to the Lingbao tradition.

15. *DZ* 78, ch. 8, ch. 10, etc.

not to adopt the worship of this important divinity.[16] In the early pre-Song material, Avalokiteśvara does not figure as such in the Daoist scriptures, but from the Song onwards, he appears with increasing frequency in the canonical material, not always as a primary deity, but certainly important enough to be mentioned by his Buddhist name.[17] One of the reasons that Avalokiteśvara only occurs by name in the later material, is that as a divine character he had already been appropriated by Daoism earlier in his career as a saviour-divinity, but under the name Heavenly Worthy Jiuku 救苦天尊.[18]

There are several cases where Avalokiteśvara makes his appearance in the context of Daoism, but for the present purpose I shall limit myself to one case only, namely that we find in the Daoist work, the *Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨 [Tablet for Pointing Out Nature and Mandate],[19] which belongs to the Three Religions (*sanjiao* 三教) complex of Daoist Ming texts. Here we find a special chart featuring Avalokiteśvara in which the celebrated Six Character Spell associated with him is placed in the context of *neidan* 内丹, the practices on so-called "inner alchemy", a major element in the Daoist cult of immortality. The chart in question is entitled *Guanyin mizhou tu* 觀音密咒圖 [Chart of the Esoteric Spell of Avalokiteśvara].[20] This chart features an image of the seated bodhisattva, in effect a carbon copy of a Buddhist illustration, above which are two diagrams, one on either side (Figure **??**). The chart on the right of Avalokiteśvara features six letters in slightly corrupted Siddhaṃ, reading: *Oṃ manī padme huṃ*, the celebrated Six Character Spell associated with this bodhisattva. The chart on the left side is the Chinese rendering of the spell with additional explicative text in Chinese. The manner in which the individual elements of the spell have been arranged therein is distinctly un-Buddhist. Note that the final power sound, huṃ, has been set apart, being placed atop the text of the mantra. The primary reason for this, I suspect, is because the chart is geared towards correlating the first five syllables of the mantra with the traditional five elements-complex that underlies all *neidan* practice.

In order to gain a fuller picture of what transpired when our Buddhist divinity was

16. For an example of the Daoist appropriation of Avalokiteśvara, but with a changed name, see the *Taiyi jiuku hushen miao jing* 太一救苦護身妙經 [Wonderful Scripture on the Highest Unity Alleviating Suffering and Protecting The Body], *DZ* 351, said to date from the period between the Tang and Song, probably not much earlier than the late ninth century; cf. *Daozang tiyao*, p. 266. A survey of the scripture can be found in Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, pp. 180–85.

17. For one such example, see the *Taiji jilian neifa* 太極祭煉内法 [Inner Method of Taiji for Sacrificing to and Sublimating [the Souls of the Deceased]], *DZ* 548. The work itself dates from the late Southern Song and was compiled by the Fuzhou scholar and artist Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (1241–1318). It features the use of Sanskrit phonetics in the performance of the magic. For further information on this important ritual text, see *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, pp. 1003–4.

18. For further discussion on this development, see Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, pp. 174–208.

19. *Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨 as contained in the *Daozang jinghua lu* 道藏精華錄 [Flowery Record of the Essence of the Daoist Canon]. For an overview of this work, see *Zhongguo daojiao qigong yangsheng daquan* [Comprehensive Compilation of Daoist Qigong Practices for Nourishing Life in China; hereafter *ZDQY*], Li Yuanguo (comp.), Chengdu: Sichuan Cidian Chubanshe, 1991, pp. 1940–41.

20. *Xingming guizhi*.

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integrated into a context of Daoist ideas, we may take a look at the text accompanying the *Guanyin mizhou tu*:

> This spell is Guanyin Bodhisattva's secret and wonderful mind seal. If people write down the six characters of this greatly famous spell, it is the same as if they were copying the Dharma Treasure of the Tripiṭaka. If people chant the *Six Character Great Vidyā Spell*, then it is the same as if they were chanting seven turnings [*zhu* 軸] of numinous communications [*lingjiao* 靈交],[21] whereby one will be able to open the gate of wisdom and be able to get rid of the one hundred sufferings, and the karmic oppressions of the three worlds which will all be purified. All sins will be exhausted, completely dissipated and done away with. One will be liberated from birth and death and receive the blissful *dharma*-body [Skt. *dharmakāya*]. Moreover, chanting the spell also has an esoteric dimension [*mijue* 密訣] [as follows]:
>
> Hence, with the utterance of the first sound, i.e. *oṃ*, my body becomes that of Vairocana Buddha.
>
> With the utterance of the eastern sound, i.e. *ma*, my body becomes that of Akṣobya Buddha.
>
> With the utterance of the southern sound, i.e. *ni*, my body becomes that of Ratnasambhava Buddha.
>
> With the utterence of the western sound, i.e. *pad*, my body becomes that of Amitāyus Buddha.
>
> With the exhalation of the northern sound, i.e. *ma*, my body becomes that of Amoghasiddhi Buddha.
>
> As for the sixth sound, after the above make the guttural *huṃ* sound, and with that my body will become that of Mahāsthāmaprabtavajra (?).[22]
>
> After the passing of some time the five breaths will return to the origin [*wuqi gui yuan* 五炁歸元],[23] whereby one will accomplish unimaginable virtues, and give evidence to the penetration of the absolute.[24]

We see here the popular Buddhist deity and his spell presented, at least on the surface, in a manner that appears to be purely Buddhist. We even have the Esoteric Buddhist setting of the Five Buddha families (Skt. *kula*), one of each of the five spell-sounds in the mantra.

21. This can either refer to scriptures revealed by the gods or writ for communication with the gods.

22. To my knowledge such a *vajrapāla* is not found in the Buddhist sources, and would therefore appear to be an invention by the author of the *Xingming guizhi*.

23. The five *qi* refer to the vital breaths of the five viscera, and in typical Daoist fashion untimately relate to the five elements theory. They are described in the *Wuqi chaoyuan shuo* 五氣朝元說 [An Explanation of the Five Breaths Reverting to the Origin], found elsewhere in the *Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨. In any case the wording here is not Buddhist, but has a strong Daoist connotation. As such it indicates a meditational form of breathing related to the internal circulation of *qi* in accordance with *neidan* practice. For further information, see *ZDQY*, pp. 120–21.

24. *Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨.

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However, the Daoist *neidan* context becomes apparent when the spiritual result of the practice with the spell is described at the end of the passage, namely the return of the visceral breaths to their origin in the absolute.

The appropriation of Avalokiteśvara and the Six Character Spell reveals something about the manner in which the Daoists utilized the material they took over. There can be little doubt that their appropriation of Avalokiteśvara first of all reflects an interest in using the power and image of the popular bodhisattva to boost their own practices. Secondly, Avalokiteśvara as a popular Buddhist divinity was an obvious choice as a vehicle for facilitating the harmonization of the Three Religions. Lastly, in doing so, they "lifted" the bodhisattva out of his (or her) original setting and re-inserted him into a new setting dominated by the spiritual concerns of *neidan* Daoism.

The increasing Daoist appropriation and transformation of the Avalokiteśvara cult and the associated teachings which took place during the later imperial period, is also reflected in the mid-Qing work, the *Guanyin xin jing bijue* 觀音心經秘解 [Secret Explanation on the Heart Scripture of Avalokiteśvara].[25] This text, which to all appearances and purposes appears to be a Buddhist commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya sūtra*,[26] one of the most important and popular Buddhist scriptures in China, on closer examination turns out to be a Daoist commentary on the Buddhist sūtra. In addition to its full-scale doctrinal modification, it casts Avalokiteśvara in the role as a female immortal (*nuxian* 女仙) from the Zhou dynasty (1122–255 BCE).[27] This is not the place to explore the more delicate aspects of the Daoist transformation of the terse and stringent teaching on "the perfection of wisdom (Skt. *prajñāpāramitā*)" as presented in this short *sūtra*, but to simply point out that the level of appropriation could, and often did, go well beyond superficial borrowing, ending with something akin to full-scale integration.

The Jade Emperor's Buddhist Past

One of the pre-eminent cults in pre-modern Daoism is that of the Jade Emperor (Yudi 玉帝).[28] Common to many of these cults is the creation of a myth of origin, a story which explains how a given deity came to be. In the case of the Jade Emperor we find that his lengthy journey towards sanctity—said to have taken numerous time-cycles (Skt. *kalpa*)—was in large measure modelled on the traditional account of Śākyamuni Buddha. The Daoist use of the Śākyamuni template also reveals some familiarity with the Buddha's life

25. For additional information on this work, see *ZDQY*, p. 1891.

26. *T.* 252, 8.

27. *ZDQY*, p. 1891.

28. For information on the cult of the Jade Emperor, see *Zhonghua daojiao da cidian* 中華道教大辭典, ed. Hu Fuchen 胡孚琛 *et. al.*, Beijing: Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1995, pp. 1464b–65a. For the Jade Emperor's place and role in the Daoist Pantheon, see Lennert Gesterkamp, *The heavenly court: Daoist temple painting in China, 1200–1400*, Sinica Leidensia, vol. 96, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011.

stories or at least a broad conceptual understanding of their function and importance.[29]

It is not the place here to give a succinct account of the Jade Emperor's Buddhist connexions, nor to provide a review of all the relevant scriptural sources. Here I shall limit myself to a discussion of the *Gaoshang Yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經 [Collected Scriptures on the Supreme Jade Sovereign's Fundamental Progress],[30] on the basis of which we shall gain an insight into yet another feature of Daoist appropriation of Buddhist material. While the scripture in question contains a variety of Buddhist material, including structural elements, we shall here focus on the first of the *Gaoshang Yuhuang benxing jijing*'s three major parts, which deals with the Jade Emperor's myth of origin.

The text tells the story of how the Jade Emperor in a previous lifetime in the distant past was miraculously born in the country Bright Adornment of Wonderful Bliss as a son to a childless royal couple, King Pure Virtue and Queen Precious Moon Light. Having been unable to conceive, the queen prayed to Lord Lao for a son. In a dream, Lord Lao manifested himself to her and promised her a son. Accordingly a son was born amidst a variety of miracles. Having performed cultivation for many hundreds of *kalpa*s, during which time the prince practised asceticism and made all kinds of self-sacrifices in the mountains he eventually became a "Golden Immortal" (*jinxian* 金仙) with the name Pure Spontaneously Enlightened King Tathāgata (Qingjing Ziran Jue Wang Rulai 清淨自然覺王如來). After this he taught all the bodhisattvas' sudden enlightenment (*dunwu* 頓悟) of the Great Vehicle and how to enter gradually the Wondrous Dao of Vacuous Nothingness (*xuwu miao dao* 虛無妙道). Eventually he became the Jade Emperor and taught all sentient beings the Dao.[31]

Anyone remotely familiar with Buddhism will immediately recognize the account of the Jade Emperor's spiritual progress as a thinly disguised version of the life story of Śākyamuni Buddha, i.e. divine origin, royal birth and associated miracles, ascetic practices in the mountains, self-sacrifice, enlightenment, teaching the disciples etc., including the loose references to the deity's previous lives in imitation of the Jātakas. Interestingly the *Gaoshang Yuhuang benxing jijing*'s reference to the "sudden realization of the Great vehicle" and "gradually entering the wondrous Dao" echoes the Chan Buddhist doctrine of

29. For an example of such use, see Stephen R. Bokenkamp, "The Viśvantara-jātaka in Buddhist and Daoist translation", in *Daoism in History: Essays in Honour of Liu Ts'un-yan*, ed. Benjamin Penny, London & New York: Routledge, 2006, pp. 56–73. The origin myth surrounding the cult of Doumu 斗母, the Dipper Mother, another Daoist divinity, features direct references to Buddhism. For this, see Henrik H. Sørensen, "On the Recasting of a Buddhist Astral Divinity: Marīcī as the Daoist Goddess Doumu" (forthcoming, 2014). Interestingly the cultic connexion between the Jade Emperor and Buddhism can be highlighted in at least one Song site in Sichuan that features a blend of Buddhist and Daoist images carved in stone. See Tom Suchan, "The Cliff-sculpture of Stone-Gate Mountain: A Mirror of Religious Eclecticism in the Art of Twelfth-Century Sichuan", *Archives of Asian Art* 57 (2007), pp. 51–94.

30. *DZ* 10–11.1. In its present form the scripture dates from the second half of the Southern Song. Cf. Schipper's entry in *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, pp. 1096–97. Although he notes the Buddhist input, he has somehow missed the fact that the text has appropriated Śākyamuni's life story for its creation of the myth of the Jade Emperor.

31. *DZ* 10.1, p. 717c.

"sudden enlightenment followed by gradual practice", something which would have been widely known to religious practitioners across the board during the Song dynasty.[32] Even the manner in which the Dao is referred to as "vacuous nothingness" may be seen as reflecting Buddhist thought. Elsewhere in the text we find a reference to "golden immortal bodhisattvas (*jinxian pusa* 金仙菩薩)"[33] as a compound indicating the conflation of Daoist immortals and Buddhist bodhisattvas into a single category of holy beings.

In this case we are not dealing with the Daoist appropriation of an actual Buddhist divinity, but rather with a case of conceptual borrowing and religious re-dressing. The "life of the Buddha" template serves as a narrative and structural platform for the creation of the account of the Jade Emperor's ascent to sanctity on the one hand, while on the other, salient Buddhist doctrines are invoked to underscore the dispensation of his teaching of salvation. Undoubtedly the popularity of Chan Buddhism during the Song must have been a primary reason for casting the Jade Emperor's primary religious activity in such a straightforward Buddhist manner rather than utilizing a more obvious Daoist wording. This example is therefore one in which the appropriation of the Buddhist deity, in this case Śākyamuni, happens indirectly, as a re-fashioning or re-casting. Even so, the primary Buddhist features of the Jade Emperor's previous incarnation as Pure Spontaneously Enlightened King Tathāgata is never in doubt, indicating a conscious and integrated take-over of the Buddhist message of liberation and salvation.

Appropriated Cults: Marīcī and Mahāmayūrī

In addition to Avalokiteśvara, the Daoists took over a number of other Buddhist cults, primarily those concerning major bodhisattvas and divinities. The material pertaining to these various cults is substantial, and here I shall limit myself to discussing two of the more prominent ones. Interestingly enough, the two cases to be dealt with involve the appropriation of female divinities, namely those of Marīcī[34] and Mahāmayūrī.[35] The cults

32. For a discussion of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation, see Peter N. Gregory, "Sudden Enlightenment followed by gradual Cultivation: Tsung-mi's Analysis of Mind", in *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, ed. Peter N. Gregory, Studies in East Asian Buddhism 5, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987, pp. 279–320.

33. *DZ* 10.1, p. 742b.

34. A general discussion of this divinity can be found in David Hall, "Martial Aspects of the Buddhist Mārīcī in Sixth Century China", Taishō daigaku sōgō bukkyō kenkyū so nenpō 11 (1988), pp. 146–63. For a discussion of the Marīcī cult during the Southern Song in Sichuan, primarily from an art historical perspective, see Tom Suchan, "The Eternally Flourishing Stronghold: An Iconographic Study of the Buddhist Sculpture of the Fowan and Related Sites at Beishan, Dazu ca. 892–1155", PhD thesis, The Ohio State University, 2003, pp. 311–25.

35. For additional information on this important cult, see Henrik H. Sørensen, "A Ming Statue of the Vidyaraja Mahamayuri in the Collection of the National Museum of Copenhagen", *Oriental Art*, vol. XXXVII: 3 (1991), pp. 137–47; and Sørensen, "The Spell of the Great, Golden Peacock Queen: The Origin, Practices and Lore of an Early Esoteric Buddhist Tradition in China", *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute for Buddhist Studies*

of both have a long pre-history in Chinese Buddhism, in particular in Esoteric Buddhism, before they aroused the interest of the Daoists, something which is also apparent in the manner in which they were appropriated.

Turning first to the cult of Marīcī, there are a number of scriptures, all relatively late works, which throw light on the conflation of the Marīcī/Doumu cults in the context of Daoism, but for the sake of brevity, let us focus on one of them, namely the *Xiantian doumu zougao xuanke* 先天斗母奏告玄科 [Ritual of the Mysterious Prayer to Doumu of the Former Heaven].[36] Here we find the Buddhist astral divinity Marīcī and the derived Daoist goddess Doumu placed side by side as part of an entire array of mainly astral divinities. The former is referred to as, "Marīcī, Divine, Great Holy, Completely Bright Heavenly Worthy Goddess". The "Heavenly Worthy" epithet added to the name of the goddess is a standard title for Daoist divinities. Thus we see that at beginning of this text that Marīcī was still retained as an appropriated Buddhist divinity, although clearly in the process of becoming a fully fledged Daoist goddess. However, later in the same text we may observe that the final conflation of Marīcī/Doumu had taken place, as we read that "Doumu is the transformation body of the Buddha Mother [Marīcī] (Doumu huashen wei fomu 鬥母化身為佛母)".[37] In other words Marīcī and Doumu are here conceived of as one and the same goddess.

As for the cult of Mahāmayūrī, or the Golden Peacock Queen, she is a powerful *vidyārajñī* and protector in the context of Esoteric Buddhism. There are three Mahāmayūrī scriptures in the Daoist Canon, of which the most important for the present purpose is the *Taishang Yuanshi tianzun shuo baoyueguang huanghou shengmu tianzun Kongque mingwang jing* 太上元始天尊説寶月光皇后聖母天尊孔雀明王經 [The Heavenly Worthy, Highest Original Commencement Speaks the Scripture on the Precious Moon Light Empress, Holy Mother and Heavenly Worthy, Mayūrī Vidyārājñī].[38] When looking at this scripture, it is evident that it is not a direct copy of any of the Buddhist *Mahāmayūrī vidyārājñī sūtra*s, but rather a pastiche incorporating essential Buddhist elements and concepts. While it is clear that whoever compiled the Daoist scripture was familiar with one (or more) of the *Mahāmayūrī vidyārājñī sūtra*s, it was probably Amoghavajra's translation/compilation from the eighth century which served as the most immediate model, or rather source of inspiration. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the *Taishang Kongque wangzun jing* contains little in the way of Esoteric Buddhist lore or ritual. It is to all purposes and intents a "pure" Daoist scripture, apart from the fact that its main divinity is a Buddhist one. This means that the Daoist compiler of the *Taishang Kongque wangzun jing*, at least as far as we can see, con-

(Special Issue: Honoring James H. Sanford) 3: 8 (2006), pp. 89–123.

36. *DZ* 1452. Probably from the Yuan-Ming transition. See *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, pp. 1234–35.

37. Cf. *DZ* 1452, p. 765c.

38. *DZ* 1433, 1434, 1435, pp. 574b–85a. See also *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, pp. 1233–34. There is some uncertainty as to the dating of this scripture. However, the current concensus is that it probably originated during the early Ming. Given that it was directly inspired by the Buddhist scripture, the *Mahāmayūrīvidyārājñī-dhāraṇī sūtra* (Amoghavajra's translation as found in *T*. 982, 19), it is not surprising that this Daoist rip-off is packed with Buddhist elements.

sciously avoided aspects of Esoteric Buddhist practice which would require the type of master–disciple transmission of the more arcane aspects of the Mahāmayūrī ritual. This included in particular the mantras and spells in Sanskrit as well as the mudrās and special offerings. Instead he chose those elements and ritual structures which would meet with a ready resonance in a Daoist-oriented audience. The Mahāmayūrī cult in its Daoist form therefore represents a case where the overall idea of a Buddhist cult was appropriated, and in this case limited to the deity herself, while the ritual and overall conceptual "packing" remained Daoist.

Buddhist Monks as Daoist Saints

By the beginning of the Song dynasty (960–1276), Daoism underwent a series of new developments, which heralded in the reformation of earlier sectarian groupings and the establishment of new dispensations including the Zhengyi 正一 tradition and the Shenxiao mentioned earlier. Characteristic of both these movements are their production of a new and extensive Daoist literature, much of which with focus on ritual practices.[39] The growing evidence of borrowings from Buddhism and appropriations of certain aspects of ritual technology, especially that relating to Esoteric Buddhism, is conspicuously in evidence. It is also during this period, more precisely during the early eleventh century that the important Daoist compendium, the Yunji qiqian 雲笈七籤 [Seven Tallies in the Cloud Satchel] appeared.[40] Despite the fact that this work represents a form of "purified" Daoism, i.e. a Daoism that had been through an anti-Buddhist purge to cleanse many of the important scriptures from Buddhist elements, the *YJQQ* nevertheless still features many remains. Among these we find Buddhist saints, cast in roles as Daoist immortals.

The most prominent among these appropriated Buddhist saints is the Indian monk Bodhidharma (d.c.530).[41] In fact an entire section devoted to him is contained in the *YJQQ*, entitled *Damo dashi zhushi liuxing neizhen miaoyong jue* 達磨大師住世留形內真妙用訣 [Testament on the Inner and Truly Wondrous Activity of the Great Master Bodhidharma While Dwelling in this World].[42] The text primarily deals with inner alchemy (*neidan* 內丹), a type of spiritual cultivation, involving an almost physical refinement of the inner spirit(s), which was of course not part of traditional Buddhist practice.[43] The essentially

39. For surveys of both traditions, see *The Taoist Tradition*, vol. 2, pp. 849–973; 1081–95.

40. Hereafter *YJQQ*; *DZ* 1032. However, in this study I make use of the modern, punctuated edition as found in Li Yongsheng (ed.), *Yunji qiqian*, 5 vols., Daojiao Dianji Biankan, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003.

41. Bodhidharma is thought to have been active under the Liang and later the Northern Wei during the first quarter of the sixth century. For additional information, see John McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*, Studies in East Asian Buddhism, no. 3, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986, pp. 15–21.

42. *YJQQ*, vol. 3, pp. 1310–14, 1556. For a discussion of this work from the perspective of Buddhism, see Sekiguchi Shindai, *Daruma daishi no kenkyū* [Studies on the Great Master Bodhidharma], Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1969, pp. 391–400.

43. A survey of the Daoist body and internal practices can be found in *The Taoist Experience: An Anthology*,

alien and non-Buddhist nature of the discourse which this text places in the mouth of Bodhidharma, is most notable in the section where vital energy (*qi* 氣/炁), the primary, cosmic "building-block" of Daoism, is discussed. The text reads:

> Fundamentally vital energy is the root of man [*ben qi shi ren you zhi gen* 本氣是人有之根]. Vital energy causes the spirits and life, [while on its part] the body is caused and completed by vital energy. If the body does not obtain vital energy, it cannot be completed. [Likewise] vital energy without a body, cannot become a person.[44]

Even if we substitute *qi*, i.e. vital energy, with *prāṇa*, the standard term for breath used in Buddhist meditation texts, we cannot explain away the strong and persuasive implication of the way *qi* as a solid, material force or energy appears in the text. Moreover, the idea of a spirit (*shen* 神) inhabiting the human body, is also a concept which is inherently alien to Buddhism, but which of course stands centrally in Daoist ontology. There are other instances in the text under discussion which indicate its non-Buddhist origin. Another example of Daoist discourse in the text is the reference to filial piety (*xiao* 孝) performed by Śākyamuni, the historical founder of Buddhism, on behalf of his parents.[45] And the manner in which the inside of the human body is discussed, in particular the relationship between vital energy and the five viscera and the six organs (*wuzang liufu* 五臟六腑).[46]

As our text features prominently in an important Daoist compendium from the early eleventh century, it is obvious that the Daoist borrowing or adoption of Bodhidharma was not the result of a random appropriation. By the time the *YJQQ* was compiled, Bodhidharma's status as the First Chinese Patriarch of Chan Buddhism had long since been established, and he already had a virtually saintly position in Chinese Buddhism at that time.

It is not known when Bodhidharma made his entry among the saints of Daoism, and it is in my view debatable whether it can actually be traced back to the Tang period. I find it more likely that the Daoist co-option of the Bodhidharma-character took place during the early Northern Song more or less simultaneously with the rise of formalized Chan Buddhism.[47] As we have already seen, the *YJQQ* entry bears little resemblance to

Livia Kohn (ed.), Albany: SUNY Press, 1993, pp. 161–90. Additional information can be found in Paul W. Kroll, "Body Gods and the Inner Vision: The Scripture of the Yellow Court", in *Religions of China in Practice*, ed. Donald S. López, Jr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 149–55. See also *The Primordial Breath: An Ancient Chinese Way of Prolonging Life Through Breath Control*, vol. 1, Jane Huang *et al.* (tr.), Torrance: Original Books, 1987.

44. *YJQQ*, vol. 3, p. 1310.

45. *ibid.*, p. 1310.

46. *ibid.*, p. 1310.

47. For a study of this significant development in Chinese Buddhism, see Ishii Shudō, *Sōdai zenshū shi no kenkyū* [Studies in the History of Chan Schools during the Song], Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1987. See also Morten Schlütter, *How Zen became Zen: The Dispute over Enlightenment and the Formation of Chan Buddhism in Song Dynasty China*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 22, University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

the early Buddhist material relating to Bodhidharma.[48] It is also rather far away from the portrayals he is given in contemporary works of formalized Chan literature such as the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 [Compilations from the Patriarchs' Halls],[49] the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景得傳燈錄 [The Jingde Transmission of the Lamp],[50] etc. We must therefore assume that the transposition of Bodhidharma into the fold of Daoist saints was primarily effected via a two-fold strategy. First by re-casting him as a Daoist adept of *neidan*, and secondly by forging a scripture bearing his name, but with a distinct Daoist content.

Other saintly Buddhist monks referred to in the *YJQQ* include the celebrated thaumaturge Fotudeng 佛圖澄 (fl. first half of 4th cent.),[51] who is also credited with having written a work on alchemy (*danjing* 丹經) entitled J*inye jue* 金液訣 [Methods of Molten Metal].[52] There is also the famous Jingtu 淨土 master, Tanluan 曇鸞 (476–542),[53] whom the *YJQQ* credits with having written a *Qishu lun* 氣術論 [Treatise on the Arts of Vital Energy].[54] As with Bodhidharma these monks also appear in the *YJQQ* as Daoist adepts of outer and inner alchemy rather than as Buddhist monks.

In connexion with the praise—and indeed use—of these Buddhist monks, the *YJQQ* openly states the reason for incorporating them into the hierarchy of Daoist saints was because "they are all similar to Daoists".[55] This shows that when Buddhist saints were introduced into the Daoist context, it was because they were considered as practitioners of Daoism, i.e. as being "one of us". Moreover, the primary characteristics associated with the appropriated Buddhist saints, were "rewritten" or altered so as to match with Daoist ideology and practices.

The same would appear to have been the case with Huineng 慧能 (638–713),[56] the Sixth Patriarch, undoubtedly the most famous of all Chan masters in the entire history of Chinese Buddhism. Although I have not come across what we may take as a full-blown appropriation of the character of Huineng, the important scripture associated with his name, the *Liuzu dashi fabao tan jing* 六祖大師法寶壇經 [The Sixth Patriarch's Platform

48. For a discussion and translation of much of this material, see McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an*, pp. 15–23; 101–17.

49. Cf. the xylograph-print of the original Haein Temple blocks of the *Zutang ji*: Yanagida Seizan (ed.), *Sodōshū*, Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1984, pp. 32a–39a.

50. *T*. 2076, 50: 217a–20a.

51. *YJQQ*, vol. 3, p. 1556. For a classical study of this Buddhist thaumaturge, see Arthur F. Wright, *Studies in Chinese Buddhism*, Robert M. Somers (ed.), New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990, pp. 34–68.

52. *YJQQ*, vol. 3, p. 1556. The title indicates an alchemical work, and of course apocryphal to the extent that it ever existed.

53. *ibid*., p. 1308–10.

54. *ibid*., p. 1556. I have been unable to locate any of these texts, and it is unlikely that they exist.

55. *Jietong daojia* 皆同道家, *ibid*., pp. 1556.

56. For a monumental study on this important Buddhist figure, see John Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-Neng, the Sixth Patriarch: Hagiography and Biography in Early Ch'an*, Sinica Leidensia, vol. 68, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005.

Scripture],[57] or some other Buddhist text quoting it,[58] is quoted twice in the Daoist commentary, the *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi* 元始無量度人上品妙經內義 [Inner Meaning of the Wonderful Scripture Highest Category of the Original Commencement of the for the Limitless Salvation of Men],[59] to underscore an otherwise entirely Daoist line of argumentation regarding so-called "inner cultivation". The first passage in question reads:

> The *Inner Meaning* states: From ancient times up to the present is not very far. The scriptural methods concerning the way of alchemy has one principle, which is non-discrimination. The Sixth Patriarch has said: My teaching of the *dharma*[60] is like the seasonal rain, which moistens the great earth. The Buddha Nature you all have, may be likened to all the various kinds of seeds, which benefit from the saturation [caused by the rain], causing them to sprout and grow."[61] This then accords with the methods of the received scriptures (*yujing* 遇經),[62] which have extensive salvation (*pudu* 普度) as their principle. The inner form (*neixiang* 內象) is what constitutes the body. This is the idea. Having obtained it, one knows its spirit and cherishes it; illuminating its vital breath, one treasures it. If one does this throughout the entire year, nothing will be able to cause one injury. For the entire year, one will not encounter what are referred to as "perverse gods (*huangtian* 橫天)".[63]

What we see here is that the passage from the Buddhist text is inserted into a doctrinal discourse which has an entirely different aim and practical purpose, namely the preservation of the "inner body" or "embryo" created through the internal, alchemical process.[64]

Later on in the same text we find another quote from Huineng's *Platform Scripture*. This time inserted into a discussion on the mutual integration and transposed identity of Daoist gods in a manner vaguely resembling the teaching on the so-called "transformation bodies (*huashen* 化身)" of Buddhism. The text reads:

> The Buddhists have also explained the three bodies of their own nature. The Sixth Patirarch said: "The pure *dharmakāya* is your own nature; the complete

57. *T.* 2008, 48: 361b.

58. The first passage appears verbatim in several Song Buddhist sources relating to Chan Buddhism including the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, the *Wudeng huiyuan* 五登會元 [Five Lamps Meeting at the Source], etc. Xiao Yingsou could therefore in principle have lifted these excerpts from a wide range of Chan texts. Cf. e.g. *T.* 2076, 51: 238b.

59. *DZ* 90. Authored by Xiao Yingsou 蕭應叟 (fl. late 12th–first half of 13th cent.) of the Southern Song. See also *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, pp. 716–17.

60. *Dharma* is here likely to have been read as "methods" by the Daoists.

61. *T.* 2008, 48: 361b.

62. A reference to the Daoist corpus of scriptures believed to have been revealed to man by the gods.

63. *DZ* 90, p. 344b. This usage of *huangtian* normally refers to the deities and demons worshipped by local cults, which were the arch-enemies of formal Daoism.

64. For a survey of this type of practice, including a study of a later tradition, see Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, *Procédés secrets du joyau magique: traité d'alchimie taoïste du XIe siècle*, Paris: Les Deux Océans, 1984.

> and full *sambhogakāya* is your own wisdom; the myriad *nirmāṇakāya*s are your own activity.[65]

First of all this data also reveals that the Daoists, even in later periods, were happily appropriating and utilizing Buddhist materials, even to the point of quoting from primary works belonging to that religion. Moreover, they did this without fiddling with the contents of the text, but instead they embedded the appropriated material into a quite different conceptual setting. The logic of these quotes, especially if one reads them as Chan Buddhist teaching, makes little sense. Nevertheless, in the Daoist tradition of inner alchemy, they serve the point of underlining the belief in interior, corporal bodies. By being taken out of its Buddhist context, the appropriated Chan teaching loses its original meaning, while in the new setting of Daoist doctrine it is imbued with a new and quite different meaning.

Do these examples indicate that the more clearly defined religious and doctrinal demarcations, such as those that had persisted between Buddhism and Daoism during the Tang, had become more fluid during late imperial China? Or perhaps a shift in the perception of saintliness had taken place, in which numinous power was no longer seen as carrying a distinct religious address, but was rather something which all could partake of, regardless of faith? Whether we will be able to answer these questions remains to be seen, but it is evident that the trend towards inter-religious borrowing and the sharing of mutual beliefs was a tendency that started to become more and more prominent as the Song period wore on.

The Case of Puan

Let us now proceed to a discussion of the case of the Chan master Puan Yinsuan 普庵印肅 (1115–1169),[66] later known as Ancestor Puan 普庵祖師, a historical figure of the Linji School 臨濟宗 of Chinese Chan Buddhism, who was active in south-eastern China during the transition between the Northern and Southern Song. Although in all respects a traditional master of *chan*, whose teaching focused on the practice of meditation with the use of *gong'an* 公案 ("public cases"), Puan is also known for his fondness for the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* and is said to have attained enlightenment from reading a sentence in this important scripture. The traditional Buddhist sources also mention that he was a rain-maker and a practitioner of pious austerities. Among other feats Puan is said to have copied out the celebrated *Vajracchedikā sūtra* in his own blood. Nevertheless, as far as the historical figure of Puan goes, we are essentially dealing with a bona-fide Buddhist master, a human being operating in a religious context and in recordable time.

65. *T*. 2008, 48: 356a; *DZ* 90, p. 370b.

66. For the most authoritative biographical information on Puan, see *Zengaku daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 57bc. See also *FDC*, vol. 5, p. 4992bc.

Some time after Puan's death, a popular cult had developed around his persona, elements of which may already have been present during his own life time. This development was no doubt stimulated by the fact that the imperial court bestowed posthumous honours on Puan's temple on several occasions, something which greatly boosted the popularity of the cult locally.[67]

The more dramatic shift from Buddhism to Daoism evidently took place during the first half of the Ming dynasty, as indicated in the compilation of the *Puan Chanshi lingyan ji* 普庵禪師靈驗記 [Records of the Numinous Responses of Chan Master Puan],[68] a collection of mythological stories evolving around Puan's role as a miracle worker and master of spells.[69] It is essentially this aspect of the Puan persona which can be credited with the popular and divine status both inside and outside the religious boundaries of Buddhism.

There are indications that the local worship of Puan, including its transmutations within the local Daoist Qinglian Sect 青蓮派, was also influenced by or at least absorbed elements from Manichaeism during the Ming.[70] The role and status of Puan is referred to in one text of the Qinglian Sect in the following terms: "Our Third Patriarch Puan is the transformation body (*huashen* 化身) of the Heavenly Worthy of Lingbao (Lingbao Tianzun 靈寶天尊)".[71] In this manner they link together their own organization with the cult of Puan, one of the most important Daoist gods in that part of China.

Puan's importance as a figure who crossed the religious boundaries between Buddhism and Daoism, is also underscored by the fact that he, like a few select Buddhist monks and laymen, in addition to Bodhidharma, Fudashi 傅大士 (497–569), Baozhi 寶誌 (fl. first half of sixth cent.) etc., found his place in the expanded and revised *Soushen ji* 搜神記 [Record of the Search of the Divine],[72] a Ming collection of tales that revolve around mainly Daoist gods, immortals, and human saints. In this source there is no direct mention of a connexion between Puan and Daoism, although his role as a thaumaturge, especially a rain-maker, is mentioned. However, given that the *Soushen ji* is a Daoist compilation, and that it was included in the Ming *Daozang*, indicates a stage in the process by which the gradual co-option of Puan as a Daoist sage took place.

67. For the imperial favours bestowed upon Puan's old temple during the Yuan, see *Fozu lidai tongcai*, *T*. 2036, 49: 731b.

68. See *Puan chanshi quanji* 普庵禪師全集 [Complete Compilation [of the Writings] on Chan Master Puan], Taibei: Dasheng Qingshe Yinjing Hui, 2004. This work contains material, most of it hagiographical, from later periods.

69. For the *Puan Spell*, see the important liturgical manual, the *Zhujing risong* 諸經日誦 [Daily Chants from all Scriptures], *Jiaxing dazang jing* [Jiaxing Tripiṭaka] 44.19, pp. 162b–163a. See also Wu Yongmeng, "Puan chanshi yu minjian xinyang" [Chan Master Puan and Popular Faith].

70. For a discussion of this, see Wang Jianchuan 王見川, *Cong senglong dao shenming: Dingguang gufo, Fazhu gong, Puan yanjiu* 從僧侶到神明: 定光古佛法主公普庵之研究 [Followers and Monks' Companions Reaching Spiritual Illumination: A Study of the Old Buddha Dingguang, the Worthy Fazhu and Puan], Taibei: Yuanguang Foxueyuan, 2007, pp. 75–6.

71. See the *Zumei yuanliu* 祖脈源流 [Source and Flow of the Patriarchal Veins], Wanquan Tang Zangpan, 1936 (reprint 1995), pp. 7–36 (esp. p. 11).

72. See *DZ* 1476, ch. 3.

The Puan Spell as a distinct piece of liturgy mentioned above also entered Daoist liturgy and ritual music. It is not known exactly when this took place, but probably some time during the late Ming, i.e. sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. In any case we know that the spell, together with a good many other Buddhist-inspired pieces, were chanted in the rituals of the Longmen Sub-sect 龍門派 of the Quanzhen School of Daoism.[73] In any case, it is clear that by the late Ming the popularity of the Puan cult in Fujian and north-eastern Guangdong had outgrown its original roots in Chinese Chan Buddhism as it had transcended both religious and narrow sectarian boundaries. By then Puan had become a god with universal appeal.

Thus we see that Puan's rise to divine status in Daoism was facilitated through a process by which he was lifted out of his status as an important religious leader in Chan Buddhism, via a post-mortem stage as a divine saint, in effect a bodhisattva, complete with a hagiography and a set of magic, ritual practices until he finally emerged as a fully fledged Daoist god.

Conclusion

Before concluding this paper, I would like to address the question of what actually happens when one religion appropriates divinities and cults belonging to another religion. This issue would appear to be of primary importance in the over-all context of the KHK, not only because of its potential in throwing light on a major aspect of inter-religious practice, but also for its potential in revealing some of the more intricate mechanisms in the process of religious transfer. On the surface, it would appear that the simple take-over of a Buddhist cult by Daoism, such as Guanyin or Mārīcī worship, would not seriously alter or influence its core beliefs and practices, such as the longevity cult, cosmology, its pantheon and heavenly hierarchy, belief in internal gods etc, and as such may be understood as relatively unproblematic affairs, something akin to an addition. However, there can be little doubt that in the rather free and open-minded appropriation of Buddhist deities and their cults by the Daoists, not to mention the take-over of related scriptures, they did make their beliefs and practices vulnerable to a whole set of new, and in many cases, quite different doctrines and beliefs. Beliefs and practices with the potential to undermine or at the very least off-set core-values of Daoism. Several previous studies have shown how the borrowing from Buddhism was greatly influential in shaping the history of Daoism and its literature during the early medieval period. In the late medieval and early pre-modern period we begin to see, as I hope this short study has shown, how these wholesale borrowings gradually altered Daoist concepts and practices, sometimes in a radical manner.

This leads me to the question of what appropriation could entail in a given specific case. And more specifically to the question of appropriation accompanied by or without

73. See Shanxi daojiao yinyue 山西道教音樂 (Daoist Music from Shanxi).

a radical transformation. In the case of the former it would appear that a proper transformation or re-casting of the appropriated god or saint was deemed necessary or was otherwise done in order to have a similar god as the competitor. We may refer to this process as motivated by a mixture of practical necessity and religious jealousy. Or stated in another way, as being in possession of a religious 'service' similar to that of the Buddhists, but with a conscious re-formulation of the status of the appropriated god or saint. In the case of the latter proposition, namely that in which it was not felt necessary to alter or change the status of the appropriated god/saint, but simply to adopt him or her more or less as he/she had been in the original Buddhist context. This may have been because the cult of the god or saint was already so important and well-established that it was not necessary to change anything on a deeper level. This type of appropriation comes closer to how we normally understand "borrowing", but with the twist that the "foreign" god or saint, depending on the case, was continuing his or her "existence" in an essentially alien environment and henceforth functioning in new doctrinal and ritual contexts. This might or might not mean a change in the divinity's fundamental function, as for example in the case of Avalokiteśvara/Guanyin, whose cult in the Daoist context would appear to have continued in much the same way as it had unfolded in its original Buddhist surroundings—namely as a protector, healer and provider of children. Likewise, in the case of the goddess Marīcī, whether she continued under this name in Daoism or under her new appellation as Doumu, her function as an astral protector and status as martial goddess, did not change significantly either when she was lifted out of her originally Esoteric Budddhist context and into that of Daoism.

However, in the case of Puan discussed above, we see a Buddhist saint, originally a famous monk, whose status and function changed dramatically as his context shifted. In effect Puan was not only canonized as a saint through the process of appropriation, a development which may already have taken place while he was still worshipped in the Buddhist context, but he was made into a de facto god when he moved across the religious boundary and into the Daoist pantheon. Most likely this transition was greatly assisted by the massive popularity the cult enjoyed locally. In order words, the popularity that had developed around him, i.e. the cult itself, may have been the very factor which propelled Puan into the Daoist pantheon as a fully blown god.

The altering or changing of Daoist practices due to Buddhist influence can be observed in many different cases, in particular in its rituals and liturgy. At the very least the borrowing or adoption of certain Buddhist cults by Daoism, did serve to blur the formal sectarian and religious divide between the two religions, something which can be most readily observed in the formation of what we may refer to as the "Buddho-Daoist pantheon" which began to take shape during the Southern Song–Yuan transition of the thirteenth century and eventually reached maturity under the Ming.[74]

74. The clearest and most straight-forward representations of this development are the sets of Shilu 水陸 votive paintings such as those from Baoning Temple 寶寧寺 and the Musée Guimet in Paris. See the discussion in Daniel B. Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the Shuilu fahui,

There may be several explanations for the proliferation of Daoist take-overs of Buddhist divinities, and certainly more than have been touched upon in this short essay. However, let me venture a hypothesis which—even if it does not explain everything—does, I believe, provide a significant and contributing rationale behind the borrowing, adoption and transformation of Buddhist divinities that we see in Daoist material.

Since the very beginning of the Buddho-Daoist encounter, the divinities of the two religious traditions have in many cases appeared side by side, so to speak. One of the earliest sources that mentions imperial worship of Buddha images, is the celebrated memorial by Xiang Kai 襄楷 (second half of second cent. CE), which refers to sacrifices made to images of Laozi and the Buddha in the imperial palace.[75] Early archaeological findings have also revealed that Buddha images were placed in Han tombs as well as on artifacts.[76] There are of course numerous cases where local Chinese gods have been found in connexion with funerary practices. Hence, from early on in the history of Buddhism in China, its imagery could be found in the same locales populated by that of Chinese popular religion and of later, formalized Daoist religion. Evidence from the fifth to sixth centuries provides clear evidence of a iconographical conflation of Daoist and Buddhist images, especially in the area of Zhongyuan.[77] Given that Buddhism can be considered the primary and obviously inspirational factor for the rise of the formalized and structured Daoist pantheon, especially as far as iconography is concerned, it is in my view logical to assume that this fact greatly assisted and facilitated the subsequent adoption and appropriation of Buddhist divinities and divine characters by the Daoists. In any case, it is evident that there was little if any serious resistance on the side of Daoism towards the Buddhist deities and saints we have discussed here. Given that Buddhist cosmological concepts and its deities were readily accepted by the Daoists, this "openness" towards the gods of the other may therefore also have played an important role in the appropriation of doctrines, beliefs and ritual features, elements which work on the deeper levels of religious practice.

Just for the record, let me assure the reader that Daoism was by no means alone in

the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land", in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, Marsha Weidner (ed.), Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001, pp. 30–70. Further examples may be found in *La voie du tao: un autre chemin de l'être*, Paris: MMN–Musée Guimet, 2010, cat. 1–3, 5, 7.1, 13.1–13.3.

75. For a discussion of this passage, see Rafe de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest in the Later Han Dynasty: The Memorials of Hsiang-k'ai to Emperor Huan*, Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies and Australian National University Press, 1976, pp. 29–30.

76. For a survey of some of this material, see Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989, pp. 126–41.

77. A useful survey of this material can be found in *Beizhao fodao caoxiang bei jingxuan* [Essential Selection of Buddho-Daoist Image-Steles from The Northern Dynasties], comp. Shaanxi Yaowang Shan Bowuguan, Shaanxi Sheng Lintong Shi Bowuguan, and Beijing Liao-Jin Chengyuan Bowuguan, Tianjin: Tianjin Guji Chubanshe, 1996. For diverging interpretations, see Stanley K. Abe, "Heterological Visions: Northern Wei Daoist Sculpture from Shaanxi Province", *CEA* 9 (1996–1997), pp. 69–83; and Stephen R. Bokenkamp, "The Yao Boduo Stele as Evidence for the 'Dao-Buddhism' of the Early Lingbao Scriptures", *CEA* 9 (1996–1997), pp. 55–67.

its appropriation of Buddhist gods and holy persons. The Chinese Buddhists also took over certain Daoist divinities, but evidently on a much lesser scale and rarely—if ever—really major gods. This at least is how I perceive the situation at this stage of my current research. Despite this, important Daoist cults, such as the Great Dipper and its astral lords, as well as that of the Kitchen God, a god present in all households in traditional China, were incorporated fully into the Buddhist pantheon. I shall return to these issues as my research progresses.

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Emerging Scholars

Buddhist Master Wuguang's (1918–2000) Taiwanese web of the colonial, exilic and Han

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Introduction

THE Mantra School Bright Lineage[1] 真言宗光明流 is a modern Buddhist movement that encapsulates Taiwan's richly tumultuous history. The diverse historico-cultural and sectarian threads from which it is woven were imported from Mainland China, Japan and Tibet. The precise point at which these strands intersected can be located within a single monk's crisis of faith that led him on a quest for religious fulfillment.

Master Wuguang[2] 悟光上師 (a.k.a. Chen-Miao 全妙, secular name Chang Jinbao 鄭進寶 1918–2000) established the Bright Lineage in 1972 in Tainan 台南 upon his return from Kōyasan 高野山, Japan, where he received empowerment 灌頂 and became a Shingon 真言 priest 阿闍梨. This new religious movement was largely modelled after the Ono branch 小野流 of Japanese Shingon into which Wuguang was initiated.[3] It also incorporates elements from Zen 禪, Tibetan Buddhism and Western Occultism.

The only academic treatises on the sect are two recent MA theses in Chinese.[4] In order to lay the groundwork for a robust understanding of the sect, this article begins by fo-

1. Official English name.

2. Transliterations of Chinese words are in accordance with their established usage even when not in Pinyin. If no such usage is existent, then Mandarin Pinyin has been used.

3. As corroborated by the sect's lineage chart 血脈 and the Zuishin'in Religious Research Institute's, *Zuishin'in shōgyō tojiin nettowāku* (Tokyo: Zuishin'in Shōgyō Chōsa Kenkyūkai, 2004), section 1, 30–31.

4. Li Yongbin, "Master Wu Light Esoteric Ideological Research," (MA thesis, Xibei University: 2011) and Gu Zhengli, "Study on Shingon Buddhism of Guangmingwang Temple at Wuzhishan, Kaohsiung" (MA thesis, Huafan University, 2012).

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Figure 1: Temple of Universal Brightness. Photo by the author; March 2013.

cusing on the context from which it arose as primarily told through the monastic career of its founder; the framework for which is based on Wuguang's autohagiography entitled *A Memoir of Trials and Tribulations* 滄桑回憶錄.[5] This narrative has been corroborated with secondary sources on tangentially related subjects. This is followed by examples of Wuguang's unique teachings, his influence on other Buddhist movements and concludes with an analysis. Data has been ascertained through long-term, on-site fieldwork at relevant communities throughout Taiwan which I have been conducting since August, 2011. This has been coupled with information collected from historical documents, religious texts and secondary sources.

Origins

The historico-cultural factors that lead to Wuguang's founding the Bright Lineage, can be traced to Late Ming and early Qing Dynasty Fujian 福建, the Japanese colonial period 日治時期 (1895–1945) and the importation of Tibetan Buddhism.

Sino-Japanese Origins

During Japan's rule of Taiwan, there were five dominant Buddhist Temple networks which had earlier been associated with Yongquan Temple 湧泉寺, a Chan 禪 temple with both Linji 臨濟 and Caodong 曹洞 elements, located in Gushan 鼓山, Fujian Province. Under Japanese rule these networks formed ties with either Zen's Sōtō 曹洞 or Rinzai 臨濟 sects[6]

5. Mantra School Bright Lineage, "Cangsang Huiyilu", accessed 2013–07–31.
6. Kan Zhengzong, *Taiwan Fojiao Yibainian* (Taipei: Dongda, 1999), 246.

and became associated with their respective head temples in Japan.[7] One such temple network, Kaiyuan 開元, became associated with Japan's Rinzai Myōshinji sect 妙心寺派.[8]

In 1955, Wuguang left his wife and children to live at a Kaiyuan network temple in Tainan, Zhuxi Temple 竹溪寺, where he became a novice monk in 1957. Zhuxi Temple's abbot at that time, Monk Yanjing 眼淨和尚 (secular name Linkan 林看 1898–1971) was a high-ranking member of the Kaiyuan network. He was also one of Taiwan's "Buddhist Elites" 佛教菁英, a class of Taiwanese monks who received training in Japan during the colonial period.[9] He studied at Hanazono University 花園大学 in Kyoto, the main university of the Myōshinji sect. He also studied Shingon in Gifu 岐阜, Japan.[10] It was in this Sino-Japanese Buddhist environment that Wuguang converted to Buddhism and became a Chan monk.

Sino-Tibetan Origins

In the wake of WWII and the Chinese Civil War, Taiwan's sovereignty changed hands from Japan to the Kuomintang (KMT) 國民黨. Seeking to eventually retake the Chinese mainland, the KMT involved itself in the affairs of the ethnic minorities on the PRC's outskirts, which led to a tense relationship with the exilic Tibetan government in Dharamsala. However, mainland Chinese lamas not politically affiliated with Dharamsala began to establish religious centers in Taiwan. Thus began the "Mainlander Transmission" of Tibetan Buddhism.[11] Simultaneous to this importation, Wuguang had become dissatisfied with his Chan practice. He considered resuming a secular lifestyle, but remained a monk due to the vows he had taken and the inevitable loss of face after having left his family for the monastery. While on a three-month retreat, he heard of a female teacher of Tibetan Buddhism's Kagyu Sect, Elder Gongga 貢噶老人 (secular name Jia Shuwen 申書文, 1903–1997). For some time, Gongga had been contacting temples throughout Tainan in search of a setting to come and preach but was turned down by each one. Though today she is most famous for being posthumously mummified into a golden Flesh Body Bodhisattva relic 肉身菩薩, she was instrumental in the success of Tibet's Kagyu sect in Taiwan. Originally from Beijing 北京, she spent years on various retreats throughout Tibet and China

7. Mao Shao-Chou, "A Study on the Connection of History and Spatial Meaning in the Great Matzu Temple of Tainan" (MA thesis, Nanhua University, 2005), 45.

8. Chang Jinbao, "Yanjing heshang shiji," in *Yanjing heshang yuanji ershiwu zhounian jinianji*, ed. Shi Jingming (Kaohsiung: Yuanheng simiao lin, 1985), 69.

9. For information on Taiwan's Buddhist elites, see Ohno Ikuko, "The Appearance of the Buddhism [*sic*] Elites in the Japanese Taiwan Rule Times by Overseas Taiwanese Students of Soto Zen Buddhism Komazawa University" (MA thesis, Tamkang University, 2009).

10. Yang Kung-mei, "The modern transition of Taiwanese Buddhist Monastery: A Comparison Between the Kai-yuan and the Miao-shin Temples in Tainan" (MA thesis, Nanhua University, 2005), 60.

11. Abraham Zablocki, "The Taiwanese Connection: Politics, Piety, and Patronage in Transnational Tibetan Buddhism," in Buddhism between Tibet and China, ed. Matthew Kapstein (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009), 386.

before coming to Taiwan. Despite her influence, she did not receive full monastic ordination until the age of 77 in 1980.[12]

At that time, Tibetan Buddhism was considered heterodox 外道 amongst the Buddhist establishment in Tainan. This, coupled with her gender, is why Gongga was refused by the temples she approached. Having heard of her difficulties, Wuguang used his position at Zhuxi Temple to organize a ten-day event there featuring Gongga in 1960. This event, which had over one-hundred attendees, was one of the first times Tibetan Buddhism had been publicly taught in southern Taiwan and was a key event in its early propagation.[13] During this event Wuguang, along with the majority of attendees, received preliminary esoteric empowerment 灌頂.

Shortly thereafter, Wuguang allocated a newly constructed dormitory at Zhuxi Temple for a number of Gongga's followers to reside in Tainan. He also became an active member in the new community by attending classes and being the primary officiator of the community's routine rituals. This was all while simultaneously fulfilling his regular responsibilities at Zhuxi Temple. Wuguang, however, became disillusioned with Gongga after she allocated his position in the community to a recent initiate who Wuguang believed had relatively little training.

Interim Period

In 1967, Wuguang received full monastic ordination 受具足戒. Despite this, Wuguang continued to be filled with doubts. In an effort to ease his suffering, he sought to attend Hanazono University as his abbot Yanjing and a number of other Kaiyuan network monks had done. However, due to immigration issues during Taiwanese martial law (from 1949 to 1987) and a lack of funding, this turned out to be an impossibility. Despondent, in 1969 Wuguang retreated into the mountains in rural Kaohsiung county where he resolved to live out his remaining days in a small hut next to a waterfall. After reportedly curing a man from syphilis through sympathetic magic 加持,[14] Wuguang became a very sought-after religious healer.

Although he cherished this new ability, rather than strengthening his faith it only exacerbated his confusion as he did not understand its mechanics. He was dissatisfied with the explanations he had received from Gongga and unable to locate the answers within the Chinese Buddhist Canon. However, this search did lead him to discover another form

12. See Douglas Gildow and Marcus Bingenheimer, "Buddhist Mummification in Taiwan: Two Case Studies," *Asia Major* (3rd Series), 15, no. 2 (2002): 95, 123.

13. Luo Weishu, "A study of the development of Chongqing Temple in Tainan and its relationship to the development of Tibetan Buddhism in Southern Taiwan", *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, 20 (2007), 316–317.

14. Translation taken from Robert Sharf, "Visualization and Maṇḍala in Shingon Buddhism", in *Living images*: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context, ed. Robert Sharf and Elizabeth Sharf (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 196. Also see Pamela D. Winfield, "Curing with *kaji*: healing and esoteric empowerment", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32, no. 1 (2005): 107–130.

Figure 2: Long San Villa and Temple of Universal Brightness. The large red sign reads "Temple of Universal Brightness", while the yellow letters above state "Long San Villa". Photograph by the author; Tainan, 3 May 2013.

of esoteric Buddhism which he had previously overlooked; Shingon's Chinese Tang Dynasty forerunner Zhenyan.[15] Due to Zhenyan's esoteric nature and Chinese—rather than Japanese or Tibetan—setting, Wuguang felt an immediate affinity towards it.

Kōyasan

In the hopes of finding solace, Wuguang set his sights once again on Japan, this time to Kōyasan; one of the main centres of Japanese Shingon. According to Shingon's lineage scheme, its teachings were transmitted from India to Japan via Tang dynasty China, where it existed as Zhenyan. Shortly after its transportation to Japan by Kūkai 空海 (774–835),

15. The nature of Tang dynasty Esoteric Buddhism is a point of contention amongst scholars, one which is outside the scope of this project. What is relevant, however, is Wuguang's belief therein. For information see, Charles D. Orzech, Richard K. Payne and Henrik H. Sørensen (eds.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 3–18.

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who studied in China, orthodox Chinese Zhenyan lineages faded into obscurity and its spiritual technologies were subsumed within other Buddhist schools, Daoism and folk religion.[16] Thus, in Wuguang's eyes Shingon initiation offered him his only legitimate entrance into Zhenyan.

Through contacts forged under colonialism, he was put in touch with Meguro Ryūko 目□隆幸, the then and current head priest of Kōyasan's Henjōson-in 遍照尊院. Meguro warned Wuguang of the difficulty studying at Kōyasan posed to foreigners. Nevertheless, Meguro advised Wuguang to apply for a student visa and make the necessary final arrangements after arriving in Japan. Once in Japan in 1971, Meguro introduced him to Hotta Shinkai 堀田真快 (1890–1984), the chief abbot 座主 of Kongōbu-ji 金剛峰寺. Wuguang requested to study at his training hall 專修学院. Hotta refused this request because the training hall was not open to foreigners at that time. In response to this refusal, Wuguang likened his situation to that of Shingon's founder Kūkai. He told those that barred his entrance that if Kūkai's Tang Dynasty Chinese teachers had been similarly exclusive then today there would be no such thing as Shingon.[17]

Despite this difficulty, he remained in Japan and began auditing classes. This dedication, coupled with his remarks about Kūkai, helped Meguro persuade Kamei Senyū 亀位宣雄, the abbot of Hōju-in 宝寿院, to allow Wuguang to officially enrol as a student and undergo the initiatory empowerment process to become a Shingon priest.

The Mantra School Bright Lineage

After receiving esoteric empowerment, Wuguang returned to Tainan the following year and established the Mantra School Bright Lineage. He began teaching his followers his own form of Esoteric Buddhism at the Miaoming Monastic Quarters 妙明精舍 which he had built in 1967 next to Zhuxi Temple. In 1973 Wuguang's fledgling community relocated its ritual space to a small folk religion sanctuary, Long San Villa 龍山内院 to whose name was added Temple of Universal Brightness 光明王寺. Both religions still currently coexist within the same space, as shown in fig. 2.

Almost immediately, Wuguang began to initiate his own disciples on Taiwanese soil rather than sending them to Japan. Though much of what he taught in terms of doctrine and practice was similar to the Shingon he had studied in Japan, Wuguang altered the tradition, predominantly drawing inspiration from Chinese Chan, Rinzai Zen, and Tibetan Buddhism. Wuguang also drew inspiration from Western occultism which he had studied independently.

16. Charles Orzech "Seeing Chen-yen Buddhism: traditional scholarship and the Vajrayāna in China", *History of Religions* 29, no. 2 (1989): 95–96.

17. As reported in the personal blog of Dr. Huang Ying-Chieh (a.k.a. Tulku Palme Khyentse Rinpoche), associate professor at Huafan University. Huang Ying-Chieh, "Yimingfufashi: xiao moheside zailairen", *Pusa qingliang yue youyubijingkong zhongsheng xinshuijing puti yingxian zhong* (6 June 2009, 2:16 am).

Figure 3: Wuguang's Religious Banner 宗徽. Image courtesy of a Bright Lineage member.

Around 1980, these initiations as well as innovations were brought to the attention of Wuguang's Japanese teachers in Japan. Displeased, they had Meguro write a letter to Wuguang revoking his permission to teach. Wuguang responded with his own letter, stating that in order for the tradition to take root in Taiwan it must be adapted to its new context. He also wrote that he needed to compose a more comprehensive curriculum aimed at Taiwanese lay devotees. He received no official response.

However, it seems that Wuguang was vindicated from his promotions within the Japanese ecclesiastical hierarchy 僧階.[18] In 1983 he was given the title of lesser archbishop 少僧正 and was allowed to wear purple robes, the colour associated with the Japanese imperial household, as a sign of his authority.[19] In the same year, Wuguang purchased a large plot of land in Kaohsiung's Neimen District 高雄市内門區, where construction began the following year on a large complex named Mount Five Wisdom 五智山, centered around the Temple of Universal Brightness[20] 光明王寺 whose architecture is meant to mimic that of Tang Dynasty China (see fig. 1). Although this temple has been the sect's headquarters since its construction, the sect has various branches throughout Taiwan and one in Hong Kong. Since Wuguang's passing in 2000, Huiding 徽定 (a.k.a. Cheding

18. Wuguang's certificates can be found in his book, *Fojiao zhenyanzong jishenchengfo guan* (Kaohsiung: Paise wenhua, 1991), front endpapers.

19. Though primarily focused on Zen, for a thorough treatment of purple robes see, Duncan Williams, "The purple robe incident and the formation of the early modern Sōtō Zen institution," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 36, no. 1 (2009): 27–43.

20. Official English name.

徹定, secular name Jiang Huixiong 蔣徽雄) has been the sect's spiritual leader. Huiding began studying with Wuguang at the age of 19 and was named abbot of the Temple of Universal Brightness in 1999.

Consolidation

Having traced Wuguang's monastic career and pinpointed some of his major sources of inspiration, what follows are a few poignant examples of how he interwove these disparate elements into a comprehensive religious system.

Inspired by the crests 紋 used in Japan to signify Buddhist sects, Wuguang composed a unique symbol to encapsulate the doctrines of his own. Fig. 3 depicts Wuguang's religious banner. It incorporates the Japanese mitsudomoe 三つ巴, the Indian vajra sword and the caduceus, an emblem commonplace in Western Occultism and used by the medical profession.[21]

One of the titles used by Wuguang, *shangshi* 上師, which I have hitherto translated as "master" in accordance with English speaking members of the sect, is quite telling. It is actually an abridged version of the title "Lofty Vajra Teacher" 金剛上師 (see fig. 4). It is used neither for Shingon priests in Japan nor for Chinese Buddhist monks in Taiwan. Rather, it is used by Tibetan Tantric teachers and is more correctly rendered as "guru" or "lama".[22] It is also how Gongga's followers refer to her. Thus it is clear that Wuguang was attempting to consolidate what he considered to be the kernels of truth he had encountered throughout his multifaceted studies.

Influence

Wuguang's influence has not been confined to the Bright Lineage. In fact, a number of his former students have gone on to form their own Buddhist movements. Additionally, Japanese sponsored Shingon centres in Taiwan, although not affiliated with the Bright Lineage also display Wuguang's influence; either by incorporating elements from his consolidation or legitimizing their authenticity by distancing themselves from it.

One example of Wuguang's impact was the formation of the Modern Chan Society (MCS) 現代禪,[23] a lay Taiwanese Buddhist order created in the 1980s which has been described as "one of the most remarkable phenomena in the modern history of Chinese

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

22. Foguang Shan Committee of Religious Affairs, *Foguang dacidian* (Kaohsiung: Foguang chubanshe, 1988), s.v. 上師.

23. For more information, see Ji Zhe, "Expectation, affection and responsibility: the charismatic journey of a new Buddhist group in Taiwan," *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 12, no. 2 (2008): 48–68.

Figure 4: Temple Entrance on Wuguang's Memorial Day. The horizontal text displays Wuguang's full Tibetan-inspired title and reads "Memorial Ritual for Lofty Vajra Teacher Wuguang's Anniversary of Achieving Nirvana". As can be seen, at the far end of the sanctuary is a picture of Wuguang. Photo by the author; Temple of Universal Brightness, 28 July 2013.

Buddhism".[24] The most radical aspect of the MCS was its rejection of the traditional Chinese Buddhist communal model that separated adherents into lay and monastic followers. The founder of MCS, Li Yuansong 李元松 (1957–2003), converted to Buddhism under Wuguang in 1980 and stated that Wuguang was his greatest influence.[25]

Wuguang's teaching that had the most profound impact on Li was "Externally Chan, Internally Esoteric" 外禪內密. This teaching is not prevalent in his writings as it was primarily transmitted orally.[26] This is a multi-layered doctrine that captures the essence of both the man and the religious movement he founded. In an almost apologetic sense, it reveals Wuguang's self-perception as a practitioner of Esoteric Buddhism essentially trapped within the confines of Chan.

This teaching also influenced another one of Wuguang's students, who unlike Li was

24. Ji Zhe, "The establishment of a lay clergy by the Modern Chan Society: The practice of modern Chinese Buddhism," *China perspectives* 59 (2005): 56.

25. Yang Huinan, "Inquiry concerning the development of 'New Rain' and 'Zen Now': from Yin-shun's 'Buddhism for this World'," *Foxue yanjiu zhongxin xuebao* 5 (2000): 275–312.

26. I heard this teaching on 12 August 2011 from Chen Shenghua (see next paragraph), who attributed it to Wuguang.

actually empowered as a Shingon priest by Wuguang: Chen Shenghua 陳聖華 (a.k.a. Master Chesheng 徹聖上師 1938–). After Wuguang's passing Chen broke away from the Bright Lineage and founded his own, the Zhenyanzong Samantabhadra Lineage 真言宗普賢流.

As mentioned, Wuguang's influence can even be seen in Taiwanese Shingon communities under Japanese direction. Chou Wen-Kuei 周文魁 (a.k.a. Master Rongyong 融永上師), head of the Kōyasan Muryōkō-in Branch Temple 高野山無量光院別院 in Taipei 台北, studied under Chen Shenghua before obtaining empowerment in Japan. His use of the term *shangshi* 上師 in his title was clearly inspired by Chesheng's, who in turn appropriated this title from Wuguang, who modelled it after Gongga.

The writings of Huaihai Yuanzhi 懷海圓智, the abbot of another Shingon temple in Taiwan under Japanese direction, Kōyasan Jūkon-in 高野山住嚴院 in Taichung 台中, contain polemics aimed at contemporary Zhenyan groups in Taiwan.[27] His main reproach is their inclusion of non-traditional Japanese elements, which he sees as an adulteration of Shingon.

Conclusion

Wuguang's monastic career was rife with both tension and friction; tension caused by disparate elements competing for centrality and the friction born out of the centralization of these elements. These exact elements to which I refer are the cultural, social, ethnic and religious binaries. At the centre of these was Wuguang, who was pulled in incongruent directions, both internally and externally. Externally were the tensions between Chinese, Tibetan and Japanese identities as well as their subsequent sectarian exclusivities. Internally, Wuguang was torn between his pursuit of a fulfilling religious life and the monastic vows he had taken.

It was from within Wuguang's attempt to harmonize these binaries, all of which were present during his religious crisis at Zhuxi Temple, that his unique religious movement was born. It is also the source of the aforementioned characteristics found in the modern Buddhist movements and Taiwanese Shingon centres under Japanese direction.

The evidence for the above can be discerned from the path Wuguang took in pursuit of a meaningful religious life. Despite the intolerance shown towards Gongga, Wuguang helped her establish a community in Tainan which he became a part of. Later, only after discovering its Chinese past, did he study Shingon in Japan where he became the victim of intolerance. This shows that Shingon, in his mind, offered the framework within which to harmonize the internal as well as external incongruent directions in which he felt pulled. This was accomplished via the creation of the Bright Lineage.

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of this topic, comprehension thereof is relevant to the study of Japanese, Tibetan and Chinese Buddhism as well as their relationships to modern geopolitics. It is also crucial for a comprehensive understanding of Taiwanese

27. Huaihai Yuanzhi, *Fojiao mimi: mimi fojiaode xin shiye* (NP: Yiqie zhizhi guocha wenchuang, 2013), 48–51.

religion. Recent Western scholarship on Taiwanese Buddhism has been largely monopolized by Humanistic Buddhist organizations 人間佛教. Consequently, colonial Japanese Buddhism, the early influx of Tibetan Buddhism and smaller movements such as the Bright Lineage have received relatively little attention. To address these voids, Wuguang, his sect and their place within the Taiwanese religious landscape are the focus of my PhD thesis at Leiden University, tentatively entitled, "The Flag of Zhenyan Flies Again: The Taiwanese Resurrection of Esoteric Buddhism through Wuguang's Appropriation of Imperially Imported Shingon", and expected to be completed in May, 2016.

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Holy vows and realpolitik: Preliminary notes on Kōyasan's early medieval *kishōmon*

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Introduction

MY CURRENT research concerns the written vows made at the Shingon Buddhist temple Kōyasan 高野山 in the early medieval period (1185–1392). The temple complex at Kōyasan is situated in the mountainous interior of modern Wakayama prefecture, Japan, which in the pre-modern era corresponded to the province of Kii 紀伊. In the early medieval period, Kōyasan was developing a system of local rule centred on control of private estates (*shōen* 荘園) in the area surrounding the temple. This was an era of decentralization, in which national authority and systems of rule were losing their potency in the face of rising localization and the increasingly central role of the warrior class. With warriors taking an ever greater share of estate revenue and assuming greater administrative control within *shōen*, estate proprietors such as Kōyasan were faced with diminishing income, leading to centrally-located temples and aristocratic families effectively losing all control over distant estates. Located in the mountains of Kii and overlooking the estates along the Ki river, Kōyasan by contrast was close to its land and was strongly involved in warrior society. A major facet of this relationship with warrior estate managers was the *kishōmon* 起請文, or written vow, signed at the temple as both a performative act of submission to its spiritual authority and as a contract and code of conduct between proprietor and estate manager (*shōkan* 荘官).

As yet there has been very little research conducted on *kishōmon* in English-language academia, let alone on the religious-secular function of these vows in the context of the estate system and local power. The cosmological structure of Nanbokuchō period (1336–92) *kishōmon* is mentioned in passing in Sato Hiroo's "The Emergence of Shinkoku (Land

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of the Gods) Ideology in Japan" and Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli's *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*.[1] The political aspect of *kishōmon* is mentioned in Lorraine Harrington's "Social Control and the Significance of Akutō", which briefly deals with Kōyasan *kishōmon* and their use with criminals.[2] However, these studies largely consider *kishōmon* in passing as support for broader arguments on religion or society; for detailed study of the written vow one must turn to Japanese-language scholarship, notably *Hyakusho mōshijō to kishōmon no sekai* by Irumada Nobuo, Satō's *Kishōmon no seishinshi*, and his recent contribution to the field, "Nihon chūsei zenki ni okeru kishōmon no kinō ronteki kenkyū".[3] My research builds on previous scholarship by considering the *kishōmon* as a tool of social control and a reification of the social and political relationship between monks and warriors, estate managers and temple, within the Kōyasan Domain. In particular, it seeks to establish the degree to which Kōyasan *kishōmon* were standardized in text and function in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries, and to what extent this standardization departed from the general use of written oaths in early medieval Japan.

What were *kishōmon*?

Kishōmon originated in the late Heian period among high-ranking monks and the aristocracy, but became increasingly popular across Japan from the mid-twelfth century onwards.[4] Vows were signed for a wide variety of purposes, but within the Kōyasan Domain, the *kishōmon* was soon adapted to specific purposes and took on a standardized form of both oath and the terms that were sworn.[5] These standardized oaths coincide with the establishment of Kōyasan's early-medieval system of rule and the integration of the local elite into the hierarchy of the temple domain. Approximately one hundred pre-modern

1. Satō, Hiroo, "The emergence of Shinkoku (Land of the Gods) ideology in Japan," in *Buddhism and nativism: framing identity discourse in Buddhist environments*, ed. Henk W. A. Blezer and Mark Teeuwen, Challenging paradigms (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 32f; Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, eds., *Buddhas and kami in Japan: Honji suijaku as a combinatory paradigm* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), *passim*.

2. L. Harrington, "Social control and the significance of Akutō," in *Court and Bakufu in Japan: essays in Kamakura history*, ed. J. P. Mass (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 243f.

3. Irumada, Nobuo, *Hyakushō mōshijō to kishōmon no sekai: Chūsei minshū no jiritsu to rentai* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1986); Satō, Hiroo, *Kishōmon no seishinshi: Chūsei sekai no kami to hotoke* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2006); Satō, Hiroo, "Nihon chūsei zenki ni okeru kishōmon no kinō ronteki kenkyū," *Shigaku Zasshi* 120, no. 11 (2011).

4. Irumada, Nobuo, *Hyakushō mōshijō*, 35.

5. The Kōyasan Domain (Kōyasan-jiryō, 高野山寺領, *shikka no shōen*, 膝下の荘園) was a large area of contiguous estates in north-eastern Kii province under the administration of the temple. In contrast to the nationally-scattered estates of other major temples, Kōyasan concentrated its estate holdings within a specific area, claimed as a divinely-commended "ancient domain" (*kyūryū*, 旧領) through association with the temple's protective gods, Niu 丹生 and Kōya 高野. Over the course of the Kamakura and Nanbokuchō periods (1185–1392), Kōyasan acquired all of the land within the boundaries of the "ancient domain" through donation, commendation, lawsuit, and armed invasion.

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kishōmon survive in the archives of Kōyasan, with some sixty of these dating from the early medieval period. Through them we are able to observe the means by which Kōyasan demanded the fealty of *shōkan* and warriors, and by examining the terms of the agreements that they swore to uphold we are offered a detailed insight into estate society. This provides a window into the relationship between monks, warriors, and cultivators within Kōyasan *shōen*. The vows sworn at Kōyasan were a formalization and regularization of the society of northern Kii. The temple, acting as the focal point, controller, and guarantor of these vows thus occupied a tremendously important position in this society. Not only were *kishōmon* signed at the temple itself, but their terms were decided in conference on the mountain and, judging by the uniformity of their language, were written out by Kōyasan's own scribes. The temple was thus providing the framework for the agreement of social roles in local estate society; in Foucauldian terms, Kōyasan was controlling the organization of discourse. Through control of the language, structure, and divine content of the vows, the temple was acting as the institutional apparatus through which local families articulated their social position and responsibilities.[6]

There can be no clearer expression of the integration of religious and temporal power in the medieval period in Japan than the *kishōmon*. The oath's validity and power came from the spiritual and political power of the issuing temple: drawing on the power of the nation's gods and Buddhas, deceased patriarchs and esoteric deities, *kishōmon* threatened oathbreakers with divine punishments in this life and the next. The subject matter of the vows themselves, in contrast to the religious nature of this frame text, was overwhelmingly practical and strongly linked to everyday society and local politics. The terrible power of the vow, drawing on powers considered immanent and fearful, and the institutional might of the temples at which they were signed lent *kishōmon* a practical authority as *de facto* legal documents.[7] In a time when the reach and authority of central government was weakening, the vow represented an independent and decentralized means to create binding agreements and enforce judgement. The *kishōmon* was therefore a means for parties to sign an agreement guaranteed by the authority of the temple without involving the governments, and crucially was also a means for temples to enforce their spiritual and temporal power over signatories. In Kii Province, *Kishōmon* were used to chasten criminals and set the terms of their "parole", to articulate the rights and responsibilities of estate officials, and to enforce their submission to the overlordship of the temple proprietor. This written vow is thus closely connected to the evolution of administrative control and local power in the early medieval period.

In the context of medieval Japan, the weight of this religious force and the importance of the written document should not be underestimated. Medieval society depended on the authority of the written document to guarantee landholding, rights, responsibilities, and inheritance.[8] *Kishōmon* added to this inherent authority the power of the gods and

6. M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), 194, 196.
7. Satō, Hiroo, "Kishōmon no kinō," 27f.
8. Hitomi Tonomura, "Forging the past: medieval counterfeit documents," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40, no.

Buddhas, coupled with the fear of disease and damnation, to create a potent guarantee of the oath. The sacred importance of the *kishōmon* and its use as a tool to articulate power relationships echoes the importance of the sworn oath in European society of the same period. Marcel Bloch's statement on the practice of swearing fealty (*foi*), one of the central concepts of European feudality, might equally have been made about Japanese *kishōmon*: "in a disturbed society, where mistrust was the rule ... the appeal to divine sanctions appeared to be one of the few restraints with any efficacy at all." [9] Within the framing language of religious might, *kishōmon* document a wide variety of matters both religious and secular: monks swearing abstinence from alcohol, warriors giving fealty to their overlords, and criminals promising to stick to the straight and narrow.[10] The adaptability of the document, a simple two-part vow consisting of the articles to be sworn and the gods guaranteeing it, and its close association with temples—centres of not only religious but also economic power—naturally saw it develop a strong association with the *shōen* system in the medieval period.

Structure of a Vow

Kishōmon generally conformed to a basic binary structure composed of the vows or information to be sworn to (the *maegaki* 前書) and a religious declaration (*shinmon* 神文). This basic structure was followed by *kishōmon* across the country, but with important differences within both sections depending on the issuing temple and matters concerned. Both oath and religious declaration are therefore informative in reconstructing the role and nature of the *kishōmon* in early medieval Japanese society. The *shinmon* acts as a frame to the *kishōmon*, the guarantee of the articles sworn therein. This divine authority unified godly power with secular contract, listing the gods, Buddhas, departed souls and esoteric deities invoked as witnesses and guarantors of the vow, and the divine punishments that would befall oathbreakers. The *shinmon* is thus both the authority which guarantees the vow and a symbol of religious power. In the early medieval period, the written word held great power, with signed documents considered to be legitimising and sacrosanct in themselves.[11] To this already puissant form were added the strongest forces known to Japan—the divine force of Buddhist and Shintō deities, representing the spiritual as well as political and military power of the great temples. *Kami* were regarded with active fear, and the invocation of divine punishment was not signed lightly.[12] To sign a *kishōmon* was

1 (Spring 1985): 70

9. M. Bloch, *Feudal society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 147

10. Satō, *Kishōmon no seishinshi*, p. 20 (alcohol); others: *Kōyasan monjo*, vol. 1–8, Dainihon komonjo, iewake (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1904–) (hereafter *Km*), Vol. 7, Doc. 1783 (1333), Vol. 1, Doc. 360 (1290), and Vol. 1, Doc. 447 (1271).

11. G. M. Berger, ed., *Currents in medieval Japanese history: essays in honor of Jeffery P. Mass* (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009), 37.

12. Toshio Kuroda, "Shinto in the history of Japanese religion," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 7, no. 1 (Winter 1981): 16.

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to do so in fear of the wrath of the immanent powers that surrounded you, from powerful and august deities such as Hachiman and Amaterasu herself to esoteric Buddhas and the souls of the founders of Buddhist sects.

The deities invoked in *kishōmon* were themselves an important element in the politics of social control. Kōyasan's landed domain was grounded in the rhetoric of the "ancient domain" granted to Kūkai by the local deities Niutsuhime 丹生都姫 and Kōya 高野. Niu and Kōya were enshrined at Amano Shrine 天野社, a key estate holder within the Kōyasan community, and both deities feature prominently in the *shinmon* of Kōyasan *kishōmon*.[13] Referred to either as "Niu and Kōya Myōjin" or "the protective gods of Amano", they appear in almost every surviving *kishōmon*. The Amano gods, Niutsuhime and Kariba, were not only the guardians of the local area and intimately connected to the founding of Kōyasan, but were identified with Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来 (Māhāvairocana), the central figure of Shingon cosmology.[14] Through the doctrine of *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹, Niu was portrayed as the manifestation of Dainichi in the Womb Realm (*taizōkai* 胎蔵界) and Kariba was the corresponding manifestation in the parallel Diamond Realm (*kongōkai* 金剛界).[15] The invocation of the protective deities of Amano was therefore a symbol both of local and transcendental power, linking Kōyasan's local rule to universal Shingon cosmology. The invocation of local Kōyasan-aligned deities was thus a symbol of the temple's regional authority and right to land, reinforcing the relationship of ruler and ruled articulated in the vows themselves.

In addition to the autochthonic Niu and Kōya, a number of *shinmon* also refer to Hachiman, the protective deity of many estates, especially those formerly under Iwashimizu control. All the vows concerning Ogawa-Shibame and Suda Minami Estates, both carved from Iwashimizu land, swear by Hachiman as well as the Amano gods, and several of the Arakawa vows invoke the local Mifune Hachiman.[16] The inclusion of references to local Hachiman shrines reflected their continuing importance to Kii's estate society, an influence that was not always supportive of Kōyasan rule.[17] That these powers and those of

13. In the premodern era, Kōyasan was a heterogeneous community of related organizations rather than a single administrative hierarchy, with individual components holding estates in their own right within the Kōyasan Domain. The post of head priest of Amano Shrine (*inju* 院主) was held by the Kōyasan *kengyō* 高野山検校, the highest administrator and de facto abbot of the temple. The post of Kōyasan abbot (*zasu* 座主) was, in the Kamakura period, held in absentia by the abbot of Kōyasan's head temple Tōji.

14. J. I. Stone, "'Chanting the august title of the *Lotus Sutra*': *daimoku* practices in classical and medieval Japan," in *Re-Visioning "Kamakura" Buddhism*, ed. R. K. Payne (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 149.

15. Philip L. Nicoloff, *The sacred Kōyasan: a pilgrimage to the mountain temple of Saint Kōbō Daishi and the Great Sun Buddha* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2008), 152; Joseph M. Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese history* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 63f.

16. Ogawa-Shibame: *Km*, Vol. 7, Docs. 1587 (1269), 1615 and 1622 (1333); and Vol. 8, Docs. 1783 and 1785 (1333); Suda Minami: Vol. 8, Doc. 1780 (1335); Arakawa: *Km*, Vol. 7, Docs. 1571 (1291) and 1576 (1292); and Vol. 8, Docs. 1775 and 1776.

17. Takagi, Tokurō, "Tomobuchi no shō," in *Ki no kuni shōen no sekai*, ed. Yamakage, Kazuo, vol. 1 (Osaka: Seibundō, 2002), 183f.

esoteric Buddhas and Indian deities were not seen as incompatible or fundamentally different reflects the invocation of the broadest range of power available to sanctify and guarantee the document. While there is therefore some variation in the wording of *shinmon* and the powers invoked, the same basic form permeates Kōyasan *kishōmon*, with many *shinmon* identical or near-identical across vows signed in different estates, reinforcing the concept of the document as driven by Kōyasan rather than created to serve the interests of individual estates. While the form of the vow differs from that used by other times, within the Kōyasan corpus it is frequent for the only variation between vows to be the name of the signatory. A standardized statement was used in one third of all the surviving Kōyasan *kishōmon*, with only trivial variations.[18] For example, three vows which, despite being signed over a sixty year period, and in different estates, differed only in the names of the signatories and the phrasing of one word: [19]

> *Shinmon*, Kōno, Makuni, and Sarukawa Estates (*Km*, Vol. 1, Doc. 447, 1271).
> 梵天帝尺四大天王、日本國中大小神社、天野四所部類眷属、大師金剛天等兩部諸尊神罰冥罰於 [各々] 身上八万四千毛孔、今生受白癩黒癩重病、来世堕無間地獄、可無出期之状如件。
>
> *Shinmon*, Arakawa Estate (*Km*, Vol. 1, Doc. 448, 1286)
> 蒙梵天帝尺四大天王、日本國中大小神社、天野四所 [権現] 部類眷属、大師金剛天等兩部諸尊神罰冥罰於 [為時] の身上八万四千毛孔、今生受白癩黒癩重病、来世堕無間地獄、可無出期之状如件。
>
> *Shinmon*, Kōno, Makuni and Sarukawa Estates (*Kamakura Ibun*, Doc. 31779)
> 蒙梵天・帝尺・四大天王、日本國中大小神社、天野四所部類眷属・大師・金剛天等兩部諸尊、神罰冥罰於 [違犯] 身上八万四千毛吼（孔）、今生受白癩・黒癩重病、來生堕無間獄、不可有出期之状如件。
>
> By Bonten, Taishaku[ten] and the four Great Heavenly Kings, the great and small shrines of the country of Japan, the protective gods of Amano, [Kōbō] Daishi (Kūkai), and the various Buddhas of the Diamond Realm and Womb Realm, may their heavenly punishment and underworldly punishments fall

18. Identical or near-identical *shinmon* in addition to the three quoted in the main text are found in the *Minamoto no Tametoki kishōmon-an* of 1286; the *Sakanoue Kiyozumi kishōmon*, *Sōtsuibushi-dai narabi ni kumon kishōmon*, *Kōno no shō sōtsuibushi-dai Kunitaka ukebumi*, *Makuni no shō bantō Minamoto no Masayuki kishōmon*, *Kōno no shō kumon jōsei ukebumi*, *Sarukawa no shō kumon sō Nōshin ukebumi*, *Kōno no shō Kami'i toneri kishōmon*, *Kōno no shō Masayuki-myō bantō Masayuki kishōmon*, *Shami Dairen kishōmon*, *Makuni no shō sōtsuibushi-dai Hōren kishōmon*, *Shami Saishin kishōmon*, *Nagai Kiyokuni kishōmon*, *Sarukawa-gō kumon sō Nōshin kishōmon*, and *Kōno no shō Ōkubo bantō Sakanoue Sueshige kishōmon* of 1291; *Sarukawa no shō kumon Nōshin kishōmon* and *Kōno no shō kumon Taira no Yoshinobu kishōmon* of 1302; and the *Tsukatsuki no shō satanin-ra rencho kishōmon-an*, *Kii sanka no shō Sarukawa Makuni Kōno shōkan ukebumi*, and *Arakawa no shō shōkan-ra kishōmon* of 1332. *Km*, Vol. 8, Doc. 1782 (1286), Vol. 1, Doc 236, Vol. 5, Doc 952, Vol. 7, Docs. 1590, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1603, and 1614, Vol. 8, Doc. 1777, 1778, (1291), Vol. 7, Docs. 1599, 1600, (1302), Vol. 7, Doc. 1546 (1332), Vol. 8, Doc. 1921 (1332); and *Kamakura ibun*, Doc. 31779 (1332).

19. Kōno, Makuni, and Sarukawa estates, 1271 (*Km*, Vol. 1, Doc. 447); Arakawa estate, 1286 (*Km*, Vol. 1, Doc. 448); Kōno, Makuni and Sarukawa estates, 1332 (*Kamakura ibun*, Doc. 31779).

> on the eighty-four thousand pores of [the signatory's] body, in this life to suffer from the grave illnesses of white leprosy and black leprosy, and in the next life to fall into the depths of Muken Hell without the possibility of relief, signed in this manner: [signatories][20]

This standardized invocation is found in *kishōmon* from across the Kōyasan Domain and across the span of the early medieval period in Japan, but is not replicated in detail by the vows of other temples. Therefore despite the *shinmon*'s role as the minor section of each text, less directly concerned with the temple's estate affairs, it was nonetheless significant in establishing the conceptual and political space dominated by the spiritual authority of Kōyasan within the physical boundaries of its local domain in Kii.

Maegaki and the content of vows

The terms sworn in Kōyasan *kishōmon* (the *maegaki*) were often as standardized as the holy vow (*shinmon*). Taking the "Kōno no shō *sōtsuibushi* Kunitaka ukebumi" of 1291 as a representative example, it can be seen that of the vow's forty-one articles, every single one is found in at least four extant documents; the average (median and mode) is seven, and some of the articles are found in ten, twelve, or fourteen different vows signed between 1270 and 1330.[21] The articles sworn in each vow address the contemporary concerns of estate society—regulating and protecting the ownership of land and resources, the degree of control exercized by the *shōkan* over the yeomanry and peasantry, the rights and prerogatives of monks, and the prevention and punishment of crime. The articles of the vows are therefore an expression of the social rules of the Kōyasan Domain, containing provisions to governing access to the water supply and natural resources, articulations of property and criminal law, and social and moral precepts focusing on respect for monks and Buddhist concepts such as the proscription of hunting and hawking. By signing the *kishōmon* and swearing to obey its precepts, the signatory—invariably a member of the local elite, a monk or warrior resident in a Kōyasan estate—was agreeing to a direct covenant with the temple and its system of private government.

The terms of the vows place significant emphasis on protecting the rights and privileges of the temple's monks, using *kishōmon* to enforce a behavioural hierarchy favouring the temple in local society. Good examples of this are the twelve separate *kishōmon* signed between 1288 and 1332 which contain the identical command, "I/we will not bathe before monks".[22] Whilst it is not beyond the power of imagination to conceive of a local official whose public bath queue-skipping was so uncouth as to offend the resident monks

20. Bonten and Taishaku (Taishakuten) are the Indian deities Brahma and Indra (Śakra), and the four great heavenly kings are the Shitennō 四天王, world-protecting devas in Buddhist cosmology. Kōbō Daishi is the respectful posthumous name for Kūkai, the founder of Kōyasan and Shingon Buddhism in Japan.

21. *Km*, Vol. 7, Doc. 1590 (1291).

22.「寺僧以前不可沐浴事」, *Km*, Vol. 1, Docs. 236 and 449 (1291); Vol. 7, Docs. 1592, 1595, and 1603 (1291), and in the longer form「庄官以下輩、寺僧以前不可沐浴、但二番螺以後可罷臨、又路次騎馬等可存礼

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of the estate, it is harder to countenance a total of twenty-four men whose ablutionary behaviour was so offensive. Rather, the prohibition of taking a bath before monks, along with similar articles demanding respect for monks and protection of their lands, demonstrate that the vows signed by local officials were semi-standardized rather than extracted for specific offences. This prohibition, standardized across a large number of Kōyasan *kishōmon*, is found nowhere else in the early medieval corpus.[23] A further example is found in a similar article sworn in seven *kishōmon* which completely overlap with the bathing prohibition vows. The oath-takers swore that:

> Estate managers and their followers shall behave with courtesy towards temple monks, and the estimation of social position must not be abandoned. Furthermore their retainers, not to mention shrine attendants, temple attendants, and servants of the whole temple complex must be treated with the same respect and we (the signatories) must not oppose them.
> 庄官以下輩、向寺僧、可存礼節、而量分際、不可處理於非、又縦雖公人堂衆、為惣寺使者時、同存儀不可成敵對事。[24]

Other notable articles within *kishōmon* declared protection for monks' forestry and fields within estates and forbade managers from entering monks' land when pursuing criminals. These articles suggest the role of this form of *kishōmon* as an articulation of the relationship between the temple and the managers within its domain, the signing of which was an act of submission by local leaders acknowledging the temple's prerogatives in the estate.

Conclusion

Under the guarantee of divine but strongly localized power, the *kishōmon* signed at and held by Kōyasan set out the social and political relationships which governed the domain's land and society. *Kishōmon* were imposed on estate society by the temple as it

儀事」 —"Shōkan and their followers must not bathe before monks, but must wait until after the second horn-call until they go. Furthermore, riders on the road must keep good manners"; found in *Km*, Vol. 7, Docs. 1590, 1593, 1594, 1600 (1302), and 1614 (1291); Vol. 7, Doc. 1546, and Vol. 8, Doc. 1921 (1332). Use of the Trumpet Conch (*horagai* 螺) as a horn by Kōyasan monks is attested in an early *kishōmon* signed by the residents of Kanshōfu estate objecting to horn-blowing monks forcibly entering their properties:「堂衆幷法師原下居、或百姓住家邊立寄、卒吹螺押入家中」 —"Temple workers and senior monks [went to] Shita'i and, approaching the houses of the *hyakushō*, they blew horns and forcibly entered households"; *Km*, Vol. 2, Doc. 316.

23. The term *mokuyoku* 沐浴 for bathing is attested in contemporary documents, such as *Daigoji monjo*, Vol. 5, Doc. 969 and the fifteenth-century records of the Kōyasan "Great Bathhouse", *Km*, Vol. 8, Docs. 1772-4, but is not found in any non-Kōyasan *kishōmon* or in the context of regulating bathing or preserving monkish privilege.

24. Some versions have the minor variation of 而量其分際 and/or 為惣寺使時者 or 為惣使寺時者; *Km*, Vol. 7, Docs. 1590, 1593, 1594, 1600 (1302), and 1614 (1291); Vol. 7, Doc. 1546; and Vol. 8, Doc. 1921 (1332).

established new direct working relationships with power-holders in the area, setting out the rights and responsibilities of the *shōen* elite as agents of Kōyasan. The *kishōmon* is a physical manifestation of the combination of spiritual and political power wielded by the temple complex, a demonstration of how religious authority was combined with military strength to achieve local control. In Kōyasan's *kishōmon* we may therefore see a record of the network of alliances and vendettas through which Kōyasan interacted with the provincial elite. Furthermore, the documents cluster around transformative periods in which the temple was attempting to assert greater control over the land and people of nearby estates, primarily the late Kamakura to Nanbokuchō Periods and again in the early fifteenth century. The changing frequency of vows corresponds closely to political events at the provincial and national level, with *kishōmon* providing a record of how the temple was affected by and responded to political opportunities to expand its domain in Kii.

The imposition of strikingly similar *kishōmon* on the officers of local estate administration are a documentary representation of the links between the temple and local communities. The narrative of the late Kamakura Period is one of the decreasing ability of proprietors to exert control over land and the gradual loss of revenue, corresponding to the growing independence of estates and the warriors who managed them. The network of Kōyasan *kishōmon* both bears out and questions this hypothesis in parts. The vows contain numerous articles reflecting warrior encroachment, from failure to forward revenue to theft of crops and incursions into forestry. However, Kōyasan *kishōmon* also indicate the centrality of the temple to the region as an economic and religious centre, a fount of authority which created the fundamental underpinning of local social structures. *Shokan* were compelled to travel to and from the temple to sign multiple vows—Monk Nōshin, *kumon* of Sarukawa, for example, signed no fewer than five vows over the years 1271–1302.[25] The periodic renewal of vows reinforced the relationship between temple and local elite, with the performative act of signing *kishōmon* asserting both the temple's authority and the conferral of legitimacy on its administrators. We may see in this a parallel of the repetition of oaths of fealty in Europe, extracted for much the same reasons.[26] Within the vows themselves, local managers swore that whenever they were summoned by the temple they were to attend immediately, or send their sons if they themselves were too ill to travel, on pain of being branded criminals if they failed to comply.[27] Failure to co-operate with Kōyasan or to adhere to the terms of *kishōmon* had serious consequences, as demonstrated by expeditionary forces of armed monks sent against the estate managers (and

25. *Km*, Vol. 1, Doc. 447 (1271), Vol. 7, Doc. 1589 (1275), Vol. 8, Doc. 1778 (1291), Vol. 7, Doc. 1594 (1291) and Vol. 7, Doc. 1599 (1302).

26. "There were a great many reasons why the oath of fealty should be exacted frequently. ... [T]his promise—almost a commonplace affair—could be repeated several times to the same person" Bloch, *Feudal society*, 146.

27.「自山上被召之時、不違日限可参、但沉重病不堪行歩之時者、捧厳重誓状、可差進子息、若無子息之輩、可進如身之仁、若違此旨者、可被處罪者也」 — *Km*, Vol. 1, Doc. 450 (1315), Vol. 7, Docs. 1589 (1275), 1590, 1593, 1594, and 1614 (1291), 1600 (1302); Vol. 7, Doc. 1546, and Vol. 8, Doc. 1921 (1332).

bandits) Minamoto no Tametoki and Genpachi Yoshikata in Arakawa estate.[28] Tametoki and Yoshikata's vows were extracted by military force, and when those oaths were broken some years later, the temple responded by mustering a further army of monks and local warriors to destroy the bandit network in battle.[29] References to the men disappear from the historical record after this.

Having established the importance of the *kishōmon* to Kōyasan's estate society, there is considerable scope for research within the corpus of vows from the temple. While there is not space here to go into greater detail, it has been possible to recreate the spatial dimension of *kishōmon* usage in medieval Kii province, plotting the prevalence of geographically-bound deities in vows across the area, revealing the influence of competing religious networks. This approach offers a fine-detail map of local belief at the estate level, reflecting the influence of shrines in *shōen* as well as the permeating influence of Kōyasan's Shingon Buddhist cosmology. It has also been possible to examine the temporal record of Kōyasan vows, demonstrating that the number of vows as a proportion of the temple's documentary output increased during periods in which Kōyasan was expanding its local control over warriors and peasants, and falling in eras in which that control was weaker. This quantitative approach allows us to examine the centrality of the holy vow to Kōyasan's secular administration in the early medieval period. In future, I intend to broaden this analysis of both the religious and administrative facets of *kishōmon* to provincial Japan more broadly, examining the extant vows of other major temples.

28. *Kōya shunjū hennen shūroku*, Kōan 9 (1286) 12/3, p. 181; *ibid.*, Shōō 3 (1290) 8/8, p. 182.
29. Yamakage, Kazuo, "'Kōya kassen' kai," *Kōyasan Daigaku Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūsho kiyō* 10 (1997): 21f.

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Reports and Reactions

Buddho–Daoism in medieval and early pre-modern China: a report on recent findings concerning influences and shared religious practices

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Introduction

In the past year and more I was a research fellow at the Ruhr University, Bochum (hereafter RUB) working on the interrelationship and exchanges between China's two major religious traditions, Buddhism and Daoism, during the medieval and early pre-modern periods. While the departure for my research was primarily concerned with the mutual exchanges of ritual techniques and technology, i.e. ritual practices in general, concepts of ritual, ritual implements, ritual language, rituals in specific cultic contexts etc., I gradually expanded my interest to include a wider range of topics relating to the exchanges between Buddhism and Daoism in China including the appropriation of divinities and saints, integrated beliefs and practices involving elements from both religions, apocryphal writings, conceptualizations concerning specific religious themes in which ideas and beliefs from both Buddhism and Daoism were brought together. Among other issues, I dealt with how such concepts of "secrecy" and "the netherworld" were formulated and constructed in the Buddho–Daoist exchanges, as outlined by Jörg Plassen his introduction to the workshop.[1]

1. Jörg Plassen, "Methodological and Conceptual Considerations Relating to Buddho-Daoism", unpublished paper given at the workshop, "On the Exchange of beliefs and Practices between Esoteric Buddhism and Daoism in Medieval China", 21–22 June 2012 at the RUB.

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An important aspect of the work I did while at KHK, with the gracious help of many of my colleagues here, had to do with the development and use of certain theoretical and conceptual frameworks, something to which I admittedly had not paid too much attention previously. Both in closed sessions with several participants and through discussions with Jörg Plassen in particular, we sought to deal with and identify those factors that were at work in the the Buddho–Daoist exchanges, and how to deal with them scientifically. Namely how to understand and deal with the "finer mechanics" of inter-religious processes, the whens, the hows and the whys, with special focus on those conceptualizations and ideas which allowed the inter-religious transfer(s) to take place.[2] This led us onto a lengthy excursion into various conceptual and theoretical frameworks including transfer processes, the much debated concept of what "sinicization" is and whether it is useful as a signifier,[3] Juri Lotman's semiosphere,[4] which we "translated" into a cultural semiosphere with special attention to inter-religious and intra-religious processes, including the underlying workings of signs and symbols, exemplified by talismans and diagrams. These musings also sought to understand what happens when religious phenomena originating in one specific setting shift to a new religious context.[5] Finally we touched upon the transfer and transmission of schemata,[6] within a given cultural setting.

You are quite right in wondering how it was possible within the short duration of a single academic year to accomplish all this. Therefore I will allay your doubts by reassuring you that as I see it we merely scratched the proverbial surface, and only in a few select cases went a little bit beneath it. However, I feel confident to say that we are now considerably more knowledgable as regards Buddho–Daoist exchanges and the transfer of religious practices and beliefs in the context of Chinese and sinitic cultures, than we were when we started. In the following I will present you with the gist of what was found, but of course as seen from my perspective.

2. On transfer processes, see Itamar Even-Zohar, *Papers in Culture Research*, Tel Aviv: Unit of Culture Research, Tel Aviv University, 2010, pp. 52–77.

3. This theme was discussed and explored in the workshop entitled "Between Borrowing and Taking Over: The Problem of "Sinification" and Its Implications for a Theory of Religious Contact", at the RUB, 5–6 August 2011.

4. For a practical outline of this model, see Juri Lotman, "On the semiosphere", trans. Wilma Clark, *Sign Systems Studies* 33/1 (2005), pp. 205–29.

5. This issue was among those discussed in the workshop entitled "Social and Hermeneutic Constraints for and Related Strategies of Inter Religious Reception and Adaption", at the RUB, 13 December 2011. See also Henrik H. Sørensen, "Conceptualizing Symbols in the Process of Religious Transfer: The View from China", unpublished paper presented during this workshop.

6. For the formulation, appropriation and utilization of the theoretical framework underlying this concept in relation to traditional Chinese society I am indebted to the work of Roy G. D'Andrade, including his, "Schemas and Motivation", in *Human Motives and Cultural Models*, ed. R. G. D'Andrade and C. Strauss, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 23–44. Also of importance to ideas of schemata as carriers of cultural knowledge is Bradd Shore, *Culture in Mind: Cognition, Culture, and the Problem of Meaning*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. Thanks to Jörg Plassen for alerting me to this material.

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Ritual practices: of spells and pseudo-spells

One of the areas in the Buddho–Daoist exchange on which I spent much labour was that regarding magical language and spells in particular. On the basis of a previous survey of ritual manuals of both Daoism and Esoteric Buddhism, mainly canonical material, I figured that by concentrating on this major aspect of ritual practice, which played and still plays central roles in both religions, I would most likely encounter many cases reflecting their interaction. In other words I imagined that would be able to see the workings of primary, inter-religious practices at close hand through this kind of material. Sure enough, I was not disappointed by what I found. It goes without saying that prior to my immersion into this topic, I was not totally uninformed as regards this aspect of Buddho–Daoist exchange. However, I had not anticipated just how much material there actually is, and its degree of complexity.

First I began to look at the lore and conceptualizations which were developed within Daoist ritual practices for appropriating Sanskrit, through the construction of the so-called "Brahma language (*fanyu* 梵語)", an imagined language which eventually appeared as fully fledged pseudo-Sanskrit, i.e. as an imitation of the type of Sanskrit sounds constituting most standard Buddhist *dhāraṇī*s or spells. As graphic rendering, the Brahma language is anticipated and indeed formulated in early Daoist hermetic writing.[7] However, the magical and divine sounds represented by this artificial "language" are chiefly found as part of Daoist spells or as a sort of added-on *mantra* similar to those we know from the *dhāraṇī*s of Esoteric Buddhism (*mijiao* 密教) of the Tang and in later Esoteric Buddhist texts.[8] The relationship between the Sounds of Brahma and the magic spells are described in the chapter on the *Shimo jinghua pin* 十魔境化品 [Chapter on the Ten Demonic Transformations] of the extensive ritual compendium, the *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 靈寶無量度人上經大法 [Great [Ritual] Methods of the Scripture for the Limitless Salvation of Men; hereafter *Great Ritual Methods*][9] as follows:

> The Supreme Person (*huangren* 皇人) said: "As regards the great method of Lingbao, it is the root teaching of heaven and earth. It is the wondrous *qi* of the original commencement, [wherein] the phoenix registers and dragon sections combine to become the true writ, [after which] the numinous sounds of the Brahmā Hymns (*fanpai* 梵唄) divided and became spells. The Supreme Emperor of the Original Commencement beholding the principle of formlessness,

7. Such as in the *Taiping jing* 太平經 [Scripture of Great Peace]. For the standard edition, see *Taiping jing hejiao* [The *Taiping jing*, with Punctuation], ed. Wang Ming, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1960.

8. I have addressed this issue in some detail in, "On the Appropriation and Borrowing of Spells in the Inter-religious Meeting Between Daoism and Esoteric Buddhism", unpublished paper presented at the workshop, "Between Borrowing and Taking Over: The problem of 'Sinification' and Its Implications for a Theory of Religious Contact", at the RUB, 5–6 August 2011.

9. *DZ* 219.3. The text, which dates from around 1200CE, is discussed in *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, pp. 1028–29. A list of abbreviations for works consulted may be found on page 133.

> transmitted the essential skills [for using them (i.e. the spells)] to Lord Lao, for relieving the deluded multitudes making them widely known [so that they may] reach the Way. They are not the common speech of the world above, but are all the secret names (*yinhao* 隱諱) of the gods. The practitioners of the highest stage cultivate them, so that they may ascend up into the Jade Capital [in heaven]. Those of middling stage cultivate them, so that they may take up their dwelling in the chambers of the immortals. Those of the lowest stage cultivate them, so that they may dwell in the world for an extended number of years.[10]

This passage is illuminating for providing us with a series of hermeneutical arguments for the origin and purpose of the use of spells in Daoism. We learn here that it is the Brahmā sounds which constitute the spells, which in turn are the secret names of the gods. Although the text is not explicit in this regard, we may well take this statement as a direct pointer to the use of spells made up in imitation of Sanskrit. Incidentally, and perhaps not entirely surprisingly, many of the words of which Buddhist *dhāraṇī*s consist, are also the names of divinities and guardian-spirits. I therefore find it a rather attractive, if not a logical solution to the question of the Daoist appropriation of Sanskrit-sounds in their spells, to understand the argument as a reflection of some degree of insight by the compiler of the *Great Ritual Methods*, and similar such works, into the inner workings of the Buddhist spells. Of cause it does not explain why the Daoists began their massive imitation of Buddhist *dhāraṇī*s, but it would seem to reveal that the idea behind the "secret" encoding of divine names they perceived in the Buddhist spells, was such an attractive feature that they could not pass it over. However, the idea of a secret language associated with the divine was of course an invention of their own based on a misperception and misreading of the Buddhist spells. The attractiveness of divine sounds and language was simply so great that they felt compelled to create what they believed to be a corresponding system of their own. Let me present you with an example of this as a starter.

It is rather characteristic that many of the spells featuring pseudo-Sanskrit are salvific and exorcistic in nature. As an example of this we have from the Lingbao yujian 靈寶玉鑑 [The Jade Speculum of the Lingbao [Tradition]],[11] a comprehensive ritual compendium, the *Jing Fengdu poyu fu* 淨酆都破獄符 [Talisman for Purifying Fengdu by Breaking the Hells], supposedly a Song talisman including a spell text, which forms part of the extensive ritual arsenal for liberating the souls of those destined to the tortures in the hellish underworld prisons of Mt. Fengdu. The spell goes:

> In boundless Fengdu, [behind] row after row of Diamond Mountains,
> The limitless light of Numinous Treasure,
> In the caverns, the fiery pools of vexation illuminate.

10. *DZ* 219.3, p. 861c.
11. *DZ* 547.10.

> [Whereby] the gloomy souls of seven generations of ancestors,
> Their bodies/persons accompanied by fragrant clouds and streamers,
> With concentration and wisdom [on] a pure lotus flower,
> Reborn above their spirits eternally reside.
> Chant: *An*, *ju*, *zhi*, *qi*, *di*, *a*, *lei*, *sa*, *tan*, *po*, *qie*, *lou*, *dai*, *ye*, *po*, *chi*, *cha*, *hong*, *he*.[12]

The logic behind the use of the parts of the spell in pseudo-Sanskrit would appear to be that they were thought of as a sort of magical effectuation after the more straightforward parts in Chinese verse. However, other spells in the collection are dominated by pseudo-Sanskrit, such as the lengthy *Bianshi zhou* 變食咒 [Spell for Transforming the Food], which together with its additional, "secret spell" (*mizhou* 密咒), are used for food offering in the the ritual for feeding the hungry ghosts.[13] Through the power of this spell, the Heavenly Worthy Taiyi transforms the offered food into "sweet dew" (*ganlu* 甘露), a Chinese version of the Sanskrit *amṛta* (ambrosia) so that the hungry ghosts/lost souls may be fed.[14]

Not only did the Daoists develop these Sanskrit-like pseudo-spells to a considerable extent as evident in the abundant material from the Song dynasty, especially evident in the large ritual manuals, they also appropriated actual Sanskrit spells from Esoteric Buddhism and inserted them into their own ritual contexts. One of the earliest examples of a Daoist ritual text with properly integrated spells written in pseudo-Sanskrit is the *Taishang chiwen dongshen sanlu* 太上赤文洞神三籙 [The Three Registers of the Highest Red Writ of the Cavern Spirits],[15] a ritual work which may date as far back as the middle of the Five Dynasties period (906–978).[16] This ritual work is significant for featuring many spells in transcribed Sanskrit in conjunction with the use of talismans and hand-gestures (Skt. *mudrā*), another obvious loan from the Esoteric Buddhist arsenal of ritual technology.[17]

12. *DZ* 547.10, p. 388b–c.

13. *DZ* 547.10, p. 391b.

14. The rite for feeding the hungry ghosts is of course originally a Buddhist ritual endorsed in scriptures such as the *Shi zhu egui yinji shuifa* 施諸餓鬼飲及水法 [Method for Feeding All the Pretas together with Water], *T.* 1315.21; the *Pretamukhāgnijvālayaśarakāra-dhāraṇī*, *T.* 1313.21, etc. For more information, see Charles D. Orzech, "Esoteric Buddhism and the *Shishi* in China", in *The Esoteric Buddhist Tradition*, Selected Papers from the 1989 SBS Conference, ed.. H. Sørensen, SBS Monographs 2, Copenhagen and Aarhus: Seminar for Buddhist Studies, 1994, pp. 51–72; "Fang Yankou and Pudu: Translation, Metaphor, and Religious Identity", in *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage and Ritual*, eds. Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth, Honolulu: Hawai'i University Press, 2002, pp. 213–34.

15. *DZ* 589.10. This scripture contains several elements which point to influence from Esoteric Buddhism in addition to some of the spells it endorses, including the use of *mudrās* (*jieyin* 結印); see *ibid.*, p. 797bc. For further discussion of this scripture, see *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, pp. 979–80. See also *Tiyao*, p. 424.

16. On the basis of his analysis of the contents of this work, Poul Andersen considers it to date from the 930s CE at the earliest. Cf. *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, pp. 979–80. The traditional attribution of the work to the saint Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 and the Tang Daoist master Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (stated as author of the comments and the preface dated 632CE) is—needless to say—spurious.

17. *DZ* 589.10, p. 797b. These Sanskritized spells are to be used in conjunction with five corresponding

One of the most illuminating and interesting features of this work is the manner in which the text utilizes Indian Buddhist spells. The section in question is entitled *Wufang zhu shengzhou* 五方諸聖呪 [All the Holy Spells of the Five Directions], of course meant to invoke or call on the Spirits of the Five Directions together with the five elements (*wuxing* 五行), cardinal gods in Daoist ritual practice. In Chinese the text reads:

> Spell for the Element of Wood: *Nawo sanmanduo, putanan, sheluo, ai sabahe*.
> Spell for the Element of Fire: *Nawo sanmanduo, putanan, ai, sabahe*.
> Spell for the Element of Metal: *Nawo sanmanduo, putanan, baluwan, ai, sabahe*.
> Spell for the Element of Earth: *Nawo sanmanduo, putanan, boluo, boni, ai, sabahe*.
> Spell for the Element of Water: *Nawo sanmanduo, putanan, hong, ai, saba*[18]*he*.[19]

What is striking here to someone with even a modicum of familiarity with Buddhist Sanskrit, is the fact that this is precisely what we have here. A text or rather invocations in more or less fully, readable Sanskrit inside a Daoist ritual scripture! Not pseudo-Sanskrit or Sanskrit imitation, but bona fide Sanskrit. In fact virtually all the transcriptions of Sanskrit into Chinese as found in this Daoist work were lifted from texts such as the *Da foding rulai fangguang xidanduobodanluo tuoluoni* 大佛頂如來放光悉怛多鉢怛囉陀羅尼 [Great Buddhoṣṇīṣa-tathāgata Exorcising and Bright Siddhantabhadra[20] Dhāraṇī],[21] a work attributed to Amoghavajra (704–74), the great eighth century master of Esoteric Buddhism. Armed with this knowledge, we may now proceed to a proper reading of the *Wufang zhu shengzhou* as follows:

> Spell for the Element of Wood: *Namo samanta Buddhanam sarva svahā*.
> Spell for the Element of Fire: *Namo samanta Buddhanam a svahā*.
> Spell for the Element of Metal: *Namo samanta Buddhanam, bhagavan, svahā*.
> Spell for the Element of Earth: *Namo samanta Buddhanam para pari a svahā*.
> Spell for the Element of Water: *Namo samanta Buddhanam huṃ a svahā*.

This case is quite extraordinary, although not unique. What we have here is a clear-cut example of full-scale appropriation of Sanskrit *mantra*s, lifted out of their original Esoteric Buddhist context, both as regards their intended meaning as well their ritual usage. They have in this case been transposed onto a Daoist ritual frame fashioned around the Spirits of the Five Directions/Five Agents complex, but without any attempt at altering or redacting their original meaning. This is significant, as it shows how appropriated or borrowed text, in this case magical spells, were taken over, entered into new ritual contexts and provided with entirely new meanings that were not part of the original text. In

talismanic seals.

18. Here the text reads 嘢, which must be a mistake for 嚩 given the structure of the rest of the spells.
19. *DZ* 589.10, p. 797b.
20. This rendering is admittedly tentative.
21. *T.* 944A.19.

this case something was clearly "lost in translation", or rather lost in transliteration and reconfigured in displacement.[22] Nevertheless and irregardless of its being subjected to a total inversion and a completely new, ritual environment, belief in the spell's power was undoubtedly not diminished in the least.

Interestingly, within the field of spells, the Daoists were not alone in their appropriation of Buddhist *dhāraṇī*s: the Buddhists too, especially the followers of Esoteric Buddhism, borrowed freely from the Daoist spell-literature. This borrowing, which at times took on the shape of appropriation of both text passages and textual structures, resulted in a curious amalgamation of concepts and beliefs which more than anything reflects a sort of religious cross-over even to the point of constituting hybrid religion. In this material we find that although much of it retains an overall Buddhist structure as well as primary Buddhist features, many of the concepts and beliefs they contain, were taken more or less directly from Daoism and by extension the conceptual world of traditional Chinese society. Moreover, the versification appearing in these spells was copied directly or indirectly from Daoist spells. Hence, the Buddhist borrowings of Daoist spell-literature took place both on the conceptual level as well as through adopting its special literary genre. It is therefore a case of wholesale appropriation, rather than one of simple re-creation or inspired writing. While this aspect of Buddho–Daoism is to some extent present in the canonical Buddhist material, it comes to the fore in the Dunhuang manuscripts and as such may be seen as representing Buddhist cum Daoist practice on-the-ground.

Even though the Dunhuang hoard of manuscripts is unique, and the location of their discovery far removed from the central provinces of the empire, I consider the material which reflects Buddho–Daoist borrowings and exchanges as representative of a situation that was current in many other areas of the Chinese empire during the late medieval period. The main reasons for this are that many of the texts and practices found here are reflected, to greater or lesser extent, in the mainstream Buddhist and Daoist traditions. In other words, as far as Buddho–Daoism is concerned, the Dunhuang material should in my view not be considered a local phenomenon, but on the contrary be seen as reflecting a much more common and general situation than we have been wont to accept hitherto. Although we do not have fully comparable material from elsewhere in China covering the same period, it does not seriously undermine this view, which it must be admitted, is at this point more hypothetical than factual. Nevertheless, if we allow cultic sites and religious sculptures to represent the missing textual material, we are greatly as-

22. While my use of the term "displacement", originally a geographical term, does owe some credit to Foucault, whose use mainly reflected his interest in the politics of power, I employ it more abstractly in the meaning of removing something out of one context, such as an original position, i.e. an intended and defined meaning or function, and into a new frame of reference with a new or altered meaning or function. One may argue that during such process the object or phenomenon that is being displaced, loses its significance and thereby its intrinsic value due to the shift in context. In other words, it is no longer the same. While this may be so, the transition also affects the coming into being of something that was not there before. This means that a thing in displacement may lose its former significance, and in many cases does so, but regains meaning, a new significance as it were, in its new context.

sisted in our endeavour when we turn to the religious art of a region such as central and eastern Sichuan province. Here several sites feature images of divinities from both Buddhism and Daoism, some even revealing that followers of both religions were practising and worshipping at the same sites, even worshipping the same divinities and sometimes worshipping together.[23]

The example from Dunhuang I would like to share with you here is part of a ritual text featuring the *Poyang zhou* 破傷咒 [Spell against Tetanus].[24] It reads as follows:

> The sun rises in the East,[25]
> first red then gradually turning yellow,
> above it announces to Our Heaven,
> below it announces to the Yellow Earth (i.e. China).
> Teach us, Men of the Yellow Earth, the commandments against boils.
> Immortals, bring forth the water, Jade Maiden, wipe away the boils.
> One commandment brings treasures,
> Two commandments control and suppress as always.
> Ass braying, horse neighing [remove] the boils![26]
> So that I will not be in fear of heaven's lightning and the increasing of boils on earth. Make me fearless my Vaiśravaṇa by controlling the snakes of the earth. Quickly, quickly in accordance with the command of the law. Effectuate!
> Method to be used if one suffers from tetanus: Intone this spell forty-nine times, first puff three puffs, then intone the spell seventeen times, while spitting thrice.

23. Sichuan province is the home of countless cultic sites featuring Buddhist and Daoist sculptures. One such site, Niujuezhai 牛角砦 in Renshou county 仁壽縣, has been discussed by Christine Mollier, "Buddho-Daoist Cliff Sculptures in Sichuan during the Reign of Emperor Tang Xuanzong (712–756)", paper read at the workshop "On the Exchange of beliefs and Practices between Esoteric Buddhism and Daoism in Medieval China", 21–22 June 2012 at the RUB. See also Tom Suchan, "The Cliff-sculpture of Stone-Gate Mountain: A Mirror of Religious Eclecticism in the Art of Twelfth-Century Sichuan", *Archives of Asian Art* (2007), pp. 51–94. A cave-niche at Yuanjuedong 圓覺洞 in Anyue 安岳 containing images of Buddhist and Daoist divinities side by side, has been reported in Henrik H. Sørensen, *The Buddhist Sculptures at Yuanjuedong in Anyue: The History and Art of a Buddhist Sanctuary in Central Sichuan Province*, SBS Monographs 5, Copenhagen: The Seminar for Buddhist Studies, 1999, pp. 48–51.

24. Cf. Gao Guofan, *Zhongguo minsu tanwei: Dunhuang gusu yu minsu liubian* [Investigating Chinese Folk Customs: Ancient Customs in Dunhuang and the Transformation of Folk Customs], Nanjing: Hehai Daxue Chubanshe, 1990, pp. 158–73.

25. The *Qu sanshi fufa* 去三尸符法 [Talismanic Method for Rejecting the Three Corpses] of the *Yunji qian* 雲笈七籤 [Seven Tallies in the Cloud Satchel] contains a spell-prayer which opens with the same phrase. Cf. *Yunji qiqian* (hereafter *YJQQ*), vol. 4, annotated and punctuated by Li Yongsheng, Daojiao Dianji Xuankan, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2003, p. 1856: 敕符咒曰：日出東方，赫赫堂堂。某服神符，符衛四方。神符入腹，換胃蕩腸。百病除愈，骨體康强。千鬼萬邪，無有敢當。知符為神，知道為真。吾服此符，九蟲離身。攝錄萬毒，上升真人。急急如律令!

26. The exact meaning of this couplet eludes me.

This spell reads as a prayer-text or invocation similar to countless texts known from Daoist literature. Only in a few instances, such as the inclusion of Vaiśravaṇa, the Buddhist king of the northern direction, do we have an actual element.

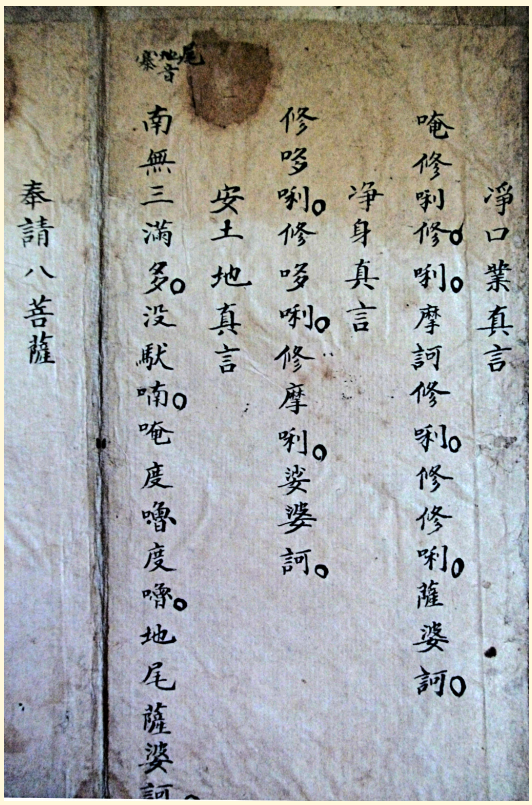

Figure 1: Mantras of purification; page from a handwritten Buddhist manual, Qing period.

In regard to the exchanges and copying of spells in the Buddho–Daoist cross-field I would also want to point out an interesting case of typological take-over. The case concerns the Daoist appropriation of a set of Buddhist spells for purification. In Chinese Buddhism the spells for purifying body, speech and mind reflect the most essential tenet of the Esoteric Buddhist tradition (*mijiao* 密教), namely that of the Three Mysteries (*sanmi* 三密), and as such stand centrally in the developments which we are wont to associate with the Tang of the eighth century. Even so, the origin of these spells is undoubtedly older, and perhaps dates as far back as the sixth century in its originally Indian context.[27] By the early Kaiyuan period (713–41) the spells, or rather mantras, for the purification of the Three Kinds of Karma had become fixed points in Esoteric Buddhist ritual. This de-

27. The origin of the concept behind the purification of the Three Karmas, i.e. those of body, speech and mind, is of course an old and established practice in traditional Buddhism long before its arrival in China. After the introduction of Buddhism in China we find it prominently discussed in the *Madhyamāgama* translated at the end of the 4th century; cf. *T.* 26.1, p. 507b.

velopment is borne out in a variety of scriptures that include a whole range of important ritual texts.[28] In Daoism spells for purification begin to appear during the second half of the Tang, even though the concept of the Three Karmas as a doctrinal unit in Daoism is most probably of an earlier date.[29] We find it discussed as a major tenet in the early Tang work, the *Daomen jing faxiang chengci xu* 道門經法相承次序 [Characteristics of the Teaching of Daoist Scriptures [arranged] in Successive Order].[30] In any case, as a religious concept it was obviously developed on the basis of Buddhist doctrine and as such may have entered Daoism sometime during the middle of the Nanbeizhao period. While the spells or mantras for purification in Buddhism consist of transcribed Sanskrit, in their Daoist format they read as proper incantations. I provide you here with illustrations of these spells lifted from a Buddhist ritual manual from the early Qing and a Daoist printed text of the *Beidou zhen jing* 北斗真經 (figs. 1 and 2). In this case we are not dealing with direct textual copying or appropriation of doctrinal contents *per se*, but rather with the appropriation of a conceptual aspect of ritual practice. As such, this form of appropriation reminds us of what comes next, namely the Buddhist copying and adoption of Daoist talismanic practice.

Talismans and talismanic lore

Talismans (*fu* 符) and talismanic seals (*fuyin* 符印) was another important field that captured my interest. Both talismans and seals featuring talismanic characters and signs, especially those used for ritual purposes, of course originated in the Chinese cultural sphere.[31] Hence, their occurrence in any Buddhist material immediately alerts us to the presence of Daoist concepts and practices.[32] There are several ways to deal with this

28. See *T.* 1224.21, p. 133b; *T.* 1085.20, p. 204a; *T.* 1257.21, p. 276c; *T.* 930.19, p. 67b; *T.* 1146.20, p. 603a, etc.

29. The three karmas can be found in the early work, *Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu* 洞真太上太霄琅書 [Jade Book of Cavern Truth of the Highest and Supreme Empyrian], among other scriptures; see *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要, [Collected Essentials of the Daoist Canon], vol. 3, ed. Chen Dali 陳大利, Chengdu: Ba Shu Shuhui, 1995, pp. 349–474. For concepts of karma and retribution in Daoism, see Livia Kohn, *Cosmos and Community: The Ethical Dimension of Daoism*, Cambridge, MA: Three Pines Press, 2004.

30. *DZ* 1128.24. This work was compiled by the Daoist master Pan Shizheng 潘師正 (584–682) around 680 CE. For a brief discussion of its contents, see *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 1, p. 454.

31. For a discussion of this material, see Wang Yucheng, "Wenwu suojian Zhongguo gudai daofu shu lun [A Detailed Discussion of the Cultural Relics Evidencing Daoist Talismans from China's Past]", *DWY* 9 (1996), pp. 267–301.

32. A recent study of the use of talismans in the Chinese Buddhist context can be found in James Robson, "Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism", *History of Religions* 48.2 (2008), pp. 130–69. For talismanic seals in Chinese Buddhism, see Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, ed. Bernard Faure, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002, pp. 123–93; Paul Copp, "Manuscript Culture as Ritual Culture in Late Medieval Dunhuang: Buddhist Talisman-Seals and their Manuals", (*Cahiers d'Extrême Asie*, forthcoming 2013); and Tom Suchan and Henrik H. Sørensen, "The Talismanic Seal Incorporated: An Iconographic Note on Seal-Bearing Bodhisattvas in the Sculptural Art of Sichuan and the Significance of Seals within the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition", *Artibus Asiae* vol. 73, no. 2 (forthcoming 2013).

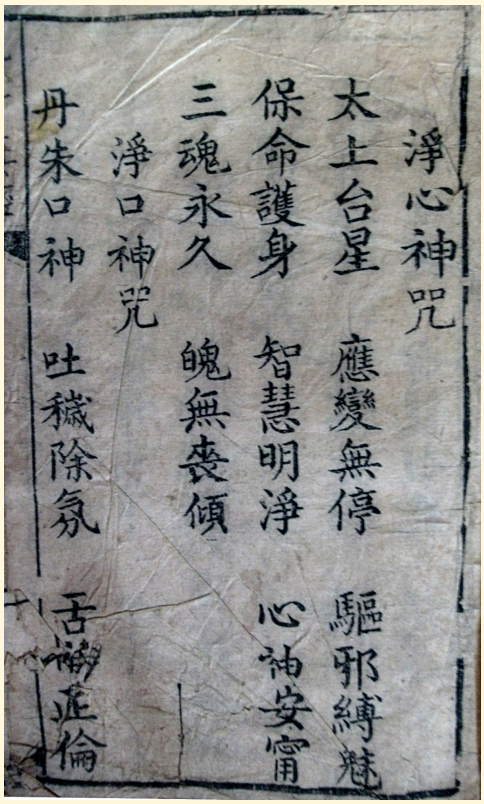

Figure 2: Spells of purification; page from a printed text of the *Daoist Beidou zhen jing*, Qing period.

phenomenon. One is to see the Daoist input as an example of influence from popular as opposed to so-called "high" culture, a perspective which I am not particularly fond of, the main reason being that such a view is based on the idea that the cultural elite had a vastly different spirituality than that of so-called ordinary people. The abundant primary material which shows that popular beliefs were shared by high and low, invalidates this distinction as a meaningful parameter. Another way is to consider talismanic practices too important for the Buddhists to leave out due to popular demand, a view based on the "competitive model", i.e. "so ein Ding müssen wir auch haben". Yet another way of conceptualizing the presence of talismans in Buddhist contexts is to consider the text(s) in which they are found as a sort of apocrypha, i.e. as cases of textual—even ritual—pollution or contamination from Daoism. Indeed, there are several examples of this, such as the *Guanshiyin pusa ruyilun tuoluoni bing bie xing fa* 觀世音菩薩如意輪陀羅尼並別行法 [The Dhāraṇī of Cintāmaṇicakra Bodhisattva with Alternative Method of Practice][33] and related texts from Dunhuang which allow for this type of argumentation. The apocrypha-perspective is both useful and meaningful, as it is certainly correct that the integration

33. Found in various states of completion among the Dunhuang manuscripts including *P.* 3835V° (11), *P.* 2153, *P.* 3874, etc.

Figure 3: Talismanic seal for attaining rebirth in the Pure Land; *P.* 2153, third seal.

and adaptations of many Daoist practices by Buddhism took the route via precisely this type of religious literature. That being said—and without ruling out the above modes of understanding the Buddhist talismans—I would propose another angle to the problem as follows.

Firstly I would want to identify the textual and spiritual context in which the talismans and seals occur, as both are likely to provide us with direct understanding of how and why they were used. The way in which talismans and talismanic seals appear in the Buddhist sources is primarily as objects of power, or rather as "power writ". We do not actually have talismans used for the transfer of documents to heaven, i.e. similar to the petitions and memorials common to Daoist ritual practice.[34] Therefore they do not generally occur in mainstream Buddhist rituals, but rather serve as a kind of additional empowerment, an extra ritual device or augmentation as it were.[35] Secondly, there are talismanic practices in Chinese Buddhism which are similar to those of Daoism, such as the ingestion of talismans for purposes of healing, for wearing as protection like an amulet, for purposes of exorcism, and for spiritual purposes such as attaining rebirth in the Pure Land of Amitābha (fig. 3).[36] In this sense the talismans used in Buddhism and the talismanic seals overlap in both function and purpose, something which is evident in many of the pertinent sources.[37] Hence, I would tend to see the presence of talismans and talismanic

34. For a detailed account of talismans and talisman-related practices in ancient and medieval China, see Stephan Peter Bumbacher, *Empowered Writing: Exorcistic and Apotropaic Rituals in Medieval China*, St. Petersburg, FL.: Three Pines Press, 2012.

35. We see a classic example of talismanic seals as an accessory to Esoteric Buddhist ritual practice in the *Weiji jingang jin bai bianfa jing* 穢跡金剛禁百變法經 [Scripture on the Prohibitive One Hundred Transformative Methods of Ucchuṣma Vajrapāla], *T.* 1229.21. For additional discussion of this scripture, see Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, pp. 156–61; and James Robson, "Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism", *History of Religions* 48/2 (2008), pp. 130–69.

36. *P.* 2153, third seal; cf. *Dunhuang mizong wenxian jicheng* [Complete Collection of Texts Pertaining to the Esoteric Buddhist School in Dunhuang], vol. 3, comp. Lin Shitian and Shen Guomei, Zhongguo Foxue Wenxian Congkan, Beijing: Zhonghua Quanguo Tushuguan Wenxian Shuweifuzhi Zhongxin, 2000, p. 328.

37. Cf., e.g., *Guanshiyin pusa fuyin* 觀世音菩薩符印 [Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Talismanic Seals], *S.* 2498.

seals in chiefly Esoteric Buddhist contexts, and as serving as a sort of "ritual extension" to or enhancement of practices which already existed in the tradition. Certainly the talismans and seals used in Chinese Esoteric Buddhism are essentially objects of power and the texts they convey are virtual "writs of power". Armed with this borrowed "tool", Buddhist ritual specialists were thereby not only able to compete with the Daoists on equal terms, but when used in conjunction with their own rather formidable arsenal of ritual technologies such as *homa*, ritual tools, hand gestures (Skt. *mudrā*) and their powerful spells in real "Brahma" language, i.e. transcribed Sanskrit, they could even be seen as superseding their competitors in the ability to command the unseen forces.

The appropriation of gods and saints

In the area of study relating to the cults of Buddhist and Daoist divinities, we encounter a highly fascinating situation. Here we see direct examples of the appropriation of the "gods of the other", in effect a mode of practice in which both religions excelled. Wholesale appropriation and adoption of foreign gods is not a common phenomenon in the inter-play between most major religious traditions; nevertheless in medieval and late pre-modern China both the Buddhists and the Daoists engaged in this practice. I will not enter into a lengthy exploration of this topic here, but concern myself with two examples, one representative of each religion.

Appropriation and adoption of Buddhist saints in the Daoist context can be found in the *Lingjianzi yindaozi wuji* 靈劍子引導子午記 [Record of the Master of the Magic Sword Notes on the Induction of Qi from Zi to Wu],[38] a Northern Song text. In this scripture we encounter Nāgārjuna and Aśvaghoṣa as *neidan* 內丹 masters.[39] Other Daoist scriptures cast the purported founder of Chan Buddhism, Bodhidharma (fl. first half of the sixth century) in the role of a Daoist immortal and even make him the author of Daoist treatises.[40]

Obviously there are many other examples of appropriation of divinities on both sides, including important ones such as Vairocana, the Cosmic Buddha[41] or Avalokiteśvara,[42] both of whom appear in Daoist contexts; and on the Buddhist side the borrowing of the

38. Attributed to Xu Xun, *zi* Jinyang, *DZ* 571.10. For a synopsis of this interesting scripture, see *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2, p. 788.

39. See *DZ* 571.10, p. 674b.

40. We see this in the *Yunji qiqian*, where a full section is devoted to him and his reputed works; see *YJQQ*, vol. 3, pp. 1310–14, 1556.

41. See *DZ* 42.1, p. 867b.

42. See the *Yuqing shanggong ke taizhen wen* 玉清上宮科太真文 (The Highest, True Writ Classified in the High Palaces in Jade Purity), *DZ* 1408.34, p. 357a. See also the *neidan* 內丹 work, the *Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨 [Tablet for Pointing Out Nature and Mandate], as contained in the *Daozang jinghua lu* 道藏精華錄 [Flowery Record of the Essence of the Daoist Canon].

Gods of the Great Dipper[43] and Taishan Fujun 泰山府君, the god of Mt. Tai.[44] It is also interesting to note that the *Baiyi Guanyin chanhui* 白衣觀音懺悔 [Repentance Ritual of the White Robed Avalokiteśvara] was incorporated into the rites of the *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 [Daoist [Ritual] Methods Meeting at the Source],[45] albeit as a minor rite. Given that the soteriological implications of this rite reflect primary salient features of Chinese Mahāyāna and Esoteric Buddhism in particular, the endorsement of this ritual within the Daoist context indicates doctrinal "contamination" on a deeper level than mere ornamental grafting.

I have not discussed those Buddhist or Daoist gods which developed as copies of a divinity from the other side, such as the Daoist creation of the Heavenly Worthy Jiuku 救苦天尊, obviously modelled on Avalokiteśvara, or the Buddhist re-casting of Daoist astral deities,[46] or the rise of the Buddhist astral deity Sudṛṣṭi, whom we encounter during the late Tang in the guise of Zhenwu 真武, the Daoist god of the North.[47] The material which underlies this phenomenon is both rich and variegated, and has, at least partly, been dealt with others on the project already. On the surface it would appear that the adoption and take-over of "foreign" gods such as briefly outlined here took place regularly throughout Chinese history with a tendency towards densification of the phenomena, i.e. the forming of a critical mass beginning during the early pre-modern period. Here we see the mutual appropriations of gods and their cults coalesce into structured pantheons as well as giving rise to mutual iconographies such as those we find associated with the Shuilu 水陸 and Pudu-type 普度齋 rites.[48]

43. See *T.* 1307.21. Discussed in Molier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, pp. 138–40.

44. Taishan Fujun, the Lord of the Netherworld, is featured in several standard Buddhist works such as *T.* 2068.51, p. 74b; *T.* 2037.49, p. 818a; *T.* 2061.50, p. 862ab, etc.

45. *DZ* 1220.28, p. 861b.

46. A comparison between Avalokiteśvara and Jiuku can be found in Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, pp. 174–208.

47. See Henrik H. Sørensen, "Concerning the Role of the Astral Deity Sudṛṣṭi in Esoteric Buddhism," in *Cultural Crossings: China and Beyond in the Medieval Period*, ed. Dorothy Wong and Gustav Heldt, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Series, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (forthcoming 2014), pp. 403–420.

48. This is more than evident when studying the iconography of the ritual paintings pertaining to both traditions; see *Baoning si Ming dai shuilu hua* 寶寧寺明代水陸畫 [The Shuilu Paintings from the Ming Dynasty in the Baoning Temple], comp. Shanxi Sheng Bowuguan, Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1988. For a discussion of these paintings, see *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850–1850*, ed. Marsha Weidner, Spencer Museum of Art/The University of Kansas and Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994, pp. 280–82. While the more formal conflation of the pantheons of Buddhism and Daoism is well documented in religious art from the Ming dynasty, it is likely to have begun as early as the late Northern Song, when the first Shuilu manuals were being compiled. On the Shuilu manuals, see Daniel P. Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the Shuilu fahui, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land", *ibid.*, pp. 30–70. For a recent discussion of the *shuilu* and its hybrid iconography, see Dai Xiaoyun, *Fojiao shuilu hua yanjiu* [A Study of the Buddhist Shuilu Paintings], Zhenru Congshu, Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 2009.

Of apocrypha and pseudo-scriptures

When discussing the mutual influences evident in many Daoist and Buddhist scriptures, we must distinguish between works which (i) show evidence of inspiration or influence, i.e. which contain certain salient, foreign elements; (ii) those which were written in imitation, i.e. using a similar structure as well as various doctrinal elements found in the source, but not necessarily featuring similar contents; and (iii) those books which were simply copies, i.e. plagiarized texts or pseudo-scriptures. These three categories are not meant to represent self-contained and truly separate units, but indicate primarily a way of organizing the material in question. On the practical level we find many works with passages in which the three categories are mixed, or scriptures which exemplify more than one of them. Nevertheless, when discussing the topic of exchanges and appropriations in the Buddho–Daoist cross-field, I will maintain that the three categories constitute a meaningful way of distinguishing between various levels of appropriation and take-over.

Since the ground-breaking work of Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮 in the late 1970s, the importance of apocryphal Buddhist literature in China has been receiving growing attention from the scholarly community.[49] In many ways this development has greatly assisted our efforts in understanding what was at play during Buddhism's inculturation process in China. I shall not go into a discussion of the parameters delineating this material as it has already been done on several occasions before, but simply re-state that when we talk about Chinese Buddhist apocrypha, we are chiefly dealing with a type of Buddhist scripture that masquerades as a *bona fide* translation of an Indian Buddhist text.[50] However, we must not be too narrow in our definition of apocrypha. I believe there are several good reasons for extending this term to include texts which reflect editorial tampering with or re-arrangement of authentic Indian texts. Nor should we be blind to the large amount of Buddhist scriptures, which although most likely composed or compiled in China, nevertheless contain extensive passages of translated text. In the case of Esoteric Buddhist literature, we must be particularly alert to this kind of material, as such scriptures occur with considerable frequency here.[51]

As is commonly known today, a great many of the Buddhist apocryphal scriptures either contain—or are otherwise informed by—Daoist beliefs and practices. Most would undoubtedly agree that it is one of the primary indicators of the apocryphal nature of a given Buddhist text if it contains material that can be readily identified as reflecting Daoist belief.[52] However, Chinese Buddhist apocrypha need not always reflect Daoism *per*

49. See Makita Tairyō, *Gikyō kenkyū* [A Study of Apocryphal Scriptures], Kyoto: Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūsho, 1976.

50. The primary collection of articles in any Western language concerning this topic can be found in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990.

51. See Sørensen, "The Apocrypha and Esoteric Buddhism in China", in *EBTEA*, pp. 181–96.

52. A good number of these scriptures have been listed and commented upon in Xiao Dengfu, *Daojiao*

se. In fact the scriptures which do not do so, far outnumber those that do.

In Daoism the situation is of course somewhat different. There are no apocrypha here, as all its scriptures were composed in China and moreover were directly or indirectly under influence from Buddhist texts and ideas from early on. Nevertheless, there is a large number of Daoist scriptures, several with canonical pedigree, which were directly copied from Buddhist *sūtras*, some were even copied from or otherwise greatly influenced by Buddhist apocryphal texts.[53] Such scriptures do not qualify as *bona fide* Daoist compositions, but are best understood as constituting a class of their own, what I would here refer to as "Daoist pseudo-scriptures", in other words forgeries. Scriptures and texts belonging to this category differ from those Daoist scriptures which have borrowed more or less liberally from Buddhist sources, but by integrating and transforming the appropriated material. Scriptures of the latter category include the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao jingtu sheng shen jing* 太上洞玄靈寶淨土生神經 [Divine Scripture on the Rebirth in the Pure Land of the Lingbao Highest Cave Mystery; hereafter *Jingtu sheng shen jing*],[54] the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing* 太上洞玄靈寶昇玄內教經 [Scripture of the Inner Teaching for Ascending the Abstruse][55] and the celebrated *Benji jing* 本際經 [Scripture on the Fundamental Boundary][56] just to mention a few important examples. In contrast, the Daoist pseudo-scriptures do not generally integrate the Buddhist material on a deeper level, nor do they alter significantly the structure or even the narrative, should there be one. They are essentially copies of Buddhist texts with superficial changes and adaptations. I could cite the titles of several such scriptures, but for practical purposes let me limit myself to three examples: the early *Shenren suoshuo sanyuan weiyi guanxing jing* 神人所說三元威儀觀行經 [Scripture on the Majestic Deportments of the Three Origins with Practice of Contemplation Spoken by a Divine Person],[57] the *Taishang xuanling Doumu ben-*

shuyi yu mijiao dian ji [Daoist Ritual Arts in Esoteric Buddhist Texts], Taibei: Xinwenfeng, 1994. Note that his criteria for determining Daoist influence on Buddhism in this work are in many cases lop-sided and often without proper historical and cultural perspectives.

53. A collection of this material may be found in *Dōzō nai butsu shisō shiryō shūsei* [A Compilation of Material on Buddhist Thought in the Daozang], ed. Kamata Shigeo, Tokyo: Taizō Shuppan, 1986.

54. Cf. *P.* 2383, *P.* 2401V, *P.* 4730. A fascimile reproduction of *P.* 2383 can be found in Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō Dōkyō zuroku hen* [A Collation of the Daoist Scriptures from Dunhuang with Plates], 2 vols., Tokyo: Kokubu Shoten, 1979, pp. 104–16.

55. Originally a work in ten *juan*; cf. *P.* 2990, 2560, 3341, 2326, 2750, *S.* 6310, 3722, 4561 etc. Additional information may be found in Liu Yi, "Dunhuang ben *Shengxuan jing* jinglu chuanshou yishi yanjiu [A Study of the Ritual Proceedings of the Transmission of Scripture and Registers According to the Dunhuang Version of the Shengxuan Scripture]", *Dunhuang xue* 25 (2004), pp. 465–82.

56. Numerous Dunhuang manuscripts containing parts of this important scripture have been identified. For the most authoritative compilation of these manuscripts, see Ye Guiliang, *Dunhuang ben Taixuan zhenyi benji jing: jixiao* [The Dunhuang Version of the *Taixuan zhenyi benji jing*: Punctuated and Annotated], Chengdu: Sichuan Chuban Jituan Bashu Shushe, 2010. The *Benji jing* also exists in a greatly abbreviated and redacted version in the Daoist canon; see *DZ* 1111.24.

57. Cf. *S.* 5308 etc. Contained in *Zangwai daoshu*, vol. 21, pp. 260–69. For the primary study of this text, see Akizuki Kan'ei, "Tonkō shutsudo Dokyō to Butten [Daoist Scriptures found at Dunhuang and Buddhist Texts]", in *Tonkō to Chūgoku Dokyō* [Dunhuang and Chinese Daoism], eds. Kanaoka Shōko et al. *Kōza Tonkō*

Figure 4: Double-page from Buddhist manual featuring the Great Dipper scripture with the Buddha, astral lord and talismans. See also fig. 5.

ming yansheng xin jing 太上玄靈斗母大乘元君本命延生心經 [The Heart Scripture on the Fundamental Extension of Life [spoken by] the Highest, Mysterious and Divine Doumu, Original Lord of the Great Vehicle],[58] and the *Taishang zhenyi bao fumu enchong jing* 太上真一報父母恩重經 [Scripture on Protecting and Recompensing the Kindness of Parents [Spoken by] Taishang Zhenyi].[59] Although these texts address rather different religious concerns and therefore also different areas of Daoist practice, in their adoption of the Buddhist conceptual universe they nevertheless end up sharing a number of salient features such as karma, transmigration, demonology, etc.

Thus the Daoist pseudo-scriptures are similar to some of the apocryphal Buddhist *sūtras*, which were themselves informed by or copied from Daoist sources. Christine Mollier has shown us a few examples of such apocrypha (or forgeries) including the *Foshuo sanchu*

[Lectures on Dunhuang] 4, Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1983, pp. 207–37.

58. *DZ* 621.11. It belongs to the Cavern Spirits Section of the *Daozang*. According to the *Zhonghua daojiao da cidian* [Great Dictionary of Chinese Daoism; hereafter *ZDDC*], the *Doumu Heart Scripture* was composed some time during the Song dynasty. See *ibid.*, p. 404b. For a synopsis of the contents of the scripture, see *Daozang tiyao*, p. 448.

59. *DZ* 65.2. This a Daoist copy of the Buddhist apocryphal scripture, *Foshuo fumu enchong jing* 佛説父母恩重經 [Scripture on Recompensating the Kindness of Parents]; cf. *T*. 2887.85.

jing 佛說三廚經 [Buddha Speaks the Scripture on the Three Kitchens],[60] *Foshuo beidou qixing yanming jing* 佛說北斗七星延命經 [Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on [the Worship of] Seven Stars of the Great Dipper for the Prolonging of Life], referred to previously, and the *Foshuo anzha shenzhou jing* 佛說安宅神咒經 [Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Divine Spell for Calming Dwellings].[61] To these we may add such scriptures as the *Foshuo qiqian fo shenfu jing* 佛說七千佛神符經 [Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Divine Talismans of the Seven Thousand Buddhas],[62] the *Foshuo zhoumei jing* 佛說咒魅經 [Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Spells against Mei [Demons]][63] and the *Foshuo zhoutu jing* 佛說咒土經 [Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on how to Empower the Ground] just to mention a few noteworthy ones.[64] Common to all of them is that they are copies of Daoist texts rather than independent compositions. This of course sets them apart from those apocryphal works which were composed on the basis of Buddhist doctrine and to which were added elements of Daoist belief and practice such as the *Guanding jing* 灌頂經 [Scripture of Anointment],[65] the early *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī*,[66] the *Foshuo yuxiu shiwang shengqi jing* 佛說預修十王生七經 [Scripture in which Buddha Speaks about the Judgement of the Ten Kings for Rebirth [after] Seven [Days]],[67] etc.

My exploration of the Buddho–Daoist intersections also occasioned me to look at religious scriptures from both sides which in the course of history entered into normative acceptance. I cannot claim to have delved deeply into this area, but nevertheless came

60. *T.* 2894.85. Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, pp. 23–54.

61. *T.* 1394.21. Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, pp. 14–17.

62. *T.* 2904.85. This is a copy of, or rather is partially copied from, the *Taishang Laojun shuo yisuan shenfu miao jing* 太上老君說益算神符妙經 [Wonderful Scripture of the Divine Talismans for Increasing the Life Span, Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao], *DZ* 672.11. See Xiao Dengfu, "Lun fojiao shou zhongtu daojiao de yingxing ji fojing zhen wei [A Discussion of the Influence on Buddhism from Chinese Daoism as well as Real and Apocryphal Buddhist Scriptures], *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 9 (1996), p. 84. Although this article contains several important and useful observations regarding Daoist influence on certain Buddhist scriptures, it has many equally silly ones; in particular, Xiao's view that Indian Buddhism was influenced by Chinese religious beliefs is hard to accept given the nature of the sources he uses.

63. *S.* 4524, *S.* 418 (cf. *T.* 2883.85).

64. As contained in the *Tuoluonizaji* 陀羅尼雜集 [Collated Miscellaneous Spells), *T.* 1336.21, pp. 609c–10a. The exact source for this short spell scripture is not known, but it would appear to have been a Daoist ritual text. It shares certain similarities with *T.* 1394.21. See Liu Yongming, "Lun Dunhuang fojiao xinyang zhong de fo dao rongshe [A Discussion of the Fusion of Buddhism and Daoism in Buddhist Beliefs in Dunhuang], *Dunhuang xue jikan* 1 (2005), pp. 45–55.

65. *T.* 1331.21. See Michel Strickmann, "The *Consecration Sūtra*: A Buddhist Book of Spells", in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell Jr., Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990, pp. 75–118.

66. *T.* 988.19. For a discussion of this composite scripture and related texts, see Sørensen, "The Spell of the Great Golden Peacock Queen: The Origin, Practices and Lore of an Early Esoteric Buddhist Tradition in China", *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute for Buddhist Studies* (Special Issue: Honoring James H. Sanford) 3/8 (2006), pp. 89–123.

67. *ZZ* 21.1. For a discussion of this interesting scripture, see Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, pp. 156–61. A full study of it can be found in Stephen Teiser, *The Scripture of the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*, Studies in East Asian Buddhism 9, Honolulu: Kuroda Institute and University of Hawai'i Press, 1994.

across a number of texts which evidently made this inter-religious transition. Again for the sake of brevity let me provide you with an example of such texts, one from each side of the religious divide.

The first example from the Buddhist side is the take-over and acceptance of the Daoist *Taishang lingbao beidou benming yansheng zhen jing* 太上靈寶北斗本命延生真經 [True Scripture of the Northern Dipper for Extending the Span of Life of the Highest Lingbao],[68] as printed and transmitted within a Buddhist context.[69] The illustrated edition referred to here dates from 1639 and was printed at Songgwang Temple 松廣寺 in South Chŏlla province in Korea.[70] It is not clear to what extent this example reflects developments in Ming China, but we do know that in the wake of the Imjin War of 1592–8 Korea saw a massive influx of Chinese printed books, including many Buddhist and Daoist works. It is evident that the Korean Buddhists incorporated some of those Daoist books, even re-carving and printing them for circulation. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the scripture in question had by the time of its printing replaced the older Buddhist *Great Dipper Scripture* even though it continued to worship the Seven Buddhas as lords of the Great Dipper.

The Daoist example of an appropriated Buddhist scripture is that of the important *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya sūtra*[71] which appears in the *Guanyin xin jing bijue* 觀音心經秘解 [Secret Elucidation of the Heart Scripture of Avalokiteśvara] combined with a purely Daoist commentary.[72] In this case it is noteworthy that the *prajñāpāramitā*-style discourse of the Buddhist text has been utterly subverted and re-oriented by the Daoist *neidan* 内丹 interpretation of the commentary. It may be significant that both of these examples are from the pre-modern period and not pre-Song, thereby indicating that a certain degree of obfuscation and blurring of orthodox religious boundaries had begun to appear with increasing frequency in the post-Song period. Even so, I am relatively certain that we might be able to find earlier examples of such trans-religious scriptures once we being to look for them in earnest, an endeavour I heartily suggest we begin to undertake.

68. Identical with the *DZ* 622.11.

69. See figs. 4 and 5, pp. 125, 128. The Buddhist context is evident in the accompanying illustrations which feature a Buddha for each of the personified gods of the seven stars.

70. The Buddhist context is evident in the accompanying illustrations which feature a Buddha for each of the personified gods of the seven stars.

71. *T.* 251.8.

72. Authored by the Daoist master Yushan Laoren 玉山老人 from Hangzhou; see *Daozang jinghua* 道藏精華 [Epitome of the Daozang], ed. Xiao Tianshi, Series 11, vol. 3, no. 76, Taibei: Ziyou Chubanshe, 1979. It also exists as an independent text that was circulated widely during the late Qing. Interestingly, but perhaps less surprisingly, it was in some cases printed at Buddhist temple presses; see also the online version; accessed 2013–12–10.

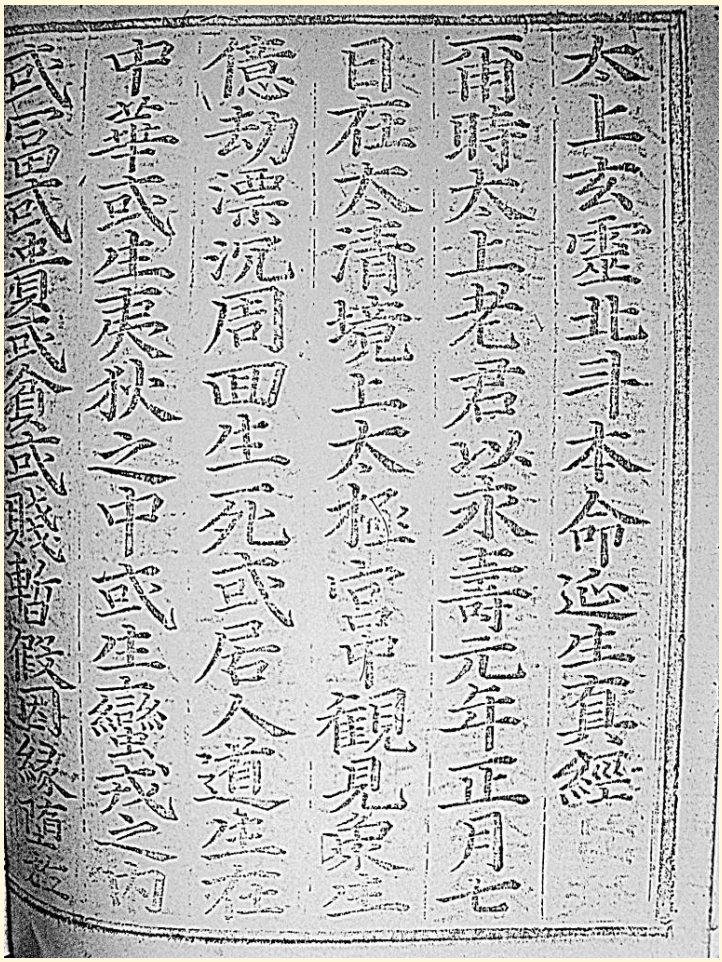

Figure 5: Page from the Daoist Great Dipper scripture inserted into a Buddhist ritual manual; Songgwang Temple, Chosŏn, 1639. See also fig. 4.

The creation of a common ground

What has been shown so far is a variety of examples of mutual exchanges between Buddhism and Daoism resulting in new conceptual and structural formations in Chinese religion, exchanges which I would argue in most cases significantly altered the receiving religious tradition. By appropriating the doctrines and teachings of each other, Buddhism and Daoism, consciously as well as unconsciously, allowed those "foreign" elements to enter their respective systems of belief, sometimes with dramatic results. We may conceptualize such appropriations variously as "borrowing", "influence", "theft", "take-over", "copying", etc., with each case carefully analyzed in order to assess the degree and nature of the foreign element's impact on the religion in question. Undoubtedly, we shall now be able to identify cases appropriate for all of those signifying terms on both sides of

the religious divide. What is perhaps most important here, is the fact that the appropriated elements effected certain shifts in the religious structures of Buddhism and Daoism, shifts which I refer to as "displacements", since in the majority of cases they took on new meaning(s) and functions in their respective, new religious settings. Two representative areas where such displacements can be readily identified, concern Daoist longevity practices, which as we have seen were infected by Buddhist *prajñā*-thinking, and on the Buddhist side Daoist astral lore and beliefs contributed greatly to the elaborate rites and manipulations regarding astrology.

Yet another area where the mutual impact effected considerable changes was in the beliefs concerning the after-life. Here we may observe how mutual displacements in the respective belief-systems of both Daoism and Buddhism occasioned the rise of shared destinies for the dead, not only the bureaucratized netherworld but also the heavens eventually took on a form shaped by concerns and beliefs relating to both religions.

The mutual and prolonged exchanges that took place between Buddhism and Daoism in China, including the convoluted process of repeated cross-transmissions of practices and beliefs, resulted in the formation of a series of new religious phenomena which were not originally part of either religion. There are too many aspects related to these developments to deal with here, hence I shall limit myself to a few of the more noteworthy, well knowing that I have not exhausted the issue by far. What must be borne in mind, however, is that these phenomena reflect to a high degree the cultural milieu that served as the basis for both religions, and that on the basis of this we may begin to understand the processes which led to the exchanges we see with both Buddhism and Daoism.

1. The significant concept of the sharing of "holy space" or "sacred geography". Under this rubric I would consider the existence of concrete physical spaces, places where both Buddhists and Daoists not only worshipped their respective gods separately, but actual cultic sites where they worshipped the same gods.[73]

2. Shared, imagined spaces exemplified in the construction of a mutual netherworld, or hell if you like.

3. There is the shared ritual concern as exemplified in the Shuilu 水陸/Pudu 普度 types of ritual. In both of these rites we can observe a certain "blend-over" or "cross-over" of imagery and conceptualizations concerning the liberation of the suffering souls of those who had died violent deaths.

4. There is the question of shared cosmology including shared astrology.

73. For a study of one such site of which China has several major ones, see James Robson, *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue 南嶽) in Medieval China*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 316, Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Harvard University Asia Center, 2009. Other shared sites included Mt. Tiantai 天台山 and Mt. Tai 泰山.

5. A shared pantheon. Although I would agree that a more crystallized or mature form should be considered a product of the early pre-modern period, we certainly do see numerous cases of Buddhist and Daoist divinities in displacement processes much earlier. The case of Zhenwu in the Esoteric Buddhist context is one example, and that of Bodhidharma recast as a Daoist saint another.

6. This leads to a shared iconography or shared imagery. This does not mean that we are dealing with a conflated, fully developped iconography, but rather a case of partial, yet mutual integration of images and symbols. In practice it means that Daoist divinities were being inserted into Buddhist pictorial or sculptural contexts and *vice versa*. This trend is of considerable age, as documented in the stele material from Shaanxi, and may in fact have originated when Daoists began to copy Buddhist iconography for the depiction of their own gods.

7. Integrated doctrines and beliefs, e.g. the conflation of *dhyāna*-related practices and *neidan* belief. Or it may be formulated as aspects of Buddhist *abhidharma* appearing as Daoist cosmogony.

8. Shared narratives. These may both be of the more specific nature, such as supernatural stories with similar/shared motifs, or certain local traditions associated with specific temples or sites. It is possible that such narratives facilitated the transfer of saints.

9. Shared texts: This aspect of Buddho–Daoist relations signals more than just mutual conceptual and structural borrowings. "Shared texts" means texts, Buddhist and Daoist, which were used by adherents of both traditions. This phenomenon may have been more pronounced during the late medieval and early pre-modern periods, but surely have antecedents in the early Tang material if not earlier.

Taken together, all of these aspects reflect a type of religious integration on a deeper level than one based on mere borrowing or take-over. We are here seeing changes taking place at the receiving end which altered certain fundamental parameters concerning doctrine and basic beliefs.

Conclusion

When dealing with the interchanges between two religious traditions such as Buddhism and Daoism within Chinese culture and history, we must be careful not to commit that grave mistake which sees them as two, pre-existing monolithic and distinct traditions which at some point in time began to interrelate. I am stressing this rather banal observation, because it appears to be at the core of many of the misconceptions and misunderstandings that have marred a better understanding of both Chinese Buddhism as well as

of Daoism on the part of modern scholarship. We must not forget that both traditions developed in China side by side, not only within the same historical periods, but also within the same locations and largely within the same social contexts. Buddhism was only a foreign religion and remained such until it was accepted by the Chinese at large. Once it was accepted, something which was afforded by the process of becoming a fully fledged Chinese religion, a development which did not take more than two to three centuries to accomplish at most, Buddhism was to all purposes and intents a Chinese religion. The process through which Buddhism became Chinese of course took place through lengthy and concerted influence from the local religious and philosophical traditions, not the least from Daoism, as well as through conscious adaptations from the Buddhist side. In the case of Daoism, there are few scholars today who would seriously argue for the existence of Daoist religion in the Nanbeichao period (381–581) as a phenomenon completely apart and aloof from Buddhist influence, with the possible exception of certain practices found in the early Heavenly Masters and Shangqing 上清 traditions. It remains a fact that both Buddhism and Daoism arose and developped in tandem and through close contact and with considerable impact as a consequence, as a variety of recent studies have shown. This is something which cannot only be observed in the formative stages of the two religions in China but down through history as well.

Is Daoism then Buddhist, and is Chinese Buddhism Daoist? No, but neither is free of the other in the sense of being without certain imprints of the other. Both carry solid evidence of influence from the other on a number of levels. This is partly because both have influenced each other and partly because both have been shaped by and in return shaped the same culture in which they thrived. Does this then make Daoism and Chinese Buddhism hybrid religions? The answer to this must be yes to the extent that each contain salient elements of the other, but no if we talk about religious identity *per se*. Both religions retained certain demarcations, not the least of which pertains to distinct hermeneutics regarding the definitions of eschatology and spiritual liberation.

This leads me to a key issue of the Buddho–Daoist exchange, namely, those cases where special factors were at play to foster and stimulate their interaction. First of all we must acknowledge the great importance played by the Chinese language in the transformation of Buddhism from an Indian religion to a Chinese one. The fact that Buddhism did not meet with noteworthy resistance from either government or the local population initially, meant that it could spread and take root in China without fear of persecution. It was only after centuries of domestication and in periods when Buddhism had become a formidable economic and spiritual factor in Chinese society, that serious attempts at curtailing its influence took place. Another important factor that also has to do with the introduction of Buddhism in China, concerns the issue of the meeting of cultures. Buddhism did not arrive as a representative of a superior culture in an underdeveloped or uncivilized culture. The meeting between Indian Buddhism and Chinese society was a meeting of two "high cultures". This meant that Buddhism could not push aside or ignore the local traditions, at least not directly, but had to accommodate and adapt. It goes

without saying that the language issue was significant in this situation. Adapting to local religious and spiritual traditions primarily meant adapting to a conceptual world that was largely, if not predominantly Daoist.

It has struck me that the fact that both Buddhism and Daoism are polytheistic, may go some way in explaining the seemingly easy and unproblematic manner in which they were able to co-opt each other's gods. Incidentally we see the same with regard to Buddhism and Hinduism in India, in Japan in the Buddhist-Shinto exchange and in Korea that of Buddhism and Shamanism. Is it a special Indian and East Asian pragmatism, perhaps a result- or response-driven approach to religious worship that made these mutual exchanges possible, or could it be something else? Maybe there is a particular cultural factor at play? Certainly the bureaucratization of the divine is a shared factor, so is medicine, literature and writing, and science broadly speaking.

It is my personal opinion that while a lot of energy has been spent on Buddho–Daoist polemics, especially those that took place during the early Tang, but also those surrounding the *huahu* 化胡 complex of Daoist scriptures, these discussions have tended to overshadow the fact that real conflict between the two traditions was fairly minimal over long stretches of Chinese history and that examples of harmonious co-existence, even co-practice within the same cultic and ritual spaces were much more common than we have been wont to accept. The shared cultic sites, mutually conflated pantheons as well as similar socio-religious concerns are strong arguments for this view.

Let me end this report by acknowledging one issue among others that have not been dealt with here, in other words what we still need to address. While there are several outstanding themes and textual formations that have been neglected or partly ignored in previous studies on Buddhist and Daoist interrelations, medicine is one important such area which is virtually unexplored. I am not talking about pseudo-medicine as discussed by Strickmann in his now classic study on spells, seals and talismans, but about actual medicine and medical prescriptions as well as hygienic practices in the cross-field between Buddhism and Daoism. Having only surveyed parts of the relevant sources, and superficially at that, I nevertheless consider myself to be in a position to insist that the relevant material—which is rather abundant—holds much promise as regards the Buddhist and Daoist interchange. On the surface it would appear that in this field it was the Buddhists who were at the receiving end. However, a perusal of the relevant sources, especially those belonging to the Esoteric Buddhist tradition, contain material which documents that the Buddhist contribution to Chinese medicine, and thereby indirectly to Daoism, was by no means insignificant either.

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Abbreviations

AA	*Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*
CEA	*Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*
DWY	*Daojia wenhua yanjiu*
DXJ	*Dunhuang xuelun ji*
DZ	*Zhengtong Daozang*
EBTEA	*Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*
P.	*Collection Pelliot. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.*
S.	*Stein Collection.* British Library, London.
T.	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*
ZZ	*Dainihon zokuzōkyō*
YJQQ	*Yunji qiqian*

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Daofa huiyuan 道法會元. *DZ* 1220.28.

Daomen jing faxiang chengci xu 道門經法相承次序. *DZ* 1128.24.

Foshuo anzha shenzhou jing 佛説安宅神咒經. *T.* 1394.21.

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