

Transmission of Law and Merit:

A Comparative Study of Daoist Ordination Rite and Esoteric Buddhist *abhiṣeka*

in Medieval China (400–907)

by

Yang Wu

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Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Stephen Bokenkamp, Co-Chair

Hoyt Tillman, Co-chair

Joe Robert Cutter

Huaiyu Chen

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

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## ABSTRACT

This is a comparative study of two advanced ordination rituals, Daoist *chuanshou* 傳授 (conferral of ordination rank) and Buddhist *abhiṣeka* (guanding 灌頂) in the mid-late Tang and Five Dynasties (763-979). I analyzed a number of not-well-studied Daoist ritual protocols in the early medieval period, and revealed that rituals recast gender and fostered monastic relations. On the other hand, relying on both canonical materials and a manuscript preserved in Japan that recorded an *abhiṣeka* performed during the Tang dynasty in 839 C.E., I demonstrated how the canonical prescriptions of Indian origin, with modified actions and reinterpreted meaning, were transformed to respond to the Chinese religious and social environment. Having examined the language of the texts and the step of the rituals, I interpreted how these rituals were made sense in their own religious context, and compared their frame, structure, modality, symbol, and meaning.

Ordination rite concerns the transmission of religious knowledge and authority, and the establishment of religious identity. It is in the relationship between the individual body and the community that Daoists and Buddhists found the form of apprenticeship that led to the embodiment of the community. The mastery of religious knowledge within the community—scriptures, register, *mantras*, and precepts, etc., was known only through the actual ritual practice. In

other words, the ritual body became the locus for coordination of all levels of bodily, social, and cosmological experience via the dialectic of objectification and embodiment in the ordination rites. As the ritualized bodies, those who were ordained coherently comprised the community, which in turn remolded them with dynamically and diversely shaped identities.

In memory of my grandmother

Zhang Wanfang 張萬芳 (1924–2001)

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Ritual: A Larger Context

The Buddho-Daoist interaction plays a crucial part in the history of Chinese religions. By the translation of Buddhist letters, the making of *saṃgha* and lay society, and the invention of practices accustomed to the indigenous people, the import and localization of Buddhism in China reshaped both Buddhism imprinted with the traditions from India and Central Asia and the indigenous religious communities. Daoism, on the other side, developed nearly all important aspects of its system, including thoughts, monastic codes, and rituals, in the periods when the its intense interaction with Buddhism took place.

As an explanatory category, “syncretism” has been commonly used in describing the Buddho-Daoist interaction. From the very initial stage of the field, scholars have noticed the long coexistence of the two religions and the mixture of their religious elements. In his examination on the Buddhist interaction with Confucianism and Daoism, Tokiwa considers both the thoughts and practices of Daoism have been originated from its imitation to Buddhism. Daoism not only appropriated the Buddhist doctrinal and ritual elements to their own system, but also invented its visual arts and canon structure by stealing Buddhist sources.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定 *Shina ni okeru Bukkyō to Jukyō Dōkyō* 支那に於ける佛教と儒教道教 (Tōkyō : Tōyō Bunko, 1930).

Tokiwa's contribution should be acknowledged in that he was among the first to analyze the negotiations and contacts between the two religions, and conceptualize them by using "syncretism". Kubota, a contemporary of Tokiwa, further suggests the tension generated by the interaction had been existed from the very beginning of the import of Buddhism in China, developed constantly, and reached its climax in the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

One serious weakness underlying their works, however, is the unilateral nature of the evidence that they use. Trained as Buddhologist, both Tokiwa and Kubota solely depend on the polemical and historiographical pronouncement about Daoist plagiarism provided by the Buddhists, and read it at its face value. According to them, Chinese Buddhism had a pure origin, yet was unfortunately contaminated as long as it began to interact with Daoism. As a result, Daoism, as a pseudo-Buddhist religion, not only took Buddhist doctrine and practice as its own, but also was responsible for the decline of Buddhism in China.

Yoshioka's three volumes on this topic mark a watershed in this field in terms of its broad investigation of Daoist sources.<sup>3</sup> As a student affiliated with Japanese Shingon Buddhism, he commenced his research in China with the topic "Esoteric

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<sup>2</sup> Kubota Ryōon 久保田量遠, *Shina Ju Dō Butsu sankyō shiron* 支那儒道佛三教史論 (Tōkyō : Tōhō Shoin, Shōwa, 1931).

<sup>3</sup> Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 道教と佛教 (Tōkyō : Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, 1959); *Dōkyō to Bukkyō Dai ni* 道教と佛教第二 (Tōkyō : Toshima Shobō, 1970); *Dōkyō to Bukkyō Dai san* 道教と佛教第三 (Tōkyō : Kokusho Kankōkai, 1976). In addition, a number of articles on Buddho-Daoist interaction are collected in the *Yoshioka Yoshitoyo chosakushū* 吉岡義豊著作集 5 vols (Tōkyō: Gogatsu Shobō, 1989), 2: 2–155.



Buddhism in the post-Tang and Song period”. This experience helped him to use both textual and anthropological approach to study Chinese religions. His extensive and solid investigation on the Daoist texts paves the way for the actual usage of these previously overlooked materials. Moreover, his works reflects the self-consciousness of inter-discipline and comparison. Not only does his research cover a wide range of topics, such as doctrine, ritual, monasticism, literature, popular cult, etc. in Buddhism, but also pays attention to how these topics were responded by Chinese religions in different ways. Accordingly, Yoshioka is among the earliest scholars who had revealed the rich amount of similarities between Buddhist and Daoist ritual practices, ranging from ritual typology to ritual techniques. Although he has promoted the Buddho-Daoist interaction to grow as an important field, his apologetical position inevitably leads him to conceive that the growth of Daoism essentially depended on that of Buddhism.<sup>4</sup>

The second important figure comes to Erik Zürcher. His long article distinguishes the aspects of Buddho-Daoist interaction, and convincingly demonstrates how Buddhism exactly generated impact on Daoism on its soft part, such as the system of thoughts. He then argues that it was Daoist appropriation of Buddhist elements with misunderstandings that truly prompt the exchanges between the two religions.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Akizuki Kanei 秋月觀暎, “Kaisei,” 解説 in *Yoshioka Yoshitoyo chosakushū*, 2: 477.

<sup>5</sup> Erik Zürcher, “Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism: A survey of scriptural evidence,” *T'oung*

The works of the two scholars have obsoleted the old paradigm that treats Daoism as pseudo-Buddhism. Apologetically motivated records, along with scriptures translated by educated clerical elite, has no longer been taken for granted as the reality of Buddhism nor its interaction with other religions in China.<sup>6</sup> Their works have inspired the scholars who then come to realize that the importance of relocating the textual context in the discussion of doctrinal nuances,<sup>7</sup> as well as attempt to approach from broader themes including ritual practice,<sup>8</sup> visual arts,<sup>9</sup> material culture<sup>10</sup>, and religious place.<sup>11</sup> Traditional

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*Pao* 66 (1980): 84–147. His other two works also reaches the mixture of Daoist eschatology in early Chinese Buddhism, see “Eschatology and Messianism in Early Chinese Buddhism,” in W.L. Idema eds., *Leyden Studies in Sinology: Papers Presented at the Conference Held in Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Sinological Institute of Leyden University, December 8-12, 1980* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 34–56; “Prince Moonlight: Messianism and Eschatology in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism,” *T’oung Pao* 68,1.3 (1982): 1–75.

<sup>6</sup> Anna Seidel, “Chronicle of Taoist Studies in the West 1950-1990,” in *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie*, vol.5 (1989), 298.

<sup>7</sup> Isabelle Robinet, “Notes préliminaires sur quelques antinomies fondamentales entre le bouddhisme et le taoïsme,” in Lionello Lanciotti, eds., *Incontro di religioni in Asia tra il iii e il X secolo d. C.* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1984), pp. 217-42. Stephan Bumbacher, “A Buddhist sūtra’s transformation into a Daoist text,” *Asiatische Studien Études Asiatiques* 60.4 (2007): 799-831.

<sup>8</sup> To name a few, see Lü Pengzhi 呂鵬志, “Lingbao liuzhai kao,” *靈寶六齋考 Wenshi 文史* no. 96 (2011): 85-125. Chang Chao-jan 張超然, “Lingbao duwang jingdian de xingcheng: Cong Chishu yupian zhenwen dao Dongxuan lingbao wuliang duren miaojing,” *靈寶度亡經典的形成: 從《赤書玉篇真文》到《洞玄靈寶無量度人妙經》* *Fu Jen zongjiao yanjiu 輔仁宗教研究* no. 22 (2011): 29–62. Hsien Shu-Wei 謝世維, “Po’an zhuyou: Gu lingbao jing zhong de randeng yishi,” *破暗燭幽: 古靈寶經中的燃燈儀式 Guowen xuebao 國文學報* no. 6 (2010): 99–130.

<sup>9</sup> Zhang Xunliao 張勛療 and Bai Bing 白彬, *Zhongguo Daojiao kaogu 中國道教考古* 6 vols (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2006), 2: 673–84. Kuramoto Hisanori 倉本尚德, “Hokuchō zōzōmei ni miru dōbutsu nikyō no kankei kanchu ni okeru yugi no bunseki o chushin ni,” *北朝造像銘にみる道佛二教の關係——關中における邑義の分析を中心に Tōhō shūkyō 東方宗教* no.109 (2007): 18–51. Christine Mollier, “Iconizing the Daoist-Buddhist relationship: Cliff sculptures in Sichuan during the reign of Emperor Tang Xuanzong,” in *Daoism: Religion, History and Society* no.2 (2010): 95–133.

<sup>10</sup> Huaiyu Chen, “The Rise and Decline of the Scriptural Platform in Medieval Chinese Buddhism,” *Material Religion: The Journal of Art, Objects and Belief*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2013): 150–1.

<sup>11</sup> James Robson, *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue) in Medieval China* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2009). Jonathan Pettit, “The Reclamation of Maoshan,” in *Studies in Chinese Religions* no. 1 (2013): 79–104.

philosophical approach also moves forward in order to detect the more precise Buddhist source in Daoist texts.<sup>12</sup> Most of these works, however, still follow to use “syncretism” to conceptualize the Buddho-Daoist interaction.

Bokenkamp brought reflective thoughts on the usage of “syncretism”. He argues that the term, and other concepts alike, takes the predisposition that the origin of religion as pure and treat any mixture in later its stage as contaminated. As a result, Buddhism and Daoism are subjected into the unilateral model of the imitating and the imitated.<sup>13</sup> Instead, he suggests that the focus should be placed on the how religious agency actively and precisely responded to their social environment by answering actual questions and challenges.<sup>14</sup>

Other scholars in the field have also recognized the conceptual weakness of “syncretism”. Instead of rejecting the term altogether, however, they attempt to interpret the phenomenon of hybridizing Buddho-Daoist elements in a larger context of Chinese religious landscapes such as place or ritual. For instance, the focus on place brings special vantage point onto meaning and experience in

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<sup>12</sup> Isabelle Robinet, “De quelques effets du bouddhisme sur la problématique taoïste: aspects de la confrontation du taoïsme au bouddhisme,” in John Lagerwey ed., *Religion and Chinese Society: The Transformation of a field and its implications for the study of Chinese Culture* 2 vols (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient and Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2004), 1: 411–516.

<sup>13</sup> Stephen Bokenkamp, “The Silkworm and the Bodhi Tree: The Lingbao Attempt to Replace Buddhism in China and Our Attempt to Place Lingbao Daoism,” in John Lagerwey ed., *Religion and Chinese Society: Volume 1, Ancient and Medieval China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2004), 317–39.

<sup>14</sup> Stephen Bokenkamp, “Stages of Transcendence: the Bhūmi Concept in Taoist Scripture,” in Robert E. Buswell ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 119-23; Idem, “Imagining Community: Family Values and Morality in the Lingbao Scriptures,” in Alan Chan and Yuet-Keung Lo ed., *Philosophy and Religion in Early Medieval China* (New York: Suny Press, 2010), 205.

Chinese religious history. In his investigation of the coexistence of Buddho-Daoist institutions and writings of Nanyue, Robson shows how this particular place copresented Buddhists and Daoists and how the writings of rich collection of primary source materials chronicled.<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, ritual brings many useful aspects to better describe the phenomenon of hybridizing religious elements. Many scholars reject to use the concept “syncretism” because they do not view religions as autonomous entities. Boundaries between religions are often set from the outside agents.<sup>16</sup> Ritual, however, is one of the best aspects that reveal agents. Acted out intentionally, ritual establishes individual religious identity and mediates religious communities. The performance of ritual usually conforms to doctrines and paradigms, or reinterprets them, thus attesting how they are truly understood by the religious practitioners. It also entails the wider application of the material and physical objects. As a result, ritual draws itself into every aspects of religious life while best showing religious agent, thus bringing much more to the theoretical blind zone of syncretism.

Among a large number of scholars who investigate Buddho-Daoist rituals,<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> James Robson, *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue) in Medieval China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).

<sup>16</sup> Fritz Graft, “Syncretism (further considerations),” in Lindsay Jones ed., *Encyclopedia of Religions* second edition 14 vols (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005), 13: 8936.

<sup>17</sup> Only list a few, see Michel Strickmann, “The Seal of the Law: A Ritual Implement and the Origins of Printing,” *Asia Major (Third Series)* 6, no.2 (1993): 1–84; James Robson, “Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism,” *History of Religions* 48, no.2 (2008), 130–69; Mitamura Keiko,

Mollier and Orzech respectively provide two exemplary yet divergent approaches. Mollier focuses on how the ritual elements flow between the two religions, and how this exchange presents the confrontation and competence of them. For instance, in her investigation of the Buddhist scriptures copied calque from the Daoist counterparts, Mollier demonstrates that this unique type of scriptural production involved nuanced types of remodeling, distant adaptation, or response. Although there is complex flowing of ritual techniques within these scriptures, the action of integrating one another's favored rituals was undertaken purposefully. It served best means to strengthen the status of their own practice, and to attract or keep faithful followers by providing them with the most fashionable religious trends.<sup>18</sup>

The second approach is more theoretical in that it centers on how the two religions ritually act in respond to the same problem, or fulfill the same purpose, such as repentance, initiation, salvation, etc. Accordingly, this approach usually entails the use of comparative theoretical framework. The comparison does not only shed light on many a ritual details that may have been overlooked, but also reveals the deep and fundamental difference between the two religions. For instance, Orzech compares the Daoist *pudu* (universal salvation) and Buddhist

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"Daoist Hand Signs and Buddhist Mudras," in Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth ed., *Daoist Identity* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 235–55.

<sup>18</sup> Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

*fangyankou* (release of the flaming mouths), both full of blended ritual elements. However, to label these shared elements as syncretic or hybrid, he argues, is counterproductive, if not problematic. Under the guise of similarities, these two rituals were never confused by either Buddhists or Daoists.<sup>19</sup>

Both approaches help to clarify the Buddho-Daoist syncretism as the similar relations between particular components and complex wholes. In addition to investigating on the shared ritual elements/techniques, Mollier also attempts to locate them to the distinguished sociocultural background. She suggests that the parareligious ritual specialists, including astrologers, diviners, medicine men, and alike, worked along with the Daoists and Buddhists. Quite contrary to those experts of popular religions, they often held position at local administrations. By means of the social roles played by these ritual specialists, these elite experts were able to codify and diffuse their arts. On the other hand, Orzech shows the analytical weakness of the concept itself. The fact that one ritual whole is similar to the other is better to be viewed as the production of the ritual translation. Instead of merely showing the fact of mixture, this approach articulates how things come together as the process of translation from the initial encounter to the final forms of mutual accommodation, borrowing, or transformation.

Based on these reflections, this study adopts the comparative approach as the

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<sup>19</sup> Charles Orzech, "Fang Yankou and Pudu Translation, Metaphor, and Religious Identity," in *Daoist Identity*, 213–34.

main theoretical framework while paying extra attention to the social roles played by the ordination rituals. Mollier's work has reminded us the long-ignored roles played by the Chinese laity in mediating the religious traditions, by which the similar doctrine and practice between Daoism and Buddhism freely flowed and were shared. Ordination rites would best illustrate how religions show inclusiveness for laity. Instead of concentrating on the shared ritual elements, however, this study would use the comparative approach to investigate what were the different actions and symbols that the Buddhist and Daoists used to establish their own community and to transfer religious identity for the lay people.

### 1.2 Ordination Rites in Daoism and Esoteric Buddhism

To particularly position Chinese Esoteric Buddhism on the one side of the Buddho-Daoist relation has its own emphasis on ritual interaction.<sup>20</sup> Not only did the tradition most profoundly develop and use ritual techniques among all Chinese Buddhist traditions, but also a number of its rituals, even core liturgical techniques, were appropriated by Daoism when its new ritual innovation took place in the Southern Song.<sup>21</sup> As Strickmann observes, though in a slightly

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<sup>20</sup> Michel Strickmann, "The Seal of the Law: A Ritual Implement and the Origins of Printing," *Asia Major* (Third Series) 6, no.2 (1993): 1–84. Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, *Daojiao Xingdou Yuyin yu Fojiao Mizong* 道教星斗符印與佛教密宗 (Taipei: Shin Wen Feng, 1993). Mitamura Keiko, "Daoist Hand Signs and Buddhist Mudras," in Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth ed., *Daoist Identity* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 235–55. James Robson, "Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism," *History of Religions* 48, no.2 (2008): 130–69. Kazuo Osabe 長部和雄, "Ryuju gomoron sho kō 竜樹五明論小考," in *Tō Sō Mikkyō shi ronkō* 唐宋密教史論考 (Kyōto: Bunshōdō, 1982), 211–47.

<sup>21</sup> See the recent study by Hsien Shu-Wei, "Song Yuan Daojiao Qingwei fa yu difang Mijiao

exaggerated tone, that the gradual disappearance of the Esoteric Buddhism in China since the Northern Song was the process it became diffused and eventually embodied into Daoism.<sup>22</sup>

Both Buddhism and Daoism had developed into mature monasticism by the early Tang. Both housed celibate practitioners in the separate institutions, known as temple (*si* 寺) or abbey (*guan* 觀). The religious practitioners followed the *vinayas* or the monastic code to regulate routine life, food, and property. As has been pointed out, the monasticism in Chinese religions never meant to generate an absolute separation from the society. Not only did the state play an indispensable role in shaping the monasticism of Chinese religions, but also both Buddhists and Daoists might still maintain connection with the family even though they had been ordained. Moreover, in addition to those for entry and priestly training, rituals praying for the fortune of the lay people were commonly took place within the institutions.<sup>23</sup> As Mollier has suggested, the close interaction with the society might pave the way for transforming the lay people as the new ritual agents.

It is against this close interaction with the lay society that I choose the objects of the comparison— *chuanshou* 傳授 (conferral of ordination rank) and *abhiṣeka*

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chuantong,” 宋元道教清微法與地方密教傳統 in *Huaren zongjiao yanjiu* 華人宗教研究 no. 9 (2017): 7–44.

<sup>22</sup> Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et Mandarin: Le Bouddhisme Tantrique en Chine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 27–32.

<sup>23</sup> Livia Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism: A Cross-cultural Perspective* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003); Huaiyu Chen, “East Asian Transformation of Monasticism.” Mario Poceski ed., *The Wiley- Blackwell Companion to East and Inner Asian Buddhism* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 299–318.



(*guanding* 灌頂) in the mid-late Tang and Five Dynasties (763–979). Both rites allowed the entry into the advanced religious knowledge and practices, and showed the inclusiveness for those who were from the lay society. Having experienced complex vicissitude, the both transformed from the transmission rite to the ordination rite that organized religious community and mediate religion with society. In the medieval period, Daoists had developed a normative ordination rank system that incorporated and codified scriptures, precepts, and other religious documents from different traditions. Full entry into this system was accessed only through ordination rites, known as transmission and delivery. The rites not only prepared the initiates for being members of the Daoist community and practitioners of Daoist techniques, but also transformed them into cosmic overlords.

Rooted in the Indian classical and medieval coordination rites, *abhiṣeka* in China demonstrate its nature of being circumstantial sensitive by alternating the significance of the form from imperial rite to the transmission of Buddhist authority. From early 5<sup>th</sup> century to 7<sup>th</sup> century, it evolved from a simple ritual of transmitting text to a much more complex form to transmit the law by reciting the *mantras*, inaugurating the acceptor into the *maṇḍala*, executing the *mudrās*, and other typical Esoteric Buddhist ritual items. After the establishment of organized Esoteric Buddhism in the mid Tang, it developed into its mature form that full

entry into these systems was accessed only through it, effecting the ritual transformation of a disciple into a cosmic overlord.<sup>24</sup>

The comparison is expected to reveal how exactly the two rites evolved with overwhelmingly characteristic of their own traditions kept at the core, and with changing religious meanings to interact with the larger sociocultural context. On the one hand, the Daoists modified the transmission rites, and transformed them into the ordination rites that not only transmitted scriptures and other religious items, but also endowed with shared communal identities. These mediating ordination rites were used to deliver the Daoist ordination ranks that included the recipients from both the Daoist community and the lay society. On the other hand, while *abhiṣeka* shared tremendous amount of similar actions with the extant Buddhist rituals, Chinese Esoteric Buddhists reinterpreted its meaning with both Esoteric doctrines and indigenous notions. It was used either to introduce the Esoteric practices or to construct Esoteric lineages. In both cases, the lay people were allowed to participate. In this way, the ordination rites played an instrumental role in creating new religious and social roles.

Lastly, this comparative study advance and broaden our understanding of the role that Chinese religions played in Chinese culture as a whole. Daoist ordination rites have contributed deep and fruitful repertoire to Chinese notions of ritual. In

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<sup>24</sup> Ronald Davidson, “abhiṣeka,” in Charles Orzech et al ed., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 71–5.

Confucian context, the influential concept of *li* (ritual propriety) usually denotes morality, responsibility and social hierarchy. Daoism, although partly overlapped with this denotation, presented a much larger repository of performance, symbol, and value that was woven into the fabric of Chinese society. My study will further pave the way for studying the complex process of ritual contestation and negotiation among Confucianism, Daoism, and Chinese Buddhism—the core of Chinese traditional culture.

### **1.3 Methodology and Theoretical Framework**

As an interdisciplinary research, this study depends on two correlated theoretic sources: ritual studies and studies on corporeality.

In the various theories that have been put forward in the field of ritual studies, three main approaches have been historically influential. The one intends to treat ritual as social phenomena and focuses on its social function of regulating and stabilizing the life of this system.<sup>25</sup> The second, the culturalist interpretation, focuses on the cultural meaning and illuminates “culture” as a more primary level of meanings, values and attitudes that effectively act to shape social organization.<sup>26</sup> The structuralist scholars tend to view ritual as arena in which social change may emerge and be absorbed into social practice, hence objective

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<sup>25</sup> Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Swain (London: Allen and Unwin, 1976), 370-71; Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays* (New York: Anchor Books, 1954), 64.

<sup>26</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 168.

scholars can decipher the ritual symbols in order to understand invisible social structures.<sup>27</sup> All of these approaches treat ritual as symbolic actions that present cultural meanings or actualize social functions.

These approaches have been criticized by the scholars who shift the focus of ritual studies from meaning to action. Tambiah, for example, points out the previous approaches that consider ritual is exclusively about meaning actually bear a Protestant agenda that attempt to contradistinguish itself from Catholic and their notorious emphasis on ritual.<sup>28</sup> Staal, based on both the fieldwork and ritual classics, initially argues for the meaninglessness of rituals.<sup>29</sup> Following this trend, scholars have attempted to describe ritual as practice, looking at it as that which “makes and harbors” the cultural patterns instead of as their expression.<sup>30</sup> In a more recent outspoken critic of the limits of conceiving ritual’s meaningfulness, scholars argue that ritual creates a subjunctive universe that makes the shared social world. Recognition of the inherent ambiguity built into social life and its relationships fundamentally denies any possible efficacy consequently brought by ritual.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969).

<sup>28</sup> Stanley Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 18–9.

<sup>29</sup> Frits Staal, “The Meaninglessness of Ritual,” *Numen* 26.1 (1979): 2–22

<sup>30</sup> Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 76–83.

<sup>31</sup> Adam B Seligman et al., *Ritual and its Consequences: An Essay on the Limits of Sincerity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 17–42.

Despite of the intrinsic tensions among these theories, I take an eclectic point of view in order to better examine the topic of this dissertation. None of any single theory has successfully explained such a complex phenomenon as Chinese religious rituals. This complexity even leads the scholars specialized in Chinese religious rituals to have divergent observations towards their object. While Schipper, for instance, resonating with Staal, argues for the meaninglessness of Daoist rituals,<sup>32</sup> Anderson denies the ascription of meaning for ritual is random, nor meanings of ritual can obtain certain degree of stability.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, Lai Chi-tim acknowledges the meaningfulness of Daoist rituals, but emphasizes that the one who shows an empathetic understanding as the religious believer/experiencer can only grasp the meaning.<sup>34</sup> Bokenkamp, however, demonstrates that by means of analyzing ritual and its gestures, one is also able to grasp its meaning, because ritual shares a common system of symbols with text.<sup>35</sup> Bokenkamp's understanding resonates with the scholars specializing in Chinese Buddhist ritual.<sup>36</sup> These various divergences stem partly from the vantage point,

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<sup>32</sup> Kristopher Schipper, "An Outline of Taoist Ritual," in Anne-Marie Blondeau and Kristopher Schipper ed., *Essais sur le rituel: Colloque du centenaire de la Section des sciences religieuses de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études* 3 vols (Louvain and Paris: Peeters 1988–95), 3: 97–126.

<sup>33</sup> Paul Anderson, "Concepts of Meaning in Chinese Ritual," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, no. 12 (2001): 155–83, particular 162.

<sup>34</sup> Lai Chi Tim 黎志添, "Zongjiaoxue dui yishi yanjiu fangfa de qidi," 宗教學對儀式研究方法的啟迪 in idem ed., *Huaren xueshu chujing zhong de zongjiao yanjiu: bentu fangfa de tansuo* 華人學術處境中的宗教研究：本土方法的探索 (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 2012), 62

<sup>35</sup> Stephen Bokenkamp, "Minor Ritual Matters: Gesture and Meaning in Early Daoist Jiao Rites," in Florian C. Reiter ed., *Foundations of Daoist Ritual* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), 218.

<sup>36</sup> Stephen Teiser, "Ornamenting the Departed: Notes on the Language of Chinese Buddhist Ritual Texts," *Asia Major*, THIRD SERIES, 22.1 (2009): 203.

emic or etic, one takes, and partly from the materials one mainly works on. Instead of putting an end to this controversy, this dissertation aims to achieve a much more modest goal of showing meaning and action were inseparable in Chinese religious rituals. After all, the Chinese religious agents examined below took great care on interpreting/reinterpreting meanings in ritual, while consciously conferring equally importance to performance/action.

More explicitly, I explore the role social functionalism plays in revealing of social agents in this dissertation. I adhere to the proposal that the meanings of signs are not intrinsic to them but are functions of their places in structures of relations to other ritual internal interactions. I do not, however, accept the reductionist approach by which ritual fundamentally depends on its social circumstance. I also agree with the culturalists who reveal the form of ritual's own intentionality and the significance of communication in ritual by invisible structural patterns or grammatical rule.

In addition, this dissertation would follow Catherine Bell's reading of ritual as practice that processes the writing upon one's body and practices schemes put in place by the ascendant social order understood inevitably as the true nature of reality,<sup>37</sup> which encourages to give an interpretive priority to practices over ascribed propositional attitudes in the explanation of human behavior.<sup>38</sup> However,

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<sup>37</sup> Bell, *Ritual*, 212, 216.

<sup>38</sup> Curtis Hutt, "Catherine Bell and her Davidsonian critics," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 23 (2) 2009,

unlike her apparently ignoring the role that religious belief plays in ritual practices, I would also distinguish the cognitive and linguistic meaning, and pay attention to the former, which certainly reflect the linguistic and cultural context from which it is generated. This approach fits the nature of the Chinese religious rituals examined here, in which shared performative elements may flow between the contrasting and distinctive structures while at their core there always remained the characteristics belonging to their own traditions in the guise of ritual metaphysics.

On the other hand, ritual centers on the body, and to understand ritual one shall have to take the body seriously as a vehicle for religious experience. The emergence of the human body as a central focus of research and theory in Western sociology and anthropology has generated impact on ritual studies. Mauss initially uses “body techniques” to refer the instrumental role that the body plays in social practice. While an individual can learn through mimesis by the use of the body, he/she is also constantly undergoing a process of physical education controlled by the authority of the society, and hence is shaped by the society. Moreover, Mauss uses Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* to refer to distinctive habits developed within each culture for corporeal practices.<sup>39</sup> This notion of body technique and habitus were developed by Michel Foucault. According to him, the body is not a trans-historical and timeless category of ontological coherence, but

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74-5.

<sup>39</sup> Marcel Mauss, “Techniques of the body,” in Nathan Schlanger ed., *Techniques, technology, and civilization* (New York: Durkheim Press/Berghahn Books, 2006.), 77–97.

is subjected to the specific context of society, culture, and everyday life. Central to the discourses of power, the body is seen as an effect of deeper structural arrangements of power and knowledge.<sup>40</sup>

This emphasis on the body as the locus of the negotiated power between the individual and the society practice leads Bourdieu to further develop the notion of *habitus* by proposing the new concept of *practice*. Every society enforces disposition onto its members. A system of lasting, transposable dispositions that integrate past experience, *habitus* is created by the social structure and help man to achieve diversified tasks. The dialectic interaction between an agent's practical interpretation of the world and the structured dispositions engendered in the agent, argues Bourdieu, is practice itself.<sup>41</sup> In other words, he treats this dialectic interaction between habitus and social structures as the source of social incorporation into the body.

Nevertheless, Bourdieu's theory still left the exact connection between the body and the society unanalyzed. In other words, while we may realize the complexity and cultural embeddedness of the body, it is not clear how do bodily practices mediate social meanings, or even transform them.<sup>42</sup> This gap is partly bridged by Bell. In her ground breaking book *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, she

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<sup>40</sup> Bryan S. Turner, "The body in Western society," in Sarah Coakley ed., *Religion and the Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 15–41.

<sup>41</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 78–86.

<sup>42</sup> Sarah Coakley, "Introduction," in *Religion and the Body*, 8.



appropriates Bourdieu's theory of practice to interpret ritual. Emphasizing the practical nature of ritual, she uses the notion of ritualization to further contradistinguish ritual actions from other profane activities. Ritualization is generated by the interaction between the physical body and the structured and structuring social environment. At the end of ritualization, it produces the ritualized body that comes to possess a ritual or practical mastery, an embodied knowing.<sup>43</sup>

Bell's notion of ritualization is particularly useful in this study. Ordination rite concerns the transmission of religious knowledge and authority, and the establishment of religious identity. It is in the relationship between the individual body and the community that Daoists and Buddhists found the form of apprenticeship that led to the embodiment of the community. Focusing on the corporal aspects of ritual practice, I treat the practice of the ordination rites as the process of ritualization of religious body that interacted with a structuring and structured religious community (in the form such as Daoist ordination rank system or Esoteric Buddhist lineages). The mastery of religious knowledge within the community—scriptures, register, *mantras*, and precepts, etc., was known only through the actual ritual practice. In other words, the ritual body became the locus for coordination of all levels of bodily, social, and cosmological experience via

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<sup>43</sup> Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 94–117.

the dialectic of objectification and embodiment in the ordination rites. As the ritualized bodies, those who were ordained coherently comprised the community, which in turn remolded them with dynamically and diversely shaped identities.

#### **1.4 Outline of Chapters**

The main body of my book consists of four chapters. The first chapter is devoted to the process of the emerging Daoist amalgamated traditions transmission rites and created the unified ordination rite. I start with the historical investigation on how the Celestial Master Daoism negotiated and competed with the rising Daoist movement that worshipped and practiced the newly released scriptures of Three Caverns. Then I provide analyses of the transmission rites centered on the tradition of Three Luminaries from the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the early 8<sup>th</sup> century, discussing the transmission rites were transformed into ordination rite by incorporating the transmission of scripture with that of register. This synthesis, also taking place in other Daoist traditions, designated the Daoist knowledge that was presented by the scripture and the register as the embodied knowing.

In chapter 2, I focus on the construction of master-disciple relations in medieval Daoism. Instead of looking into ritual performance *per se*, I use the evidence about the ideational premise and the consequence of the ordination rite. I first distinguish the different ways by which Daoist masters interacted with disciples in their own communities. Then I demonstrate that family model became

apparently conflicted with the innovated doctrine of Three Caverns, and later with the transmission rite that incorporated the doctrine. Ideally, this rite highlights the non-worldly nature of the master-disciple relation, promoting its significance superior than the pre-established social relations. At last I investigate how the new categories of communal relations, as the replacement of family model, were brought about by the transmission rite and adopted in the Daoist community.

In chapter 3, I first analyze the early usage of *abhiṣeka* before the mid 8<sup>th</sup> century when the newly imported Esoteric doctrines changed the landscape of Chinese Buddhist ritual. Then I elaborate how the fundamental Esoteric scriptures redefine the meaning and the action of *abhiṣeka*, and how Chinese Buddhists actually understood and practiced it in the Tang society. At last, I investigate the ritual discourses, rationale, and performance in a manuscript preserved in Japan that records an *abhiṣeka* performed at 839. After a long course of evolution, *abhiṣeka*, in the late Tang, became a complicated ritual embodied with advanced religious doctrines that generated impact on both Buddhist community and Chinese society. By means of performing *abhiṣeka*, Chinese Buddhists were able to transmit Esoteric teachings, establish religious lineage, attain the enlightenment, and cultivate merit for the individual and the state.

Finally, in chapter 4, the dynamics of transmission rites centering on the *Dao De jing* will be examined. Providing an analysis of the ritual vicissitudes in

transmission rites from the early 6th century to the late 9th century, I will reveal who the ritual makers and agents were, and how they were created. I will demonstrate that the content of Daoist ordination rank system remained stable once it reached maturity, and the ritual embodiment of this system with the individual Daoist body represented the core of Daoist ordination rites.

The epilogue gives concluding remarks on the roles played by ritual and body in Chinese religions. The ritualization of *chuanshou* and *abhiṣeka* respectively produced distinctive agents who eventually achieved the ritual mastery of religious practice through the ritualized body. Partly due to the different stances constituted the *habitus* of traditional Chinese ritual practice, the structured communities shaped by the collective ritualized bodies in Daoism and Buddhism were sheer divergent. That is, while the Daoists imagined their community as expanded and juxtaposed master-disciple relationships through ordination rite, the Esoteric Buddhists emphasized on constructing the trans-historical lineages. Moreover, the inclusiveness of the ritual allowed both the Daoists and the Buddhists to interact closely yet divergently with the lay society, thus installing the religious identity plurally and dynamically in the Chinese society.

### **1.5 Sources**

The majority of my evidence comes to the medieval ritual protocols composed and used by Daoists and Buddhists. They can be found in the Daoist canon

printed in the Zhengtong reign period of Ming dynasty at 1447, and are collected in the four volumes in the modern *Taishō* Buddhist canon that are dedicated to the Esoteric Buddhism. In addition, I use a manuscript preserved in Japan that records an *abhiṣeka* performance in 839 by the Japanese pilgrim Engyō 円行 (799–852), known as *Engyō's Entering into the Platform Record by Ācārya Yizhen of the Cloister of East Pagoda* (*Tōtōin ichin ajari kiroku Engyō nyūdan* 東塔院義真阿闍梨記録円行入壇). The analysis of its content and the translation of the ritual manual provide a case study about how Chinese Esoteric Buddhists actually practiced *abhiṣeka* by drawing and synthesizing sources from different scriptural traditions in the middle 9th century. Moreover, I make full usage of religious scriptures in order to investigate the doctrines on which the meanings of ritual fundamentally depend. And lastly, I look into a wide spectrum of historical sources, ranging from epigraphic materials, poems, essays, to Dunhuang manuscripts, in order to supplement the aspect of description to that of prescription.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> As de Pee shows in his study of wedding texts, the time, space, and bodies of the ritual text are no longer the time, space, and bodies of the wedding ritual, the distance between the practice of the text and the practice of ritual thus increases. The scholarly, cumulative nature of the writing moves the distance between the written center and the vernacular margins even further. Historical performance, namely the refiguring performance in reading or in ritual of the prefigured universalist notions, such as woman, education, social mobility, may be not what the written narratives point towards when they do not accord with the universalist notions of time, space, bodies, and text of the genre and the discourse in which it is inscribed. Therefore, the social elite who write the ritual narratives neither validate the social distinctions nor, as social historians in mainland China argue, function as the correct ritual model for the illiterate and the ordinary (Christian de Pee, *The Writing of Weddings in Middle-period China: Text and Ritual Practice in the Eighth through Fourteenth Centuries* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 84). Certainly de Pee's approach can shed light on the relationship between ritual performance and

## 1.6 Elucidation of Key Concepts

### A. Daoism

For decades the definition of Daoism centers among the core questions in Daoist studies. Maspero defines that “Taoism is a salvation religion which aims to lead the faithful to Eternal Life.”<sup>45</sup> Schipper puts that “Taoism is the highest expression of popular religion.”<sup>46</sup> Strikmann restricts the term “to the Way of the Celestial Master and the organization that grew out of it.”<sup>47</sup> While these efforts certainly have enriched our understanding of interpretive category “Daoism” which has a complex history embedded in social, intellectual, and political aspects of pre-modern China, we should be fully aware that religious movements never display as a single, static, and self-contented entity. As Gil Raz suggests, the earliest use of the term “*Daojiao*” indicates distinction, competition and contestation, not integration, among Daoist lineages. Manifestations of religious phenomenal chiefly took shape through rejections and discontinuities. Inspired by Campany who conceives Daoism as etic term signifying “repertoire of resources” in order to the discursive creation of an imagined community,<sup>48</sup> he proposes a set

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ritual text by revealing the temporal and spatial multiplicity that informs the ritual narratives. In other words, its strength lies the application of delicate textual analysis to locate the actual historical context of ritual text, especially the part that has been covered by the predominated approaches.

<sup>45</sup> Henri Maspero, *Taoism and Chinese Religion* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), 266.

<sup>46</sup> Kristopher Schipper, *The Taoist Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 3.

<sup>47</sup> Michael Strikmann, “On the Alchemy of T’ao Hung-Ching,” in Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel ed., *Facets of Taoism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 165.

<sup>48</sup> Robert Campany, “On the Very Idea of Religions (in the Modern West and in Early Medieval

of multi-dimensional criteria that (1) the primary criterion is a view of the Dao as an overarching and effective force both inside and outside the universe, active, but not necessarily personified; (2) this force can be effectively approached by humans through ritual means, and those who are successful with this quest achieve transcendence; (3) these means are secret and guarded within strict lineages of transmission; (4) these lineages reject all practices which do not revere the direct manifestations of the Dao; (5) an eschatological vision underlies the quest for transcendence, differentiating Daoism from the earlier tradition of seekers of longevity.<sup>49</sup> This definition keeps the crucial doctrine of Daoism at core while allowing flexibility to describe the variation of Daoist community.

## B. Esoteric Buddhism

There is still divergence among the primary scholarly positions on the use of the terms esoteric and tantra. For some who treat them interchangeably, esoteric Buddhism, or Buddhist tantra, came to emerge in the 6<sup>th</sup> century as a comprehensive system that incorporated the previous individual developed *mantra*, *dhāraṇī*, *maṇḍalas*, *homa*, etc. For others, the term esoteric Buddhism developed within the Mahāyāna tradition prior to and distinct from the tantras.<sup>50</sup>

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China),” *History of Religions* 42.4 (May): 287–319.

<sup>49</sup> Gil Raz, *The Emergence of Daoism: Creation of Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 13–4.

<sup>50</sup> Charles Orzech, Richard Payne, and Henrik Sørensen, “Introduction,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 5.

This disagreement naturally continues to exist in the study of Chinese Buddhism and transform its content as whether Chinese Esoteric Buddhism was a self-conscious movement that set itself apart from mainstream Mahāyāna Buddhism.

On the one hand, Robert Sharf, for example, argues that not only did the Three Acāryas of the Tang not tend to found a new sect, but they also did not consider their ritual practice fundamentally constitute a break with the prevailing Buddhist ones. Prior to the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, he further suggests, there was little awareness of the lineage of the esoteric masters.<sup>51</sup> McBride, by means of investigating Buddhist hermeneutics sources, demonstrates that the term Esoteric Buddhism (*mijiao* 密教) refers to the most refined and superior quality of Buddhist teaching instead of a Buddhist school.<sup>52</sup>

and Charles Orzech, who do not treat it as a religious entity but as a new ritual technology that was introduced into China by the acclaimed Indian masters under the patron who could afford their service.

On the other hand, some scholars consider Esoteric Buddhism originated very early from Indian Mahāyāna and developed from the trends of ritual and magic

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<sup>51</sup> Robert Sharf, “On Esoteric Buddhism in China,” in idem, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 263–78; Charles Orzech, “The Trouble with Tantra in China: Reflections on Method and History,” in István Keul ed., *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond* (Berlin: De Gruyter 2012), 303–26.

<sup>52</sup> Richard D. McBride, “Is There Really ‘Esoteric’ Buddhism?” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 27 (2004): 329–56.



within. From the 7<sup>th</sup> century the existence of an Esoteric Buddhism, a form of Mahāyāna with its own ritual hermeneutics, moral codex, secret transmission, and self-understanding began to emerge, with a fully developed integrated rituals, including practices involving *homa* offering, *mudrās*, *dhāraṇī*, *maṇḍalas*, *mahākrodhas*, and a corresponding iconography. This kind of institutionalized Esoteric Buddhism is different from its cotemporaries in India, as well as the Tantric Buddhism in Tibet. The term, moreover, is valid as an indicator of a “school of practice” or a “tradition of practice,” yet without indicating a firm sense of institution or sect.<sup>53</sup>

An eclectic position has been provided by Orzech, who notices that, while none of the Three Acāryas of the Tang ever attempt to establish a sect, the disciples of Amoghavajra had already seen themselves as the initiates of a separate tradition based on the so-called Great Teaching of Yoga (yuqie dajiao 瑜伽大教). More importantly, he also proves the establishment of esoteric lineage in the late Tang. He thus suggests the term “Esoteric Buddhism”, as scholarly convention, remains useful as long as the way and the reason it is used are well explained.<sup>54</sup> Jinhua Chen also provided a similar point of view.<sup>55</sup> Following

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<sup>53</sup> Henrik Sørensen, “On Esoteric Buddhism in China: a working definition,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 155–75; Geoffrey Goble, *Chinese Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra And The Ruling Elite* (PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, 2012).

<sup>54</sup> Charles Orzech, “The ‘Great Teaching of Yoga’: The Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism,” in *Journal of Chinese Religion* no. 34 (2006): 29–78.

<sup>55</sup> Jinhua Chen, *Legend and Legitimation: the Formation of Tendai Esoteric Buddhism in Japan* (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 2009), 3.

Orzech and Chen, I use term to denote the loose yet distinctive Buddhist tradition in the Chinese context with the praxis of *dhāraṇī*, *mudrā*, and *maṇḍala* that were invented and used by an Esoteric master such as Amoghavajra or an Esoteric institution such as the Qinglongsi.

## CHAPTER 2

### TRANSMITTING SCRIPTURE WITH REGISTER:

### THE MAKING OF DAOIST ORDINATION RITES

*The Sage Lord of the Three Luminaries  
always gazes and investigates  
the effulgence [of the recipient],  
and makes his/her practice accomplished,  
and effort complete and bright.*

常如聖君三皇對景鑑盼  
使某修習成就功行圓明

*Taishang Dongshen Sanhuang chuanshou yi (DZ 1284, 12b)*

Transmission rites are both the reflection and the medium of Daoist traditions. Distinctive and divergent transmission rites that embodied doctrines and practices were employed by Daoist traditions. Daoists also actively composed ritual protocols for transmission to amalgamate these traditions since the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. This amalgamation eventually led to the emergence of the Daoist ordination rank system in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century. Gradually applied by the mainstream Daoist traditions, the system normatively contained different grades of priestly position, each comprising scriptures, registers, precepts, talismans, and other ritual objects. As a result, the Daoists who adopted the rank to organize their communities transformed the transmission rites that originally transmitted certain individual group of item(s) into the ordination rites that both transmitted all these items as a whole and conferred community membership. These new Daoist ordination rites not only reflected the tension among Daoist traditions, but also

mediated the amalgamation of them. The originally divergent traditions, by means of the mediating ordination rites, consequently grew into a unified Daoism.

In this chapter, I will investigate how the transmission rites that centered on the *Scriptures of the Three Luminaries* (Sanhuang jing 三皇經), originally used by different Daoist communities in the early medieval period, grew into a normative ordination rite in early Tang after undergoing a complex process of evolution. The making of the ordination rite, I will argue, entailed the contestation and competence among the two major ritual agents of the Daoist transmission rites—the Celestial Masters and the Daoists who worshiped and practiced the scriptures of the Three Caverns. On the one hand, while Celestial Master libationer held loose connection with scriptures, the ecclesial rank, on which the core doctrine and practice of the tradition depended, was tied to the number of registers one had. Their transmission rite was thus represented by the conferral of registers. On the other hand, the Daoist Shangqing and Lingbao traditions inspired the rising Daoist movement with the scriptures of Three Caverns. Extensively absorbing the religious traditions in the Jiangnan region, particular that of *fangshi*, the Daoists within this movement transmitted their scriptures with the innovative Lingbao retreat. The constant competition between the two traditions, initiated since the mid 5<sup>th</sup> century, generated far-reaching impacts on Daoist communities. Having possessed the scriptures of Three Caverns, the Celestial Masters began to

ritually use the scriptures and merged the transmission of scriptures with the transferal of registers. Eventually, the religious, social, and economical interaction between the two traditions ultimately gave the rise to a unified Daoist community in the Tang by the emerging system of ordination rank.

### **2.1 Three Caverns: From Bibliographical Label to Ritual Mastery**

Before founding their theocracy in the Hanzhong 漢中 region (modern Hanzhong city, Shaanxi province) by the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, Celestial Masters had practiced religious transmission with clearly defined ritual roles. This fact is well attested by the inscription of the Stele of Zhang Pu 張普 that was erected in 173 CE. According to the extant transcription by the Song scholar and epigrapher Hong Kuo 洪适 (1117–1184), it records certain libationers (*jijiu* 祭酒) were summoned to receive the *Scriptures of Subtlety* (Weijing 微經) in twelve fascicles and to make commitment in the end of the ritual to spread the ritual system of the Way of the Celestial Master. The inscription of the stele reads:

Second year of the Xiping era, third month, first day. Hu Jiu, spirit soldier of the Heavenly Elder, [announces]: You have followed a path to transcendence and your Dao is complete; the mystic dispensation has extended your lifespan. The correct and unitary pneumas of the Dao have been distributed among the hegemonic pneumas, and it has been decided to summon the libationers Zhang Pu, Meng Sheng, Zhao Guang, Wang Sheng, Huang Chang, and Yang Feng to come to receive the *Scripture of the Subtleness* in twelve fascicles. The libationers have made the commitment: spread the ritual system of the Celestial Master Dao without limit!

喜平二年三月一日。天老鬼兵胡九□□。仙歷道成，玄施延命。道正一炁，布

於伯氣，定召祭酒張普、萌生、趙廣、王盛、黃長、楊奉等，詣受微經十二卷。  
祭酒約：施天師道法無極哉！<sup>56</sup>

Although the content of the scriptures is unclear, it is indisputable that scripture had played a significant role in this local community. The notion of subtlety reappears in their catechism of the *Xiang'er Commentary* to the *Dao De jing*. It either refers to the pneumas of the Dao that are clear and transparent, or to the Dao itself. When people practice the Dao and honor the precepts, the subtle pneumas return to them. Since the pneumas are undifferentiated and formless, they can only be achieved by the meditative practices of clarity and stillness. The transcendent nobles who are able to communicate with the heaven certainly bear the feature of being subtle.<sup>57</sup> The denomination of the scriptures as partaking of subtlety suggests its content follows this fundamental doctrine of the Celestial Master Daoism. On the other hand, the scriptures were endowed from an exalted Daoist deity—the Heavenly Elder. This ritualized revelation not only gives authority to the scriptures, but also, as Kleeman has remarked, indicates the advancement within the Celestial Master church.<sup>58</sup> *The Scripture of the Subtleness* was not the only sacred texts associated with the Celestial Masters. In

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<sup>56</sup> The inscription is preserved in *Lixu* 隸續 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 3. 8a–b. Hong mentions the stele was originally in the Shu region but without giving specific location. See also Qing Xitai 卿希泰 ed., *Zhongguo Daojiao shi* 中國道教史 4vols (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin, 1996), 1. 159. For the translation and discussion of the stele, see Gil Raz, *The Emergence of Daoism: Creation of Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 104; Terry Kleeman, *Celestial Masters: History and Ritual in Early Daoist Communities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2016), 75–7.

<sup>57</sup> I summarize these features from the passages of the *Xiang'er Commentary* translated by Stephen Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 96, 97, 99, 113.

<sup>58</sup> Kleeman, *Celestial Masters*, 78.

addition to the *Xiang'er Commentary*, they also studied and used the *Scripture of the Marvelous Perfected*, the *Scripture of the Yellow Court*, and some others.<sup>59</sup> They considered these texts as the true and correct (*zhengzhen* 正真). To practice the scriptural doctrines, they highly likely had developed certain rituals to transmit the texts.

Nevertheless, none of these rituals have survived today in written form, nor are their performance mentioned in any internal and external sources. They cannot be merely explained as lost literary works that commonly took place in the human history, for other evidence suggests that the Celestial Masters had only formed a loose connection with scripture. The movement was never based on the revelation of a sacred text.<sup>60</sup> In the repeated told myth about the origin of the tradition, the Lord Lao revealed in 142 C.E. to the first Celestial Master Zhang Daoling with the Correct and Unitary Way of the Covenant with the Powers (*zhengyi mengwei zhi dao* 正一盟威之道). The content of the Way contains the registers and ritual protocols that function to expel disasters, cure disease, and save people. As the document of the name, position, function of heavenly spirits, the registers was the

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<sup>59</sup> The record comes from the Commands and Admonitions for the Great Family of the Dao, a production of the Celestial Master community in the 255 C.E. by persona of Zhang Lu, see Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 172–3. Here I follow Ōfuchi to read *miaozhen* as the title of a scripture instead of an epithet of the Most High Lord Lao associated with the *Scripture of the Yellow Court*, see Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾, *Shoki no Dōkyō* 初期の道教 (Tōkyō : Sōbunsha, 1991), 268–70.

<sup>60</sup> Christopher Schipper, “The Taoist body,” *History of Religions*, vol 17 no. 3/4 (1978): 380. Consider Lord Lao played the crucial role in the revelation of the Celestial Master Daoism, it is possible that the followers of the tradition had new understandings of the *Dao De jing*. However, they had not developed the notion that was similar to that of *jing* in the Shangqing and Lingbao traditions.

most powerful item for Celestial Masters. Embodied by the practitioners, it symbolized the transferring residence of the spirits from the Heaven to the human body. This enabled the Celestial Masters to command the spirits to protect the body and to communicate with the Heaven. It was by this communicative function of the spirits that their rituals became effective.<sup>61</sup>

Because of its significant function, the registers were used to mark the possessor's ecclesial rank. The system of the registers contained hierarchical grades, by which a Daoist proceeded from the common Daoist citizen to the priesthood of libationer. Although how the system exactly was in the early Celestial Master community is not clear, the eminent Daoist Lu Xiuqing 陸修靜 (406–477) prescribed a norm that it commenced from the register of ten generals, and ended with that of one hundred and fifty generals.<sup>62</sup> As confirmed in a number of contemporary Daoist texts, the register of one hundred and fifty generals marked the significant threshold in the community, because from this register onward one was able to obtain the priesthood and was legitimate to manage a parish (*zhi* 治).

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<sup>61</sup> Anna Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha," in Michel Strickmann ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in honour of R.A. Stein* 3 vols (Bruxelles: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1985), 2: 227–33.

<sup>62</sup> *Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe* 陸先生道門科略 DZ 1127, 5b. For an English translation of the text, see Peter Nickerson, "Abridged codes of Master Lu for the Daoist community," in Donald S Lopez ed., *Religions of China in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 347–59.



The transmission rite of the registers obtained a normative nomination as the transferal of register (*shoulu* 授籙). In the Six Dynasties (220–589), it was widely practiced in the Celestial Master community not only by the libationers, but also extended to those were at marginal positions in that community, such as women, children, and alien people. A detailed analysis of its actions will be provided in the following sections; suffice it here to notice that the fundamental ritual rationale of the transferal is the relocation of the heavenly spirits residing on the register into the body of the initiate.

Almost one century after the erection of the Zhang Pu stele, the Daoist scholar Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343) began to build his library with the scriptures he inherited from his granduncle Ge Xuan 葛玄 (164–244) and his teacher Zheng Yin 鄭隱 (ca. 215–ca. 302), and with those he collected by himself.<sup>63</sup> Both Zheng and Ge Hong consistently evaluated and reevaluated these scriptures in terms of the content. According to them, the lowest were the lengthy books on Daoist admonitions and precepts 道家訓教誠書. The valuable methods, only in limited amount, contained in the miscellaneous Daoist books 雜道書 should be distinguished from even more numerous worthless practices recorded there. The books considered as the most precious were called Daoist scriptures (*Daojing* 道

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<sup>63</sup> Tenney L Davis, “Ko Hung (Pao P’u Tzu), Chinese Alchemist of the Fourth Century,” *Journal of Chemical Education* no. 11 (1934): 517–20; Stephen Bokenkamp, “Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures,” *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein*, 2: 449–60.

經).<sup>64</sup> Ge Hong and his master, however, did not agree on each and every book on this list. Zheng Yin thought the *Scriptures of the Three Luminaries* and the *Image of the True Form of the Five Sacred Mountains* (*Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖) as the most highly, whereas Ge Xuan preferred the scriptures on golden elixir. This fact reflects that a well-integrated and coherent system of Daoist knowledge had not yet developed during the early 4<sup>th</sup> century.

Ge Hong's preference on the practice of alchemy was influenced by the tradition of the masters of the methods (*fangshi* 方士; hereafter *fangshi*) in the local Jiangnan region. The practices associated with *fangshi* were predicated the gradual release of one "method" after another, with pledge offerings attached to each.<sup>65</sup> The masters must have possessed more texts than the disciples, and kept certain amount of them from being transmitted. As a result, there was no impetus for the *fangshi* practitioners to invent a unitary system that were doctrinally organized. By the same token, Ge must have practiced a variety of transmission rituals in order to receive the various books that came from extremely diverse traditions, without worrying about any potential conflicts within these rites.

Take the *Elixirs Scripture of the Nine Cauldrons* (*jiuding danjing* 九鼎丹經) for instance, Ge Hong possessed a copy of it, transmitted from Zuo Ci (ca. 155–

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<sup>64</sup> Wang Ming 王明, *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi* 抱朴子內篇校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 332–3.

<sup>65</sup> I would like to thank Professor Stephen Bokenkamp to remind me of this point.

220) to his grandfather Ge Xuan.<sup>66</sup> In the transmission rite of the scripture, a seat for the Mysterious Lady is arranged near a east-flowing stream in order to the goddess, who is the head of the method's lineage, may descend and witness the ceremony. The adept must seal the covenant with the master by drinking together the blood of a white chicken.<sup>67</sup> The ritual representation of the lineage and the blood sacrifice apparently were not used in the transmissions of other scriptures that Ge had, particularly the *Scripture of the Five Talismans*.<sup>68</sup>

Over the ensuing decades after the Daoist Numinous Treasure (Lingbao 靈寶; hereafter Lingbao) and the Upper Clarity (Shangqing 上清; hereafter Shangqing) tradition began to rise in the later half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, their new revealed scriptures substantially grew by absorbing a diverse body of beliefs and practices from other religious sources, including Buddhism.<sup>69</sup> Importantly, the notion of scripture (*jing* 經) had changed. In the Shangqing tradition, the scripture had a precosmic origin, actively and concretely presenting the original pneuma. It followed the same process of solidification and precipitation as the Heaven and the Earth experienced. The scripture was itself a theophany and essentially

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<sup>66</sup> This text corresponds to the first fascicle of the *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣 preserved in the Ming Daoist canon.

<sup>67</sup> Fabrizio Pregadio, *Great Clarity: Daoism and Alchemy in Early Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 80–2.

<sup>68</sup> As for how the *jiao* ritual transmitting this scripture rejects blood sacrifice, see Raz, *Emergence of Daoism*, 91–126.

<sup>69</sup> For the Buddhist element in Shangqing tradition, see Isabelle Robinet, *La Révélation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du Taoïsme* 2 vols (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1984), 1: 87–106; idem, “De quelques effets du Bouddhisme sur la problématique taoïste: Aspects de la confrontation du Taoïsme au Bouddhisme.” In Jogn Lagerwey ed., *Religion and Chinese Society* 2 vols (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004), 1: 411–516.

practical, containing the methods of returning to the origin point of the universe. The Sage Lord of the Later Age and the Azure Lad initially transmitted Shangqing scriptures to the human world.<sup>70</sup> Since the first day of the first month in the second year of the Xingning 興寧 reign period (Feb. 19<sup>th</sup>, 362 C.E.), they continuously descended to this world by Yang Xi's transcripts of visionary sessions with divinities.

On the other hand, the term Lingbao denotes the status of spiritual treasure. The scriptures were believed as the pattern of the spontaneous primal pneuma. Like Shangqing counterparts, they were also presumed a cosmological priority. After they were manifested and disappeared, all the heavens worshipped them when they were accessible. Since the legendary Shanghuang 上皇 reign period of the Kaihuang 開皇 *kalpa*, they descended to this world, transmitted and practiced by the sage king Yu, Lord Lao, and the Transcendent Duke (i.e., Ge Xuan). They were the commencements of the major religious traditions in China, through whom the scriptures spread to the wider groups of adepts.<sup>71</sup>

The early circulation of Shangqing scriptures seemed to be confined to the small local groups with very limited influence. When Xu Mi 許謐 (303–373), the

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<sup>70</sup> Robinet, *La Révélation*, 1: 112–4.

<sup>71</sup> Kamitsuka Yoshiko 神塚淑子, *Rikuchō Dōkyō shisō no kenkyū* 六朝道教思想の研究 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1999), 415–42; Anna Seidel, “Chronicle of Taoist Studies in the West 1950-1990,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5 (1989-1990): 20; Lü Pongzhi 呂鵬志, “Zaoqi Lingbao jing de tianshu guan” 早期靈寶經的天書觀 in Guo Wu 郭武 ed. *Daojiao jiaoyi yu xiandai shehui* 道教教義與現代社會 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), 571–97; Shu-wei Hsieh, *Writing from Heaven: Celestial Writing in Six Dynasties Daoist Tradition* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 2005), 325–413.

first recipient of the Shangqing scriptures, died, the texts were left with his third son Hui 翽 (341–ca. 370). After Hui's death, his son Huangmin 黃民 (361–429) inherited the scriptures. In the third year of Xingning reign period (404 C.E.), a riot took place in the capital where Huangmin dwelt. Taking the scriptures with him, he fled to the Shan county (modern 嵊州 county in Zhejiang province) and was supported by Ma Lang 馬朗, a local gentry. Huangmin was said to be venerated in the locality and even Du Daoju 杜道鞠, member of a family that devoted Celestial Master adherents for generations, paid respect to him. However, they only worshiped 稟奉 the scriptures and kept them as sacred objects without knowing how to read 尋閱 them.

During 397–402 C.E., Ge Chaofu 葛巢甫 (fl. 402), a grandnephew of Ge Hong, began to augment the original ancient Lingbao scriptures. This tradition then became popular and widely spread 風教大行. Several years later in the Yixi reign period (405–419), Wang Lingqi 王靈期, who was inspired by what Ge Chaofu had achieved, beseeched Xu Huangmin for the scriptures that Xu had possessed. Having successfully obtained these original Shangqing scriptures, Wang forged more scriptures, modified the way they were practiced, and increased the price of the pledge. As a result, his scriptures became extremely popular and even began to replace the original ones that Xu held.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> For the above, see *Zhen'gao* 真誥, *DZ* 1016, 19. 2a–4b.

This explicit record on the regulation of the pledge may indicate a true application of transmission rite. In the process of proliferating scriptures, new regulations on the transmission rite developed hand in hand with the increased numbers and coherence of scripture. The regulations even developed into a new textual genre of code (*ke* 科) in some Shangqing scriptures. In his textual analysis of the *Sworn Code of the Four Poles* (*Siji mengke* 四極明科; hereafter: *Siji mengke*), Chang demonstrates that the text aims to integrate important contemporary Daoist scriptures into a larger and more comprehensive system, within which the scriptures are explicitly designated with certain scriptural virtues (*jingde* 經德) and ascribed into hierarchical ranks accordingly.

Moreover, the *Siji mengke* provides studious demarcations to the Shangqing scriptures. That is, it divides the whole corpus of *Shangqing* revelation into three groups of scriptures. The *Treasured Scriptures of Shangqing* in three hundred fascicles, the *Jade Instruction* in nine thousand chapters, and the *Talisman and Chart* in seven thousand stanza 上清寶經三百卷、玉訣九千篇、符圖七千章 constitute the first group, the *Independent Instructions* 獨立之訣 in thirty-one fascicles the second, and the *Ways of the Middle Perfected who Transcended and Transformed* 中真騰化之道 the last. By comparing the scriptural catalogue of the *Independent Instructions* in the 1st fascicle of the *Siji mengke* and the contemporary *Seven Recitations of the Divine Realm with Seven Transformations*

*for Dancing in Heaven* (Shenzhou qizhuan qibian wutian jing 神州九轉七變舞天經) that contains its enlarged version, Chang Chao-jan suggests the tradition underwent progressive development.

It is within this development that we can find new composed detailed regulation, which include:

- 1) The titles of scripture and relevant instruction
- 2) The lineage of certain practice
- 3) The sacred place where scripture is hidden
- 4) The temporal limit on the transmission that is recorded in the old and new rules/codes.
- 5) Pledges
- 6) The days of retreat that is practiced prior to the transmission
- 7) The numbers of the Jade Lads and Jade Ladies who guard scripture
- 8) The magic effect brought by the practice in scripture
- 9) Punishments on the transgression of precept and covenant

*Siji mengke* thus, along with other invented *rules* such as *Covenant Rule of the Nine Perfected* (Jiuzhen mengke 九真盟科), functions exclusively to regulate the transmission of a certain corpus of scriptures. Later, these rules themselves also evolved into an indispensable constituent of transmission.<sup>73</sup>

Chang's study provides us a significant vantage point from which to observe how the people in a certain Daoist community, who were fully aware of the competition and challenge from the other traditions, attempted to make sense of the growing corpus of scriptures of their own. By reorganizing the scriptures into

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<sup>73</sup> For Chang's discussion above, see Chang Chao-jan 張超然, *Xipu jiaofa jiqi zhenghe: Dongjin Nanchao Daojiao shangqing jing pai de jichu yanjiu* 系譜、教法及其整合：東晉南朝道教上清經派的基礎研究 (Ph.D. Dissertation, National Cheng-chi University, 2007), 276–310, particularly 281–95.

the catalogue affiliated to it, the *ke* affirmed the religious authority of the corpus (although the catalogue itself underwent continuous change). However, due to the nature of the *ke* that did not function independently as the ritual manual, we do not know what exact change had been taken place to the transmission ritual itself. We are still wondering, whether or not it was the ritual of transmitting scripture at the same time in functioning as initiation and ordination? In other words, did the change of ritual texts represent the change of actual ritual actions/performance, thus reshaping real Daoist communities? If we look into the story of Wang Lingqi, it seems highly likely that mere transmission of scripture did not necessarily form a fixed bond of master-disciple relationship, because Xu Huangmin, from whom Wang had initially requested the old Shangqing scriptures, turned to Wang and asked for the transmission of the new scriptures he released. Therefore, the crucial question still remains: how did the Daoist transmission rite function to delineate communities in the period when the Daoist scriptures were made unified by the notion of Three Caverns (*sandong* 三洞)?

First and foremost, there may not be textual tradition in an absolute sense. Scriptures were made for people. Behind each and every text there must exist a certain group of practitioners and their audience.<sup>74</sup> Therefore, the terms like Shangqing and Lingbao represent more than textual or ritual category. Even

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<sup>74</sup> Stephen Bokenkamp, "Imagining Community: Family Values and Morality in the Lingbao Scriptures," in Chan, Alan K. and Lo, Yuet-keung, eds. *Philosophy and Religion in Early Medieval China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010) 203–26.



though the people behind the scriptures are often difficult to be socially determined, we must hypothesize their existence, number, and makeup. The people behind one scripture might be distinctive from those behind the other; and sometimes they overlapped. The fact that scriptures from different traditions are sometimes multivocal and at odds may be the result that they are made to fit the need of different audience.

It is against this backdrop that we look back into the Daoist scriptures that began to grow plentiful since the early 5th century. The most significant response made to this was the canonical reorganization of these scriptures into three “comprehensive repositories” or “caverns”, that is, the Comprehending Perfection (Dongzhen 洞真), the Comprehending Mystery (Dongxuan 洞玄), and the Comprehending Spirit (Dongxuan 洞神), corresponding to the scriptures of Shangqing, Lingbao, and Sanhuang traditions, respectively.<sup>75</sup> This system, known as *sandong*, provided the Daoist communities with a coherent body of scriptures that were normative with accepted values. It is still not clear the exact origin of the concept; however, it was Lu Xiuqing who initially promulgated the idea among Daoist communities.<sup>76</sup> In this process, there were certainly

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<sup>75</sup> For brief overview, see Chen Guofu 陳國符, *Daozang yuanliu kao* 道藏源流考 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1963), 1–4; Kristofer Schipper, “General introduction,” in idem and Franciscus Verellen ed., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1.1–31.

<sup>76</sup> Stephen Bokenkamp, “Lu Xiuqing, Buddhism, and the First Daoist Canon,” in Scott Pearce, Audrey Spiro, and Patricia Ebrey eds., *Culture and Power in the Reconstitution of the Chinese Realm, 200–600* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 183.

possessors, users, and practitioners of the scriptures in the *sandong* canon who made effort to spread their teachings.<sup>77</sup> In addition to the popular religions, the southern Celestial Masters were the main targeted audience of this campaign.<sup>78</sup> Lu Xiuqing's petition to the throne on the presentation of the transmission rite provides a convincing example to this:

Ever since Lingbao has come to lead this age, some who have transmitted it practice the ordinations in all three caverns, taking a covenant on the same ritual platform. [Therefore] the refined and the rough have become mixed; the great and the petty circulated without distinction. Frequently there are who received only the Dongxuan section and practice the higher rituals, they make announcements and summons in an indiscriminate and excessive way, not putting [the spirits] into proper hierarchical order. Others gather extensively the officials of the yellow and the red of the lower ways,<sup>79</sup> so that they condescend to the mean people and were attracted to the improper places. When it becomes topsy-turvy and wildly confused, the proper procedures then cannot be achieved, the spiritual codes are transgressed, and later disciples will be misled.

自靈寶導世以來，相傳授者或總度三洞，同壇共盟，精麤糅雜，小大混行。時有單受洞玄而施用土法，告召錯濫，不相主伍。或採博下道黃赤之官，降就卑猥，引屈非所。顛倒亂妄，不得體式，乖違冥典，迷誤後徒。<sup>80</sup>

From the perspective of the progress of making the *sandong* canon, this passage reflects the threat perceived by Daoists in the Six Dynasties period that

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<sup>77</sup> Not only can we find the terms such as the ritual master associated with certain "cavern", but also the ordinance regarding the merit of converting people, "one must have nineteen disciples for one's three masters to establish merit 當為三師開度弟子一十九人", DZ 528, 1a.

<sup>78</sup> For the Celestial Masters diffused into the south China since the early and mid 3rd century, see Peter Nickerson, "The southern Celestial Masters," in Livia Khon ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 256–60.

<sup>79</sup> The term yellow and red refers to the Celestial Master initiation rite that originated from the 3rd century. The rite was recorded in the Initiation Rite of the Yellow Book and Yellow Book of the Cavern of Perfection. In the latter, it gives the myth that Lord Lao transmitted the Yellow Book in eight fascicles to the first Celestial Master (DZ 1343, 2a). In most cases, particularly in the Buddhist polemic texts, the rite is exclusively referred to as the Way of the Yellow and Red. As disparaging label, the term was used to designate the Celestial Master tradition itself. See Raz, *Emergence of Daoism*, 186–202.

<sup>80</sup> DZ 528, *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi* 太上洞玄靈寶授度儀, 2a. I consulted to Bokenkamp's translation, see the passage recited in his article below.

the very prolific bulk of Daoist writings may “mislead the unwary and bury what was the most worthy of preservation.”<sup>81</sup> However, a scrutiny of the passage also reveals that conflicts of ritual were raised. Lu first criticizes the transmission rites were undifferentiated. That is, one rite that specifically targeted one tradition in the *sandong* was used for transmitting the others. Some practitioners used the ritual techniques of reporting and summoning in the excessive and indiscriminate way. As result, it caused conflict of ritual rationale that the officials supposed to be summoned in one tradition was used in another. On the other hand, Lu also condemns some Lingbao practitioners who keenly transmitted the Lingbao scriptures to the Celestial Masters. According to Lu, they performed the transmission rite to the mean persons and at the wrong place. This is because there was no place for the Celestial Masters in the *sandong* system.

It can be inferred then that certain practitioners of the *sandong* scriptures transmitted scriptures at Celestial Masters communities. Most likely, they performed rituals in the oratory (*jingshi* 静室). Originating from Confucian scholar’s study room, the oratory functioned as the most significant ritual place in the Celestial Master family, which allowed the Daoist citizens who suffered from afflictions to gain relief through penance and talismanic applications.<sup>82</sup> Not only the submission of petition, the most significant and common ritual of Celestial

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<sup>81</sup> Bokenkamp, “Lu Xiuqing, Buddhism, and the first Daoist cannon,” 189–90.

<sup>82</sup> See Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫, “Seishitsu kō 静室考,” *Toho gakuho* 東方學報 59 (1986): 125–62.

Masters, was conducted in the oratory, but also the veneration paid to the oratory—the audience to the oratory (*chaojing* 朝靜)— became an independent ritual practiced by the Celestial Masters.

Even though Lu held a negative attitude towards drawing the members of Celestial Masters to practice the *sandong* scriptures, some passages in the earliest Lingbao scriptures imagine these members as the perspective converts to whom a number of practices were exactly conducted in the oratory. The purpose of doing this, as Bokenkamp points out, was to build organization parallel (or even superior to) the Celestial Master Daoism.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, the text from the Celestial Masters side also testifies the full tension between the two traditions in details. In the 20th fascicle of the *Scripture of Divine Incantations of the Abyssal Caverns* (Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing 太上洞淵神咒經),<sup>84</sup> it gives a vivid description on the impact of the *sandong* teachings generated on the community of the Celestial Master. It is stated by the persona of the Way:

The Dao says: from now on, the Contract of the Yellow Book,<sup>85</sup> along with the scriptures,<sup>86</sup> shall be the superior. No longer transmitted is the Purple Storage of

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<sup>83</sup> Stephen Bokenkamp, “The Early Lingbao Scriptures and the Origins of Chinese Monasticism,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011, issued 2013): 116.

<sup>84</sup> Christina Mollier demonstrates that the first ten fascicles, along with the 19th and the 20th fascicles date back to the early 5th century, see her *Une apocalypse taoïste du Ve siècle: le Livre des Incantations Divines des Grottes Abyssales* (Paris : Collège de France, 1990), 30.

<sup>85</sup> Lü Pengzhi suggests that the *qi* and *ling* are used interchangeably in the discourse of Celestial Masters. I thus translate *qiling* as a compound, meaning “contract”. For Lü’s suggestion, see his “Tianshidao huangchi quanqi kao” 天師道黃赤券契考 in Cheng Gongrang 程恭讓 ed., *Tianwen* 天問 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin, 2008), 176.

<sup>86</sup> The scriptures in the 20th fascicle refers to a certain *Scripture of Great Sprint* (Daqu jing 大驅經). One who receives it would make transcendence. Interestingly, the scripture consists of

the Yellow and Red in this world.<sup>87</sup> One who possesses that which is not transmitted will be approached by the pneuma of investigation. Why? This because of the circulation of the *sandong*. If one becomes sick or has difficulties, just ask *sandong* Daoist to enter into the parish, to bow, and to burn the incense. Because the incense and lamp extinguish it, the myriad of [evil] affairs will automatically disappear. There is no need to submit the petition. The Heavenly Office would not accept the petition since the *renwu* and *xinsi* year.<sup>88</sup> If submitting the petition for the people, the patron would be investigated and [given the sentence of] death investigated to death, the libationer would also be a transgressor.

道言：自今以去，天上黃書契令，并經為上。不復受者，今世黃赤紫府也。有不受者，考炁近人矣。何以故，三洞流布，令人有病急。但喚三洞道士，入治稽首燒香，香火消之，自然萬事散了耳。不須章也。天曹上從壬午辛巳年，不受人章。為世人作章，主人考死，師亦有罪。<sup>89</sup>

Although the Dao's words are put forward eschatologically, it does reflect the real concern of an offshoot of the Celestial Master in the date of the *Scripture of Divine Incantations*.<sup>90</sup> The passage here shows a complicated attitude of this

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thirty-six sections, which exactly corresponds to the *sandong*, which consists of three caverns, with each cavern twelve sections.

<sup>87</sup> While it is well known that *Huangchi*, or yellow and red, refers to *heqi* ritual that initiated Daoist citizens in the Celestial Master community, we do not clearly know what Purple Storage of the Yellow and Red refers here. Nowhere else in the Daoist canon can we locate the term. Later in the same fascicle, it similarly mentions the *huangchi zifu* as the object that Daoist receives; however, it is the lesser counterpart of the *sandong* 不奉三洞非道士也空受內外黃赤紫府小小道士耳 (20. 17a). A incantation in the 14th fascicle defines it as the initiative text of the Dao 開道之文, which plays a positive role that if one receives it yet without practicing it, the Gate of Ghost will be blocked 受已不行壅塞鬼門 (14. 8a) In both cases, the *huangchi zifu* seems a elementary ritual technique.

<sup>88</sup> Notably *renchen* and *kuisi* reappear in the early medieval Daoist literatures as the fatal final years of the world (Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 297). Respectively, they are only one and eleven years later than *renwu* and *xinsi* year suggested here.

<sup>89</sup> *DZ* 335, 20. 18b–19a.

<sup>90</sup> The scripture shows the coexistence of the overwhelming elements from both the Celestial Masters and the *Sandong* tradition. This feature may bring disagreement on its nature: is the scripture a Celestial Master text or a *Sandong* text? The question may be made more difficult to answer by the fact that the 20-fascicle version of the scripture in the Daoist canon is the product of a long and complicated textual development. Each fascicle may have different date and distinctive theme. Here we do not intend to give a comprehensive analysis of the scripture as a whole, but only focus on the selected passage from the 20th fascicle. By following the precaution proposed earlier that the scripture do not equal the people or group on the ground, here I attempt to answer what the agenda is reflected in the passages instead of who was its original author and user. Christine Mollier remarks that its religious organization was the extension of the Celestial Master parish, who borrowed its fundamental structure, theology, and liturgy from Celestial Masters (*Une*

community towards the rising *sandong* movement that worshiped and practiced with their scriptures. The large and imposing impact generated by the wide circulated the *sandong* scriptures obviously penetrated into Celestial Master communities. Confronted the illness and difficulties, they did not use the traditional technique of submitting petitions but resorted to the *sandong* Daoists to practice ritual for them. The action of bowing, along with burning incense and lamps, suggests this was highly likely a form of the *Lingbao* retreat. It is even more surprising to see they would give up to submit petition in the future, and attempted to make sense of it. The Way explains that the *sandong* practice was effective and there was no need to do their traditional ritual, considered the Heavenly Office would refuse to accept petitions any more in the near future.

However, it does not mean this particular Celestial Master community surrendered to this new challenge. While they would cease to practice the ritual of petition, they continued to use the bureaucratic model—the basis of its ritual rationale— to explain. Moreover, they turned the tables on the *sandong* Daoists by proposing that the contract of the their own scripture, the Yellow Book, should be ranked as superior as the *sandong* scriptures. The Yellow Book is highly likely the *Initiation Rite of the Yellow Book* (*Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* 上清黃書

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*apocalypse taoïste du Ve siècle*, 72). This indeed is the vantage point from which many an eschatological predicts in the scripture, including all the passages we discuss here, are made. Be it from Celestial Master, *sandong* tradition, or even a fervent religious movement that was active in the Jiangnan region, the same historical fact is reflected here, that is, when the Celestial Master initially competed with the *sandong* tradition, it was at the weaker side. See my discussion below.

過度儀) or the *Yellow Book of the Cavern of Perfection* (*Dongzhen huangshu* 洞真黃書), both mainly concerning the sexual rite for initiation.<sup>91</sup> Therefore, the strategy of this offshoot of the Celestial Masters was to pursue the acknowledgement of the equivalence between the book for their own initiation rite and the *sandong* scriptures. Indeed, the *Scripture of Divine Incantations* proposes an initiation ritual that combines the two traditions. In order to receive the *sandong* scriptures, one should simultaneously be granted with the Grand Register (*dalu* 大籙), or alternatively the Register of Ten Generals and the Yellow Book.<sup>92</sup> This is the very early form of the ordination rank system.

A passage elsewhere in the *Scripture of Divine Incantations* reveals that this strategy aims to authorize the Celestial Master to undertake the transmission rite of *sandong* scriptures. In the same persona of the Dao, it says:

From now on, till the *xinsi* and *renwu* year, [the teaching of] *Sandong* circulated, and transformed [the people] under the Heaven. The people no longer practice the submission of petition. Many a men and women, respectfully holding the scriptures, entered into mountains. A large numbers of women received the scriptures, and the Celestial Ladies transformed them. After the *jiashen* year, the pneuma will begin to flourish. The six barbarians are to be subjugated and converted. All the transcendents would also follow the one tradition. From this *renwu* year on, the Gentlemen of the Way should wear the three [parts of] the ritual attires—the cap, the hempen cloak and the skirt, and the cape—as well as the staff and the tablet. Have one meal for one day, and eating is not allowed after noon. Stop eating meat and drinking ale of every kind. Do not attempt to convert the secular. Never

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<sup>91</sup> See Bo Yi 柏夷(Stephen Bokenkamp), “Tianshidao hunyin yishi heqi zai shangqing lingbao xuepai de yanbian 天師道婚姻儀式合氣在上清靈寶學派的演變,” 道家文化研究 *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 16 (1999): 241–8; Kristofer Schipper, *The Taoist Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 148–9.

<sup>92</sup> 生人無大籙者，亦可受十將軍，奉佩天玄黃書契令，便可受三洞耳，*DZ* 335, 20. 7b.

transgress the code. When man and woman ordain each other, the wise becomes the master. Do not keep the things that generate life,<sup>93</sup> just retain the minimum to stay alive. Devote yourself to the scriptures. Those who enter into mountain should practice the long retreat each month, during which they should only eat vegetables... There should be many people in the retreat hall, practicing the retreat trice each month, presenting incense three times each day, and bowing to the ten directions. This is for the purpose of making the spirits come and be close to people.

自今以去，辛巳壬午年，三洞流布，布化天下。天下之人，不復章奏。男女奉經入山者眾，女人多受經，天女化之。甲申過者，道炁方盛。六夷伏信，諸仙亦同法一家耳。道士自今壬午年以去，亦作冠褐裙帔三法衣策杖耳。一日一食，過中不餐。斷一切葷酒，亦不嘗教化俗人為事，不得犯科。男女相度，智者為師。不得畜生生之物，正乃然一身耳。經書為業。入山中入月月長齋，齋空食菜耳。.....齋堂人多，月月三齋，日日三時上香，禮拜十方。此為神來附人矣。<sup>94</sup>

Here the circulation of the *sandong* scriptures is interpreted by the very crucial terms of the Celestial Master institution and conversion. We are not unfamiliar with the usage of *bu* 布 that denotes the establishment of a parish. Similarly, *hua* 化 initially refers the missionary work conducted by libationers who transformed people into Daoist citizens. To imagine the circulation of the *sandong* by the discourses like these further suggests the *sandong*, as Celestial Master movement, involved people, community, and institution. This development closely associated with the rising Daoist monasticism in the mountains. The Dao's description here might be an idea rather than reality;<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> This refers to the domestic animal and fowl.

<sup>94</sup> Fu may refer to possession in other context; however, here it is used to describe the mechanism of the Lingbao ritual interpreted by a Celestial Master tradition. Unless we have more evidence to show this community understood the ritual otherwise, we should keep it consistent with the original Lingbao context where the spirits are supposed to move down, or close to the practitioner, by the ritual.

<sup>95</sup> Sun Qi 孫齊, *Tangqian daoguan yanjiu* 唐前道觀研究 (Ph.D. diss., Shandong University, 2014), 93.



however, it shows how a Celestial Master community imagined the monastic life centered by the ritual practice of retreat. Again, the description of the ritual details here indicates it must be a Lingbao retreat.<sup>96</sup>

More relevant to our concern here is that the Daoists were asked to take the ritual attire of Lingbao tradition. As Bokenkamp remarks, the attire made Daist immediately recognizable. Besides, each and every part of the attire has ritual purpose, for example, the cloak was worn for ritual and worship (*libai* 禮拜) while the cape was worn for scripture recitation (*songjing* 誦經).<sup>97</sup> Therefore, the Celestial Masters who wore attires like this would be socially recognized as the *sandong* Daoists, who were able to lawfully practice the rituals centered by the *sandong* scriptures. This had actually taken place and was criticized by Lu Xiuqing:

The cap, cloak, and cape are all from the upper Way. One wears cloak to worship while wearing the cape to recite scripture. This is the regulation of the Sandong. How can we allow participation by [practitioners of] the petty ways. Recently there are those who just received [the register] for parish or for novice, yet unlawfully worn the cape and cloak. This alone is ridiculous! They even wear hat and coat along with the skirt, or wear the cape and cloak with trousers. How can this unordered and miscellaneous practice be spoken of in the same breath!

巾褐及帔，出自上道。禮拜著褐，誦經著帔。三洞之軌範，豈小道之所預。頃來纔受小治或籙生之法，竊濫帔褐，已自大謬！乃復帽褶對裙，帔褐著袴，此之亂雜，何可稱論！<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> The details perfectly fit the features of Lingbao retreat that described in the early Lingbao ritual instruction—*The Writ of Tablet of the Golden Register* (Jinlu jianwen 金籙簡文), see Lü Pengzhi 呂鵬志, *Tangqian daojiao yishi shi gang* 唐前道教儀式史綱 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2008), 144–58.

<sup>97</sup> Bokenkamp, “The Early *Lingbao* Scriptures and the Origins of Chinese Monasticism,” 107.

<sup>98</sup> *DZ* 1127, 4a.

While we have no evidence of how they understood Lingbao items of attire, these Celestial Masters most likely had their own distinctive interpretations, because they wore the attire along with the clothes of their tradition. However, since the attire was exclusively oriented for ritual purpose, they must have practiced the rituals that were associated with the attire. On the other hand, Lu did not only fiercely criticize this, but also proposed that the ritual master of *sandong* should not lie, rest, sit, or act with Celestial Masters.<sup>99</sup> This was because, when Celestial Master Daoist began to perform the *sandong* rituals in a similar way as the *sandong* Daoist did, the two groups became difficult to be socially distinguished.

The process of gradual adoption of the *sandong* ritual went hand in hand with that of possessing the *sandong* scriptures. That the Shangqing scriptures grew wider spread offers a good example. Even though the scriptures were originally transmitted among the small circles of familial members and friends, they ultimately became circulated much wider so that nearly every household in the counties on the east of the lower Yangze reaches and in the capital held a copy.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, to duplicate a scripture under the consent of the master was either a preliminary of the transmission or a necessary preparation to worship scripture.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> *LP* #23, *P.* 2403, cited in the *Zhonghua daoze*, 4: 98a–b.

<sup>100</sup> *DZ* 1016, 19. 10b.

<sup>101</sup> For the details of how to make copy of scripture to worship it, see the chapter of “Instruction

Under this circumstance, it was natural for the Celestial Masters to have access to, or even possess the *sandong* scriptures.<sup>102</sup> Some of them even believed that, the numbers of scriptures possessed was the proper rubric for classifying a parish.<sup>103</sup>

It seems the Celestial Master's strategy was eventually successful. The *Precious Instructions on the Jade Scriptures, a Secret Commentary by the Perfect of the Supreme Pole* (*Shangqing taiji yinzhu yujing baojue* 上清太極隱注玉訣寶經; hereafter *Taiji yinzhu*), a *Lingbao* scripture deals with the ritual prescriptions for transmission, recitation, and copying the sacred *sandong* scriptures and the *Dao De jing*, states:

If one receives Daoist scriptures not through a master, then one does not activate the spirits. If there is no ritual master in that generation, nor the one who can transmit register, you should take your ritual pledge to the parish, or in a secret chamber, you can inform the Mysterious Master, Lord Lao, by facing north and bowing to him three times. Then take your pledge and give them to the starving. Then you may use the scripture with equanimity. If there is a master in your generation, you need not use this method.

夫道經不師受，則神不行矣。若世無法師，又無籙傳者，當以法信投靖治，或可密室，啟玄師老君，北向三拜。然後以物布施於饑乏之人，平等一心而用經也。世有師不須按此法也。<sup>104</sup>

This passage reflects that the libationer was considered as equally lawful as the ritual master of the *sandong* tradition in transmitting scriptures. Libationers

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of Scribing Scripture 書經訣” in *Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu* 洞真太上太霄琅書 DZ 1352, 5. 1a–2a.

<sup>102</sup> For example, the original *Shangqing* scriptures were once preserved at the parish of Du family, see DZ 1016, 20. 1a–b.

<sup>103</sup> “If one [libationer] has received many scriptures, even though the parish is small, the one who has more scriptures is a large parish. If a large parish does not have scripture, then it is a small parish 若受經多而治小多經者為大也治大無經乃小治矣,” DZ 335, 20. 15a.

<sup>104</sup> DZ 425, 5a.

were those who had received the Register of One Hundred and Fifty. These register-possessors come only second to the ritual masters when it comes to transmit *sandong* scriptures. In addition, the passage also stresses that the parish is a lawful place to report to the Lord Lao for receiving the scripture. This resonates with the instances of “self oath” (*zishi* 自誓) by which one gave offerings directly to the spirit and received sacred texts without the witness of master. More frequently in the Daoist sources, *zishi* took place in the sacred place such as stone chamber.<sup>105</sup> Therefore it indicates the very religious authority of the Celestial Master god, the Lord Lao, and its ritual place, was recognized by another mainstream Daoist tradition.

After the Celestial Masters possessed the *sandong* scriptures and used them, they became able to modify the rituals pertinent to the scriptures, including the transmission rite, and to reshape the Daoist community. Quite contrary to the prescription in the *Scripture of the Spiritual Incantation*, few evidence attests that the Celestial Masters actually abandoned to practice their own ritual. On the contrary, a large number of texts suggest the ritual elements of Celestial Master tradition were adopted in the major *sandong* rituals, including the retreat, the libation (*jiao* 醮), and the transmission rites.<sup>106</sup> On the other hand, the *sandong*

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<sup>105</sup> J. Petit notices that chamber was an agent could reveal texts and esoteric teachings in Ge Hong's work, see *Learning from Maoshan: Temple Construction in Early Medieval China* (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2013), 79.

<sup>106</sup> Masayoshi Kobayashi 小林正美, *Tōdai no Dōkyō to Tenshidō* 唐代の道教と天師道 (Tōkyō: Chisen Shokan, 2003); Lü, *Tangqian daojiang yishi shi gang*, 122–73.

communities certainly made efforts to spread their scriptures, practices, and rituals. In the following sections, I will be analyzing the four ritual manuals themed on transmitting the *Scripture of Three Luminaries*, the core text of the *Sanhuang* tradition. I will be focusing on how the Celestial Master ritual elements are appropriated into the transmission rites, how the rites mediate Daoist traditions, and how Daoists used the rite to shape relationship, delineate community, and establish identity

## **2.2 The Novice who is Endowed with Scriptures: The Transmission Rite of the Duke Tao**

Compared with that of the Lingbao and the Shangqing traditions, the history of the Sanhuang tradition is much more obscure. We hardly know its origin except for several figures in its early lineage. Its earliest record in Daoist source can be found in the *Master Who Embraces Simplicity* (*Baopuzi* 抱朴子), in which it mentions a set of powerful talismans, known as the *Esoteric Writ of the Three Luminaires* (*Sanhuang neiwen* 三皇内文) or the *Writ of the Three Luminaires* (*Sanhuang wen* 三皇文).<sup>107</sup> These talismans might come from different esoteric traditions in the Jiangnan region, and their transmission rite usually contains typical *fangshi* elements such as blood oath (*xuemeng* 血盟). Even though the

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<sup>107</sup> For general remarks on talismans, see Catherine Despeux “Talismans and Diagrams,” in *Daoism Handbook*, 498—540; Robson, “Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism,” *History of Religions* 48.2 (2008): 130–69; Seidel, “Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha,” Michel Strickmann ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of Rolf Stein* 3vols (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1983), 2:291—371.

Dongshen scriptures were considered as collectively functioned in the *sandong* canon, their original usage in the *Baupuzi* might not be coherent and the communities behind these talismans might be diverse.<sup>108</sup>

There were two or three early lineages of the *Scripture of Three Luminaries*, all of them ultimately converging at the Ge family.<sup>109</sup> It is certain that Lu Xiujing had a copy of the scripture and installed it as the main body of the Comprehending Perfection in the *sandong* canon. At this time, it seems likely the *Image of the True Form of the Five Sacred Mountains* and the *Diagram of Eight Envoys* (Bashi tu 八史圖) were added to the corpus at a latter time. The Comprehending Perfection section, as Lu explicitly claims in his *Catalogue to the Scriptures of Three Caverns* (*Sandong jingshu mulu* 三洞經書目錄), is for “calling upon the gods of heaven and earth and making them obey one’s orders. Their efficacy is fathomless; hence they were given the name of *shen*.”<sup>110</sup> The

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<sup>108</sup> Hsieh Shu-wei 謝世維, “Zhonggu dao jiao shi zhong de sanhuangwen chuantong yanjiu 中古道教史中的三皇文傳統研究,” in *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 44. 1(2014): 32.

<sup>109</sup> The first commences at the reputed *fangshi* Bo He 帛和, whose teaching is also well known in later time as Way of the Bo Family 帛家道. He was said to receive the *Large Characters of the Celestial Pattern* (tianwen dazi 天文大字) from Lord Wang of the Western Citadel (Xicheng Wangjun 西城王君) on the second year of the Taichu reign period (103 BCE). The second is the *Inner Text of Three Luminaries* (Sanhuang neiwen 三皇內文), which was possessed by Zheng Yin. The third one involves Bao Jing 鮑靚, Ge Hong's father in law, who received a certain Text of Three Luminaries in a stone chamber at Song 嵩 mountain. Chen Guofu, Steavu, and Hiesh consider the first two are identical whereas Ding Peiren 丁培仁 believes otherwise. See Chen, *Daozang yuanliu kao*, 72; Dominic Steavu-Balint, *The Three Sovereigns Traditions: Talismans, Elixirs, and Meditation in Early Medieval China* (Ph. D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 2010), 6–7; Hsieh, “Zhonggu dao jiao shi zhong de sanhuangwen chuantong yanjiu,” 34; Ding, “Sanhuang jing xinkao 三皇經新考,” *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 no. 4 (2012): 8.

<sup>110</sup> Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 1:16.

number of the Sanhuang scriptures, however, was far less than those in the other two sections.

It is under this social and religious context that we scrutinize the *Transmission Rite of Duke Tao* (*Taogong chuanshou yi* 陶公傳授儀; hereafter *Taogong chuanshou yi*). The protocol of the rite is based on two Dunhuang manuscripts, the *S.* 3750 and *P.* 2559, and itself is a part of a longer ritual. A date on the *S.* 3750 shows the text was originally composed in the Tianjian 天監 reign period (502–519). Another content of the two manuscripts concerns the transmission of the *Image of the True Form of the Five Sacred Mountains* and the *Diagram of Eight Envoys*. Ōfuchi points out that they may be a part of the transmission of Five Rituals (*wufu* 五法), as mentioned in the *Almanac for Determining the Proper Dates for the Transmission of the Registers and Commandments of the Scriptures of the Three Caverns to Taoists* (*Dongxuan lingbao daoshi shou Sandong jingjie falu zeri li* 洞玄靈寶道士受三洞經誡法籙擇日曆) by the Tang Daoist Zhang Wanfu 張萬福(fl. 711–713). The ritual source of transmitting the *wufa*, according to Zhang, comes from certain *Taogong chuanshou yi*.<sup>111</sup> Later, Wang Ka remarks another piece of the manuscript, the *BD.* 11252, is the missing link between the *S.* 3750 and *P.* 2559, thereby

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<sup>111</sup> Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾, *Tonkō Dōkyō: Mokurokuhen* 敦煌道經目錄篇 (Tyoko: Fukutake Shoten, 1978), 331–32.

providing a more coherent version of the rite.<sup>112</sup> Here we focus on the *P. 2559* that is exclusively about the transmission of the *Scripture of the Three Luminaries*.

In the beginning of the rite, it gives a comment towards to the scriptures to be transmitted:

The *Three luminaries* are great scriptural rituals.<sup>113</sup> The several fascicles of the scriptures in this world were all transmitted by Bao Jing and Ge Hong. As regards the *Perfected Characters of the Large [Characters]*, there is only the *Azure Embryo* in one fascicle.<sup>114</sup> The *Applied Practice of the Western Citadel* in one fascicle, however, is all about the essentials of summoning [spirits]. I am not familiar with rest of the fascicles, but collect into one satchel in ten fascicles that are to be endowed and received.

三皇是大經法，今世中有此數卷，皆由鮑葛所傳至此。大者之真字，唯青胎一卷是耳。而西城施行一卷，全為劾召之要。其餘卷並吾所未詳，而合集得成一帙十卷，相傳併受之。<sup>115</sup>

It is not clear who the persona speaking here is; however, his/her purpose was to complete the *Scripture of the Three Luminaries*, and put the completed version into a fixed canon. However, it seems that the author was not familiar with the

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<sup>112</sup> Wang Ka 王卡, “Dunhuang can chaoben Taogong chuanshou yi jiaodu ji 敦煌殘抄本陶公傳授儀校讀記,” 敦煌殘抄本陶公傳授儀校讀記 in *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 no. 1 (2002): 89–97.

<sup>113</sup> One of the early Daoist usage of the term *jingfa* can be found in the *Scripture of Salvation*, where it states that “at that time, by encountering this scriptural dharma, the devas (heavenly deities) and human are all saved and original longevity 是時天人遇值經法普得濟度全其本年.” Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (fl. 713) paraphrases that to encounter the scriptural dharma means one has chance to listen to the wonderful scripture 聞此妙經 (*Duren shangpin miaojing si zhu* 度人上品妙經四註 DZ 87, 12a). The usage here then is similar to that in Buddhist literature. Therefore here I translate *fa* as Dharma.

<sup>114</sup> In the chapter “Essential Application of the Three Luminaries 三皇要用” in *Wushang miyao*, it records a talisman called Azure Embryo of Vermillion Official 朱宮青胎 written in azure and vermilion ink. Swallow of the talisman makes the practitioner refrain from hungry and be ready for transcendence, DZ 1138, 25. 6b.

<sup>115</sup> *Zhonghua daozang*, 5: 523b–c.



content of the most fascicles that he/she attempted to collect.

Before the performance of the transmission ritual, the adept should submit offerings, known as pledge, to the preceptor. Here it regulates the responsibility of ritual utensils for both parties in the ritual.

Adept	Preceptor
<p><b>Ritual Utensils:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Two separate pieces of planks that mean to be combined as one, the upper one is made of sophora, the lower made of catalpa tree.</li> <li>2. The purple patterned silk as the cloth of the plank, 7 <i>chi</i>.</li> <li>3. Two bars of vermilion wax and two azure brands, 7 <i>chi</i></li> <li>4. The copied pendant writs of plainsilk, 2 <i>zhang</i></li> <li>5. Cinibar, 1 <i>liang</i></li> <li>6. One brocade Bag</li> <li>7. The copied the scriptures and the [text] on the plank, the cost can be up to 400 (<i>qian</i> 錢?)</li> </ol>	<p><b>Ritual Utensils:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Seal of the Transcendent Capital of the Nine Old Lords<sup>116</sup></li> <li>2. A spoon</li> <li>3. Three trays and cups</li> <li>4. Three bunches of incense and lamps</li> </ol>
<p><b>Pledge:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. White tabby silk, 3 <i>pi</i></li> <li>2. Silver, 3 <i>liang</i></li> </ol>	
<p><b>Offerings:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. An ewer of Ale, 3 <i>dou</i></li> <li>2. Three bent salted dry meat</li> <li>3. Rice, 3 <i>sheng</i></li> </ol>	

<sup>116</sup> The earliest text that mentions the *Jiulao xiandu jun* 九老仙都君 is *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian tianshu jing* 元始五老赤書玉篇真文天書經, where it appears along with other sacred crows in the east 東天大聖眾. In the *Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu* 洞玄靈寶真靈位業圖, a text about Daoist pantheon that was originally compiled by Tao Hongjing, the deity is in the position to which the petition reporting the achievement of learning the Way should be submitted.

4. Three golden bracelets, 1 <i>liang</i>	
5. Thirty sanhuang incense	

Table 1. The ritual objects provided by the master and the adept in the transmission of sanhuang jing in *Taogong chuanshi yi*

The general outline of the ritual and the interpretation to each ritual step are as follows:

A: Set up the seat

B: Praying for the descending pneuma

C: Summoning the deities

D: Transmission of the plank

E: Transmission of the Talismans

F: Transmission of the Scriptures

G: Sending off deities

H: Restore the furnace

I: Remove the seat

A): In the midnight the preceptor sets up three seats of the Three Luminaries. The seats are aligned in the north of the altar in the courtyard 庭壇, facing south. The seat of the Luminary of Heaven is on the east side of the line, in the middle that of the Luminary of Earth, on the west that of the Luminary of Humanity. The empty trays and the cups are well prepared in front of the seat, along with the table carrying the scriptures.

B). The preceptor makes an incantation to request the Three Luminaries for descending the numinous pneuma into his body so that he is able to deliver the report to the deities.

C). After burning the incense and pouring the ale into the cups, the preceptor invites the Three Luminaries. He visualizes on these deities for a long while. Then he pours the ale into the cup and announces the transmission, reports the

eligibility of the adept, and requests for the permission of the transmission.

D). The preceptor entangles the two planks with bonds, presses the wax on the two sides of the combined plank.<sup>117</sup> Then the preceptor and the adept together seal the sides with the Seal of the Transcendent Capital of the Nine Old Lords. Then the preceptor endows the adept a back belt to hold the combined plank.

E). The preceptor then announces the transmission of talisman. The talismans might be in the similar physical format of hand scroll as the book in the Six Dynasties. They are in two fascicles. To receive the talismans, the adept is supposed to hold them with the left hand and pass them around the waist for three times.

F). Then it moves to the transmission of scriptures. The preceptor transmits the scripture to the adept whereas the adept hands over the pledge to the master.

G). The preceptor pours ale into the cup and presents the incense, reporting the transmission completed and requesting the deities for the future blessing. Then he repeats the presentation of ale and incense to send off the deities. After this, the preceptor and the adept drink the ale and sprinkle the rest of it to four directions.

H). The preceptor burns incense and restore the furnace.

I). Remove of the seat.

The presentation of ale and salted dry meat signifies it is a libation ritual. Indeed, the presentations of offerings are well embedded in the symmetrical structure of the ritual,<sup>118</sup> running all through the process and moving it forward. The presentation takes its form, as secular libation ritual, of pouring ale in to the cups

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<sup>117</sup> The plank is called transmission plank (chuanban 傳板). Unlike the boards used in the *jiao* elsewhere that contain deity names, this plank mainly serve as the symbol of contract made between the master and the disciple. As for the details of its usage, please consult with the Appendix I.

<sup>118</sup> For the symmetrical structure in Daoist rituals, see Kristofer Schipper, “Reihō kagi no tenkai 靈寶科儀の展開,” in Tadao Sakai 酒井忠夫; et al ed., *Nihon, Chūgoku no shūkyō bunka no kenkyū* 日本・中国の宗教文化の研究 (Tōkyō: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1991), 219–31.

and presenting it. The first presentation initiates the step C, in which the preceptor requests the deities to descend and consume the offerings. After visualizing these deities who bring the completion of the request, the preceptor practices the second presentation in order to announce the transmission. Then it moves to the G where the master reports to the deities of the fulfillment of the transmission. The last one takes place to send off the deities. The four libations are thus embedded in the beginning and ending part of the whole ritual, which plays a major role of the interaction between the adept and the descending deities.

The locations of participants matter in rituals. The trays and cups, functioning as the banquet seats of descending deities, are set in the north. The adept is placed at the south and faces to the north. Although it does not clearly state, the preceptor's place should be on the west side and be between the seat of Three Luminaries and the place of the adept. The location of participants like this suggests the master plays the role of intermediary who passes the plank, talisman, and scriptures from the descended deities to the adept.

When passing the scripture to the adept and receiving the pledge from him, the preceptor leaves his original place and approaches the adept. He then kneels on the west of the adept and faces him. Their places in the ritual platform resemble the host-guest position in the secular gatherings, in which the host places the guest on the east side, a more honorable direction, as a gesture of

veneration.<sup>119</sup> This is the only time when the preceptor leaves his original position, which reflects both the central role that the transmission of the scripture plays in the ordination rite and the relatively equal relation between the master and disciple.

A scrutiny of the performance also shows very strong presence of the ritual influence from the Celestial Masters. In the report to the Three Luminaries, the preceptor addresses the adept as male/female novice 男女生. This title is highly plausible the abbreviation of novice of register (*lusheng* 籙生), the recipient of One, Ten, Fifty, or the Seventy-Five Register of Celestial Master. After receiving the talismans from the preceptor, the adept is asked to pass them around the waist for three circles. This action is of great symbolic meaning here. An exactly same performance can be found in a number of Daoist transmission rites, for example, *Zhengyi fanwen falubu yi* 正一法文法籙部儀, *Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing dengtan fuzha miaojue* 洞真太上八素真經登壇付札妙訣, *Dongzhen taishang taixiaolangshu* 洞真太上太霄琅書, and *Taishang dongxuan lingbao erbu chuanshouyi* 太上洞玄靈寶二部傳授儀. However, its origin comes from the rite of endowing register in Celestial Master community. As shown in the Dunhuang manuscript S. 203, the adept performs this action when receiving the register.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Yang Shuda 楊樹達, “Qi Han zuoci zunbei kao,” 秦漢坐次尊卑考 *Jiwei ju xiaoxue shulin* 積微居小學述林 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 247–8.

<sup>120</sup> Lü Pengzhi 呂鵬志, “Tianshidao shoulu keyi —Dunhuang xieben S203 kaolun,” 天師道授籙科儀—敦煌寫本 S203 考論 *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院

This uniform and standardized action may signify the embodiment of the deities who originally reside on the register.

In this early interaction between the Celestial Masters and *sandong* tradition, the former is placed as the requestor of scripture, who obeys and follows the *sandong* ritual. On the one hand, the adoption of libation as the ritual form to transmit the *Scripture of Three Luminaries* suggests the preceptor was the adherent to the *sandong* tradition who was knowledgeable of the indigenous Jiangnan religious tradition. On the other hand, the ritual is modified probably to fit the need of adept who comes from the Celestial Master background. The practitioners conceived the powerful object of primordial cosmological force, that is, the talismans, as something identical with register. Not only were the talismans made by the same material—the silk, as the register, but also the adept embodied them in the same way as Celestial Master worn register, as we will see below in the ordination rite for the rank of Comprehending Perfection.

### **2.3 The *Lingbao* Framework that Embraces All: *The New Rituals Imperially Composed***

While South China in the early medieval period witness the significant rising Daoist movements since the late 4th century, Daoism continued to develop in the north. The main body of the northern Daoist was the northern Celestial Masters who were the continuation of both the Way of the Celestial Master and the Way

of Great Peace. It was by their effort that the first Daoist monasteries were established and the form of state religion was introduced. They also actively involved in the religious polemics with Buddhists for political supremacy.<sup>121</sup> Most importantly, Kou Qianzhi, who claimed to receive a revelation from Lord Lao on the Song Marchmount in 415, revived and reformed the Celestial Master Daoism in the north. Not only did he transform a large number of Celestial Master institutions and practices, but also successfully introduced Daoism into the Northern Wei court.<sup>122</sup>

Southern Daoist theology, ritual, and scriptural knowledge were also introduced to the north since the end of 5<sup>th</sup> century. The development of the Daoism in the north, including communal rites, popular art works represented by the stele with Buddhist-Daoist hybrid image, and monastic organization, was at least partly influenced by the ideas of the indigenous southern Daoism.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Livia Kohn, “The Northern Celestial Masters,” in *Daoism Handbook*, 283–304.

<sup>122</sup> Yang Liansheng 楊聯陞, “Laojun yinsong jiejing jiaoshi” 老君音誦誡經校釋, in *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo jikan* 28.1 (1956): 17–54. John Lagerway, “The Old Lord’s Scripture for the Chanting of the Commandments,” in Florian C. Reiter ed., *Purpose, Means, and Convictions in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 29–56. Zhuang Hongyi 莊宏誼 “Li zhi wei diwang shi: Kou Qianzhi de zongjiao lixiang yu shijian,” 立志為帝王師 寇謙之的宗教理想與實踐 in *Furen zongjiao yanjiu* 輔仁宗教研究 21 (2010):23–51.

<sup>123</sup> For example, Typical terms originating from *Lingbao* scriptures, such as “Southern Palace (Nangong 南宮),” “Dark Realm (youming 幽冥),” and “extended Brahmā (mifan 彌梵),” are used in the inscription of the Yao Boduo stele. Moreover, the practice of creating image for Daoist deities, which manifests in the stele, may itself be under the influence of The Scripture of Numinous Treasures of Thorough Mystery on the Casual Relations and Retribution of Karma (Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing 太上洞玄靈寶業報因緣經), which advocates that a concrete image of the Dao should be built to bring merit, see Stephen Bokenkamp, “The Yao Boduo Stele as Evidence for the ‘Dao-Buddhism’ of the Early Lingbao Scriptures,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 9 (1996): 55–67.

It is within this context that the ordination rite in northern Daoism developed. *The Essence of the Supreme Secrets* (Wushang miyao 無上秘要; hereafter WSMY), the oldest surviving compendium of Daoist literature, was the religious production in the north China. It was compiled in the Abbey of the Pervasive Way 通道觀. Established at the capital in 574 CE, the abbey functioned as much a Daoist monastery as an intellectual center that involved Buddhist and secular scholars.<sup>124</sup> The text has the complete form of 100 fascicles that were divided into 49 sections.<sup>125</sup> Although the main editorial method applied in the text was to extract passages from Daoist literature, it by no means merely aimed to preserve the contemporary Daoist knowledge. Instead, the state played an active role in reshaping and innovating Daoism by this project, particularly by providing newly composed rituals.<sup>126</sup>

All the Daoist rituals in the *WSMY* were the productions of imperial patronage by the Emperor Wu of the Zhou dynasty (r. 560–578). The corpus of the rituals, including the transmission rituals and retreat rituals, is titled the *New Rituals Imperially Compiled* (*Yuzhi xinyi* 御制新儀; hereafter *Yuzhi xinyi*).

Textual analysis has revealed that rituals either succeed the extant Daoist rite or

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<sup>124</sup> John Lagerwey, *Wushang biyao: Somme Taoïste du VI<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1981), 4–21; Ōfuchi Ninji, *Dōkyō to sono kyōten* 道教とその經典 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1997), 306–8.

<sup>125</sup> The internal structure can be found in the content of *WSMY*, which is extant in the Dunhuang manuscript.

<sup>126</sup> Li Liliang 李麗涼, *Wushang miyao ji daojing fenlei kao* 無上秘要之編纂及道經分類考 (Master Thesis, National Cheng-chi University, 1998); Ōfuchi, *Dōkyō to sono kyōten*, 325.



are compiled from various Daoist scriptural sources. As regards the transmission ritual of the *Scripture of Three Luminaries* particularly, most of the procedures that constitute the entire ritual come from Lingbao scriptures.<sup>127</sup> Both the content of the citations and the way they are reorganized manifests the *Yuzhi xinyi* follows the paradigm set up by the first standard transmission ritual manual, the *Rite of Transmitting the Numinous Treasure* (*Lingbao shoudu yi* 靈寶授度儀; hereafter *Lingbao shoudu yi*). It is therefore no surprise that the transmission rite here adopts the first two parts of the typical triadic structure of Lingbao retreat—the Nocturnal Announcement (*suqi* 宿啟), the Practice of the Dao (*xingdao* 行道), and the final part—the Report of Merit (*yangong* 言功).<sup>128</sup>

### **I. The Nocturnal Announcement**

The earliest systematic design of the Nocturnal Announcement in *Lingbao* tradition can be found in the *Jinlu jianwen*, the constituted parts in the *Perfected Scripture of the Spontaneity of the Tablets of the Jade Register, for the Ceremonial of the Three Principles* (*Dongxuan lingbao sanyuan ziran zhenjing* 洞玄靈寶三元自然真經). The comparison between the Nocturnal Announcement in the *Jinlu jianwen*<sup>129</sup> and that in the *Yuzhi xinyi* is provided in the table below:

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<sup>127</sup> Ōfuchi, *Dōkyō to sono kyōten*, 337–8.

<sup>128</sup> This structure was also designed and advocated by Lu Xiujing, see Lü Pengzhi, *Tangqian dao jiao shigang*, 186.

<sup>129</sup> The complete text of the *Jinlu jianwen* had long been lost. Here we use the version reconstructed by modern scholarship. See next note.

<i>Jinlu jianwen</i>	<i>Yuzhi xinyi</i>
	1. Enter the Realm of the Dao and incant 入道場密祝
	2. Enter the oratory and think of the Three Masters 入靜思三師
1. Sending off the officials 出官	3. Open the furnace 發爐
2. Present with the incense and incant 三上香	
3. Venerate the scripture 禮經	
4. Pay homage to the Dao, Scripture, and Master 三禮	
5. Announce the forthcoming ritual next day 重稱法位	4. Report the ritual to be conduct 啟事
	5. Read the patron's writ 讀辭
	6. Recite the three Chants of Wisdom 智慧詠（詠字僅見於此）三首
6. Submit to all Heavenly Worthy 歸命一切天尊	7. Submit to all Heavenly Worthy 歸命一切天尊
7. Elaborate the precept 說戒	8. Elaborate the precept 師西面平坐說戒諸眾伏受
8. Appoint the positions 署職	9. Appoint the positions 署眾官
9. Announce the proscription 宣禁	10. Announce the proscription 科罰愆失三十六條
	11. 宣科迄各禮師再拜
	12. Reaffirm the request to the celestial officials 師東面長跪祈請仙官
	13. Close the furnace 復爐
	14. Recite the Chant of Practicing the Precept 奉誡誦
	15. Exit the Realm of the Dao and incant 出道場密祝

Table 2. The prescription of the Nocturnal Announcement in the *Jinlu jianwen* and in the *Yuzhi xinyi*

Although the extant version of *Jinlu jianwen* is incomplete, the comparison still manifests that the two share the six steps in common. As shown in the table

below, the *Yuzhi xinyi* draws sources from other Lingbao liturgical sources to construct the rest steps. Therefore, both the ritual structure and content of the *Yuzhi xinyi* follow its contemporary Lingbao ritual pattern.

A: Nocturnal Announcement	Scriptural Source
1. Submit the request 授辭	<i>Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing</i> 太上洞玄靈寶智慧定志通微經
2. Incant and enter the ritual realm 入道場密祝	<i>Jinglu jing</i> 金籙經
3. Think of the Three Masters 入靜思三師	<i>Yulu jing</i> 玉籙經
4. Opening the furnace 發爐	<i>Mingzhen ke</i> 明真科
5. Submission the announcement 啟事	<i>Jinlu jing</i> 金籙經
6. Read the request 讀辭	<i>Jinglu jing</i> 金籙經 *
7. Three Recitation of the Wisdom 智慧詠 (詠字僅見於此) 三首	<i>Yuqing jie</i> 玉清戒 (智慧觀身大戒文)
8. Take refugee to all Heavenly Worthies 歸命一切天尊	<i>Jinglu jing</i> 金籙經
9. The master explains the precept 師西面平坐說戒諸眾伏受	<i>Taishang dongzhen zhihui shangpin dajie</i> 太上洞真智慧上品大誡
10. Appointment of ritual officials 署眾官	<i>Fuzhai weiyi jing</i> 敷齋威儀經 *
11. Announce the proscription of transgression, 36 pieces 科罰愆失三十六條	<i>Fuzhai jing</i> 敷齋經
12. The adept bows to the master 宣科迄各禮師再拜	
13. The master request the heavenly officials descend 師東面長跪祈請仙官	<i>Mingzhen ke</i> 明真科
14. Closing the furnace 復爐	<i>Mingzhen ke</i> 明真科
15. Chant the Recitation of Worshipping the Precept 奉誡誦	<i>Xiangong qingwen jing</i> 仙公請問經

16. Incant and exist the ritual realm 出道場密祝	金錄經
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Table 3. The Scriptural Source of the part of Nocturnal Announcement in the *Yuzhi xinyi*

By adopting the framework of Lingbao retreat, the *Yuzhi xinyi* designates multiple ritual performers. *Jinlu jianwen* firstly appoints six roles of participant,<sup>130</sup> namely:

- 1) The ritual master (*fashi* 法師) whose virtue is lofty, and understands the wonderful meanings of the Dao 高德玄解妙義
- 2) The preceptor (*dujiang* 都講) who is talented and skillful, expert at ritual performance 才智精明閑練法度
- 3) The supervisor (*jianzhai* 監齋) who supervises the ritual participants and corrects transgressions 司察眾違彈糾愆失
- 4) The scripture watcher (*shijing* 侍經) who guards the scripture and keeps in order the book cover of the scripture 須營侍經文整理巾蘊
- 5) The incense watcher (*shixiang* 侍香) who takes care of the incense burner in order to keep the incense and candle burning 料理鑪器使香火不絕
- 6) The lamp watcher (*shideng* 侍燈) who is in charge of the lamps whenever lighting lamps are required 景臨西方備辦燈具.

The Lingbao retreat not only makes possible a longer ritual temporal scale by the increasing numbers of the performers, but also transforms the ritual into a communal activity by signifying explicit roles. Within the growing Daoist community, the Lingbao retreat allowed the intense interaction among the performers who came from different traditions/lineages. This remarks one of the fundamental changes took place in Daoism in the Six Dynasties.

The historical lineage of the *sanhuang* tradition in the 5<sup>th</sup> century also testifies

<sup>130</sup> Lü, *Tangqian daojiao shigang*, 253.

to the application of the Lingbao retreat. According to the preface of the *Scripture of the Three Luminaries* recited in the *Pivotal Meaning of Daoist Doctrine* (*Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞), an encyclopedia of Daoist terms and concepts compiled at the early 8<sup>th</sup> century by Meng Anpai 孟安排 (fl. 699), Lu Xiujing himself was a member of the lineage. Although when and where he received the scripture is not clear, he did transmit it to his disciple Sun Youyue 孫遊嶽.<sup>131</sup> It is thus quite possible that he designed and performed the transmission ritual of the *Scripture of the Three Luminaries* with Lingbao retreat. This practice might further spread to the north and ultimately absorbed in the *Yuzhi xinyi* project.

## II. The Practice of the Dao

The section of the Practice of the Dao manifests more features of Sanhuang tradition. Only half of the ritual actions are given with definite scriptural sources; no reference is given to the rest five actions. Although most of the definite sources here come from the Lingbao tradition, the ritual step B. no. 8 has a clear Sanhuang origin. Therefore, it is our effort here to concentrate on the B. no. 8 and the other parts that are without definite textual sources.

B: Practice of the Dao	Scriptural Source
1. Enter into the platform and open the furnace 入壇燒香發爐	<i>Lingbao zhai jing</i> 靈寶齋經
2. Bow to the Perfected Lord of the Three Luminaries 拜三皇真君	
3. Report to the lords and read the	<i>sishisi fang jing</i> *

<sup>131</sup> DZ 1129, 2. 7a.

text of covenant 上啟，讀盟文	
4. Drink the cinnabar water 喻丹水	
5. Visualize 存思	<i>Taiji yinzhu</i> 太極隱注
6. Chant the Recitation of Transmitting Scripture 傳經詠	<i>Taiji yinzhu</i> 太極隱注
7. The adept receives the scriptures and bows to the preceptor 弟子受經，禮師再拜	
8. Chant the three Yang Songs 詠陽歌三首	<i>Dongshen jing</i> 洞神經
9. Send off the Selestial Officials 還仙官	<i>Mingzhen jing</i> 明真經
10. Closing the furnace 復爐	
11. Wander, chant, and exsist the ritual realm 遊誦一首出道場	<i>Xiaomo jing</i> 消魔經

Table 4. The Scriptural Source of the Practice of the Dao in the *Yuzhi xinyi*

The section first gives regulation on the setting of platform. It is square, with each side in the length of 9 meters (3 *zhang* and 2 *chi*), or of 6.5 meters (2 *zhang* and 4 *chi*). One chooses the alternatives on the basis of the numbers of the participants.<sup>132</sup> This platform is defined as to function to expose the texts (*lusu* 露宿).<sup>133</sup> Moreover, there are three gates of the Three Luminaries on the platform: that of the Luminary of Heaven 天皇 on the north, the Luminary of Earth 地皇 on the southwest, the Luminary of Humanity 人皇 on the northwest, respectively. Each gate is remarked with a tablet to signify its title. Ritual performers shall enter and exist the platform through the gate for the Luminary of Human.

<sup>132</sup> Benn, *The Cavern-Mystery Transmission*, 23.

<sup>133</sup> In the *Jinlu jianwen*, it firstly requires the master to expose the scripture to be transmitted on the platform at night, and to observe whether the scripture is blown in the wind or not. If there is no wind and the scripture remain stable, then it indicates the candidate is eligible; otherwise the candidate practices a retreat for three days and the master repeats the exposure once more. If the scripture is still blown by the wind, then it indicates the candidate is not a right person to be transmitted. Lu Xiujing also adopts this in his *Shoudu yi*.

We are not told here if there is a top tier or Inner Altar within the platform. The *Yuzhi xinyi* prescribes the silk used to hold the seat (*zhenzuo* 鎮坐) and the silk of pledge (*benming cai* 本命綵) placed on the table offered to the Sanhuang. It thus can be inferred that the table and the seat are placed on the platform, which are highly likely at the center of the platform.<sup>134</sup> While sharing in common with typical Lingbao platforms, such as the shape, the length, and the gates with tablet, this setting also manifests the distinctive Sanhuang feature, that is, the *Yuzhi xinyi* follows the orthodoxy Sanhuang theology that treats the three lords as equally venerable gods who respectively rule over the pneuma, spirit, and life.<sup>135</sup> As a result, the tablets symbolize the spirits of Sanhuang at three separate directions on the platform.<sup>136</sup> In other words, this makes the platform refrain from creating a center on the stage, which fundamentally differs from that in the *Lingbao* retreat.

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<sup>134</sup> The scriptural sources for establishing the platform come from *Lingbao zhai jing*, which is alternative of *Jinlu jianwen* (Ōfuchi, Dōkyō to sono kyōten, 330). The only extant prescription of establishing platform is recorded in the *Yaouxu keyi jielu chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔:

To save the dead, one should practice the retreat on the middle court. As regards establishing the earth platform, the width and length of the upper platform are 2 *zhang* and 4 *chi*, those of the lower are 3 *zhang* and 2 *chi*. Make four sides and four corners (make it as square). Each of the ten gates on the upper and lower platform is as wide as 5 *chi*, with the thread bond and the tablet. [The establishment like this] is to imitate the Heaven and the Earth. Place a long lamp stand in the length of 9 *chi* at the center of the platform. There should be nine lamps on the stand. You should make them always lighting for their radiance reach to the Nine Heavens and Nine Darkness. Place other nine lamps on each side of the gate, thirty-six in total, to encircle the platform.

拔度生死，建齋於中庭。土壇縱廣，上壇二丈四尺，下三丈二尺。開四面四角。上下十門，門廣五尺，闌纂標榜，法天象地。壇中央安一長燈，令長九尺，上然九燈，每令光明。上照九天，下照九幽。於門外四面，各安九燈，合三十六燈以圍壇。

<sup>135</sup> 天皇主氣地皇主神人皇主生, *WSMY*, 6. 1a.

<sup>136</sup> To match the Sanhuang to the three directions is clearly not the invention of the *Yuzhi xinyi*. In the ritual elaboration in the *Taogong chuanshou yi*, the commentary mentions that the same correspondence between the direction and the Sanhuang, and states that this is in accordance with the scripture. Most likely, this scripture is the *Sanhuang jing*.

The series of steps B. no 2–4 function to announce the transmission to Sanhuang. It first requires the master to bow twice to them in accordance with the directions prescribed (B. no 2). Then the master opens the scrolls of the scriptures on the table (B. no 3). In this step, the disciple, facing to the east, should prostrate on the western side of the platform whereas the master performs a long kneel on the eastern side.<sup>137</sup> Different from the standard demonstration of the candidate's eligibility in the Lingbao initiation by “exposing the text,”<sup>138</sup> the master is not required to expose the text but just to prostrate himself/herself on the ground. If there is no wind blowing, then the master rises to continue the ritual. The master reads the writ of covenant by which the rules of transmission are stated and affirmed. Also stressed here are the social morals, such as filial piety, benevolence, loyalty, and goodness. In the step of B. no 4, the master and disciple drink the water of cinnabar and together draw with the cinnabar ink the Chinese character One.<sup>139</sup>

It is not clear the sources of the series of actions here; however, it manifests the attempt to embed Sanhuang theology within the *Lingbao* ritual framework. In

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<sup>137</sup> Long kneel is to kneel down with a straight back, a formal sitting posture to convey respect to the elder, the host, or the superior.

<sup>138</sup> Different from the covenant in the Abrahamic religions where covenant was exclusively the agreement that forms a relationship of commitment between God and his people, its counterpart in Daoism manifests diverse features. The Celestial Master movement originated from the Covenant of Power that the Lord Lao endowed to Zhang Daoling, the first Celestial Master. In the fangshi tradition, the covenant is made between the master and disciple, mainly involving the transmission regulations. Here the writ of covenant follows this tradition.

<sup>139</sup> Here the cinnabar water is applied as in the Declaration of Cinnabar Ink Writ in the *Shoudu yi*. However, there is no further indication about what this cinnabar ink really is.



the report to announce the transmission, the master orally reports to the Prime Lord of Most High (Taishang yuanjun 太上元君), the Great Spirit of Transcendent Capital (Xiandu dashen 仙都大神), and the Perfected Lords, the Three Luminaries (Sanhuang zhenjun 三皇真君) on the transmission and requests for their permission. To place the former two deities prior to the Three Luminaries indicates their superiority. The Prime Lord, along with the Great Spirit, plays a crucial role in the transmission ritual that originates from the *Scripture of the Forty-four Methods on Yellow Silk of the Most High of the Greatest Clarity* (*Shangqing taishang huangsu sishisi fang jing* 上清太上黄素四四方經; hereafter *Sishisi fang jing*), a code concerning the practice (*xiu* 修) and transmission (*shou* 授) of the core Shangqing scriptures, namely the *Dadong zhenjing*, the *Taidan yinshu jinhua dongfang* and *Ciyi baozhang*, and *Taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing*.<sup>140</sup> It provides an incantation to the Prime Lord and the Great Spirit in the purpose of requesting for the permission of transmission:

When transmitting the higher practice, the master who has the scripture must first seek for the correspondence before the transmission. One should enter into the chamber, burn the incense, and secretly appeal the deities. Thus one, in imagination, bows in front of the scripture, incanting in low voice that: O, the Prime Lord of Most High and the Great Spirit of Transcendent Capital, this day is the day of the auspicious, thus my appeals<sup>141</sup> are to be openly reported. I hope to transmit this higher practice to such and such, and venture to report this to the numinous

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<sup>140</sup> Even though many a practices in the scripture can be found in several other early Shangqing texts, the regulation of transmission with particular clear reference to the titles of the master involved, such as Ritual Master of the Three Caverns (Sandong fashi 三洞法師) or Ritual Master of the Great Cavern (Dadong fashi 大洞法師) is indeed innovative.

<sup>141</sup> The numeral eight here merely signifies the meaning of many.

primal. I am not sure whether it is allowed; I will be waiting for the correspondence before revealing [the scripture]. After the incantation, the one should go to sleep and will certainly get the numinous correspondence.

凡傳授上法之時，有經之師當先求感應，然後傳之。當入室燒香，密願神明。乃心拜經前，微咒曰：太上元君仙都大神，今日吉日，八願開陳。欲傳某上法，敢告靈元，未知可否，須應乃宣。咒畢便寢，必獲靈應。<sup>142</sup>

On the one hand, the *Yuzhi xinyi* introduces the main deities of the incantation and places them as the supreme authority to report. On the other hand, it changes the form of the incantation to fit the structure of Lingbao retreat. First, it changes the ritual place from the chamber to the platform. Second, to bow, even in the slightest degree, is extremely prohibited in the *Sishisi fang jing*. The moving of head is believed to make the Spiritual Palace inverted and the Muddy Pellet overturned 神宮迴覆泥丸顛倒.<sup>143</sup> Thus the master is required to imagine himself/herself as bowing in front of the scripture. In the performance of the *Yuzhi xinyi*, however, various gestures including the bowing, prostrating, and kneeling are used. Third, while it keeps the Prime Lord and the Great Spirit who are even arranged in a remarkable place in the incantation, the Perfected Lords of Three Luminaries who has the immediate relationship with the Sanhuang scripture is introduced among the deities to whom the master should ask for permission. In this process, the modularity of the original incantation as a cluster of meaning and practice associated with the Prime Lord and the Great Spirit is transformed. Both meaning and practice are modified. Therefore, the omen by which deities respond

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<sup>142</sup> DZ 1380, 9a.

<sup>143</sup> DZ 1380, 9b.

to the request of transmission changes from the dream in the *Sishisi fangjing* to the wind blowing in the *Yuzhi xinyi*.

The steps of the B.no 5–6 are the core of the ritual, serving the actual transmission of scriptures. First, the master is supposed to visualize the Perfects of Three Palaces (sangong zhenren 三宮真人), who are in the shape of nude infants, perfume the scripture by the purple pneuma exhaled from their mouths. This method can first be found from the *Taiji yinzhu*, an early 4th century scripture revealed by Xu Laile 徐來勒, or the Perfect of Supreme Pole 太極真人, in the ancient-Lingbao corpus. The text gives detailed prescription for the transmission and veneration of a wide spectrum of scriptures of *Dao De jing* and the Three Caverns.

The transmission rite of the Sanhuang scriptures is proposed as follows:

To transmit the Celestial Writ of Three Luminaries of the Most High, the master faces to the north and [places] the scripture on the table. The master then holds the scripture in hand and the adept lifts the ritual pledge. The master then grinds the teeth for twenty-four times, and visualizes each Perfect of the Three Palaces in the appearance of infant wearing no cloth. From their mouths they exhale purple pneuma<sup>144</sup> to perfume the scriptures. The master slowly<sup>145</sup> incants that:

O, The Celestial Writs<sup>146</sup> of the Most High,  
It is related that you were the beginning of the heaven and earth,  
The Luminary Man<sup>147</sup> spread the mysterious teaching,

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<sup>144</sup> The purple pneuma has been consistently used in the early Shangqing scriptures either as the symbol of breath or as the light of heaven. It may be the equivalent of yellow as the color of central earth in the theory of Five Phases, see Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing*, 1: 153, n. 3.

<sup>145</sup> Here I read *tu* as the deviant of *xu*. In the beginning the adept is addressed as *dizi*, so the same in the end. Therefore it may be inconsistent if the adept is addressed in another way in the middle of the ritual.

<sup>146</sup> In the version of the *Yuzhi xinlu*, it is Treasured Writ rather than Celestial Writ.

<sup>147</sup> The Luminary Man is certainly not the Luminary of Humanity, but it has close relationship

Which is the book of the ultimate truth.  
 The virtuous now respectfully accept it,  
 With determined commitment to ascend to the Greatest Void,  
 After this, the adept bows twice and accepts the scripture.  
 授太上三皇天文，師北向，經於案上。師執經，弟子擎法信。師叩齒二十四下，  
 心存三宮各一真人如嬰兒之狀，不著衣，口吐紫氣，以薰經。師徒而祝曰：太  
 上之天文，傳說天地初。皇人宣玄旨，是為至真書。賢者今奉受，志願昇太  
 虛。畢，弟子再拜受經。<sup>148</sup>

Since the visualization of the perfects stands at the center of the transmission, how does the borrowing of the same visualization make sense in another transmission ritual? The term Three Palaces most likely refers to the Three Ones—the tripartite energy centers of the body, namely the Muddy Pellet (brain), Red Palace (heart), and Vermillion Field (abdomen). The meditation on the Three Ones triad dates back to the Han dynasty and grew out of the amalgamation of Han official cult, visualization centered in inner deities, and the practice of *baoyi*.<sup>149</sup> The earliest systematic Daoist elaboration on the praxis of Three Ones is found in the *Middle Scripture of Laozi* (*Laozi zhongjing* 老子中經).<sup>150</sup> The

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with the Sanhuang tradition. Instead, the deity has its origin in the *Taishang taiyi zhenyi zhi jing* that is recited in the *Taishang lingbao wufu xu*. The core of the scripture focuses on the practice of the Three Ones or the True One. A survey to the scriptures that involve the practice in the early medieval period reveal that some of them contain Sanhuang in the title. In the preface of *Scripture of the Three Luminaries* preserved in the *Daojiao yishu*, it claims that the E'mei Mountain, where is the residence of the Luminary Man, preserves both the Dayou and Xiaoyou version of the scripture. More specifically, in the myth of the transmission of *Tianhuang zhenyi zhi jing*, the Yellow Emperor owns the scripture whereas the Luminary Man plays the significant role in the deciphering of the scripture. This is the very fixed image of the Luminary Man in the Lingbao tradition. Here in the verse, the Luminary Man plays the similar role as it is in the Lingbao tradition. I draw the outline of the deity from Hsieh Shu-wei, *Tianjie zhiwen: Wei Jin Nanbeichao Lingbao jingdian yanjiu* 天界之文：魏晉南北朝靈寶經典研究 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2010), 125–66

<sup>148</sup> *DZ* 425, 3a–b.

<sup>149</sup> Steavu, *The Three Sovereign Tradition*, 201.

<sup>150</sup> Wang Zongyu 王宗昱, *Daojiao yishu yanjiu* 道教義樞研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 2001), 203.

meditation on the Three Ones as the deities of three cinnabar fields was a common practice in the latter Daoist texts such as the *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* and the *Baopuzi*. These texts might denote some identical religious trend that contributed to shape the impression of a cohesive Southern esoteric tradition;<sup>151</sup> however, it is more likely that the different Daoist traditions intentionally developed their own idea and praxis of the Three while inspired by the meditation techniques carried on from the Han sources such as the *Laozi zhongjing*. Here, we scrutinize the one such practice in the Sanhuang tradition from the *Scripture of Three Ones of Three Luminaries* (*Sanhuang sanyi jing* 三皇三一經; hereafter *Sanyi jing*).<sup>152</sup>

The practice in the *Sanyi jing* certain differs from that in the either the *Laozi zhongjing* and the *Baopuzi* in terms of the name of the Three Ones, the effect that the practice brings, and some other terms.<sup>153</sup> However, the current text also shows that the visualization in the *Sanyi jing* shares similarity as that in the *Laozi zhongjing*.<sup>154</sup> Suffice it here to say that the there are visualizations respectively for each individual deity and for the triad of the Three Ones. When it comes to the latter, it first requires one to know the name of the three, that is, the Upper and

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<sup>151</sup> Steavu, *The Three Sovereign Tradition*, 208.

<sup>152</sup> The complete scripture has been long but is partly preserved in the extant *Dongshen badi miaoqing jing*, a compilation of some of the basic material of the Sanhuang tradition.

<sup>153</sup> Hsieh Shu-wei, “Zhonggu daoqiao shi zhong de sanhuangwen chuantong yanjiu 中古道教史中的三皇文傳統研究,” 45.

<sup>154</sup> Wang Zongyu, *Daoqiao yishu yanjiu*, 203

Upper Primal Deity with the byname Yuanxian, the Middle and Middle Primal Deity with the byname Xuanjian, and the Lower and Lower Primal Deity with the byname Xuanmiao. Then the practice should be accordingly conducted:

One should frequently fix the mind [on the deities] without ever forgetting [them]. When one is alone in tranquil, one visualizes to see them in the nude<sup>155</sup>; when in the crowd, then one visualizes them wearing cloth and crown. Each and each has colored cloth, which is plain and clear.

常念勿忘，獨靜心存，見神赤貌。若在眾中，見神衣冠，各有服色，了了然焉。

<sup>156</sup>

Like any other typical Daoist visualization in the early medieval period, it mainly instructs the practitioners to imagine the appearance of certain deity. Compared with the Three Perfect of the Three Palaces, it is hard to draw any similarity between the two, except in the visualization one sees the Three Perfects unclothed. Indeed, in elsewhere we can locate the Three Perfect of the Three Palaces who are explicitly visualized as a group of deities. Therefore, rather than to ask the theological foundation of the Three Perfect in the transmission ritual of Sanhuang scripture, we may wonder what is the meaning, if any, of the visualization in the ritual process by focusing on the scheme of the transmission as a single ritual episode in the *Taiji yinzhu* and on the place where the transmission is embedded in a longer ritual process in the *Yuzhi xinyi*.

First and foremost, the actions to perform the visualization are different. In

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<sup>155</sup> It is highly likely that *chi* serves as a double entendre here, that is, the color of infant on one side and the condition of being in the nude on the other.

<sup>156</sup> *DZ* 640, 4a.

the *Taiji yinzhu*, both the master and adept face to the north, where the scripture is placed on the table. This location is as same as that in the *Taogong chuanshou yi*. On the other hand, embedded in the ritual structure of the *Yuzhi xinyi*, the meanings and practices of the two steps are also slightly modified by the prior and succeeding steps. In the *Taiji yinjue*, the master imagines the scripture perfumed, serving a symbol of making the scripture sacred. However, the Three Perfects are essentially the body deities of the master. No supreme deity, including the Three Luminaries, is summoned, nor does it employ any spiritual officials to convey the message of transmission.<sup>157</sup> In the following step, the master *incants* 祝 the verse, which merely conveys its meaning to the disciple. Thus the verse reaffirms the scripture's sacredness and encourages the adept to make transcendence.

The embedded B. no 5–6 in the *Yuzhi xinyi*, however, shows contrast features that it aims to construct religious authority and shape the lineage. The B. no 2 and B. no 3 both introduce supreme deities, such as the Prime Lord, the Great Spirit, and the Three Luminaries to the ritual realm. Even though there is no bureaucratic system applied in a strict sense, the supreme deities play an indispensable role in the transmission ritual. They serve as the authority of the religious tradition, from where the permission for transmission is issued. Moreover, there are other

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<sup>157</sup> The absence of the Three Luminaries in the transmission needs further investigation in the study of *Taiji yinzhu*. Why such pivotal deities in the tradition of the scripture transmitted is missed here? It seems likely that the author of the *Taiji yinzhu* did not have the copy of *Sanhuang jing* at hand or at least did not have the complete copy. His/her knowledge of *Sanhuang* tradition may largely come from *Lingbao* scriptures.

lower-leveled deities who are summoned to supervise the ritual.<sup>158</sup> Therefore, while the visualization of perfuming the scripture also stresses the sacredness of the scripture, its role here concentrates more on preparing the scriptures ready to transmit in the very moment before the adept receives them. By the same token, when the verse is *chanted* 詠 here, it conveys the meaning not only to all the ritual participants but also the deities, which shows the commitment to the deities.

Right after the disciple receives the scripture, the three Yang Songs are to be sung among the crowd. These songs are anthology of the total nine songs in the Nine Stanzas of Yang Songs in the *Badi miaojing jing*. In a preface to the main body of the songs, it narrates the numinous effect of the songs that when the sincerity of the practitioner moves the spirit, the Luminous Thearch of the Nine Heavens 九天帝皇 sends the Spiritual Lads 神童 to guard the scriptures and the Mysterious Ladies 玄女 to sing the Yang Songs in order to widely spread the wonderful pneuma, distributing the auspiciousness and expelling the disaster 宣通妙氣布吉消凶. When encircling the platform in the ritual, it is instructed, practitioners should memorize and recite it in order to make themselves to match the spirits.<sup>159</sup> To practice the three pieces of the Yang Songs in *Yuzhi xinyi*, one is instructed to circulate the platform three times. The pieces selected here are first

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<sup>158</sup> In the B. no 9, it prescribes the master to announce the merit for a group of deities who supervise (*jianlin* 鑑臨) the transmission. We will discuss this point later.

<sup>159</sup> 學者行道巡迴之時，宜習誦之，以會神契也。DZ 640,



three songs in the *Badi miaoqing jing*:<sup>160</sup>

Pure *jue*<sup>161</sup> is the *Yang* song chanted in the way of the Brahman<sup>162</sup>,  
Flowing is it, spurting to ten directions.<sup>164</sup>  
Greenish and greenish the myriad flowers are shining,  
it takes me up to the Nine Layers<sup>165</sup>.  
the western strings raises the melody,  
and that moves the Royal Father of the East<sup>166</sup>.

清角<sup>163</sup>陽歌梵，  
飄飄激十方。  
青青萬卉耀，  
携我造九重。  
西絃抗音調，  
感悟東王公。

<sup>160</sup> In the Chinese cosmological worldview, the notion of Yin and Yang denotes to the complimentary entities or phenomena such as female/male, dark/light, earth/heaven, passive/active. In WSMY, it presents another version of the Nine Stanzas of Yang Songs, complementary with Six Stanzas of Yin Songs. In the *Badi miaoqing jing*, however, there is only a set of the Yang Songs of Nine Stanzas. Steavu thus suggests the Yin Songs is missed there, see 229.

<sup>161</sup> *Jue* stands at the fourth of the note of the pentatonic scale, corresponding symbolically to the east, springtime, wood, the color of green.

<sup>162</sup> The translation of Brahma, fan has two meanings in Chinese context. The one refers to the Brahman, the creator of the world; the other denotes the thing that has Indian origin. (Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 386) More specifically, the fan was frequently associated with a sacred writing script or written system (Victor Mair, “Cheng Ch’iao’s Understanding of Sanskrit: The Concept of Spelling in China,” in *A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Jao Tsung-I on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Anniversary*, Hong Kong: Chinese University (1994): 331–41; Daniel Boucher, “On Hu and Fan Again: the Transmission of Barbarian Manuscripts to China,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 3. 1 (2000): 7–28), and with the sacred sound, or brahmasvara, in religious chanting or music (Victor Mair and Mei Tsu-lin, “The Sanskrit Origins of Recent Style Prosody,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51.2 (1991): 375–470; Zhu Qingzhi 朱慶之, *Fan Han Fahuajing zhong de ji, song he jisong 梵漢《法華經》中的“偈”“頌”和“偈頌”*, *Hualin 華林*, no. 2(2002): 27–46; Li Xiaorong 李小榮, *Bianwen jiangchang yu Hua Fan zongjiao yishu 變文講唱與華梵宗教藝術*, (Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 2002). In the Daoist Lingbao tradition, fan becomes the core and multidimensional notion in the Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaoqing 靈寶無量度人上品妙經. Fan is considered as the nature of the universe and equivalence of the Dao. One of its manifestations is the Five Chapters of Perfected Writs, which is essentially the circulation of pneuma. Ritually fan is closely connected with recitation of Daoist hymns in that the way they are chanted is called the fanyong. See Hiesh Shu-wei, *Da Fan milio: Zhonggu shiqi Daojiao jingdian zhong de Fojiao 大梵彌羅：中古時期道教經典當中的佛教* (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2013), 225–40.

<sup>163</sup> *Jue* is used as *yun* 韻 in the *Badi miaoqing jing*.

<sup>164</sup> 激=徹 in BDMJJ.

<sup>165</sup> In Chinese traditional cosmology, *jiutian* are nine horizontal subdivisions corresponding to the center and eight directions of heaven. In some Daoist texts, while they inherit this view of the nine heavens, they are often represented in vertical or hierarchical ways. Moreover, the concept is also understood as a stage in the progress of the Primal Pneuma giving birth to the cosmos, see Robinet, *La Révélation du Shangqing dans l’histoire du taoïsme*, 1: 191; Fabrizio Pregadio, “Nine Heavens,” in Fabrizio Pregadio ed., *The Encyclopaedia of Taoism*, 2vols (London: Routledge, 2006), 1. 98.

<sup>166</sup> The divine consort of the West Queen Mother, the Royal Father of the East had been worshipped in the popular religions in as late as Eastern Han. His image in the Han religious practice such as carved brick and shrines is always placed in the east side, which, according to the Five Phases theory, is the direction of the wood. It stands for growth and its color is azure. Perhaps for this reason, his image in the Shangqing tradition largely overlaps with that of the Azure Lad,

The Primal Cavern initiates the commencement of the fate,  
 Primal *Yang*<sup>167</sup> sprouts myriad sprouts.  
 Harmonious breeze shakes the jade branches,  
 Lofty woods shine upon the veil of cloud.  
 Goumang<sup>168</sup> urges farming<sup>169</sup>,  
 The sun and moon flash iridescence to the eastern far distant  
 The transcendent virtuous frolic mystery garden,  
 And flowing Brahman rises the sounding reed-pipe

元洞啟運首，  
 始陽萌萬芽。  
 和風振瓊條，  
 高林耀雲羅。  
 句芒勸農業，  
 日月煥東遐。  
 仙賢遊玄圃，  
 飛梵起鳴笳。

To rein the effulgence at the Chamber of Great Cloud<sup>170</sup>,  
 and bring into line the wheels at the court of nine heavens.  
 The thronging transcendents raise up the flowing Brahman,  
 and the Yang songs are sounding all times.  
 If not by the virtue of numinous persons<sup>171</sup>,  
 how would one pay respects in audience  
 to the transcendent and the perfected<sup>172</sup>.

控景太霞室，  
 齊輪九天庭。  
 眾仙抗飛梵，  
 陽歌時時鳴。  
 自非靈人德，  
 焉能禮仙真。

The core theme running throughout the three songs is the energetic Yang that brings birth, growth, and the transcendence. The three pieces represents a gradually advanced process to the transcendence. The first piece delineates the

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who is cosmologically and symbolically the deity of growth and enlightenment (Paul Kroll, "In the halls of Azure Lad," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 105, No. 1 (1985): 75–94). In the popular religions as well literature, its close relationship with the West Queen Mother has been well preserved in the Tang, see Suzanne Elizabeth Cahill, *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 70, 73.

<sup>167</sup> The Primal Yang is the primal and energetic pneuma that particularly connects with the east 東為洞空始陽之氣氣出於空智明慧遼

<sup>168</sup> In the Warring State texts, Gou Mang is one of the divine pair (the other is Ru Shou) of the messenger of their superior, the Thearch. One of his official tasks is to deliver the extension of life to Heaven's chosen beneficiaries. More relevant to his role here is his residence to the east. That he encourages people to farm may resonate his role of the nurturer and guardian of new life. For the above overview, see Jeffrey K Riegel, "Kou-mang and Ju-shou," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, no. 5 (1989): 55–83.

<sup>169</sup> The characters 農業 are 植善 in *BDMJJ*

<sup>170</sup> It seems that the Yang Songs is the only source of the Chamber of Great Cloud. Obviously, the chamber is a celestial place; however, it is unclear what mythology lies behind, who are the inhabitants, and what does it mean to these celestial practitioners.

<sup>171</sup> I follow the *BDMJJ* to read the character 德 instead of the 億 in the original *WSMY*.

<sup>172</sup> I follow the *BDMJJ* to read the character 仙真 instead of the 化員 in the original *WSMY*.

series of the chanting where the melody in the *jue* tone, along with the lyrics, is played in the hope of moving the deity in the east. Then it gives a description of the east where the time and beings cosmologically begin. Here it is the mysterious garden where the transcendentals are wandering and the music is played with reed-pipe. The third phrase changes the description to vertical ascending to the heavenly court, where the practitioners are paying respects in audience to the transcendentals with playing Yang Songs.

The reappearances of the musical instruments in the lyrics may indicate the actual usage in the performance. In the first song, it describes that the melody rose by the strings on the west, which resonates with position of the disciples and the master on the platform. This fact may further suggest that they both are the performers of the Yang Songs. To chant the songs in a collective way exteriorizes the interior meditation and creates a shared world of the interaction with the transcendent. Moreover, it is not clear from the description here whether or not an audience of Daoist believers would have been present to witness the performance. However, in the step of B. no 5 the presence of certain audience (zhong 眾) is referred. Accordingly, it can be inferred that the ritual is not only publically accessible, but also meaningful for the all participants of the ritual. The Yang Songs thus orientates the ending part of the transmission with both meaning and action.

To end the ritual, the master should first send off the deities who supervise the transmission. In the report to the Celestial Worthy and so forth, he/she once again reaffirms the lineage constructed by the lawfully transmitted scripture. The step of the B. 10, or restore the furnace, serves the typical closing of Lingbao ritual. However, the ritual adds one extra ending of wandering recitation (*yousong* 遊誦). This comes from the *Lyrics of the Three Destinies and the Five Sufferings* (*Santu wuku ci* 三徒五苦辭) in the *Lingbao Scripture on the Great Superior Rules and Original Vows of Wisdom* (*Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui benyuan dajie shangpin jing* 太上洞玄靈寶智慧本願大戒上品經).<sup>173</sup> The content of the lyrics concerns the significance of respecting the precept in practitioner's pursuit of transcendence. Nevertheless, the way that the lyrics are performed here is no less significant than its content. That is, the participants recite it while exiting the platform. This indicates another performance to the poetic lyrics. Different from the step B. no 8, here they are non-musical and the performers' movement is not circular, but irregular. As same as the step B. no 8, however, it is also performative and manifests the interior experience to the public.

In conclusion, the *Yuzhi xinyi* provides a more complicated version of transmission than it is in the *Taogong chuanshou yi*. First and foremost, it adopts the form of Lingbao retreat and declines libation ritual. The pledge of silk is

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<sup>173</sup> The same lyrics can also be found the *Lingbao shoudu yi*.

required in the same amount, yet the offerings of meat and ale are rejected. It relocates the ritual on the platform that combines Lingbao format and Sanhuang theological symbols. It allows more participants on the stage, including both performers and witnesses. The master is weighted more here and his role as the intermediary between the sacred origin of scripture and disciple is even more reinforced. Both the interior body deities and the exterior ones are summoned. There is a hierarchy in the latter ones, however, no bureaucratic system is applied.

#### **2.4 The Master with an Incomplete Canon: The Rite for Practicing the Dao**

The influence of the *Yuzhi xinyi* had extended from the Tongdao Abbey where it was compiled to other contemporary Daoist communities. In the *Rite for Practicing the Dao and Transmission of the Dongshen Division* (*Taishang dongshen xingdao shoudu yi* 太上洞神行道授度儀; hereafter *Dongshen shoudu yi*), an anthological protocol of ritual manuals, namely that of the Nocturnal Announcement, the Announcement of Merit (*yangong fa* 言功法), the Practice of Dao, the libation, the Transmission (*chuanshou yi* 傳授儀), and the Audience Rite (*chaoli* 朝禮).<sup>174</sup> Although there is disagreement on its date,<sup>175</sup> given the

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<sup>174</sup> Schipper considers the entire protocol is designed solely for transmission, thereby each rite within serves the transmission (*Taoist Canon*, 1: 508). However, the title of the protocol, the Comprehending Spirit Division, indicates it adopts the Daoist system of the ordination rank. In this system, the rite of ordination is typologically distinguished from that of audience. The fact that they are individual rites can also be testified by the author's colophon, see my discussion below.

<sup>175</sup> Schipper considers it is a Tang text (*Taoist Canon*, 1: 507); the compiler of the *Zhonghua Daozang* dates it in the Six Dynasties (*ZHDZ*, 4: 504). It seems to me the latter date is more plausible because in the report requesting the permission, the administrative system of *jun-xian* (prefect and county) is referred in the personal information. In the Tang, however, the system

presence of the libation ritual, we can at least say about the place, that is, it seems likely the protocol was circulated in the South.

The transmission rite in this protocol shares not only verbatim the structure as the transmission of Sanhuang scripture in the *Yuzhi xinyi*, but also almost the same performance of each step.<sup>176</sup> However, the impetus of compiling the *Dongshen shoudu yi* is different, which is well explained in the truncated and unsigned colophon attached at the very end of the protocol:

The ritual of the Three Luminaries of the Comprehending Spirit [makes one] to communicate with the numinous and utilize the ghost, to summon and cause myriad deities to labor, to pacify the state and family, and to help and save common people. If [Daoist] scholar practices this, then he/she could be transcendent and be delivered from this world. However, ever since my late master, the scriptures have been incomplete. As regards the transmission, there are also many points are defective [in the rite]. In accordance with the scriptures, It record the talismans, the chart, and the *Jade Writ*, and compose [the ritual manual for the rite performed on] platform and for ordination, which I treat as the treasure of the body. The scriptures in the division are mainly about the method of summoning [the deities and ghosts]. This is exactly the content of the Jade Writ, but few in the world are able to practice. One can thus copy and collect later to make the completion. The scholars are mostly poor and are not able to make the completion shortly. If they can first make the ritual practice complete, then it is the best.

洞神三皇之法，通靈使鬼，役召萬神，安國寧家，匡濟兆民。學士修行，可以昇仙度世。但先師以來，經不備足。至於授度，亦多闕略。今依經撰錄符圖玉文登壇授度，以為身寶。其中經文，率多徵召之法。乃是玉文之辭說，世亦罕能施用。故可自後抄集，以為全備。學者多貧，卒難周辨。若能具足登壇者，最是令法。<sup>177</sup>

This colophon provides us a precious account of Sanhuang ritual practice in many ways. It shows that there was a normative catalogue of the scripture

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became three-leveled, *zhou* was used along the *jun* and *xian*.

<sup>176</sup> As for a line-by-line comparison, see Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 130–32.

<sup>177</sup> *DZ* 1283, 12b.

transmitted in the division of the Comprehending Spirit, even though the scriptures actually transmitted might not completely fit what was prescribed in the real transmission. By the time of the author's master, the scriptures transmitted were already incomplete. Here the author made effort to collate the scriptures (the talismans, the chart, and the Jade Writ) and to compose the ritual manuals. Because of the shortage of monetary source, the author was facing the dilemma of restoring the scriptures or the ritual praxis. The latter was chosen. The author explained that the scriptures mainly contained the method of summoning the ghosts and deities, which was hardly employed in his/her time. It can be inferred that the other was more widely practiced, that is, the practice *with* the *Sanhuang* scriptures had become more popular than the practice *of* *Sanhuang* scriptures that were mainly pertinent with spiritual summoning. This is indeed what the author had done in the *Dongshen shoudu yi*, in which merely the rites for different functions were collected.

It is interesting to see that the author explains by himself/herself why choosing not to make the complete Dongshen Division the first priority, considering the lost of scripture had not been too long (it merely happened at his/her master's time). From the fact that the author was familiar with the content of the scriptures in the division 其中經文率多徵召之法, it is highly possible that he had learned this from other Daoists who possessed the completed division. In

spite of the fact that the cost of the pledge refrained the author from requesting the scriptures, he/she was privileged to collect the ritual manuals relevant to Sanhuang tradition. In other words, even if one failed to possess the complete division, one was still able to practice the relevant rituals as long as one had a ritual manual that was correct and complete. This reflects that the ritual authority might come directly from the generally accepted normative ritual template.<sup>178</sup>

If this were true, it would indicate the very significant shift of the ritual rationale of the transmission rite since the late 6<sup>th</sup> century. It had been through the transmission of scriptures that created the role of a master and that of disciple. As Robinet keenly points out, the master-disciple relation was established by transmitting scripture, thereby the master was titled the master of scripture (*jingshi* 經師).<sup>179</sup> The veneration of scripture also centered in various early Lingbao rituals. Recitation of scripture is an indispensable part in the Lingbao retreat, often considered as bringing merit to the practitioner, purifying the residual *karma* derived from speech, or resulting in the attainment of longevity.<sup>180</sup> In the transmission rite particular, the presence of scripture on the platform not only serves the most significant ritual object transmitted, but also symbolizes the

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<sup>178</sup> These template were also considered as scripture, or *jing*, for example, the influential *Lingbao Jinlu jianwen* is recited in *WSMY* as *Jinlu jing*. In the Tang prescription of ordination rank, the titles of the ritual templates are included in the catalogue of scripture (*jingmu* 經目), see *DZ* 803 *Taishang dongshen sanhuangyi*, 5a–b.

<sup>179</sup> Robinet, *La Révélation du Shangqing*, 1: 122.

<sup>180</sup> Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 141–43; Qing Xitai, *Zhongguo daojiao shi*, 3: 194–97.



ultimate religious authority of the transmission rite.<sup>181</sup>

The incomplete division, however, would attenuate this authority to a large extent. When the scriptures were no longer able to give evidence as ritual authority, the transmission ritual would be assigned a new rationale. Here the ritual itself became the independent source of the authority. This is exactly what the protocol reflects—these rituals, instead of the spiritual summoning that had been the core of the Sanhuang practice, are first to be recovered. Under this circumstance, another religious authority must be required to replace the role that scripture played and the master-disciple relationship would shift.

There are several significant modification made to the ritual here. The first significant is made to the communication to the Perfected Lord of Three Luminaries (B. 2) where the master separately and in succession bows to the three lords. The *Dongshen shoudu yi* modifies this step by giving lengthy title to each deity and adding action to communicate with them.

Deity	Direction
<i>Taiyuan sanxuan kong tian jiazi yuanjian tianhuang zhenjun taihaoyuanyinning tian</i> 太元三玄空天甲子元建 天皇真君 太皓元陰凝天	North
<i>Sanyuan sulu yu tian jiashen yuanjian dihuang zhenjun nanhewangtaifeilong</i>	Southwest

<sup>181</sup> For example, the *Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu* 洞真太上太霄琅書 regulates that “as for those who have abundant wealth and sufficient power, they should make three copies of scriptures, one for permanent guard, one for retreat offering, one for study,” 豐財足力各立三通一為長鎮一為供齋一為研習 DZ 1352, 5. 1a.

三元素盧玉天甲申元建 地皇真君 南和王太非隆	
<i>Qiwei haoyu xu tian jiyin yuanjian renhuang zhenjun shangfeichangzinandan</i>	Northeast
七微浩鬱虛天甲寅元建 人皇真君 上非昌子南丹	st

Table 5. The Deities Invoked in the *Dongshen Shoudu yi*

As the table shows, each deity's lengthy title consists of three parts: the epithet, the main title, and the secret name.<sup>182</sup> The epithet can find its theological basis from a late 6<sup>th</sup> century version of the *Scripture of the Three Luminaries* that is partly recited in the *WSMY*.<sup>183</sup> According to the scripture, the Three Luminaries respectively established successive sovereign. The Celestial Luminary had his sovereign commenced (*yuanjian* 元建) in the certain *jiazi* year on the Empty Heaven of Three Mysteries of the Greatest Primal 太元三玄空天, the Terrestrial Luminary in the certain *jiashen* year on the Jade Heaven of Plain Adobe of the Three Primals 三元素盧玉天, and the Mankind Luminary in the certain *jiayin* year on the Void Heaven of Vast luxuriant of Seven Tenuities 七微浩鬱虛天.

These deities are bowed twice and invoked 再拜呼 by the master. Only the former action is used in the *Yuzhi xinyi*. To invoke deity (*hushen* 呼神) was a method to summon and communicate with the spiritual world. The spirits evoked

<sup>182</sup> The protocol is the only source in the Daoist canon that mentions the third part of the title. I assume it might be the name of the deity mainly because of its meaninglessness fits the common feature of secret name or inner name in the contemporary Daoist sources or the ones prior to it. The *Taishang qiuxian dinglu chisu zhenjue yuwen* 太上求仙定錄尺素真訣玉文 records a version of the name taboos, which is written in unrecognizable characters. The number of characters are different from they are here, that is, the name taboo of the Luminary of Heaven has four characters, that of the Luminary of Earth seven characters, that of the Luminary of Human five, see *DZ* 128, 1a.

<sup>183</sup> *DZ* 1138, 6. 5b.

fall into two categories, one is that of the external deity, and the other the body deity. Both can be found in very early texts. *The Scripture of Great Peace* (*Taiping jing* 太平經) records the Crucial Words of Spirit and Sage 神聖要語 that one uses to incant for deities 招呼神,<sup>184</sup> whereas the Middle Scripture of Lord Lao uses *hushen* to evoke the body deities.<sup>185</sup> Later, the method was employed in one Daoist community, but rejected in another.<sup>186</sup> Compared to visualize the body deities by merely invoking them, to summon external deity requires more procedures, particularly by practicing retreat.<sup>187</sup>

While originating from older and contemporary traditions, the technique of invoking deity in the communication to the supreme Perfected Lord of Three Luminaires from whom the Sanhuang scriptures are revealed is indeed ritually innovative. The technique shall be used along with the lengthy titles, which may serve to make the closer communication with the lords and compensate the deficient religious authority. Another change is made to the master's visualization of the Three Perfect. In the *Yuzhi xinyi*, the body deities are imagined to exhale the purple pneuma to perfume the scriptures, the master, and the adept. However,

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<sup>184</sup> DZ 1101, 50. 12b

<sup>185</sup> DZ 1168, 1. 7b.

<sup>186</sup> For example, the “Method to Cause the Pneuma of the Five Gods of the Thearch of the Upper Clarity of the Great White 太素上清致帝君五神氣法” in the *Shangqing zijing junhuang chuzi ling daojun dongfang shangjing* 上清紫精君皇初紫靈道君洞房上經 instructs the practitioner to hail to the deities three times before visualization (DZ 405, 9a). In the early Celestial Master tradition, the method was strictly prohibited. (See *Nüqing guilü*, DZ 790, 5.3b)

<sup>187</sup> DZ 640, 3b. See also Paul Anderson, “Talking to the Gods, Visionary Divination in Early Taoism (The Sanhuang Tradition).” *Taoist Resources* 5.1 (1994): 11–2.

here it changes the object perfumed to merely the scriptures. To highlight the sacredness of the scriptures may thus compensate the incompleteness of the scriptures.

The more significant change to which we can make certain sense comes to the position of the master and the adept on the platform. The two are in the east-west locality in the step B. no. 3 whereas they here are in the north-south. This position here then certainly raises the status of the master. As discussed in the last section, the north-south locality embodies the relationship of ruler and servant whereas the east-west locality symbolizes that of host and guest. This locality is also applied in the master's communication with deity. In the sending off the deities who oversee and guard the transmission (it corresponds to the step of B. no 9), the protocol designs the master to bow to the north. Therefore, the deity-master-adept is reorganized to the linear north-south locality by which an explicit hierarchy is constructed. In fact, north is designed as the location of all kinds of deities, ranging from the supreme Lord of Dao to the lower local deities, throughout the other four rituals in the protocol. This arrangement on the one hand makes the ritual participants closer to the deities other than to the scripture. On the other hand, it reshapes the role of the master as the intermediary between the supreme spirit and disciple. Transmission of scripture is no longer the solely factor that forms the role of master.

To sum up, the protocol by and large preserves the performance of the transmission rite prescribed in the *Yuzhi xinyi*, with modification to fit the real situation. However, it represents a Daoist community attempting to transplant an influential ritual template. The religious authority of scripture is attenuated. As a result, the religious authority of the exalted deities invited to the ritual is augmented.

## 2.5 The Making of Sanhuang Ordination Rite

The *Rite of the Three Luminaries of the Comprehending Spirit of the Most High* (*Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi* 太上洞神三皇儀) and the Transmission Rite of the Three Luminaries of the Comprehending Spirit of the Most High (*Taishang dongshen sanhuang chuanshou yi* 太上洞神三皇傳授儀) together serve a more elaborated ritual protocol of transmitting the Sanhuang scriptures and other ritual object for the purpose of ordaining the adept into the Disciple of Comprehending Spirit (*Dongshen dizi* 洞神弟子) and Ritual Master of Comprehending Spirit (*Dongshen fashi* 洞神法師).<sup>188</sup> The date of the texts is mostly likely to be the

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<sup>188</sup> Both of the present manuals seem to be incomplete. The former ends abruptly with the presentation of the Three Sovereigns. Also the Opening of the Furnace in the former is not matched with a corresponding part of the Closing of the Furnace at the end. The contrary-- The first part is missing and there is a Closing of the furnace—can be found in the latter. This fact, along with that the writs and talismans mentioned on the latter are listed in the former, make it probable that the two correspond to each other and together consist a more complete protocol, see Taoist Canon, 1. 506. There are certainly more points in the two texts that do not match each other, for example, the official title in the petition in the former text differs greatly from that in the latter, which reflects the two come from different Celestial Master communities. Therefore, I treat the texts as the representative of the beginning and ending of transmission rite of Dongshen ordination rank modeled by Celestial Master ritual tradition while bearing in mind they represent different ritual agendas.

Tang dynasty.<sup>189</sup>

The texts transmitted here are defined as the *Registers, Charts, and Scriptures of Great Being* (*Dayou lu tu jing* 大有圖錄經).<sup>190</sup> The format of this list corresponds to the discussion of the *Dongshen jing* found in the Tao Hongjin's commentary in his rite for transmission. Equally important are the other ritual objects transmitted together with the scriptures. To some extent, they are even more ritually weighted than the scriptures not only because the amount is much larger than the fourteen-fascicle scriptures but also because they originate from different ritual traditions. Most of these objects can be found in the list given by the *Regulations for the Practice of the Dao in Accordance with the Scriptures of the Three Caverns of the Numinous Treasure of the Comprehending Mystery* (*Dongxuan lingbao Sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始; hereafter *Fengdao kejie*).

Title Received	Items Received
Disciples of Comprehending Spirit 洞神弟子	1. Register of the Diamond Lads 金剛童子錄 2. Register of the Eight Envoys 八史錄 3. Talisman of the Bamboo Messenger 竹使符 4. Talisman of the Esoteric Essence of the Three Luminaries 三皇內精符 5. Talisman for Sending out Soldiers of the Nine Heavens 九天發兵符 6. Talisman for Flying to the River of Heaven 天水飛騰符 7. Thirteen Talismans of the Eight Completions and Five Victories 八成五勝十三符

<sup>189</sup> Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 1: 506.

<sup>190</sup> Both the Great Being and the Lesser Being are the names of Daoist heaven.

	<p>8. Esoteric Text and Numinous Book of the Eight Emperors 八帝靈書內文</p> <p>9. Esoteric Text and Cinnabar Book of the Yellow Emperor 黃帝丹書內文</p> <p>10. Taboo Names of the Esoteric Perfected of the Three Luminaries 三皇內真諱</p> <p>11. Two Prohibitions of East and West 東西二禁</p> <p>12. Three, Five, and Eight Precepts of the Three Sovereigns 三皇三戒五戒八戒文</p> <p>13. Tablet of Puxia<sup>191</sup> 普下版</p>
<p>Master of Comprehending Spirit 洞神法師</p>	<p>14. Text of the Esoteric Study of the Celestial Luminary 天皇內學文</p> <p>15. Text of the Recorded Writings of the Terrestrial Luminary 地皇記書文</p> <p>16. Esoteric Text of the Human Luminary 人皇內文</p> <p>17. Celestial Texts and Larger Characters of the Three Luminaries 三皇天文大字</p> <p>18. Divine Talisman of the Yellow Maiden 黃女神符</p> <p>19. Chart of the Three Generals 三將軍圖</p> <p>20. Chart of the Nine Sovereigns 九皇圖</p> <p>21. Transmission Tablet of the Three Luminaries 三皇傳版</p> <p>22. Tablet of the True Forms and Esoteric Names of the Three Luminaries 三皇真形內諱版</p> <p>23. Tablet of the True Forms and Esoteric Names of the Three Ones and Three Luminaries 三皇三一真形內諱版</p> <p>24. Tally Ordinance and Perfect Talisman of the Nine Heavens and Three Luminaries 三皇九天真符契令</p> <p>25. Seal of the Three Luminaries 三皇印</p> <p>26. Contract for Ascending to Heaven 昇天券</p> <p>27. Jade Contract of the Three Luminaries 三皇玉券</p> <p>28. Petition to the Three Luminaries 三皇表</p> <p>29. Belt 鞶帶</p> <p>30. The Scriptures of Dongshen Division in fourteen fascicles 洞神經十四卷</p>

Table 6. The Items Transferred with Ordination Rank of *Sanhuang*<sup>192</sup>

<sup>191</sup> According to the ritual prescription, the tablet is actually a *hu* 笏, indispensable in the audience ritual.

<sup>192</sup> I rearrange the order of the items in accordance with their nature. A translation of the list can also be found at Livia Khon, *The Daoist Monastic Manual: A Translation of the Fengdao kejie* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 134–35. I only disagree with her in that she treats the last three items as one. In Zhang Wanfu's *Chuanshou Sandong jingjie falu lueshuo*, there are only

There are two sub-ranks within the ordination rank of Dongshen, namely the Disciples of Comprehending Spirit and the Master of Comprehending Spirit. Each requires a complex and demanding set of items to be transmitted. The fourteen-fascicle scriptures belong to the items to be endowed to the Dongshen Ritual Master. The proportion of the corpus to other items (1/30) suggests that they no longer play the center role in the transmission. The rest of the twenty-nine items manifest a variety of ritual origins and functions. Many of them contain *Sanhuang* or other relevant notion of the tradition in the title. Nevertheless, equally significant here is the predominant numbers of Celestial Master elements. Not only are there the typical ritual items, such as the register and the chart of generals, but also the combination of the two traditions such as the text of *Sanhuang* petition and the contracts.

We are wondering, then, how does it make sense for an ordination that takes one tradition as its main content while entailing the ritual elements from the other in such large scale. Who were the user and audience, if any, of this rite? What is its place in the history of Daoist ritual? To answer these questions, we would first look into the ritual itself.

The protocols do not give an instruction for setting up the platform.

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seven items in the rank of *Sanhuang*, namely the Register of the Diamond Lads, the Tablet of Puxia, the True Name Taboo of the Three Ones, the Chart of Three Generals, the Chart of Nine Luminaries, the Inner Writ of Three Luminaries, and the Larger Character of *Sanhuang* (DZ 1240, 6a). All of these items are included here.



According to the prescription of the ritual procedures, there are five gates in total: the Gate of the Sun (northeast) and the Gate of the Moon (southwest),<sup>193</sup> the gates on the northwest and southeast, known as Gate of Heaven and Door of Earth are set up. Very likely the platform is two-leveled, with the upper layer called Great Stage (*Taijie* 太階). On the upper layer, or the inner platform, there are tablets on the each of four directions.

I summarize the ritual procedures in the two protocols as follows:

Steps of Ritual	Endowed Item that Correspond to the <i>Fengdao kejie</i>
<b><i>Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi</i></b>	
1. 師向東發爐 Opening the furnace	
2. 再捻香出官如法 Sending off the officials	
3. 讀章 Read the petition	
4. 操章 Sending the petition	
5. Read the writ of contract 師弟子讀券契文	The master reads together with the adept
6. Make the covenant	
7. Endowment of the Text of Three Luminaries 師授三皇文與弟子	no. 14–17 The master reads the text, the adept follows to read 弟子隨師口讀之
8. Endowment of the Spiritual Talisman of the Yellow Lady 師授黃女神符	no. 18 The master reads while the

<sup>193</sup> The Rimen is called in the protocol as Renmen, or the Gate of Human. Perhaps the protocol changes it in order to echo with the Sanhuang notion that the northeast is the direction of the Luminary of Human. Be as it may, there is no doubt that the model of two gates on the northeast-southwest is based on the rimen-yuemen, whose early usage can be found in the Retreat of Yellow Register in the *WSMY*, see Tanaka Fumio 田中文雄, “Rirei no kūkan 儀礼の空間”, in idem at ed., *Dōkyō no kyōdan to girei 道教の教団と儀礼* (Tōkyō: Yūzankaku, 2000), 102–3.

	adpet prostrates 弟子伏師讀
9. Endowment of the (register) of Generals of Three Luminous 師授三皇將軍	no. 19 (?) The master reads the text, the adept follows to read 弟子隨師讀
10. Endowment of the Chart of Nine Luminaries 師授九皇圖	no. 20 The master reads the text, the disciple temporarily takes another copy of the text and reads 師讀文字，弟子臨時取經讀
11. Endowment of the name taboo within the lineage 授諱門中字	The master reads the text, the adept follows to read 弟子隨師讀
12. Incant to the Talisman of Esoteric Essence <sup>194</sup> 祝內精符	no. 4 The master reads the text, the adept follows to read 弟子隨師口讀之納囊口
13. Activate the Talisman for Sending out Soldiers of the Nine Heavens and Ascending 九天發兵飛騰符	no. 5
14. Endowment of the Contract for Ascending to Heaven 授昇天券	no. 26
15. Endowment of the Eulogy of the Esoteric Text and Numinous Book 授靈書內文頌	no. 10
16. Endowment of the Esoteric Text and Cinnabar Book 丹書內文	no. 9
17. Endowment of the Thirteen Talismans of the Eight Completions and Five Victories 八威五勝十三符	no. 7
18. Endowment of the Tablet of the True Forms and	no. 22

<sup>194</sup> The steps no. 7 –12 all adopt the same performative procedure that the master first recites the text/inscription of the object to be transmitted, and then the adept reads after him/her before receiving it. This procedure certainly functions as a mnemonic aid for the adept who might have no chance to learn the literal meaning of the text/inscription on the item.

Esoteric Names of the Three Luminaries 三皇內諱板讚	
19. Endowment of the Tablet of the True Forms and Esoteric Names of the Three Ones and Three Luminaries 三一內諱板	no. 23
20. Endow the Register of the Diamond Lads 童子籙	no. 1
21. Make covenant and deliver the precepts 約敕度戒	no. 12 臨時取經用
22. Endow the Seal of Nine Heavens 授九天印	
23. Endow the Talisman of the Bamboo Messenger 竹使符	no. 3
24. Endow the Tablet of Transmission 傳授板	no. 21
25. Activate the Tablet 師敕傳，祝	
26. Explain the Summary of Sanhuang 說三皇題	畢授戒
<b><i>Taishang dongshen sanhuang chuanshou yi</i></b>	
27. Open the Registers 開真官籙	天皇真形真符神 將吏兵地皇真形 真符神將吏兵人 皇真形真符神將 吏兵
28. Endow the Mysterious Register of the Diamond 授金剛玄籙	
29. Endow the ordination rank 授法位	appearance
30. Send the petition to express gratitude 師稱法位大謝	起各禮三拜
31. Bond the belt and other items on body 取鞶帶衣外系之等，綁定	no. 29
32. Pay homage to the Neighborhood Head 左行至地戶拜亭長	
33. Exist the Door of Earth 出地戶至下級壇正位立師導弟子朝拜	
34. Disciples exist the platform 令弟子出壇	
35. The master makes twelve commitments 師十二願	
36. Closing the furnace 復爐	
37. Recite the Eulogy of Wandering with Spirit 吟遊神頌	
38. Chant the Learning Transcendence and exist 學仙下壇	
39. Incant the Existing the Oratory 出戶咒	
40. The master leads the disciples to 師引弟子度四門解厄	

41. Chant and lead the crowd to the Mysterious Master 讚引至玄師	
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Table 7. The Ritual Procedure of the *Dongshen sanhuang yi* and *Dongshen sanhuang chuanshou yi*

In the *Dongshen sanhuang yi*, the transmission rite is by and large based on the template of endowing register (*shoulu* 授籙) in Celestial Master tradition. It commences with the submitting petition to the heavenly court to report the transmission and follows with the endowment of talisman, contract, and other items. Indeed, this structure exactly matches the procedure in the Dunhuang manuscript S. 203—a ritual manual of transmitting the Transcendent Register and Numinous Register. In the instruction of transferring the register, it instructs that first read the petition of Conveying Register and transfer it 讀度籙章然後度籙.<sup>195</sup>

As a well-known and fully studied ritual, submission of petition to the supreme spirit might already be employed in the Hanzhong theocracy of Celestial Masters in the very early 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>196</sup> Its continuous usage throughout the early medieval period has been testified in a variety of Daoist, Buddhist, and secular sources. The presentation of the ritual provided a model adaptable to all needs, ranging from the most ordinary to the most solemn.<sup>197</sup> The theology is that within

<sup>195</sup> Lü Pengzhi, “Tianshidao shoulu keyi —Dunhuang xieben S203 kaolun,” 140.

<sup>196</sup> Liu Lin 劉琳, “San Zhang wudoumi dao de yibu zhongyao wenxian: Zhengyi fawen jing guanzhang pin,” 三張五斗米道的一部重要文獻：正一法文經章官品 in *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 中國典籍與文化 no. 4 (1989): 35–41; Wang Zongyu 王宗昱, “Zhengyi fanwen jing zhanguan pin chutan,” 正一法文經章官品初探 in *Tianwen* 天問, 239–256.

<sup>197</sup> Franciscus Verellen, “The Heavenly Master Liturgical Agenda According to Chisong zi’s

the divined bureaucratic system, the libationer requests the supreme deities for certain help by means of the normatively written petition.<sup>198</sup> In this model, the libationer represents himself/herself as the servant (*chen* 臣), imagining the petition conveyed to the heavenly court by sending off the officials and clerks within his/her body to the heaven.<sup>199</sup>

It is in the text of petition that we learn the identities of the participants. Both the master and adept come from a Celestial Master community. In the beginning of the petition, the text of petition gives detailed information on the adept's *hu* 戶<sup>200</sup> and *zhi* 治 within the community, as well as the five guarantors 保舉五人 who testify that him/her as the recipient of the *Zhengyi* registers.<sup>201</sup> In addition to

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Petition Almanac.” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* no. 14 (2004): 291–343.

<sup>198</sup> For a comparison between the secular political petition ritual and the Daoist one, as well as the nuance of the bureaucratic model they apply, see Wu Yang 吳楊, *Jingguo shuji yu mengwei shangdian: Wei Jin Nanbei chao daosu zhangbiao de bijiao yanjiu* 經國樞機與盟威上典：魏晉南北朝道俗章表的比較研究(Master Thesis, Beijing University, 2012).

<sup>199</sup> There is disagreement on whether the libationer would visualize the progress of the conveying the petition in which he/she personally brings the petition to the court. The crucial text that supports the positive answer to this comes from Taizhen ke recited in the *Chisongzi zhangli* (DZ, 615, 2. 23b–24b). Therefore the debate mainly centers at the date of the text. Maruyama and Lü Pengzhi consider this reflects the ritual's original form whereas Chang chao-jan believes the text is late because the visualization in *Taizhen ke* involves later figures (Chang chao-jan, “Tianshidao jijiu qinzi shangtian chengzhang,” 天師道祭酒親自上天呈章 in Cheng Gongrang 程恭讓 ed., *Tianwen: Chuantong wenhua yu xiandai shehui* 天問：傳統文化與現代社會 (Nanjing: Jiangsurenmin, 2010), 171–87. Kleeman makes reconciliation by suggesting that the visualization was established at least by the end of 4th century, see *Celestial Masters*, 289, no. 40.

<sup>200</sup> As its counterpart in the secular administrative system, household is a measurement for family. According to the *Yaoxiu keyi jielu chao*, the household is the one that devotes sincerity to the Dao and have their names on roster 輸誠於道係名戶籍者. The head of the household was required to bring the Assembly a current list of their members, known as the home record (*zhailu* 宅錄), see Kleeman, *Celestial Masters*, 253.

<sup>201</sup> The records of the five guarantors are from the source after 7<sup>th</sup> century. In these sources, what their role is remains unclear. They are mentioned along with the three masters 三師 who are involved directly in the transmission in the system of the ordination rank. However, they only appear in the first rank, namely the *Zhengyi* registers (*Dongxuan lingbao sanshi minghui xingzhuang juguan fang suo wen* 洞玄靈寶三師名諱形狀居觀方所文, DZ 445, 1b; *Sandong*

this, it states that the adept is a male or female official 男女官, indicating adept has been transferred the Register of One Hundred and Fifty Generals.<sup>202</sup> Also carefully identified is the master's lengthy title, which reveals the combination of the Celestial Master institution and the Sanhuang scripture:

The servant such and such, the Perfect of such Marchmount, the one who respectfully practices the Sanhuang scripture of Comprehending Spirit, the Gentleman of the Dao of such Parish of the Successor Master of the Pacified Pneuma of the Corrected One of the Great Mysterious Capital  
泰玄都正一平炁係天師某治炁道士奉行洞神三皇經事某嶽真人臣某

The term *zhiqu*, or the Pneuma of Parish, indicates the master had been appointed a position of priest in the parish (*zhizhi* 治職). The Perfect of such Marchmount suggests the master was the recipient of the *Shangqing* or *Lingbao* scriptures.<sup>203</sup> The phrase of “respectfully practice such and such (*fengxing...shi* 奉行事)” was originally used as a temporary administrative position for a specific task and was usually revoked after the task was accomplished.<sup>204</sup> This political usage fits the ritual context here. While the transmission of the Dongshen rank is not the role of libationer institutionally, this part of the title highlights that the

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*xiudao yi* 三洞修道儀, DZ 1237, 4a)

<sup>202</sup> As regards the hierarchy within Celestial Master parish, see the classical study by Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu kao*, 350–59.

<sup>203</sup> The term can be found in the usage with *Lingbao* or *Shangqing* rank. The *Fengdao kejie* prescribes a Central Assembly 中會, the self-presentation of the priest is Perfect of such Marchmount and the *Lingbao* Ritual Master 太上靈寶洞玄法師某嶽真人 (DZ 1125, 6. 12b); the *Shoulu cidi faxin yi* 受籙次第法信儀 associates it with *Shangqing* rank 上清玄都大洞三景弟子某嶽真人 (DZ 1244, 13b).

<sup>204</sup> As for its political institutional usage in the Han, see An Zuozhang 安作璋 and Xiong Tiejie 熊鐵基, *Qin Han guan zhi shigao* 秦漢官制史稿 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2007), 854–6.

transmission is the temporary ritual mission of a Celestial Master priest.

This multiple identities not only make consistent the ritual theology, but also allow the integration of textual traditions. In the writ of contract 券契文 (step no. 5) by which the master make covenant with the adept, it makes clear the place and content of the transmission 於某處受三皇經 as well as defining the master as ritual master (*fashi* 法師). This indicates two things: the historical congregation of Sanhuang scripture with Lingbao ritual, as it shows in the *Yuzhi xinyi*, has become a recognized tradition in the time of the *Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi* so that Lingbao ritual master is considered ritually lawful to conduct the transmission; the other is that the role of Lingbao ritual master comes directly from the part of title, that is, the Perfect of such Marchmount. To place the transmission rite in the module of transferal register does not mean the ritual excludes the element from Sanhuang traditions. On the contrary, the author intentionally keeps balance of the two traditions. This is manifested from the procedure of transferring the Contract of Ascending to Heaven.<sup>205</sup> The Contract

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<sup>205</sup> In this particular step, the master performances solemn bow (*bai* 拜) and slight bow (*yi* 揖) to before he/she enters the platform to conduct the actual transmission. Earlier In the petition submitted to the heavenly for the transmission, the master reports that he/she has offered all what are required for retreat and libation 供辦齋醮之具. Given this, the *yi*, as well as its combination with the *bai*, suggest this part may be closely related to the Retreat of Great One (Taiyi zhai 太一齋) of Celestial Master. In the mere extant record of the retreat in Lu Xiujing's *Dongxuan lingbao wuganwen*, it is "conducted among the same members of [Celestial Master community]. The practitioners purify themselves and solidify their ambition. All performances are in accordance with the law without mixing the other traditions. One kneels, bows, and slight bows to the other members, bending one's back in the shape of *qing* to the extreme extent" 皆契同, 潔己勵志, 施為唯法, 不雜異學, 跪拜揖讓同法, 磬折盡節也. (DZ 1278, 6a) Lü Pengzhi considers the retreat as the result of certain community of Celestial Master's imitation of Lingbao retreat, see *Tianshi dao*

of Ascending to Heaven functions to allow the adept to enter into the Purple Office of the Great One 太一紫府 after death. By bonding the contract with the body, the adept is able to pass the detention 拘制 from all spirits.<sup>206</sup> Perhaps it is this significance that leads to the author of the ritual manual to delineate it as the most detailed step in the whole ritual procedure. To transmit the contract, the master leads the adept onto the inner platform, known as Great Stage here, and pays respect to the deities on the four directions along with the adept (see the table below).<sup>207</sup>

The Direction of the Deities (in the sequence by which the participants pay homage)	Deities
North	The Lords of the Three Luminaries 三皇君
East	The Thearch Lord 帝君 The Lord of Jade Emperor in Great Clarity 太清玉帝君 The Lords of the Nine Luminaries 皇九君
South	The Lord of Great Firmament 太昊君 The Lord of the Great Primal of Great 太始君
West	The Lady of Thearch Lord 帝君夫人

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*zhijiao zhai kao* 天師道旨教齋考, in *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo jikan*, 80.4 (2009): 529.

<sup>206</sup> This description is found in the Daoist Li Shaowei 李少微 (fl. 625?)'s commentary on the *Scripture on Salvation* where he claims the contract originates from the sixty-eighth character of the Text of Human Luminary. The Daoist who pursues to ascend to heaven shall be bonded the contract with the body by the green silk when he/she dies 青素書帶身道士臨昇天之日, *DZ* 87, 48a.

<sup>207</sup> It is not clear, though, whether there are tablets of the deities to which the participants pay homage. The traditional Celestial Master would forbid the usage of image. The communication with spirit in their ritual in the oratory was conducted mainly through visualization.



	The Ladies of the Lord of Three Masters 三師君夫人
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Table 8. The Deities to Whom the Master and the Adept Bow to in the Transmission of the Contract of Ascending to Heaven

Within this pantheon, the Ladies of the Lord Three Masters are the only deities that have Celestial Master origin. The Lords of Three Luminaries are listed on the north, which indicates the Sanhuang tradition is privileged. The Thearch on the east and his lady on the east are likely the Royal Father on the East and the West Queen Mother, both also play significant pole in the Sanhuang transmission rite. Originally practiced in visualization<sup>208</sup>, the Nine Luminaries are here transformed a publically worshiped deities. Moreover, the sequence by which the participants pay homage is from north to west, which does not follow the Celestial Master tradition that the west is the initial yet follows its principle of going clockwise.<sup>209</sup>

The endowment of register is conducted in the beginning of the *Taishang dongshen sanhuang chuanshou yi* (steps no. 27–8). One group of the registers are the Spiritual Generals, Clerks, and Soldiers of the True Talisman and the True

<sup>208</sup> The practice of visualizing the Nine Luminaries is an integral part in the *Badi miaojing jing* DZ 640, 8a–b. The Nine Luminaries, namely the Three former, Three Middle, and Three Latter Luminaries, are the manifestation of Three Luminaries across multiple temporal and spatial dimensions. By the aid of the Chart of Nine Luminaries, one meditates first on the first Three, then the Middle Three, and the Latter Three Luminaries in the end. Each step requires a thorough visualization on the details of their images, see Steavu, *The Three Sovereign Tradition*, 219–26; Hiesh Shu-wei, “Zhongguo godaojiao shi zhong de sanhuang chuantong,” 42–4.

<sup>209</sup> In the early Celestial Master ritual of paying audience to the oratory in the late 4th century, the priest shall pay homage to deities in the sequence of west, north, east, and south, see *Dengzhen yinjue*, DZ 421, 3.6b–10a.

Form 真形真符神將吏兵 of Celestial Luminary and Terrestrial Luminary, as well as the Officials, Generals, Clerks, and Soldiers of the True Pneuma and the True Form 真形真符氣官將吏兵 of Human Luminary. The other is the Mysterious Register of Diamond (jin'gang xuanlu 金剛玄籙). We are not unfamiliar with the register that contains elements other than Celestial Master tradition. The Mysterious Register itself may have Shangqing origin.<sup>210</sup> The *Shangqing Register of the Three Hundred and Sixty-Five True and Divine Forces from the Nine Heavens in the Upper Origin of the Gold Perfect Jade Emperor* (*Shangqing jinzhen yuhuang shangyuan jiutian zhenling sanbai liushiwu bu yuanlu* 上清金真玉皇上元九天真靈三百六十五部元籙) also provides examples of the register mixing Shangqing elements.<sup>211</sup> The purpose of receiving the register in these texts is merely to guard to recipient from illness, disaster, and other harm caused by evil.

The impetus for the adept here to receive, on the one hand, may not fundamentally differ from its counterpart above. In the petition sent to express gratitude at the end of the ritual, the master states that the endowment of register

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<sup>210</sup> DZ 1390 *Shangqing dongtian sanwu jingang xuanlu yijing* 上清洞天三五金剛玄籙儀經 gives instructions concerning the documents and rites for the transmission of the Register of the Three Generals and the title indicates its Shangqing nature. See also Yoshitoyo Yoshioka 吉岡義豊, “Sandō hodō kakai gihan no seiritsu ni tsuite,” 三洞奉道科戒儀範の成立について *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 道教と佛教 3vols (Tōkyō : Kokusho Kankōkai, 1980), 3: 560–63. However, the content of the register, including the titles of the heavenly generals, officials and clerks, has no corresponding counterpart in the DZ 1390.

<sup>211</sup> Liu Cunren 柳存仁, “Sandao fengdao kejie yifan diwu—P2337 zhong Jinming qizhen yici de tuice,” 三洞奉道科誠儀範卷第五—P2337 中金明七真一詞之推測 *Hefengtang xin wenji* 和風堂新文集 2vols (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1997), 1. 339–82, particular 352–3.

has two effects. As for the worldly affair, it assists the state, relieve the difficulty, and save the people; as for the individual cultivation, it establishes merit, guards the spirit, and protects the life 外以佐國救厄濟人內以立功保神護命. The endowment of register is an integral part of ordination rank. The master then announces the ritual efficacy for the recipient who has received the rank:

The Sage Lord of the Three Luminaries always gazes and investigates the effulgence [of the recipient], and makes his/her practice accomplished and effort complete and bright. The celestial officials and numinous transcendent promote his/her merit and recommend his/her goods. His/Her ancestors in seven generations ascend to the heavenly hall. His/Her transgressions in generations are expelled from now. He/She controls the spirit and ghost and makes them labored, as well as subdues demon and evil. He/She becomes the master of heaven and human, benefiting people and assisting the state. He/She will be ranked among the transcendent when his/her merit is complete.

常如聖君三皇對景鑑盼，使某修習成就，功行圓明。天官靈仙，遷功舉善。七世父母，昇入天堂。積世愆非，於今蕩滌。役御神鬼，制伏凶妖。為天人師，利民佐國。功充之日，列品仙階。<sup>212</sup>

These achievements are transferred to the recipient as soon as one receives the ordination rank. Notably, the Celestial Master's transferal of register brings the recipient the embodiment of the Three Luminaries. In other words, the supreme sacredness of the Sanhuang scriptures is transformed into the body. This corporality signifies the most outstanding aspect of the ordination rite. It is because of this embodiment that the efficacy endures. These words in the petition cannot be read as the ritual discourse as if one *were* trying to have these achievements, but rather as the evidence that one *does* have them. The ordination

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<sup>212</sup> DZ 1284, 12b.

rite here not only concerns the transcendence of the individual, but also manifests its close connections to the family, the state, and the society.

The content of the registers in the ordination rite here do not contain the regular One, Ten, Seventy-five, or One-hundred-fifty generals that represent the rank of promotion in the Celestial Master parish, which indicates the endowment of register do not play a practical administrative role in the parish system. In his thorough study of *Zhengyi* register in early medieval China, Lagerwey suggests that in the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the Celestial Master parishes were a vital and attractive force that continued to provide healing, social cohesion, and a promise of salvation. These parishes form a competitive relationship, integrating large numbers of people.<sup>213</sup> If the register played an integral part in the Sanhuang ordination rank, then what does it mean to the parish when transmitting the rank to its members.

The tentative answer I attempt to provide here is economic. As shown in the last two sections, one should offer the ritual pledge to the master in order to have the ordination. The things that were used as pledge often included an equivalent to currency, such as silks or the items utilized in ritual, such as oil and candles. The Lingbao tradition was the first to propose the disposal of the pledge. The *Mingzhen ke*, one of the ancient Lingbao corpus, explicitly prescribes:

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<sup>213</sup> John Lagerwey, "Zhengyi registers," *Institute of Chinese Studies Visiting Professor Lecture Series (I)*, *Journal of Chinese Studies Special Issue* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2005), 35–88, particular 86–7.

The Code of Bright says: one who receives the ritual pledge for the true writ should send the two tenths of the pledge to the ancestral master.<sup>214</sup> Another two tenths should be given to the beggar, the poor, and the Daoist in the mountain. The rest pledges are used for incense and lamp to make merit for the disciple.

明真科曰：受真文法信，當十分折二，以送祖師。又折二散乞貧人山栖道士，餘信充 香燈，為弟子立功。<sup>215</sup>

This regulation involves the dynamics of pledges that economically connects the master of ordination rite with different Daoist communities and the society. By sharing with the ancestral master, one reinforces one's place within the lineage. The same amount of pledge is not only to be shared with the beggar and the poor, but also to be given to those who monastically practiced in the mountain. The two groups were significant to the Daoist in the Six Dynasties because the former certainly provided potential members to the Daoist communities and the latter represent the rising monasticism that reshaped Daoist ritual tradition. The economical connection to these people would help to enlarge the influence of the Lingbao tradition and spread their scriptures, or the true writ. Among the rest pledge, the master might be free to make use of as long as the utensils for transmission are assured.

Moreover, the Lingbao tradition also developed a primitive financial tool in the transmission by granted credit to the adept who was not able to give the complete pledge as prescribed, allowing one owed part of the pledge and to pay

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<sup>214</sup> It may refer to the head of the lineage who is still alive.

<sup>215</sup> *DZ* 1411, 32a.

the debit after the transmission.<sup>216</sup> Given the scripture centered at the transmission, this phenomenal shows that scripture had been merchandised and the transmission rite had been commercial.

After the scriptures in different tradition were spread beyond their traditions, the Celestial Master communities had responded this new feature of transmission.

*The Code of Great Perfected* says: one who has received the register of Celestial Master parish and has been assigned the households, should not follow the principle of two tenths as those who convert on their own. One should divide the pledge half and half, and five tenths is to be delivered to the Parish of Celestial Master<sup>217</sup>. This order shall be announced and learned by all.

太真科曰：受天師治，割配領戶，不得同自化十二之折。當中分其功，十折五進入天師治。宣示此令，咸使知聞。<sup>218</sup>

Given that the term two-tenths is exclusively used in the regulation of the pledge in the transmission rite, the theme here is similarly about the transmission.<sup>219</sup> As it literally shows, the libationer is not allowed to follow the precedent by those who are the outsider of the parish. Half of the pledge shall be submitted to the parish of the Celestial Master. Although the situation of the Parish of Celestial Master is still unclear, this regulation might be actually conducted among the Celestial Master Daoists since it was announced as an order.

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<sup>216</sup> It only asks that one cannot do the transmission before the debit is paid 當以所受之信充備先師之限。

<sup>217</sup> As regards the classical parish system of Celestial Master, see Kleeman, *Celestial Masters*, 332–43.

<sup>218</sup> *DZ* 463, 1. 7b.

<sup>219</sup> Ofuchi considers here the theme here is about the different tithe submitted by the new and old members of Celestial Master (462–3). However, he does not notice the consistent usage of the two-tenths principle in the transmission.

Bearing this context in mind, we have a closer look at the ritual pledge in the *Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi*. The total twenty-one items are listed in the petition sent by the master to the heavenly court:

Ritual Pledge <i>faxin</i>	<p>White tabby silk, 40 chi;</p> <p>Gold, 3 liang; Silver, 3 liang; True Elixirs, 2 liang;</p> <p>Rice, 5 dou; Firewood, 2 bunches; Handkerchief, 9; Knives, 9; Bathe basin, 1; Bathe plate, 1; Cinnabar, 5 jing<sup>220</sup></p> <p>Golden rings, 6 pairs; silver ring, 1 pair; Paper in yellow, 100 pieces; Yellow brush, 1 pair; golden knife, 1; Green silk, 5 liang</p> <p>Red patterned silk, 30 chi; Figured light-twill in purple, 40 chi; Yellow cloth, 80 chi; Yellow plain silk, 40 chi; Multi-colored silk for the five directions (azure one of 9 chi for the east, red of 3 chi for the south, white of 7chi for the west, black of 5chi for the north, yellow of 12 chi for the middle)</p>
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Table 9. The Ritual Pledge in the *Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi*

These utensils are all treated as the ritual pledges. The wider definition of pledge given here contrasts with the *Taogong chuanshou yi* and the *Yuzhi xinyi*, both of which only recognize the white tabby silk given for scripture as the pledge. On the one hand, the items usually have symbolical meanings, for example, the multi-colored silk for the five directions (*fangcai* 方綵) stands for the gift to the Five Thearchs who record people's good and evil. On the other hand, they are also supposed to be practically used in the ritual, such as the pairs of golden and silver

<sup>220</sup> It may be the pledge for Myserious Register of Diamond.

rings, along with that of the brushes, should be used in the making of covenant; the green silk shall be used to bond the Contract of Ascending to the Heaven.

More interesting are the items that indicate the close relationship to the Celestial Master community. In the list, we find the items for daily living, such as rice, firewood, handkerchief, etc., which have no ritual function at all. It is worth noting the amount of the rice reaches 5 *dou*, which was exactly the amount of the annual tithe that each family of Celestial Masters was required to submit at their annual meetings.<sup>221</sup> The large numbers of ritual items that bear intensively symbolized religious meaning should not be made randomly.

The yellow and purple raw material of fabric resonate the ritual attire that first originated in the Celestial Master community. The *Statutes of the Mystic Capital* (*Xuandu lüwen* 玄都律文), a 7<sup>th</sup> century text that regulates the religious life within the Celestial Master community, proposes that:

The statutes states: as for Daoist priest, female officers, and register novices, if the age reaches eighteen *sui* or above may receive the great rite. If they are still practicing the external rite, from the time they receive the One Hundred Fifty General Register, they may wear yellow ritual garb: robe and cap. If [they are practicing] the internal register rite, using the Spontaneity, the Ascending to the Mysterious, and the Perfected Texts<sup>222</sup>, up to the Great Cavern Scripture of Supreme Purity must use the purple ritual garb: cloth, burlap coat, official tablet, sandals, trousers, and jacket.

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<sup>221</sup> For the early record on the movement, see Werner Eichhorn, "Description of the Rebellion of Sun En and Earlier Taoist Rebellions," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 3 (1954): 291–327; R. A. Stein, "Remarques sur les mouvements du taoïsme politico-religieux au IIe siècle ap. J.-C.," *T'oung Pao* 50 (1963): 1–78.

<sup>222</sup> Among these texts, it is clear that Shengxuan neijiao jing 昇玄內教經, and the *Lingbao wupian zhenwen* 靈寶五篇真文, the representative of Lingbao corpus. (See Ōfuchi, *Dōkyō to sono kyōten*, 470–471, no. 33). The *Spontaneity* may be the scriptures centered by the *Dao De jing*.



律曰：道士女官籙生，身年十八已上，得受大法。若外法，自受百五十將軍籙已上，堪著黃色法服：衣、冠。內法，《自然》、《昇玄》、《真文》已上，上清大洞已下，須用紫色法服：衣、褐、笏、履、袴、褶。<sup>223</sup>

Clothing, as a visible marker of identity, would make one member in the Celestial Master communities distinctive in local ritual practice, marketplace, or in mixed company.<sup>224</sup> The ritual attire was more strictly used in the ritual praxis than common Daoist clothing.<sup>225</sup> As explicitly stated here, the libationers of Celestial Master all dressed in yellow, whereas the higher priest wore the attire in purple. The raw material of fabric in yellow and purple in the pledge may thus correspond to this regulation. Presented to the community, they may be used for making the cloth 衣. In the later regulation of ritual attire in the *Fengdao kejie*, it regulates to use the purple, yellow, and purple material in make the attire, which perfectly matches the list here: the red patterned silk in 30 *chi*, yellow cloth in 80 *chi*, the yellow plain silk in 40 *chi* and the purple figured light-twill in 40 *chi*.<sup>226</sup>

The list thus shows how the transmission rite economically supports a Celestial Master community. Given the amount of the tithe sent annually by the Daoist citizens is the main material source that maintained the system of Celestial Master parishes, the income brought by the transmission rite might not be a

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<sup>223</sup> DZ 188, 17a.

<sup>224</sup> Kleeman, *Celestial Masters*, 236–7.

<sup>225</sup> The notion of Daoist ritual attire comes from Lingbao scriptures, see Terry Kleeman, “Community and Daily Life in the Early Daoist Church”, in John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi ed., *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220–589 AD)* 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1: 407–10; Stephen Bokenkamp, “The Early Lingbao Scriptures and the Origins of Chinese Monasticism”, 104–8.

<sup>226</sup> DZ 1125, 5. 1a–8b.

crucial factor that influenced the whole Celestial Master communities. However, the pursuit of economical profit in the transmission indeed generated an impact on Daoism. Zhu Faman 朱法滿(?–720) comments that in his time Daoist adopted the proportion of two tenths, but used the pledge to manage their own living. Their praxis of transmission rite was also extremely shoddy and inattentive 輕脫之甚. The superior is arrogant and insolent, and the inferiors are restless 上慢下暴. In other words, both the master and the adept conducted the improper comportment in the transmission ritual when the ritual became a means by which the master earned the livings and the adept bought religious profits.

## 2.6 Conclusion

As the analysis of transmission rites reflect, the main force throughout the transmission of *Sanhuang* scripture is the interaction between the *Sandong* tradition, representative of the *Lingbao* tradition, and the Celestial Masters. The *Yuzhi xinyi* and its adoption in the *Sanhuang chuanshou yi* reflect the popularity of *Lingbao* ritual. However, as the *Taogong chuanshou yi* suggests, the diffusion of Celestial Masters into the *Sanhuang* transmission rite was so common that even the *jiao* ritual contains its ritual elements. *Dongshen sanhuang yi* and *Dongshen sanhuang chuanshou yi* further demonstrate the transmission of scripture no longer plays dominant role in the ordination. The two show the very crucial period in Daoist history when the transmission of scripture was transformed as the

ordination of ritual rank. This effort was mainly done by the Celestial Masters.

It thus provides us a chance to reflect on the ordination rank system. Originally used as priestly position in the eminent Daoist Lu Xiuqing's 陸修靜 (406–477) work, the ordination rank was frequently used in the transmission ritual in the medieval Daoism, marking the level of one's practice and study.<sup>227</sup> On the one hand, scripture is still located at the significant place in the system. The degree of the investiture and the rank of priest are in the conformity with the scriptures in the Daoist canon.<sup>228</sup> The scriptures are assigned from the lowest, the Zhengyi rank, to the highest one, the Shangqing rank. Based on the ordination rank, main types of Daoist rituals were ascribed, including the audience (*chao* 朝), ordination (*chuanshou* 傳授), retreat (*zhai* 齋), libation (*jiao* 醮), and petition (*shangzhang* 上章) to each ritual rank. On the other hand, the system of the ordination rank as a whole combines the Sandong tradition that worshiped and practiced scripture and the Celestial Master by assigning the Zhengyi rank as elementary in the system. Moreover, the Celestial Master ritual items are equally distributed into each rank in the system. The mature form of ordination system is the result of long interaction between the tradition that privileged Sandong scriptures and Celestial Masters.

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<sup>227</sup> Lü Pengzhi, "Ordination Ranks in Medieval Daoism and the Classification of Daoist Rituals," in Florian C. Reiter, ed., *Affiliation and Transmission in Daoism—A Berlin Symposium* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 81–107.

<sup>228</sup> Charles Benn, "Daoist ordination and *zhai* rituals," in *Daoism Handbook*, 309–38.

### CHAPTER 3

#### HEAVENLY RELATIVES AND EARTHLY DEVOTESS: THE RITUAL CONSTRUCTION OF MASTER-DISCIPLE RELATION

*Hence the good man is the teacher the bad learns from;  
And the bad man is the material the good works on.  
Not to value the teacher, nor to love the material  
Though it seems clever, betrays great bewilderment.  
This is called the essential and the secret.*

善人者，不善人之師，  
不善人者，善人之資。  
不貴其師，不愛其資，  
雖智大迷。  
是謂要妙。

Chapter 27, *Dao De jing*, translated by D.C. Lau (1963)

The Daoist ordination rite and the Esoteric Buddhist *abhiṣeka* both included adept from clergy and laity. Not only did the two rites bring lay disciples coming from wide spectrum of social strata, but also, as it was in Daoism, women were able to become ordained. This phenomenal was indeed distinctive in the tradition of the two religions. The Buddhist full precepts (Ch. *juzu jie* 具足戒, Skt. *upasampadā*) functioned the sole means of entering the *saṃgha*, while the ceremony of conferring it—typically an announcement or reading, and three responses (Ch. *yibai sanjiemo* 一白三羯磨, Skt. *jñapticatortha-karmavacanā*)—denied layman access. On the other hand, the inner registers of Celestial Master Daoism were also strictly limited to the libationers. To ask the rationale of the encompassment in the both rites is equally to ask what is exactly the master-disciple relation recast

by the rite. While scholars have noticed the identity of plurality and dynamics appeared as the consequence of the rite,<sup>229</sup> few have looked into the mechanism of the construction and its ritual rationale. Much fewer have connected these factors with the master-disciple relation—one of the most significant productions of the ordination rite.

In this chapter, I will be focusing on the construction of master-disciple relations in medieval Daoism. Instead of looking into ritual performance *per se*, I use the evidence about the ideational premise and the consequence of the ordination rite. I first distinguish the different ways by which Daoist masters interacted with disciples in their own communities. Then I demonstrate that family model became apparently conflicted with the innovated *Sandong* doctrine, and later with the transmission rite that incorporated that doctrine. Ideally, this rite highlights the non-worldly nature of the master-disciple relation, and promoted its significance as superior to pre-established social relationships. I investigate how the new categories of communal relationships, as a replacement of the family model, were brought about by the transmission rite and adopted in the Daoist community. I argue that the new Daoist master-disciple relationship essentially embodied the adept with the Daoist law. Not only did this relationship later become centered in the monastic Daoist organization, but also the whole Daoist

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<sup>229</sup> Livia Kohn and Arnold D. Roth, “Introduction,” in Livia Kohn and Arnold D. Roth, *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 1–22.

community was imagined as an expanded union of different master-disciple relationships.

### 3.1. Daoist Masters and Daoist Communities

The Daoist master-disciple relationship was constituted by two unequal sides, and master played more the powerful role in forming, maintaining, and renovating it.

As different Daoist traditions grew and merged, various types of masters contested and negotiated. In this process, the libationer and the religious teacher represented the main trend, each playing the dominant role in his/her own institutions.<sup>230</sup> In addition to the differences in appearance, ritual potentials, and affiliated institution,<sup>231</sup> masters interacted with disciples in contrasting ways.

Beginning in the 5th century, there were generally two major types of Daoist institutions: the Celestial Master parish and the monastic lodge (*guan* 館).<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> As has been noticed, numerous small lineages might have coexisted with large religious schools and institutions. The family-centered communities prevail the Chinese society since the 2nd century. Some of them might even bear Daoist features (Gil Raz, *The Emergence of Daoism: Creation of Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 2014)). Since our purpose here is to investigate the major types of Daoist institutions where master-disciple relation took place in the formative period of Daoist monasticism, we would not focus on the other types of religious communities, even though they might generate impact on Daoist transmission rite, such as *fangshi* tradition.

<sup>231</sup> As for an initial account of the Religious Teacher, see Stephen Bokenkamp, "The early Lingbao scriptures and the origins of Chinese monasticism," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20(2011, issued 2013): 95–126. As for the different roles the two types of master played in the Daoist communities, particular the difference on their ritual potentials, please consult the first section of chapter one.

<sup>232</sup> The lodge is usually considered as the early form of the Daoist abbey (*guan* 觀) (Kristofer Schipper, "Le monachisme taoïste." In Lionello Lanciotti, ed., *Incontro di religioni in Asia tra il III e il X secolo d. C* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki. 1984), 199–215). I treat them as two types of institution because the former appeared as the more dominant form in the period we discuss here.

Initially established as administrative centers in Shu and Hanzhong region, the parishes organized the Celestial Master members, or Daoist citizens (*daomin* 道民), in a hierarchical system. They were required to submit five pocks of rice as annual tithe to the parish administrated by libationer; in return, libationer provided religious service to them, curing illness and performing other communal rites. In general, libationer was first and foremost an itinerant evangelist—“leading the households and converting the profane into Daoist citizens” (*linghu huamin* 領戶化民). A new libationer initiated his/her clerical duty from the position of the Unassigned Pneuma (*sanqi* 散氣), collecting households of the new believers by recording their names on a fate roster (*mingji* 命籍). Accumulating enough numbers of households, he/she promoted to a parish and administrated its office (*zhizhi* 治職).<sup>233</sup>

The role that libationer played to interact with Daoist citizens within Celestial Master community was twofold. Institutionally he/she managed the household of the citizens, preserving and delivering their fate roster to the heavenly offices. The number of the household affiliated to the libationer seemed to determine his/her rank in the community. As explicitly prescribed in the *Penal Code of the Mysterious Capital* (*Xuandu liuwen* 玄都律文), titles are assigned to those who manages households in different numbers. Because of the role of ministering to

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<sup>233</sup> Kleeman, *Celestial Masters*, 327 below

households, one is addressed as “lord” (*zhuzhe* 主者).<sup>234</sup>

On the other hand, libationer administrated promotion in the parish. By accumulating merit and contributing effort to the parish, the citizens were promoted in accordance with the register from the lowest Jingling Register to the highest, One Hundred and Fifty Generals, on the one hand, and advanced to take clerical positions, on the other. For instance, a novice might serve as writing clerk (*shuli* 書吏) that required professional skills of accounting and composition.<sup>235</sup> As such, the role that libationer played was addressed as a teacher (*shi* 師). This twofold religious role was reflected in the compound *shizhu* 師主 that was historically assigned to denote libationer.<sup>236</sup> The term can be perfectly translated as “master,” for it connotes both the dominance of the Daoist subordinates and the function of transmission.

Meanwhile the diffusion of Celestial Master Daoism in South China, new Daoist institutions, primarily inspired by the rising Shangqing and Lingbao movements, appeared in the Jiangnan region. Among these institutions, the lodge

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<sup>234</sup> Kleeman considers *zhuzhe* as one who manages household yet without possessing a parish (Ibid, 326). However, he does not give evidence to support this statement. According to *Xuandu lüwen*, “One who leads over three hundreds households can be assigned as the official curing illness, and above three can be assigned as a position. They are all called lords.” 夫領戶三百以上為治疾官，三戶以上為職署，皆為主者也。(DZ 188, 21a.) Here, it seems the category of *zhuzhe* includes Libationer.

<sup>235</sup> Kleeman, *Celestial Masters*, 304.

<sup>236</sup> *Nüqing guili* 女青鬼律 DZ 790, 3. 3b. DZ 188, 1b–2a, 18b. DZ 463, 3. 3a–b.



seemed to be the most widely spread and innovated form.<sup>237</sup> Initiating from Song Dynasty (420–479), Daoist lodges flourished in the following decades. Most lodges located far away from a city, often nearby sacred mountains.<sup>238</sup> However, they still maintained connection to society. They were supported by the people from wide social strata, including the emperor, the officials serving central and local governments, the noble, and the rich. Not only did the patrons assist the establishment of the lodge, but also they engaged in its daily maintenance, even including the investiture of monastery heads.<sup>239</sup> As Tsuzuki notices, the nomination of lodge etymologically may partly originate from the Confucian academy (*xueguan* 學館) that supplemented the state schools (*guozixue* 國子學). The scholars teaching at the academy were usually those who had no experience of serving at government. Under the general social atmosphere that treated hermit as honorific, they were highly venerated by the government and played the central role in the academy.<sup>240</sup>

As the lodges continued to provide religious service in the local, the

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<sup>237</sup> Liu Lin 劉琳, “Lun Dongjin Nanbeichao Daojiao de bian’ge yu fazhan,” 論東晉南北朝道教的變革與發展, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 no. 5 (1981): 127.

<sup>238</sup> Wei Bin 魏斌, “Shanzhong de liuchao shi,” 山中的六朝史 in *Wenshizhe* 文史哲 361 (2017): 6.

<sup>239</sup> Stephan Peter Bumbacher, *The Fragments of the Daoxue zhuan: Critical Edition, Translation and Analysis of a Medieval Collection of Daoist Biographies* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2000), 440.

<sup>240</sup> Tsuzuki Akiko 都築晶子, “Rikuchō kōhan ki ni okeru dō-kan no seiritsu: Sanchu shūdō,” 六朝後半期における道館の成立: 山中修道 in Oda Yoshihisa Sensei Kanrei Kinen Jigyōkai 小田義久先生還歴記念事業会. ed., *Tōyōshi ronshū : Oda Yoshihisa Hakushi kanreki kinen* 東洋史論集: 小田義久博士還歴記念 (Kyōto: Ryūkoku Daigaku Tōyō Shigaku Kenkyūkai, 1995), 317–51.

interaction among different Daoist institutions became more intensive, prompting the formation of a larger self-conscious Daoist community. During 465–471, the Prince of Changsha 長沙 built the Lodge of Worshiping Mystery 崇玄館 for the Daoist Wang Wenqing 王文清. The lodge later developed into expanded complex that closely interacted with the locals.<sup>241</sup> In 522, Zhang Yi 張繹, the master of the Lodge of Worship Void 崇虛館 at Jiankang, was appointed as the Great Supervisor of the Gentlemen of the Way (*da daoshi zheng* 大道士正), an official position initially set up in 503. Explicitly bearing this official identity, he organized the masters from other lodges at Jiangnan region to establish the Stele of Three Lords Mao, the Perfected of the Nine Endowments (*jiuxi zhenren san maojun bei* 九錫真人三茅君碑) at the entrance of a southern cavern 南洞 in the Mao Mountain.<sup>242</sup> On the reverse of the stele, Zhang recorded the names of ninety-one participants in the establishment of the stele. Addressed as Daoist fellows, they further bore different identities, namely six-eight masters of the

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<sup>241</sup> “遠近男女互來依約，周流數里，廡舍十餘坊，” DZ 1016, 11. 15b.

<sup>242</sup> While the stele is not extant, its inscriptions have been preserved in the *Gazetteer of Maoshan* (*Maoshan zhi* 茅山志), compiled by Daoist Liu Dabin 劉大彬 around 1330. The inscriptions are constituted by four parts, each preserved in the different chapters of the *Gazetteer*, namely the Jade Patent of the Nine Endowments Conferred by the Great Thearch of Celestial Luminous to the Lords Mao 天皇太帝授茅君九錫玉冊文 (DZ 304, 1. 1a–3a); the Inscription of the Stele of Three Lords Mao, the Perfected of Nine Endowments 九錫真人三茅君碑文 (20. 1a–6b); the inscription on the reverse 碑陰題 (20. 6b–7a); the name and brief biographical introduction of the participants (15, 1a–12a). Before the inscriptions were transcribed in the *Gazetteer*, some Song scholars had mentioned the stele in their works. See Zeng Gong 曾鞏, “Maojun bei” 茅君碑 in *Yuanfeng tiba* 元豐題跋 (jinda mishu edition), 1. 1a–b; Chen Si 陳思, “Liang Maojun bei bing liangce timing” 梁茅君碑並兩側題名, *Baoke congbian* 寶刻叢編, in *Shike shiliang xinbian* 石刻史料新編, series 1, 30 vols (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1982), 24: 18325.

lodges in the Jiangnan region, ten descendants of the Celestial Master family,<sup>243</sup> four individual Daoist practitioners (*daoshi* 道士), three Masters of Three Caverns (*sandong fashi* 三洞法師), a patrol supervisor (*luozhu* 邏主), and five patrons.<sup>244</sup>

The local symbolic materials—verbal, visual, oral, graphic, and written—hence connected the lodge to interaction between religious communities and to social imagination and practice. While the masters of lodge constituted the main body of the participants, the inclusion of other types of Daoists made this ceremony the representation of a growing Daoist community. By means of political and social support, Zhang Yi successfully congregated different Daoist traditions, greater and lesser. Not only did the descendants of Celestial Master take part in, but also local individual practitioners engaged, even though they might not have to be affiliated with religious institution. Noticeably, these titles of the participants were not mutually exclusive categories. A master managing lodge

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<sup>243</sup> The names include the male and female descendant of the Celestial Master's next ninth and tenth generation, including Zhang Xuandao 張玄道, Zhang Jingsuo 張景遯, Zhang Zhiming 張智明, Zhang Zihua 張子華, Zhang Qiang 張鏘, Zhang Ye 張羣, Zhang Kai 張楷, Zhang Zhou 張胄, Zhang Zitai 張子臺, Zhang Jifei 張季妃. No evidence, however, can testify the continuous lineage of the Zhang family after the family was forced to move out of Hanzhong region. Noticeably, the inscription records the familial origin for Zhang Zhiming and Zhang Zihua as Shu County 蜀郡 while keeping silent on others. This may indicate the members of the Celestial Master family were made deliberately to congregate for this particular ceremony.

<sup>244</sup> They were two leaders of local religious community (*yizhu* 邑主), one court official (*chaohuan* 朝宦), and two local officials. The inscription describes them as the bodies of law (*fashen* 法身). While the term was much more widely used as the translation of Buddhist *dharmakāya*, denoting the true body of reality, its usage here is obviously different. As for an analysis of the list, see also Wei Bin 魏斌, “Jurong maoshan de xingqi yu Nanchao shehui,” 句容茅山的興起與南朝社會 *Lishi yanjiu* no. 3 (2014): 26.

might also be able to provide ritual service as the Master of Three Caverns.

This larger Daoist community supplements our understanding on the social networks that the lodges had established. Initially orienting mountain-dwelling ascetics, the leaders of the lodge now looked for collaboration with those from broader social strata, including officials and literati alike. This had a consequence that a lodge may grow to be more and more independent, socially and economically, from the local society. Once its fame spread, a lodge might draw disciples to come and learn. This inclusivity may explain the reason why lodges often contained large numbers of students. For instance, Sun Yue 孫嶽, the master of the Lodge of Prosperous Age 興世館, had hundreds of disciples.<sup>245</sup> The number of disciples of Yang Chao 楊超, the master of the Lodge of Grove Chamber 林屋館, even reached more than one thousand.<sup>246</sup> Since Yang's lodge was located at the Bao Mountain in Wu county (modern Suzhou 蘇州 city), his disciples must be drawn from the places other than the local.

Unlike their Celestial Master counterparts, the Daoists living in the lodges left much fewer prescriptions about how their community was precisely organized. In the extant fragments of their biographies, the master-disciple relationship was described by the discussions that were mostly used in the Confucian learning

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<sup>245</sup> Bumbacher, *Fragments*, 264.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid*, 317.

societies. Bao Jing 鮑靚, a crucial figure in the Daoist Sanhuang lineage, had many disciples who followed him for the transmission of patrimony (*shouye* 授業), a metaphor typically used in the Confucian traditions of learning.<sup>247</sup> Elsewhere, the “pupil [serving] at the gate [of the master]” (*mentu* 門徒) was used.<sup>248</sup> One cannot ignore that its synonym, *mensheng* 門生, was widely used by Han authors of stele inscriptions to denote a man's personal followers, usually his actual pupils.<sup>249</sup> This sort of discourse would easily remind a modern reader of the Confucian learning society in the early and medieval China. Given that Confucianism still played the role as the state ideology and that political power had penetrated into the establishment and the administration of the lodge, we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that the Daoist practitioners in the lodges might have partly appropriated the mature model of Confucian learning society, which accordingly shaped the master-disciple relationship.

However, the precise extent to which the Confucian institutional and intellectual elements were used in the Daoist monasticism is still unclear, thereby this hypothesis cannot apply to all the groups of Daoist practitioners in the lodges. It seems that individual lodge might apply distinctive communal relationships.

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<sup>247</sup> Ibid, 326. Noticeably, it is recorded that Bao is considered by his contemporaries as the one among the *ru* grove, for he lifted up the Way and transform the things 揚道化物，號曰儒林。

<sup>248</sup> Ibid, 317.

<sup>249</sup> Patricia Ebrey, “Patron-Client Relations in the Later Han,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983): 535; Miranda Brown, *The Politics of Mourning in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 89–90. As for the synonymic group of *mensheng*, *mentu*, and *mentong*, see Kenneth Brashier, *Evoking the Ancestor: The Stele Hymn of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 CE)* (PhD Dissertation, Cambridge University, 1997), 179–80.

After briefly staying at a Celestial Master parish, Zhou Ziliang 周子良 (497–516) became a disciple of Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 who was in charge of the Lodge of Scarlet Solarity 朱陽館.<sup>250</sup> Zhou firstly received from Tao the elementary Register of the Numinous and the Transcendent 仙靈錄, the *Dao De jing*, and some other texts before he mainly fulfilled the duty of ritual assistance 香燈之務. Having received some advanced scriptures from Tao, Zhou began to take part in the administration of the internal affairs and interactions with the society. In Tao's own words, Zhou was essentially a disciple of food and clothing (*yishi dizi* 衣食弟子).<sup>251</sup> That is, Zhou's dwellhood depended on Tao, and so serviced the master.<sup>252</sup> Tao also had disciples who helped managed the administration (*zongshi dizi* 總事弟子), who seemed to be superior in the community than other disciples.<sup>253</sup> Still, no evidence can testify that the usage of these categories had extended beyond the lodge of Tao Hongjing.

The development of the lodge went hand in hand with Daoist monasticism.<sup>254</sup> Nonetheless, "leaving the family" never means the complete severance of familial ties in the medieval Daoist communities.<sup>255</sup> The practitioners in the lodge were

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<sup>250</sup> As for the location of the lodge, see Petit, *Learning From Maoshan*, 196, n. 9.

<sup>251</sup> DZ 302, 4. 14a.

<sup>252</sup> Bokenkamp, "Answering a Summons," in Donald Lopez ed., *Religions of China in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) 189, 196–99.

<sup>253</sup> "Huayang yinju shou mendizi Lu Jingyou shilai wen," 華陽隱居授門弟子陸敬游十賚文 DZ 304, 21. 3a.

<sup>254</sup> Stephen Eskildsen, *Asceticism in early Taoist religion* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 31–42.

<sup>255</sup> Livia Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism: A Cross-cultural Perspective* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 53.

not exceptions. In fact, both the parish and the lodge were connected closely to family. Probably because of the role that family played by providing parishes with followers and the tithe, it functioned as the basic component in the format of households in Celestial Master communities.<sup>256</sup> The members in each family were regulated to follow the same Libationer, for they were considered as bearing the same pneuma.<sup>257</sup> Due to the significance of family, Celestial Master Daoism thought highly of traditional familial ethics. For instance, the *Commands and Admonitions of the Family of the Great Dao* (*Dadao jia lingjing* 大道家令戒), a text revealed by the persona of a spiritual medium in 255, sets filiality, chastity, and obedience as the prerequisite for the seed people who are eligible to attain salvation.<sup>258</sup> The *Demon Statues of Lady Blue*, an early Celestial Master code, strictly proscribes the disparagement of the relatives and elders in the family of Daoist citizens.<sup>259</sup> Moreover, the scale of the communal rite might be adjusted in accordance with the number of familial members.<sup>260</sup>

The traditional Chinese notion of collective guilt led to the belief not only that transgressions either flowed down from ancestors, but also might cause

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<sup>256</sup> Kleeman, *Celestial Masters*, 253–4.

<sup>257</sup> “父子一家，各事師主。同生乖戾，不共祭酒，” DZ 1016, 4. 10b. This is probably the result of the notorious communal sexual rite of Celestial Master community, the merging of pneuma. The rite functioned as initiation for family, see Chang Chao-jan, 2003.

<sup>258</sup> DZ 789, 16b. Stephen Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 156.

<sup>259</sup> Terry Kleeman, “Daoism in the Third Century,” in Florian C Reiter ed., *Purposes, Means and Convictions in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 21.

<sup>260</sup> In the ritual instruction for petition ritual in the *Chisongzi zhangli*, it regulates that the pledges of the ritual may vary, corresponding to the number of familial members 隨家口多少各別, DZ 615, 1. 8b.

disease and disaster among the living members themselves.<sup>261</sup> In his letter submitted to a Libationer to repent for his granddaughter Guannu's 官奴 disease, the Daoist citizen Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303–361) recounted her disease:

Her recent tough disease was unprecedented. This is indeed because that, as the patriarch of family, I, this Daoist citizen, have been failed to restrain myself, to diligently cultivate, and to instruct the elders and the youths in the family. I must have frequently transgressed the code and admonition, which leads to this [Guannu's disease]. I can but devote my sincerity and wait for the sanction. These are not ordinary words of confession. Guannu's confession may have been prepared, thus I would say no more. I have failed to live up to the Way and Power, and to the master. What can I say [about it].

頃者艱疾未之有，良由民為家長，不能克己勤修，訓化上下。多犯科誡，以至于此。民惟歸誠待罪而已。此非復常言常辭。想官奴辭以具，不復多白。上負道德，下負先生，夫復何言。<sup>262</sup>

Counting Langye as its origin, Wang family was well known for its devotion to Celestial Master Daoism for generations.<sup>263</sup> In Wang Xizhi's generation, the family became affiliated to the parish managed by Du Jiong 杜炁 (byname Zigong 子恭). Wang recounts that disease resulted from his failure to fulfill familial duty as prescribed by Celestial Master code.<sup>264</sup> This letter functioned less an ordinary message of communication than a confession that prepared a ritual petition that aimed to expel the disease.<sup>265</sup> The confession was provided not only

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<sup>261</sup> Michael Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, ed. by Bernard Faure (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 1–57.

<sup>262</sup> Morino Shigeo 森野繁夫 et al ed., *Ō Gishi zenshokan* 王羲之全書翰 (Tokyo: Hakuteisha, 1996), 233–41.

<sup>263</sup> Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, "Tianshidao yu binhai diyu," 天師道與濱海地域 in *Jinmingguan congkao chubian* 金明館叢稿初編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 19.

<sup>264</sup> Lai Chi-tim 黎志添, "Tian di shui sangan xinyang yu zaoqi Tianshi dao zhibing jiezui yishi," 天地水三官信仰與早期天師道治病解罪儀式 *Taiwan zongjiao yanjiu* 台灣宗教研究 2.1 (2002): 10–1.

<sup>265</sup> Cheng Lesong 程樂松, "Wang Xizhi shutie zhong suojian de Wudoumi dao—zhonggu shiren



by the one who had suffered from disease, but also by the head of the family. It thus convincingly shows the close connection between the Libationer and the disciple as well as his/her family.

On the other hand, the practitioners in the lodges similarly kept close relationship with family. Some masters of lodge stayed with their family. In order to focus on individual cultivation, Jiang Fuchu 蔣負芻, the master of the Lodge of Accompanying the Perfected, handed over the administration of the lodge to his second son Hongsu 弘素.<sup>266</sup> A filial Daoist Yan Jizhi 嚴寄之 built a hut near the Lodge of Stone Islet where he affiliated in order to accommodate his mother.<sup>267</sup> An even more famous example comes to Zhou Ziliang. Having come to stay with his aunt, a Daoist priestess who studied with several local teachers, Zhou was inspired to pursue the Dao. As the disciple of Tao Hongjing, Zhou still continued to serve his aunt before he successfully became transcendent.<sup>268</sup>

However, the master in the lodge interacted with the disciple more individually and interacted with the disciple's family in a less intensive manner. In Zhou Ziliang's case, his aunt, or any of his relatives, were not affiliated with Tao, nor received any religious knowledge from him. This partly resulted from

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xinyang xingtai zhi yitan 王羲之書貼中所見的五斗米道—中古士人信仰形態之一探,”  
*Zongjiao yanjiu* 宗教研究 no. 202 (2016): 122.

<sup>266</sup> Bumbacher, *Fragments*, 238.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, 246.

<sup>268</sup> Michael Strickmann, “A Taoist Confirmation of Liang Wu Ti's Suppression of Taoism,” *JAOS* no. 98 (1978): 467–74

the fact that the Daoist lodge was more or less economically independent from the local society; hence, the disciples there were not selected only from the neighborhood. Novices could travel a far to seek for a master to learn transcendence. Recently discovered at a mountain in Langzhong 閬中 city in Sichuan province, the Inscription of Master Wei 隗先生銘 records the experience of a Daoist master who once travelled from afar to learn at the lodge.<sup>269</sup> Wei Jing 隗靜, a native of Tianshui 天水, traveled to Langzhong and cultivated himself there in a cave. Later in 479, he moved to Jiankan and learned at the Lodge of Worshipping Void. The lodge was initially established by Lu Xiujing, and his legacy of innovative *Sandong* teachings must generate great impact on Wei. We are told that Wei successfully received scriptures and studied Daoist rituals. The interaction between Wei and his master was entirely individual, without any interference of family.

In conclusion, the Celestial Master parish and the lodge influenced by the rising Shangqing and Lingbao movements, were the two most important religious institutions in the formative period of Daoist monasticism. On the one hand, the Libationer played the twofold role of transmitting religious knowledge and ritual

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<sup>269</sup> The inscription originally does not bear the title as such, I adopt it here to follow the convention made by modern scholars. Jiang Xiaochun 蔣曉春 et al, “Lun Sichuan Langzhong Nanqi Wei xiansheng ming,” 論四川閬中南齊隗先生銘 *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 中國國家博物館館刊 118 (2013): 73–9; Sun Hua 孫華, “Langzhong shishiguan Wei xiansheng shishi ji,” 閬中石室觀隗先生石室記 *Wenwu* 文物 no. 8 (2014): 53–62; Sun Qi, “Nanqi Wei xiansheng ming yu Nanchao daoguan de xingqi” 南齊隗先生銘與南朝道館的興起 *Wei Jin Nanbeichao Sui Tang ziliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料 31 (2015): 126–37.

as well as managing the households affiliated to the parish. This feature further shaped master-disciple relationship in the parish. A disciple was both the adept who received the transmission, and subordinates were required to fulfill ecclesial duties. The master interacted with the disciple in the indirect way through the disciple's family as a whole. On the other hand, the lodge might appropriate the mature model of a Confucian learning society to set the boundary between master and disciple. Their interaction there was much more direct.

### **3.2 Master-disciple Relation and Pre-established Social Connections**

In addition to the master-disciple relationship, there were two more major communal relationships, constructed through marriage and reproduction, existed in the Daoist community. The *Peerless Book of the Empyrean* (*Dongzhen taishang taixiaolang shu* 洞真太上太霄琅書), a collection of rules and regulations in the Six Dynasties, delineates the full picture of this:

The masters may mutually learn from each other, and there are marriages that associate them. Even they become relatives by marriage, the identity of the master and disciple remains the same. If the master marries the daughter of the disciple, the master fulfills the duty of son-in-law, and the disciple venerates the master as usual... The letter sent for communication and greeting shall not be missed. The mourning clothing shall be practiced in accordance with the rite. If the disciple becomes the son-in-law, he should continue to pay the respect required for a disciple. If [the disciple] becomes the father-in-law, the master and the fellow students would venerate him as the Master of Documents. Even though they become relatives by marriage, the veneration remains the same. If the friends become master and disciple, they venerate each other and the friendship remains the same. As for the man and woman who become the master and disciple, the rule for them remains the

same. However, a male disciple shall not marry a female master, and a female master shall not marry a male disciple.

師尊相師，又有婚媾。姻婭雖通，師資如舊。假令師取弟子之女，師自修為婿之儀，弟子尊師如昔。……書疏拜訊不虧，吉凶制服依禮。弟子為婿，猶報弟子之敬。居父，師友敬之皆如籍師。雖結親，此親敬不改。先經交知，後為師匠，彼自尊敬，此交如初。男女相師，法略無異。但男弟子不得以女師為婦，女師不得以男弟子為夫。<sup>270</sup>

The Daoist community here to seems to encounter disorder generated by the overlap between social and religious relations in the current age. On the one hand, once the master-disciple relationship has been established, it shall not be cancelled even though other social relations acquired by the master and the disciple. Be it social or religious, each relationship is to be venerated and the corresponding duty needs to be ritually fulfilled. On the other hand, the master-disciple relationship is highlighted. Although it does not necessarily indicate that the religious relationship should be superior to the social ones, the veneration to the master is consistently emphasized in correlation with the others.

Notwithstanding the fact that the social and the religious relationship often parallel, it is equally frequent, if not more, to see the former was assimilated in the latter. That is, the Daoists may use religious relationship to understand the social one, even though it may have fallen into a readily recognizable category. If the master marries the daughter of the disciple, the master and the fellow students would ritually treat the disciple as the equivalent of the Master of Documents. In

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<sup>270</sup> DZ 1352, 8. 6a–b.

the secular mourning attire system, one wears *sima* for the father-in-law.<sup>271</sup> In the Daoist mourning rite system discussed above, however, the degree of the mourning attire for the Master of Document is one degree less than that for the Initiation Master from whom one receives the transmission. In other words, the precise degree for the Master of Documents is varied. When disciple becomes father-in-law, the new relationship is imagined by the category of disciple and Master of Documents. Hence, the social relationship is assimilated into the religious one in the Daoist community.

The passage here appears to imagine the relation constituted by master and disciple *prior* to social relations. While its author treats equally the two kinds of relations, it seems that the social ones brought in raises certain degree of anxiety to him/her. However, the history of Daoism in the Six Dynasties would suggest that often the opposite took place. Daoist communities were usually the product of the people with pre-established social connections and socially recognized relationships.

Among the social relationships that Chinese religious practitioner bore, the father-son was most common one. This historical fact can be found in both the early Celestial Master tradition and the later rising Daoist movements in the Jiangnan region. The independent kingdom of the Celestial Masters at Hanzhong

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<sup>271</sup> “妻之父母，傳曰：何以緦？從服也。” *Yili*, 33. 390a.

was established and ruled by the Zhang family during the end 2nd century and early 3rd century. Not only the initial three Celestial Masters—Zhang Ling 張陵, Zhang Heng 張衡, and Zhang Lu 張魯—played the role of the supreme religious authority, but also constituted the central lineage of that religious tradition. This lineage institutionally and ritually constructed the shared memory of the community, and the three wives of the three masters were equally venerated.<sup>272</sup> The combination of generational and religious lineage was one of the most distinctive features of the Celestial Master tradition. As the Celestial Master practitioners dispersed into South China, the descendant of Zhang Ling continuously appeared to have religious authority even within the enlarging Daoist community.<sup>273</sup>

Ever since the 4th century, the Celestial Master parishes generally became independent religious institutions to the extent that a large number of them were managed by families. Theoretically, only the leader of Yangping 陽平 Parish, known as “Director of Merit” 都功, was managed by the lineal descendant of the first Celestial Master; however, the position of libationer in more and more parishes were passed from father to son. According to Gou Qianzhi 寇謙之, a Daoist reformer in North China, this phenomena seemed very common in the in

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<sup>272</sup> In their famous ritual praxis of petition, the Celestial Masters addressed the masters and their wives as 三師君三夫人. They together served one of the objects to which the petition was sent.

<sup>273</sup> For instance, the Stele of Three Lords Mao, the Perfected of Nine Endowments analyzed in the first section mentions the descendants of Celestial Master and assigns them distinctive place in the Daoist community.

the early 5th century.<sup>274</sup> The same can be found in the southern Celestial Masters. Founded by Du Bing 杜昺 in the middle 4th century, the parish presided over by the Du family flourished in the Jiangnan region for decades. The familial genealogy lasting at least for five generations functioned as the core of the parish, so that it was known as the Parish of the Du Family 杜治.<sup>275</sup> Given that the libationer played the indispensable role of transmitting all kinds of knowledge of the tradition, the religious lineage must have become genealogically connected there. We do not deny that the transmission between common parishioners and libationer must have taken place; however, since it was the lineage that represented religious authority, this overlapping father-son and master-disciple relationship characterized the Celestial Master Daoism in this period.

Meanwhile the Celestial Master Daoism diffused in the Jiangnan region, Daoist Shangqing and Lingbao movements began to rise in the same place. The early lineages within the traditions were generally family-based.<sup>276</sup> However, as the traditions grew to be more socially influential, the familial bonds in Daoist communities became contested. As Bokenkamp has demonstrated, the Buddhist notion of rebirth and afterlife were largely adopted by Chinese, and hence

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<sup>274</sup> Yang Liansheng 楊聯陞, "Laojun yinsong jiejing jiaoshi: Lunlun Nanbeichao shiqi de Daojiao qingzheng yundong," 老君音誦誡經校釋: 略論南北朝時代的道教清整運動 *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 28. 1 (1956): 17–54.

<sup>275</sup> Tang Zhangru 唐長孺, "Qiantang Duzhi yu Sanwu Tianshidao de yanbian," 錢塘杜治與三吳天師道的演變 *Tang Zhangru shehui wenhua shi luncong* 唐長孺社會文化史論叢 (Wuhan: Wuhandaxue chubanshe, 2001), 157–75.

<sup>276</sup> Stephen Bokenkamp, "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures," 449–53.

changed the way they conceived their ancestors. Once seen as source of blessings for their needy descendants, ancestors came to be conceived as the objects who also sought urgently for help from their living offspring. Daoism, particular the Lingbao tradition, actively responded to this phenomenal. As the result, the familial dynamics of ancestral practices were reconfigured to account for newly integrated notions of purgatories, rebirth, and salvation.<sup>277</sup>

Bokenkamp's work inspires us here in terms of the continuous intimate association between living familial members and ancestors. A Daoist individual could simultaneously be an active merit-transferor and a passive victim of collective familial responsibility.<sup>278</sup> This alignment of forces, I would stress here, was also imagined to extend to ancestors. Perhaps for the first time in the Chinese religious history, ancestors became to play the significant role in the ritual of transmission. They were imagined in a collective category, namely the seven ancestors (*qizu* 七祖), the seven mysteries (*qixuan* 七玄), or parents in the past seven generations (*qishi fumu* 七世父母).

The term as such bears two different connotations in the Chinese religious context.<sup>279</sup> In the influential Buddhist *Vinaya of the Four Categories* (Chi. *Sifen lü* 四分律, Skt. *Cāturvargīya-vinaya*) translated in the early fifth century, it

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<sup>277</sup> Stephen Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 158–92.

<sup>278</sup> Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 1:103.

<sup>279</sup> This observation and the information in the remainder of this paragraph are drawn from Chen Zhiyuan 陳志遠, “Shi qishi fumu,” 釋七世父母 (unpublished manuscript).



counts familial relationships up to seven generations on both paternal and maternal sides.<sup>280</sup> On the other hand, in accord with the idea of rebirth, the notion of one's different parents in past generations also developed in Buddhist scriptures. Buddhists used this notion to expel the wrong perception of home-sickness (Ch. *qinli jue* 親里覺, Skt. *jñātivitarka*). The two understandings coexisted in the early medieval period, and the latter became more dominant since the Tang.

The Daoist usage of the collective ancestors similarly manifests this hybrid nature. In the passage recited above, the term “parents in life and death” shows acceptance of rebirth and clearly denotes the parents that one has had in the flow of *saṃsāra*. Its other scriptural usages, however, show certain degree of ambiguity consciously made either the sense of familial lineage or that of progenitor in rebirth may apply. This feature is also confirmed in the graphic representation in the Daoist stele erected in the early medieval period. In the inscription of the Yao Boduo stele (erected at 497), several different terms are used to refer to Yao's ancestors. They all appear in the writ of commitment (*yuanwen* 願文) on the right side of the stele, carved on the second register under the images of worshiper:

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<sup>280</sup> T no. 1428, 22. 606c21–23.

[we] make commitment to let the clan ancestors, the parents in the past seven generations, and the deceased familial relatives of the Daoist citizen Yao Boduo...<sup>281</sup>

願道民姚伯多三宗五祖，七世父母，前亡後死眷屬……

The passage provides the comprehensive list of the collective familial relatives to whom Daoist practitioner is concerned. Given that the list initially puts forward the clan ancestors as the first group in an explicit way, it is highly likely the second group refers to the parents of Yao Boduo in his past seven-generation. If this were true, the list manifested that the both understandings of ancestors in the past generations coexisted in the Daoist praxis. The mechanism for saving their bodies and souls heavily relies on the salvific scenarios in Lingbao scriptures.<sup>282</sup> On the other hand, the local ritualization of stele like this not only represent the social context in which the ideas in the Daoist scriptures composed in the South China were practiced in the North, but also served the ritual means by which the social and religious communities acted upon their environment. Since the extant Lingbao corpus remains unclear on the definition of the ancestors, the understanding in the stele might not be directly inspired by scriptural sources. In real ritual praxis, an agent was able to form his/her own understanding and to actively transform it into diversified medias.

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<sup>281</sup> Here I follow the transcription provided by Zhang Xunliao 張勳療, "Sichuan daxue bowuguan cang Beiwei Yao Boduo zao daoxiang beiwen tuoben kaoshi," 四川大學博物館藏北魏姚伯多造道像碑文拓本考釋 *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* no.2 (1997): 10.

<sup>282</sup> Stephen Bokenkamp, "The Yao Boduo Stele as Evidence for the 'Dao-Buddhism' of the Early Lingbao Scriptures," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, Vol. 9 (1996): 59.

This active comprehension and practice of religious ideas is similarly shown in the “Record of Establish the Image by Fan Nuzu” 樊奴子造像記 (erect at 532). Its inscription expresses the blessing for the family. The parents in past lives and familial ancestors are likewise both included among the receiver of the benediction.<sup>283</sup>

As instances of the steles shown, unlike Chinese Buddhists who exerted themselves to distinguish the two connotations in the idiom of ancestors, Daoists paid more attention to accomplishing certain acts to bring more assured benefits to ancestors. The transmission rite was representatively one of this kind. In the Shangqing ritual code of transmission composed around the late 4th century, the fate of ancestors is deeply involved in the transmission of scriptures. More specifically, the successful transmission is able to deliver them from the underworld to the Heaven, and the transgression to it brings them unfortunate consequences:

As for eligible transmission you must report to the Three Officials. Do not make your ancestors in seven generations suffer from the harm from the unseen.  
傳得可授告三官，勿令七祖受冥患。<sup>284</sup>

If the possessor who unlawfully releases this to others, then the retribution reaches the ancestors in seven generations. They will be investigated by the Three Officials, and the possessor will be perished.

有者妄泄示人，殃及七祖，獲考三官，己身亡命。<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> Chen Genyuan 陳根遠 and Luo Xiaoxing 羅小幸 ed., *Sanqin beike yinghua* 三秦碑刻英華 (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 1996), 37.

<sup>284</sup> *Taishang huangting neijing yujing* 太上黃庭內景玉經 DZ 332, 21a.

<sup>285</sup> *Shangqing waiguo fangpin qingtong neiwen* 上清外國放品青童內文 DZ 1373, 1. 13b.

One who casually reveals [this scripture] will be blind. His/her ancestors in seven generations too fill up the responsibility.  
輕泄失明，七祖充責。<sup>286</sup>

The idea of the Three Officials originated from the cosmology and pantheon of the early Celestial Master. It was believed that the three very pneumas of mystery, primal, and inauguration generated the three officials of heaven, earth, and water.<sup>287</sup> According to this system, the Official of Earth particular functions to investigate the deceased. The other two officials began to carry out this function in the early Six Dynasties; meanwhile, the object of the investigated extended to the livings. The belief in the transgression and corresponding punishment thus associated the private individual and the ancestors in the past seven generations.<sup>288</sup> In the early Shangqing hagiography of Lord Pei, the author confirms the belief in the Three Officials that the investigation by the Three Officials is by no means trivial 三官考察非小故也。<sup>289</sup> Its adoption in the ritual code of transmission was similarly the production of the diffused religious element and reconfigured religious systems of Celestial Master Daoism in the southern China.

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<sup>286</sup> *Shangqing gaoshang yuchen fengtai qusu shangjing* 上清高上玉晨鳳臺曲素上經 DZ 1372, 2a.

<sup>287</sup> Kristopher Shipper, "Taoism: the Story of the Way," in Stephen Little ed., *Taoism and the Arts of China: Journey to Perfect Harmony* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2000), 41.

<sup>288</sup> Lai Chi-tim, "Tian di shui sangan xinyang yu zaoqi tianshi dao zhibing jiezui yishi," 21.

<sup>289</sup> *Taiyuan zhenren dongyue shangqing siming zhenjun zhuan* 太元真人東嶽上卿司命真君傳, preserved in *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 DZ 1032, 104. 14b.

Not only the alignment of the transmission and the ancestors was prescribed in the ritual code, but also it was reaffirmed in the ritual action of transmission. In the ordination rite composed by Lu Xiuqing, the master cautions the adept:

If one goes against the code and casually release [the content of scripture], or transmit scripture without covenant, the master will be investigated by the Four Poles, and the ancestors in seven generations all will sink into the underworld prison. Even for myriad of *kalpas* they may not be forgiven. Could one not be cautious! Could one not be cautious!  
若違科妄泄，無盟而傳，師受四極之考，七祖同淪地獄，萬劫不原，可不慎之，可不慎之！<sup>290</sup>

On the one hand, the similar alignment resonates the prescription in the Shangqing ritual code, in which the ancestors are victims of their descendants' careless transgression of transmission. On the other hand, the Lingbao Daoists rendered innovation to this idea in that the ancestors came to play a more active role in the transmission. As straightly prescribed in the *Jade Instruction of the Vermillion Writs* (*Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶赤書玉訣妙經), the adept of the Five Talismans should report to his/her ancestors in seven generations and make covenant with them.<sup>291</sup> The ritual agency given to ancestors makes the alignment between descendant and ancestors more intimate and substantial. As a result, the individual familial lineage is

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<sup>290</sup> *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi* 太上洞玄靈寶授度儀 DZ 528, 42b.

<sup>291</sup> “啟告七祖同盟生死” DZ 352, 2. 29b.

connected to the new religious knowledge and practice that claims to bring assured salvation.

This particular reconfiguration of the alignment between the members in familial lineage very likely makes use of the Lingbao idea of universal salvation. We are not unfamiliar with what the *Scripture of Salvation* promises, the dead can universally be saved and the perished soul can return to a living body 普受開度死魂生身.<sup>292</sup> As the Tang Daoist Xue Youqi 薛幽棲 (ca. 713–741) explains, while ancestors bring descendant into this world, they begot his/her body and gave rise to the five *karmas*. Since the five *karmas* of the saved practitioner have no root cause after he/she has delivered the seven generations of ancestors, the five *karmas* naturally drop away. That is to say, in saving ancestors one deletes one's own bad karma naturally.<sup>293</sup> It can be deduced from his explanation that the essence of the alignment between ancestors and offspring is the *karmas*. The salvation of the descendant automatically brings salvation to ancestors. Losing their reliance, the karmic bonds automatically disappear. Although Xue's life was later than the formative period of Daoist monasticism discussed here, his explanation, particularly the part on the salvation of ancestors, can indeed be convinced in the ancient Lingbao scriptures in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>294</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> DZ 1, 1. 11b.

<sup>293</sup> “七祖生我一身，興此五業。今既一身受度，五業自然而亡。七祖則鍊化更生，五業則無根自落，” DZ 87, 3. 23b.

<sup>294</sup> “削落地簡九幽目錄，滅絕宿根，漸息惡緣。不得拘逮，億劫無連。七祖同福，皆得上昇

When the Daoist Three Caverns grew from bibliographical category to the mature theological system, the transmission rites of the scriptures in major traditions all appeared to stress the benefit that the ancestors of the adept will obtain from the rite. In the section of transmitting the scriptures of Comprehending Perfected in the *New Ritual Imperially Composed*, a five-syllabus hymn is recited to expel demons in order to assure the transmission. There are two lines of lyrics explicitly expressing how the merit of the scripture comes to effect on the fate of the ancestors:

[The merit of the scripture] extirpates the obstacles of the ancestors in seven generations,	拔度七祖程，
And extinguishes the root of five sufferings.	削減五苦根。
The returning souls further attain the glory,	反魂更受榮，
And the golden light illuminates the chamber.	金光輝寂室。 <sup>295</sup>

The lines here vividly delineate the process of the salvation for ancestors. By the merit of the scripture transmitted, they can be delivered from the dark underworld to the illuminating heaven, sharing there the glory that the descendant brings to them. A similar idea of delivering salvation to the ancestors by means of transmission of the scriptures can also be found elsewhere in this ritual

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逍遙玄都七寶林中，魂受鍊度，時得更生，” *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* 太上靈寶諸天內音自然玉字 DZ 97, 1. 15b.

<sup>295</sup> DZ 1138, 40. 3a. The same lyric can also be found in *Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing dengtan fuzha miaojue* 洞真太上八素真經登壇符札妙訣 DZ 1324 , 4a.

protocol.<sup>296</sup>

The ritualization of the idea of saving ancestors by the merit of scripture created new ritual agents of transmission.<sup>297</sup> Through the codified ordination rite, the ancestors become an active role, instead of passively receiving what their descendants bring to them. They are summoned to the ritual spot to supervise and witness the transmission. The very early production of the ritualized agent of ancestors appears in the *Jade Instruction of the Vermillion Writs*, where the precept delivers the closing report to the celestial spirits about the transmission:

The adept, having received the true writs, must keep them in secret and practice, in the silent hope of encountering the celestial perfected. Even a father cannot tell [this] to a son and the scriptures must be kept assessable only to the adept. During forty years, if the adept who has been transmitted for more than seven years meets the other who deserves the transcendence, he/she should first report to the Nine Heaven for the allowance of transmission. [In this transmission], the Four Offices, Five Thearches, and Three Officials summon and investigate the ancestors of the adept who confront and supervise [the transmission]. The [adept's] words of covenant are as follows: If [I] moderate my deportment and heed the law, and do not disobey the celestial numinous, then the living and the deceased all join with the transcendence. If I diminish or offend the celestial code, or release the true writs, my parents in life and death and myself apologize for the transgression to the Four Luminous. [Tortured] by the gusty sword for myriad of *kalpas*, and in the Three Paths and Five Sufferings, I do not dare to beg for forgiveness.

甲受真之後，閉口奉修，密期天真。父不告子，惟在一身。七年已上，四十年中，有遇仙之人，當告九天聽傳。四司五帝三官考召甲九祖父母對監。盟言：檢行慎法，不違天靈，生死同仙；虧違天科，中泄真文，生死父母及得甲身謝罪四明，風刀萬劫，三塗五苦，不敢蒙原。<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> It appears in the section of transmitting the scriptures of the Comprehending Mystery in the *New Ritual Imperially Composed*, DZ 1138, 39. 7b.

<sup>297</sup> As for how ritualization is essentially a process of creating ritual agent, see Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 197–223.

<sup>298</sup> DZ 352, 2. 31b–32a.



The codification of transmitting the true writings, which are the core of the Lingbao revelation, transforms the power of the text into that of the rite by making participation the very basis of Daoist affiliation. The lodging access of the scripture from scriptural context to the practice of ritual makes the efficacy that had accompanied with the possession of scriptures accessible to all. The participation made in the new context of ritual extends from the adept to the relatives in his/her familial lineage. Once the ancestors become the supervisors and witness, the familial dynamic of ancestral practice is correspondingly brought into the ritual. As a result, the ritual theologically confirms the aligned fate of familial members whose salvation depends on the compliance of ritual code.

The designation of ritual agency to ancestors transforms ancestors as the virtual subjects who are actively concerned with the alignment of collective guilt. Because of this agency that they play, the pre-established familial ties become so strong that it cannot be assimilated in the master-disciple relationship. There are more than one Daoist texts that explicitly exclude familial relationship within the lineage of transmission:

The Liturgy for Transmission of the Orthodox and One records: those who are in the same paternal lineage within the five degrees of cloth must not mutually transmit, and hence become master and disciple.<sup>299</sup> Why it is so? [It is because] if master or disciple transgresses the covenant, the ancestors are all to be investigated.

正一受道威儀：同姓九祖，服從已來，不得傳授，以為師資。所以者何？師資

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<sup>299</sup> Here I read *fucong* (obedience) as *congru* (following the mourning cloth).

犯約，九祖同考。<sup>300</sup>

This passage is recited from the *Liturgy of the Orthodox and One*, a collection of Daoist codices flourishing in the seventh and eighth centuries. Although the text was made for the purpose of providing ordination within the tradition of the Orthodox and One, a descendant sect of the Celestial Master Daoism, the scheme of the ordination follows the formative outline of the *fawei* system.<sup>301</sup> As the prescription here explicitly shows, the term of collective ancestors is understood in the sense of paternal familial lineage. Its logic is simple: if the master-disciple relationship is established by the ones with familial relations, then, due to the principle of aligned fate among familial members, the transgression made by one side extends to the other.

This proscription against overlapping between familial and religious relationship echoes in a less sect-focused text. The *Comprehensive Precepts of the Three Caverns* (*Sandong zhongjie wen* 三洞眾戒文) was composed by the great Daoist patriarch Zhang Wanfu 張萬福 between 710–713. Similarly following the ordination hierarchy in the Tang, the text provides adepts with proper models of the items needed for transmission.<sup>302</sup> The passage below is excerpted from the section “the writ of code and precept for the disciple obeying the master” 弟子奉

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<sup>300</sup> DZ 791, 4b.

<sup>301</sup> *Taoist Canon*, 1: 474.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid*, 1: 456. Tian He 田禾, *Zhang Wanfu yu Tangchu Daojiao Yishi de Xingcheng* 張萬福與唐初道教儀式的形成 (Ph.D. diss., Beijing University, 2016), 86–94.

師科戒文:

If the adept and the preceptor are of the degree of kinship that requires fine sackcloth, they must not be the master and disciple. Why it is so? All transmissions need witnesses. The ancestors thus come to supervise the transmission of their descendant. If the covenant is once broke, the ancestors will be investigated, while the disaster also extends to the adept.

弟子與師親服緦麻者，皆不得相為師。所以爾者，受法皆證。三曾七祖父母來監臨子孫所受。若違盟，九祖受考，殃及受法之身。<sup>303</sup>

Again, the anxiety of the flowing punishment along the familial lineage is expressed. Moreover, the old belief of juxtaposed fate of familial members is enhanced by the creation of ritual agent. Once the ancestors become the supervisor and witness of the transmission, any transgression to this particular ritual automatically mires them in the sanction. The original blood ties between ancestor and descendant are further transformed into the new connection between witness and adept. As explained by Zhang Wanfu himself elsewhere, “In the day of ordination, [the precept] reports to the heavenly administrations and earthly bureaus, to the four offices and Five Thearches. All the immortals are regarded as the supervisors and witnesses. Thereby [we] summon the ancestors in seven generations to supervise, and confront the Five Thearches to form the contract. If the adept transgresses the covenant, turns his/her back to the Dao, and despises the master, [the supervisors and witnesses] look into the covenant by combining the contract to testify and verify [the identity of the adept]. This is just like that

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<sup>303</sup> DZ 178, 1.3b.

[the two parties] in the worldly exchange each hold half of the contract to set up a trust.”<sup>304</sup>

We are not, however, able to estimate to what extent this rule was executed in the Daoist community in the early medieval period. The forerunners of Shangqing and Lingbao movements often kept their early lineages within family.<sup>305</sup> This is even endorsed by some monastic codes. According to a certain code recited in the *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao*, as long as the one is eligible for transmission and promises to be sincere and faithful to the precepts, then one can be transmitted, even if one bears blood ties with the precept.<sup>306</sup> Nonetheless, the claim is still premised on the principle of aligned fate among familial members. That is, even though the ones with blood ties eventually have become master and disciple, the familial relation gives way to the new-established religious one. It is the latter that predominates the bonding between them. As has been shown in the last section, the essence of this religious relationship is one’s affiliation to the Daoist law authorized by the ordination rite.

The establishment of master-disciple relation is discursively the crystallization of the Daoist law. In the process of embodying the law with the

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<sup>304</sup> *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lueshuo* 傳授三洞經戒法籙略說 DZ 1214, 2. 15b.

<sup>305</sup> The Shangqing scriptures were transmitted within the Xu family. The similar role was played by the Ge family in the transmission of Lingbao scriptures. As Ge Hong explicitly states, one copy of the scripture shall be preserved for his descendants 一通付家門子孫. (*Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue* 太極真人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣 DZ 532, 23a)

<sup>306</sup> “律曰：七世不同，得為師授度；七世尚同，不得為師。犯者減筭三紀。然看此律，直恐弟子有過累於九祖父母，傍及師之祖先。若弟子忠誠，七戒無犯，德合十行，骨相應圖。父亦可以傳其子，令能九祖俱仙，寧有奪筭之咎？” DZ 463, 3. 4a.

Daoist practitioner, the discourse emerged to highlight the non-worldly nature of the relation. In the ending segment of the transmission of the Five Talismans conveyed by the earliest known Daoist *jiao* ritual, the preceptor reports to the celestial spirits about the transmission:

In this day we have undertaken the ritual, reporting and sacrificing to the Five Thearchs, the lords, and the elderly, in order to settle the spiritual covenant as well as the pledge of the vermilion and blue. Confronting the covenant of drinking [the vermilion water] and making oath, we have made the commitment and pledge, promising not to release the [Five Talismans]. Heaven is intimate and the earth adores [us], and the transmission in every forty years comes out. From the nonexistence we have performed the transmission, and this is manifested by the Code.

即日修齋，告祭於五帝諸君丈人，以定神契，丹青之信。當喻誓之券，為效為信，約不漏泄。天親地愛，傳出五八，無中宣授，明於科法。<sup>307</sup>

In this concluding report sent to the spirits descending to the transmission, the preceptor reviews the process of the ritual. The statement carefully reaffirms the accordance of the transmission with the prescription of the ritual code. As the result of the lawful performance of the ritual, the heaven and the earth appear to have made certain degree of close connection with the individual who has been transmitted the texts. On the one hand, a literal reading here works, highlighting the holy origin of the transmitted or legitimacy transmission. On the other hand, the paralleling passage in various later Daoist texts suggests that the discourse here functions metaphorically to describe the master-disciple relationship.

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<sup>307</sup> DZ 388, 3. 7b.

In the *Inner Biography of Emperor Wu of the Han* (*Han Wudi neizhuan* 漢武帝內傳), a probably sixth-century text, the Queen Mother transmits twelve pieces of documents to Emperor Wu. She then elaborates the master-disciple relation to the emperor, explaining that the ones who follow the same path are heavenly relatives, and the ones who share with same aspiration are earthly devotees. The practitioners of the Dao should undertake transmission by themselves, sharing together honor and dishonor.<sup>308</sup> Here the Queen Mother's definition gives a high estimation of the master-disciple relationship. That is, established by the transmission ritual, it transcends the original identities that the two parties of the transmission had borne. It is essentially religious and non-worldly. On the other hand, it could be formed like other human relationships.<sup>309</sup>

The supernatural relationship proposed in the *Inner Biography* can either represent what was really practiced among the Daoists in the time when the text was composed, or propose an original idea that inspired the transmission ritual for the contemporary and the future. In the late six-century *Introductory Treatises to the [Chart] of the True Form of the Five Sacred Mountains* (*Wuyue zhenxing xulun* 五嶽真形圖序論), the emphasis of the non-worldly master-disciple

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<sup>308</sup> 同道謂之天親，同心謂之地愛。為道者當相親授，共均榮辱。DZ 292, 24a. See also Kristofer Schipper, *L'Empereur Wou des Han dans la légende taoïste: Han Wou-ti nei-tchouan* (Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1965), 120.

<sup>309</sup> In a petition submitted by a master to the heaven for requesting aids to bury his/her disciple, the master describes that the two became celestial relatives 結天親, see DZ , 6. 15b.

relationship constantly appears in the writ of sacrificing the chart 祭文. It aims to provide a template of written document for both the preceptor and the adept in the transmission.<sup>310</sup> The idea continues to be used in the early Tang Daoist texts. Not only does it still appear in the ritual code of transmission,<sup>311</sup> but also influences the daily Daoist monastic life: “The code says: when talking with the disciple, the master should address him/herself as I, and call the disciple as you, or dear disciple. Such is the [way] by which the disciple [addresses the master]. They are heavenly relatives.<sup>312</sup>

In conclusion, Daoist transmission rite played the role of relational configuration to override or accommodate the pre-established ties in the Daoist community. While the father-son often overlapped with master-disciple relationship, efforts were made to reconfigure the familial lineage in the Daoist ritual. The alignment of collective guilt and fortune among familial members was introduced and acted out in the Daoist transmission rite. As a result, ancestors are assigned ritual agency, supervising and witnessing the transmission. Because of possible flowing guilt generated by the transgression of adept, master-disciple relationship pays no heed to embed familial lineage. In addition, the discourse of heavenly affection and earthly devotee emerged with non-familial nature of Daoist master-disciple relationship.

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<sup>310</sup> *DZ* 1281, 18b–19b.

<sup>311</sup> 傳授三洞經戒法籙略說, *DZ*, 1. 16b.

<sup>312</sup> “科曰：師與弟子言，皆稱吾我，卿弟子。弟子亦如此。天親也。” *DZ* 463, 3. 2b.

### 3.3 The Construction of Daoist Relational Categories

The relational reconfiguration of the Daoist master-disciple relationship further required the Daoist community to bring into existence a definite relational category. During the rising Daoist institution and cultivation in the mid 5<sup>th</sup> century, the master-disciple relationship began to undergo doctrinal innovation by enhancing the status of the master. Theoretically, a master is considered as significant as a father because of the crucial role that he/she played in revealing scripture to a disciple. As the Perfected of the Grand Culmen 太極真人, one of the main figures who transmitted the Lingbao scriptures in our age, claims the disciple of Lingbao tradition should venerate a master as one venerates a father and desire scripture as if one is severely thirsty.<sup>313</sup> Some different Daoist traditions confirm this notion. A code even prescribes that one serving master should be in extreme caution as if one is holding something in the palm, for a master is like a father.<sup>314</sup>

This discourse could metaphorically assist the perception of the new and unfamiliar experience by the means of familiar one.<sup>315</sup> They represent the various discursive practices invented to fit the new need of Daoist communities. As previous sections demonstrate, libationer lived at peace with the family model of

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<sup>313</sup> “太極真人曰：……敬師如父，思經如渴，” DZ 425, 16b.

<sup>314</sup> “科曰：凡事師恆如兩手捧物當心，勿有墜失，師如父也，” DZ 463, 3. 2a.

<sup>315</sup> As for how metaphor is grounded in experience and assists perception, see George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *The Metaphor We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 58–9.



community. It was only in the community led by religious teacher that the family model raised anxiety. Not only would it generate potential danger for the transmission between familial members, but also would obscure the boundary between the master-disciple relation and other pre-established social ones. While other correlations could consciously coexist, a religious community must place prominent the relationship that distinguishes it from other social groups.

As their community grew and expanded, the effort was consistently made to ritually venerating the master. For instance, the visualization of the master is described as the crucial in the transmission of scripture.<sup>316</sup> The *Writs of the Jade Splits* (*Yulu jianwen* 玉籙簡文), a significant ritual guidebook of Lingbao tradition, prescribes detailed ritual actions applied in the various circumstances for the disciple interaction with the master.<sup>317</sup> Part of its content, soon adopted by the Daoists in the North, constituted the chapter of Serving Master (*shishi* 事師) in the Daoist encyclopedia *Wushang miyao*.<sup>318</sup> On the surface, this functioned to maintain and reinforce the authority of the teacher. However, since “master” is always the correlative category with “disciple,” its deeper meaning there, however,

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<sup>316</sup> Chang Chao-jan 張超然, “Tang Song daojiao zhaiyi zhong de lishi cunnian jiqi yuanliu kaolun jianlun daojiao zhaitan tuxiang de yunyong,” 唐宋道教齋儀中的「禮師存念」及其源流考論——兼論道教齋壇圖像的運用 *Qinghua xuebao* no. 45/3 (2015): 289–95.

<sup>317</sup> Lü Pengzhi 呂鵬志, *Tangqian Daojiao yishi shigang* 唐前道教儀式史綱 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 171.

<sup>318</sup> DZ 1138, 42.

lies in highlighting the master-disciple relationship, distinguishing it from other counterparts.

Although the various rites like these may shed light on how master was venerated by disciple(s) in the Daoist communities, they can hardly tell us what exactly was the relation between them, how the relation in Daoism was differentiated from, or similar to, the counterpart in the other religious traditions, and how Daoists perceived this precise relationship in connection with the other social relations. These are the crucial questions that we want to look into in this section.

### 3.3.1 The Daoist Mourning Rite

In the ending part of his *Summary of Crucial Ceremonies, Rules, and Codices to be Practiced* (*Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律抄), Zhu Juxun 朱君緒 (byname Faman, fl. early 8th century) compiled the *Rite of the Weal and Woe of the Gentlemen of the Way* (*Daoshi jixiong yi* 道士吉凶儀).<sup>319</sup> He took references from other precedent ritual guides for Daoist mourning rites, including the ones respectively composed by Meng Jingyi 孟景翼 (fl. 505), Meng Zhizhou 孟智周 (ca. 500–550), Duke Stone Well (shijing gong 石井公), and Zhang Xu 張續.

The original impetus to compile a protocol like this, as Meng Jingyi explains, is:

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<sup>319</sup> A master of Three Caverns, Zhu was a native of Yuhang district and died there in 720. Except for this, we know little about him, see Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist Canon*, 1: 455. Elsewhere in the protocol, it mentions the use of vessel (*chuanxing* 船行), which also testifies the authorship was in the south China.

Presumably, what is original to human nature is filiality. In its extremity [the filiality] moves the Heaven and the Earth to respond, and communicates with the spirits. The sorrowful and mournful emotion automatically takes place under certain circumstance. Although the wise and the fool belong to different categories, but their emotions are the same. This is why though the Daoist differs from the profane, yet the grand rules of conduct are the same for both of them. In the past Confucius was the master of the learning of Ru, who solely taught the worldly rituals. When he died and was buried on the bank of Si river, all his disciples wore the mourning attire for three years, and Zigong even lived at the hut near the tomb for six years. There were three hundreds of households of Lu people moved and settled near his tomb, who were known as the people of Kong's lane, and continuously practiced the seasonal sacrifices to him. How much more is it the case for the [disciples] in the family of the Dao and in the gate of the law, who learn with the ancestral artisan<sup>320</sup> with the virtue that allows them to surpass the three realm and practices that take them beyond the six paths? [Daoist masters] are moreover able to unify the ultimate Perfection through hidden means, merging with the Constant Stillness.<sup>321</sup> The inner and the outer are essentially distinct, and this cannot be understood through the emotion. I hence compose this rite in hope of generally covering all the aspects [of the Daoist mourning rite].

蓋人倫本有者孝性。乃至感動天地，通達神明。哀戚之情，觸境自發。雖復賢愚有品而愛惡不殊。乃是道俗難同，大方莫異。昔孔子既為儒學之師，止教世間典禮。死埋泗水之上，弟子皆服三年，子貢廬住塚邊六載。魯人因從居者百有餘家，遂名為孔里之民，四時祭禮不輟。況在道家法門，所稟宗匠，能使德踰三界，行超六道。乃復冥一至真，會合常寂。此則內外懸殊，非是情數所能譬也。仍為立儀略將備盡。<sup>322</sup>

Meng first explains the rationale of the mourning ritual for profane teacher. That is, it originates from the human nature of filial piety, by the power of which the supernatural can even be moved. The mourning for Confucius by his disciples and other sincere people illustrates this. While both “inner” and “outer” are on the

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<sup>320</sup> According to the *Discussion on the Standard Works of Daoism* (Daodian lun 道典論), a Tang encyclopedia, the term *zongjiang* is basically the synonym of master (DZ 1130, 2. 7a). Its very early scriptural usage can be found in *Scripture of Great Precept*, one of the ancient Lingbao scripture, where Ge Xuan is addressed as such (DZ 457, 2a)

<sup>321</sup> This refers to the Dao.

<sup>322</sup> DZ 463, 15. 1b–2a.

same scale, the Daoist master must be fundamentally different for he/she exceeds in the practices of these virtues that bring the disciple transcendence.

The preface also recites the story that the Emperor Cheng of Western Han and the Emperor Zhang of Eastern Han venerated their Confucian teachers. It then raises the rhetorical question: how can the Daoist master who teaches the Way of the Perfected not even be equally honored as the Confucian master who only transmits profane classics.<sup>323</sup> We are not unfamiliar with the fact that Daoist mastership drew sources from the Confucian model. As in the Lingbao *Falun zuifu jing*, the Confucian teacher is provided as an explicit parallel for the Daoist master.<sup>324</sup> Moreover, the Confucian appears here more as a rivaling target, and even a competitor to surpass. Given that Zhu Junxu recites these passages within his preface of the protocol, it is highly possible that he agrees with this relational perception. Bear this in mind, we will look into the larger picture of the Daoist community this protocol represents.

The protocol represents a complex Daoist community that kept the wide interaction with society. First and foremost, the audience of the protocol reside in the monastic abbey with their identities affiliating with it by making self-reference as the Gentlemen of the Way of such and such Abbey (mouguan daoshi 某觀道士). The relationship between a Daoist and his family is

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<sup>323</sup> DZ 463, 15. 2b–3a.

<sup>324</sup> Bokenkamp, “The Early Lingbao Scriptures and the Origins of Chinese Monasticism,” 103–4.

emphasized. Not only a large number of letter samples are provided for a Daoist and his/her relatives within the system of the five degrees of mourning clothes (*wufu* 五服), but also for a Daoist communicating with the family of his/her ordination master (*shoudao shi* 授道師) and fellows (*tongxue* 同學).

Communication with the local governor as well as other secular powers in the local society is also provided. Secondly, the master-disciple relationship plays the central role in the community. The closeness to the master determines the inheritance of the property that a deceased master leaves. The inheritors in descending sequence are disciples, other Daoists in the monastery (*guanzhong* 觀眾), and the Daoists who are not affiliated with the monastery (*dao zhong* 道眾).

The text provides the ritual guide for a Daoist community to deal with the death of its members. Its main content is divided into ten sections:

- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| 1. The rule of letters of communication         | 通啟儀    |
| 2. The rule of letters of condolence            | 弔喪儀    |
| 3. The rule of taking care of dying master      | 疾病儀    |
| 4. The rule of dressing the body                | 初死小斂儀  |
| 5. The rule of placing the body into coffin     | 入棺大斂儀  |
| 6. The rule of clothing the mourning attire     | 成服儀    |
| 7. The rule of entombing the coffin             | 葬送儀    |
| 8. The rule of establishing the spiritual stool | 安靈儀    |
| 9. The rule of returning the original monastery | 弟子送還觀儀 |
| 10. The rule of removing the mourning attire    | 除服儀    |

The sections represent an entire process of the mourning rite in a Daoist community. It covers the wide temporal spectrum from the death to the burial,

and entails large group of members in this Daoist community. The writing of a ritual guide for the mourning rite took place prior to Zhu's time. In the preface of the *Rite of the Weal and Woe*, Zhu Junxu mentions that the very initial endeavor was made by Meng Jingyi, who composed a ritual guide about the mourning rite specifically for Daoists 道士送終儀體.

There are two tasks for the dying master's disciples on his/her deathbed: the preparation of the Daoist burial in accordance with the ritual code, and the distribution of a master's properties, particular his/her religious objects. They should bath the dead master, recite scriptures, or even establish a retreat ritual in order to pray for the fortune for the master (section 3). After the master died, they properly dress the corpse by tying it with the religious objects that the deceased used, such as the register, the talismans, the bells, and the seals. They also present with the vegetarian offerings, read a sacrifice writ (*jiwen* 祭文), and bemoan the deceased (section 4).

In the next section, the corpse is solemnly dressed with the ritual attire and is placed into the coffin along with some more objects such as scriptures, a mirror, and other ritual objects. In this process, three pieces of Brahma Recitations (*fansong* 梵誦) about repentance are practiced. After this, the document (*yiwen* 移文) with the list of the burial objects would be dispatched to underworld officials, requiring them to guard the objects, particular the scriptures, and to lead

to corpse in the underworld. When everyone at the funeral had taken leave 辭 of the corpse, a petition ritual was performed to inform the heavenly court the burial and request for celestial clerks, namely the Messenger of Overseeing the Corpse 臨屍使者 and the Lord and Clerks of Reporting the Burial 關斂君吏, to descend and supervise the burial.

From the sixth section onwards, the disciples would begin to wear the mourning attire (*chengfu* 成服). The system of the attire employed by Chinese society to bemoan the deceased familial member is appropriated in the Daoist community in memory of the departed master. Specified in the *Liyi* as well as in other Confucian classics, there are five degrees of mourning attire corresponding to five types of familial relations. Unstitched hessian (*zhancui* 斬衰), the heaviest of all, is made of the roughest sackcloth without trimmings and is to be worn for three years (in practice usually twenty-five or twenty-seven months). It is applied by the closest relationships in a family, and thus typically worn by a son or an unmarried daughter for his or her father, by a father for his eldest son, by a married woman for her parents-in-law, and by a wife for her husband. The second heaviest is stitched hessian (*zicui* 齊衰). It is made of the roughest sackcloth but with trimmings. Its duration of mourning period varies, depending on the relation between the mourner and the dead. Made of finer sackcloth with trimmings, coarse hopsack (*dagong* 大功) is the third degree. Like that of stitched hessian,

its duration also varies. The next degree is fine hopsack (*xiaogong* 小功), made of sackcloth of even finer quality with trimmings, with the mourning length of five months. The lightest degree comes to fine sackcloth (*sima* 緦麻). It is made of the finest sackcloth with decorated trimmings and one is supposed to wear it for three months.<sup>325</sup> It is in this step that the master-disciple relations pre-established by the transmission are further embodied in traditional Chinese relational categories. A further discussion will be provided in the next section.

The next step is the process to the tomb and the burial of the body. The retinue consists of four groups: leading the way are the scripture(s) and the various specialists who worship it, including flower-scatter, canopy-holder, music-performer, and scripture-reciter. The members coming from Daoist communities are in the second place. Next come respectively the carrier of presentations and the body. After the retinue reach the tomb, they worshiped the scripture(s), establish within the tomb the spiritual stool, and present the offerings to the dead. A disciple would then read another sacrifice writ (*jiwen* 祭文), and moan to express the lament 哭盡哀. The burial ends after the scripture(s), the coffin, and other ritual objects all have been entombed.

The establishment of the spirit stool (*lingchuang* 靈床) in the western side of the main chamber in the tomb suggests this follows the custom of the sacrifice at

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<sup>325</sup> For a detailed overview of the five degree mourning attire system, see J. J. M. De Groot, *The Religious System of China: Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect, Manners, Customs and Social Institutions Connected therewith* 6 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1894), 2: 488–604.



the grave.<sup>326</sup> According to two Meng Masters, it is a five-foot-square stool, surrounded by a screen and curtains are attached.<sup>327</sup> A lamp and incense are placed in front of the stool, together with the daily necessities that the deceased used, including towel, bamboo tablet, comb, and cloth. The other objects for daily eating, drinking, etc., are presented as if the dead were still alive. If the season or the weather does not allow the sacrifice at the tomb, those who have returned to their own abbeys may establish the spiritual stool at the abbey to practice the ceremony of condolence.

After fulfilling the mourning duties for the prescribed period, one would take off the mourning cloth (*chufu* 除服) and cease to practice the duties. Except for wearing mourning cloth, the most important duty for the mourner is the daily presentation of incense and lamp to the spiritual stool, which Zhu Junxu accordingly identifies as the incense stool (*xiangchuang* 香床). In spite of the important role it plays throughout the mourning rite, the spirit stool is not to be

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<sup>326</sup> “安靈床塚右,” *DZ* 463, 16. 10b. The practice of the inner tomb sacrifice might partly result from the series state orders for frugal funeral by the Wei Dynasty (220–266). Approximately during the Western Jin (266–316), the fore chamber of the tomb was usually removed and the main chamber served the place where the sacrifices in tomb were undertaken. See Yang Hong 楊弘, “Tan Zhongguo Han Tang zhijian zangsu de yanbian,” 談中國漢唐之間葬俗的演變 *Wenwu* 文物, 10 (1999): 63. See also relevant discussion on the sacrifice at grave by Stephen Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 64–6.

<sup>327</sup> Lingchuang functioned as the lodge on which the deceased’s soul temporarily relied. It was used interchangeably with lingzuo in the early medieval period. See Wang Ningling 王寧玲, *Liangjin sangyi jikao* 兩晉喪儀輯考 (Master Thesis, Nanjing Normal University, 2013), 33–44.

permanently placed in the abbey. It would be immediately moved away when the mourning period is completed.

The Confucian mourning rite is essentially a process of changing mourning clothes (*bianchu* 變除), from the wearing of mourning attire to the dressing of auspicious cloth (*jifu* 吉服). Zhu Junxun is fully aware of the significance of this principle. The crucial focus of the protocol is given to the invention of the Daoist mourning attire and to the assignment of them to the disciples. In the comment rendered to elaborate this system that can be traced back to the time of two Meng masters, he explicitly remarks that changing clothes is a principle of Confucian ritual.<sup>328</sup> Following this principle, the disciple, as the main mourner, plays the role of filial son.<sup>329</sup> Not only does the disciple precisely wear the mourning attire in accordance with the basic rule for the filial son 孝子本儀,<sup>330</sup> but he also hosts the guests in the condolence in the exact way that the son does. The condolence hosted by the disciple(s) serves the guest coming from wide social strata, including rulers, nobles, Daoists from other abbeys, and lay people.<sup>331</sup> By performing the detailed actions prescribed for the host to undertake to host different guests, the host is able to make full use of the condolences as an event to maintain and reinforce connections with society.

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<sup>328</sup> “按儒禮喪服以變吉服,” *DZ* 463, 16. 7b.

<sup>329</sup> “孝子是其弟子,” *DZ* 463, 16. 10b.

<sup>330</sup> *DZ* 463, 16. 8b.

<sup>331</sup> “若公王父伯師長來吊,” *DZ* 463, 16. 20a–b.

The Daoist mourning attire was the production of the Daoist community that consciously drew sources from indigenous Chinese traditions to better serve its own purposes. A comparison between the standard Confucian mourning ritual process and its Daoist counterpart below would reveal how the *Rite of the Weal and Woe* innovatively modulates the Daoist mourning rite.<sup>332</sup>

Step	Note
Newly Death 始死	First day after the death
Minor Preparation 小斂*	Second day after the death. Dress the body with shroud.
Major Preparation 大斂*	Third day after the death. Place the body into the coffin.
<i>Bin</i> 殯	Place the coffin into the hole ( <i>si</i> 殯) <sup>333</sup> before the burial.
Completion of cloth 成服*	Forth day after the death. The mourner commences to wear the mourning cloth.
Burial 葬*	
<i>Yu</i> sacrifice 虞	The sacrifices undertaken to the death slightly after the burial.
Halt to Weep 卒哭	The sacrifice undertaken after the <i>yu</i> sacrifices. From this step onwards, the mourner only weeps for the dead twice in the day, and the praxis since then is considered as <i>ji</i> 吉.
<i>Fu</i> sacrifice 祔	The sacrifice undertaken at the ancestral temple whence the spiritual tablet of the newly deceased will be placed along with his/her predecessors in the <i>zhaomu</i> sequence.

<sup>332</sup> As for the normative process of the Confucian mourning rite, I take references from Xu Yuan 徐淵, *Yili sangfu fuxu bianchu tushi* 儀禮喪服服叙變除圖釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2017).

<sup>333</sup> The *si* hole is dig for temporarily containing the coffin. The coffin is placed in the hold for days in accordance with the social status of the death: seven days for the Son of the Heaven, five for the lord, three for the *dafu*, the *shi*, and the commoner. See “Shisangli” 士喪禮 chapter in the *Yili*, 37. 435a, and “Wangzhi” 王制 chapter in the *Liji*, 12. 239.

Changing clothes 變除*	The mourner changes back to living clothes. It takes place after the “halt to weep” and begins to account after the mourner has completed the mourning period. It is a gradual and complex process that may contain four different stages for the mourner wearing unstitched hessian and stitched hessian: halt to weep, lesser propitious ( <i>xiaoxiang</i> 小祥), greater propitious ( <i>daxiang</i> 大祥), ensuing the <i>dan</i> ( <i>danhou</i> 禫後).
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Table 10. The Process of Confucian Mourning Rite Prescribed in Classics. The Asterisk Indicates the Step Adopted in the *Rite of the Weal and Woe*

As it is shown in the table, the Daoist protocol shares half of the steps with what is in the normative Confucian mourning rite. These steps, however, show less Confucian characteristics than those not contained in the protocol. The complex sacrifices after the burial that aim for ancestral worship or for solidifying familial authority of the son of the clan (*zongzi* 宗子), such as *yu*, *zuku*, and *fu*, are omitted in the protocol.<sup>334</sup> By removing the steps that represent Confucian principles of familial organization, the author of the protocol concentrates on funeral techniques, particularly mourning clothes. This attitude echoes with the preface proposed by Meng Jingyi, which we have analyzed above. That is, the Daoist mourning rite is superior to the Confucian counterpart, for it functions to venerate the transcendent Daoist masters.

<sup>334</sup> As for the detailed study for the logic, meaning, and mechanism of these ritual steps, see Ding Linghua 丁凌華, *Wufu zhidu yu chuantong falü* 五服制度與傳統法律 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 2013), 85–7.

In conclusion, the protocol provides a full picture on how a Daoist community in the Tang practiced the mourning rite to the deceased master. The core of the practice prescribed is the wearing of mourning clothes. Dated back to the early sixth century, the practice regulated the internal relationship, particularly that between master and disciple, within the community. The protocol is also the product of the contested and negotiated relationship between Daoism and Confucianism. In the next section, we will investigate how the Daoist systematizes mourning attire to precisely define and regulate the master-disciple relationship.

### **3.3.2 Relational Categories Established**

Mourning attire is first and foremost the set of dresses that distinguish the very appearance of the mourner from the crowd. Like any normative format of Chinese cloth, the mourning attire consists of cap (*guan* 冠), upper cloth (*yi* 衣), lower cloth (*chang* 裳), shoes (*li* 履), and other accouterments. As explained in the comments of Confucian classic, most of these constituents bear dense symbolic meanings in terms of size, shape, and material. For instance, the upper cloth of the mourning attire originated from a piece of small cloth covering the dresser's heart, signifying the pain of losing parents reaching as deep as one's heart. The folds on

the cap are all sewed towards the right side, corresponding to *yin* and accordingly symbolizing the nature of funeral.<sup>335</sup>

The system of the attire not only gives the mourner distinctive sight, but also culturally defines and regulates the familial relations. As it is explained in the *Liji*, the principles of the mourning attire are:

There are six principles of the mourning attire: it draws the familial relatives closer; it honors the venerated; it endows the familial status to those who originally do not have; it gives a place for the woman who either has married or stays within the parental home; it takes care of both the mature and immature; it designs the attire for the relationships by marriage.

服術有六：一曰親親；二曰尊尊；三曰名；四曰出入；五曰長幼；六曰從服。<sup>336</sup>

According to *Erya* as well as the “*sangfu*” chapter of *Yili*, there are nine categories of kin that are considered as relatives (*jiuzu* 九族): the father, grandfather, father’s brothers, brothers, brothers’ sons, grandsons, father’s sisters, sisters, daughters, and their offspring.<sup>337</sup> Those who bear bloods tie, but do not fall into these categories are considered as non-relatives 親畢. The clothes assigned to these relatives, as well as to the parents-in-law, are rigidly regulated and are accordingly addressed as the main attire (*zhengfu* 正服). As for the non-relatives, and for those connecting with social or political relationships, one wears dutiful attire (*yifu* 義服). On the other hand, the six principles also allow

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<sup>335</sup> Ibid, 42–4.

<sup>336</sup> *Liji* (Taipei: Yiwen yishuguan, 1960), 34. 619b.

<sup>337</sup> Han-yi Feng, “The Chinese Kinship System,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol.2 (1937): 141–275.

flexible praxis of mourning attire by wearing the upgraded attire (*jiafu* 加服) or the degraded one (*jiangfu* 降服) to more properly represent the relation between the mourner and the deceased.<sup>338</sup> In all of these applications, the five degrees of mourning attire are the basic modules. Changes are made only to the density of the fabric of the attire.<sup>339</sup>

Title of the Attire	Mourning Period and Instance of Praxis	Constituents of the Attire	
Unstitched Hessian	3 years Son for father Unmarried daughter for father Wife for husband Servant for lord Father for the eldest son	Upper and lower cloth 斬衰裳 (3 <i>sheng</i> , 3 <i>sheng</i> and a half), made of female hemp plant, untrimmed; cap (6 <i>sheng</i> ); bounds around head and waist, made of female hemp plant 苴經絞帶; sandals made of themeda 菅履; staff made of uncarved bamboo 苴杖	
Stitched Hessian	25 months Son who loses father for mother Mother for the eldest son	Upper and lower cloth (4 <i>sheng</i> ), made of male hemp plant, trimmed; cap (7 <i>sheng</i> ); bounds	sandals made of raw grass 疏履; staff made of polished paulownia 削杖 <sup>340</sup>
	1 year Son whose father is alive for mother Husband for wife	around head and waist, made of male hemp plant and cloth 牡麻經布帶	sandals made of raw grass; staff made of polished paulownia
	1 year <sup>341</sup>		sandals made of

<sup>338</sup> Ding Ding 丁鼎, *Yili sangfu kaolun* 儀禮喪服考論 (Beijing: Shehui kexue chubanshe, 2003), 197–220; Lin Suying 林素英, *Sangfu zhidu de wenhua yiyi: yi Yili sangfu wei taolun zhongxin* 喪服制度的文化意義: 以《儀禮·喪服》為討論中心 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 2000), 131–77.

<sup>339</sup> The measure word for the density is *sheng* 升, bundle of 80 threads.

<sup>340</sup> The upper half of the staff is round, symbolizing the heaven and the lower half is square, symbolizing the earth.

<sup>341</sup> Zheng Xuan considers the actual period to extend to 15 months and Wang Su considers it to extend to 13 months.

	<p>Grandson for grandfather Stepson who lives with stepfather for stepfather Brothers of father and his spouse Brothers Married daughter for parents</p>		<p>male hemp plant 麻履</p>
	<p>3 months</p> <p>Grand-grandson and grand-granddaughter for grand-grandparents Stepson who does not live with stepfather for stepfather</p>		<p>sandals made of male hemp plant 繩履<sup>342</sup></p>
Coarse Hopsack <sup>343</sup>	<p>9 months</p> <p>One for married sisters of father, married sisters, and daughter One for sons of father's siblings One for the wife of the eldest son</p>	Upper and lower cloth (8 or 9 <i>sheng</i> ); cap (10 <i>sheng</i> ); bounds around head and waist, made of male hemp plant and cloth; sandals made of male hemp plant	
Fine Hopsack	<p>5 months</p> <p>One for the brothers of grandparents and their spouse One for mother's parents</p>	Upper and lower cloth (10 or 11 <i>sheng</i> ); cap (10 or 11 <i>sheng</i> ); bounds around head and waist, made of degummed hemp 澡麻帶經; normal sandals without lace 吉履無絢	
Fine Sackcloth	<p>3 months</p> <p>One for father's aunt</p>	Upper and lower cloth (7.5 <i>sheng</i> ); cap made of degummed hemp; bounds around head and waist, made	

<sup>342</sup> Shenglü shares the same material with malü. Unlike malü that is made directly from the hemp, a shenglü maker would first twist the hemp into small bands and wave them into the sandal.

<sup>343</sup> Both dagong and xiaogong function to mourn for those who pass away before reaching twenty years old (*shang* 殤). The *Rite of the Weal and Woe* does not concern the instance like this. For the convenience of focusing on the *Rite*, we do not discuss the cloth for the immature death.



	Grandparents for daughter's sons and daughters	of degummed hemp; normal sandals without lace
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Table 11. The Conventional Mourning Attire System Prescribed in Confucian Classics<sup>344</sup>

Among these applications of the mourning attire, the dutiful attire particularly functions to represent one's non-familial relations. First and foremost, it pays respect to the political order. The lord should wear *zhancui* for the Son of the Heaven; likewise, the commoner should wear *zicui* for three months for the lord. By the means of compliance of attire (*congfu* 從服), the employment of the attire can be extended to the cases, such as a subordinate mourns for the relative of his lord, or a wife mourns for the lord of her husband. Secondly, it allows one to mourn for the deceased friend, or for a teacher. *Yili* prescribes one to wear *sima* for mourning the departed friend. Several chapters in *Liji* also confirm that disciples can wear mourning cloth for master to express their deep emotion towards the deceased.<sup>345</sup>

Therefore, the Chinese mourning attire functioned the system of category that not only internally established the familial identity but also externally broadened the social network and the worldview for all those who bond to familial relations. This feature can be best illustrated by the observation made by Chinese modern sociologist Fei Xiaotong 費孝通 (1910–2005):

In Chinese society, the most important relationship kinship is similar to the concentric circles

<sup>344</sup> To make the chart, I take reference from Ding Linghua, *Wufu zhidu yu chuantong falü*, 9–72; Ding Ding, *Yili sangfu kaolun*, 184.

<sup>345</sup> Lin, *Sangfu zhidu de wenhua yiyi*, 127–31.

formed when a stone is thrown into a lake. Kinship is a social relationship formed through marriage and reproduction. The networks woven by marriage and reproduction can be extended to embrace countless numbers of people in the past, present, and future. The same meaning is implied in our saying “Everyone has a cousin three thousand miles away,” with three thousand miles indicating the vastness of kinship networks. Despite the vastness, though, each network is like a spider’s web in the sense that it centers on oneself. Everyone has this kind of a kinship network, but the people covered by one network are not the same as those covered by any other. We all use the same system of notation to identify our relatives, but the only thing we hold in common is the system of notation itself. This system is merely an abstract pattern, a set of categorical concepts. When we use this system to identify concrete relatives, however, each term identifies a different person. In our kinship system, we all have parents, but my parents are not your parents. No two people in the world can have entirely the same set of relatives. Two brothers certainly would have the same parents, but each brother would have his own wife and children. Therefore, the web of social relationships linked with kinship is specific to each person. Each web has a self as its center, and every web has a different center.<sup>346</sup>

Without doubt, the system has been continuously adjusted and modified. Early medieval period witnesses the complex practice of the mourning attire due to the dispersion of families and the loss of lives. This new social phenomenon generated the need for more subtle and flexible interpretation and praxis of the system. As a result, there was a considerable growth of works on the mourning attire as a significant practical technique. The authors of these works come from a large range of social stratus, from Confucian theorist to official ritualist.<sup>347</sup> Notably, Ge Hong, a significant figure in the Daoist Lingbao tradition, contributed his work to a bibliography of mourning attire.<sup>348</sup> The large numbers of the works reflects that the mourning attire was more than an intellectual

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<sup>346</sup> Gary G Hamilton and Zheng Wang, *From the Soil, the Foundations of Chinese Society: A Translation of Fei Xiaotong’s Xiangtu Zhongguo, With an Introduction and Epilogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 63.

<sup>347</sup> There are over 80 works recorded by the bibliographies such as the *Treaties of Books* in the *Suishu*. Unfortunately, most of them had been lost. As for the overview of these works themed on the mourning attire, see Zhou Haifeng 周海鋒, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao sangfu xue xingsheng yuanyin tanxi* 魏晉南北朝喪服學興盛原因探析 (Master Thesis, Northwestern Normal University, 2012), 12–8.

<sup>348</sup> *Suishu*, 27. 921.

tradition, for the efforts were continuously made by different social agents in order to satisfy their needs.

It is against the basic intellectual background of the mourning attire and the historical milieu in which it was practiced that we now look into the Daoist mourning attire. First and foremost, the system of mourning attire was an innovation of the Daoist communities in the medieval period. Although the principle of dutiful attire includes the non-familial-relation practitioners, Confucian classics do not theoretically provide the rule regulating the practice by the disciple for the master, nor vice versa. There were historically private individuals who chose to wear mourning attire to bemoan the loss of teacher;<sup>349</sup> however, no ritual regulation was made to assign mourning clothes, mourning period, or other duties to a potential practitioner. This circumstance is best illustrated by the essay “Discussion on the Mourning Attire for Master” 師服議 written by the Western Jin scholar-official Zhi Yu 摯虞 (d. 311):

The chapter of Mourning Attire has no regulation on the attire worn by disciple for master. The New Rite prescribes that disciple wears *zicui* for master for three months.<sup>350</sup> Zhi Yu considers “from the ancient time there is no regulation on the attire worn by disciple for master. Therefore, after the death of Confucius, the disciples were confused on what clothes to wear. Zigong said, in the past when

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<sup>349</sup> For instance, Hou Pa 侯芭, a disciple of Yang Xiong, mourned for his master for three years, *Hanshu*, 87b. 3585.

<sup>350</sup> The *New Rite* was compiled by Xun Yi 荀顛 (d. 274) and edited by Yang Hu 羊祜、Ren Kai 任愷、Yu Jun 庾峻、and Ying Zhen 應貞. It contains one hundred and sixty-five chapters and was submitted to the throne in 264. It bases on the extant rites used in the Wei, with the modifications made in reference to the precedent ritual practices and the adjustments of performance 參考今古，更其節文. (*Jinshu*, 2. 44, 19. 580–1.)

Confucius lost Yan Hui, he bemoaned as if for the deceased son, yet without wearing the mourning attire. [Therefore] allow me to bemoan the master as if for the father without wearing the mourning attire. Then Zigong emotionally bemoaned for Confucius for three years. In this case Zigong lamented in his heart for three years, but without the regulation of wearing stitched hessian. When mourning for the community members, indoors one wears mourning bonds on head and waist, and wears no mourning clothing outdoors.<sup>351</sup> This is in fact the condoling attire with hempen items. The rite made by the former sage must be easy to follow. The dutifulness between master and disciple is truly significant; however, the regulation of the attire is obscure, and this becomes the tradition without questioning it for generations. Moreover, he who seeks for a master satisfies when meeting with a better one, therefore he consistently keeps changing the tutorship. The cultivator treats daily progressiveness as benefit, so he departs from the old teacher without hesitation. Confucius says that when I walk along with two others, they may serve as my teachers. Zigong claims that one does not have the permanent teacher. As regards the master with superficial knowledge and the disciple who temporarily learns, there is no need to make regulation of mourning attire between them...It is ought to regulate in the *New Rite* that no mourning attire is required [for disciple and master] as it was in the past.” An imperial edict was issued to approve his discussion.

《喪服》無弟子為師服之制。新禮：弟子為師齊衰三月。摯虞以為：「自古弟子無師服之制。故仲尼之喪，門人疑于所服。子貢曰：“昔夫子之喪顏回，若喪子而無服。請喪夫子若喪父而無服。”遂心喪三年。此則懷三年之哀，而無齊衰之制也。羣居，入則經，出則否。所謂弔服加麻也。先聖為禮，必易從而可傳。師徒義誠重，而服制不著，歷代相襲不以為缺。且尋師者以彌高為得。故屢遷而不嫌。修業者以日新為益，故舍舊而不疑。仲尼稱“三人行必有我師焉”。子貢曰“夫何常師之有”。淺教之師，暫學之徒，不可皆為之服。……宜定新禮無服如舊。」詔從之。<sup>352</sup>

Zhi Yu makes several significant points against the prescription in the imperial composed ritual that disciple wears *zicui* for deceased master: first of all, no supporting ritual theory can be found from Confucian classics; even in the learning community centered by Confucius and his disciples, the lament was

<sup>351</sup> “孔子之喪 二三子皆經而出。羣居則經 出則否,” this passage is excerpted from *Liji*, 7. 133b, I follow the Zheng Xuan’s comment there to translate.

<sup>352</sup> *Jinshu*, 20. 631–32.

expressed through wearing the regular condoling clothing decorated by hempen items instead of dressing the solemn mourning attire. Secondly, the absence of the attire for disciple and master has been a long tradition and people were used to it. Thirdly, students come and go. Since the change of master is consistently taking place, the government is unable to make a hard-and-fast rule for all kinds of circumstances.

Although Zhi Yu does not make clear what community that this prescription originally targeted, it is most likely the code, once in execution, would directly have an impact on the state-supported learning community, school, and academy. Needless to say, Confucianism ideologically dominated these institutions. As this prescription was eventually removed from the code, it appears that these institutions continued to follow the tradition that disciple worn no attire for master. The evidence testifying this trend was made only approximately several decades prior to the earliest Daoist mourning attire. Yu Weizhi 庾蔚之 (ca. 438), a ritualist serving at the Song court, observed that the students in the officially supported school and academy roughly carried on the tradition by wearing the condoling clothing with hempen items 弔服加麻 for the deceased teacher. They took off the clothing after the burial, without emotionally moaning for the dead.

Those who were not affiliated to these institutions even ceased to undertake any

proper ritual for their masters.<sup>353</sup>

The Daoist relational reconfiguration did not ape the ready model set by the Confucian learning societies. Not only was their attire physically different from the Confucian condoling clothing with hempen items, but the system also covered a much more complicated communal relationship within the community. In the Daoist mourning attire system, a master-disciple relationship is defined in accordance with the items transmitted from precept to adept. Each relation further correlates to one of the five degrees of the attire. Moreover, other communal relations, including the masters for the last two generations and Daoist fellows, are also included in the system. The correspondences can be summarized as follows:

Items Transmitted	Duration of Dressing the Mourning Attire	Details of Mourning Attire and Mourner's Duty	Corresponding to the conventional mourning attire system
For one who receives the items in more than one category from the same master	Three years	All his living, including food, drink, speech, vision, the audial, places of sleeping, follow the model of filial son 飲食言語，觀聽寢處，皆從孝子之制	Unstitched Hessian

<sup>353</sup> “今受業於先生者，皆不執弟子之禮。唯師氏之官，王命所置。故諸王之敬師，國子生之服祭酒，猶粗依古禮。弔服加麻，既葬除之，但不心喪三年耳。” *Tongdian* 通典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 2671.

Great Covenant, Scriptures of Upper Clarity, Register of the Hidden Speech of Eight Purities, Jade Register of Upper Luminary, Register of the Orthodox Law of Three Heavens, Register for the Three Leaps 靈寶大盟，真經三品，三錄，三奔	One year	Garment made of 4- <i>sheng</i> cloth, cap made of 7- <i>sheng</i> cloth. Practice the silent mourning for three years, refraining from entertainments. 心喪三年，不從讌樂	Stitched Hessian
1. Contract of Spontaneity, Middle Covenant, Scripture of Three Luminaries, Scripture of Five Talismans, Seven Biographies, Scriptures of Comprehending Spirits 自然中盟，三皇，五符，七傳，洞神 2. The Master of Document 籍師	Nine months	Garment made of 7- <i>sheng</i> cloth, cap made of 11- <i>sheng</i> cloth	Coarse Hopsack
1. Five Thousands Characters, One Hundred and Eighty Precepts, Perfected Declarations, True Form of Five Marchmounts, Six-Jia Talisman, Talisman of the Forbidden Mountain 五千文，大誡百八十律，真誥，五嶽，六甲，禁山 2. The Master of Scripture 經師	Five months	Garment made of 11- <i>sheng</i> cloth, cap made of 12- <i>sheng</i> cloth	Fine Hopsack
1. The Register of Administrator (zhilu 治錄) and above 受治以滿錄 2. Daoist Fellows 同學	Three months	Garment and cap made of 15- <i>sheng</i> cloth	Fine Sackcloth

Table 12. The Daoist Mourning Attire System in the *Rite of the Weal and Woe*

While the nomenclature is borrowed from the conventional mourning attire, there

fundamental differences between the two. Firstly, the Daoist mourning attire contains much fewer constituents than its conventional counterpart. Only the cap, the upper, and the lower garment are mentioned as the necessary parts of the attire. In other words, some other constituents of the conventional mourning attire, such as staff, bounds around head and waist, and shoes, might not function indispensably in the Daoist community here. The exclusion of these meaningful symbols in the conventional mourning attire suggests that the Daoist mourning attire does not bear the same meaning as the conventional counterparts contains.

Secondly, the garments are constituted by the conventional Daoist attires that originate from Daoist scriptural sources. The Daoist mourning cloth has kerchief or cap as the constituent for the head, cloak or cape (*pei* 帔) for the upper garment, and skirt (*qun* 裙) for the lower garment. Specifically, as prescribed by the two Meng Masters and Zhu Junxu, one wears cap and cloak (*he* 褐) before the burial, and wears kerchief and cape after.<sup>354</sup> Most of these clothes contained clear ritual functions in Daoist communities in the early medieval period. For instance, Lu Xiuqing specifies that the adepts in the ordination rite are to wear the “black crowns and brown cloaks.” In another text written by Lu, cape is to be worn for the scriptural reciters.<sup>355</sup> The cloak, the cape, and the skirt are indispensable constituents in the system of Daoist ritual attire (*fafu* 法服) in the late Six

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<sup>354</sup> “未葬之前，布冠布褐；若其葬畢，布巾布帔，” *DZ* 463, 16. 8a.

<sup>355</sup> Stephen Bokenkamp, “The Early Lingbao Scriptures and the Origins of Chinese Monasticism,” 107.



Dynasties.<sup>356</sup> In all of their ritual usages, the Daoist clothing is considered as holy and religiously powerful. Their inclusion in the mourning attire then fundamentally distinguishes the Daoist mourning attire from the Confucian one that incorporates the inauspicious nature of mourning clothing to the core.

Thirdly, the material of the Daoist attire remains a contrast. While hemp is the indispensable element in secular attires, Daoist ones are made of cloth in all cases. Like the conventional mourning attires, Daoist attires are made of the textile of different density. However, a scrutiny of the prescription reveals that the Daoist ones either inconsistently follow the secular conventions or invent their own standard. As the table below shows, the density of the Daoist stitched hessian fits the number prescribed by the principle of reduced clothing for its conventional counterpart; however, the density of the rest three attires fits none of the numbers prescribed by any principles of clothing.

Title of the Daoist Attire	Density of the Fabric Material for Garment and Cap	Corresponding to the Conventional Prescription
Stitched Hessian	4 <i>sheng</i> , 7 <i>sheng</i>	Reduced attire
Coarse Hopsack	7 <i>sheng</i> , 11 <i>sheng</i>	NA
Fine Hopsack	11 <i>sheng</i> , 12 <i>sheng</i>	NA
Fine Sackcloth	15 <i>sheng</i> , 15 <i>sheng</i>	NA

Table 13. The Density of the Fabric Material used in the Daoist Mourning Attires

<sup>356</sup> Livia Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism* 140–72. Tanaka Fumio 田中文雄, “dōkyō hōfuku kō,” 道教法服考 in *Ajia Bunka no Shisō to Girei: Fukui Fumimasa Hakushi Koki Kinen Ronshū* アジア文化の思想と儀礼: 福井文雅博士古稀記念論集 (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 2005), 351–70.

Besides the physical features, the Daoist mourning attire system differs itself from the Confucian counterpart in terms of rationale and mechanism. Here the transmitted items, instead of the blood ties, determine the degree of clothing. The classification of the transmitted items basically follows the scheme of ordination rank system. That is, the religious value of the Daoist scriptures and other items that are to be transmitted conform with what are regulated in the hierarchical *fawei* system. In this system, the Celestial Master tradition is placed on the lowest part and the Shangqing tradition the highest, while the Lingbao and the Sanhuang traditions are in the middle.

On the other hand, the Daoist mourning attire system does not form a one-to-one corresponding relationship with the *fawei* system. The degree of fine hopsack roughly corresponds to the *fawei* section centering on the *Dao De jing* and the precepts spoken by the Lord Lao, yet was mixed with the Shangqing literature and ritual techniques. The degree of coarse hopsack contains the Dongshen scriptures from Sanhuang tradition, the hagiographies from Shangqing tradition, and the objects that one receives in the initial and the middle stages of the Dongxuan rank, namely the Spontaneous Covenant 自然 and the Middle Covenant 中盟. The final stage of the Dongxuan rank—the Great Covenant 大盟, is placed in the degree of stitched hessian, along with the objects originates from the Shangqing tradition.

In his observation on the transmitted items associated with the mourning cloth, Kobayashi considers them reflecting the curriculum within the Daoist community.<sup>357</sup> This hypothesis premises that the value of the items was stable, and was widely accepted by Daoist communities. However, the precise merit of Daoist scriptures had continuously been contested and negotiated.<sup>358</sup> Moreover, the value of the transmitted items, particular that of the scriptures, may not even be correctly recognized by their possessors. As Zhu Junxu explicitly announces, some Daoist students were unable to apprehend the importance of the scripture possessed, even failing to tell a hagiography from a register.<sup>359</sup> As a result, they certainly did not truly understand the significance of the master who undertook the transmission and venerate him/her.

The juxtaposition between what is transmitted and who transmits them shows the real emphasis here. It aims to weight the value of master in terms of the items transmitted. The valuation of the transmission is opened to, or even depends on, the convention shared by Daoist communities. Daoist communities did not necessarily all agree on each and every detail of the system. This is the reason why the precise items in each degree of attire prescribed by different authors are not the same.<sup>360</sup> On the other hand, they must share some principles of evaluation.

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<sup>357</sup> Kobayashi Masayoshi 小林正美, *Tōdai no Dōkyō to Tenshidō* 唐代の道教と天師道 (Tōkyō: Chisen Shokan, 2003), 73.

<sup>358</sup> As for this part, please consult the relevant sections in the first chapter.

<sup>359</sup> DZ 463, 16. 9a.

<sup>360</sup> For instance, several authors of the mourning rite are divergent on the content of *sima* cloth.

This in return can bring corresponding authority to their possessor. By means of transmission rite, both master and disciple are able to obtain the legitimacy that was similarity identifiable to the others following the same religious tradition.

This religiously recognized transmission embodies the master-disciple relation with the Daoist law (*fa* 法). The law is not only crystalized in the scriptures, but also in the other transmitted items such as the registers. Each and every degree of the mourning attire strictly corresponded to that of the law.<sup>361</sup> Since the degrees of the transmission are various, the relationship can thereby be plural. For instance, the master-disciple relationship established by the transmission of Shangqing scriptures can contrast with that constructed by other transmissions.

Although the essence of the relation is first and foremost the embodiment of the Daoist law, it does not attenuate the personal affection between master and disciple. As the two Meng Masters explicitly explain, the scriptures and alike endowed by the master help to deliver the recipient and to leave the life and death behind.<sup>362</sup> The authorized transmission of the Daoist law conveys individual grace (*en* 恩) from the master to the disciple. This grace as such is even heavier than the birth given by the parent. However, this personal affection is only made

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The two Master Meng include ten registers while Duke Stone Well includes eight contacts. Zhu Junxun has the both groups in his version.

<sup>361</sup> 諸餘服紀皆依法輕重以為制度 *DZ* 463, 16. 10a.

<sup>362</sup> 門中弟子為師依經說，度脫生死，恩重二親 *DZ* 463, 16. 10b.

possible through the transmission. It cannot parallel with the Daoist law that characterizes the master-disciple relation.

Once the relationship is established, it provides Daoist master and disciple with a conceptual model to conceive or imagine each other. Although the title of each degree of attire follows secular convention, this model does not necessarily *actualize* familial relations for the master and disciple in Daoist communities.<sup>363</sup> It rather serves as the rubric by which the master-disciple relationship is defined and reinforced. In traditional Chinese society, many must have learned to conceive familial relationships by wearing the different degrees of the mourning attire, and extended this experience to imagine other social relationships. Since there were very the few who had entirely cut off the connection to family, the practitioners of the two mourning attire systems could largely overlap.

In addition to degrees of attire that a disciple wears for a master, a master also wears mourning attire for a deceased disciple. The Confucian notion of the reciprocal duties in mourning attire (*baofu* 報服) is used here. Although its usages scatter in the Confucian classics, its clear definition is not given. As the Qing scholar Cheng Yaotian 程瑤田 (1725–1814) summarizes, it is used by the

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<sup>363</sup> Gil Raz argues that the application of the term “zidi 子弟”, or child and younger brother, by the master and disciple in the group of magician and technician functioned to actualize the relation as familial (*Creation of Tradition*, 94–5). Since the tradition of magician is considered there as the significant religious source that constituted Daoism, this feature of master-disciple relation may extend to the Daoist communities. However, the only textual evidence that he relies on there is excerpted from a problematic passage in *Shiji* and his understanding of *zidi* is also very narrowed. Therefore I do not follow his observation here.

remote familial members, instead of the immediate ones, and the clothing that the two parties wear should be the same.<sup>364</sup> These two fundamental principles are also consistent in the pre-Tang ritualist works and the major Tang ritual theorists, such as Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 (ca. 650–655) and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648).<sup>365</sup> The praxis of the attire symbolizes the substantial duty (*yi* 義) between mutual sides.

The two Meng Masters, the Duke Stone Well, and Zhu Junxu all agree with the application of reciprocal attire as an indispensable part of the Daoist mourning attire system. Without following the Confucian tradition, however, the majority of these authors consider that the Daoist *baofu* should follow the contemporary secular ritual praxis by making one-degree difference between the attire worn by disciple for master and vice versa. As explicitly explained by Zhu Junxu:

The two Meng Master say: as for the mourning attire worn by the master for the disciple, the principle is one degree. If [the disciple wears the mourning clothing for the master] for three years, then the master pays back by wearing the clothing for one year. For [the disciple who] wears the cloth of stitched hessian, then the master wears the clothing for nine months. For coarse hopsack, five months; for fine hopsack, three months. (The Duke of Stone Well says: “the [clothing of] the reciprocal attire is the same as what the disciple wears for the master, but without unbinding the hair.” As what is clarified by the profane rites, [the reciprocal attire] enables the lower to subdue the nobler, thus it is proper to follow what two Meng

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<sup>364</sup> *Yili sangfu wen zuzheng ji* 儀禮喪服文足徵記, *Huang Qing jingjie* 皇清經解, 528. 16b–20a. According to modern Chinese scholar Diao Xiaolong 刁小龍, there approximately forty-five cases in which *baofu* is used, see his “Sangfu baofu kaoshu,” 喪服報服考述, *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu* 中國文化研究 1/4 (2002): 145–53.

<sup>365</sup> Jin Ling 金玲, “Shuo baofu,” 說報服 *Zhejiang shehui kexue* 浙江社會科學 no. 4 (2016): 129.

Masters propose. If the master is too old and cannot afford sadness, then he/she can only mourns silently).

二孟云：師為弟子，例一等。為師三年，報一期。齊衰者，九月。大功者，五月。小功，三月。（石井公云：“報服同弟子，唯不解髮耳。”至如俗禮所明，以卑厭尊，從二孟為允。師年過老，若不勝衰，心喪而已。）<sup>366</sup>

On the surface, master's superior status is consistently emphasized here. The radical plan proposed by Duke of Stone Well about equalizing the mourning clothing for both master and disciple seems not preferable to other Daoists. As Zhu Junxu explains, since this is basically the practice of reciprocal attire, the clothing for the lower may not equalize that for the nobler. This is evident even in the profane rites. The superiority of master is certainly an emphasis here; nonetheless, equally important is the obligation assigned to a master. It forms a bilateral commitment with unequal, yet reciprocal rights and duties, between the two sides. The application of reciprocal attire itself in the Daoist community was indeed the innovation of master-disciple relation in the religious communities in the early medieval China. It was neither practiced in Confucian learning societies, nor in Chinese Buddhist *sanghas*.

Like familial members who form mutual relations with regards to the distance of blood ties, the members in the Daoist community establish their identity in accordance to the Daoist law. The master-disciple relationship is imagined in the religious lineage, along with the masters in the past generations and the fellow

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<sup>366</sup> DZ 463, 16. 10a. The passage in the parentheses appears in the original text as commentary.

students learning from the same teacher (*tongxue* 同學). The mourning attires for the Master of Documents (*jishi* 籍師) and the Master of Scripture (*jingshi* 經師) are less by one or two degrees respectively than the one for the master. For instance, if wearing *zhancui* for the master, one wears *zicui* for the Master of Document and wears *dagong* for the Master of Scripture. The fellow students under the same tutorship may also mourn for the deceased colleague by wear the *sima* for three months.<sup>367</sup> The mourning attire thus helps to clarify constituents of the Daoist community.

As the main subjects in the mourning attire, disciple, his/her masters within three generations, and his/her fellows are the basic unit within the community. To contextualize this basic unit in the community, we must imagine that the place where it is located was the Daoist monastery, but there were usually more than one unit within it. Centered by the master in the fraction, the one under his/her tutorship was addressed as the disciple within the gate (*menzhong dizi* 門中弟子). The term literally denotes the faction within the community that is particularly associated with a master and his/her disciples. The disciples connecting to the fraction did not only learn from the master the religious knowledge and practice, but also participated in the distribution of the property left by the master who had died.<sup>368</sup>

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<sup>367</sup> DZ 463, 16. 9b.

<sup>368</sup> DZ 463, 15. 11b.



In addition to *menzhong dizi*, there are the ones who are not affiliated with the fraction. One who is not initiated by the master can become his/her unaffiliated student, or literally the disciple outside the gate (*menwai dizi* 門外弟子), if he/she had a chance to learn after the master.<sup>369</sup> The others in the monastery who had no relationship were ascribed as the crowds in the monastery (*guanzhong* 觀眾), and those in the other monasteries might be conceived as the Daoist crowds (*daozhong* 道眾).

The establishment of master-disciple relationship and the segmentation of Daoist community members can similarly be found in several other Daoist texts in the Six Dynasties. The *Peerless Book of the Empyrean* prescribes the praxis of mourning attire for the Daoist fellows in the community:

For master, one wears the mourning attire for three years; for equivalent fellow, one wears for one year; for the mate with different training, one wears *xiaogong*; for him/her who learns after the different master but shares the common ambition and mind, one wears *sima*.

師則三年，朋友朞歲，同門業異，相為小功，異門志念共事，則總麻。<sup>370</sup>

Here more subtle categories are given to the fellow Daoist students. Under the same tutorship, the students are further distinguished by the training 業 they

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<sup>369</sup> The extant definition of the *menwai dizi* that I can locate comes from *Dongxuan lingbao daoxue keyi* 洞玄靈寶道學科儀. In its prescription on the duties of wearing mourning attire by different disciples, it claims that the *menwai dizi* is the one who is not affiliated to the master in the early age 少不居門師 (*DZ* 1126, 2. 17a. Here I read *menshi* as the variant for *shimen*, meaning the master's gate). The denotation here does not, I think, concentrate on the age but the state of affiliation. It actually means the disciple has learned, or even affiliated to by initiation rite, from more than one master.

<sup>370</sup> *DZ* 1352, 8. 9a–b.

have received. Although it is not clear what the training is exactly, its content must be associated with the Daoist law and must be delivered by means of lawful transmission. There are also relationships established between the students of different teachers. As long as they have joined in the communal activity, they may form mutual relationship. By means of the mourning attire, this tentative relationship becomes readily recognizable and the category of the relationship is established.

On the other hand, the master-disciple relationship centers at the learning progress of the novice in the monastery. The *Code of One Thousand Perfects of Numinous Treasure of Comprehending Mystery* (*Dongxuan lingbao qianzhen ke* 洞玄靈寶千真科), a seventh-century monastic code, prescribes the process that novice initially learns:

The Code states: the students of the Dao and the disciples of the law, being invited or visiting as guest, regardless of the age, should be well settled. Firstly they should be provided with a room, and then be supplied with what they need. Thirdly they follow the others to pay respects in audience. Fourthly they are to be revealed with the taboo in the gate. Fifthly they are to be informed about the places where they can and cannot betake to [in the monastery].

科曰：道學法徒，速來客依，不問大小，各須安置。先與房舍；次給所須；三令隨眾朝拜；四教示門中諱忌；五語去處避就。<sup>371</sup>

After the novice is accommodated and starts to learn the elementary ritual of audience, he/she is taught the taboo of the gate, or the names of the masters. This

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<sup>371</sup> DZ 1410, 21b.

instruction indicates that the novice is now formally affiliated with the master. His/her cultivation then appears to be closely under the tutorship of the master. As has been discussed in chapter one, the transmission of the master's name is usually undertaken ritually. The masters' names *per se* are the indispensable component of many Daoist rituals, and the ritual revelation symbolize the affiliation of the novice and highlights the importance of this community particularly associated with the master and the novice in monastic life.

The master-disciple relationship represented by the *Rite of the Woe and Weal* is further endorsed by evidence concerning other Daoist communities and the state. Zhu Juxun mentions a work titled the *Rite of Mourning Attire for the Religious Teacher of the Power of Covenant* (*Mengwei fashi sangfu yi* 盟威法師喪服儀). The term *mengwei fashi* first appears at the *Master Lu's Summary of Daoist Rite* (*Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe* 陸先生道門科略), by which Lu Xiuqing attempts to regulate the liturgical role of Celestial Master Libationers.<sup>372</sup> Its adoption in the title of mourning rite protocol suggests its user's background. Several passages on mourning rites that we have discussed above, such as the *Peerless Book of the Empyrean* and the section of "Mourning Cloth for Master and Disciple (*shizi zhifu* 師資制服)" in the *Liturgy of Daoist Learning*, also reflect the wide usage of this practice. Moreover, the *Tang Code* in 653 contains

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<sup>372</sup> DZ 1127, 8a.

the articles on the master-discipleship in the major Chinese religious traditions.

The ones particularly concerning the Daoism are as follows:

ARTICLE: 57.2a—The relationship of [Daoist priests and priestesses, Buddhist monks and nuns] to their masters is the same as for paternal uncles and aunts.

ARTICLE: 57.2b—The master's relationship to his/her disciples is the same as for nephews and nieces in the male line.

[道士，女官，僧，尼]若於其師，與伯叔父母同。

其於弟子，與兄弟之子同。<sup>373</sup>

The two articles are excerpted from the section of General Principles (*mingli* 名例), in which the names of the punishments and the standards of their application are given. Aiming to regulate the relations between the master and his/her officially ordained disciples in a Daoist abbey or a Buddhist temple, the commentary of the *Code* defines the master as “the one who, in a monastery or a temple, has received scriptural teaching in person and fittingly acts as master.”<sup>374</sup>

It was a long tradition for the Chinese juridical system to regulate generational difference by the notion of five mourning relationships. On the surface, the regulations here on the religious institutions appear to be an extension of its original employment. However, the content of the definition responds exactly to the Daoist mourning attire. That is, the juridical relationship one bears for one's master is considered to be in accord with *zicui*-relatives, whereas the one

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<sup>373</sup> Here I follow the number of articles provided by Wallace Johnson, *The Tang Code* 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979-1997), 1: 271. See also the Chinese criticized edition by Liu Junwen 劉俊文, *Tanglü shuyi* 唐律疏議 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 527–8.

<sup>374</sup> “師，謂於觀寺之內，親承經教，合為師主者，” Ibid, 1: 271.

bears for one's disciple is with *dagong*-relatives. The features of the master-disciple relations here match the regulation in the *Rite of the Weal and Woe* and the tradition that it represents. Not only does *zicui* fit the regulation for the master who undertakes the highest degree of transmission, but also the one-degree difference in the reciprocal duties between master and disciple also exists in the Daoist mourning attire system.

In summary, the *Rite of the Weal and Woe* and the tradition that it represents delineate how the master-disciple relationship is regulated and how it is placed, along with other relationships, within the larger Daoist monastic context. Daoists drew from the Chinese indigenous religious and social intellectual and ritual sources, consciously and creatively transforming these sources into the model of familial relations. In this way, they were able to imagine their own community and the others that followed Daoism. In this process, the Daoist law functioned as the core establishing religious identity and juxtaposing members in the community. In this way, the Daoist community functioned as an opened institution that allowed the patterns of familial symbols to be embedded, and brought in the community new members by assigning them the new relations that they might be able to conceive by extant familial experience.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

This section provides an analysis of Daoist master-disciple relation from the

aspects of the ideational premises and the consequence of transmission rite. The master-disciple relationship differed in the Celestial Master parish and in the monastic lodge. The interaction between master and disciple in the former was more frequently undertaken through family, whereas it was more direct and individual at the latter. Daoists practitioners affiliated with the lodge began to use mourning attire as the category to imagine the relationships in their community and beyond. That is, they creatively associated mourning attire with transmission rite, replacing blood ties with Daoist laws as the core of the system. One's connection to the law determines his/her relationship to master in particular and his/her place in the Daoist community in general.

On the other hand, Daoist transmission rite generates the master-disciple relationship as a new totality. It both accommodates and rejects pre-established ties. While some social relations were allowed to coexist with the master-disciple relationship, certain Daoist communities overrode familial lineage overlapping with the relationship. When familial relations are acted out in the transmission rite, the original familial relationships reside in the new relation constructed by the ritual. This supervisor-adept relation prevents assimilation of familial relationship in the master-disciple one. Moreover, the non-familial nature of the master-disciple relationship is further reinforced by the discourse of heavenly affection and earthly devotee.

Moreover, the investigation on the Daoist master-disciple relationship also deepens our understanding on Daoist monasticism. Daoist monasticism was the most significant milieu in which Daoist master-disciple relationship was grounded, for it is mostly described and prescribed by monastic codes.<sup>375</sup> Although diverse social and religious sources had contributed to its formation, Daoist monasticism finalized norm. Therefore, prior to the investigation of the relationship *per se*, we may want to discuss how communal living in the Daoist monastery was generally prescribed, what was the antagonistic interaction between the religious institution and social ones, and how the Daoist monasticism functioned as a place that transformed social relationships. Recent studies have rejected the single-source theory that Daoist monasticism simply imitated Buddhist models.<sup>376</sup> Instead of merely focusing on the parallels and similarities in the Daoist and the Buddhist monastic codes, the investigation here shows how indigenous social and literary sources led to the establishment of the Daoist community.

This study paves way for the comparative investigation of the learning societies of Chinese religions. The Daoist lodge and the Confucian learning

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<sup>375</sup> Monasticism normatively bear the common features namely: special status; dedication of monastics to the practice of personal religious disciplines; ritual entry and ongoing identification marked by special appearance; the role of monasticism as an option for some persons within a larger tradition and community. George Weckman, "Monasticism," in Lindsay Jones ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 14 vols (New York: Macmillan, 2005), 9: 6122

<sup>376</sup> Kristofer Schipper, "Le monachisme taoïste." In Lionello Lanciotti, ed., *Incontro di religioni in Asia tra il III e il X secolo d. C* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki. 1984), 199–215. Livia Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism: A Cross-cultural Perspective* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 19. Stephen Bokenkamp, "The Early Lingbao Scriptures and the Origins of Chinese Monasticism," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011, issued 2013): 95–126.

community not only shared the same group of patrons, but also probably the similar ways of learning knowledge at a primary level. Both included students who left home, traveled afar, and learned with a master, yet without really cutting off connections with family. While these similarities might largely be the naturally developed, the differences between the two institutions were more likely consciously made.



## CHAPTER 4

### BECOMING A BUDDHA IN THIS BODY: THE ESOTERIC BUDDHIST *ABHIṢEKA* IN THE TANG

*[Abhiṣeka] is the flat path heading to the enlightenment  
and the correct position of attaining buddhahood.*

是詣極之夷途，爲入佛之正位

Amoghavajra's memorial to the throne (*T* no. 2120, 52: 830a17)

Ritual is at the center of a good number of the new translations of Buddhist literature in the Chinese Esoteric Buddhism. Among the Esoteric rituals, *abhiṣeka* is often regarded as one of the most significant.<sup>377</sup> It aims to deliver the initiate into the full entry of the advanced Esoteric doctrines and practices, and its lengthy procedure contains a variety of actions that symbolize rich meanings. Historically rooted in the Indian classical and medieval ordination rites, *abhiṣeka* was imported to China along with Mahāyāna Buddhism. Its single original function as an imperial inauguration was transformed into a comprehensive rite that transmitted Buddhist authority, delivered the enlightenment, established inclusive lineages, and generated merits for the state. The ritual features and efficacy of *abhiṣeka*, including the density of performativity, the constructed social ties to the laity, and the promise of enlightenment, were utterly lacking in another Buddhist ordination rite of conferring the full set of precepts (Ch. *jujie* 具戒, Skt.

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<sup>377</sup> Charles Orzech, "On the Subject of Abhiṣeka," in *Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies* no. 13 (2011): 113–28; item, "Tantric Subject," in Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar ed., *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 18–39.

*upasampadā*) prescribed in various *vinayas*.<sup>378</sup>

The investigation into the complexity of *abhiṣeka* would reveal how Chinese Buddhists actively acculturated a ritual of Indian origin in Chinese settings as a means to respond to the needs of Chinese society. In this chapter, I will first analyze the early usages of *abhiṣeka* before the mid 8<sup>th</sup> century when the newly imported Esoteric doctrines changed the landscape of Chinese Buddhist ritual. Then I will elaborate how the fundamental Esoteric scriptures redefine the meaning and the action of *abhiṣeka*, and how Chinese Buddhists actually understood and practiced it in the Tang society. Finally, I analyze the ritual discourses, rationale, and performance in a manuscript preserved in Japan that records an *abhiṣeka* performed at 839. I argue that after a long course of evolution, *abhiṣeka* became a complicated ritual embodied with advanced religious doctrines, and generated impact on both Buddhist community and Chinese society in the late Tang.

#### 4.1 The Ambivalence of *Guanding*

The earliest use of the term *abhiṣeka* can be found in the visualized form of purificatory ablution in Vedic ritual.<sup>379</sup> Different from its western counterparts

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<sup>378</sup> For a classical study on Buddhist membership ceremony, see G. S. Misra, *The Age of Vinaya* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1972), 110–6.

<sup>379</sup> Yasuhiro Tsuchiyama, “*Abhiṣeka* in the Vedic and post-Vedic Rituals,” in Shingo Einoo et al. ed., *From Material to Deity: Indian Rituals of Consecration* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2005), 51–94.

that symbolizes the washing of sin— Jewish *tevilah*, Christian Baptism, and alike, the chief function of *abhiṣeka* aims to transfer power and glory to the initiate. Its Buddhist origin came from the classical and medieval coronation rites. In his study of the Indian Buddhism, Davidson demonstrates that the crucial elements of *abhiṣeka*, including consecration, self-visualization, *maṇḍalas*, and other esoteric activities, equally have political and military significance in Indian social context. By comparing the operative terminology applied in the act of securing kingship and in esoteric metaphor, he points out the close relationship between the initiatory ritual of the *abhiṣeka* and the coronation ritual of kingship.<sup>380</sup>

The fundamental meaning of *abhiṣeka* comes from its verb root √ *abhiṣiñj-* (“to sprinkle”). Strictly following this definition, the Chinese translation of *abhiṣeka* is rendered as *guanding*, literally “pouring water onto the top of head”. Its initial usages in Chinese Buddhism can be found in the early Mahāyāna scriptures, where it is mainly treated rhetorically. The analogy between royal coronation and *abhiṣeka* is spelled out in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經) and the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (*Lengqie jing* 楞伽經).<sup>381</sup>

On the other hand, Chinese Buddhists seemed to use the term to denote rituals entailing baptisitic elements, particularly the bathing ritual. In a large

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<sup>380</sup> Ronald Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: Social History of the Tantric movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 123 below.

<sup>381</sup> See Suzuki Takayasu 鈴木隆泰, “Daijō kyōten niokeru juki to kanjō 大乘經典における授記と灌頂,” in Mori Masahide 森雅秀 ed., *Ajia no Kanjō Girei : Sono Seiritsu to Denpa* アジアの灌頂儀礼: その成立と伝播 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2014), 36–58.

number of early Mahāyāna scriptures, including the *Scripture of the Origin and the Auspiciousness of the Prince* (*Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經), the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra (*Niepan jing* 涅槃經), and the *Lalitavistara* (*Puyao jing* 普曜經), that record the Buddha's life, one of the commonest scenarios describes that the nāga kings pour water to bath the new born Buddha.<sup>382</sup> While some scriptural narrations agree this is a bathe ritual, there are others signifying this with the term *guanding*.<sup>383</sup> Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), an eminent *vanaya* master, also describes the scenario of the Buddha's birth on a giant bell in the Jetavana Temple in Śrāvastī as a performance of *guanding*.<sup>384</sup>

This ambiguous and fusing boundary between *guanding* and bathe ritual conceived by Chinese Buddhists also resonates with religious tales among Chinese society. A popular story about Sun Hao's profanation of a statue of the Buddha was widely circulated in the Six Dynasties period. The tale delineates that Sun, one of the most inhumane rulers in Chinese history, obtains a golden statue of the Buddha but places it in the toilet. On a eighth day of the fourth month, he uses the toilet, and urinates upon the head of the statue, mocking that "the eighth day is today and now I am bathing the Buddha!" 今是八日浴佛時 While the

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<sup>382</sup> As for the general overview of these scriptural narrations, see Chen Huaiyu 陳懷宇, *Dongwu yu zhonggu zhengzhi zongjiao zhixu* 動物與中古政治宗教秩序 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), 316–31.

<sup>383</sup> *Fosuoqing zan* 佛所行讚 T no. 192, 04: 1b16.

<sup>384</sup> *Guanzhong chuanglei jietan tujing bing xu* 關中創立戒壇圖經并序, T no. 1892, 45: 808a17–20. As Chen suggests, this is more of Daoxuan's imagination than an actual historical record, see Chen, *Dongwu*, 320.

profanation is portrayed as a bathe ritual in the *Records of Distinguishing the Strange* (*Jingyi ji* 旌異記),<sup>385</sup> the earlier *Records of Spreading the Efficacy* (*Xuanyan ji* 宣驗記) puts that the Sun’s blaspheming words as “now I am performing *guanding* for you!” 爲爾灌頂<sup>386</sup> Considered the dates of the two texts—the former was composed by Hou Bai 侯白 (fl. 581–600) and the latter was composed by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444), this contrasting descriptions vividly show that *abhiṣeka* was mingled with the religious ritual bath (Skt. *snāna*) in its early usage in China.<sup>387</sup>

In addition, *guanding* was used to denote Buddhist protective and transmission rituals. The influential *Sūtra of Great Consecration* (*Da guanding jing* 大灌頂經) contains twelve individual scriptures—ranging from body protection, rites of domestic protective, exorcistic rites, therapeutic rites, divination, to salvation—that are addressed as the “*guanding* chapters and sentences.” 灌頂章句 The scripture has been spoken by various buddhas of past, present, and future.<sup>388</sup> Because of this sacred origin and the supreme power it bears, a consecration ritual that entails rigorous procedure must be performed for

<sup>385</sup> Recited by Daoshi 道世 in the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, *T* no. 2122, 53: 383b18–9.

<sup>386</sup> Recited by Falin 法琳 in the *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論, *T* no. 2110, 52: 540a22.

<sup>387</sup> As for the date of the two texts, see Li Jianguo 李劍國, *Tangqian zhiguai xiaoshuo jishi* 唐前志怪小說輯釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 663, 498, respectively. The two stories, though, agree that Sun’s profanation brings him swollen genitals. By the suggestion from one of the palace maids who believes in Buddhism, he repents and performs a solemn bath ritual for the statue, by which he eventually recovers.

<sup>388</sup> *T* no. 1331, 21: 497a20.

its transmission.<sup>389</sup>

There is, however, divergence on the nature of the rite. Davidson considers that it is not to be read as the earliest form of *abhiṣeka* in China, because here the boundary between religious and political spheres disappeared, which took place in Indian Buddhist tantrism almost two centuries later.<sup>390</sup> Strickmann, on the other hand, believes that the presence of the rite makes sense in the Chinese religious context in the middle and late 5<sup>th</sup> century. Transmitting text was the common praxis in Chinese religions, symbolizing renewing authority and consecrating body, which intrinsically fits the *abhiṣeka* imagery in various Buddhist translations.<sup>391</sup> It was thus natural for Chinese Buddhists to use and modify this ritual technique when they needed to transfer religious power. The divergence stems partly from their different disciplinary points of view, and partly from the ambivalence of the term *guanding* itself. A closer scrutiny of the ritual of consecration shows that it turns out to have been more complicated than we previously knew. Not only does the consecration authenticate recipient of the sacred texts, but also transforms the body of the recipient. The instruction of the

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<sup>389</sup> Traditionally ascribed to Po-Śrīmitr (Ch. Boshilimiduoluo 帛戶梨蜜多羅), a Kuchean prince and Buddhist monk who travelled to South China from 307–312, the sūtra was actually a Chinese Buddhist apocrypha made in the middle 5<sup>th</sup> century, see Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, *Bukkyō kyōten seiritsushiron 仏教經典成立史論* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1978), 421. He also notices that the persecution on the Buddhist in the scripture highly likely refers to the Emperor Taiwu of Wei's campaign during 446–452.

<sup>390</sup> Ronald Davidson, “abhiṣeka,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 74.

<sup>391</sup> Michel Strickmann, “The Consecration Sūtra: A Buddhist Book of Spells,” in Robert E. Buswell ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 85.

rite is given in the dialogue between the Buddha and his disciple Ānanda:

Once again Ānanda joins palms and speaks to the Buddha: “what is transmission?” The Buddha says: “if there is one who [deserves to] receive this body-protecting spiritual book, then one should first pay respect to the buddhas in ten directions, then to the scriptures, to the sage monks, and to the master who transmits the scripture. [While doing these things], one should focus the mind and unify the intention. Then one bares the right shoulder and turns it toward (the Buddha), kneels with hands clasped at his breast. The master should hold the scripture with the right hand, and the initiate receives it with the right hand too. The master then consecrates the initiate’s top of head with the ritual water by the left hand. Ānanda, this is the cause and condition by which the scripture is called the *guanding chapters and sentences*. Why it is so? It is like in a prince’s coronation. He should be ritually consecrated on the top of the head before managing in chief the documents of governing the kingdom. My ritual is also like this.”

阿難又復叉手白佛言：“云何授與？”佛言：“若有受此護身神典者，先當禮敬十方佛，次禮經寶，次禮聖僧，次禮度經之師。皆當專心一意。偏露右肩長跪合掌，師當右手持文，弟子以右手受之。師以左手持法水灌弟子頂上。阿難，以是因緣故名灌頂章句。所以然者，如王太子紹王位時，法應以水灌其頂上，然後統領治國之事。我法亦爾。”<sup>392</sup>

Perhaps for the very first time in the history of Chinese Buddhism, *guanding* is proposed as a transmission ritual the clear association of *abhiṣeka* in its Indian origin. The ritual rationale is explained by an analogy between the two rituals. As coronation makes a prince as a king who legitimately deals with the administrative documents, *guanding* prepares an authoritative recipient of the scripture. Because of this significance of the authentication ritual, the scripture bears *guanding* in its title.

Equally important as the transmission is its function to deliver transcendence to the recipient. To become eligible, one must keep faithful to the precepts, guard

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<sup>392</sup> T no. 1331, 21: 497b5–24.

and care for the sentient beings, make up mind of great vehicle to save the suffered, and show steadfast loyalty to the good and virtuous master.<sup>393</sup> Before the actual transmission, a platform would be established and decorated.<sup>394</sup> Long banners and shrouds in five colors are hung. Incenses are burned and flowers are scattered. Both the recipient and the preceptor should practice retreat, refraining from eating pungent roots, meat, and greasy food. They then take bath and wear clean cloth. The seven-foot square platform for the transmission is to be established on a high hill, with its ground smeared with fragrant juice. The prescriptions are common in the contemporary Buddhist texts, straightforward for practitioner to understand and to perform.

In the day of the transmission, the recipient is required to think deeply about the buddhas, the bodhisattvas, the arhats, and the enlightened monks in the ten directions 十方諸佛菩薩應真聖僧. This assembly has its precedent in the Chinese Buddhist literature. The *Scripture of Entering the Realm of Reality* (*Foshuo luomojia jing* 佛說羅摩伽經) translated by Shengjian 聖堅, a Western Qin (385–431) monk, describes the progress in which Sudhana-śresthi-dāraka (Shanchai tongzi 善財童子) seeks for bodhisattvahood. When he reaches the place of Kālarātri whose Virtue and Power Generally Spread to Sentient Beings 普覆衆生威德夜天, he rises the condition of all the good roots (i.e, *karmas*) in

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<sup>393</sup> T no. 1331, 21: 497b1–3.

<sup>394</sup> T no. 1331, 21: 497b12–17.



the past lives. By the virtue of this condition, he is able to see the buddhas, bodhisattvas, and virtuous masters in ten directions. It is after this that he realizes he is essentially identical with the bodhisattvas 如我無異, and recalls the secret words (*miyu* 密語) spoken by the virtuous masters. By cultivating the merits ornamented by all the good roots in the past lives 修一切善根莊嚴功德, he obtains the various expedient means for bodhisattvahood.<sup>395</sup>

This passage is of great help for us to understand the transcendent function of *guanding*. By fixing the mind on the buddhas, the bodhisattvas, and so forth, he would ultimately see them in the real appearance.<sup>396</sup> As the description of Sudhana's cultivation for bodhisattvahood suggests, seeing the presence of the deities brings the practitioner into the condition in which he becomes to be identical with the deities. The same transcendence would take place onto the body of the recipient. We are told that, when encountering a practitioner of the scripture, Buddhist monks, nuns, male and female devotees should pay respect to him/her, and think of him/her as same as the buddhas, bodhisattvas, arhats, and the enlightened monks 想身如佛諸大菩薩應真聖僧等無有異.<sup>397</sup> This transcendence is a twofold efficacy. On the individual level, the empowerment transforms the body into the content of the visualization. On the communal level, the Chinese Buddhist community recognizes this transformation. The *sūtra*

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<sup>395</sup> *T* no. 294,10: 875c26–876a13.

<sup>396</sup> *T* no. 1331, 21: 497b21.

<sup>397</sup> *T* no. 1331, 21: 498b14.

explicitly warns anyone from the community that, if showing disrespect to the recipient, one will get retribution soon in this life.<sup>398</sup>

The worship and usage of the sūtra was continuously carried on into the Tang. Not only was it recorded in several important Buddhist catalogues,<sup>399</sup> but also the practices it contains were still applied. Ennin 円仁 (793–864), a Japanese Tendai monk and pilgrim to China, made offerings of five grains to the five dragon-kings at sea, a practice prescribed in the ninth fascicle of the sūtra.<sup>400</sup> Particularly influential in the Dunhuang was the use of its twelfth fascicule, the *Scripture of Eliminating Transgressions and Attaining Salvation by Guanding, Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo guanding bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing* 佛說灌頂拔除過罪生死得度經), to ease the karmic burden and deliver the practitioner to liberation.<sup>401</sup> The wide circulation of the sūtra indicates that its transmission, solely by means of *guanding*, was still practiced and thereby was not unfamiliar for Chinese Buddhists. As will be shown in the later sections, when introducing their *guanding* to the Chinese Buddhist community and society, the Esoteric masters in the Tang persisted to use the term to denote their innovative ordination ritual without distinguishing it from its well-known precedent counterpart.

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<sup>398</sup> T no. 1331, 21: 498b15.

<sup>399</sup> Wu Xiaojie 伍小劫, *Da guanding jing yanjiu* 大灌頂經研究 (Ph.D. diss., Shanghai Normal University, 2010), 124–52.

<sup>400</sup> Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年, *Nittō guhō junrei kōki no kenkyū* 入唐求法巡禮行記の研究 4vols (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1964), 1: 518.

<sup>401</sup> Wu, *Da guanding jing yanjiu*, 154–8.

In sum, *guanding* shows a high degree of ambivalence in Chinese Buddhism during the early medieval period. Its practice in Chinese society far preceded the emergence of Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang. While early Mahāyāna scriptures treat the term rhetorically, it was actually used interchangeably with religious bath rituals in Chinese society. The *Sūtra of Great Consecration* presents a *guanding* that transmits the scripture and transforms the recipient.

#### 4.2 Consecrated by the Liquid Dhāraṇī

The broad sweep of Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang can be characterized by new translations themed on *dhāraṇī* practices, the comprehensive systems represented by these texts, which were accessed only by *abhiṣeka*, that codify mantric texts, deities, and techniques, and unprecedented imperial patronage that gave rise to religious and institutional infrastructures.<sup>402</sup> The most notable Esoteric scripture in the early Tang is the twelve-fascicle *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (*Tuoluoni ji jing* 陀羅尼集經) translated by Atikūṭa (Chi. Adiqu duo 阿地瞿多, fl. 650s) on 653–654. According to the preface written by the Tang Buddhist Xuankai 玄楷, the scripture provides for the construction of a ritual of platform 壇法 that is different from those mentioned in other *sūtras*, *vinayas*, and *śāstras*. In the 3rd month of the second year of the Yonghui 永徽 reign period (651), this ritual, serving as a teaching 法門, was initially practiced by Atikūṭa himself at the

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<sup>402</sup> Charles Orzech, “Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and Tantras in East Asia*, 265.

Buddha hall (Futu yuan 浮圖院) in the Temple of Wisdom Sun (Huirisi 慧日寺). Sixteen Buddhist monks and twelve high-ranked officials, representative by Li Shiji 李世勣 (594–669) and Yuchi Jingde 尉遲敬德 (585–658), assisted and financially supports the ritual. The purpose of this ritual was to solidify the foundation of the Tang dynasty and to make commoners obtain benefit. During the ritual, various auspicious omens appeared.<sup>403</sup> The *Kaiyuan Buddhist Catalogue* (*Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄) remarks that after this ritual was practiced, Xuankai and others requested Atikūṭa to translate the scripture on which the ritual was grounded (faben 法本).<sup>404</sup> The scripture was then translated from the shorter copy of the section of the Store of Great Incantations in the Scripture of the Great Enlightenment Site of Vajra 金剛大道場經大明呪藏分之少分.<sup>405</sup>

The scripture contains a rich body of the rituals that involve *dhāraṇī* incantation and image worship, part of which are similar to both earlier Buddhist ritual protocols that had been circulated in China and its contemporary ones. For example, a large part in the fascicle 4 can be found in the *Divine Incantation of Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara* (Shiyi mian guanshiyin shenzhou jing 十一面觀世音神咒經) translated by Yasogupta 耶舍崛多, dated circa 570. The opening part

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<sup>403</sup> T no. 901, 18: 785a14–24.

<sup>404</sup> T no. 2154, 55: 562c17.

<sup>405</sup> T no. 901, 18: 785b04.

of the fascicle 5 is closely similar to Zhitong 智通's translation of the *mudrās* and the *mantras* uses in the Esoteric Avalokiteśvara.<sup>406</sup> On the other hand, the scripture initially introduces a group of deities and ritual techniques to form a new complicated ritual—the Universal Gathering Maṇḍala 都會道場法壇, aiming to convey the initiate to the liberation and to make them speedily attain the Buddhahood 度脫一切諸衆生等速得成佛.<sup>407</sup> As noted by Shinohara, this *maṇḍala* initiation is indeed significant in the history of Chinese Buddhist ritual in terms of its assimilation of *dhāraṇī* practices that had been originally used in much simpler ways.<sup>408</sup> While simple praxis of *dhāraṇī* typically involves one or limited number of *mantras* for the purpose of securing worldly benefit, the *dhāraṇī* used in the Universal Gathering Maṇḍala is in much larger numbers and is frequently applied together with *mudrā* for the purpose of attaining the buddhahood.

More importantly, many features in this ritual, including its procedure, actions, and efficacy, share high-degree similarities with the *abhiṣeka* undertaken with the Womb Realm Maṇḍala prescribed in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*.<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>406</sup> Koichi Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 30.

<sup>407</sup> T no. 0901, 18: 885c06. In Chinese Buddhist ritual discourse, *tan* denotes either a platform or a *maṇḍala*. Here I follow Shinohara to translate it as *maṇḍala*, emphasizing it is a ritual technique based on *maṇḍala*.

<sup>408</sup> Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas*, 195.

<sup>409</sup> Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsushi*, 215; Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et Mandarins: Le Bouddhisme Tantrique en Chine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 134.

Therefore, the *maṇḍala* initiation in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtra* is placed here as the second link in the development of *abhiṣeka*. It is our purpose then to analyze what are the basic ritual techniques, how do they make sense in the large ritual procedure that leads to the attainment of the buddhahood, and what is exactly the relationship between the *maṇḍala* initiation and the *abhiṣeka* in the mid and late Tang.

#### 4.2.1. The Maṇḍala of Transmitting the Law

*Maṇḍala* rituals are the major ritual type in the sūtra. They generally use a similar pattern of *maṇḍala* in which a principle deity is placed in the center and surrounded by other groups of deities. Each of the first eleven fascicles themes on a *maṇḍala* ritual for distinctive deities. The fascicle 1 and 2 propose the rituals for buddhas, the fascicles 4–6 for avalokiteśvaras, the fascicles 7–9 for the vajras, and the fascicles 10–11 for the devas. However, they forward different purpose, entail varied procedure, and involve different participants. Among these *maṇḍala* rituals, the Maṇḍala of Transmitting the Law (Shoufa tan 受法壇) functions as an initiation rite. Its procedure entails establishment of platform, invitation of deities, presentation of offerings, fire offering, and consecration to the recipient.

Deity	Purpose	Time	Platform	Participant
Vajrasattva <sup>410</sup>	Receive the law of	The 13th day of	Five-colored	Buddhist monk,

<sup>410</sup> T no. 901, 18: 851a23–c4.

金剛藏王	Vajrasattva	the tenth month or the 15th day of the twelfth day	platform in the length of four <i>hasta</i> <sup>411</sup>	nun, Brahman, layman, laywoman
Hayagrīva Avalokiteśvara <sup>412</sup> 馬頭觀音	Receive the law of Hayagrīva Avalokiteśvara	NA	five-colored platform in the length of four <i>hasta</i>	Buddhist monk, nun, Brahman, layman, laywoman
Kuṇḍalī <sup>413</sup>	Receive the law of Kuṇḍalī 受持軍荼利法	NA	Five-colored platform in the length of four <i>hasta</i>	Master and disciple
śṛṅkhalā <sup>414</sup>	Receive the law of śṛṅkhalā	The 15th day each month	Three-colored platform in the length of four <i>hasta</i> in the middle, with the smaller water platform and stove	Master and recipient

Table 14. The Main Types of the Maṇḍala of Transmitting the Law in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtra*

Consecration plays a significant role in these rites, for it symbolizes the change of religious status after which certain ritual can be lawfully transmitted. Nevertheless, it does not characterize the ritual, for other liturgical steps have equally important function and meaning. In a strict sense, the Maṇḍala of Transmitting the Law is better defined as the rite of worship and making offering 供養法事.<sup>415</sup> As the sūtra explicitly describes, the ritual is less for initiation than

<sup>411</sup> One *hasta* equals the length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, approximately 18 inches or 45 centimeters.

<sup>412</sup> *T* no. 901, 18: 838a17–b25

<sup>413</sup> *T* no. 901, 18: 856b16–857c1.

<sup>414</sup> *T* no. 901, 18: 847c5–848a19.

<sup>415</sup> For example, the sūtra explains the successful practice of the ritual as establishing the platform

for various kinds of ritual efficacy (yan 驗).<sup>416</sup> In this process, no affiliation or identity is supposed to be established for the recipient, nor the master-initiate relation is connected.

#### 4.2.2 Universal Gathering Maṇḍala

Despite some overlapping and similar outline, the Universal Gathering Maṇḍala differs itself from the Maṇḍala of Transmitting the Law in many ways. As the title indicates, the ritual redesigns the employment of *maṇḍala*. The expanded pantheon represented in the *maṇḍala*, along with the large scale of *mudrās* and *mantras*, plays the fundamental role in carrying out the new ritual purpose of conveying the recipient to the buddhahood. In this new ritual mechanism, consecration becomes the most significant ritual step that brings the recipient transcendence.

##### a. Ritual Preparations

The entire ritual lasts for seven days. Each three months of spring, autumn, and winter are optimal. Particularly, the first day of the third, ninth, and the twelfth month are the best day to commence the ritual. This temporal preference was actually used in Atikūṭa's first practice of the ritual in the first ten days period of the third month in the second year of Yongzheng reign period.

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and making the offerings 取日作受法壇, 供養作法竟, 於後即得種種有驗 T no. 901, 18: 847c2–3.

<sup>416</sup> T no. 901, 18: 847c5; T no. 901, 18: 857c1.



The *maṇḍala* is established on the main platform within a hall 堂, which is addressed as the site of enlightenment (*daochang* 道場).<sup>417</sup> For ordination, the length of each side of the *maṇḍala* reaches twelve or sixteen *hastas* (approximately 216 or 288 inches).<sup>418</sup> The western gate of the hall is the only entrance for the participants. This is the most significant boundary that demarcates the sacred ritual place where the main platform locates. One who are unauthorized, including the uninitiated, the musicians, and assistants, are prohibited from entering. A smaller four-*hasta* square platform is established at northeast of the main one. It is called water platform (*shuitan* 水壇) or plain platform (*baitan* 白壇). If an *abhiṣeka* is to be performed, then another four-*hasta* plain platform shall be set up at the southwest of the main platform. It should be outside of the hall and may locate at the outdoor (*zhongting* 中庭).<sup>419</sup> Any purified place can serve the place where the *maṇḍala* is to be set up, be it a spacious compound, a gorgeous house, a Buddhist hall or even the outdoor.<sup>420</sup>

This indicates that the ritual is allowed to be practiced in the places other than

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<sup>417</sup> *Maṇḍala* may occupy most part of the surface on the platform; however, its outline is not overlapped the edge of the platform, Charles Orzech and Henrik Sørensen, “Mudrā, Mantras, Maṇḍala,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 82.

<sup>418</sup> Elsewhere in the scripture, *hasta* is used to measure either the length of the side 縱廣 or of the diameter 方圓 of the *maṇḍala*. Here in the fascicle 12 it does not give clear instruction on which sense the measure word is used; however, it seems that the former is more likely to be applied because the term for the side length is more frequently used later in describing the halls in the *maṇḍala*.

<sup>419</sup> There is no information specifically given on the location of maṇḍalas, I summarize by myself from the ritual procedure.

<sup>420</sup>—清淨所: 寬大院宇及有精麗大舍之處, 乃至寺舍佛堂之所, 乃於露地作之亦得。T no. 901, 18: 886a5–7.

Buddhist temples.

The *ācārya* and his assistants should also prepare ritual utensils and offerings. The offerings are placed in the vessels. Fruits, sugar, oil, refined butter, and rice gruel are deposited in bronze plates. They are later to be mixed with baked cake and burned with fire to present to deities.<sup>421</sup> The most significant items are those for consecration. Containers are golden or silver bottles. A slight amount of five grains<sup>422</sup>, camphor (Skt. *karpūra*, Ch. *longnaoxiang* 龍腦香), and a bag wrapping seven treasures, are placed in the bottle too.<sup>423</sup> Except for candles, incenses, flowers etc. that are meant to be consumed, food offerings and donations to the deities are to be remained after the ritual. One third of the foods are to be distributed to the monks in the temple, one third to the poor and the beggar, and the rest to the ghost.<sup>424</sup> The donations, including gold, silver, silks, and coins, are directly offered in front of deities. After the ritual is completed, the ownership of the donations for the buddhas is ascribed to the buddhas themselves 其佛前物充作佛用. So are the donations for bodhisattvas. The donations for *Prajñāpāramitā* are to be spent for copying *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* and other scriptures. The

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<sup>421</sup> *T* no. 901, 18:889b25–c4.

<sup>422</sup> They are barley 大麥, wheat 小麥, rice 稻穀, bean 小豆, sesame 胡麻. The same description can be found in latter Esoteric Buddhist scriptures such as *Suxidi jieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯囉經 (Skt. *Susiddhi-kara-mahā-tantra-sādhanopāyika-ṣaṭāla*).

<sup>423</sup> The seven treasures (qibao 七寶) here are gold 金, silver 銀, pearl 眞珠, coral 珊瑚, amber 虎珀, crystal 水精, lapis lazuli 琉璃. The concept itself is varying described and this group differs its counterpart elsewhere in Buddhist literature.

<sup>424</sup> 一分布施水陸虛空諸衆生等, *T* no. 901, 18: 892c14.

*ācārya* owns the donations for vajras and devas.<sup>425</sup>

### **b. Brief Ritual Procedure**

While the entire ritual lasts for seven days, the actual initiation does not take place until the last day. With the assistance of his initiates, the *ācārya* finishes the main task of the first six days by establishing the platforms as well as preparing the ritual utensils. Towards the dark in the sixth day, the deities are invited into the main platform and initiates shall be introduced in front of them. On the seventh day, the *ācārya* performs complicated protective rites to the *maṇḍala*, presents offerings, and invites the deities to descend. Then he leaves the hall and leads the initiates whose eyes are covered into the site of enlightenment. Confirming the initiates' determination to learn this esoteric law (mimi fa 秘密法), he performs protective rites to them and asks them to throw a flower into the *maṇḍala*. The seat of deity on which the flower lands determines the initiate's rank of stage (weidi 位地), i.e., the potential achievement of buddhahood, bodhisattvahood, or alike. Then the *ācārya* and the initiate move to the platform of *abhiṣeka*. Then he performs the *mudra* that corresponds to the rank above the initiate's head, through which the water is poured upon his head. Another *homa* ritual would be practiced at the end of the entire ritual. The rite ends after the *ācārya* sends off the deities.<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>425</sup> *T* no. 901, 18: 890a14–8.

<sup>426</sup> This outline is summarized from *T* no. 901, 18: 886a7–892c22. The detailed liturgical steps

### c. Ritual Techniques

*Mantra* and *mudrā* are the two significant ritual techniques applied throughout the whole ritual. In the course between its earliest usage in the 2nd century and the compilation of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtra*, *mantra* became widely applied in Buddhist rituals. The main typologies of Buddhist rituals, including liberation, protection, healing, exorcism, and augmentation, all entailed the usage of one or more spells.<sup>427</sup> Like any other Buddhist *dhāraṇī*, these *mantras* are constituted by both the syllables that have discursive meaning and those that are not.<sup>428</sup> There are shorter versions of longer *mantras*, which are considered as being equally effective.

Formalized hand-gestures, as the very primitive form of *mudrā*, had been used as early as in the Vedic rituals.<sup>429</sup> In the *Mahāmañivipulavimāna* (Mouli mantuluozhou jing 牟梨曼陀羅咒經), one of the earliest Chinese translations prescribing the use of such, *mudrā* is considered as the powerful ritual technique (*fa* 法) that causes the practitioner to receive supreme advantages. As an advanced ritual technique, it requires one to recite spells and make offerings while

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are listed in the appendix of this section.

<sup>427</sup> Henrik Sørensen, “Spells and Magical Practices as Reflected in the Early Chinese Buddhist Sources (c. 300–600 CE) and Their Implications for the Rise and Development of Esoteric Buddhism,” in Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar ed., *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 53.

<sup>428</sup> Paul Copp, *Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Columbia University Press, 2014), 46.

<sup>429</sup> Jan Gonda, *Vedic Ritual: The Non-solemn Rites* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 57–60.

forming hand-gestures.<sup>430</sup> As same as *mantra*, the performance of *mudrā* is used in a wide range of ritual contexts.

*Mantras* and *mudrās* are employed enormously throughout the Universal Gathering Maṇḍala. *Mantra* can function independently; otherwise it is performed along with *mudrā*, serving to activate it.<sup>431</sup> Because the two are frequently used in conjunction, they are addressed binomially in the sūtra as “seal and incantation” (yinzhou 印咒).

<i>Mudrā</i>	<i>Mantra</i>	Function	Applied in ritual step (see Appendix 1)
Hayagrīva 馬頭觀音		Preparation of Ritual Item (the water 印水) Body Protection 護身 Fixing Boundaries in Ten Directions 結十方界 Invitation 請神	2 32/35/37/51/58/ 誦呪印於一一 弟子身 60
			119
Kuṇḍalī 軍荼利		Fixing Boundaries 結界 Body Protection 護身 大身印呪 Expelling the Vināyaka 毘那 夜迦辟除 Fixing the Boundaries of Samaya 三摩耶大結界法	4/6/8/11/13 97 59 12 83
The Seal of Heart Spell		Consecration	108–109

<sup>430</sup> T no. 1007, 19: 661a19–25.

<sup>431</sup> Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas*, 223.

<i>Abhiṣeka</i> 灌頂法印 心呪		
The Seal of NA	Repentance	128
Expelling Transgression of Prajñā 般若滅罪印	當心上著。口說 過現三業之罪。一一 具陳至心懺悔	
The Seal of the Completion, the Fulfillment, and the Praising Ritual Realm of Kuṇḍalī of Vajra Store	Spiritual Spell 神呪	Praise 129
金剛藏軍荼利讚歡 道場成就滿願印		
Spell	Function	Applied in ritual step (in Appendix 1)
The Spell of Samaya of Avalokiteśvara 觀世音三昧呪	Expelling any difficulties [for the recipient]	103
The Heart Spell of Prajñāpāramitās 般若大心呪	Preparation of Ritual Item (the mud 泥)	7
The Great Heart Spell of Hayagrīva 馬頭觀音大心呪	Preparation of Ritual Item (the cord 索) Preparation of Ritual Item (the white mustard seeds 呪 白芥子)	27 96
The Heart Spell of Kuṇḍalī 軍荼利心呪	Preparation of Ritual Item (the water and the white mustard seed 呪打水 / 白芥子)	93 / 94
The Fundamental Spell of Vajra 金剛本心呪	<i>Homa</i> offerings 燒供養	120/121/122/124

Table 15. The *Mantras* and *Mudrās* Applied in the Universal Gathering Maṇḍala

As the tables show, there are fewer instances in which *mantra* is independently used than it is along with *mudrā*. In the most instances in which they are used in conjunction, they function to prepare the ritual body, place, and utensils ready to

use in the ritual. All *mantras* belong to the group of bodhisattva and vajra. Notably, those of Hayagrīva and Kuṇḍalī are most frequently applied. This may result from the fundamental feature of the deities themselves, that is, bodhisattva is compassionate for all and vajra is considered as powerful as expelling all kinds of obstacles.<sup>432</sup>

On the other hand, *mudrā* has to be used along with *mantra*, in spite of the fact that there is no strict one-to-one corresponding relation between them. In other words, one *mantra* may correspond to multiple *mudrās*. Take the *mudrās* in the group of Kuṇḍalī for instance, the Mudrā of Incense Burner 香鑪法印 and the Mudrā of Fragrant Water 香水法印, though bearing different hand gestures, both use the Lesser Heart Mantra 小心咒. Some other *mudrās*, such as that of Body Protection 護身法印 and many others in the Kuṇḍalī group, all use the Great Heart Mantra 大心咒. Moreover, one *mudrā* can also be performed with different *mantras*. For instance, the first eight mantras associated with Bhṛkuṭī are employed with the Body Mudrā 身印.<sup>433</sup>

Body protection and locale securing are the dominant function of the *mudrās*

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<sup>432</sup> T no. 901, 18: 813b10–11; T no. 901, 18: 852a21–26. The most practices listed above are the *mantras* and *mudrās* of Hayagrīva, or the transformation of Avalokiteśvara. Earlier in the fascicle 1, a *mantra* spoken by Hayagrīva is considered superior than its counterpart spoken by all other bodhisattvas and devas, only surpassed by the one spoken by Tajorasi. This prominent role is also testified by its versatile functions. In the universal gathering ritual here, Hayagrīva *mudrās* and spells are generally employed for ritual purification 印水, body protection 護身, fixing boundaries 結十方界, and invitation to deities 請神.

<sup>433</sup> T no. 901, 18: 829a16 below.

in the sūtra.<sup>434</sup> The praxis of them follows the same ritual logic. We are not unfamiliar with the application of *dhāraṇī* or *dhāraṇī* empowered objects to secure locale and body. The ritual rationale is consistent: the physical body is considered as same as other localities such as home or city, and the efficacy is assured as long as *dhāraṇī* is presented physically in one way or another.<sup>435</sup> Indeed, the first *mudrā* in the group of Hayagrīva can be used for both body protection and boundary fixing, which attests the sūtra too follows this logic.<sup>436</sup>

In addition to *mantra* and *mudrā*, *maṇḍala* also plays the core role of ritual technique. As highly symbolized ritual diagram, *maṇḍala* indicates a sacred realm inhabited by a divinity. Various *maṇḍalas* are used in the sūtra and the deities within vary. The Universal Gathering Maṇḍala gathers ninety-four deities. The two-*hasta* (approximately 28 inches) square inner hall occupies the core, serving as the residence of main deities who supervise the initiation. The outer circle surrounding the inner hall is called the middle hall (*zhongyuan* 中院) and the outermost surrounding the middle hall is called the exterior hall (*waiyuan* 外院). The further the deities are placed from the center, the lesser they are. The deities are symbolized by seat (*zuo* 座) other than by concrete image. The principle deity at the center, or the lord of the seats (*zuozhu* 座主), is Tajorasi (Dishu luoshi 帝

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<sup>434</sup> The ritual of locale securing may not necessarily involve the employment of spells and *mudrās*. In the establishment of the Buddhist ordination platform, no such element is applied in fixing boundaries, see Huaiyu Chen, *The Revival of Buddhist Monasticism in Medieval China* (PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2005), 234 below.

<sup>435</sup> Copp, *Body Incantatory*, 80–6.

<sup>436</sup> *T* no. 901, 18: 833c7–19.



殊羅施), the buddha of the Śākyamuni's head 佛頂佛. Nevertheless, the *ācārya* is also free to choose a buddha or a bodhisattva as the replacement here.<sup>437</sup>

Buddhas, bodhisattvas, vajras, and devas surround the principle deity. Centering at the middle of the *maṇḍala*, the buddhas are privileged among the first group to be invited and presented the offerings.<sup>438</sup> The *maṇḍala* contains both Tajorasi and Śākyamuni. As Yoritomi suggests, this arrangement reflects the superior position that the historical Buddha holds, which may paly the similar role that Mahāvairocana does in the Esoteric Buddhist rituals.<sup>439</sup> Indeed, Śākyamuni plays the crucial role in the myth of *maṇḍala* rites in the *sūtra*. He is the chief interlocutor to Avalokiteśvara, Vajragharba, and Maricī. By his allowance, each of them develops a set of *mantras* and *mudrās*. He also certificates these practices as the Esoteric Store of Rituals. This prominent position is further reinforced in the actual ritual. After leading the initiates into the platform and making repentance, the *ācārya* leads them to praise (*zansong* 讚頌) that:

Homage to the Buddha, the wise and the diligent,                      南無佛智慧精進  
And the power of Nārāyaṇa!<sup>440</sup> O the body of skeleton,<sup>441</sup>              那羅延力骨鎖身

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<sup>437</sup> *T* no. 901, 18: 888b7–10.

<sup>438</sup> The notion of multiple buddhas in the past and in the future grew in the early Mahāyāna movement. The group of the buddhas in six or ten directions have been well developed in some significant Mahāyāna scriptures, such as the *Saddharmapundarika Sūtra*, the *Amitābha Sūtra*, and the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. Particularly, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra* (Jin guangming jing 金光明經) assigns certain buddhas with the four fixed directions, that is, Amitābha, Akṣobhya 阿闍 in the East, Ratnaketu 寶相 in the South, Amitāyus 無量壽 in the West, and Madhura-svara-nirghoṣa 微妙聲 in the North. Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏, *Mikkyo butsu no kenkyu* 密教仏の研究 (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1990), 1–63.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid*, 83.

<sup>440</sup> In Hindu tradition, Nārāyaṇa is a son of Nara or the original man, patronymic of the

This Prajñāpāramitās,	此般若波羅蜜多
The eighteen four thousands of storage of dharma, <sup>442</sup>	八萬四千法門藏
Is the fundamental of the merit of myriad of deeds.	萬行功德之根本
The father of great compassion <sup>443</sup> is always and generally	大慈悲父常普為
For all the sentient beings in the six transmigratory states.	一切六道衆生類

Even though the ritual instruction explains that this praise is for all the buddhas, the allusions otherwise denote that the Buddha stands at the object of the praise.

As we will see in the section below, this feature fundamentally differs from that in the Esoteric Buddhism where Mahāvairocana occupies the center in both doctrine and practice.

#### d. Ritual Rationale

In the beginning of the fascicle 12, the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara explains the mechanism of the ritual that:

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personified Puruṣa or first living being, author of the Puruṣa hymn (Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1899), 536). He is also identical to the origin of human life and stands for the firm and the stable. In later Esoteric Buddhist texts, it is often refers to the Nārāyaṇa-deva and Nārāyaṇa-vajra. The power of Nārāyaṇa is the characteristic of both the Buddha (*Mahāratnakūṭa sūtra*, T no. 310, 11: 196a4) and of one who has Buddhahood and gives deliverance (T no. 310, 11: 383c16).

<sup>441</sup> Interchangeably used with 骨鑠 or 骨環, the term *gusuo* means skeleton. It serves one of the objects in the contemplation of temporariness and impurity of human body (*Mahāratnakūṭa sūtra*, T 31011.0334c18–29; *Dasheng rulengqie jing* 大乘入楞伽經, T no. 672, 16: 626b5–8).

<sup>442</sup> This refers to the spells and the *mudrās* of the *dhāraṇī*, T no. 901, 18: 803b8.

<sup>443</sup> The Father of Great Compassion refers to the Buddha. Earlier in the *Si tongzi sanmei jing* 四童子三昧經 translated by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 (523–600?), it is one of the epithets of the Buddha (T no. 379, 12: 941c13). The epithet is also used along with other different titles, for example, in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* 根本說一切有部毗奈耶, he is addressed as the Father of Great Compassion, the supreme worthy, and the great virtue 大德無上世尊大慈悲父 (T no. 1442, 23: 860b23). The metaphoric paternity is widely applied in earlier and contemporary Buddhist texts, such as the Father of Human Beings 世間父, the Father of Sentient Beings 眾生父, the Loving Father 慈父. According to Mori Shōji 森章司, this metaphor reinforces the role that the Buddha plays in teaching the sentient beings and stresses the respect and affection from the sentient beings to the Buddha (*Bukkyō hiyu reiwa jiten* 仏教比喻例話辞典 (Tōkyō : Kokusho Kankōkai, 2005), 426).

O, the Worldly Worthy! In front of all the holy crowds, the compassionate buddhas who are excelling at expedient means spoke this secret dharma store, the completed retained spiritual spells and *mudrās* of *samaya* and so on. The past and present buddhas in the ten directions, who are as innumerable as the sands of the Ganges, obtain the buddhahood by means of these rituals.... There is a *maṇḍala* of the Site of Enlightenment of Universal Gathering with merits and accomplishments that delivers all sentient beings and makes them to speedily attain the buddhahood. If there are the śramaṇas, or the brāhmins, the upāsakas and upāsikās, the good men and women, who desire to learn and uphold the spiritual *mantras* and *mudrās* of *dhāraṇī* spoken by all the buddhas and bodhisattvas, yet have neither entered into my *maṇḍala* of Universal Gathering, nor have understood that the secret ritual of assurance [of future buddhahood] are not validate until the name [of the practitioner] is revealed. I am afraid that there is one who forms the *mudrā* for the fear of the affliction that disturbs mind and body. If the one like this does not understand my intention and unlawfully practices [the *mudrā*], then it will cause the *māras* to agitate one's mind so that the efficacy of the spell is dispersed and in vain.

世尊！諸佛慈悲善爲方便，對諸聖衆，說是總持三昧神呪法印壇等祕密法藏。從昔過去及現住世十方一切恒沙佛等，皆因此法，得成聖果。……又有都會道場法壇功德成就，度脫一切諸衆生等速得成佛。若有沙門若婆羅門若優婆塞優婆夷諸善男子善女人等，雖心愛樂欲學受持一切諸佛及菩薩等說陀羅尼神呪法印，皆未曾入我都會壇，亦未能了祕密決法顯之名字而得證成。恐有輒作法印等者，懼諸煩惱侵擾身心。如是人等不會我意，輕而妄作，致使衆魔動念，散亂呪力無効。<sup>444</sup>

This passage explicitly explains the nature and the ritual logic of the Universal Gathering Maṇḍala, and how the predominant ritual techniques—*mantra* and *mudrā*—are absorbed in this innovative ritual synthesis and made sense there. *Mantra* and *mudrās* were considered here as the core of the *dhāraṇī-pitaka* throughout the medieval Chinese Buddhism.<sup>445</sup> The claim that all the buddhas, in the past and at present, here and there, obtained the buddhahood

<sup>444</sup> T no. 901, 18: 885b29–c15.

<sup>445</sup> Copp, *Body Incantatory*, 197–226.

solely by the means of practicing the *dhāraṇī* reflects the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtra* share the common belief in Chinese Buddhism that associates the state of enlightenment and the ritual enactment of *dhāraṇī*.

The Universal Gathering Maṇḍala in fact bears a dual role: it bears the original function of the ritual, and authenticates it. On the one hand, because the ritual entails the practice of *dhāraṇī*, it inherits its efficacy; on the other hand, it authenticates the practice of it. Only under the completion of this ritual can the enactment of *dhāraṇī* in the future really take effect. Those who practice the *dhāraṇī* without entering into this Universal Gathering Maṇḍala may even have their minds disturbed by the demons.

For the one to be authenticated, it is crucial that his name must be revealed 顯之名字. This resonates with the tale in the beginning of the fascicle 8 where the Bodhisattva Vajragarbha (jingangzang pusa 金剛藏菩薩) requests the Buddha to authenticate his adherents (juanshu 眷屬) who have practiced the rituals that foster and protect the Buddhist Dharma.<sup>446</sup> After the Buddha endorses this request, Vajragarbha calls out their names. The adherent vajras, having been authenticated by the Buddha, then explains to the devas, humans, and other deities that their secret minds (*miyi* 密意) are manifested by the rituals (*faxiang* 法相), and this has been known and authenticated by the Buddha. The rituals that they

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<sup>446</sup> The vajra family is the innovation of the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtra*, which is even more common in later Esoteric Buddhist scriptures.

practice become known as the Spiritual Mantra and Ritual Mudrā of the Esoteric Store of Rituals. The vajras also emphasize that the limitless efficacies of the rituals have been certificated by the Buddha.<sup>447</sup>

Here the Buddha certifies both the deities and their praxis. In the both case, the term authentication (*zhengming* 證明) is used.<sup>448</sup> On the one hand, their names are called out in front of the Buddha by Vajragarbha, thus becoming authenticated; on the other hand, because their rituals bear the hidden meaning that is known by the Buddha, the authentication goes directly to the rituals. This secret mind may not be the alternative of the mind-esoterica (*yimi* 意密), one of the three esoterics that is the major tenet of Esoteric Buddhism; however, its manifested form, that is, the ritual, similarly associates the practitioner (vajra in this case) with the Buddha and functions to transform the practitioner to be identical with him.<sup>449</sup>

Back to the passage spoken by Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara, it now becomes

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<sup>447</sup> 我有密意，具諸法相。佛已知之，助成印可。非是汝等所知境界。是故稱云祕密法藏大陀囉尼神呪法印，利益無量，如佛所證, *T* no. 901, 18: 841a12–b10.

<sup>448</sup> One who authenticates serves the role of witnessing and giving certifying. In the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, the Crowd of Authentication (*zhengming zhong* 證明眾) are the Vajradhara 執金剛 and Four Great Bodhisattvas—Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and Samantabhadra. They lead the Crowd of Appropriate Faculties (*dangji zhong* 當機眾) to the assembly, observe the exposition of the teachings is in accordance with the Dharma, see *Mikkyō daijiten*, 1203.

<sup>449</sup> The term of secret mind appears only once in the sūtra. In its contemporary text such as *Vijñāptimātratāsiddhi* (*Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論) and *Samdhi-nirmocana Sūtra* (*Jie shenmi jing* 解深密經) by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), *miyi* is the translation of *samdhāya*. It denotes the inconceivable truth that all dharmas are without fixed nature 一切法無性, Ito Hidenori 伊藤秀憲, “玄奘訳『解深密経』における密意について,” *Journal of Indian and Buddhist studies*, no. 43 (1973): 134–35.

clear that the Universal Gathering Maṇḍala authenticates the participant as well as his praxis of *mantras* and *mudrās*. Avalokiteśvara considers the one who unlawfully practices the rituals as failing to understand the mind of the divine assembly 不會我意. The mind of Avalokiteśvara is identical to that of the authenticated vajras. Both are associated to the Buddha. There must be innumerable minds as such in the universe and the Universal Gathering Maṇḍala gathers all of them. The *gāthā* spoken later by the Buddha explains this feature concisely:

There is also the Universal Dharma <i>Maṇḍala</i> ,	或有都法壇，
It gathers all kinds of mind.	共會一切意。
From the Buddhist dharma one obtains the approval,	從佛法印可，
Completing the realization,	
and eliminating the doubts and perplexity.	證成斷疑惑。 <sup>450</sup>

As all-inclusive ritual realm, the *maṇḍala* contains all the minds that associate with the Buddha, conveying the approval of enlightenment through Buddhist dharma to the initiate.

The meaning of the *maṇḍala* is one thing, and its ritual representation is another. How is the ritual agent able to use the *maṇḍala* to achieve the enlightenment? What is the mechanism there? In the actual ritual procedure, this mechanism is fully explained by the *ācārya*. In the dark of the sixth day, after instructing the initiates to have a divination dream and leading them to leave the

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<sup>450</sup> T no. 901, 18: 885c21–22.

site of enlightenment, the *ācārya* reenters the platform and reports to the deities about the imminent initiation:

These disciples hope to enter into the *maṇḍala* and each to be authenticated. My disciple such and such would take part in the ritual. I have asked all of them. The initiates desire to enter into the platform and make offerings next day. I beseech the buddhas, the *prajñāpāramitās*, the bodhisattvas, the vajras, and devas as well as the crowds in this realm of Great Compassion: the initiate such and such would universally invite all the Three Treasuries and their families and make offerings to all of them.<sup>451</sup> I pray for the all the [deities of] great compassions to attend next day, accept the offerings, and authenticate the ritual.

是諸弟子欲入壇來，各各取證。我弟子某甲與作法用。總遍問竟。諸弟子等明日欲來入壇供養。願佛般若菩薩金剛及諸天等，今夜大悲境界徒衆：弟子某甲明日普請一切三寶及諸眷屬，廣爲供養。願大慈悲明日皆赴，受諸供養，證明法事。<sup>452</sup>

The *ācārya*'s words explain that the disciple, as the initiate, is able to communicate with the deities by worshipping and making offerings (Skt. *pūjā*, Ch. *gongyang* 供養) to them. As a core ritual in the Indian religious traditions, *pūjā* denotes the ritual of worship of a sacred object, most commonly idols. *Pūjā* entails a normative sequence of services (*upacāra*) and the making offering is the major part, though its number and kind may vary in different forms of it. The aim of a *pūjā* is usually declared by the *saṃkalpa* formula at the beginning of its

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<sup>451</sup> It is worth to note that this innovation of offering itself is reported in the process of the ritual of making offering. Even though the two are of the same form, the purpose and the participants of the ritual are different. Here the ritual of making offering is for reporting and announcing the forthcoming one on the next day whereas the one on the next day is an invitation of witness the initiation. The deities invited on the sixth day here is part of the invitees next day, though they are certainly the most significant guests. The whole invitees— all the buddhas, the dharmas, and *saṃghas*, as well as their families—indicates a wider gathering next day. *Mikkyō daijiten*, without reciting any source, states that in the Esoteric Buddhism the triad refers to buddhas, bodhisattvas, and vajras (p. 827).

<sup>452</sup> *T* no. 901, 18: 888a21–27.

performance. By pleasing the deity with worship and offerings, the practitioner hopes to obtain fruits in return. In the same manner as to a distinguished guest, the offerings are given to the deity, who thereby becomes to connect with the practitioner and is bound to endow the fruits. *Pūjā* is therefore essentially about communication and exchange.<sup>453</sup>

On the other hand, the notion of *gongyang*, or reverent feeding, combines the concept of giving respect and feeding. It initially denoted the practice of filial children and had been extremely common in Chinese society since Eastern Han (22–220). As Knapp remarks, “one of the most common means of performing *gongyang* was offering delicacies,” by which Chinese “honored parents because such food-stuffs were costly and difficult to obtain.”<sup>454</sup> The rendering of *pūjā* by *gongyang* by Chinese Buddhists stresses the supreme status of Buddhist deities, and suggests the communication and exchange with them is ritually feasible. One who had experience of *gongyang* for parents must be assured for its ritual efficacy, even though it was practiced in another ritual context.

The *ācārya*’s words testify that *pūjā* serves basic ritual mechanism of the Universal Gathering Maṇḍala. The deities all have their seats in the *maṇḍala* and are invited to consume the offerings. In return, the disciples hope to attain the approval of enlightenment. The exact same words would be reiterated by the

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<sup>453</sup> Gudrun Bühnemann, *Puja: Study in Smarta Ritual* (Vienna: University of Vienna, 1988), 29–100.

<sup>454</sup> Keith Knapp, *Selfless Offspring: Filial Children and Social Order in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2005), 115.



*ācārya* on the seventh day before the formal presentation of offerings is initiated.

After the consecration, the offerings are to be offered to the deities by a *homa* ritual.

The normative procedure of *pūjā* usually contains 16 services, among which *snāna* is performing for bathing the sacred object with liquid.<sup>455</sup> In Indian tradition, *ahbiseka* was added and became a part of extension of the bathing rite. The portion of consecration here is indeed embedded in the procedure of the *pūjā* in the Universal Gathering Maṇḍala. It is not our purpose to investigate whether this was due to that Chinese Buddhists were inspired by the new development of Indian *pūjā*; suffice here to notice that the consecration depends on the mechanism of *pūjā*. That is, the fulfillment of the *ahbiseka* premises on the successful invitation of the deities by worshiping and offerings.

Prior to the invitation to the deities, the *ācārya* confirms the initiate's determination "to receive the ritual [i.e., the Esoteric Store of Rituals] 欲得受此法不".<sup>456</sup> Having invited the deities into the *maṇḍala* on the seventh day, he moves to the place where the disciples are waiting for initiation, and then orally announces the order from the Buddha (*fojiao* 佛教) confirming whether the

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<sup>455</sup> They are invocation (*āvāhana*), installation (*āsana*), washing the feet (*pādyā*), welcome (*arghya*), mouth-washing (*ācamanīya*), bath (*snāna*), clothing (*vastra*), girding (*yajñopavīta*), anointment (*gandha*, *anulepana*), flowers (*puṣpa*), incense (*dhūpa*), light (*dīpa*), feeding (*nivedana*, *naivedya*), greeting (*namaskāra*), circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*), and gift (*dakṣiṇā*) or dismissal of deities (*visarjana*) respectively. See Bühnemann, *Pūjā: Study in Smārta Ritual*, 34; Axel Michaels, *Homo Rituals: Hindu Rituals and its Significance to Ritual Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 250.

<sup>456</sup> *T* no. 901, 18: 887c28.

initiate “is commitment to be taught the esoteric rituals 願見學如是祕密法”.<sup>457</sup>

This suggests the changing ritual interlocutor of the initiate from the *ācārya* to the deity in the *maṇḍala*.<sup>458</sup>

The connection is further crystallized after the disciple throws the flower into the *maṇḍala*. The seat of deity where the flower lands associates a certain deity with the initiate and determines his rank. In response to this association, the *ācārya* forms its principle *mudrā* 本印 (step no. 104). Then he holds a flower in the *mudrā* and places the *mudrā* above the initiate’s head. The water, chanted with the principle mantra 本呪, is then poured through the *mudrā* onto the initiate’s head.<sup>459</sup> The power of the consecration is the combined function of *dhāraṇī* and that of *mudrā*. The magic power of *dhāraṇī* is allowed to be transformed into the enchanted material form, such as ash, mustard seed, and oil, etc., and to be spread in that form.<sup>460</sup> On the other hand, the *mudrā* reinforces the

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<sup>457</sup> T no. 901, 18: 891a11. *Jianxue* 見學 belongs to the activity based on cognitive apprehension (*jianxing* 見行).

<sup>458</sup> The *ācārya* changes his appearance by using three *chi* of yellow cloth/silk to wrap his head and four *chi* of bright red one to wrap his forehead, which is called wearing celestial crown on head 頭戴天冠. The similar appearance can be found in the description of the four celestial kings in the *jātaka* tales or of a secular king in Buddhist literature. For instance, “[the four celestial kings] uses various superior necklaces to decorate their bodies and wears the celestial crowns.” 以諸上妙種種瓔珞，莊嚴身體，頭戴天冠 *Fo benxing ji jing* 佛本行集經 (T no. 190, 3: 730a04); “[the princess] wears the attire of king and the celestial crown,” 著王者服，頭戴天冠 *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 (T no. 212, 4: 694c17). Neither of these images, however, transforms the *ācārya* into another divine role.

<sup>459</sup> The term Fundamental Mantra and Fundamental *Mudrā*, both without a clear definition, appear several times in the *sūtra*. The two are mostly used for inviting and sending off deities. Each group of deities has distinctive Fundamental Mantra and Fundamental *Mudrā*.

<sup>460</sup> Copp, *Body Incantation*, 141 below.

power of *dhāraṇī*, facilitating its efficacy.<sup>461</sup> Therefore, when the water for consecration is enchanted by *mantra*, it is empowered. The principle *mudrā* functions to further assure the efficacy.

After the consecration, the initiate is eligible to use the ritual specification as same as an *ācārya* uses 一准阿闍梨威儀進止.<sup>462</sup> This suggests the Buddhist authority has been successfully transmitted. Moreover, he is to obtain transcendent efficacy. He keeps the bag that contains the seven treasures that was earlier kept in the water pot.<sup>463</sup> Then he ties it with the enchanted cord (step no. 58) on his arm. He would keep this bag until death, for it serves the ultimate confirmation [of buddhahood] 壽終時須將此寶為信驗.<sup>464</sup> The content of the bag obviously indicates the completion of the consecration. This statement thus resonates with the promise by the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara that the Universal Gathering Maṇḍala that delivers all sentient beings and makes them to speedily attain the buddhahood. However, it is not clear to whom this bag is testified, the initiate himself, or an otherworldly/underworld deity? At any rate, it seems that the promised buddhahood is only to be achieved after this life.

To conclude the section, the Universal Gathering Maṇḍala in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtra* exhibits the similar procedure and actions as the *abhiṣeka*

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<sup>461</sup> If one forms *mudrā* while chanting *mantra*, one is easier to attain efficacy 若作手印誦諸呪法，易得成驗。 *T* no. 901, 18: 803b21

<sup>462</sup> *T* no. 901, 18: 891c22–23.

<sup>463</sup> Please consult to the subsection of “ritual preparation” for the details of the bag.

<sup>464</sup> *T* no. 901, 18: 891c20–21.

prescribed in Esoteric Buddhist scriptures. The employment of *mantra*, *mudrā*, and *maṇḍala* constitutes the core ritual technique. *Mantra* and *mudrā* play manifold functions, securing the body of participant and the realm of *maṇḍala*. The *maṇḍala* presents the assembly of deities. By worshiping and making offering to them, the initiate communicates with them and is consecrated. On the other hand, this *maṇḍala* initiation rite also manifests distinctive features. The portion of consecration is embedded in the progress of *pūjā*. The premise of attaining buddhahood is based on the employment of *dhāraṇī*. When consecrated with the enchanted water, the initiate becomes authenticated, an approval of attaining buddhahood in the next life.

#### **4.3 Installing A Buddha Within A Body: New Doctrinal Development of *Abhiṣeka* In the Tang Esoteric Buddhist Scriptures**

During the first half of eighth century, a large corpus of Esoteric doctrines and techniques were introduced to China in the new Buddhist translations by Śubhākarasiṃha (Shanwuwei 善無畏 637–735), Vajrabodhi (Jin’gang zhi 金剛智 671–741), and Amoghavajra (Bukong jin’gang 不空金剛 704–774).<sup>465</sup> Unlike those translated in the early Tang, their works represent a more self-conscious reflection and profound interest in the proliferated techniques of *mantras*, *mudrās*, and *maṇḍala*. The rationale and meaning, along with actions, of

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<sup>465</sup> Chou I-liang, “Tantrism in China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8 (1944): 241–332; Geoffrey Gobel, *Chinese Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra and the Ruling Elite* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 2012), 222–68.

*mantric* rituals are redefined. On the other hand, these great *ācāryas* and their disciples were able to obtain much more support from the imperial house. In return, they became to deeply interacted with the Tang society. As a result, *abhiṣeka* was eventually transformed as one of the most significant Buddhist rituals that generated great impact in Chinese society. In this section, we will mainly analyze the doctrinal prescription of *abhiṣeka* in the two fundamental Esoteric Buddhist scriptures, and investigate how *abhiṣeka* was understood and practiced in the Tang Buddhist community and society.

#### 4.3.1. *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*

The *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* (Ch. *Da pilu zhenā chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經, Eng. *Scripture of the Enlightenment, Supernatural Transformations, and Empowerment of Mahāvairocana*; hereafter *MHV*) provides a full exposition of the development of Esoteric Buddhism in the north Indian. Although no Sanskrit version has been discovered, the Chinese and Tibetan translations have been completely preserved in Buddhist canons.<sup>466</sup> The Chinese translation was completed in seven fascicles by Śubhākarasiṃha and his disciple Yixing 一行 (683–727) during 724–725. It was based on the Sanskrit manuscript sent to China several decades ago by Chinese monk Wuxing, who died in Indian in 674. In his assistance of the translation, Yixing received personal

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<sup>466</sup> Stephen Hodge, *Mahāvairocana Abhisambodhi Tantra with Buddhaguhya's Commentary* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 1–24.

instruction from Śubhākarasiṃha and produced the twenty-fascicle commentary to the first six fascicles of the *MHV*, titled the *Commentary to the Mahāvairocana sūtra* (*Da piluzhena chengfo jing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏). This text was later revised by Chinese Buddhist Zhiyan 智儼 and Wengu 溫古, and circulated in fourteen fascicles.<sup>467</sup> The Silla monk Pulga Sauti 不可思議 (fl. eighth century), another disciple of Śubhākarasiṃha, composed the *Outline of the Progressive Methods of Making Offerings [based on] the Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (*Da piluzhena jing gongyang cidi fa shu* 大毘盧遮那經供養次第法疏), a ritual instruction and commentary to the last fascicle.<sup>468</sup>

The first six fascicles are the translation of the *MHV per se*, whereas the seventh fascicle is composed by Śubhākarasiṃha as the ritual protocol for performing *pūjā* to the Esoteric deities. Taking the form of dialogue between Vajrapāni (Jingangshou 金剛手) and Mahāvairocana, the entire thirty-one chapters in the first six fascicles provide the theory and method to answer the vital question that Vajrapāni raises at the beginning of the sūtra: how to attain the knowledge of an omniscient one (Skt. *sarvajñā-jñāna*, Ch. *yiqie zhi zhi* 一切智智), or perfected enlightenment, and what is its cause (Skt. *hetu*, Ch. *yin* 因), root

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<sup>467</sup> Iyanaga Nobumi, “Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya—d’après les sources chinoises et japonaises,” in M. Strickmann ed. *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein* 3 vols (Bruxelles: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises), 3: 649–51. Alex Wayman and R. Tajima, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1998), 83–156.

<sup>468</sup> Henrik Sørensen, “Early Esoteric Buddhism in Korea: Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla (ca. 600–918),” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 586–7.

(Skt. *mūla*, Ch. *ben* 本), and culmination (Skt. *paryanta*, Ch. *jiujing* 究竟)?

Mahāvairocana replies that the *bodhi*-mind is its cause, the compassion is its root, and the expedient means is its culmination.<sup>469</sup>

This essence of the scripture is mostly elaborated in its first chapter—the Stations of the Mind when Entering into the Gateway of True Words 入真言門住心品. In his commentary to the title of the chapter, Yixing states that:

The so-called the self-mind of sentient beings is exactly the knowledge of an omniscient one. He who fully understands it as it truly is shall be called the one of omniscience. Therefore here [Mahāvairocana] teaches all the bodhisattvas to [follow] the true words as gateway, to arouse the *bhodi* from the self-mind, to complete a myriad of practices, to be cognizant of the perfect enlightenment of the mind, to realize the *mahāparinirvāṇa* of the mind, to arouse the expedient ways of the mind, and to ornament and purify the buddha-realm of the mind. They are from the cause to the result, stationing in nowhere but the mind. Therefore it is called the chapter of the Stations of the Mind when Entering into the Gateway of True Words. There are generally three things about entering into the gateway of true words: the gateway of body esoterica, that of speech esoterica, and that of mind esoterica. They are to be elaborated later. The practitioner who uses these three expedients to purify his three karmas would instantly be empowered by the three esotericas of the Tathāgata (i.e., Mahāvairocana). He can even reach to such extent of completing the full-stage *pāramitā* in this life. He would experience no more rebirths in *kalpas*, and fully cultivate the practices of antidote.

所謂眾生自心，即是一切智智。如實了知，名為一切智者。是故此教諸菩薩：真語為門，自心發菩提，即心具萬行，見心正等覺，證心大涅槃，發起心方便，嚴淨心佛國。從因至果，皆以無所住而住其心，故曰入真言門住心品也。入真言門略有三事：一者身密門，二者語密門，三者心密門。是事下當廣說。行者以此三方便，自淨三業，即為如來三密之所加持。乃至能於此生，滿足地波羅密，不復經歷劫數，備修諸對治行。<sup>470</sup>

This remarkable passage explains much of the fundamental theory of the scripture. Yixing makes clear that the knowledge of an omniscient one is the

<sup>469</sup> 菩提心為因，悲為根本，方便為究竟，T no. 848, 18: 1b29–c1.

<sup>470</sup> T no. 1796, 39: 579b21

self-mind of all sentient beings. One who truly knows the mind becomes enlightened. The aroused mind causes all consequence of the enlightenment to take place. This belief of the self-mind as the innate yet latent potential for sudden awakening is not a new conception. It clearly precedes the translation of Esoteric Buddhist texts, such as the *Raising Faith in the Great Vehicle* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論), an influential Chinese Buddhist apocrypha. Not to mention the famous doctrine in the contemporarily rising Chan movement that identifies buddha nature with mind. Nevertheless, the *MHV* here emphasizes on the nature of the mind and proposes a new path—the gateway of true words—to lead there.

The aroused *bodhicitta* (*putixin* 菩提心) is essentially devoid of marks (Skt. *alakṣaṇa*, Ch. *wuxiang* 無相). For the sake of the conventional truth, however, it is described as essentially pure. Metaphorized as the void space (*xukong* 虛空), the pure *bodhicitta* pervades everywhere. All *dharmas* depend on it, yet itself relies on nothing.<sup>471</sup> Just as the letter *a* that is uncreated and produces all vowels and consonants, the *bodhicitta* exists as it is in its essence, leaving all causes and conditions.<sup>472</sup> After the practitioner arouses the *bodhicitta*, he would soon enter the state of meditative consciousness in which all obstacles to realizing the pure mind are expelled 除一切蓋障三昧. Achieving this stage, he would then able to see in his mind the clear and wonderful images of all buddhas in ten directions.

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<sup>471</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 587c22–4.

<sup>472</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 589b19–c5.



This means the practitioner obtain the bodhisattvahood.

The ten *bhūmi* scheme (*shidi* 十地) for bodhisattvahood from the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* is applied here.<sup>473</sup> In the normative prescription, the practitioner fulfills one stage after another before completing the ten stages. While adopting the notion of ten stages, Esoteric Buddhism suggests the completion could be a very brief process through Esoteric ritual practice. As long as fully and correctly practicing, one is even able to achieve the rank of Mahāvairocana.<sup>474</sup> This Buddhism of “entering into the truth of mind and becoming the buddha by sudden awakening” 頓覺成佛入心實相門 surpasses the others that gradually reveal the truth of *dharmas* 漸次開實相門. While the two truths are equal, they are revealed to different audiences and can generate divergent consequences. For those sentient beings with shallow fortune who do not hold faith for obtaining buddhahood, the Buddha teaches the method of gradualism to protect their minds. They can only be enlightened occasionally when the circumstance happens to match what they understand. On the other hand, the method proposed by Esoteric Buddhism abbreviates all *dharmas* and concerns with the mind that directly leads

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<sup>473</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 605a25. As for the ten-stage scheme in Chinese Buddhism, see Kanbayashi Ryūijō 神林隆淨, *Bosatsu Shisō no Kenkyū* 菩薩思想の研究 (Tokyo: Nihon tosho senta, 1976); Hirakawa Akira 平川彰, “The Rise of Mahayana Buddhism and Its Relationship to the Worship of Stupas,” *Tōyō Bunkō Memoires*, ser. B, 22 (1963) : 65–9 ; and Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographic Notes* (Ogura: Kansai University of Foreign Studies, 1980) ,195–200 . Yixing also stresses that the *ācārya* will be giving the elementary 淺略 and deep 深祕 explanations to the content of the normative stages (*T* no. 1796, 39: 605a27–8).

<sup>474</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 584a25–6.

to buddhahood.<sup>475</sup> Even the followers of *dhyāna* are inferior to the Esoteric teachings, for they are too attached to the reality of *dharma* of *dhyāna*, hence unable to swiftly achieve the buddhahood.<sup>476</sup>

Unlike the other Buddhist theories that approach the sudden enlightenment ontologically or hermeneutically, Esoteric Buddhism proposes the practical notion of the three esoterics.<sup>477</sup> Those who have not yet become enlightened failed to truly understand their own minds (*zixin* 自心). Just as solid gold originally contained impurity, this mind may be covered with dirt and grime before becoming luminous. The gateway of true words refines the mind. Its main content is the practice of the three esoterics, which corresponds to ritualized approaches of *mudrā*, *mantra*, and yogic visualization. Again, the three esoterics is not a new concept. It was introduced to China as early as 4th century, accounting for the essence and function of enlightenment in medieval Chinese Buddhist hermeneutic

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<sup>475</sup> T no. 1796, 39: 589b7–14.

<sup>476</sup> T no. 1796, 39: 601a15–8.

<sup>477</sup> The early proposers of the sudden enlightenment were Zhi Daolin 支道林 and Zhu Daosheng 竺道生. Daolin considers that the stage of far-reaching (Skt. *dūraṃgamā*, Ch. Yuanxing di 遠行地), or the seventh of the ten stages towards bodhisattvahood, demarcates the process of cultivation. One practices cultivation step by step from the first to the sixth, and from the seven one begins to practice sudden cultivation (*dunxiu* 頓修). Daosheng places the theory on the base that the Buddhist nature is equal and permanent so that it cannot be divided. He acknowledges the gradual is necessary for cultivation; however, he believes that the true enlightenment is only possible by the sudden path. Daosheng's understanding of the sudden enlightenment matches the teaching in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* and became the standard meaning of it. See Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, *Han Wei Liangjin Nanbeichao fojiao shi* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 (rep. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2011), 359–73. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the acceptance of the notion was also, to some extent, to respond native Chinese concerns, see Peter N. Gregory, "Introduction," in Peter N. Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, Studies in East Asian Buddhism, no. 5 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 1–3

traditions. While following its basic meaning, Yixing stresses that the three esotericas are the expedients that empower and transform the practitioner. Elsewhere in the commentary, he explains this is because the universality (*pingdeng* 平等) of the three esotericas equalizes the dharma body with the practitioner's body.<sup>478</sup>

Universality is one of the major themes of the sūtra. The practice of universality—the three esotericas— includes all sentient beings, yet it denies the entrance for those who are not able to undertake the practice.<sup>479</sup> This highly emphasis on the practical other than conceptual perspective of universality explains not only the quality but also the logic of the ritualized approaches to the three esotericas. A bodhisattva is of no fundamental difference with a vajra, for they both are the manifestation of the dharma body of Mahāvairocana. Since the universal bodies are the same, the *mudrā* associated with one body is essentially the same with that rises from another. In other words, one universal body manifests all kinds of *mudrā*. By the same token, one universal speech manifests all kinds of *mantra*, and the same relation goes to the mind and visualization.<sup>480</sup>

Therefore, one is able to interact and communicate with the dharma body of

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<sup>478</sup> Richard McBride, “The Mysteries of Body, Speech, and Mind: The Three Esoterica (sanmi) in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 29 (2006): 305–55, particularly 329–36.

<sup>479</sup> 一切眾生皆入其中，而實無能入者無所入處，故名平等。平等法門，則此經之大意也，*T* no. 1796, 39: 583a26–7.

<sup>480</sup> 謂從一平等身，普現一切威儀。如是威儀，無非密印。從一平等語，普現一切音聲。如是音聲，無非真言。從一平等心，普現一切本尊。如是本尊，無非三昧，*T* no. 1796, 39: 583b14–7.

Mahāvairocana through the gateway of esoterica. By diligent cultivation, the practitioner's own three *karmas* (i.e., the *karma* of body, speech, and mind) would become the acts of supernatural one.<sup>481</sup> This eventually leads to the identification of Mahāvairocana, which means the buddhahood.<sup>482</sup>

*Maṇḍala* provides all kinds of gateway to the knowledge of an omniscient one.<sup>483</sup> Essentially it is the inexhaustibly treasury ornamented by *mantra*, *mudrā*, and visualized images (*wujin zhuangyan zang* 無盡莊嚴藏), nominated as the Maṇḍala Generated from the Womb Realm of Great Compassion (Skt. *mahā-karuṇā-garbha-saṃbhava-maṇḍala*, Ch. *Dabei taizang sheng mantuluo* 大悲胎藏生曼荼羅). As the womb conceives and nourishes fetus, the *maṇḍala* helps a practitioner to fully grow to obtain the knowledge of an omniscient one. The basic meaning of the *maṇḍala* is consequently about growing and developing (*fasheng* 發生).<sup>484</sup> *Maṇḍala* plays the indispensable role in the initiation of the practitioner of Esoteric Buddhism. It functions to authorize the practitioner to use the ritual knowledge associated with the three esotericas. As the assembly of the families (Skt. *kula*, Ch. *bu* 部) of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and vajras, it symbolizes the condition of empowerment 加持境界 by which the initiate is transformed with buddhahood. By the virtue as such, *abhiṣeka* is simply considered as the

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<sup>481</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 582a25–7.

<sup>482</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 649a20–1.

<sup>483</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 610b23–4.

<sup>484</sup> *T* no. 848, 18: 5b28; *T* no. 1796, 39: 625a24–5.

action of entering into *maṇḍala* (rutan 入壇). This is to say, the fundamental nature of *abhiṣeka* is the transmission of the ritual knowledge represented within *maṇḍala*.

Both the *MHV* and Yixing's commentary put much less effort of defining *abhiṣeka* than elaborating the operational details. This suggests that the Esoteric masters did not intend to position *abhiṣeka* as a sheer new ritual, yet approached to modify the ritual as something already known. Normative procedure, rigid performance, and strict accessibility are main concerns in the prescription, within which the innovative doctrinal meaning for the ritual is manifested.

#### 1). Eligibility

The function of *abhiṣeka* varies in accordance with its target audience. Yixing distinguishes two groups of initiates: one who is to be transmitted with the Buddhist law (*chuanfa* 傳法) and one who is to be transmitted with certain ritual (*shoufa* 受法). Rigorous requirements are given in detail for the former. To be an *ācārya* in the future, the initiate must have ten virtues: faith in the three esotericas as expedient means, born in a pure lineage, respect the three treasures, have a profound wisdom, have perseverance, being pure and faultless in their *śīla*, have paitience, not being miserly, being fearless, being firm in their vows of practice. According to Yixing, this is an exemplary (*yishi* 儀式) initiate who is ready to be transmitted with the law. An *abhiṣeka* can be undertaken at once for one, two,

four, five, seven, eight, or ten such initiates.<sup>485</sup> For those who seek for a karma-tying (jieyuan 結緣) with a certain deity in the *maṇḍala* and for receiving the certificate of using the *mantra* and *mudrā* associated with the deity, the prerequisite seems much more flexible. There is no explicit requirement on the eligibility or the number of initiate. Both kinds of the initiate could be considered as the disciple of the *ācārya* after undertaking *abhiṣeka*.<sup>486</sup>

## 2). Dramatis Personae

The *ācārya* plays the dominant role throughout the entire ritual. He takes a leading part not only in all of the proceedings, but also in preparing ritual apparatus. It corresponds to the virtues of *ācārya* prescribed in the *MHV* that he should be concurrently versatile to various talents, being erudite in the knowledge of grammar, the science of reasoning, the classics of philosophy. Particularly, he should be skillful in arithmetic, medicine, contemplation, and other crafts. This is because that, as Yixing stresses, the *ācārya* should not depend on the others in each and every procedure of establishing and practicing *maṇḍala*. That is to say,

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<sup>485</sup> *T* no. 848, 18: 5b19–25; *T* no. 1796, 39: 624b11–625a8.

<sup>486</sup> Yixing uses the term “the law of disciple” (*dizi fa* 弟子法) here to refer the quality of the initiate. Within the Buddhist *sangha* community, both the law of preceptor (*heshang fa* 和尚法) and that of disciple regulate the proper deportment of master and disciple. In general, the former prescribes that the preceptor should punish the transgressive disciple in conformity with the law as well as protect the disciple with it (i.e., the correct teachings) and with cloth and food. On the other hand, the disciple is supposed to lawfully act when the preceptor makes transgression as well as to protect the preceptor with the law by encouraging him to work at the Buddhist Three Practices and with the cloth and food. Hirakawa Arika 平川彰, *Genshi Bukkyō no Kenkyū: Kyōdan Soshiki no Kenkei* 原始仏教の研究: 教団組織の原型 (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1964), 537–40.

they are all pertinent to the ritual.<sup>487</sup> The *ācārya*'s skills and the demands of the ritual thus form a reciprocal causation, which reinforces the role *ācārya* plays in the actual ritual praxis.

The *ācārya* also has assistants and ritual professionals to perform the *abhiṣeka*. His other disciples who are well learned of the ritual (*jīngāng dīzī* 金剛弟子) are allowed to participate, assisting in establishing *maṇḍala*.<sup>488</sup> Moreover, when the mind-controlling music (*shēyī yīnyuē* 攝意音樂) is needed to be played in the late course of the *abhiṣeka*, professional musicians are present. Yixing claims that the full musical score is recorded in the Grand Book of Yoga (*yujia daben* 瑜伽大本). If no musician is available, then the *ācārya* should perform it by himself.<sup>489</sup>

Although it strictly prohibits irrelevant people from entering into the dharma realm, several groups of witness, including *saṃgha* members (*hehe seng* 和合僧) or even whoever currently on the spot, may be present in the ritual as the object to whom the participants are required to donate offerings.<sup>490</sup>

### 3). The Stage

In Chinese religious context, *maṇḍala* is physically used as the iconic cosmic diagram placed on a platform. As ritual place, it must be isolated and purified.

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<sup>487</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 612a9–10.

<sup>488</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 631b6–7.

<sup>489</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 666b1–3.

<sup>490</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 665a15–b5.

The cordon made of rope or five-colored thread (jingang xian 金剛線) function as fence to keep out the unwanted. Ritually excavated earth, purified by the mixture of ox manure and urine, is the main material of the platform on which *maṇḍala* is placed.<sup>491</sup>

There is more than one ritual place where the practitioners of the *abhiṣeka* involve in. The platform of *abhiṣeka* (guanding tan 灌頂壇) and that of *homa* (humo tan 護摩壇) are as equally important as the main platform of *maṇḍala*. The two are separated from the main platform while being ritually connected with it by thread.<sup>492</sup> The establishment of the *homa* platform makes preparations for the *homa* of extinguish calamities (*jizai humo* 寂災護摩), the key backup for unexpected adversity in the course of the ritual. This platform locates in the south or southwest to the main platform, while the platform of *abhiṣeka* locates to its northern side.

#### 4). Ritual Time

Like any other religious rituals performed in medieval China, there are rigorously prescribed various elements on the time of the ritual performance, including the month, date, time as well as the lunar position (Skt. *nakṣatra*, Ch. *su* 宿) and the nine celestial bodies and lunar nodes (Skt. *graha*, Ch. *zhi* 執) of the day.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>491</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 621a16–17.

<sup>492</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 660c20–22.

<sup>493</sup> They include the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn, and the ascending and descending lunar nodes, respectively known as *Rahu* and *Ketu*.



Firstly, the ritual shall be conducted within the bright moon, i.e., the first half of the month (Skt. *śukla-pakṣa*, Ch. *baifen yue* 白分月). Specifically, the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 13<sup>th</sup> day are auspicious because these days are good for making *maṇḍala*. Moreover, there are more auspicious days such as the 8<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 15<sup>th</sup>. Yixing does not give clear instruction on what specific lunar mansion and *graha* are preferred here. Instead, he explains that since each item of the either group has a discrete characteristic, the practitioner should cautiously make it in accordance with the nature of the ritual.<sup>494</sup>

#### 4.3.2 *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*

*The Adamantine Pinnacle: The Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas and the Realization of the Great Vehicle, Being the Scripture of the Great King of Teachings* (*Jingang ding yiqie rulai zhenshi she dasheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經; hereafter *STTS*) is the other fundamental scripture in the Esoteric Buddhism.<sup>495</sup> It is the translation of the first chapter 品 of the first section 會 of the larger *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

<sup>494</sup> *T* no. 1796, 36: 617c22–618a19.

<sup>495</sup> Unlike the *MHV*, there are two extant Sanskrit manuscripts of *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, though both date much later than the Chinese translation we discuss here. The one was discovered in Nepal in 1932 by the modern Buddhologist Giuseppe Tucci. It is written in Brahmi script and dated back to 19th century. The other, a ninth or tenth century work, was discovered in Nepal too by David Snellgrove in 1956. Ishi Yamada has provided a critical edition of it with reference to Tibetan and Chinese translations in *Sarva-Tathāgata-Tattva-Saṃgraha nāma Mahāyāna-Sūtra: A Critical Edition Based on the Sanskrit Manuscript and Chinese and Tibetan Translations* (New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1981). Horiuchi Kanjin 堀内寛仁 has provided another critical edition by using both Sanskrit manuscripts as well as the translations in Chinese and Tibetan in *Bon-Zō-Kan taishō shoe kongōchōkyō no kenkyū: Kongōkai bon, Gōzanze bon Bonpon kōtei hen* 梵藏漢对照初會金剛頂經の研究: 金剛界品・降三世品: 梵本校訂篇 2vols (Kōya-machi: Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1983).

Vajrabodhi initially contributed a translation of the *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in four fascicles around 723, titled the *Scripture Outlining Recitations and Contemplations of the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle* (*Jin'gangding yuqie zhong lue chu niansong jing* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經). This version, however, is more of a loosely organized outline of major practice of the scripture than of a translation in a strict sense. On the basis of the Sanskrit text that he brought to China from Sri Lanka or southern India, Amoghavajra completed the translation of the scripture in three fascicles around 754. The full translation of the *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in thirty fascicles was completed by Dānapāla (Shihu 施護) in 1015.<sup>496</sup>

Amoghavajra's translation consists of five parts: an introduction that sets the scene, a description of three-*samādhis* feature of Yogic practices, an exposition of *abhiṣeka*, a discussion of various types of success (Skt. *siddhi*, Ch. *xidi* 悉地) and types of *mudrā*, and a ending section with various miscellaneous regulations. The doctrinal and ritual ramification occurs in the seminal narrative about the enlightenment of Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi (*yiqieyi chengjiu pusa* 一切義成就菩薩). In the first place, he endures all the ascetic practices yet ignorant of the

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<sup>496</sup> For the textual background discussed here, I consult Dale Torado, *An Annotated Translation of the Tattvasaṃgraha (part 1): With an Explanation of the Role of the Tattvasaṃgraha Lineage in the Teachings of Kūkai* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1985), 8–17; Rolf W Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras: the Adamantine Pinnacle Sūtra, the Susiddhikara Sūtra* (Berkeley: Numata center for Buddhist translation and research, 2002), 5–15; Steven Neal Weinberger, *The Significance of Yoga Tantra and the Compendium of Principles (Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra) within Tantric Buddhism in India and Tibet* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 2003), 1–13;

truth of all the tathāgatas. Startled by all the tathāgatas, he asks them what is the truth and how should he practice. Then the narrative goes:

When he had said this, all the tathāgatas in the same words replied that: “Good son, you should abide in the analytical meditation of your own *samādhi*, and chant at leisure this naturally accomplished true words:

***Om cittaprativedham karomi (Om, I penetrate the mind)***”

Then the bodhisattva replied to all the tathāgatas that: “O World-honored Tathāgatas! I have understood completely. I have seen the my own mind in the shape of a lunar disc.” All the tathāgatas addressed him together, saying: “good son, the nature of the mind is luminous. It is like the effort of hard work: you work when you attain. It is also like dying a plain cloth, its color changes according to the dye.” At that time, all the tathāgatas, in order to make the nature of his mind luminous, and cognition of his mind flourished, again commanded the bodhisattva, saying:

***“Om bodhicittam utpādayāmi (Om, I generate the mind of enlightenment)”***

and by means of this naturally-accomplishment true words causes him to arise the mind of enlightenment.

Then the bodhisattva, having obeyed the order of all the tathāgatas and arisen the mind of enlightenment, said: “just as the shape of the lunar disc, I see that I am manifested in the shape of the lunar disc too.” All the tathāgatas then told him: “you have already arisen the mind of Samantabhadra of all the tathāgatas. [In order to] render it as firm as a *vajra*, and to preclude in this arising mind of Samantabhadra of all the tathāgatas, contemplate the shape of a *vajra* on the lunar disc in your mind by this true words:

***Om tiṣṭhita vajra (Om, stand, O vajra)***”

Then the bodhisattva replied: “O World-honored Tathāgatas! I see a *vajra* on the lunar disc.” All the tathāgatas addressed him together, saying: “make firm the *vajra* of the mind of Samantabhadra of all the tathāgatas by this true words:

***Om vajrātmaṅgalaṃ (Om, I am of the nature of a vajra)***”

Then, all the *vajra* realms of the body, speech, and mind of all the tathāgatas that pervade the entire realm of empty space, through the empowerment of all the tathāgatas, all entered the Sattvavajra. Then all the tathāgatas called this “Vajradhātu” by the name of vajra and consecrated Sarvārthasiddhi Bodhisattva Mahāsattva in the Vajradhātu. Then the Vajradhātu Bodhisattva Mahāsattva said to all the tathāgatas: “O World-honored Tathāgatas! I see all the tathāgatas as my own body.” Then all the tathāgatas told him again: “therefore, Mahāsattva, all

sattvavajras are complete with the accomplishments of all forms. Discern your own body in the form of a buddha, reciting this true words of naturally accomplishment at will:

***Om yathā sarvatathāgatās tathāham (Om, as are all the tathāgatās, thus am I)***

Having said this, the Vajradhātu Bodhisattva Mahāsattva immediately realized himself as a tathāgata. Having paid homage to all the tathāgatās, he said: “my sole wish is that World-honored Tathāgatās may empower me so as to make firm this bodhi that is immediately realized.” When he finished saying this, all the tathāgatās entered into the Sattvavajra of the Tathāgata Vajradhātu. At that time, the World-honored Vajradhātu Tathāgata, in the span of a single instant, immediately realized and perfected awaken to the knowledge of the equality of all the tathāgatās. Entering into the *samaya* of the knowledge of the equality of all the tathāgatās, he realized the natural purity of the knowledge of the equality of all the tathāgatās. Then he became a tathāgata, worthy of offerings, perfectly enlightened, a store of luminous knowledge of the natural purity of the knowledge of the equality of all the tathāgatās. At that time, all the tathāgatās came forth again from the Sattvavajra of all the tathāgatās, consecrated [him] with the *abhiṣeka* of great *maṇi*-gem of Ākāśagarbha, generated [in him] the dharma-knowledge of Avalokitesvara, and established [in him] the *viśvakarman* of all the tathāgatās. Then they went to a pavilion topped with vajras and *maṇi*-gem on the top of Mount *Sumeru*. Having arrived there, the Vajradhātu Tathāgata, empowered by all the tathāgatās, was established facing in all directions on the lion-throne of all the tathāgatās. Then Akṣobhya Tathāgata, Ratnasambhava Tathāgata, Lokiteśvara Tathāgata, Amoghasiddhi Tathāgata, and all the tathāgatās. Through the empowerment of all the tathāgatās in his own body, and through Bhagavat Śākyamuni Tathāgata’s thorough comprehension of universal equality, sat in the four directions observing the equality of all quarters.

時一切義成就菩薩摩訶薩，由一切如來警覺，即從阿娑頗娜伽三摩地起，禮一切如來。白言：“世尊如來！教示我云何修行？云何是真實？”如是說已，一切如來異口同音，告彼菩薩言：“善男子，當住觀察自三摩地，以自性成就真言，自恣而誦：唵 質 多 鉢囉 底 微騰迦 嚕弭。”

時菩薩白一切如來言：“世尊如來！我遍知己，我見自心形如月輪。”一切如來咸告言：“善男子。心自性光明，猶如遍修功用，隨作隨獲。亦如素衣染色，隨染隨成。”時一切如來，為令自性光明心智豐盛故，復勅彼菩薩言：“唵 菩提質多 畝怛波娜夜弭。”以此性成就真言，令發菩提心。

時彼菩薩復從一切如來承旨。發菩提心已，作是言：“如彼月輪形，我亦如月

輪形見。”一切如來告言：“汝已發一切如來普賢心，獲得齊等金剛堅固。善住此一切如來普賢發心。於自心月輪思惟金剛形，以此真言：唵 底瑟姤 嚩日囉。”

菩薩白言：“世尊如來！我見月輪中金剛。”一切如來咸告言：“令堅固一切如來普賢心金剛，以此真言：唵 嚩日囉 怛麼 句唎。”

所有遍滿一切虛空界一切如來身口心金剛界，以一切如來加持，悉入於薩埵金剛。則一切如來，於一切義成就菩薩摩訶薩，以金剛名號金剛界，金剛界灌頂。時金剛界菩薩摩訶薩，白彼一切如來言：“世尊如來！我見一切如來為自身。”一切如來復告言：“是故摩訶薩一切薩埵金剛，具一切形成就，觀自身佛形。以此自性成就真言，隨意而誦：唵 也他 薩婆怛他誡多薩 怛他唎。”

作是言已，金剛界菩薩摩訶薩，現證自身如來。盡禮一切如來已，白言：“唯願世尊諸如來，加持於我，令此現證菩提堅固。”作是語已。一切如來入金剛界如來彼薩埵金剛中。時世尊金剛界如來，當彼剎那頃，現證等覺一切如來平等智。入一切如來平等智三昧耶，證一切如來法平等智自性清淨，則成一切如來平等自性光明智藏如來應供正遍知。時一切如來，復從一切如來薩埵金剛出。以虛空藏大摩尼寶灌頂，發生觀自在法智，安立一切如來毘首羯磨。由此往詣須彌盧頂金剛摩尼寶峯樓閣。至已，金剛界如來以一切如來加持，於一切如來師子座，一切面安立。時不動如來，寶生如來，觀自在王如來，不空成就如來，一切如來，以一切如來加持自身，婆伽梵釋迦牟尼如來一切平等善通達故，一切方平等，觀察四方而坐。<sup>497</sup>

The Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi was refrained from solitary asceticism in his seeking for the supreme perfect enlightenment by the guide of all the tathāgatas. Realizing the naturally luminous of the mind through a sequence of empowerments from all the tathāgatas, he eventually attains enlightenment. This progress is oriented by five steps of visualizing the transformation of his own body with chanting five pieces of true words, known as the Five Aspects of Perfected Awakening (Skt. *pañcākārābhisambodhi*, Ch. *wuxiang chengshen guan*

<sup>497</sup> T no. 865, 18: 207c010–208b8. My translation has consulted to Todaro, *An Annotated Translation of the Tattvasamgraha*, 165–76; Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras*, 23–25;

五相成身觀).<sup>498</sup> The first and second steps entail one to visualize a moon disc (Skt. *candra maṇḍala*) inside one's mind in order to arise the mind of enlightenment (Skt. *bodhicitta*). The third one aims to solidify the *bodhicitta* by making it as firm as vajra. The fourth one transforms one's body into a vajra. In the last step the practitioner replicates body, speech, and mind, and becomes a tathāgata.

There is a close relationship between the naturally luminous nature of mind and the *bodhicitta*. The *bodhicitta*, essentially the mind pursuing the supreme enlightenment (Skt. *anuttarā-samyak-saṃbodhi*), is the pure and faithful mind (*baijing xinxin* 白淨信心).<sup>499</sup> It is the very reason to attain buddhahood and foundation of all knowledge.<sup>500</sup> There are three stage of it: the practice and vow (*xingyuan* 行願), the ultimate truth (*shengyi* 勝義), and the *samādhi*. In the stage of *samādhi*, one reaches the self-nature of all buddhas, understands the *dharmakāya* of all buddhas, and realizes the cognition of the embodied nature of the *dharmadhātu*.<sup>501</sup> Therefore, not only, as Sharf notices, this naturally luminous

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<sup>498</sup> Sakai Shiro 酒井紫朗, “Goshō jōshin kan ni tsuite 五相成身觀について,” in Kōyasan Daigaku 高野山大学 ed., *Mitsukyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū: kōyasan kaisō senhyaku gojūnen kinen* 密教学密教史論文集: 高野山開創千五十年記念 (Kōyasan: Kōyasandaigaku, 1965), 397–409; Yūjun Endō 遠藤祐純, “Goshō jōshin kan ni tsuite 五相成身觀について,” *Mikkyōgaku* 密教学 no. 13/14 (1977): 165–80; Ian Astley, “The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Passions and Enlightenment,” in Richard K Payne ed., *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia* (Boston : Wisdom Publications, 2006), 119–36.

<sup>499</sup> *T* no. 1796, 39: 587a05.

<sup>500</sup> 菩提心者，從大悲起，為成佛正因智慧根本, *T* no. 866, 18: 249a23.

<sup>501</sup> 能達諸佛自性，悟諸佛法身，證法界體性智, *Jingang ding yuqie zhong fa aruduoluo sanmiao sanputi xin lun* 金剛頂瑜伽中發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心論 translated by Amoghavajra, *T* no. 1665, 32: 574c08.

nature of mind itself constitutes buddhahood,<sup>502</sup> but also causes and assures the enlightenment.

An *abhiṣeka* then is granted to the bodhisattva, confirming his status as a new buddha, Tathāgata Vajradhātu, and transforming him from the world of Jambudvīpa to the mount Meru. There the buddha constructs the Diamond Realm Maṇḍala 金剛界曼荼羅, by which he firstly forms the central assembly of four other buddhas. Then he further performs another *abhiṣeka* for the esoteric bodhisattvas and converts them as esoteric deities who constitute the rest of the *maṇḍala*. The *abhiṣeka* undertaken by the Buddhists in this world is basically an imitation of that performed by Tathāgata Vajradhātu, evoking the temporality of the scripture's mythopoeic origin. As a result, the *abhiṣeka* not only delivers buddhahood to the initiate, but also continuously replicates itself in the timeless process in which a radically different genealogy of Buddhist wisdom is formed.<sup>503</sup>

One of the most innovative ritual devices of the *abhiṣeka* in the *STTS* is the Diamond Realm Maṇḍala. It underlies a total of twenty-eight *maṇḍalas* prescribed in the scripture. Though the thirty-seven deities within are less numerous than those in the Maṇḍala of Garbhadhātu, their nature is more diverse. In addition to the families of buddha, bodhisattva, and vajra, there are those of

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<sup>502</sup> Robert Sharf, "Buddhist Veda and the Rise of Chan," in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, 97.

<sup>503</sup> Abe Ryūichi, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 127–41, 147.

ratna (bao 寶) and karma (jiemo 羯磨), symbolizing the beneficial practice and the successfulness, respectively.

### 4.3.3 *Abhiṣeka* in the Tang Buddhist communities and society

Vajrabodhi seemed to be among the first who had performed both kinds of *abhiṣeka* in the Tang. In his *Sequence to the Diagram and Record of Translating Scriptures in Ancient and Modern* (Xu gujin yijing tuji 續古今譯經圖記), Zhisheng 智昇 (fl. 730) records that right after arriving Chang'an, Vajrabodhi started to spread the Esoteric teaching by practicing *maṇḍala* rituals. All the rituals were performed in accordance with the Buddhist Dharma and all showed efficacy. Admiring the rituals, Yixing inquired after Vajrabodhi many times. After answering Yixing's concerns, Vajrabodhi established a *maṇḍala*, and performed *abhiṣeka* for him. Having been transmitted the rituals with great respect, Yixing requested to translate the ritual scriptures/manuals and circulate them.<sup>504</sup> Although Vajrabodhi also performed *abhiṣeka* for other Buddhist monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen,<sup>505</sup> it seems his influence of spreading Esoteric teachings was confined to the temples he once stayed.

Amoghavajra's praxis of *abhiṣeka* came to be in larger scale than his master.

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<sup>504</sup> 沙門一行欽斯祕法，數就諮詢。智一一指陳。復爲立壇灌頂，一行敬受斯法，請譯流通。T no. 2152, 55: 372b25–28. Yuanzhao 圓照 (d. 794) repeats this record in his *Catalogue of Newly Established Texts of Buddhism from the Zhengyuan Reign-Period* (*Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄), T no. 2157, 55: 875a19–21. Noticeably, the biography of Yixing in Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001) 's *Lives of Eminent Monks Composed in the Song* (*Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳) does not contain the information on how Yixing was ritually transmitted by Vajrabodhi.

<sup>505</sup> T no. 2061, 50: 711b18–9.



In the *abhiṣeka* repeatedly performed in the temples in the capital, the audience was far from being limited by the sectarians. Literati, imperial family members, even the emperor were recorded among the *abhiṣeka* initiates. In 755 CE when he arrived at Wuwei 武威, an important city at the northwestern region, he performed the *abhiṣeka* by the patron of the famous military general Geshu Han 哥舒翰 (d. 757). According to the *Account of Conduct of Amoghavajra* by Zhao Qian 趙遷, an extremely wide range of initiates, ranging from the head of the military district to those who were only in the lowest official rank, participated in the ritual. The number of the initiates reached several thousands.<sup>506</sup>

As Iwasaki has remarked, Geshu Han invited Amoghavajra primarily in order to seek for blessings (*qingfu* 請福) for the frontier region. Amoghavajra's activities there must then respond to this motivation. In a larger context of his Buddhist practice in the Tang, he often associated the notion of blessing with that of merit.<sup>507</sup> As highly praxis-oriented concept, merit denotes the practitioner's cultivation of good deeds in hope of being rewarded. To accumulate merit, Chinese Buddhists often engaged in copying Buddhist scripture, establishing temples, ornamenting Buddhist complex, and worshiping monk and nuns.<sup>508</sup> The

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<sup>506</sup> *Da Tang gu dade zeng sikong da bianzheng guangzhi bukong sanzang xingzhuang* 大唐故大德贈司空大辨正廣智不空三藏行狀, *T* no. 2056, 50: 293b2–7

<sup>507</sup> Iwasaki Hideo, “Fukū sanzō no mikkyō senpu ni okeru Osamu kudoku no yakuwari to sono igi: uta no fukū sanzō shōhei kara Chōan ni okeru mikkyō senpu no tenkai to sono tokushitsu,” 不空三藏の密教宣布における修功德の役割とその意義: 哥舒翰の不空三藏招聘から長安における密教宣布の展開とその特質 in *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū* 密教学研究 44 (2012–2013): 37.

<sup>508</sup> Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, *Chūgoku chūsei bukkyōshi ronkō* 中国中世仏教史論攷

practitioners of Esoteric Buddhism were no exception with regard to these traditional practices. However, they might need to explain their innovated ritual techniques, including *abhiṣeka*, to the Chinese society.

The very initial effort like this was made by Amoghavajra. In the petition submitted to Emperor Suzong requesting for establishing a ritual arena of *abhiṣeka*, he describes the very nature of the ritual in full details that:

Vairocana contains a myriad of realms; the secret seal and the true words enclose all scriptures. As for measuring the its teaching, there are that of the sudden and that of the gradual. The gradual refers to the lesser vehicle of voice-hearer who ascends to the [ordination] platform and gets trained. The sudden refers to the teaching of *abhiṣeka* practiced by the great being of bodhisattva. *Abhiṣeka* is the flat path heading to the summit and the correct position of attaining buddhahood. The top means the top of head that remarks the supremacy of the greater practice. The pouring means the pouring of empowerment that manifests the protection by the mindfulness. In what way can one attain the transcendence and salvation without practicing this? Therefore I conquer my personal [needs] and diligently serve my duty, without even once halting from dawn till dark. I make commitment to study deep, not daring to be indolent and have leisure. I request that in the middle of summer and in the three whole months of abstinence,<sup>509</sup> we could perform the *abhiṣeka* in accordance with the scriptures, thereby adorning and purifying flowers to open and become enlightened, and causing them to gain awareness and return to the truth. May it be that the frontier is thereby clear and well ordered, and the longevity of emperor extends tremendously.

毘盧遮那包括萬界，密印真言吞納衆經。准其教宜有頓有漸。漸謂聲聞小乘登壇學處，頓謂菩薩大士灌頂法門。是詣極之夷途，爲入佛之正位。頂謂頭頂，表大行之尊高。灌謂灌持，明諸佛之護念。超昇出離，何莫由斯？是以剋己服勤，不捨晝夜。誓志鑽仰，豈敢怠違。冀每載夏中及三長齋月，依經建立。

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(Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha, 1975), 267–8.

<sup>509</sup> It refers to the first, fifth, and ninth lunar months, when no food should be taken after noon. This notion seems not have any Indian precedent and might be inspired by Chinese Buddhist apocrypha, see Antonino Forte and Jacques May, “Chōsai.” in Jacques May ed., *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Bouddhisme d’après les Sources Chinoises et Japonaises, Cinquième Fascicule* (Paris and Tokyo: Eastern Buddhist Society), 392a–407b.

嚴淨花以開覺，使有識而歸真。庶邊境肅淨，聖躬萬壽。<sup>510</sup>

This remarkable passage shows on how a great *ācārya* explains his ritual theory of *abhiṣeka* and elaborates his plan on how to undertake it to an explicit audience. Resonating Yixing's statement about the superiority of Esoteric Buddhism over the others, Amoghavajra too asserts the all-inclusiveness of Buddha Vairocana and the paramountcy of *mantric* techniques. While the followers of the lesser vehicle, initiated on the ordination platform, can attain the enlightenment by being gradually trained, the practitioner of this buddhism attains transcendence and salvation through *abhiṣeka*. The significance of *abhiṣeka*, as he later states in the petition to Emperor Daizong, cannot be overstated, for it is the master of all practices and the lord of esoteric enlightenment 萬行之宗密證之主。<sup>511</sup>

Unlike the doctrinal elaboration we have discussed in the *MHV* and the *STTS*, Amoghavajra here explains *abhiṣeka* in a plain and straightforward manner for his Chinese audience. Merely focusing on the Chinese translation rendering *abhiṣeka*, he claims that *ding*, or top of head, remarks the bodhisattva practice whereas *guan*, as the action of pouring water, makes evident the protection of buddhas. As Iwasaki has remarked, the term *guanchi* has no precedent usage in

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<sup>510</sup> *Daizong chao zeng sikong dabiansheng guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozi ji* 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集, T no. 2120, 52: 830a15–23.

<sup>511</sup> T no. 2120, 52: 836b19.

either Chinese indigenous literature or Chinese Buddhism.<sup>512</sup> Most likely invented by Amoghavajra himself, *guanchi* explains simply yet effectively the logic of *abhiṣeka*: the method of great vehicle that brings the empowerment of buddhas is surely the best way to the enlightenment.

Likewise, Chinese Buddhists were not unfamiliar with the ritual time that Amoghavajra suggests. The three whole months of abstinence are the time when the four deva-kings, on tour of heaven, inspect the human world. In the first half of these months, the practice of the eightfold observance (baguanzhai 八關齋) was recommended.<sup>513</sup> Several *dhāraṇī* scriptures translated in the early Tang also suggest that the three months are the best time for transmitting or performing *dhāraṇī*.<sup>514</sup> In the Tang society, strict prohibition of the butchering of animals was exerted in these three months. It was also the time when the Tang Buddhist frequently practiced a variety of activities for the secular, such as holding lectures in the temples for explaining doctrines (sujiang 俗講) and feast gathering.<sup>515</sup> Moreover, in the ritual of reciting the *Scripture of Benevolent King* that he plans

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<sup>512</sup> Iwasaki Hiteo 岩崎日出男, “Tōdai no kanjō,” 唐代の灌頂 in Masahide Mori 森雅秀 ed., *Ajia no Kanjō Girei : Sono Seiritsu to Denpa* アジアの灌頂儀礼: その成立と伝播 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2014), 160–2.

<sup>513</sup> Michihata Ryōshū 道端良秀, “Chūgoku bukkyō ni okeru zaikē bosatsu to hachi kan-sai,” 中国仏教における在家菩薩と八關齋 in Okuda Jiō Sensei Kiju Kinen Ronbunshū Kankōkai ed., *Bukkyō shisō ronshū : okuda jiō sensei kiju kinen* 仏教思想論集: 奥田慈応先生喜寿記念 (Kyōto : Heirakuji-Shoten, 1976), 651–62.

<sup>514</sup> *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空罽索神變真言經, T no. 1092, 20: 235a15–6; *Qianshou qianyan guanshiyin pusamu tuoluoni shen jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩姥陀羅尼身經, T no. 1058, 20: 98a20–1. Both were translated by Bodhiruci 菩提流支 (?–727).

<sup>515</sup> Liu Shu-fen 劉淑芬, *Zhonggu de Fojiao yu shehui* 中古的佛教與社會 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 83–9.

to undertake for the state, Amoghavajra also suggests to apply the three months as the temporal apparatus. This may indicate the use of the three months as ritual time did not only follow the tradition of Chinese Buddhism, but also become significant in the Buddhist rituals particularly for the state.<sup>516</sup>

Amoghavajra eventually associates the ritual efficacy of the *abhiṣeka* with the worldly advantages. This ritual rationale may be grounded in the newly translated *Guhyatantra* (Ch. Ruisiye jing 蕤呬耶經, also known as Yuxiye jing 玉呬耶經 or Quxitandaluo 瞿醯壇怛囉) translated by Amoghavajra himself. It claims that the *abhiṣeka* bears four functions: removing obstacles, attainment, improving one's condition, and attaining the state of *ācārya*.<sup>517</sup> These functions largely share commonality with that of other Esoteric rites, i.e., they were considered as the standard outcomes of all the rituals employed by Esoteric techniques.<sup>518</sup> Probably because of this worldly benefit, Amoghavajra eventually attained the imperial support. In his petition submitted to the throne, Li Yuancong 李元琮, a lay disciple of Amoghavajra who undertook *abhiṣeka* by the *ācārya* at

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<sup>516</sup> Iwasaki Hideo, “Fukū sanzō to fugen bosatsu gyōgan san,” 不空三藏と普賢菩薩行願讚, in Kamata Shigeo hakase koki kinen kai 鎌田茂雄博士古稀記念会 ed., *Kegongaku ronshū* 華嚴學論集 (Tōkyō: Daizō Shuppan, 1997), 374–5.

<sup>517</sup> T no. 897, 19:772a6–8; Iwasaki, “Tōdai no kanjō,” 161. The ritual methods containing the efficacies exact like this can be found in the prescription of *homa* that are elaborated in the *Subhāhu-paripṛcchā*

(Supohu tongzi jing 蘇婆呼童子經), including *sāntika* (shandi jiafa 扇底迦法) for pacification, *pauṣṭika* (busezhi jiafa 補瑟微迦法) for prosperity, and *abhiṣāraka* (apizhelu jiafa 阿毘遮嚕迦法) for subjugation. Each method brings corresponding accomplishment, or *siddhi* (Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*, 181–82, 183–84, 185–89).

<sup>518</sup> Goble, *Chinese Esoteric Buddhism*, 127.

Wuwei, reiterates the request for establishing the ritual arena of *abhiṣeka*. He promises the emperor that by means of its power of merit, scores of heinous would be extinguished and the emperor's longevity would increase without limit.<sup>519</sup> Obviously, the major heinous that the state encountered was brought by the An Lushan rebellion.<sup>520</sup> With the agreement of the emperor, the ritual arena was established at the Daxingshansi.

Due to the close interaction with the Tang court, Amoghavajra was eventually vested with the title the State Preceptor of Abhiṣeka (guanding guoshi 灌頂國師). His disciples came from an extremely wide spectrum of social strata, ranging from eminent Buddhist monks, court ministers, and local governors to merchants, peasants, and other commoners.<sup>521</sup> The social significance of Esoteric Buddhism led to construct the ritual arena for *abhiṣeka* not only in the important temples at the capital, but also in the inner palace.<sup>522</sup>

Institutional support emerged along with the wide spread of Esoteric practices. Major institutional centers for Esoteric Buddhism, including Daxingshansi 大興善寺 (the Grand Temple of Exalted Excellence) and Qinglongsi 青龍寺 (the Temple of Azure Dragon), both in Chang'an, and Jin'gesi 金閣寺 (the Temple

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<sup>519</sup> T no. 2120, 52: 829b23–29.

<sup>520</sup> Chou, *Trantric Buddhism*, 294–95; Charles Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 141–42

<sup>521</sup> T no. 2056, 50: 294b17–9.

<sup>522</sup> As for the history and functions of this important institution, see Jinhua Chen, “Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 32 (2004): 101–73.

of Golden Pavilion) on Mt. Wutai 五台, were the most significant. Esoteric masters established affiliations with these temples where the permanent ritual arena for *abhiṣeka*, known as ritual arena of *abhiṣeka* (guanding daochang 灌頂道場) or *abhiṣeka* platform (guanding tan 灌頂壇), was built. The early and famous ones were in the Cloister of the Eastern Pagoda (Dongtayuan 東塔院) at Qinglongsi, the Translation Cloister (Fanjingyuan 翻經院) and Mañjuśrī Pavilion (Dasheng Wenshugue 大聖文殊閣) at Daxingshansi.<sup>523</sup>

The most important palace chapel (*neidaochang* 內道場) for *abhiṣeka* located at the Basilica of Receiving the Luminous (Chengming dian 承明殿) in the Grand Luminous Palace (Daming gong 大明宮). As early as the late 7th century, the Emperor Ruizong received the precept of bodhisattva there. Later in the period of Amoghavajra, it functioned the place where Esoteric Buddhist rituals were practiced and new Esoteric scriptures were translated.<sup>524</sup> Buddhists selected from different monasteries, who were versed in Esoteric techniques, served at the palace chapels. They were mostly likely the ritual specialists

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<sup>523</sup> Jinhua Chen, *Crossfire: Shingon-Tendai Strife as Seen in Two Twelfth-century Polemics* (Tokyo : International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, 2010), 167–208; Idem, “Esoteric Buddhism and Monastic Institutions,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 286–93.

<sup>524</sup> Iwasaki Hideo, “Fukū no jidai no uchi dōjō ni tsuite tokuni Daisō no jidai no uchi dōjō ni aterareta kyūchū shoden no kōsatsu o chūshin to shite” 不空の時代の内道場について—特に代宗の時代の内道場に充てられた宮中諸殿の考察を中心として, in *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 高野山大学密教文化研究所紀要 13. (2000–2002): 65–77. According to Iwasaki, the other important palace chapels for Esoteric Buddhism, each functioning distinctively, include the Basilica of Longevity (Changsheng dian 長生殿), the Basilica of Receiving the Gallant (Yanying dian 延英殿), the Basilica of Containing the Radiant (Hanhui dian 含暉殿), and the Southern Peach Garden (Nan taoyuan 南桃園).

performing *abhiṣeka*. The institutional installation of permanent ritual arena for *abhiṣeka* in the palace thus not only strengthened the political and religious power of Esoteric Buddhism, but also, by accommodating ritual specialists, facilitated the communication of ritual techniques for *abhiṣeka* and transformed it to fit Chinese culture.

Within Chinese Buddhist community, *abhiṣeka* was considered as the sole authoritative means to construct the genealogy of Yoga. Grounded in the *STTS* and the teachings of Vajrabodhi, the disciples of Amoghavajra initially claimed the lineage of a continuous transmission of *mantras* and *mudrās* of the Esoteric and Yogic King of the Adamantine Pinnacle 金剛頂瑜伽祕密教王 that encompasses Mahāvairocana, Vajrasattva, Nāgārjuna, Nāgabodhi, and Vajrabodhi.<sup>525</sup> Similarly, in the *Preface and Inscription of the Stele of Śubhākarasiṃha* (*Shanwuwei sanzang heshang beiming bing xu* 善無畏三藏和尚碑銘并序), Li Hua 李華 (716–766), a lay disciple of the master and a relatively low-ranking official, pays attention to the lineage constructed by *abhiṣeka*. It is recorded that Śubhākarasiṃha learnt from Dharmarakṣa in the Nālandā Temple after he had become a monk. From Dharmarakṣa, he was transmitted with the teaching of *dhāraṇī*, received countless *mudrās*, and took *abhiṣeka*.<sup>526</sup> Although Amoghavajra privileged the teaching of the *STTS*, it was not exclusive in the

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<sup>525</sup> Charles Orzech, “The ‘Great Teaching of Yoga’: The Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism,” in *Journal of Chinese Religion* 34 (2006): 29–78.

<sup>526</sup> *T* no. 2055, 50: 290c19–21.



discourses on the lineage. The tradition of the *MVS* was, though perhaps of lesser importance than that of the *STTS*, incorporated within the lineage, thereby the mixing elements of the both traditions became its characteristic ever since the ninth century.

The transmission of advanced *mantric* techniques derived from the *STTS* and the *MVS* had become the normative discourse on the Esoteric Buddhist lineage. A new genre of writings, centered on the lineage of *ācāryas* who transmit the two sets of great dharma (liangbu dafa 兩部大法), arose in Chinese Buddhist community. The *Record of the Successive Dharma Transmissions of the Great Rituals of the Two Divisions* (T. 2081 *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* 兩部大法相承師資付法記) by Haiyun 海雲 (fl. 822–874) delineates the continuous lineage that commences from Buddha Vairocana to the contemporary eminent *ācāryas* in the Tang. The similar content can be found in the *Masters and Disciples in the Succession of Inheritance of the Two Realms of the Vajra and the Womb* (*Jintai liangjie shizi xiangcheng* 金胎兩界師資相承), a lineage chart sets out the transmission of the two, and *The Blood Line of the Two Realms of the Garbha and the Vajra* (*Taijin liangjie xiemai* 胎金兩界血脈) compiled by Zaoxuan 造玄 (?–865+).<sup>527</sup> All the lineages described in these texts go beyond spatial and temporal boundaries. They trace their origin to Mahāvairocana,

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<sup>527</sup> In Japanese Shigon tradition, the *Susidhikara Sūtra* (T. 893 *Suxidi jieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯囉經) is placed as significant as the two *maṇḍalas* and becomes one of the Three Great Rituals, see Misaki Ryōshū 三崎良周, *Taimitsu no kenkyū* 台密の研究 (Tōkyō: Sōbunsha, 1988), 483–605.

include the legendary vajrasattva, embed Indian patriarchy such as Nāgārjuna, and involve the monks from Silla and Japan. Noticeably, the lineages also contains Buddhist laymen, such as Zhao Mei 趙梅<sup>528</sup>, Mao Xuan 茂炫, and Wu Yin 吳殷.<sup>529</sup>

These genealogical statements had generated several important impacts on Chinese Buddhist community. The clear place within a lineage means religious authority to certain figures and to the temple that they affiliated, which in return became a crucial identity in the Buddhist community. In the letters sent to Zhihuilun 智慧輪 (Prajñacakra ? - 875/876), a great *ācārya* in the late Tang, the Japanese Esoteric master Enchin 円珍 (814–891), who is well informed on his lineage, asks him the place of another Chinese *ācārya* in the lineage who is partly pertains to his master’s master. In another letter, he also addresses the question on the background of Wencan 文璨, a Chinese master who allegedly initiated the Japanese monk Jogyo 常曉 (?-867) into Esoteric Buddhism in 839.<sup>530</sup> Moreover, it helped to propagate Esoteric Buddhism, resonating or even inspiring the similar genealogical writings by other Buddhist traditions.<sup>531</sup> It further reaffirms the roles

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<sup>528</sup> A variant name in Zaoxuan’s record is Zhao Zheng 趙政 in *Taijin liangjie xiemai*, (*Wan*) *xu zangjing* (卍)續藏經 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gonesi, 1968–1970; hereafter X.), no. 1074, 59: 214a35.

<sup>529</sup> X no. 1074, 59: 213a23–7.

<sup>530</sup> “Jō Chierin sanzō sho,” *Yohō hennen zasshū* 餘芳編年雜集, in *Chishō daishi zenshū* 智證大師全集 3vols (Ōtsu: Onjōji Jimusho, 1918), 3: 1337.

<sup>531</sup> Tanaka Ryōshō 田中良昭, “Relations Between the Buddhist Sects in the T’ang Dynasty through the Ms. P.3913.” *Journal Asiatique* 269 (1981): 163–69; idem, *Tonkō zenshu bunken no kenkyū* 敦煌禪宗文獻の研究 (Tokyo: Daito shuppansha, 1983).

played by lay disciple. Not only did they, by applying their impressive literary skills, leave the records of the masters' lives, but also facilitated the diffusion of various Esoteric Buddhist practices in Tang society by the political and cultural power they held.

However, it would be too far if we read the writings of the lineage on its surface value, assuming that it exclusively represents the figures who had generated most fundamental impact on spreading the teachings of Esoteric Buddhism by means of *abhiṣeka*, or that the practices transmitted by these figures were superior than the others'.<sup>532</sup> While Amoghavajra selected six disciples who had been fully trained in Esoteric Buddhist practices: Han'guang 含光, Hyech'o 慧超, Yuanjiao 元皎, Juechao 覺超, Huilang 慧朗 (?–781), and Huiguo 慧果/惠果 (746–806), only Huilang succeeded his role as the Preceptor of Abhiṣeka and the abbot of the Daxingshansi.<sup>533</sup> However, the one among his disciples who had generated most prominent impact on Chinese Esoteric Buddhism came to Huiguo. He not only successfully monitored the ritual arena of *abhiṣeka* at Qinglongsi, but also trained a larger number of disciples who promoted the

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<sup>532</sup> As has observed by John McRae, while 90 percent of Buddhist temples in the Song claimed to be affiliated to the lineages of Chan, the range of practices within tended to be more similar with than different from those in other temples of Tiantai or Vinaya lineages, see his *Seeing through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 115–16.

<sup>533</sup> As for the discussion on the disciples of Amoghavajra, see Lü Jianfu 呂建福, *Zhongguo mijiao shi* 中國密教史 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), 288–310; Iwasaki Hideo, “Eran shichiso no mondai to Fukū kyōdan no dōsei ni tsuite Fukū nyūjaku-go no deshī-tachi no kōdō o chūshin to shite,” 慧朗七祖の問題と不空教団の動静について—不空入寂後の弟子達の行動を中心として in *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū* 29 (1997): 147–74.

transmission of Esoteric Buddhist practices in East Asia. For instance, the eminent Japanese monk Kūkai learned with Huiguo, and some other Japanese pilgrims had undertaken *abhiṣeka* from his descendants. Needless to say, there must exist other important Esoteric masters whose name had not been recorded on the extant writings of lineages.

The flourishing Esoteric Buddhism trained a growing numbers of Esoteric masters as ritual specialists. The flowing of these monks among the temples further brought the expansion Esoteric Buddhist institutions. As observed by Haiyun, annual practice of *abhiṣeka* was summoned by the state to perform. In addition to traditional Esoteric institutional centers, institutions with Esoteric presence at the capital, such as Baoshousi 保壽寺 (Temple of Maintaining Longevity), Xingtangsi 興唐寺 (Temple of Prosperous Tang), Chongfusi 崇福寺 (Temple of Worship Fortune), and Liquansi 醴泉寺 (Temple of Sweet Spring)<sup>534</sup>, arose as the important ritual place of *abhiṣeka*.<sup>535</sup> According to Ennin, the ad hoc structure set up for *abhiṣeka* at Daxingtangsi lasted from 15<sup>th</sup> day of the second

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<sup>534</sup> Read *li* 醴 instead of *nong* 醜 in the original text.

<sup>535</sup> *T* no. 2081, 51: 785b23–6. Baoshousi (alt. 寶壽) was initially established by Gao Lishi 高力士 at Laiting 來庭 quarter in 748. Xingtangsi was at Daning 大寧 quarter. There were three temples titled Chongfusi in Chang’an, the one was at Dunyi 敦義 quarter, abandoned in 743; the second was at Xiuxiang 休祥 quarter; and the third was at Yining 義寧 quarter, changing from its original title of Huadusi in 852. The Esoteric Buddhist institution that Haiyun mentions here must be the second one since Esoteric presence can be found there far prior to 852, for instance, Amoghavajra mentions in his will that one of his disciple transmitted with the *abhiṣeka* of Five Families was Huiliang of Chongfusi (*T* no. 2120, 52:844a29–b2). Liquan si was at Liquan 醴泉 quarter. As Chen had noticed, Baoshousi and Liquansi bore institutional importance in Esoteric Buddhism and were second only to Daxingshansi and Qinglongsi, *Crossfire*, 181–7.

month to the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the fourth month in 841, and the one at Translation Cloister (Fanjingyuan 翻經院) of Daxingshansi lasted from the 1st day to the 23th day of the fourth month.<sup>536</sup> We can locate Esoteric masters within these temples. Tianzhu 天竺, a disciple of Huilang, served at Chongfusi. Two of Amoghavajra's grand disciples, Conghe 從賀 and Wenyuan 文苑, learned with Yicao 義操 (?–830) and were residents at Liqiansi.<sup>537</sup> Faquan 法全 (fl. 800–870), another disciple of Yicao, transmitted Esoteric teachings to Zifu 自怱 of Xingtangsi. The flowing of ritual specialists also brought Esoteric practices from the capital to other regions in China. Huiying's disciple Wencan 文璨, for instance, transmitted Esoteric teachings at Qilingsi 棲靈寺 (the Temple of Residing Spirits) in Yangzhou (modern Yangzhou city).<sup>538</sup> Weishang 惟上 (alt. Weiming 惟明) from Chengdu (modern Chengdu city) and Bianhong 辨弘 from Bianzhou (modern Kaifeng city) were distinguished students of Huiguo.<sup>539</sup> As these esoteric transmissions grew, the practice of *abhiṣeka* must continue through the ninth century.

To conclude the section, the doctrinal innovation and social impact constitute the core feature of the *abhiṣeka* in the Tang. The fundamental Esoteric scriptures in the Tang, both the *MHV* and the *STTS*, provide new doctrine that Esoteric

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<sup>536</sup> Ono, Nittō guhō junrei kōki no kenkyū, 3: 159.

<sup>537</sup> T no. 2081, 51: 784b07.

<sup>538</sup> Lü Jianfu 呂建福, *Zhongguo mijiao shi* 中國密教史 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), 312.

<sup>539</sup> X no. 1073, 59: 213a23.

teaching is the better path toward buddhahood. The *MHV* emphasizes on the notion of universality. By associating the one's body, speech, and mind with the three esotericas of Vairocana, one is able to identify with the Buddha. The *STTS* elaborates that by means of the practice of Five Aspects of Perfected Awakening, one arises the naturally luminous nature of mind that constitutes, causes, and assures the buddhahood. In both cases, *abhiṣeka* is the only authoritative access to the path of enlightenment. The Tang Esoteric *ācāryas* accommodated the practice of *abhiṣeka* to Chinese culture by reinterpreting its meaning. Amoghavajra initially claimed the ritual caused fortune and later associated it with the notion of merit. This stratagem helped Esoteric Buddhism with wide and substantial social influence, particularly the support from the state and imperial house. Within Buddhist community the writings of lineage centered on the transmission of *abhiṣeka* flourished, further facilitating the spread of Esoteric Buddhism from the center to the periphery.

#### **4.4 The Synthesis of Esoteric Traditions in a Late Tang *Guanding* Manual**

In the following section I would examine a manuscript preserved in Japan that records an *abhiṣeka* performance in 839 by the Japanese pilgrim Engyō 円行 (799–852), known as *Engyō's Entering into the Platform Record by Ācārya Yizhen of the Cloister of East Pagoda (Tōtōin ichin ajari kiroku Engyō nyūdan 東塔院義真阿闍梨記録円行入壇, hereafter *Engyō nyūdan*)*. The analysis of its

content and the translation of the ritual manual provide a case study about how Chinese Esoteric Buddhists actually practiced *abhiṣeka* by drawing and synthesizing sources from different scriptural traditions in the middle 9th century.

#### 4.4.1 The Textual Background of the *Engyō nyūdan*

Like the other monks who traveled to China to learn Buddhist knowledge and ritual, Engyō had been a well-trained monk before his brief trip to China. After initially receiving the full precept from the preceptor Saiei 歳榮 at Gangōji 元興寺, he became a disciple of Kūkai, leaning the Esoteric teachings centered on the *MHV* and the *STTS*. Later he undertook an *abhiṣeka* from Gōrin 杲隣 (767–?), another disciple of Kūkai.<sup>540</sup> As a member of the voyage led by the official embassy (kentōshi 遣唐使) Fujiwara no Tsunetsugu 藤原常嗣, Engyō arrived in Chang’an on the last month of the year 839 C.E..<sup>541</sup> In his petition requesting for sending Engyō to China, Jichie 実恵 (786?–847), a leader of Shigon school, explains that, after the death of Kūkai in 835, it became difficult for the *saṃgha* to understand the doctrines of the scriptures left by him and the monks had no authority to solve doctrinal questions 所遺經法及所疑滯無由開求. Precisely because of this motivation, Engyō, as mature Esoteric Buddhist, was assigned as

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<sup>540</sup> For the Engyō’s early life, I mainly consult the *Nittō gokaden* 入唐五家伝, an anonymous work composed in Japan prior to the Enbun 延文 (1356–1361) reign period, Satō Nagato 佐藤長門, *Kentōshi to nittōsō no kenkyū tsuketari Kōtei Nittō gokaden* 遣唐使と入唐僧の研究附校訂「入唐五家伝」 (Tōkyō: Koshi Shoin, 2015).

<sup>541</sup> As for these Buddhist monks coming to Tang China with the official embassies, see Charlotte von Verschuer, *Les relations officielles du Japon avec la Chine aux viiie et ixie siècles* (Geneva and Paris: Libraire Droz, 1985); Robert Borgen, “The Japanese Mission to China, 801–806,” *Monumenta Nipponica* no.37 (1982): 1–28.

the monk of requesting for benefactor (shōyakuō 請益僧), primarily seeking for knowledge to resolve doubt(s) 決疑. This task differed from the monk of studying aboard (ryugakuō 留學僧) who were mostly novices.<sup>542</sup> Engyō then stayed at Qinglongsi, where he received teachings from the eminent monk Yizhen 義真 (?–874+), a disciple of Huiguo and the resident abbot of Dongtayuan between 836 and 846.<sup>543</sup> In the 2nd day of the intercalary first month, Yizhen performed the *abhiṣeka* of transmission to him. In the preface of catalogue compiled Engyō himself about the scriptures and ritual items he brought from China to Japan, Engyō records this event in detail that:

On the thirteenth day of the first month of yiwei year, I, per the imperial decree, resided at the Temple of Azure Dragon. Fortunately I met Upadhyāya Yizhen, the Master of Teaching by *abhiṣeka*, and had him as my teacher. His great authoritative power is the fellow and disciple of Upadhyāya Yicao, a disciple of *ācārya* Huiguo. He is perceptive and knowledgeable of the three teachings, and comprehensively understands the Five Divisions. He is a ridgepole and roofbeam of the dharma, with whom the state takes refuge. Fortunately relying on the grand grace of our sage dynasty, as well as the deep benevolence of my masters, I had understood the great ritual of two realms, i.e., *garbhadhātu* and *vajradhātu*, and enlightened with the Esoteric law of deities. On the second day of the intercalary first month, I was transmitted with the rank of *ācārya* by *abhiṣeka*. The Commissioner of Merit for the Left Roadway, the Supervisor of Monk, the Great Virtues serving at Palace Chapel, and the disciples ordained with *vajra* [titles] all gathered at the ritual arena and joined in celebration.

歲次己未正月十三日，依奏奉勅住青龍寺。幸遇彼寺灌頂教主法號義真和尚，以爲師主。其大威德，則惠果阿闍梨弟子同門義操和尚付法之弟子也。明閑三

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<sup>542</sup> “Jichie daitoku kō engyō nittō hyō 実惠大德請円行入唐表,” in Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三 ed., *Heian Ibun* 平安遺文 (Tōkyō : Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1998), 8: 3317. Takada Jun 高田淳, “kokugaku-in daigaku tosho-kan-zō nittō sō en gyō kankei bunsho no shōkai: fu engyō shōden,” 國學院大學図書館蔵入唐僧円行関係文書の紹介: 付円行小伝 in *kokugakuin daigaku toshokan kiyō* 國學院大學図書館紀要 no. 6 (1994): 33.

<sup>543</sup> As for the bibliographical introduction of Yizhen, see Chen, *Crossfire*, 128–30.



教，妙通五部。法之棟梁，國之所歸。圓行幸賴聖朝之鴻恩，師主之深慈，決疑兩部之大法，開悟諸尊之密法。閏正月二日，蒙授阿闍梨位灌頂也。左街功德使，并僧錄和尚，供奉大德，金剛門徒，悉集道場，共致隨喜。<sup>544</sup>

This account does not only clarify the context of the *abhiṣeka* he took, but also explains what this ritual means to him. By the virtue of his Japanese masters and the benevolence of the dynasty, he had been well-trained Esoteric ritual specialist before being dispatched to China.<sup>545</sup> Nevertheless, he was endowed with the title of *ācārya* by an *abhiṣeka*. As the result, he was able to join in the one of the most distinguished lineage of Esoteric Buddhism. Through Yizhen to Yicao, this lineage overlaps with his Japanese lineage at Huiguo, the teacher of his master Kūkai. The high-rank officials and eminent monks, witnessing this event, further attested the authority of Engyō's new religious identity.

The manuscript *Engyō nyūdan* records the procedure of the *abhiṣeka* that Engyō undertook in China. The earliest extant copy of the manuscript is preserved at Kanchiin 觀智院 of Tōji 東寺 in Kyoto, recorded by Genpō 賢寶 (1333–1398). The copy consists of three parts: a ritual process of *abhiṣeka*, a list of true words, and a lineage of seven Esoteric masters from Mahāvairocana to Huiguo (*Fuhōden* 譜法傳). The colophon in the end of the manuscript ascribes Yizhen as the agent of the original manuscript that: “On third day of the intercalary first

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<sup>544</sup> *Reiganji oshō shōraishōrai hōmonhōmon dōgu tō mokuroku* 靈巖寺和尚請來法門道具等目錄 *T* no. 2164, 55: 1071c14–6.

<sup>545</sup> Takami Hiroyasu 高見寛恭 has pointed out the fact that Engyō had taken *abhiṣeka* from his Japanese masters, see his “入唐八家の密教相承について (二),” *Mikkyō Bunka* no. 126 (1979): 12–3.

month in the fourth year of Kaicheng reign period (839 CE), Yizhen, the *ācārya* of the Cloister of East Pagoda in the Temple of Azure Dragon recorded this. This equals the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Jōwa reign period in Japan. 開成四年閏正月三日，青龍寺東塔院僧義真錄記之。準日本國承和六年也。” At the end of the manuscript, Genpō confirms this origin, documenting that this copy preserved at Kanchiin was duplicated from a more antique version from Kajūji 勸修寺.

Its textual authenticity, however, needs further demonstration. There is lacking of its trace in Chinese category or in the Dunhuang documents. Neither is it listed in the inventories of Engyō and other Japanese pilgrims. On the other hand, the internal ritual logic, as well as the ritual actions, does not show any fundamental influence of Japanese provenance. Takeuchi has provided a convincing analysis on the textual source of the protocol, demonstrating that the ritual actions within are almost exclusively drawn from the *MHV* and the *STTS*. This feature sharply contrasts with its counterparts practiced in the early and middle Heian Japan. For instance, the entire procedure clearly differs and no *mantra* is to be recited in the protocol that records Jichie's transferring the rank of *ācārya* to Shinshō 真紹 (797–873) in 843. The *abhiṣeka* that Emperor Kanpyō 寬平 (i.e., Emperor Uda 宇多, r. 889–897) undertook in 900 not only contained another different procedure, but also simultaneously entailed two platforms of *maṇḍala*, one for Womb Realm and one for Diamond Realm. The traditional form

of *abhiṣeka* recorded in *Engyō nyūdan* thus must bear an older origin, most plausible the one that Engyō took from Yizhen in the Tang in 839, as its title suggests.<sup>546</sup>

Moreover, the absence of *Engyō nyūdan* in the bibliographical sources may be ascribed less to textual authenticity than to textual nature. For practical usage, the circulating Esoteric ritual protocols (儀軌, Chi. *yigui*, Jap. *giki*) were not always recorded in Buddhist catalogues. The compilation of such manuals took place almost simultaneously with the new translations of Esoteric scriptures. After completing his translation of the *MHV*, Śubhākarasimha compiled a ritual protocol for presenting offerings in accordance with the innovative doctrines of the scripture. This manual, known as the *Procedure of Making Offerings in Conformity with the MHV* (Da piluzhe'na jing gongyang cidi fa 大毗盧遮那經供養次第法) had long been circulated individually before it was assimilated as the seventh fascicle of the *MHV*. The religious authority of ritual manual largely originated from the compiler and the sources it had drawn. Once attaining authority, a protocol becomes legitimate sources, ready for application as a whole or in part.<sup>547</sup> A ritual manual given from master to disciple meant more than

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<sup>546</sup> The procedure for both *abhiṣekas* is preserved in *Ono Rokujō* 小野六帖 by the Shigon monk Ningai 仁海 (951–1046), T2473\_78. 76b19–78c18. Takeuchi Kozen 武内孝善, “Tōdai mikkyō ni okeru kanjō girei 唐代密教における灌頂儀禮” in *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Esoteric Buddhist Culture* 高野山大学密教文化研究所紀要, special issue one (1999): 214–6.

<sup>547</sup> For instance, Faquan, the compiler of *Da Piluzhe'na chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang bei sheng mantuluo guang da chengjiu yigui gongyang fangbian hui* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏悲生曼荼羅廣大成就儀軌供養方便會 and *Da Piluzhe'na chengfo shenbian*

transferring concrete knowledge on ritual procedure and performance; it was the symbolic transmission of this knowledge as well as of the authority for performing the ritual. In his colophon on a manuscript of the *Protocol of the Abhiṣeka in the Great Maṇḍala of Ācārya* (*Aduli da mantuoluo guanding yigui* 阿闍梨大曼荼羅灌頂儀軌), Enchin states that:

This is the copy transmitted from the Upadhyāya of Azure Dragon [Temple] (i.e. Faquan). When I initially entered into the Womb Realm, when the Chan monk Engaku received the *abhiṣeka* of Womb Realm,<sup>548</sup> when I entered into the platform of Vajra Realm and was endowed with the rank of *ācārya*, we all followed the model of precept [recorded in this manual] in these four cases. Before I was on my way to return, the Upadhyāya specially endowed me with [the manual], bidding me farewell.

此青龍和尚傳持本。珍等初入胎藏時，圓覺禪和受胎藏灌頂時，珍入金剛界壇時，受傳教位時，前後都四遍以此戒儀受戒入壇。臨珍迴發，和尚特以分付送路。<sup>549</sup>

Enchin arrived at Chang'an and visited Faquan on 855, who conferred him one *abhiṣeka* of Womb Realm and one of Vajra Realm. Not only did Faquan give him scrolls of scriptures, icons, images, and ritual utensils, but also personally

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*jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti chuangbiao zhi putong zhenyanzang guang da chengjiu yuqie* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標幟普通真言藏廣大成就瑜伽, shares in his manuals the same series of *mantric* techniques, the introductory passages, the ritual phases of preliminary expedients, and the visualization of the sacred sanctuary with *She da yigui* and *Guang da yigui* by Shanweuwei, see Harriet Hunter, "Late Tang Handbooks for the Garbhakośa Rite." in Robert Linrothe and Henrik H. Sørensen ed., *Embodying Wisdom: Art, Text and Interpretation in the History of Esoteric Buddhism* (Copenhagen: Seminar for Buddhist Studies Publications, 2001), 14–6.

<sup>548</sup> Engaku was Japanese monk who came to China on 840. He had long lived on the Wutai mountain before he travelled to Chang'an. He met Enchin there on 855 and helped him with collecting Esoteric scriptures and icons. Enchin briefly records his life in *Chishō daishi ukeroku* 智證大師請來目錄 *T* no. 2173, 55: 1107c03–9.

<sup>549</sup> "kanjō giki hiki," *Hikishū* 批記集, *Chishō-daishi zenshū*, 3: 1285.

selected and examined these presents.<sup>550</sup> It was natural that in the same cultural and religious context, after undertaking the *abhiṣeka* under the guidance of Yizhen, Engyō received the ritual manual record by the same master. Therefore, although there is lacking of bibliographical evidence for *Engyō nyūdan*, it is far more possible to assume its Chinese than Japanese provenance, which is supported by both internal ritual logic and external social context.

Amoghavajra — Huiguo — Kūkai  
Yicao — Yizhen — Engyō

Table 16. Lineage of Engyō and His Masters

#### 4.4.2 Ritual Procedure and Overall Feature of the *Abhiṣeka*

The entire ritual procedure can be summarized into thirty-two steps as follows:

1. Enchant the fragrant water
2. Sprinkle the water to the platform
3. Enchant ritual items
4. Invite the *ācārya*
5. Request for transferring the *bodhicitta* precept
6. The *ācārya* invites the deities
7. The *ācārya* enchants the fragrant water
8. The *ācārya* drinks the initiate the water
9. The *ācārya* imparts the *bodhicitta* precept
10. The *ācārya* chants the true words of entering the *samaya*
11. The *ācārya* covers the initiate's eyes
12. The *ācārya* leads to initiate into the platform
13. The *ācārya* chants the true words and forms the *mudrā* of production of the realm of reality

<sup>550</sup> *Seiryūji guhō mokuroku* 青龍寺求法目錄, T no. 2171, 55: 1097a5–27.

14. The *ācārya* chants the true words and forms the mudrā of empowerment of vajrasattva
15. The *ācārya* chants the true words and forms the mudrā of tathāgatānkuśa
16. The *ācārya* chants the true words and the initiate throws garland into *maṇḍala*
17. The *ācārya* chants the true words, forms the mudrā of samaya and releases it upon the initiate's heart
18. The *ācārya* chants the true words to enchant garland
19. The *ācārya* chants the true words of buddha's eyes
20. The *ācārya* uncovers the initiate's eyes
21. The *ācārya* forms the *samaya mudrā* of wish-granting jewel
22. The *ācārya* presents offerings to the initiate
23. The *ācārya* consecrates the initiate
24. The *ācārya* empowers the initiate by showing him the golden stylet
25. The *ācārya* empowers the initiate by showing him the mirror
26. The *ācārya* empowers the initiate by endowing him the dharma conch
27. The *ācārya* endows the initiate with the vajra
28. The *ācārya* preaches the Gāthā of Samaya
29. The initiate makes commitment of obeying the precepts
30. The *ācārya* endows the initiate with the title of vajra
31. The *ācārya* preaches the Gāthā of Vairocana Tathāgata
32. The crowd of disciples makes commitment to transfer the merit  
(The ritual steps hereafter are referred as E. no)

Apparently the protocol does not intend to deliver a full picture of practicing *abhiṣeka*. Not only the preparation of the ritual is missed, but also temporal and spatial information is obscure. From the ritual actions prescribed here, however, it can be certain that the protocol aims to guide the performance for the core of the ritual, from the impartation of the bodhicitta precept (*putixin jie* 菩提心戒) to the

consecration. As explained in Yixing's commentary to the *MHV*, this portion takes place at night. Enchin's own experience of undertaking *abhiṣeka* testifies this. Having spent four days for preparing flowers, establishing platform, and making offerings to the deities, Faquan transferred the precept to him on *rending* 人定 (approximately 21 p.m. to 23 p.m.) on the fourth day and consecrated him on *wugeng* 五更 (approximately 3 a.m. to 5 a.m.) next day.<sup>551</sup> Considered that this *abhiṣeka* took place only sixteen years later after the one Engyō undertook, as well as that both Farun, who was Faquan's master, and Yizhen studied under the same master, it is highly likely that the *abhiṣeka* recorded in the manuscript shares the same agenda. That is, the entire procedure should take place nocturnally and primarily comprises of two portions: the impartation of the precept and the consecration.

Theologically speaking, the bodhicitta precept belongs to the Mahāyāna bodhisattva precept that orients both the lay people and the monk and nuns alike to the correct comportments that are identical with bodhisattva.<sup>552</sup> There were two systems of bodhisattva precept that particularly developed in Chinese Buddhism. The one originates from the *Brahmā's Net Sūtra*, focusing on the

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<sup>551</sup> “*Kō kōden shingon shikan ryoshu kanchō kanjō*,” *Yohō hennen zasshū*, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, 3: 1311.

<sup>552</sup> The most significant scriptures elaborating the notion of Bodhicitta precept are the *Brahmā's Net Sutra* (Fanwang jing 梵網經), the *Sutra on the Original Acts that Serve as Necklaces for the Bodhisattvas* (Pusa yingluo benye jing 菩薩瓔珞本業經), and the *Sutra on the Stage of Bodhisattvas* (Pusa dichu jing 菩薩地持經).

arousal of *bodhicitta* and the obedience of the ten brave precepts (*shi zhongjie* 十重戒). The other derives from the Yogācāra school, particularly the *Sūtra on the Spiritual States of the Bodhisattva*, emphasizing on the three clusters of pure precepts (*sanju jingjie* 三聚淨戒).<sup>553</sup> In the formative period of the precept, it developed close relationship with ritual practices such as repentance and *upavasatha* (*zhai* 齋).<sup>554</sup> In the Tang, the conferral of the bodhisattva precept became one of the normative portions in the Buddhist *zhai* participated by both the Buddhists and lay people.<sup>555</sup>

The impartation of the bodhicitta precept is themed and elaborated in several medieval Buddhist manuals, including the *Essentials of Meditation, Conferral of Precept, and Repentance by the Tripiṭaka Wuwei* (Wuwei sanzang chanyao 無畏三藏授戒懺悔及禪門要法; hereafter Chanyao), the *Superme Secret Instruction on Transferring the Bodhicitta Precept and the Stage of the Mind* (Zuishangsheng

<sup>553</sup> The ten grave precepts include 1). the prohibition of killing 殺戒; 2). the prohibition of stealing the property of others 盜戒; 3). the prohibition of the heartless pursuit of lust 婬戒; 4). the prohibition of intentional lying 妄語戒; 5). the prohibition of the sale of alcohol 酤酒戒; 6). the prohibition of speaking of the faults of others 說過戒; 7). the prohibition of praising oneself and disparaging other 自讚毀他戒; 8). the prohibition of stinginess and abuse of others 故慳加毀戒; 9). the prohibition of holding resentments and not accepting apologies 瞋不受謝戒; 10). the prohibition of the denigration of the Three Treasures 謗三寶戒. The three clusters of pure precepts include the precepts for the maintenance of restraint 攝律儀戒, the precepts for practicing all virtuous deeds 攝善法戒, and the precepts granting mercy to all sentient beings 攝衆生戒, see Satō Tatsugen 佐藤達玄, *Chūgoku bukkō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū* 中国仏教における戒律の研究 (Tōkyō : Mokujisha, 1986), 347–60.

<sup>554</sup> Funayama Tōru 船山徹, “Rikuchō jidai ni okeru bosatsukai no juyō katei: Ryū Sō, Nan Sai ki wo chūshin ni 六朝時代における菩薩戒の受容過程- 劉宋・南齊期を中心に,” *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 67 (1995): 1–135; Kuo Li-ying, *Confession et contrition dans le bouddhisme chinois du Ve au Xe siècle* (Paris: Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1994), 37–55.

<sup>555</sup> Hou Chong 侯冲, *Zhongguo Fojiao yishi yanjiu* 中國佛教儀式研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2018), 265–74.



shou putixin jie ji xindi mijue 最上乘授菩提心戒及心地秘訣), the *Rite of Transferring the Bodhicitta precept* (Shou putixin jie yi 授菩提心戒儀) by Bukong, and the *Rite of Bodhisattva Precept Conferral* (Shou pusajie yi 授菩提戒儀) by Zhanran 湛然 (711–782). The *Engyō nyūdan* adapts the process prescribed by Śubhākarasiṃha for precept-conferral. The first two texts in the above list fit this requirement. Despite that the procedures in the two texts are largely the same, only the *Chanyao* involves the portion of the invitation of master.<sup>556</sup> Since this step explicitly appears in the *Engyō nyūdan* (E. 4), it is certain that the impartation of the *bodhicitta* precept in the *abhiṣeka* here follows the instruction of the *Chanyao*.

The conferral of bodhisattva precept was one of Śubhākarasiṃha’s major activities during twenty years when he was in China.<sup>557</sup> A memorial recorded by Huijing 慧敬 about the meeting between Śubhākarasiṃha and a Chan teacher Jingxian 敬賢 (660–723) at Huishansi 會善寺 (the Temple of Congregating Goods) on the Song marchmount, *Chanyao* was probably the production of his enthusiasm for the precept conferral. The manual prescribes eleven actions to confer the three clusters of pure precepts and three additional ones to transfer

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<sup>556</sup> Tomabechi Seiichi 苦米地誠一, “Tōdai mikkyō ni okeru bodai Shinkai jukai-gi ni tsuite,” 唐代密教における菩提心戒授戒儀について in *Heianki Shingon Mikkyō no kenkyū* 平安期真言密教の研究 (Tōkyō: Nonburi, 2008), 585–86.

<sup>557</sup> Iwasaki Hideo 岩崎日出男, “Zemui sanzō no zaitōchū ni okeru katsudō ni tsuite bosatsu kai juyo no katsudō o chūshin to shite,” 善無畏三藏の在唐中における活動について—菩薩戒授與の活動を中心として in *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 no. 6 (1989): 37–52.

Esoteric teaching on meditation and *samādhi*.<sup>558</sup> The impartation of precept here plays the prerequisite role for meditation that eventually leads to the enlightenment.<sup>559</sup> This function certainly matches the similar role that the arousal of *bodhicitta* plays in the *abhiṣeka*. In the meditation in the *STTS* discussed in the last section, Vajrasattva chants the true words to arouse his *bodhicitta* just before he meditates on body transformation.

Indeed, the *bodhicitta* precept is a distinctive set of rules transferred as the prerequisite of *abhiṣeka*. Alternatively it is defined as the Precept of the Unconditioned (wuweijie 無為戒) or the Precept Engendering the Wisdom that is Unimpeded in regard to the Three Times (sanshi wuzhang'ai zhi jie 三世無障礙智戒). Unlike the moral disciplines practiced by members of the *saṃgha* that are conditioned by cause and effect and is doomed to perish with the end of its holder's life, the *bodhicitta* precept is produced unconditionally and is independent from reception and transgression. It benefits those who abide with it

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<sup>558</sup> The entire procedure is as follows: 1). arousal of the mind, 2). offerings in visualization, 3). recitation of one's name and performance of repentance, 4). three refuges, 5). arousal of *bodhicitta*, 6). questions about the seven transgressions of precept, 7). invite the Buddhas and bodhisattvas to be present as preceptors and witnesses, 8). a ritualized sermon on the *karman*, 9). completion of precept conferral, 10). practice of the four governing acts, 11). prohibition of ten grave transgression. The three clusters of pure precepts are transferred at this stage. Following this, three additional steps are given: sitting meditation, conferral of six *dhāraṇīs*, and sermon on attaining *samādhi*.

<sup>559</sup> Lin Pei-ying, "A Comparative Approach to Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735) 'Essentials of Meditation': Meditation and Precepts in Eighth-Century China," in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, 122, 129.

by augmenting their wisdom so much so that they understand the wonderful middle path 不思議中道 and the profound dependent arising 甚深緣起.<sup>560</sup>

In the Writ of Transferring Merit 迴向文 that is placed at the end of the manuscript, the participants express the further aspiration for requesting the buddhas to empower them. From the account of the buddhas, it is certain that the Maṇḍala of Garbhadhātu is used here. Mahāvairocana and other four buddhas surrounding him are placed at the Court of the Eight-Petaled lotus (zhongtai baye yuan 中臺八葉院), a hexadecagon that occupies the center of the *maṇḍala*.<sup>561</sup>

The location of the four buddhas can be summarized as below:

Direction/Buddhas	<i>Engyō nyūdan</i>	<i>MHV</i> <sup>562</sup>	<i>STTS</i>
East	Ratnaketu 寶幢如來	Ratnaketu 寶幢如來	Akṣobhya 阿閼如來
South	Samkusumitarāja 開敷花如來	Samkusumitarāja 開敷華王如來	Ratnasambhava 寶生如來
West	Amitāyus 蓮花藏王如來	Amitāyus 無量壽如來	Amitābha 阿彌陀如來
North	Divyadundubhimeganirg -hoṣ	Divyadundubhimegani rghoṣa	Amoghasiddhi 不空成就如來

<sup>560</sup> T no. 1796, 39: 590c27–591a8.

<sup>561</sup> The court alone can serve as an independent *maṇḍala*, see Hou Huiming 侯慧明, *Taizang mantuluo yanjiu* 胎藏曼荼羅研究 (PhD Dissertation, Shaanxi Normal University, 2010), 126.

<sup>562</sup> There are three *maṇḍalas* described in the *MHV*, that is, the Great Maṇḍala (da mantuluo 大曼荼羅) in the section of the Complete Connections, the Samaya Maṇḍala (samoye mantuluo 三摩耶曼荼羅) in the section of the Entering the Rank of Esoteric Maṇḍala, the Dharma Maṇḍala (fa mantuluo 法曼荼羅) in the section of the Maṇḍala Action of Turning the Bīja Wheel. The deities in these *maṇḍalas* vary. Specifically, the first *maṇḍala* places Akṣobhyawhereas in the north whereas the second and the third place Divyadundubhimeganirghoṣa there. The description of the buddhas and bodhisattvas here in the manuscript match that of the Samaya Maṇḍala. As Yoritomi remarks, to place Divyadundubhimeganirghoṣa as the buddha on the north not only fits the description in the extant Tibetan version but also is considered as the only accurate version by Yixing (*Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, 152–3). Hence it is the one I follow here.

	萬德莊嚴王如來	天鼓雷音如來	
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Table. 17 The Buddhas in the *Maṇḍalas* in Esoteric Buddhist Scriptures

Noticeably, the manuscript uses the King of Lotus Womb (Lianhua zang wang 蓮花藏王) and the King Adorned by Myriad Merits to denote Amitāyus and Divyadundubhimeganirghoṣ. Strictly speaking, these two terms are not the epithets of the buddhas but the titles of the *mudrās* (yinming 印明) that represent them.<sup>563</sup> According to the section of Eight Esoteric Seals (mimi bayin 秘密八印) in the *MHV*, the eight seals are so powerful to mark the Way of the True Words, each representing the four buddhas and the four bodhisattvas in the Court. These seals are of supreme Esoterica, preserved to be practiced only by the *ācāryas*.<sup>564</sup> While the two titles exactly denote the seal of Amitāyus and that of Divyadundubhimeganirghoṣ respectively, it is still not clear why the manuscript entails two systems of nomenclature here.

#### 4.4.3 The Combination of Esoteric Traditions

After the completion of *bodhicitta* precept, the main body of the ritual commences at the ritual step no. 10. Although the Womb Realm *maṇḍala* is employed here, the scriptural sources that the manuscript draws is not confined to the *MHV*.<sup>565</sup> A large number of ritual elements from the *STTS* are also embedded

<sup>563</sup> The term Lotus Womb can be found in the *Atamsaka Sūtra* and *Brahmā's Net Sūtra*, in both of which it refers to the world of Vairocana. In the *MHV* and Yixing's commentary, likewise, it emphasizes that Lotus Womb is the adorned world of the Vairocana's dharmakāya. see *Mikkyō daijiten*, 2299.

<sup>564</sup> 此是阿闍梨所行之印，不得輒爾而習。 *T* no. 1796, 39: 750b23–4.

<sup>565</sup> Takeuchi, "Tōdai mikkyō ni okeru kanjō girei," 218.

and transformed here. The ritual procedure pertaining the actual consecration in these two fundamental Esoteric scriptures can be summarized as follows:

<p>The outline of <i>abhiṣeka</i> in the <i>MHV</i> (T0848_.18.10c08–12b08) (The ritual steps hereafter will be referred as M. no)</p>	<p>The outline of <i>abhiṣeka</i> in the <i>STTS</i> (T0866_.18.0248c13–252c04)<sup>566</sup> (The ritual steps hereafter will be referred as S. no)</p>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Make offerings to deities</li> <li>2. Fulfill the bottles</li> <li>3. The <i>ācārya</i> dresses in new cloth</li> <li>4. The initiate is led into the platform</li> <li>5. Sprinkle the initiate</li> <li>6. Endow the initiate with the garland</li> <li>7. The initiate arouses the <i>bodhicitta</i></li> <li><b>8. The <i>ācārya</i> forms the <i>mudrā</i> of entering into the samaya of buddha (E. 10)</b></li> <li><b>9. The <i>ācārya</i> forms the <i>mudrā</i> of producing the realm of reality (E. 13)</b></li> <li>10. The <i>ācārya</i> forms the <i>mudrā</i> of</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The initiate repents</li> <li>2. The initiate pays homage to four directions</li> <li><b>3. The initiate wears in red cloth and has his eyes covered with red silk (E. 11)</b></li> <li><b>4. The initiate is led into the platform (E. 12)</b></li> <li>5. The <i>ācārya</i> forms the <i>sattva-vajra mudrā</i><sup>569</sup></li> <li>6. The <i>ācārya</i> forms the <i>vajra-sattva mudrā</i><sup>570</sup></li> <li>7. The <i>ācārya</i> forms the angry vajra fist and recites the hundred esoteric words of <i>samaya</i><sup>571</sup></li> </ol>

<sup>566</sup> Noticeably, the arousing of *bodhicitta* in the *STTS* is placed in the sixth day with a cluster of ritual performance:

1. The initiate invites the *ācārya*
2. The initiate repents
3. The initiate takes refuge to Three Jewelers
- 4. The initiate arouses the *bodhicitta***
5. The *ācārya* empowers the initiate
6. The *ācārya* smears the initiate with fragrance
7. The *ācārya* passes the enchanted flower to initiate
8. The *ācārya* enchants the incense burner and perfume the initiate's hands
9. The *ācārya* enchants the lamp and let the initiate to see
10. The *ācārya* enchants the teeth stick
11. The initiate makes offering with the flower that the *ācārya* enchants
12. The initiate chews the teeth stick and throws

<p>turning dharma wheel</p> <p><b>11. The ācārya chants the true words of vajrasattva to empower himself (E. 14)</b><sup>567</sup></p> <p>12. The ācārya enchants his cloth</p> <p>13. The ācārya covers the initiate's head</p> <p>14. The ācārya recites <i>samaya</i> thrice</p> <p><b>15. The initiate throws the garland into the maṇḍala (E. 16)</b><sup>568</sup></p> <p>16. <i>Homa</i></p> <p>17. The initiate donates</p> <p><b>18. The initiate is presented offerings (E. 22)</b></p> <p><b>19. Consecration (E. 23)</b></p> <p>20. The initiate is again presented offerings</p> <p><b>21. The ācārya shows the golden stylet (E. 24)</b></p> <p><b>22. The ācārya shows the mirror (E. 25)</b></p> <p>23. The ācārya endows the dharma wheel</p> <p><b>24. The ācārya endows the conch (E. 26)</b></p>	<p><b>8. The initiate throws the garland into the maṇḍala (E. 16)</b></p> <p><b>9. The ācārya forms and releases the mudrā of samaya upon the initiate's heart (E. 17)</b></p> <p><b>10. The ācārya empowers the garland and places it upon the initiate's head (E. 18)</b></p> <p><b>11. The ācārya uncovers the initiate's eyes (E. 20)</b></p> <p><b>12. The initiate sees the maṇḍala (E. 19)</b></p> <p><b>13. The initiate is presented with offerings (E. 22)</b></p> <p><b>14. Consecration (E. 23)</b></p> <p><b>15. The ācārya endows the initiate with vajra (E. 27)</b></p> <p><b>16. The ācārya endows the initiate with the title of vajra (E. 30)</b></p> <p><b>17. The ācārya shows the golden stylet (E. 24)</b></p> <p><b>18. The ācārya shows the mirror (E. 25)</b></p> <p><b>19. The ācārya shows the conch (E. 26)</b></p>
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<sup>569</sup> *Saduo jingang yin* 薩埵金剛印 is placed upon the top of the initiate's head by the ācārya. By means of this, the ācārya transforms himself as the vajradhara in the initiate's mind, and the initiate vows: 1). not to reveal the Esoteric ritual to the ones who does not receive *abhiṣeka*; 2). to venerate the ācārya with great gravity; 3). to follow the ācārya's teaching.

<sup>570</sup> *Jingang saduo yin* 金剛薩埵印 functions to place a vajra inside the initiate's body.

<sup>571</sup> If the initiate sees inauspicious omens, then the ācārya shall perform a set of rituals to expel the negativeness, *T* no. 866, 18: 250a29–c10.

<sup>567</sup> The step no. 15 is the performance of the grand captivating *mudrā* (dagouzhaoyin 大鉤召印). Its scriptural source locates in the section of Secret Seals 密印品 (*T* no. 848, 18: 25b18–21)

<sup>568</sup> The step no. 19 entails the recitation of the true words of Buddha's eyes and no. 21 is to chant the true words of wishing-granting jewel. Their scriptural source appear in the later part of the section of Completing Karma 具緣品 (*T* no. 848, 18: 13a5–7) and in the section of Secret Seals (*T* no. 848, 18: 26b16–8)

<p>25. <b>The ācārya recites the gāthā of samaya (E. 27)</b></p>	<p>20. <b>The ācārya recites the gāthā of samaya (E. 27)</b></p> <p>21. The ācārya endows the initiate with five-strand vajra</p> <p>22. <b>The initiate makes commitment (E. 32)</b></p>
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Table 18. The Outline of the *Abhiṣekas* in the *MHV* and the *STTS*. The bold letters indicate the ritual steps adapted in the *Engyō nyūdan*

As the table above shows, nearly all the ritual steps in the *Engyō nyūdan* are drawn from the two fundamental Esoteric scriptures and follow the procedure prescribed. The other ritual steps that contain scriptural sources yet are excluded from the procedure, such as step no. 15, 19, and 21, are carefully embedded and coherently reorganized in the new process.

The only exception comes to the ācārya’s preaching the *gāthā* of Vairocana-tathāgata in the ritual step 31. It also appears in the “Qinglong si *kalpa*” 青龍儀軌, one of Faquan’s famous ritual manuals that theme on the ritual worshiping Vairocana. Chanted in Sanskrit, the *gāthā* praises the virtues of the principle deity.<sup>572</sup> In the *Engyō nyūdan*, however, it is recited entirely in Chinese. Horiuchi has pointed out that it corresponds to one of the hymns in a Sanskrit version of the *STTS* that praises one hundred and eight titles of Vairocana.<sup>573</sup>

<sup>572</sup> *Sarva-vyāpi bhavāgrāgrya sugatādhipate jina traidhātuka-mahārāja vairocana namo ’stu te* (O the omniscient! O the supreme! O the well-done! O the victorious! O Vairocana, the king of the three worlds! I take refuge to you) *T* no. 853, 18: 150c20–3.

<sup>573</sup> Horiuchi Kanjin 堀内寛仁, “Shin ryaku san no sarababiyabihanba no gengo wa sarva-vyabhibhava de yoi ka,” 心略讚の「サラバビヤビハンバ」の原語は sarva-vyabhibhava! でよいか in *Mikkyō Bunka* no. 116 (1976): 1–11.

Although the hymns of similar meaning can be found in the Tibetan version of the *STTS* and Shihu's Chinese translation in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century, no Chinese source in the Tang can be found to attest this. In other words, there are two possibilities of its origin. One is that the "Qinglong si *kalpa*" and the *Engyō nyūdan* share the same source. Considered the "Qinglong si *kalpa*" was compiled after Faquan moved to the Qinglingsi in 847, this *gāthā* must originate from some orderer source available for Chinese Buddhists prior to 839, the date of the *Engyō nyūdan*. The other is that this step was added later when the original copy was brought to Japan. The Japanese Esoteric practitioners appropriated it from Faquan's manual and added it in the *Engyō nyūdan*.

However, the *Engyō nyūdan* is by no means a purely anthology of ritual actions from the two scriptures. The combination of the two scriptural sources first and foremost requires the construction of a consistent ritual rationale. Each ritual action bears a discrete meaning in its original context. Reordered in the new sequence, some actions must be modified, with their original meanings reinterpreted, in order to form a coherent ritual logic. This modification can be best illustrated in the case of *tri-samaya* (*san sanmeiye* 三三昧耶).

A triad of *mudrā* and *mantras*, the *tri-samaya* plays a distinct and significant role in the *MHV*. Etymologically, the term *samaya* derives from the prefix *sam* (together) and the verb stem *ay-* (go). Originally meaning coming together,



meeting, or a place of meeting,<sup>574</sup> it is usually translated in Chinese Buddhist literature as *yue* 約 (convention), *shi* 時 (timely), *hou* 候 (time), or *zong* 宗 (in agreement).<sup>575</sup> According to Yixing, *samaya* contains fourfold meanings, namely the equal (pingdeng 平等), the original commitment (benshi 本誓), the riddance of hindrances (chuzhang 除障), and the aroused (jingjue 驚覺).<sup>576</sup>

The *tri-samaya* contains the *mudrā* and *mantras* of “entering the *samaya* of buddhas,” 入佛三昧耶 “production in the *dharma* realm,” 法界生 and “turning the *dharma* wheel” 轉法輪 (M. 8–10). After the initiate arouses his *bodhicitta*, the *ācārya* recites *mantras* and forms *mudrās* on the top of his head, on his heart, and on his navel respectively.<sup>577</sup> The spell of “entering the *samaya* of buddha” transforms the initiate into the son of buddha and enters into the rule of the equality for buddhahood 入佛平等戒. By means of this, the initiate is able to grow in buddha’s Womb Realm. Because of the power of “production in the *dharma* realm”, the initiate emerges from the womb 出胎, leaving off all the hindrances. At this step, the initiate becomes himself a vajra. In the last, “turning *dharma* wheel” completes the initiate all the skills for running the family business 轉家業, that is, the initiate becomes an *ācārya* and is able to preach the

<sup>574</sup> Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1164.

<sup>575</sup> Ogiwara Unrai 荻原雲来, *Kanyaku taishō bonwa daijiten* 漢訳対照梵和大辞典 (Tōkyō: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1979), 1414.

<sup>576</sup> 三昧耶是平等義，是本誓義，是除障義，是驚覺義, *T* no. 1796, 39: 674c4.

<sup>577</sup> *T* no. 848, 18: 11a15–17; *T* no. 1796, 39: 661b27–28.

Buddhist teachings.<sup>578</sup>

The metaphor of the rebirth in the family of buddha is closely connected to the notion of *garbha* (womb) in Esoteric teachings. Far from being the genetically related place from which life originates and develops, *garbha* is the womb of the vast *dharma* realm that contains all the true forms of buddhas, true words, and sentient beings. Preserved in the womb and growing there, the seed is empowered by the *dharma* realm. The *dharma* realm encompasses myriad of seeds, each of which is a potential Vairocana. When the seed emerges out of the womb, it attains the liberation as tathāgata.

While the *tri-samaya* plays an indispensable role in the *abhiṣeka* as well as in other Esoteric teachings and rituals, it is not completely appropriated in the manuscript. While the first two *samayas* are transformed as the E. 10 and E. 13, the *mantras* and *mudrā* of “turning dharma wheel” is omitted. After reciting the true words of production in the *dharma* realm, the *ācārya* recites the *mantras* of vajrasattva’s empowerment and forms the corresponding *mudrā* to seal the five parts, i.e., two knees, two elbows, and the head, of the initiate. Right after this come the ritual actions adapted from the *STTS* (S. 17). Interestingly, this step entails a ritual presentation of *samaya* that is provoked by the *ācārya* who, chants *mantras*, forms the *mudrā* of *samaya*, and releases it upon the initiate’s heart.<sup>579</sup>

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<sup>578</sup> T no. 1796, 39: 675b1–17.

<sup>579</sup> It seems that the *Lüechu niansong jing*, the *STTS* translated by Jin’gangzhi, considers that the

In the original sequence of the *STTS*, this step symbolizes the completion of attaining the wisdom of vajra. As doctrinally and ritually symbolized term, vajra stands for the absolute wisdom (zhi 智) that is firm, eternal, and powerful. As Yixing fully explains, “vajra stands for the absolute knowledge that surpasses all speeches, minds, and rituals. It depends on nothing and is not manifested by dharmas. It has no initiate, middle, or latter stage. It cannot be exhausted, nor be destroyed. It leaves all transgressions. It does not change and does not break. Therefore, it is called vajra, just as the diamond in this world.”<sup>580</sup> Remsembling the shape of *vajra* (thunderbolt), the *mudrā* of *samaya* symbolizes this wisdom.<sup>581</sup>

In the original procedure in the *STTS*, the performance of the *mudrā* symbolizes the completeness of a series of previous ritual activities that aim to establish inside the initiate’s body the wisdom of vajra. Having transformed himself as a vajradhara, the *ācārya* forms the *mudrā* of *sattva-vajra* to make contract with the initiate (S. 5). Then he forms the fist of angry vajra, chants a hundred of esoteric words of *samaya*, and releases the *mudrā* formed (S. 6, 7, 9). In the end the

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*ācārya* orders the disciple to perform *mudrā* and release it 令弟子所結三摩耶契於其心上解之 (T no. 866, 18: 250c15). However, in the *Xianzheng dajiao wang jing*, the agency is the *ācārya* 結彼印以解於弟子心 (T no. 865, 18: 218b16). A Sanskrit version of *STTS* agrees with this, prescribing that: *Tatas tām mudrām baddhvā, sva-hṛdi mokṣayed anena hṛdayena* (Having formed that *mudrā*, [the *ācārya*] then releases it upon his own heart with this mind), see Horiuchi Kanjin, *Bon-Zō-Kan taishō shoe kongōchōkyō no kenkyū: Kongōkai bon, Gōzanze bon Bonpon kōtei hen* 梵藏漢對照初會金剛頂經の研究: 金剛界品・降三世品: 梵本校訂篇 2vols (Kōya-machi: Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1983), 1: 125.

<sup>580</sup> 金剛喻實相智。過一切語言心行道。適無所依。不示諸法。無初中後。不盡不壞。離諸過罪。不可變易，不可破毀。故名金剛，如世間金剛寶。T no. 1796, 39: 580a21–24.

<sup>581</sup> *Mikkyō daijiten*, 656.

initiate is supposed to enter into the wisdom of vajra, by which one:

Is able to attain and completely enlightened all the minds of all the sentient beings. Is able to know the actions of three periods in this world. Is able to solidify the *bodhicitta*. Is able to annihilate all sufferings. Is able to leave all terrors. All evils would not cause harm. All tathāgatas together empower. All accomplishments appear here and now. All the joys and superior circumstances that one has not get would come without plea...Soon one shall attain the true wisdom of all buddhas. 悉能獲得覺了一切衆生若干種心。能知世間三世事業。能堅固菩提心。能滅一切苦惱。離一切怖畏。一切衆惡不能爲害。一切如來同共加持。一切悉地皆得現前。諸未曾有 安樂勝事，不求自得。.....不久自當證得諸佛真實智慧。<sup>582</sup>

On the other hand, the initiate throws the garland into the *maṇḍala* to decide the pinciple deity (*benzun* 本尊) (S. 8), the *ācārya* reveals him with the secret words (*miyu* 密語) associated with the group (*buzu* 部族) to which the deity belongs. After the connection between the initiate and the deity has been made, the *ācārya* chanted the true words of *samaya*. The meaning of the true words reveals the significance of this performance:

*Om tiṣṭha vajra dṛḍho me bhava śāśvato me bhava hṛdayam me 'dhitiṣṭha sarva  
siddhim ca me prayaccha hūm ha ha ha ha hoh*

Om. O vajra. Reside! Be the firm for me, be the eternal for me, empower the heart for me, and endow me with all accomplishments. Hūm ha ha ha ha hoh

The firmness, eternality, and powerfulness are exactly the common substantial features of vajra. Forming and releasing the *mudrā* hence symbolize the progress that the vajra reside in the body of the initiate. Then how does this transplant of ritual practice of *samaya* from the *STTS* make sense in the *Engyō nyūdan*, together

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<sup>582</sup> T no. 866, 18: 250a15–24.

with the other set of *samaya* practice, the incomplete *tri-samaya* from the *MHV*?

First and foremost, the omission must be made purposefully. A series of ritual items, including a golden stylet, a mirror, a *dharma* wheel, and a conch, are to be endowed to the consecrated initiate in the *MHV* (M. 21–24). All the items, except for the *dharma* wheel, are adapted in the *Engyō nyūdan*. The missing *dharma* wheel should correspond to the omission of “turning the *dharma* wheel” since the both bear the symbolic meaning of *dharma* wheel. Dharma wheel is one of the commonest metaphors for Buddhist teaching, denoting its transformation, ceaseless motion, and powerful subjugation over enemy.<sup>583</sup> The discourse “the turning dharma wheel” originally means that Gautama Buddha preached his teaching at Sārnāth after attaining the enlightenment. The *samaya* of “turning dharma wheel” strictly follows these fundamental connotations, claiming that it makes the initiate to increase the patrimony of the Buddha and be completed with all the necessary skills.<sup>584</sup> If the function of this *samaya* is based on the meaning of its appellation, then it aims to transform the initiate as the one who is able to spread the Buddhist teachings doctrinally or ritually. To remove this *samaya* may indicate that the *abhiṣeka* does not entail the transmission of institutional position such as *ācārya*.

However, this function is partly fulfilled in the ritual action that the *ācārya*

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<sup>583</sup> Mori, *Bukkyō hiyu reiwa jiten*, 445.

<sup>584</sup> 能轉家業備諸伎藝, *T* no. 1796, 39: 675b12.

endows the conch to the consecrated initiate in the (E. 26). In the *MHV*, a conch is endowed after a *dharma* wheel is to be placed between his feet (M. 24). While the process in the *Engyō nyūdan* in which only a conch is given contrasts with this, the *gāthā* that the *ācārya* chants mentions that the symbolic meaning of *dharma* wheel has also been delivered to the initiate. As its lyrics explicitly shows, the initiate is supposed to turn the wheel of salvation 轉於救世輪. This discourse, along with that of blowing the *dharma* conch, shows the consecrated initiate may indeed be eligible to perform the role of Buddhist priest.<sup>585</sup>

On the other hand, the *mudrā* of *samaya* is inserted from the *STTS* and embedded here, partly fulfilling the role of the “turning *dharma* wheel” *samaya*. Theologically, the initiate becomes a vajra at the third *samaya* of “turning *dharma* wheel”. According to Yixing, the *tri-samaya* is a progressive transformation of the initiate’s body into the three bodies of the Buddha. At the last stage of the transformation, the initiate’s body turns into the *dharma* body full of vajras.<sup>586</sup> As demonstrated above, the *mudrā* of *samaya* delivers the wisdom of vajra into the initiate’s body. As Orzech has remarked, like the rite of producing and consecrating images, this process brings the transformative results of entry of

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<sup>585</sup> This may also serve as to illustrate the nature of this manuscript, is it a karma-tying *abhiṣeka* (jieyuan yuanding 結緣灌頂) that aims only to connect the initiate with personal deity and to transmit him the true words and seal of this deity or is it a more advanced one transmitting the rank of *ācārya*? The latter is more plausible. It fits the historical record that by means of this *abhiṣeka* that Yizhen performed for Engyō, he became an *ācārya*.

<sup>586</sup> 以初三昧耶故，得同如來祕密身口意平等之身。以第二三昧耶故，得同如來加持法界宮尊特之身。以第三三昧耶故，令此身土皆如金剛，與無量持金剛衆而自圍繞，*T* no. 1796, 39: 675c14.

vajra into the initiate's body.<sup>587</sup> This efficacy in fact overlaps with that of the "turning *dharma* wheel" *samaya*. In this way, the *abhiṣeka* in the manuscript synthesizes a two-fold *samaya* by combining the core mechanism of attaining buddhahood from both the *MHV* and the *STTS*. It keeps first two of *tri-samaya* to deliver a rebirth in the Womb Realm on the one hand, and introduces the *mudrā* of *samaya* to establish a vajra inside the consecrated body on the other.

In conclusion, the manuscript *Engyō nyūdan* represents an *abhiṣeka* practiced in the late Tang. Although there is lacking of trace in the bibliographic records, its authenticity lies in its consistent ritual logic, and its fitting with the social and religious context in which Engyō undertook the *abhiṣeka*. The manuscript shows the synthesis of combining ritual elements from the *MHV* and the *STTS*. The inclusive notion of *samaya* allows the combination, denoting the rebirth in the Womb Realm and the delivery of vajra wisdom within the initiate's body.

#### 4.5 Conclusion

The Esoteric Buddhist *abhiṣeka* has kept fundamental features in the long evolution from the early medieval to the middle age. It preserves the basic ritual outline, including the establishment of *maṇḍala* with the *pūjā* performed, the ritual master leads the initiate into this ritual arena, the initiate throws flower into the *maṇḍala* to make personal connection with deity, consecration, etc. In this

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<sup>587</sup> Orzech, "On the Subject of Abhiṣeka," 117–9.

process, it often entails the specious use of spell and *mudrā* by the ritual master inside the *maṇḍala*, in which the body, speech, and mind of the initiate are replicated in order to make him a buddha immediately. On the other hand, while the *abhiṣekas* in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtra* and later Esoteric Buddhist scriptures all aim to deliver the initiate with immediate buddhahood, they adapt different doctrinal approaches to do so. The *maṇḍala*-initiation is based on the belief in the transcendent power of *dhāraṇī* and its objectified form whereas the *abhiṣeka* in the *MHV* and the *STTS* depends on the more complicated system involving the pure self-nature, the *bodhicitta*, and the *tri-samaya* that aim to install the vajra/ deliver the vajra-wisdom within the body.

The meaning of the performance has been consistently negotiated and reinterpreted in this process.

The manuscript *Engyō's Entering into the Platform* then provides another picture of the *abhiṣeka* in the late Tang was really practiced. Not only it is innovative in combining the core ritual doctrines from the *MHV* and the *STTS*, but also manifests wider spectrum of participants. *Abhiṣeka* was historically performed at both the court and the society.<sup>588</sup> In accordance with the mainstream Chinese Buddhist tradition, the performance of *abhiṣeka* generates merit and the practitioner of *abhiṣeka* could transfer the merit. This feature is both the result of

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<sup>588</sup> Jinhua Chen, "The Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels," 132–3.



its doctrinal development and the interaction between Esoteric Buddhism and the Tang society.<sup>589</sup>

Besides, hardly can be ignored the social impact that *abhiṣeka* aim to generate. It was doctrinally believed to bring benefit to who undertakes, and generate merit to the society, hence the Esoteric monks deliberately practiced it as a means to establish wider social, political, and economic bonds with the lay people. Lay people who have undertaken *abhiṣeka* are allowed to be called the disciples of *ācārya*. Some of their names even appear in the writs of the lineage of Esoteric school. Therefore, it brings the effect of enlarging and redefining Buddhist community. The frequent performance of *abhiṣeka* in the Tang not only reflects the popularity of the rite and the penetration of Buddhist ritual into the society, but also prompts the ritual interaction between the Chinese Buddhism and other indigenous religion(s).

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<sup>589</sup> Iwazaki, “Tōdai no kanjō,” 160.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE MAN AND THE SPONTANEITY: THE DYNAMICS OF THE DAOIST ORDINATION RITE THROUGH THE 6<sup>th</sup> TO THE 10<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

*Transcendence is achieved through the spontaneity,  
and the performance of ritual at the platform  
is done in conformity to this [principle].*

成仙而自然者也，臨壇則行事而假之者也。

Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1224)

*Shangqing lingbao dafa* (DZ. 1221, 22. 25b)

Seemingly contradictory, rituals contain both the quality of invariance and that of change. That is, rituals embody the stabilized social, political, and cultural relations, expressing the tradition and the legitimation of norms, values, doctrines, and so on. To maintain the authority that supports rituals, the historically fixed actions that constitute them are not often allowed to be negotiated and to be made anew. On the other hand, recent studies also reveal the dynamic aspect of rituals. They have been continuously constructed by cultural and historical circumstance. As Bell summarizes, “rituals as a performative medium for social change emphasizes human creativity and physicality: ritual does not mold people; people fashion rituals that mold their world.”<sup>590</sup>

This dialectical relationship between these two characteristics can shed much light on investigating the Daoist ritual in the Tang dynasty. An intervening period between the Six Dynasties and the Song, the two peaks of Daoist ritual

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<sup>590</sup> Bell, *Ritual*, 73.

movements, the Tang seems to be less productive, even silent on ritual innovation.<sup>591</sup> It was not until the very end of the dynasty that prolific imminent Daoist Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850–933) compiled and systemized ritual manuals. Nevertheless, that few new ritual texts emerged does not necessarily imply that the Daoist ritual practice had been stagnant for almost two hundreds years. As noticed, it was so partly because Daoism, including the ritual service it provided, had largely satisfied the spiritual, cultural, and political needs of the Tang people.<sup>592</sup> On the other hand, as the following sections in this chapter reveal, the change of ritual plays the unnoticed yet significant role throughout the history of Daoism in the Tang.

In this chapter, I will focus on the rites in which the *Dao De jing*, alone or with other objects, was transmitted from the 6th to the 10th century. Different Daoist communities had invented and composed rituals to transfer this fundamental scripture in the medieval period. As the system of the ordination

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<sup>591</sup> Maruyama, *Dōkyō Girei Monjo no Rekishiteki Kenkyū*, 598–600.

<sup>592</sup> Russell Kirkland, “Dimensions of Tang Taoism: The State of the Field at the End of the Millennium,” in *T’ang Studies* 15–16 (1997–98): 97–8. Besides, it can be observed that the worship of Laozi, the acknowledged ancestor of the imperial family, continued at the court, capital, and big cities, as well as occurred on the local with a group of new deities, which is well reflected in Daoist miracles (Franciscus Verellen, “Evidential miracles in support of Taoism: the inversion of a Buddhist apologetic tradition in late Tang China,” in *T’oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 78, Livr. 4/5 (1992): 217–63.) Also, the building of the Palace of Great Clarity temples at prefectures in the empire and state ritual practiced in. It was the Court of Imperial Sacrifice supervised the high-ranked sacrifice to Laozi at the capital while its counterparts performed in the local Laozi statuarys began to adopt more Daoist forms (Victor Xiong, “Ritual Innovations and Taoism under Tang Xuanzong,” in *T’oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 82, Fasc. 4/5 (1996): 263–72.) New deities such as Ten Worthies Who Save From Suffering played an important part in Tang’s popular practices. (Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-yin: the Chinese transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York : Columbia University Press, 2001), 311.)

rank grew mature in the 7th century, in which the *Dao De jing* evolved as the core text transmitted in the Dongxuan 洞玄 division, its transmission rites became identical in Daoist communities. Investigation will be given on how the rituals shaped the power, sodality, and identity in the communities, and were shaped by the social context. Providing an analysis of the ritual vicissitudes in transmission in the late Tang, I will then attempt to reveal who were the ritual makers and agents there, and how they were created, what kept stable and hence could represent the core of Daoist ritual in the continuous course of transformation.

### 5.1. Ordination Rank and Daoist Transmission

By their own terms, Daoists in the Tang dynasty usually nominated the ordination rite as the transmission and salvation (*shoudu* 授度) or the transmission with endowments (*chuanshou* 傳授). As the terms literally indicate, the ritual aims to promote the adept to a higher rank within the religious community with the endowment of scriptures, secret instructions, precepts, ritual methods, and other sacred objects. Another significant term was “transmitting register” (*shoulu* 授錄), which originated from the Celestial Master tradition, the earliest Daoist organized community.<sup>593</sup> Basically, register was the document that recorded the titles, functions, subordinates, etc. of the spirits, functioning to mark the progress of a Daoist adherent on the way to becoming a Daoist priest in charge of a parish.

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<sup>593</sup> Kleeman, *Celestial Masters*, 273–303.

Each new rank was paired with a more complex and demanding set of precepts to be observed.

Originally used as priestly position in the eminent Daoist Lu Xiuqing 陸修靜 (406–477)’s work, the system of the ordination rank was frequently used in the transmission ritual in the medieval Daoism, marking the level of one’s practice and study.<sup>594</sup> Since the core of the ordination rank entailed the transmission of scriptures from master to adept, the degree of the investiture and the rank of priest were in the conformity with the scriptures in the Daoist canon.<sup>595</sup> The scriptures are assigned from the lowest, the *Zhengyi* rank, to the highest one, the *Shangqing* rank. Based on the ordination rank, main types of Daoist rituals were ascribed, including the audience (*chao* 朝), ordination (*chuanshou* 傳授), retreat (*zhai* 齋), libation (*jiao* 醮), and petition (*shangzhang* 上章) to each ritual rank.

The influence of the systemization and hierarchization of Daoist rituals by ordination ranks went beyond Daoist communities. In the *Treatise of Books* (*jingji zhi* 經籍志) of the History of the Sui, compiled by the Tang historians, records what was known by the secular historians about Daoist ordination ritual in the early 7th century:

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<sup>594</sup> Lü Pengzhi, “Ordination Ranks in Medieval Daoism and the Classification of Daoist Rituals,” in Florian C. Reiter, ed., *Affiliation and Transmission in Daoism—A Berlin Symposium* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 81–107.

<sup>595</sup> Charles Benn, “Daoist ordination and *zhai* rituals,” in Livia Kohn ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 309–38.

As for its method of receiving the Way, first one receives the Register of Five Thousand Characters, next the Register of Three Caverns, next the Register of Comprehending Mysterious, next the Register of Upper Clarity. All registers are writs of silk, recording many the titles of assistant clerks and official subordinates of all celestial offices. Also there are various talismans mixed within. Their text and pattern [of these talismans] are unusual and strange, unrecognizable to those in the world. The adept should first take retreat and then brings a gold ring as well as various presents and offerings to visit the master. The master, receiving the offerings, endows [the adept] the register. The gold ring shall be cut in half, and each holds a half, which is said as covenant. The disciple who receives the register shall seal [it in a bag] and wear.

其受道之法，初受五千文籙，次受三洞籙，次受洞玄籙，次受上清籙。籙皆素書，紀諸天曹官屬佐吏之名有多少，又有諸符，錯在其間，文章詭怪，世所不識。受者必先潔齋，然後齎金環一，并諸贄幣，以見於師。師受其贄，以籙授之，仍剖金環，各持其半，云以為約。弟子得籙，緘而佩之。<sup>596</sup>

The hierarchy of various registers marked by different ordination ranks can be attested in a number of contemporary Daoist scriptures.<sup>597</sup> The brief process of the performance of the ordination is described here also fits the prescriptions in the Daoist sources. This indicates that both the ordination rank system and the transmission ritual were not unfamiliar to the society.

Traditions of ritual ideas and practices shall not be imagined as merely evolving or changing over time as the result of impersonal process, or solely according to their own internal, neutral logic. Instead, they were seen as things made by particular historical agents, as the result of exchanging cultural repertoires of resources. Daoist ordination ritual in the Tang has proved itself a good example of this observation. In the guise of secret art, it accumulated

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<sup>596</sup> *Suishu*, 35.1092.

<sup>597</sup> Kobayashi, *Tōdai no Dōkyō to Tenshidō*, 66–168.

cultural capital by obtaining social attitudes and poses.

In this part we will be particularly focusing on the Daoist transmission rituals of the *Dao De jing*, from the 6th century to the early 10th century. The significance of the text cannot be overemphasized in the history of Daoism. Ever since the Celestial Masters accorded it as the catechism of their faith, the veneration of the scripture had been consistent in the rising Daoist movements in the late 4th century.<sup>598</sup> In the *Lingbao* tradition in the early 5th century that fundamentally shaped the Daoist ritual practice in later periods, rituals for transmitting, venerating, and chanting scriptures were composed.<sup>599</sup> As the Daoist canonized corpus began to form its organized structure of seven divisions in the early 6th century, *Dao De jing* comprised the core of the Division of Great Mystery (Taixuanbu 太玄部).<sup>600</sup> Those Daoist ecclesiastics who were transmitted with the scriptures in the division received the title of the Ritual Master of High Mystery (Gaoxuan fashi 高玄法師).

There are several reasons to choose the transmission of this particular scripture as the example to be examined here. Firstly, the *Dao De jing* was universally revered in the Daoist communities. The investigation of its

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<sup>598</sup> Michel Strickmann, "The Mao-shan Revelations: Taoism and Aristocracy," *Toung Pao* no 63 (1977): 53.

<sup>599</sup> Chang Chao-jan, "Dao De jing de chuanshou, songdu yu Daojiao fawei jieci 道德經的傳授、誦讀與道教法位階次," *Furen zongjiao yanjiu* 輔仁宗教研究 no 27 (2013): 63–92.

<sup>600</sup> Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu kao*, 78–81; Schipper and Verellen ed., *The Taoist Canon*, 19.

transmission hence provides a vantage point of observing how these communities negotiated with each other and became unified in the Tang. Secondly, from the Taixuan division upwards, the recipient began to bear the appellation of the Prior-born of such and such Marchmount (mouyue xiansheng 某嶽先生), which was often used along in the transmission rite.<sup>601</sup> This indicates that the endowment of Taixuan division initially enabled one to form a Daoist lineage. Thirdly, according to the law code (*ling* 令) system in the early Tang, Daoist who was transmitted the *Dao De jing*, along with Buddhist monk who received the Comprehensive Precepts, became eligible to be endowed with farming lands from the government.<sup>602</sup> This demonstrates how the Daoist identity, as the efficacy of the transmission rite, was socially recognized by the state. Finally, among the ritual manuals of transmission rite that are extant in the Ming Daoist canon, only those for transmitting the *Dao De jing* particular can provide a full picture of how the rite evolve throughout the Tang.

The ritual protocols to be examined here are in: 1). the 35th and 37th chapter in *The Essence of the Supreme Secrets* (DZ 1138 *Wushang miyao* 無上秘要; hereafter *WSMY*), the earliest surviving compendium of Daoist literature that was

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<sup>601</sup> See Kristopher Schipper, “Taoist Ordination Ranks in the Tunhuang Manuscripts,” in Gert Naundorf et al. eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann), 140.

<sup>602</sup> Li Linfu 李林甫 (683–753), ed., *Tang liudian* 唐六典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 3.74; Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) and Kong Zhuan 孔傳 (fl. 1131–1162), *Baikong liutie* 白孔六帖 (*Siku quanshu* edition), 89.10a.



complied between 577 and 588 CE; 2). *The Annotated Instruction of the Rite of Transmitting Scripture and Precept* (DZ 1238 *Chuanshou jingjie yizhujue* 傳授經戒儀注訣; hereafter *Yizhujue*), an early Tang ritual manual specifically composed for transmitting *Dao De jing*, its commentaries, and the corresponding ritual texts, does not record the elaboration of the ritual performance. Instead, it states that the transmission ritual adopts the form of the Retreat of the Spontaneity (*ziranzhai* 自然齋).<sup>603</sup> The Dunhuang manuscripts (P. 3282+ S. 6841+ BD 15636), along with one ritual manual in the Ming Daoist canon, can provide us a general structure of the ritual practiced in the early Tang.<sup>604</sup> Therefore we use the Dunhuang manuscript here for the investigation of ritual while looking into the *Yizhujue* for the reference of other details of the ritual; 3). the *Ritual of the Presenting Memorials for the Transmitting the Register of the Purple Void and the Dao De jing* (DZ 808 *Taishang sandong chuanshou Dao De jing zixulu baibiao yi* 太上三洞傳授道德經紫虛籙拜表儀; hereafter *Baibiao yi*), a late Tang ritual manual compiled by Du Guangting.

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<sup>603</sup> Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 1: 495–6. As regards the transmission ritual, though the retreat obeys the rite of Spontaneity, the part of Nocturnal Announcement, the thrice presentation of incense, and the confession to ten directions can be adjusted in practice 受道法，齋雖依自然儀。宿啟及三上香，十方及大懺文，當隨事增損，see *DZ 1238*, 11a.

<sup>604</sup> Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾, *Tonkō dōkyō* 敦煌道經 2 vols (Tokyo: Fukutake shoten, 1978), 1. 162–3. For textual analysis, see Zhou Xibo 周西波, “Dunhuang xieben Lingbao ziran zhaiyi kaolun 敦煌寫本《靈寶自然齋儀》考論”, *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學 no 24 (2003): 29–46. A critical edition of the manual is provided by Chinese scholar Wang Ka 王卡, in Zhang Jiyu 張繼禹 ed., *Zhonghua daoang* 中華道藏, 48 vols (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2008), 43: 710–16.

## 5.2 Accord With the Law of Lingbao: The Making of *Taixuan* Division

There is no doubt that the *Dao De jing* circulated widely in the early and medieval China. Its record in the *Treatise of Book* 藝文志 in the *Book of Han* (Hanshu 漢書), along with its excavated versions from Guodian 郭店 and Mawangdui 馬王堆, well testifies the public accessibility of it. Perhaps due to the fact that Laozi, the alleged author of the *Dao De jing*, became deified and played the crucial role in the formation of Daoism, it had grown to be one of the fundamental scriptures in the Daoist communities by the late 2nd century, known as the *Writ of Five Thousand [Characters]* (Wuqianwen 五千文). The members of Celestial Master Daoism composed the Xiang'er commentary to elaborate their own teachings.<sup>605</sup> The commentary also provides the earliest transmitted text version of *Laozi*, which closely affiliates with the Mawangdui version.<sup>606</sup> Although no more detailed record has survived, it is very likely they had developed a kind of ritual for transferring the text, considered the continuity of the Celestial Master Daoism throughout the medieval period.

Similar to the transmission of the *Sanhuang* scriptures discussed in the chapter one, its counterpart of the *Dao De jing* was not confined to one Daoist tradition. As the revelatory figure of Celestial Master Daoism, Laozi is closely implicated in the Lingbao attempt to “replace all previous spiritual knowledge

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<sup>605</sup> Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, *Laozi xiang'er zhu jiaozheng* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991).

<sup>606</sup> William Boltz, “Textual Criticism and the Ma wang tui Lao-tzu.” *HJAS* 44 (1984): 185–224.

with higher and more during teachings.”<sup>607</sup> Even higher than the status of Laozi in the Lingbao scriptures, the *Dao De jing* is revered as the scripture that contains the ultimate truth.

According to the *Lingbao* myth, the *Text of the Five [Talismans] of Self-generated Conquests* (Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wuchengwen 太上無極大道自然真一五稱文) is a scripture revealed by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Commencement in the *kalpas* prior to our period.<sup>608</sup> At the very end of the scripture, the Perfected of Mysterious One extolls the virtue of the *Dao De jing*, saying that it is the ultimate wonderfulness of all scriptures, propagates the intention of the Dao, and embodies the true and correct teachings. Following this, Ge Xuan 葛玄, the Transcendent Duke, cautions that unless one ceases to quest for fortune and fame, one’s praxis of the *Dao De jing* may not take efficacy.<sup>609</sup> Given that Ge, so as the Perfected of Mysterious One, is the main character in the *Lingbao* scriptures revealed in the current temporal cycle, the scenario of his appearance and teaching here may reflect the effort to reevaluate the heritage of the Celestial Master Daoism. While many of their praxis are indicated as less

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<sup>607</sup> Stephen Bokenkamp, “The Salvation of Laozi: Images of the Sage in the Lingbao Scriptures, the Ge Xuan Preface, and the Yao Boduo Stele of 496 C.E.,” in Lee Cheuk Yin and Chan Man Sing, eds., *Daoyuan binfen lu* 道苑繽紛錄 (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2002), 287–314.

<sup>608</sup> Here I follow Lü Pengzhi to translate *cheng* as conquest, see his “Dunhuang xieben P. 2440 Lingbao zhenyi wucheng jing jiaobu jieti,” 敦煌寫本 P. 2440 靈寶真一五稱經校補解題 Zheng Weiming 鄭焯明 ed., *Raoxue yu huaxue: di'er jie Rao Zongyi yu huaxue ji Xianggang daxue Rao Zongyi xueshugyuan chengli shizhounian qingdian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* 饒學與華學：第二屆饒宗頤與華學暨香港大學饒宗頤學術館成立十週年慶典國際學術研討會論文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2016), 403–4.

<sup>609</sup> *DZ* 671, 2. 14a–b.

primordial and thus less pristine, the *Dao De jing* is so much more valued that it ranks equally as other scriptures in the Three Caverns, but also is, as we will see later, assigned the distinctive transmission rite.

The *Prologue Instruction of Dao De Jing* (Dao De jing xujue 道德經序訣), traditionally ascribed to Ge Xuan, provides the myth and the rite of transmitting a version of the *Dao De jing*, the “Perfected Heshang’s chapter and verse” (Heshang gong zhangju 河上公章句). Emperor Wen of Han once received the text from the perfected.<sup>610</sup> Although no extant Han source gives evidence to this claim, it is possible that the *Heshang* version stands for an independent textual tradition of the *Dao De jing*, the formation of which may predate the *Prologue Instruction*.<sup>611</sup> It is more certain, though, the community that centered around the Ge family and later around the *Lingbao* authors prompted the *Heshang* as the standard version of the *Dao De jing*, in which the main text might derive from the Writ of Five Thousand [Characters].<sup>612</sup> Xu Laile 徐來勒, the Perfected of Great Ultimate, is assigned as the head of the lineage that the *Dao De jing* has been

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<sup>610</sup> *Dao De jing xujue*, ZHDZ, 9: 186.

<sup>611</sup> Wang Ming 王明 considers the late 2nd century or the early 3rd century as the date of the text, see his “Laozi Heshang gong zhangju kao,”老子河上公章句考 in *Guoli Beijing daxue wushi zhounian jinian wenji* 國立北京大學五十週年紀念文集 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshu, 1948), 1–25.

<sup>612</sup> As pointed out by Ōfuchi, the *Five Thousands* originated from Celestial Master communities. In the copies of the Heshang version of Laozi found among the Dunhuang manuscript, the postscript usually puts the full title of the scripture as “the Perfected Heshang’s chapter and verse, prefaced by the Left Transcendent Duke of Great Ultimate and finalized by the Connected Master (Zhang Lu)” 太極左仙公序係師定河上真人章句, which indicates the combination of two traditions. See Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾, *Dōkyōshi no kenkyū* 道教史の研究 (Okayama daigaku kyōsaikai shosekibu, 1964), 383–86.

transmitted in this age. More importantly, the praxis of the *Dao De jing* is proposed and highlighted besides the myth. Ge Xuan, for instance, proposes that if one who learns to be transcendent one should bow to the scripture and fix mind on it by means of *Lingbao* ritual rules.<sup>613</sup> Among the praxis, the transmission rite of the *Dao De jing* is distinguished and is hence given in detail.

This rite, along with other rites for transmitting scriptures revealed by Xu Laile, is fully elaborated in the *Precious Instructions on the Jade Scriptures, a Secret Commentary by the Perfected of Great Ultimate* (Shangqing taiji yinzhu yujing baojue 上清太極隱註玉經寶訣; hereafter Taiji yinzhu). The concise yet complete instruction of the transmission rite is given as:

As regard the transmission of the *Dao De jing*, the ritual master should face to the north and [place] the scripture on the table. The disciple prostrates on the left side [of the master]. Then the master holds the scripture and the disciple hold the pledge. Then the master knocks his teeth for thirty-six times and visualizes that from the Three Palaces—the Muddy Pellet, the Cinnabar Field, and the Crimson Palace. From these Three Ones send forth the myriad of [soldiers on the] vehicles and horses come out and guard the scripture. The master then incants:

Wind-whirled the ridge of Great Void is,  
Flowing effulgences in the Upper Mystery.  
Passing through the endless eons,  
Forever the scripture protects the heaven, the earth, and the people.  
The ruler, learning [it], reaches [the achievement] as Yao,<sup>614</sup>  
The Daoist, chanting [it], make transcendent.  
The virtuous who now respectfully accepts [it],  
Shall transmit in accordance with the code.  
If at times there is no one of ultimate virtue,

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<sup>613</sup> *Dao De jing xujue*, ZHDZ, 9: 186.

<sup>614</sup> Yao was the legendary sage ruler of high antiquity, whose regime was reputedly of virtue and prosperity.

[You] should keep the secret without carelessly spreading it.  
Venerating it, one ascends to the Great Clarity,<sup>615</sup>  
Disregarding it, one falls to the Nine Springs.<sup>616</sup>

I speak the Way of Non-action,  
By means of the purity and the tranquility,  
one attains the potency of spontaneity.

Then the disciple bows three times and receives the scripture. As regard the female disciples, then she should only prostrate on the right side. The scripture is the same.

授道德經：法師北向，經於案上。弟子伏左。師執經，弟子擎法信。師叩齒三十六下，心存三宮：泥丸丹田絳宮。三一出千乘萬騎營衛經。師因而祝曰：飄飄大虛嶺，流景在上玄。經始無終劫，長保天地人。世主學致堯，道士誦得仙。賢者今奉受，依法以相傳。時無至德子，保祕不妄宣。宗之昇太清，棄之墮九泉。我說無為道，清靜德自然。畢，弟子三拜，受經。若女弟子伏右。凡經皆同爾。<sup>617</sup>

The ritual does not fit the classification of the main Daoist ritual in the medieval period in terms of the structure; however, it is identical to the transmission rites for other scriptures in the *Taiji yinzhu* in terms of the structure and the symbols such as taking north as the honorable place. As noticed, this feature indicates the *Dao De jing* is equally venerated as the other scriptures in the higher category.<sup>618</sup>

The entire procedure focuses on worshiping the scripture. After the spirits are visualized to protect the scripture, the hymn describing the holy origin and eulogizing the efficacy of the worship is chanted. Its lyrics are essentially a representation of the transmission and reaffirmation of the regulation. In the

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<sup>615</sup> Originally denoting the inner spiritual state of the Daoist adept, Great Clarity Heaven in Daoist cosmology refers to the lowest of three celestial regions beneath the Great Canopy Heaven (Daluo tian 大羅天) where Daoist deities reside and Laozi presides.

<sup>616</sup> The Nine Spring refers to the Yellow Spring, which refers to the netherworld, an euphemism for death.

<sup>617</sup> *DZ* 425, 2b.

<sup>618</sup> Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist canon*, 1: 234.

mysterious atmosphere, the power of the *Dao De jing* is first put forward. Then two admonitions are given to the disciple in plain language that the scripture should only be transmitted in the future to the one whose virtue matches; and the veneration of the scripture must be practiced. In the persona of the Lord Lao, the poem restates the vital teaching of the *Dao De jing*, that is, the non-action of the purity, tranquility and spontaneity.

The influence of the rite went beyond the Daoist community in which *Taiji yinzhu* was originally proposed as a ritual prescription or actually used as a ritual manual. Again we are back to the *New Rituals Imperially Compiled* (*Yuzhi xinyi* 御制新儀) reserved in the *Wushang miyao*. Much like the *Taiji yinzhu*, it contains corpus of transmission rites for several significant scriptures in accordance with the Three Caverns theory. In the chapter one, textual analysis has revealed that rituals either succeed the extant Daoist rite or are compiled from various Daoist scriptural sources. As regards the transmission rite for the *Dao De jing* particularly, most of the individual steps that consist the entire ritual come from the *Lingbao* scriptures.<sup>619</sup> As a result, the ritual structure of the transmission here follows that of the *Lingbao* ritual too, particularly the first standard transmission ritual manual of the *Lingbao* scriptures, the *Rite of Transmitting the Numinous Treasure* (*DZ 528 Lingbao shoudu yi* 靈寶授度儀; hereafter *Shoudu yi*).<sup>620</sup>

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<sup>619</sup> Ōfuchi, *Dōkyō to sono kyōten*, 337–8.

<sup>620</sup> This structure was also designed and advocated by Lu Xiujing, see Lü Pengzhi 呂鵬志,

Ritual Step	Source
1. The master enters the platform 入道場密祝	<i>Jinlu jianwen</i> 金籙簡文
2. The master recites the hymn of tranquil thinking 唱靜念	<i>Yulu jianwen</i> 玉籙簡文
3. The master visualizes the Three Masters 思三師	<i>Yulu jianwen</i>
4. The master activates the incense burner 發爐	<i>Mingzhen ke</i> 明真科
5. The master venerates to the Three Treasuries 禮三寶	<i>Jinlu jianwen</i>
6. The master and disciple reads the Writ of Covenant 讀盟文	<i>Chuanshou Wuqianwen lu yi</i> 傳授五千文籙儀
7. The master visualizes the spirits guarding the scripture 鳴法鼓存思	<i>Taiji yinzhu</i> 太極隱注
8. The master recite the Hymn of Transmitting Scripture 傳經誦	<i>Chuanshou Wuqianwen lu yi</i>
9. The master transfers the scripture 付經	
10. The master recites to take refuge to all the honorable ways 皈依一切尊道	<i>Lingbao shoudu yi</i> <sup>621</sup>
11. The master and others recite three hymns, encircling the platform 詠三首旋行一週	<i>Zhihui xiaomo jing</i> 智慧消魔經 and <i>Taiji yinzhu</i>
12. The master makes the spiritual officiants return to his body 還仙官	
13. The master closes the burner 復爐	<i>Mingzhen ke</i>
14. The master and others recite the Hymn of Venerating Precept 奉戒誦	<i>Xiangong qingwen jing</i> 仙公請問經
15. All exist the platform 出道場	<i>Jinlu jianwen</i>

Table 19. The Ritual Structure and the Scriptural Source of the Transmission Rite for the *Dao De jing* in the *Yuzhi xinyi*

*Tangqian daojiao shigang*, 186.

<sup>621</sup> Without specification, *Wushang miyao* simply ascribes the source here as *Lingbao jing*. I suspect it refers to the *Lingbao shouduyi*, in which the participants are prescribed to take refuge to the spirits in the ten directions (DZ 528, 13a–14b).



The ordination ritual was essentially the rite of passage within the community that marked the ascension to higher spirituality by the embodiment of scriptural power. As the *Shoudu yi* prescribes, after the period of seven-day ritual performance, the disciple is ready to temper the willpower, worship the scripture, and retreat from the entanglements of the mundane world in order to perform rituals to save the dead.<sup>622</sup> This is one of the earliest warrants for the establishment of a professional priesthood.<sup>623</sup> In the case of transmission of the *Dao De jing*, because the nature of the scripture has lesser emphasis on the role that one shall play in the salvation after the ordination, the disciple does not make commitment to save the dead; however, it equally states the dedication to worship the scripture as it does in the *Shoudu yi*. More than this, the disciple similarly claims in the writ of oath that he/she would forever embody the scripture as treasure 永為身寶.<sup>624</sup>

Following Lu Xiuqing who compiled the manual for transmission rite by drawing sources from Daoist scriptures, the compiler(s) of the *Yuzhi xinyi* undertook the same approach. Unlike Lu Xiuqing who almost exclusively recited the *Lingbao* sources<sup>625</sup>, here the compiler(s) adopted the sources from the *Rite of Transmitting the Register of the Writ of Five Characters (Chuanshou Wuqianwen lu yi 傳授五千文籙儀)*, a ritual manual from unknown tradition. There are two

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<sup>622</sup> DZ 528, 31b6–7.

<sup>623</sup> Stephen Bokenkamp, “Lingbao shoudu yi” in Fabrizio Pregadio ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 1. 387; Benn 1991, 124–35.

<sup>624</sup> DZ 1138, 37.

<sup>625</sup> Lü Pengzhi, “The early Lingbao transmission ritual: a critical study of Lu Xiuqing’s (406–477) Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi”, *Studies in Chinese Religions*, 4:1 (2018), 1–49.

points where the *Rite* is recited: the disciple's writ of oath (mengwen 盟文) and the Hymn of Transmitting Scripture (chuanjing song 傳經誦). The latter is as same as the hymn in the *Taiji yinzhu* whereas the former could only be found here. The *Rite* stands as the most important source because it is these two parts that explicitly defines the nature of the ritual. The text of the writ of oath is read as follows:

On the day such in such month in the Jupiter Year of such, the disciple of unsullied faith such and such at such age [is saying]. Having indulged my ears and eyes in the sounds and colors, and having contaminated my body and mind with fame and imperial favor, I always live with desires, and there is no way to return [to simplicity]. I humbly learnt that in the *jiazi* day of the seventh month at the first year of Non-ultimate, the luminous lord was traveling to the west. Yin Xi, the Guardian of the Hangu Pass, yearned to follow the wise master and receive the book of one word. Laozi said: Skillful is that which you have asked! My way is abstruse and cannot be transmitted hastily. The way of life once enters into the body, whence the spirits become resident. Through the hundreds of joints, passes, and apertures, *liujia* connect with each other. They travel and move with the body in mixed and complex ways. The embryonic breathing and the guarding of the middle are associated with the heaven. If one practices them, one instantly becomes transcendent and would be the perfect. If one transmits [the way] illegally, then the disaster approaches. Not only the body would perish and the name would be extinguished, the [disaster] would further reach to the descendants. Although I am ignorant flesh and blood, I ceaselessly adore [the way]. Determined and longing, I indeed desire to receive and worship it. Now I have prepared the pledge in accordance with the Code of the Luminous Perfected, taking the oath to the master of such marchmount of the Three Caverns in such li of such village in such county of such prefecture in such district, and appealing for transferring the Writs of Five Thousands Characters for practicing and worship as the eternal treasure of the body. I cut the golden [ring] to make covenant: if I make transgression and break the rule, then I would be prisoned in the everlasting night without daring to complain.

太歲甲乙某月甲乙朔某日甲乙，某郡縣鄉里清信弟子某甲年若干。某等既耳目貪於聲色，身心染於榮寵，常存有欲，无由自返。伏聞皇老以无極元年七月甲

子曰將欲西度，函關令尹喜好樂長生，欲從明師，受一言之書。老子曰：“善哉，子之問也。吾道甚深，不可妄傳。生道入腹，神明皆存。百節關孔，六甲相連。徘徊身中，錯綜無端。胎息守中，上與天連。行之立仙，拜為真人。傳不得法，殃及其身。身死名滅，下流子孫。”某既肉人無識，竊好不己。專志顛顛，實希奉受。今具依明真科齋信，誓心詣某郡某州某縣某鄉某里三洞法師某嶽先生某甲，求受道德五千文修行供養，永為身寶。斷金為盟，違科犯約，幽牢長夜，不敢有言。<sup>626</sup>

In the writ of oath, the disciple claims that he/she, having learned the myth event, comes to the master with determined mind for the request for the transmission of the *Dao De jing*. Thereupon after reading the writ, the actual transmission proceeds. The writ here thus not only serves an oath of receiving the scripture, but also stresses the sacred origin of the *Dao De jing* and symbolizes the representation of its initial transmission.

The main content of the writ reiterates the myth that Yin Xi received the *Dao De jing* from Laozi when the lord, on his way to the west, reached the Hangu Pass on the first year of the Non-ultimate. This is the unmissable scenario in almost all the hagiographies of Laozi and Yin Xi in the Six Dynasties, including the *Scripture of Transforming the Barbarian* (Huahu jing 化胡經), the *Prologue Instruction*, the *Record of Existing the Fort* (Chusai ji 出塞記), the *Inner Chapter of the Mystery and Wonderfulness* (Xuanmiao neipian 玄妙內篇), and the *Inner Biography of the [Perfected] Wenshi* (Wenshi neizhuan 文始內傳), etc. However, the exact identical narration, with word-to-word citation, can only be found in the

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<sup>626</sup> DZ 1138, 37. 3a–b.

*True Record of the Most High of Undifferentiated Beginning* (Taishang hunyuan zhenlu 太上混元真籙 hereafter *Zhenlu*).

The main context of the *Zhenlu* delineates the transmissions of the *Dao De jing*, its *Jiejie* commentary, the *Scripture of Ascending to the West* (*Xisheng jing* 西昇經), and other esoteric methods. Laozi's remark recited above appears in the *Zhenlu* when he has transmitted Yin Xi with the *Dao De jing* and the *Jiejie* commentary.<sup>627</sup> These words seem likely to interpret the essence of the scripture from the vantage point of the *Jiejie*, which makes an effort to elaborate the doctrines of the *Dao De jing* by concentrating on the inner body cultivations.<sup>628</sup>

On the other hand, the remaining constituent parts of the instruction, particular the pledge and the fully explained transmission rules, is fundamentally different. In the *Zhenlu*, it instructs the recipient to use nine thousands of golden coins and the brocades in the five colors to receive the scriptures by performing certain ritual on the platform in a *jiazi* day. In the *Chuanshou wuqianwen lu yi*, however, it follows the *Mingzhen ke*, one of the ancient *Lingbao* scriptures particularly serving as the code for ritual practice. This prescription echoes with another contemporary *Lingbao* text, where it explicitly confirms that the temporal

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<sup>627</sup> DZ 954, 14b–15a.

<sup>628</sup> The commentary has been lost and its chapters are scattered in the DZ 720 *Dao De zhenjing zhushu* 道德真經註疏 (early 9th century), and DZ 711 *Dao De zhenjing xuande zuanshu* 道德真經玄德纂述 (early 10th century). For the overview of the commentaries of Laozi in the early medieval period, see Isabelle Robinet, *Les Commentaires du Tao To King jusqu'au VIIIe siècle* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes études Chinoises, 1977).

limit for transmitting the *Dao De jing* should be identical with that for Lingbao scriptures.<sup>629</sup> Therefore, the *Chuanshou wuqianwen lu yi* manifests certain hybrid features. It draws on the sources from the tradition in which Laozi and his disciple were predominantly revered. The strategy, showing the essential features of the transmission, may set an inspiring model for the practitioners.<sup>630</sup> On the other hand, given that Laozi does not play a distinguished role in the *Lingbao* texts, the myth might be weighted less than the ritual code from the *Lingbao* scripture. After all, it had been the ritual code that essentially defined the nature of the ritual in the Daoist traditions.

Secondly, although the “Chuanjing song” can be found in the both texts, the compiler of the *Yuzhi xinyi* attributes it (step no. 8) to the *Chuanshou wuqianwen lu yi* other than to the *Taiji yinzhu*. The convenient explanations may be that the former seemed to be more pertinent to the theme of transmitting the *Dao De jing*, or even theoretically more authentic than the latter. Be it as it may, suffice it to say that the precise recitations from the *Chuanshou wuqianwen lu yi*, namely the “Chuanjing song” and the writ of oath, are the most significant parts in the entire procedure of the ritual process. It is in these two parts that transmission is actualized, the identity of the participants is affirmed, and the meaning of the

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<sup>629</sup> 五千文仙人傳授之科素與靈寶同限 *Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue* 太極真人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣, *DZ* 532, 13a.

<sup>630</sup> Livia Kohn, “Medieval Daoist Ordination: Origins, Structure, and Practices,” *Acta Orientalia* no. 56 (2003): 388.

ritual is signified. Therefore, the *Chuanshou wuqianwen lu yi* stood not only as the textual source that the *Yuzhi xinyi* drew on, but also as an influential ritual tradition that generated impact on the contemporary Daoist communities. In the course of unceasing amalgamation throughout the history of Daoism, the compiler(s) of the *Yuzhi xinyi* actively readjusted the ritual elements from a vast variety of *Lingbao* sources, embedding in which the ritual modules that utterly originated from a different tradition.

Moreover, this rite in the *Yuzhi xinyi* allowed more frequent interaction among Daoist communities by designing distinctive roles for ritual participants. The form of the *Lingbao* retreat transformed the ritual into a communal activity that involved participants from multiple Daoist communities. The number of the ritual performers, known as retreat officiants (zhaiguan 齋官), follows the proscription in *Writ of Upper Primal Golden Retreat* (Shangyuan jinlu jianwen 上元金籙簡文), an early *Lingbao* ritual text.<sup>631</sup> The performers are divided into six roles:

- 7) The ritual master (fashi 法師) whose virtue is lofty, and understands the wonderful meanings of the Dao 高德玄解妙義
- 8) The chief preceptor (dujiang 都講) who is talented and skillful, expert at ritual performance 才智精明閑練法度
- 9) The retreat-supervisor (jianzhai 監齋) who supervises the ritual participants and corrects transgressions 司察眾違彈糾愆失
- 10) The scripture-guard (shijing 侍經) who keeps watch over the scripture and keeps in order the book cover of the scripture 須營侍經文整理巾蘊

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<sup>631</sup> Lü, *Tangqian daoqiao shigang*, 253.

- 11) The incense-watcher (shixiang 侍香) who takes care of the incense burner in order to keep the incense and candle burning 料理鑪器使香火不絕
- 12) The lamp-watcher (shideng 侍燈) who is in charge of the lamps whenever lighting lamps are required 景臨西方備辦燈具.

This layout, as will be discussed in the next section, functioned more than the division of labors that facilitates the ritual process. An opening system, it allowed members from different monasteries to take a part in the retreat. Their mutual relations in the ritual were possibly ruled by the ordination rank system. As same as in any other Chinese rituals, the point on which one stood and sat reflected one's status within the community one belonged to. The Daoist who was ordained in the lower rank was proscribed to sit/stand at the same level as one who was higher.<sup>632</sup> The precise layout of the participants in practice must then be both the result of the reaffirmed rank system and that of the negotiation among different Daoist communities.

### 5.3 Simple and Ease: The Retreat of Spontaneity in the *Yizhujue*

The Daoist ordination rank system was partly the production of the formation of the seven-section Daoist canon.<sup>633</sup> The *Catalogue of the Seven Sections of the Jade Weft* (Yuwei qibu jingshu mulu 玉瑋七部經書目錄) by the Master Meng

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<sup>632</sup> *Zhengyi weiyi jing* 正一威儀經, DZ 791, 5a–b. Noticeably, in the earlier text *Lingbao weiyi jingjue* (P. 2403), it even proscribes the Celestial Master priest to interact with those who practiced *Sandong* scriptures.

<sup>633</sup> Kristofer Schipper, “Les Canons Taoistes des Song,” *Annuaire de l’Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, Ve section, 1981–82, 112.

(fl. 502–549) initially proposed the idea of dividing the Daoist canon into seven sections. Later, the additional four sections were interpreted as the supplements to the existent Three Caverns, namely the Division of Great Mystery that was supplementary to the Comprehending Perfect, that of Great Peace to the Comprehending Mystery, that of Great Clarity to the Comprehending Spirit, and that of the Orthodoxy One linking up the rest six sections. This classification is known as the Three Caverns and Four Supplements (Sandong Sifu 三洞四輔). However, the notion of the Seven Divisions was proposed earlier than that of the Three Caverns and Four Supplements. As Wang Chengwen has pointed out, the Seven Divisions were largely elaborated in the scriptures bearing the appellation of the Orthodox One and the Celestial Masters in the south were hence probably the agents who proposed and propagated it.<sup>634</sup>

The Division of Great Mystery centers on honoring Laozi. In the Master Meng's definition, the title of the division was originally the capital from where Laozi resides in seclusion 隱.<sup>635</sup> Elsewhere the lord was believed to transmit Zhang Daoling, the first Celestial Master, the complete division with the numbers of the scripture reaching to two hundreds and seventy *juan*.<sup>636</sup> Meng Anpai 孟安排 (fl. 699), a famous Daoist theorist in the Tang, even claims that the division

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<sup>634</sup> Wang Chengwen 王承文, "Nanchao Tianshidao qibujingshu fenlei tizhi kaoshi," 南朝天師道七部經書分類體制考釋 *Wenshi*, no. 82 (2008): 83–117.

<sup>635</sup> *Xuanmen dayi* recited in the *Yunji qiqian*, DZ 1032,

<sup>636</sup> *Zhengyi jing* recited in the *Daojiao yishu*, DZ 1129, 2. 10a.



was revealed by the Lord Lao 為老君所說.<sup>637</sup> The supreme status of the lord in the Celestial Master tradition sharply contrasts its relatively lower rank in the system in which the Three Caverns are introduced. Probably a response to this intrinsic disagreement, one scripture in the division defines Laozi attained his status as the sage by gradually learning in past generations of lives 積學輪轉.<sup>638</sup>

The formation of the Daoist ordination rank system does not form a one-to-one correspondence to the Daoist canon. Both the Division of the Great Peace and that of the Great Clarity in the Four Supplements never became the titles of the ordination rank.<sup>639</sup> However, the Division of Great Mystery indeed played the crucial role of shaping the ordination rank that centered on the *Dao De jing*. An early Tang text, the *Annotated Instructions for the Protocol of Transmission of the Scripture and the Precept* (Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue 傳授經戒儀註訣; hereafter *Yizhujue*) is a ritual protocol that exclusively concerns the transmission of the *Dao De jing* along with its commentary as well as other corresponding ritual manuals. It represents the historical moment when these transmitted scriptures in the scale of 10 *juan* grew into the core content of the division (please consult with the table below about the titles of these

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<sup>637</sup> *Daojiao yishu*, DZ 1129, 2. 10b.

<sup>638</sup> DZ 1238, 1b.

<sup>639</sup> Lü Pengzhi 呂鵬志, "Fawei yu zhonggu Daojiao yishi de fenlei," 法位與中古道教儀式的分類 *Zongjiao xue yanjiu* no. 2 (2012): 1–2.

scriptures).<sup>640</sup> Although register and precept do not appear in the list of the object transmitted, the two are mentioned elsewhere in protocol.<sup>641</sup> This fact, along with what is indicated in the title of the *Yizhujue*, suggests that the full Taixuan division, as same as other divisions in the ordination rank system, contains scriptures, register, and precept.

Consisted of thirteen sections, the *Yizhujue* delineates a large picture of the transmission rite. In addition to prescribing the ritual actions for transmission, it also gives instruction on the preparation of the ritual, from the submission of name card to the ritual master to the invitation of ritual officiants. The detailed instruction also reveals the material perspective of transmission ritual, such as the sample of petition, the attire, the pledges, and other ritual utensils.

As indicated in many places throughout the manual, the ritual like this was the production of the rising Daoist monasticism led by the *Lingbao* tradition from the mid 5th century. The master is addressed as the Ritual Master of Three Caverns 三洞法師 and the Prior-born of such Marchmount, which were the normative titles proposed by the Lingbao Daoist to replace Celestial Master leadership roles.<sup>642</sup> More than once it is encouraged, or even required, to invite

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<sup>640</sup> Kusuyama Haruki 楠山春樹, *Rōshi densetsu no kenkyū* 老子伝説の研究 (Tōkyō: Sōbunsha, 1979), 140.

<sup>641</sup> The two are mentioned under the subdivision of Scripture Copying (shujing fa 書經法). The text of precept is in the first priority, then it comes to the ritual manuals. Instead of using the term register there, it puts that “all the subordinated one has received should be copied”(DZ 1238, 7b–8a)

<sup>642</sup> Bokenkamp, “The Early Lingbao Scriptures and the Origins of Chinese Monasticism,” *Cahiers*

master's fellow Daoists to take a part in the rite.<sup>643</sup> As regards the eligibility of the adepts, it allows the transmission undertaken to the one who is either the master's disciple or comes from other Daoist community (mennei menwai dizi 門內門外弟子).<sup>644</sup> This wider spectrum of the ritual participants may reaffirm the lineage that extends to at least three generations. That is, the ritual officiants are derived from the same master where the adept(s) are the master's disciple(s).

Partly due to the broadened involvement of Daoist communities, the division of ritual roles becomes further expanded:

The [roles in the] first class are called Three Masters, there are three of them, the Conventional Master, the Master of Supervising the Delivery, and the Master of Testifying the Covenant. The second are the Five Guarantors: there are five of them, serving as the chief preceptors. The third are the six luminaries: there are six, serving as the retreat supervisors. The fourth are the seven testifiers: there are seven of them, serving as scripture-guards. The fifth are the eight delivers: there are seven of them, serving as the incense-watchers. The sixth are the nine completers: there are nine of them, serving as the lamp-watchers.

第一曰三師：以三人為之，其一人為正師，一人為監度師，一人為證盟師。第二曰五保：以五人，為都講。第三曰六明：以六人，為監齋。第四曰七證：以七人，為侍經。第五曰八度：以八人，為侍香。第六曰九成：以九人，為侍燈。<sup>645</sup>

The excerpted passage shows how ritual participants could be flexibly assigned into the fixed roles of the six officiants. This formulation was not confined to the transmission of the Division of Great Mystery, but was widely employed by the Tang Daoists in the transmission of other divisions. In the second year of Jingyun

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*d'Extrême-Asie* no.20 (2011, issued 2013): 95–7.

<sup>643</sup> DZ 1238, 7a.

<sup>644</sup> DZ 1238, 10a.

<sup>645</sup> DZ 1238, 7a.

reign period (711), the eminent Daoist Zhang Wanfu 張萬福 participated in the transmission of Lingbao ordination rank for the Princess of Golden Transcendent and the Princess of Jade Perfect at the Abbey of Returning to the Perfect, an inner palace monastery.<sup>646</sup> The rite was presided by Shi Chong 史崇 and Zhang Wanfu served as the Master of testifying the covenant. Some thirty years later, another transmission rite was undertaken in the Mountain Wangwu for the Princess of Jade Perfect, who received certain Eight Registers, the Purple Texts and the Numinous Writs of Three Caverns from Master Hu in the Abbey Comprehending Numen. The name of the Master of Supervising the Delivery and that of one guarantor are recorded.<sup>647</sup>

The compiler of the *Yizhujue* certainly realized the existence of various Daoist traditions and attempted to amalgamate them. In the very beginning of the protocol, it acknowledges that there are multiple interpretations of the *Dao De jing* given by different lineages, and urges the Daoists from one lineage not to question the authenticity to those who are from the other.<sup>648</sup> As a result of this stance, we find that among the authorized texts in the Division of Great Peace, the *Xiang'er* Commentary of the *Laozi*, which originated and circulated in the

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<sup>646</sup> As for the life and the works of Zhang, See Tian He 田禾, *Zhang Wanfu yu Tang chu Daojiao de xingcheng* 張萬福與唐初道教的形成 (Ph.D. diss., Peking University, 2016).

<sup>647</sup> Cai Wei 蔡瑋, *Yuzhen gongzhu chaoye* 玉真公主朝謁 應真源宮受 王屋山仙人臺靈壇祥應記 *QTW*, 927. 7b–11b.

<sup>648</sup> “傳者不同,各從緣解,慎勿相非,” *DZ* 1238, 2a.

Celestial Master communities, is listed along with the *Heshang Commentary* that had been transmitted by the Lingbao tradition.

This amalgamation further penetrates deep into the ritual rationale of the transmission. In the document (ci 辭) submitted by the adept to the master inviting for the ordination ritual, the title of the master is addressed as the Ritual Master of Three Caverns and the Prior-born of such Marchmount. This title indicates the master is not yet a possessor of the register. On the other hand, register plays a crucial role in the Daoist rituals, for the spirits residing in the register function as the indispensable means to communicate the practitioner and the supernatural, or in the most cases, the heavenly court. That is to say, unless one has received the register of one hundred and fifty, one is not able to send forth the spiritual officiants (chuguan 出官) to deliver one's petition, who receive the report of merit (yangong 言功) thereafter. Nonetheless, the precise function of the officiants is reinterpreted here. According to the compiler of the *Yizhujue*, these officiants, namely the messengers of the Merit Office and the Clerks on the Flying Dragons, only function to announce the intention of the retreat to the heavenly court. It is the officiants guarding the retreat should be the object of reporting the merit. These officiants can be summoned merely by the incantations (zhu 祝) invoked in the normative opening steps in the Lingbao retreat, namely the

entering the portal 入戶 and the activating incense burner 發爐.<sup>649</sup> In this way, the master who has not received the register is still able to summon the spirits as medium whose function determines the efficacy of the retreat.

The *Yizhujue* does not provide the performance/action of the transmission; instead, it simply asks the reader to appropriate the procedure in the Retreat of Spontaneity (*Ziran zhai* 自然齋) and use it here.<sup>650</sup> It is highly likely that the last scripture listed in the division, namely the *Rite of the Retreat of Spontaneity*, contains the detailed instruction of the performance. The retreat was one of the six Lingbao retreats invented by Lu Xiuqing in the early 5th century. As remarked by Lü Pengzhi, Lu Xiuqing mainly drew source from the *Jinlu jianwen* to compose the normative performance of the retreat. In Lu's own words, the retreat is defined as:

[t]he method for universal salvation. As regards the inside it is for cultivation, and the outside it is for preservation. As for expelling the disaster or praying for the fortune, it is fitting whatever the intention leads to. (One can use the ritual to assemble the disciples, or to repent to the ten directions by oneself. It can last for one day, three days, or a hundred days, a thousand days. It can be practiced three times or six times<sup>651</sup> in a day.)

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<sup>649</sup> DZ 1278, 13a–b.

<sup>650</sup> As for the retreat of receiving the Dao, while it follows the [procedure and outline] of the Retreat of Spontaneity, certain portions, such as the nocturnal announcement, triple presentations of incense, [paying homage] in the ten directions, and the Great Confession, should be added or abandoned in performance. 受道法齋，雖依自然儀，宿啟及三上香、十方（禮）及大懺文當隨事增損 (DZ 1238, 13a.)

<sup>651</sup> The six divisions of the day and night were the *zhao* 朝 (approximately 5–7 a.m.), the *zhong* 中 (approximately 11 a.m.–13 p.m.), the *riru* 日入 (approximately 17–19 p.m.), the *rending* 人定 (approximately 21–21p.m.), the *yeban* 夜半 (approximately 23 p.m.–1 a.m.), the *jiming* 雞鳴 (approximately 1–3 a.m.); the rougher three divisions were the *zhao*, the *zhong*, and the *rending*. (DZ 463, 8. 9b)

普濟之法。內以修身，外以救物。消災祈福，適意所宜。（法亦結徒眾，亦可一身禮謝 十方。亦一日，三日，亦百日，千日。亦可三時，亦可六時。）<sup>652</sup>

The contrasting feature that Ziran zhai differentiates from other *Lingbao* retreats was its reconcilable function and flexible procedure. It seems that this was still the main feature of the retreat in the late Six Dynasties. Song Wenming 宋文明(fl. 550), a well-known Daoist ritual master, considered that the retreat universally saved all, the living and the dead, from difficulties 拔濟一切存亡厄難.<sup>653</sup> The *Principal Meaning of the Mystery Gate* (Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi 洞玄靈寶玄門大義), a Daoist encyclopedic compilation in the seventh century, states that the retreat functions to cultivate the perfections and to equalize the practitioner with Dao 修真齊道.<sup>654</sup> In the state compiled *Six Codes* (Tang Liudian 唐六典) in the Tang, the retreat is defined as universally praying for fortune 普為一切祈福.<sup>655</sup>

It is less clear, though, how the Ziran zhai exactly differed from other *Lingbao* retreats in terms of the action and the performance. This obscurity further brings difficulty to answer that why the transmission in the *Yizhujue* adopts the structure and the procedure from this retreat rather than from others. However, there are two things we can be confident about: firstly, the Ziran zhai was well

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<sup>652</sup> DZ 1278, 6b.

<sup>653</sup> This is recited by Song Wenming in his annotated catalogue of *Lingbao* scriptures, which is partly preserved in Dunhuang manuscript, see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō Dōkyō: Mokurokuhen* 332; *Zurokuhen*, 725–34; *Lingbao jing yishu* 靈寶經義疏, *Zhonghua daozaog*, 5: 511.

<sup>654</sup> DZ 1124, 15a.

<sup>655</sup> *Tang Liudian*, 4. 125

known Daoist retreat in the Tang Daoist communities. In the beginning section of the *Marvelous Scripture for the Protection of the People* (Wushang santian fashi shuoyinyu zhongsheng miaojing 無上三天法師說蔭育眾生妙經), it describes an age when various disasters are taking place and hunger ghosts are emerging. In order to expel the ghosts and restore people to healthiness, a Celestial Master advocates for undertaking a Lingbao retreat of repentance. Later in the instruction of performing the retreat, the Celestial Master further explains that the retreat can be performed by both Chinese and alien, and specifically requires the them to perform the Ziran zhai to fulfill this purpose 依自然齋法禮懺.<sup>656</sup> This prescription indicates that the Ziran zhai was a widely known retreat in the Tang, more conductible and desirable than other retreats. Secondly, its ritual actions and procedure were not complicated. In the hagiography of Wang Fajin 王法進, a local transcendent in Shu 蜀 region in the early Tang, simple and ease (jianyi 簡易) were considered as its main characteristics.<sup>657</sup> As instructed in the *Yizhujue*, all the actions in the portion of Nocturnal Announcement, as well as those in the Practicing the Dao such as the presentation of incense, the taking refuge, and the repentance, are allowed to be augmented with probably more actions or reduced in accordance with the real circumstance 隨事增損.<sup>658</sup>

Due to its historical wide application, we still have two extant ritual manuals

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<sup>656</sup> *DZ* 1197, 3a.

<sup>657</sup> *YJQQ*, *DZ* 1032, 115. 7b.

<sup>658</sup> *DZ* 1238, 13a.



of the retreat for reference. The one is the *Rite of the Retreat of the Spontaneity of Numinous Treasure of Cavern Mystery* (Dongxuan lingbao ziran zhaiyi 洞玄靈寶自然齋儀), a plausible Tang text preserved in the Ming Daoist canon. The other is from Dunhuang manuscripts (P. 3282+S. 6841+ BD. 15636+ P. 2455), joined together and renamed as *Scripture on the Rite of the Retreat and Precept of the Spontaneity in the tradition of Numinous Treasure of Cavern Mystery* (Dongxuan lingbao ziran zhai jie weiyi jing 洞玄靈寶自然齋戒威儀經).<sup>659</sup> The former contains only the actions in the *xingdao* section. A comparison of this portion in the two ritual manuals, as listed below, shows that their main content and basic procedure are identical.

<i>Rite of the Retreat of the Spontaneity of Numinous Treasure of Cavern Mystery</i>	<i>Scripture on the Rite of the Retreat and Precept of the Spontaneity in the tradition of Numinous Treasure of Cavern Mystery</i>
<b>Practice the Dao</b>	<b>Practice the Dao</b>
	Enter the platform
Visualize the Three Masters	Pay reverence and visualize the masters 禮師思神
	Recite the Spiritual Incantation of Protecting the Numinous 衛靈神咒
Knock the dharma drum	
Activate the incense burner	Incantation on incense and make the furnace ready to use
Read the petition	Set off officials and report

<sup>659</sup> *Zhonghua Daozang*, 43: 710–15.

	Three Commitments
	Pay reverence to ten directions 十方禮
Repentance to fourteen directions	Repent to ten directions
Take refuge to the heavenly worthies in the ten directions	
Recite the Incantation of Commanding the Mara	Recite the Incantation of Commanding the Mara
Perform the Pace the Void	Pacing the Void and pay reverence to the scriptures 禮經懺謝
Recite the [Hymn] of Three Openings 三啟	
Pay homage to the Way, the Scriptures, and the Mystery Master 三禮	
Send the Petition	
Make commitment	Make commitment
Restore the furnace	Incantation on the incense and restore the furnace
	Recite the Hymn of Following the Precepts 奉戒誦
Exist the platform	Exist the platform

Table 20. The Comparison of the Structure and the Performance of two ritual manuals of the Ziran zhai

While the Ziran zhai provides the transmission rite with a model of procedure and a cluster of actions, the augment of performances and the reinterpretation of actions are needed to accomplish the purpose of transmission in the *Yizhujue*. A detailed instruction for the transferal of scriptures is given. It is embedded as an independent step prior to the restore the furnace.<sup>660</sup> In this step, the master faces to the north, presents the incense for three times, and sits back at the east. The Five Guarantors sit along with the master. Then the recipient, facing to the north,

<sup>660</sup> DZ 1238, 13a.

prostrates at the south of the master and reads the petition. On the other hand, the petition delivered to the heavenly court literally explains the meaning of the transmission. As Schipper correctly points out, the sample of the petition provided by the *Yizhujue* actually serves as the writ of oath.<sup>661</sup> Nonetheless, the writ here essentially differs its counterpart in the *Yuzhi xinyi* analyzed in the last section. The one used there is supposed to be read together by the master and the recipient. This particular action indicates that this is a covenant involving only two parties. In the *Yizhujue*, however, the writ is to be delivered to the heavenly court with a petition. This not only demotes the recipient to a more or less passive role, but also introduces the heavenly court into the transmission. As a result, the covenant entails the authority beyond the worldly Daoist participants.

In Conclusion, the *Yizhujue* provides a detailed picture of how the Taixuan division was transmitted. The structure here followed that in the *Ziran zhai*, the product of Lingbao ritual movement in the early 5th century. The performance is then likely to be simple and ease. The predominant object in the transmission is the *Dao De jing* and other sorts of scriptures, yet it is possible the register, though with much less importance, is listed. The protocol here also manifests certain effort made to reinterpret Lingbao retreat by those Daoist who had not yet received the register.

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<sup>661</sup> Schipper and Venrellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 1: 496.

#### 5.4 Performative Officiant: Ritual Transitions in the *Baibiao yi*

The key figure of Daoist ritual in the late Tang was Du Guangting. A Daoist serving the court and interacting closely with the emperors of two dynasties, he had compiled a rich corpus of Daoist scriptures, rites, and hagiographies that represent the religious landscape in the late 9th and early 10th century.<sup>662</sup> His *Ritual of the Presenting Memorials for the Transmitting the Register of Purple Void and the Dao De jing* (Taishan sandong chuanshou Dao De jing zixu lu baibiao yi 太上三洞傳授道德經紫虛籙拜表儀, hereafter: Baibiao yi) is the only extant Daoist ritual manual for transmission in the late Tang and hence serves the main source analyzed in this section.

First and foremost, the main body of the objects transmitted Division of Great Mystery remained consistent throughout the Tang. As shown in the table below, all the prescriptions contain the *Dao De jing* and the its *Heshang* commentary. This fact again affirms that the division derived from and centered on the worship of the *Dao De jing*. Secondly, the *Kejie yingshi*, the *Yizhujue*, and the *Lüeshuo* together reflect the formational process of the division from the mid 6th century to the mid eighth century. The augmented scriptures, including the commentaries and ritual manuals, represent the negotiation among the Tang Daoists of what were considered as the most pertinent to the division. The *Kejie yingshi* focuses

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<sup>662</sup> Franciscus Verellen, *Du Guangting (850–933): Taoïste de Cour à la fin de la Chine Médiévale* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1989), 120 and below.

on the doctrinal elaborations of the *Dao De jing*. All it contains are the commentaries, biographies, and scriptures that are on the theme of Laozi and the *Dao De jing*. Although the numbers of the items in the *Yizhujue* is the smallest of all, they are chosen in the delicate balance, that is, there are both doctrinal works and ritual manuals. The *Lüeshuo* also takes into account both the doctrinal works and the ritual manuals. Its items are listed in the two sets: those in the A are originated from the the Division of Great Mystery whereas the group B is attributed to Ge Xuan and Jinming qizhen. The remark of the attributions from different traditions shows more evident the process of amalgamation. Moreover, it initially introduces register among the items transmitted, and explicitly mentions its title—the Register of Purple Void.

The *Baibiao yi* provides a more comprehensive list. That is, it combines the sets of scriptures from different lineages of traditions. The items 1–7 are exactly the content of the set A in the *Lüeshuo* whereas the items 8–10 can be found in the set B. The rest items 11 and 12, initially proposed by the *Fengdao kejie*, are added into the list by Du himself. It is worthy to note that the Register of Purple Void is promoted as the same significant item as the *Dao De jing* here, which can be testified from the title of the *Baibiao yi*.

<i>Fengdao kejie yingshi</i>	<i>Yizhujue</i>	<i>Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu</i>	<i>Baibiaoyi</i>
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		<i>lüeshuo</i> <sup>663</sup>	
<b>The Disciple of the Highest Mystery:</b>	1 <i>Dao De jing</i>	A	1 <i>Dao Dejing</i>
1 <i>Dao De jing</i>	2 <i>Heshang commentary</i>	1 <i>Dao De jing</i>	2 <i>Heshang Commentary</i>
2 <i>Heshang Commentary</i>	3 <i>Xiang'er Precept</i>	2 <i>Heshang Commentary</i>	3 <i>Xiang'er Precept</i>
3 <i>Rite of Audience</i>	4 <i>Instruction on the Chart of Visualizing Lord Lao</i>	3 <i>Xiang'er Commentary</i>	4 <i>Chart of Visualization of Laozi</i>
4 <i>Biography of Yin Xi</i>	5 <i>Rite of Transmission</i>	4 <i>Chart of Grand Visualization</i>	5 <i>Rite of Transmission</i>
5 <i>Precept</i>	6 <i>Rite of the Audience</i>	5 <i>Rite of Transmission</i>	6 <i>Rite of Audience</i>
<b>The Ritual Master of the Highest Mystery:</b>	7 <i>Rite of [the Retreat of] Spontaneity</i>	6 <i>Rite of Audience</i>	7 <i>Rite of Retreat</i>
1. <i>Scripture of the Wonderful Perfected</i>		7 <i>Rite of Retreat</i>	8 <i>Register of Purple Void</i>
2. <i>Scripture of Ascending to the West</i>		B	9 <i>Scripture of Ascending to the West</i>
3 <i>Scripture of the Jade Calendar</i>		1 <i>Scripture of Ascents to the West</i>	10 <i>Scripture of Wonderful Perfected</i>
4 <i>Scripture of Passing Viscera</i>		2 <i>Scripture of Wonderful Perfected</i>	11 <i>Chart of Visualization of Six jia</i>
5 <i>Middle Scripture of Laozi</i>		3 <i>Neijie Commentary</i>	12 <i>[Scripture of the] Jade Calendar</i>
6 <i>Neijie Commentary</i>		4 <i>Jiejie Commentary</i>	13 <i>[Scripture of] Passing Viscera</i>
7 <i>Jiejie Commentary</i>		5 <i>Biography of Laozi</i>	
8 <i>Biography of Laozi</i>		6 <i>Biography of the Most High Perfected</i>	
9 <i>Samples of the Petitions of Luminary Man</i>			

<sup>663</sup> *Short Exposition on the Transmission of the Scriptures, Rules, and Registers of the Three Caverns* (Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lueshuo 傳授三洞經戒法籙略說) was compiled by Zhang Wanfu 張萬福 in 713 CE. The text aims to provide a theoretical treatise on the different groups of texts within the Daoist canon in connection with the Tang ordination system. Here Zhang records two sets of scriptures transmitted with the ordination rank of the Taixuan division. The set A comes from the division of Taixuan, by which one should memorize and hold it in one's mind as an object of contemplation 受持修行; the set B originates from Lingbao scriptures that revealed by the Left Transcendent Duke and from the *Regulations for the Practice of the Way in Accordance with the Scriptures of the Three Caverns* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始, an early Tang monastic standards for the Daoist's life and professional activities.

		7 Register of Purple Void	
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Table 21. The Objects Transmitted with the *Taixuan* Division in the Tang Daoist Texts (The bold letters indicate the items that has reappeared in the lists)

### 5.4.1 Platform

Like most Daoist ritual manuals in the medieval China, the protocol does not provide the information of the platform on which the ritual is performed. A precise reconstruction of the platform may thus be risky; however, given the fact that the ritual structure here follows the *Lingbao* retreat, it appears that the investiture is undertaken on the typical two- or three-tiered platform for *Lingbao* rituals. This means that as in the Yellow Register Retreat, the platform has three enclosures, each with different numbers of gates and different eligibilities for entry. There are ten gates—corresponding to the eight directions plus up and down— on the inner altar and only the ritual master enters. The middle altar contains four gates, namely the Heavenly Gate 天門 (northwest), the Terrestrial Portal 地戶 (southeast), the Door of the Sun 日門 (northeast), and the Door of the Moon 月門 (southwest). Ritual officiants are allowed to perform such as *buxu* here. They enter and exit solely through the Terrestrial Portal. The outer altar has eight gates on the eight directions that are named by the eight phases. The only entrance into it is the Gate of Ligong (離宮) on the south.

While the basic structure of the platform may generally follow the classical prescriptions for the platform in the *Lingbao* retreat, there are points in the

*Baibiao yi* that suggest the innovations have taken place. In the end of the investiture, all the ritual officiants are supposed to enchant a hymn to utter farewell to the Three Masters 辭三師 and then dismiss in front of the Mystery Master 引至玄師前散如常儀. These detailed actions suggest the Three Masters and the Mystery Master maintain fixed loci on the platform. Their loci can be attested by the *Standardized Rituals of the Supreme Yellow Register Retreat* (*Wushang Huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀; hereafter *Licheng yi*), a collection of ritual protocols compiled in the Southern Song. *Licheng yi* constantly makes references to Du's prescriptions. According to the one of such references on the arrangement of platform, *Licheng yi* recites that Du's *Rite* 杜儀 assigns six baldachins (mu 幕) to be displayed on the south of the platform. On the southeast there are the baldachin of Mystery Master, that of Celestial Master, and that of the Three Offices. On the southwest there are the baldachin of Five Thearchs, that of Three Masters, and that of Great Ritual Master in charge of the Retreat (jianzhai dafashi 監齋大法師). Within each baldachin, the holy image(s) or statue(s) (shengxiang 聖像) is positioned.<sup>664</sup>

The fixed constructions for the Three Masters and for the Mystery Master had no precedent in Daoist ritual prior to the late Tang. They are significant in terms of both the meaning of what are inside the baldachins and the way they are

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<sup>664</sup> *DZ* 508, 9a–10a. Besides the six baldachins, the *Licheng yi* records that the Site of Supervision (jianlin suo 監臨所) and the Hall of Delivery (shoudu tang 授度堂) are also constructed besides the platform in the retreat. (*DZ* 508, 11a–b)



represented there. The role of master cannot be overestimated in the Daoist community throughout its history. Master was one of the three treasuries of Daoism, the equivalent of the Dao and the Scripture. The lineage of masters in the three generations (*sanshi* 三師)—the Master of Ordination (*dushu* 度師), that of Document (*jishi* 籍師), and of Scripture (*jingshi* 經師)— was the significant notion in Daoism. Not only a Daoist was required to ordain certain numbers of disciples for each of the three masters,<sup>665</sup> but also the three masters themselves became the object in the visualization in the Tang Daoist rituals. Zhang Wanfu assigned the visualization of the residence and appearance of the practitioner's masters in the past three generations in the retreat and libation rituals. As independent ritual step, it was embedded between the “entering the portal” and the “activating the incense burner”. Some one century later, Du Guangting still kept the visualization of masters in his practice of retreats, while intentionally augmenting its content. The entire procedure consisted of four actions: visualization of descending Three Treasuries, that of the three masters, that of the pneuma and the celestial beings, and that of the Five Viscera, the Five Marchmounts, and the Five Thearches.<sup>666</sup>

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<sup>665</sup> According to the *Huanglu jianwen*, the number for the *dushi* is nine, that for the *jishi* is seven, that for the *jingshi* is three, see Dunhuang manuscript *Taishang dongxuan lingbao xiayuan huanglu jianwen weiyi jing* 太上洞玄靈寶下元黃籙簡文威儀經, in *Zhonghua daozang*, 3: 273–4.

<sup>666</sup> Chang Chao-jan 張超然, “Tang Song daojiao zhayiyi zhong de lishi cunnian jiqi yuanliu kaolun jianlun daojiao zhaitan tuxiang de yunyong,” 唐宋道教齋儀中的「禮師存念」及其源流考論——兼論道教齋壇圖像的運用 *Qinghua xuebao* no. 45/3 (2015): 282–89.

In Zhang Wanfu's description, the visualization should be in accordance with the document, conferred to the disciple in the transmission rite, that recorded the details of the masters' appellation, appearance, family, lineage, and living regions. In the real practice, however, the document could hardly be completely provided, particular the image of the masters. For instance, while Du Guangting explicitly accounted the lineage of his masters, he was not able to picture their images due to the scarcity of the document.<sup>667</sup> Given this, it is less likely that the locus of the Three Masters in the transmission rite here contains inside the images/statuses of the masters. Perhaps more symbolic means such as the tablet with the appellation of the master is applied there.<sup>668</sup> The symbolic meaning of the master here cannot be ignored. It represents the Daoist lineage from the written form to something visual. In this way, the authority of the transmission is reinforced, and the lineage reaffirmed. Moreover, as the discussion later shows, the visualization further transforms the masters as concrete objects who ascend and supervise the ritual.

On the other hand, the locus of the Mystery Master is also the meaningful representation of Daoist doctrine. In the Shangqing model of transmission that entailed the revealer of the scriptures, the new notion of the Mystery Master developed. Not only did the master symbolize the holy origin of the scripture, but also authorized the transmission. Lu Xiujing seemed to be aware of the notion and

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<sup>667</sup> Ibid, 388.

<sup>668</sup> Elsewhere in the *Taishang huangluzhai yi*, Du mentions the tablet of *sanshi* (sanshi wei 三師位). (DZ 507, 50. 10a)

defined it as one of the component of Three Treasuries—the Grand Ritual Master of the Mystery (xuanzhong da fashi 玄中大法師). In the actual transmission of the *Dao De jing*, the deity who served the role of the Mystery Master was not consistent from the Six Dynasties to the late Tang.<sup>669</sup> The variance was the same in Du Guangting’s works. In his theological comment on *Dao De jing*, he considered the Mystery Master as the title of Laozi who revealed the scriptures of the Three Caverns.<sup>670</sup> Elsewhere in the ritual of reciting scripture (zhuanjing 轉經) that he designed, Yin Xi and Heshang gong were reckoned as the Mystery Master.<sup>671</sup> More Daoist texts in the Six Dynasties, however, agreed with that Laozi played the role as the Mystery Master.<sup>672</sup> The locus of the Mystery Master seems to be located out of the platform, close to the banners and the table of incense burner. It is the place where the ritual officiants take refuge to the Three Treasuries in the morning on the first day of the three-day retreat or of the ritual for expressing merit.<sup>673</sup>

#### 5.4.2 Ritual Procedure

Originally administratively employed in the politics, the term “presentation memorial” (baibiao 拜表) denotes the submission of memorial with set of ritual

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<sup>669</sup> Kim Jihyun 金志玹, “Genshi to heshi— dōkyō ni okeru atarashī shi no kannen to sono tenkai,” 玄師と經師—道教における新しい師の觀念とその展開 in *Sankyō kōshō ronsō zokuhen* 三教交渉論叢續編 (Kyōto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 2011), 57–98.

<sup>670</sup> *Dao De zhenjing guang shengyi* 道德真經廣聖義, DZ 725, 2. 9a.

<sup>671</sup> DZ 507, 52. 3a.

<sup>672</sup> Kim, “Genshi to heshi,” 80–1.

<sup>673</sup> DZ 507, 1. 1a; 40. 1a; 44. 1a.

performances, especially bowings. As a set of standardized performance known to the society, bowing memorial may function analogously as its counterpart of submitting petition (*shangzhang* 上章) in Daoist ritual. Theoretically, the both could signify the ritual submission of written supplication to the ultimate authority on the process of bureaucratic conveyance. From the diachronic perspective, however, bowing memorial was much later adopted in the Daoist ritual than submitting petition. One of its earliest usages was applied by Lu Xiuqing in his ordination rite in the early 5th century, where it was supposed to send to the heavenly court along with the clerks and officials who were send off from the master's body.<sup>674</sup> This feature is also consistent in the *Yizhujue*. In the Retreats of Yellow Register in the *Taishang huangluzhai yi* compiled by Du, it is intensively used in the reporting merit and this feature matches its usage in this ritual manual.

As the title indicates, the ritual manual consists of two parts, the transmission and the expressing merit. The protocol gives the steps in the first part as follows:

1. The master explains precept.
2. All encircle the platform and recite the Encomiums of Penetrating Mystery 通玄讚.<sup>675</sup>
3. Ritual officials enchant the Encomium of Transmitting Scripture 授經讚.
4. The master makes the Guardians of the Five Numinous 五靈衛官 descend into the disciple(s)'s body. The disciple(s) recite aloud to

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<sup>674</sup> Lü, "The early Lingbao transmission ritual: a critical study of Lu Xiuqing's (406–477) *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi*", 14.

<sup>675</sup> There are eight stanzas in total. In practice, one can recite all or only the first stanza.

- receive them.
5. The disciple(s) recite aloud to take refuge in the Heavenly Worthies in ten directions.
  6. The master conducts repentance for the disciple(s).
  7. All encircle the platform and recite the Encomium of Brightness 光明讚 and the Encomiums of Perfects 真人讚.
  8. The master orally reports the Petition of Expressing Merit 言功章.
  9. The master returns his spiritual clerks and soldiers.
  10. The master closes the incense burner.
  11. Ritual officiants enchant the Encomium of Pursuing Precept 奉戒讚.
  12. Ritual officiants recite Twelve Commitments 十二願.
  13. Ritual officiants [sing] the Encomium of Learning for Transcendence<sup>676</sup> 學仙讚.
  14. The master recites the Incantation of Existing Gate 出戶咒.
  15. Ritual officiants [enchant] the Encomium of Bidding Farewell to the Three Masters<sup>677</sup> 辭三師頌
  16. With performing encomium, all proceed in front of the Mystery Master 玄師 and then dismiss the crowd.

The main structure here generally follows the framework of the Daoist retreat that rooted deeply in *Lingbao* tradition. “Restore the burner” and “Exist the Portal ” (step no. 10 and 14) employed at the ending part of the ritual indicate the existence of their symmetrical counterparts, “Opening the burner” and “Enter the Portal ” respectively, used in the beginning. Paying homage to the ten directions, succeeded repentance, is also the convention of the retreat. More specifically, Du may have made reference from the *Ziran zhai* when he compiled the ritual manual.

*Ziran zhai* contains the chanting (yong 詠) of Hymn of Pursuing Precept in the

<sup>676</sup> In the original ritual manual, the instruction is simply “the Encomium of Learning for Transcendence 學仙讚”, without giving the information on the kind of performance and the content of the hymn. I make reference from the *Taishang huangluzhai yi* and reconstruct the content from *DZ 507, 52. 7b*.

<sup>677</sup> As same as the step 13, the ritual manual only puts “bid farewell to the Three Masters” 辭三師 here. Again, the *Taishang huangluzhai yi* suggests that it is the title of an encomium. (*DZ 507, 50. 10a*)

very end. While this step can hardly be found elsewhere in medieval Daoist rituals, *Baibiaoyi* contains this and similarly imbues it after the part of “Restore the burner”.

The structural vicissitude is given in the table below. The rituals in the *WSMY* and the *Ziran zhai* share a large number of individual ritual parts in common, especially the standard steps such as opening up the furnace, visualize the conveying soldiers and clerks, report, and restore the furnace etc. A scrutiny of the *Baibiao yi*, however, reveals that only six steps, out of the total seventeen, share in common with the previous two, which demonstrate fundamental ritual changes that took place in the late Tang. Moreover, it is in the *Baobiao yi* that introduces the module of transferring register into the structure of the Lingbao retreat, thus shaping the basic feature that the register and the scripture were granted the most significant objects in the Daoist transmission rite.

<p><i>Supreme Secret Essentials</i> 無上秘要: Ch. 35, The Chapter of the Rites of the Nocturnal Invocation and Retreat Utterance in Transmission 授度齋辭宿啟儀品 + Ch. 37, The Chapter of the Rite of Transmitting the Five Thousands Characters of the Way</p>	<p><i>Scripture on the Liturgy of Retreat and Precept of the Spontaneity in the tradition of Numinous Treasure of Cavern Mystery</i> (P. 3282+ S. 6841+ BD 15636 Dongxuan lingbao ziran zhaijie weiyi jing 洞玄靈寶自然齋戒威儀經; hereafter: <i>ziran zhai</i>)</p>	<p><i>Ritual of the Presenting Memorials for the Transmitting the Register of the Purple Void and the Dao De jing</i> (Taishan sandong chuanshou Dao De jing zixu lu baibiao yi 太上三洞傳授道德經紫虛錄拜表儀)</p>
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and its Power 授道德 五千文儀品		
<b>Nocturnal Announcement (First Day Night)</b>	<b>Nocturnal Announcement (First Day Night)</b>	
The disciple visits the master, presenting his written request for transmission 授辭	One patrons the retreat 主 人 submits to the ritual master the request for performing ritual 投辭	
Enter the Realm of the Way 入道場 and do the secret incantation 密祝, requesting the deities reside in the oratory to enter into the Yellow Chamber so that the forthcoming reports are effective <sup>678</sup> :	Officiants 齋官 enter into the Daoist household	
Enter the oratory and think of the masters in the past three generations 入靜思三師		
Open up the furnace 發 爐 . The master visualizes the Lord Lao summon his/her body deities who ask the local deities to report the master's request to the Upper Thearch of Jade Luminary 玉皇上帝	Circuit in counterclockwise around the incense and candle, and incant. The master visualizes the Lord Lao summon his/her body deities who ask the local deities to report the master's request to the Upper Thearch of Jade Luminary 至真玉帝	
	The officiants presented	

<sup>678</sup> According to *Taizhenke*, a late 4th century Daoist code, in the celestial Yellow Chamber there is Platform of the Highest Mystery where Celestial Master pays audience (Taiping yulan, 674. 3134a). This may be one theological origin of its reference here.

	incense and announce their titles and ranks 三櫟香，各稱位號	
	Bow northward for ten times, pay reverence to ten directions.	
	Repent to ten directions 十方懺	
	Rise and face to the north, recite the three Incantations of Reverencing the Scriptures 禮經咒三首	
Announcement 啟事. The master formally reports the transmission to the Most High in ten directions	Announcement 啟事. The master formally reports the performance of retreat to supreme deities such as Lord of the Dao of the Most High 太上道君 and request for the attainment of the merit of the retreat 齋功成就	
Read the written request. 讀辭		
Recite the three Chant of Wisdom 智慧詠	Stand eastward and recite the three Chant of Wisdom 智慧詠	
Take refuge to the each and every heavenly worthy 歸命一切天尊	Face northwards, prostrate on the ground and pay reverence to the ten directions 迴心禮十方	
Elaboration of precepts 說戒. The master sits next to the adept 平	Elaboration of precepts 說戒. The ritual master returns to the east and	The disciples listen to the master's explaining precept



坐, facing the west, elaborates the ten precepts	faces to the west, explaining the precepts	弟子聽師戒
Appoint the officiants 署眾官 The master appoints the participants into the six groups, each plays certain ritual role.	Appoint the officiants 署眾官 . The master appoints the rest six participants into the six ritual roles. 一人都講, 一人監齋, 一人侍經, 一人侍香, 一人侍燈, 一人侍座	
[Announce] the thirty six codes for codified punishing transgressions 科罰愆失	[The ritual master] announces the codes and explains the proscription 宣科說禁, 告示威儀	
Request for Transcendent Officials 啟請仙官. The master tall-knells on the east to request the transcendent officials. This serves as a preparation for the next day.		
Restoring the furnace 復爐 The master once more requests the deities in the oratory to make sure the report to the supreme deities is effective and asks for blessing for the disciple in the future.	Restoring the furnace 復爐 Rise to return to the original place, eastward present the incense, and restore the furnace. 畢, 起復位, 東向上香,	
Recite the Encomium of Following the	Circuit counterclockwise and recite the Encomium	

Precepts 奉戒頌	of Following the Precepts	
Exist the ritual realm and incant.	Exist the ritual realm 治戶	
<b>Practice the Dao (Next Day)</b>	<b>Practice the Dao (Next Day)</b>	
Enter into the ritual realm and incant. The detieis that the master incants here are different from those in the Nocturnal Announcement	Enter into the hall of retreat and incant 入齋堂 咒戶	
Chant the Hymn of Tranquil Mind 唱靜念		
		Chant the eight Eulogies of Penetrating the Mystery 通玄讚
Think of the masters in the past three generations. The procedure is as same as its counterpart in the Nocturnal Announcement 思三師	Pay reverence to master and think about their spirits 禮師思神	
	Recite the Spiritual Incantation of Protecting the Numinous 次誦衛靈神咒	
	Incantation on incense and make the furnace ready to use 次咒香巖爐	

<p>Open up the furnace 發爐. The master visualizes the Lord Lao summon his/her body deities who ask the local deities to report the master's request to the Upper Thearch of Jade Luminary 至真玉帝</p>	<p>Set off officials and report 次出官啟事</p>	
<p>Pay reverence to the Three Treasures. 禮三 寶</p>	<p>Three Commitments 次三上願</p>	
<p>The master and the disciple tall-knell and read the writ of covenant 長跪讀盟文</p>		
<p>The master holds the scripture and visualizes that deities protect the scripture. 師執經存思</p>		
<p>Recite the Chanting of Transmitting Scriptures 傳經誦</p>		<p>Chant the Eulogies of Transmitting Scripture 授經讚</p>
		<p>Descending deities into the disciple's body. The master returns to the original place. The disciples go towards to the south, face to the north, and knell down. [The master] make guarding officials of five numinous descend. Each claims name and accepts [the numinous officials].</p>

		師還本位，弟子就南方面北各跪，降五靈衛官，一一稱名受。
Transmission of the scripture. The master endows the disciple the scripture and the disciple knells down to receive. Having done this, each pays reverence to the master by bowing thrice. 師付經弟子跪受乃還本位都訖各禮師三拜		
Take refuge to each and every honorable Way. The deities here are the same as its counterpart in the Nocturnal Announcement 歸依一切尊道	Pay reverence to ten directions 十方禮	Speak loudly to ten directions. Take refuge to the Heavenly Worthies in ten directions. 唱十方
	Repent to ten directions 十方懺	Repent 次懺悔
	Visualize Demon of Fate 存思命魔	
Chanting three hymns while encircling the platform. 誦三首旋行一用(周)	Pace Void, pay reverence to the scriptures, and repent 步虛及禮經懺謝	Encircle the platform, chant the Hymn of the Splendid Luminous and six Hymns of the Perfected 迄旋行，誦光明讚一首，真人讚六首
	Make commitment 願念	
		The master returns to his place, expresses regards, orally report the petition of uttering

		merits and apologizing transgressions 師復位謝恩口啟言功謝過章
Sending off the deities. The master faces east, sends off the deities, and promises promotion for them. 師東面還仙官		Restore clerks and solders into body 納吏兵
Restore the furnace復爐. The same function as its counterpart in the Nocturnal Announcement.	Incantation on the incense and restore the furnace 咒香復爐	Restore the furnace 次復鑪
Recite the Encomium of Following the Precepts 奉戒頌	Recite the Hymn of Following the Precepts 詠奉戒誦	Recite the Encomium of Following the Precepts 吟奉戒讚
		Make twelve Commitments 十二願
		Chant the Hymn of Learning Transcendence 學仙讚
Exist the ritual realm and incant. Same as it is in the Nocturnal Announcement.	Exist the Daoist household and incant 事畢出道戶咒	Incantation of Existing Household 出戶咒
		Taking leave to the three masters 辭三師
		Lead [crowds] with hymns in front of the [image of] Mystery Master, disassemble as usual 讚引至玄師前，散如常儀

		Officiants and disciples all express regards and return to [original] place 眾官弟子各禮謝復位
	<b>Report the Merit (Next day)</b>	<b>Report the Merit (after three days of transmission)</b>
	Next day when retreat is completed the master reports merits of deities who participate the retreat 次日滿齋竟言功	Three days after the transmission, disciples submit the petition of gratitude 弟子受道三日外，相率自拜謝恩表

Table 22. Comparison of the Structure of Transmission Ritual in *WSMY*, *Ziran zhai*, and *Baibiaoyi*

#### 5.4.3 The Register of Purple Void

The register seems to have a very obscure origin and could be hardly be found in pre-Tang source.<sup>679</sup> Its early usage may partly arise from the ordination rank system in the Tang. While some early Tang source associates the register with the *Dao De jing* in the ordination rank system, some treats them separately. In the *Lüeshuo*, the both are essential constituents of the ordination rank of the “*Dao De*”. However, different sources are ascribed to them: while the *Dao De jing* comes from the prescription in the Taixuan Division, the register originates from

<sup>679</sup> There was a Purple Register practiced in the mid 8th century, which aimed to protect the recipient and his/her family, and to transform him/her to the seed person who was eligible to be delivered from this world (Dunhuang manuscript *P. 2457*). As Wang Ka suggests, the clerks and officials on the register are issued from the Purple Palace and Jade Terrace, which indicates the manuscript is part of *Zhengyi fawen santian zigong yutai wuji shenxian zilü* 正一法文三天紫宮玉臺無極神仙紫籙, a lost scripture from Celestial Master tradition (*Zhonghua daoang*, 8: 490–91.)

Ge Xuan and Jinming qizhen.<sup>680</sup> While the division that contains a cluster of scriptures centering around the *Dao De jing* is surely the source, very hardly can we exactly testify the attribution in the *Lüeshuo*, for Ge and Jinming Qizhen represented very distinctive Daoist traditions. As discussed in the section above, Ge Xuan was believed the head of the lineage that transmitted the *Heshang* version of the *Dao De jing*, which was the most authoritative version of the scripture in the Daoist communities in the Six Dynasties and Tang. Jinming Qizhen did not mention the register in the *Fengdao kejie*, which has been traditionally attributed to him.<sup>681</sup> This may reflect the contesting traditions in the making of Daoist ordination rank, here particularly the *Dao De* rank, in the early Tang.

In the mid and late Tang, the association of the register and the scripture became fixed. Xie Ziran 謝自然 (767–795), a famous female Daoist in the late 8th and early 9th century, was transmitted with the *Dao De jing* and the Register of Purple Void from Daoist Cheng Taixu 程太虛 at Kaiyuan monastery.<sup>682</sup>

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<sup>680</sup> DZ 1241, 5a.

<sup>681</sup> Yoshitoyo Yoshioka 吉岡義豊, “三洞奉道科戒儀範の成立について,” *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 道教と佛教 3vols (Tōkyō : Kokusho Kankōkai, 1980), 3. 560–63; Liu Cunren 柳存仁, “Sandao fengdao kejie yifan diwu–P2337 zhong Jinming qizhen yici de tuice 三洞奉道科戒儀範卷第五—P2337 中金明七真一詞之推測,” *Hefengtang xin wenji* 和風堂新文集 2 vols (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1997), 1. 339–82, particular 352–3.

<sup>682</sup> *Taiping guangji*, 66. 408. This passage is recited from *Yongcheng jixian lu*, collected hagiographies of female Daoists by Du Guangting. However, the book in the Daoist canon does not contain the hagiography for Xie. As for the study of Xie, particular the transmission, see Stephen Bokenkamp, “Transmissions of a Female Daoist: Xie Ziran (767–795),” Florian C. Reiter, ed., *Affiliation and Transmission in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium* (Berlin: Harrassowitz, 2012), 109–122.

As demonstrated in the chapter one, the cluster of performance applied in transmitting register in the Celestial Master tradition was appropriated in the transmission rite in the ordination rank system. A comparison between the normative the transmission of register and the step 4 in the *Baibiaoyi* would further reveal the meaning of the performance.

Transmission of Register in the S. 203	Analysis of the Step 4 in the <i>Baibiao yi</i>
Send off petition	Send off petition (gaoshi 告事)
Review the register	
Read the titles of spirits in register and the recipient receives	Read the titles of spirits in register and the recipient receives
Activate the register	
Summon the recipient's ancestors and local deities to supervise the transmission	
Sprinkle the incanted water onto the recipient	
Transfer the register	

Table 23. Comparison of the Performance in the Transmissions of Register

It seems likely that it is the miniature of the normative procedure of transmitting the register in the Celestial Master community. In the original performance in the left column, all other actions play the preparatory role for the actual transfer of the register. In the *Baibiao yi*, however, only the reading officiant's title and the proclamation by the recipient are preserved. It is not entirely impossible that other ritual steps would have been practiced—they are omitted in the ritual manual because of the economical considerations—to save the paper and the ink;



however, the fact that this performance is highlighted indicates its significance.

Register is the document that records the appellation, the rank, the subordination, the function, and other information of the spirits that reside within the body of the recipient. It is in this performance that the content of the Register of Purple Void is revealed. In the step 4, the master, standing northward to the initiate, confers the six groups of the affiliated officiants of celestial perfects 天真官屬 to the initiate(s). They are the titles of the spirits residing in the register. Accepting each group entering into his/her body, the initiate(s) would announce his/her name 一一稱名受. The officiants are the affiliated with the perfects in the heavens in the five directions and the Greatest Supreme Immortal Officials in Charge of Scripture (Taiji dianjing xianguan 太極典經仙官). The titles of the celestial officiants in these six groups contain many symbolical meanings as follows:

	Officiants from the Eastern Heaven	Officiants from the Southern Heaven	Officiants from the Middle Heaven	Officiants from the Western Heaven	Officiants from the Northern Heaven	Taiji dianjing xianguan
Numbers of pneuma	Nine	Three	One	Seven	Five	
Ethnicity	Yi	Man	Qin	Rong	Di	
Constellation	Jupiter	Mars	Saturn	Venus	Mercury	
Marchmount	Dongyue	Nanyue	Zhongyue	Xiyue	Beiyue	
Viscera	Ziwei	Jiang	Yutang	Huagai	Taicang	Sany

	gong 紫微宮	gong 絳宮	gong 玉堂宮	gong 華蓋宮	gong 太倉宮	uan gong 三元 宮
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Table. 24 The Officiants in the Register of Purple Void

This system is heavily relied on the Five Phases theory, in which the natural entities are organized in correlative system that is divided into five phases. While the association of number, ethnicity, constellation, and marchmount to the five directions may be directly influenced under the Five Phases theory, that of viscera is much more of Daoist origin. The notion that the spirits who help to pursue longevity and immortality reside within the five viscera of human body originally developed in early Daoist text such as the *Taiping jing* and the *Heshang* commentary of *Laozi*. In the *jiao* ritual in the *Preface of Five Talismans of Most High Numinous Treasure (Taishang Lingbao wufu xu 太上靈寶五符序; hereafter Wufu xu)*, the ascending celestial spirits from the five heavens contain the titles that are full of similar symbols such as the number of the pneuma.<sup>683</sup> However, the association like this is rare.

As core component in the Daoist visualization, the viscera are assigned with different names in the format of “such and such palace”, being imagined as the residences of body deities. The correspondence, however, vary in different Daoist texts:

<sup>683</sup> For a recent study on the ritual, see Gil Raz, *The Emergence of Daoism: Creation of Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 105–17.

	heart	liver	spleen	lung	kidney	gallbladder	Stomach
<i>Laozi zhongjing</i> 老子中經, 2. 7b–8a	<b>Jiang gong</b>		Mingtang	<b>Yutang gong</b>	Bejiyouqu e/Xuanwu yemen		
<i>Wufuxu</i> , 1. 20b–21a	<b>Jiang gong</b>	Qingyang gong	Zhong gong	<b>Yutang gong</b>	Youchang gong	<b>Ziwei gong</b>	
<i>Shangqing huangshu guodu yi</i> 上清黃書過度儀 19a	<b>Jiang gong</b>	<b>Ziwei gong</b>	Mingtang gong	<b>Huagai gong</b>	Shuan ghe shizhe	Changming gong	<b>Taichang gong</b>
<i>Sandong daoshi jushan xiulian ke</i> 三洞道士居山修鍊科, 13a–b	Jiangtang gong	Qinglang gong	Zhonghuang gong	<b>Yutang gong</b>	Youmu gong	<b>Ziwei gong</b>	

Table 25. The Correspondence Between the Viscera and the Residence of Deity in Daoist Texts (The bold letter indicates what are used in the *Baibiao yi*)

As the table shows, there is no single source that fully matches the description of the deities in the *Baibiao yi*, though the *Huangshu guodu yi* seems to provide the

most titles for his composition. All the texts recited above assign either Yutang gong or Huagai gong as the title of the lung, indicating the two titles cannot theologically coexist in one text; however, the two are both adapted here as the residences of deities of the register. Notably, as in the *Huangshu guodu yi*, the boundary between *fu* viscera and the *zang* viscera is broke. The stomach is introduced as the sixth viscus. The specific locus for each group of officiant aims to prevent any misplacement of them (cuohu 錯互), which is considered as one of the typical transgressions in transferring the register.

The performance here has a clear Celestial Master origin. The master's reading of the titles of deities and the recipient's proclaiming his/her name to receive it, along with their position on the platform, can be found in the transmission rite in Celestial Master tradition. The similar performance is applied in transmitting the *xian/ling lu*<sup>684</sup>, the *sanyuan zhailu*<sup>685</sup>, *jiuhuang baolu*<sup>686</sup>, and *sanyuan lu/ wuxing lu*<sup>687</sup>. On the other hand, Du consciously reinterprets the function of the officiants. The celestial officials are addressed as the Guarding Officiants of the Five Numinous (wuling weiguan 五靈衛官). Unless the initiate conducts unforgivable transgression, they are supposed to reside permanently inside the body of the recipient. In the *Baibiao yi*, the master claims that they

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<sup>684</sup> Lü Pengzhi, "Tianshidao shoulu keyi" *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 77.1 (2006): 113

<sup>685</sup> *DZ 674 Wushang sanyuan zhenzhai linglu* 無上三元鎮宅靈錄, 16a.

<sup>686</sup> *DZ 1367 Shangqing hetu neixuan jing* 上清河圖內玄經, 1. 16a.

<sup>687</sup> *DZ 1014 Jinsuo liuzhu yin* 金鎖流珠引, 3. 1a.

function to guard the scripture and to persistently promote [the initiate] to the Daoist way 營衛真經，永昇道果. In the Celestial Master tradition, the clerks and soldiers on the register function to guard the recipient, and preventing illness and disaster that cause damage to him/her.<sup>688</sup> In other words, having body protection as its main function, register theoretically does not guard scripture, nor solely premises to help cultivation.

However, it would go too far to assume the function of register, as well as the mechanism that how it worked, was changed in the late Tang Daoism. The emphasis on the scripture-protection and the transcendence-assurance should be taken into account in the context of the *Baibiaoyi*. The transferring register is but one component of the ritual manual. As a result, the embedment of it within the entire procedure transforms the elemental ritual act and reinterprets its meaning. The cluster of practice and meaning are reoriented in order to match other component as particular and the ritual purpose of transmitting ordination rank as a whole. Accordingly, the meaning of the register is reinterpreted as guarding the scripture and assuring the transcendence. By the same token, the complex structure of register-transfer must be reduced to fit this purpose.

#### 5.4.4 Performance of the Hymns

One of the fundamental changes that Du brings to the transmission rite is the

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<sup>688</sup> “當為甲消災卻耶，辟斥下官故氣，復注鬼氣，” Lü, “Tianshidao shoulu keyi,” 144–5.

augmented numbers of encomiums. The performance of religious hymn was a long tradition in Daoist rituals. *Buxu*, or pacing the void, presents an example of an early and influential practice of Daoist hymn. Consisting of ten stanzas, the hymn describes the celestial beings on the Jade Capital mountain pay homage to the Celestial Worthy. In order to imitate the celestial audience, the Daoist performer chants the hymn and encircles the platform or alter table (xuanxing 旋行) while visualizing him/herself ascend onto the heavens with assembly of body deities.<sup>689</sup> In this process, chanting, along with dance and music, consisted the core elements of the performance. As Schipper points out, the juxtaposition of the performance and visualization is the fundamental characteristic of Daoist ritual that simultaneously executes the interior and exterior.<sup>690</sup>

There are eighteen pieces of hymns to be performed in the entire ritual process, seven of which are certain to be drawn from pre-Tang Lingbao scriptures, and the rest are highly likely composed by Du Guangting himself. All these hymns are called encomiums (zan 讚), in the format of traditional five-character poetry.

#### 1). The Encomiums of Penetrating the Mystery

A.

The ultimate Way is always void and tranquil,

至道常虛寂，

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<sup>689</sup> Stephen Bokenkamp, *The 'Pacing the Void Stanzas' of the Ling-pao Scriptures* (Master's thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1981).

<sup>690</sup> Kristopher Schipper, "A Study of Buxu: Taoist Liturgical Hymn and Dance." In Tsao Pen-Yeh and Daniel P. L. Law eds., *Studies of Taoist Rituals and Music of Today* (Hong Kong: The Society for Ethnomusicological Research, 1989), 119.

The mystery transformation corresponds to the true essence.  
The divided spirits<sup>691</sup> penetrate each and every thing,  
The congealed effulgence<sup>692</sup> is in the Three Purities.  
From the muddled and murky the image was born,  
In the emptied faintness manifests the formless.

玄化應真精。  
分神通一切，  
凝景在三清。  
恍惚生有象，  
冲寞見無形。

In succession of movements  
the preconditioned meeting commences ,  
In the critical moment the wonderful scripture was spoken.  
By practicing it one ascends to the spectacular Milky Way,  
By ignoring it one falls into the dark prison.  
Celestial ladies scatter the golden flowers,  
Spiritual lads recite aloud the jade sounds.  
The Ten Flowers<sup>693</sup> return treasured canopy,  
The Nine Phoenixes<sup>694</sup> hold back cloudy camps.  
If one broadens [the way] of the ultimate recondite,  
The Family and the state would all be peaceful and calm.

逐運開緣會，  
因機說妙經。  
修之登景漢，  
慢之墮幽囹。  
天女散金華，  
神童唱玉聲。  
十華迴寶蓋，  
九鳳遏雲營。  
若能弘至蹟，  
家國悉安寧。

B.

In the realm of five hundred thousand of heavens,<sup>695</sup>  
On the land of three thousand ways.  
The true and the false are still with reliance,<sup>696</sup>

五億諸天界，  
三千道境中。  
是非更有待，

<sup>691</sup> Cosmologically, the divided spirit refers the applications of the primal pneuma in the creation of things. It has origin from *DZ 338 Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶業報因緣經 “The Pneuma of the Way opened and spread, the heaven and the earth became distinguished. Yin and Yang transform, by causes and conditions [things] were generated. Myriad of things were with divided spirit, nourished by spreading pneuma 道炁開張，天地剖判。陰陽運化，因緣生成。萬物分神，布炁養育。”

<sup>692</sup> In accordance with the denotation of *jing* in *Shangqing* texts, here it may refer to astral bodies, namely the sun, the moon, the five planets, and the Northern Dipper too.

<sup>693</sup> *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi* 太上洞玄靈寶授度儀, “After long time retreat [the perfects] assemble at the Mystery Capital. The sounding jade knocks on the bell of gemstone. On the ten flowers the transcendentals gather. The purple smoke coagulates into the palace 長齋會玄都，鳴玉叩瓊鐘，十華諸仙集，紫煙結成宮。”(*DZ 528*, 40b)

<sup>694</sup> The Nine Phoenixes are described as vehicles by which one visualizes to wander freely in the transcendent realm in the “Gaoshang yuchen qusu youlehui ci 高上玉晨曲素憂樂慧辭” in the *Shangqing gaoshang yuchen fengtai qusu shangjing* 上清高上玉晨鳳臺曲素上經, an Eastern Jin *shangqing* scripture. “Intimately matching the perfects in ten heavens, I rest on my vehicle of Nine Phoenixes. To the above I ascend to the Porte of Jade Capital. To the below I wander on the Land of Broad Winds 攜契十天真，晏我九鳳驅。上登玉京闕，下戲閩風州。”(*DZ 1372*, 5b)

<sup>695</sup> An early allusion to the cosmological pattern of five hundred thousand of heavens in the ten directions 十方五億諸天 is in the Tang Daoist scripture *Taishang yisheng haikong zhizang jing* 太上一乘海空智藏經 (*DZ 9*, 8. 23a)

<sup>696</sup> *You dai*, versus *wu dai*, alludes to the passage in *Liezi* where Liezi is described as riding the wind for fifteen days; however, there was still something on which he had to depend. It is also a popular theme in the poetic game in the *Shangqing* literature, see Paul Kroll, “Daoist Verse and

Life and Death are mutually without end.	生死互無窮。
The errant rises from the prison of desire and anger,	妄起貪瞋獄，
The trifling becomes the palace of killing and injuring.	虛成殺害宮。
Those who falsely claim the difference between we and them,	謬言人我異，
Do not understand the two are same.	安知彼此同。
The six parts of body <sup>697</sup> are not substantial,	六骸俱不實，
Myriad laws all return to the empty.	萬法悉歸空。
The body perishes with afflictions,	體隨煩惱盡，
The mind coexists with form objects.	心與色塵終。
Those who have not yet pursue the liberation,	未能求解脫，
Can only stay in the slatted cage.	常只處樊籠。
If one hopes for the permanent self-abiding,	若欲常自在，
One should make homage to the patriarch of the ultimate way. <sup>698</sup>	稽首至道宗。

C.

As for the heaven and the hell,	天堂與地獄，
And the commoner and the sage.	凡夫及聖人。
They all rise from mind,	悉從方寸起，
And there is no other reason for that.	非復有餘因。
One who attains enlightenment	
is a perceptive and insightful friend,	悟則聰明友，
One who is bewildered is a fool and blind neighbor.	迷為愚瞽隣。
The suffering <i>huns</i> <sup>699</sup> still bear perception,	苦覓猶有識，
The sinful <i>pos</i> contains spirit too.	罪魄亦含神。
Why he is submerged in the afflictions and difficulties?	何為沈惱難，
Indeed because he does not believe the perfected.	良由不信真。
One abandons the treasure within the body, <sup>700</sup>	棄此身上寶，

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the Quest of Divine,” in John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi ed., *Early Chinese Religion Part Two: The period of Division (220–589 AD)* 2vols (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2: 970–72.

<sup>697</sup> They are the head, main body, and the four limbs, see Cheng Xuanying’s comments in the chapter Dechongfu in *Zhuangzi*, 六骸，謂身首四肢也。

<sup>698</sup> The term refers to the supreme authority from which *Dao De jing* originates. An early usage of the term can be found in the ritual of chanting *Dao De jing* in the *Taiji yinzhu*. When revealing the cover of the scripture, one is supposed to chant: “Mystery and mystery is the patriarch of the ultimate way, Its supreme virtue embodies the grand prime 玄玄至道宗，上德體洪元.” (DZ 425, 4a)

<sup>699</sup> Lingbao scriptures portray the deaths in the dark and remote prison underneath the earth as the sufferings *huns*. Allusions to *kunhun* can thus be found in many texts in that tradition, for example, in *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* 太上靈寶諸天內音自然玉字, it describes that “From the halls in the Nine Darkness, the suffering *huns* are saved 九幽之房，拔度苦魂.” (DZ 97, 2. 17a)

<sup>700</sup> In Lingbao tradition, the term *shenbao* can refer to scripture and precept. In the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui benyuan dajie shangpin jing* 太上洞玄靈寶智慧本願大戒上品經, an



And is dyed with the dust in this world.  
Having relied on the flowing and drifting sea,  
One is returning to the ford of live and dead.  
If one hopes to be delivered from this suffering,  
One should sit still and observe the body.<sup>701</sup>

染彼世間塵。  
既依流浪海，  
還沒死生津。  
若欲度此苦，  
安坐自觀身。

D.

O the Worthy of Primal Commencement,  
By compassion he saves each and every.  
His virtue exceed the exterior of the void sky,  
His merit fulfills the innumerable realms.  
Extensively he speaks the scripture of greater vehicle,  
He stirs the utmost wisdom.  
In the cycling myriad of *kalpas*,  
His teaching connects the three generations.  
His essence penetrates into the forms,  
His wonderfulness reaches the end of the formlessness.  
His traces spreads to each and each directions,  
His Way is responded by the Thearches in each and each heaven.  
By expedience and truth he delivers *devas* and humans,  
The opportunity is pursuant to the large and the tiny.  
The spiritual application can never be exhausted,  
The square and the round are not without be subjugated.

善哉元始尊，  
慈悲度一切。  
德出虛空表，  
功滿塵沙界。  
廣說大乘經，  
發生無上慧。  
輪迴周億劫，  
教化通三世。  
精貫有形中，  
妙窮無色際。  
迹遍方方域，  
道應天天帝。  
權實度天人，  
機緣隨巨細。  
神用難可窮，  
方圓無不制。

E.

The sin and the fortune are like image in the mirror,  
The life and the death are just cycle cyclic wheel.  
[Many] just notice what goes in the light,  
Who knows what comes in the dark.  
[They] do not yearn for the Porte on the Three Heavens,<sup>702</sup>

罪福猶鏡象，  
生死若輪迴。  
但觀明裏去，  
誰識暗中來。  
未慕三天闕，

---

incantation states that the great sage is fond of scripture and precept, accepting them as the treasure of body 大賢樂經戒受之為身寶 (DZ 344, 17a). In the oath that the adept of the Five Talismans makes in the transmission, one pledges that the Five Talismans are the shenbao. (DZ 352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶赤書玉訣妙經, 29b) This denotes the embodiment of transmitted objects.

<sup>701</sup> Guanshen is a term closely associated with Daoist precept (DZ *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui zuigen shangpin dajiejing* 太上洞玄靈寶智慧罪根上品大戒經, 1. 5b). It is the part of the *Shangqing* precept in ordination rank system, or guanshen dajie (DZ *Dongxuan lingbao sanshi minghui xingzhuang juguan fangsuo wen* 洞玄靈寶三師名諱形狀居觀方所文, 4b).

<sup>702</sup> The Three Heavens refers to the original realms of the Dao generated from the Three Pneumas, namely the Mysterious (*xuan* 玄), the Original (*yuan* 元), and the Inaugural (*shi* 始). A theoretical elaboration of the notion is provided in the *Santian neijie jing*, see Bokenkamp, *Early*

<p>And only worry about the Platform of Five Sufferings.<sup>703</sup>  The sinful <i>huns</i> perish as the fate ends,  The remote <i>pos</i> start with the affinity.  The pneuma of the essence, in vain, floats phosphorically,<sup>704</sup>  The Skeletons for long time have transformed into ashes.  Willing to be the ghost's hostage,  Who intensively thinks about      entering into the transcendent embryo.  [Many] only wish to be registered on the azure book,  But eventually [they] are compelled by the black ledger.<sup>705</sup>  When the dharmaweheel is hard to see again,  [In] the everlasting night it would be truly pitiful.</p>	<p>唯愁五苦臺。  罪竄隨運盡，  幽魄應緣開。  精氣空浮爽，  形骸久化灰。  且甘為鬼質，    誰念入仙胎。  徒願青書錄，  終悲黑簿催。  法輪難再覩，  長夜足堪哀。</p>
<p>F.  The body is indeed worthy to be cared for,  And each may cultivate the way for live.  Who talks about the White-jade Mushroom,<sup>706</sup>  [Many] just plant more the grass of gold.  If one determines to practice the Six Perfections,<sup>707</sup></p>	<p>我身良可惜，  宜各修生道。  孰云白玉芝，  多蒔黃金草。  結志行六度，</p>

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*Daoist Scriptures*, 188–94.

<sup>703</sup> The Five Sufferings refers to the tortures in the hell, particularly that described in early Lingbao scriptures, namely the suffering from saber mountains 刀山苦, that from sword trees 劍樹苦, that from cookpot boiling 鑊湯苦, that from the burning charcoals 鑪炭苦, and that from punishment and investigation 考謫苦. This is fully interpreted in the *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 元始無量度人妙品上經四注, *DZ* 87, 2. 41b.

<sup>704</sup> *Fushuang*, or floating phosphor, is a common image that denotes the visible spiritual remnant of the dead. Noticeable, it is widely represented by poetry in ancient *Lingbao* scriptures. “*Fushang* follows the original branch, And the returning embryo has its own routine 浮爽緣故條 返胎自有恆”( *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengsheng zhang jing* 洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經 *DZ* 318, 14a.); “*Fushang* returns by the fate, And the Great Canopy generates the chilicosm 浮爽乘運歸, 羅界開大千”. (*Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin yuzi* 太上靈寶諸天內音自然玉字 *DZ* 97, 8a)

<sup>705</sup> According to Xue Youqi, a Tang Daoist, the black ledger is considered as the document that records the name of the dead 酆岱落死籍於黑簿 (*DZ* 87, 1. 27b)

<sup>706</sup> There two kinds of the White-jade Mushroom described in the *Taishang lingbao zhicao pin* 太上靈寶芝草品. One grows in the Fangzhang Mountain. It tastes acrid and contain fourfold of white gills. There are two braches growing on the lower gill, and three on the upper one. It may grow on the giant rock, or in the yellow sand, or on the root of decayed wood, or under the lofty tree, or in the shadowy side of famous mountains. One becomes transcendent after consuming it. White tiger guards it. 白玉芝生於方丈山中。其味辛，白蓋四重。下一重上有二枚生，並有三枚生上重。或生大石之上，黃沙之中，腐木之根，高樹之下，名山之陰。得而食之仙矣。白虎守之。The other grows in the valley of Tai mountain. The leaves are green and its lower part is red. In each side there are threefold of gills. It has a red stem. One who picks and consumes it would reach the longevity of eighty thousands of years. 白玉芝生於太山谷中。葉青，下赤。每邊三重。赤莖。採而食之，八萬歲矣。 (*DZ* 1406, 3a, 26a)

<sup>707</sup> The connotation of the term in Daoist context is different from its usage in Buddhist text. As

And with fixed mind is fond of the Three Treasuries.<sup>708</sup>  
 Then White Prime<sup>709</sup> would descend and encounter,  
 And Ruddy Child<sup>710</sup> would frequently pull along and embrace.  
 In the decaying years one would regret to learn belatedly,  
 When being strong one should start before it is too late.  
 Knowing what is enough one can be free and easy,  
 Desiring the luxuriant one becomes more afflicted.  
 One would sit and observe the largeness of encircling walls,  
 Being tranquil one would  
     notice the smallness of the heaven and earth.  
 If one consistently guards the One,  
 Then how can one be old even when the heaven ends.

專心樂三寶。  
 白元來降接，  
 赤子常携抱。  
 朽年慙晚學，  
 壯歲須及早。  
 知足自逍遙，  
 貪榮更憂惱。  
 坐觀環堵大，  
 靜覺乾坤小。  
 守一若無移，  
 終天豈云老。

G.

The three thousand [things] divided the world,  
 The five hundred thousand transformed into heavens.  
 Each and each opened a pure realm,  
 Every direction contains superlative affinity.  
 The nine lights engender the grass in the court,  
 The seven treasures fulfill lotuses in pond.  
 The moving hall repels the crimson sun,  
 The flying platform reflects the purple spring.  
 Those who burn incense are all the jade ladies,  
 Those who speak the dharma are all the transcendents.  
 The Brahma leas the Nine-whistling Phoenix,<sup>711</sup>

三千分世界，  
 五億化諸天。  
 一一開淨域，  
 方方有勝緣。  
 九光生院草，  
 七寶滿池蓮。  
 行館排朱日，  
 飛臺映紫泉。  
 燒香皆玉女，  
 說法盡神仙。  
 梵引九嘯鳳，

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for practicing the Six Perfections: firstly, diligently act the good without indolence; secondly, be confident in the Dao without failing to remember this; thirdly, be the *ci*, guard the one, and act as weak; fourthly, make no blunder from the beginning to the end; fifthly, remonstrate emphatically and directly, stop the evil without fear, and preserve intact the things and yourself; sixthly, discard *ale* and sex, and melt into the light and join with the dust **修行六度**：一曰能懃行善不懈也；二曰能信篤道無忘也；三曰能雌守一用柔也；四曰能終如始無敗也；五曰能諫諍，止惡不忤，物我俱全也；六曰能棄酒色，和光通神。(Dongzhen taishang shuo zhihui xiaomo zhenjing 洞真太上說智慧消魔真經 DZ 1344, 3. 11b)

<sup>708</sup> It refers to the Dao, Daoist scriptures, and Daoist masters, *Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞, DZ 1129, 1. 8b.

<sup>709</sup> White Prime is the name of the body deity who resides in the brain, *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經, 1. 11a.

<sup>710</sup> Ruddy Child is the common metaphor denoting the newborn infant, whose mental and physical purity is considered as the perfected self.

<sup>711</sup> “The Lord Dao of the Most Highest then plays [the zither] and sings: ... Release these jade phoenixes, and the gold simurghes extend the neck. Well disposing the pneuma are the dragons, and the tigers are springing above the green waves. [They] whistle in the Land of Spirit, singing together in the mystery Midmost Heaven 太上大道君爰乃自彈：...放是玉鳳，延頸金鸞，整烝龍吟，碧波虎躍，神州九嘯，和唱玄鈞，”Dongzhen taishang shuo zhihui xiaomo zhenjing 洞真

The burner floats the Five-colored Smoke.<sup>712</sup>  
Pay homage at the Porte of Void Luminous,<sup>713</sup>  
Sing and enchant in front the Great Highest.  
Be cautious and do not ignore your predestined fate,  
You should believe in the fortune land.

鑪飄五色烟。  
稽首虛皇闕，  
歌詠太上前。  
慎莫忽宿命，  
當須信福田。

H.

The Dao transformed, and the Three Primals spread,  
The spirits congealed, and myriads of sorts divided.  
In the Longhan period, the mystery register was revealed,  
The celestial scriptures descended into the ruddy muddled.  
Matching the fate, the drums of the law are sounding,  
In conformity with directions,  
the gate of the wonderfulness is opened.  
The Most Highest endows with the ultimate recondite,  
Its power and virtue cover the heaven and earth.  
The spiritual scripture is guided by the Three Ones,  
O, the wonderful essence  
of the Writ of Five Thousands Characters.

道化三元布，  
神凝萬象分。  
龍漢開玄籙，  
天書下赤渾。  
應期鏗法鼓，  
隨方啟妙門。  
太上垂至蹟，  
威德被乾坤。  
神經三一侍，  
妙理五千文。

The byname [of the recipient]  
lists in the store of Golden Flower,<sup>714</sup>  
The name is reached to the Lord of Jade Thearch.<sup>715</sup>  
In the heart there emerges the treasured sun,  
From the body there rise clouds that are loosely spread.  
How the ten transcendents worth to be friend,  
In years and years one can live.

字列金華府，  
名傳玉帝君。  
心中生寶日，  
身上起羅雲。  
十仙何足友，  
載劫乃長存。

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太上說智慧消魔真經 *DZ* 2. 1a–b.

<sup>712</sup> In the Shangqing visualization technique, one imagines that the Five Colored Smoke is issued from the Five Planet and penetrate into the body 使五星出光芒放五色煙貫我一身, *Shangqing zijingjun huangchu ziting daojun dongfang shangjing* 上清紫精君皇初紫靈道君洞房上經 1. 10b.

<sup>713</sup> According to Xue Youqi, Xuhuang is epithet of the Celestial Worthy of the Primordial Commencement 虛皇即元始天尊也, *DZ* 87, 1. 2b.

<sup>714</sup> In the Shangqing literature, *jinhua* is the title of a celestial palace, “The [Lord Dao] of the Most Highest then, in the Palace of the Golden Flower on the western hummock, transmitted Azure Lad with the Inner Writ of Transforming the Numerous and Gathering Crowds 高上於玄圃西壘金華之宮以化靈總眾內文以授上相青童君”, *Shangqing waiguo fangpin qingtong neiwen* 上清外國放品青童內文, 1. 17a. Elsewhere *Dayou jing* refers to where Dadong zhenjing, one of the most sacred Shangqing scriptures, is preserve 金華洞房大洞真經在其中, *Shangqing daolei shixiang* 上清道類事相 *DZ* 1132, 2. 6b. Noticeably, it also refers the celestial place the recipient of *Dao De jing* would transcend to 得此章句所滯即通登於金華友諸天人,

*Chuanshoujingjie yi zhujue* 傳授經戒儀注訣, *DZ* 1238, 3a.

<sup>715</sup> Jade Thearch serves as the epithet for multiple deities.

Although each of the eight pieces bears distinctive theme, they together constitute the comprehensive picture of Daoist cosmology (A), the virtue of the Dao (B, D, G), and the preachment to pursue it (C, E, F, H). As the title of the encomiums suggests, they are about the “mystery” and about entering into it. Perfectly matching the context of transmission rite, the *Dao De jing* enables one to enter into the Dao. Indeed, the praise of the scripture’s virtue and the encouragement to possess it stands at the core of the hymns here. This is intensively manifested in the first and last piece. Generally speaking, the scripture is as old as the origin of the universe. Like Lingbao scriptures, it has been hidden and been revealed in *kalpas*. It is described as the ultimate recondite; however, it bears ubiquitous power that extends to the heaven and earth. The *Dao De jing* is also guided by the holy spirits. The possession of it, probably along with the practice such as recitation and other means of worshiping, brings the practitioner with transcendence, as well as giving the family and the state with fortune. Du Guangting insists that the piece A must be practiced if in case one cannot practice all the eight pieces of the encomiums. This also reflects that the supreme status of the scripture is stressed in the transmission rite.

Du draws intensively from Daoist literatures in Six Dynasties, ranging from scripture to ritual text, to compose the hymns here. He borrows from Lingbao scripture to portray Daoist hell and from the *Lingbao shoudu yi* to describe the

mysterious atmosphere in the transmission. The most sources he borrows, however, come from Shangqing literature. Not only does he directly bring the terms about cosmology and pantheon that are popularized in Shangqing scriptures, but also appropriate them in the form of five character poem. As Bokenkamp notices, the popularity of Shangqing scriptures in the Six Dynasties largely depended on their making full use of Chinese literature tradition that regard poetry as the thing closely connected with the secret pattern of universe.<sup>716</sup> Du Guangting obviously adopts this strategy here too. All the lyrics of the encomiums are strictly rhymed. The style of the language is plain and clear, with the allusions that are usually well-known in Daoist literature.

## 2). The Encomiums of the Brightness

One who establishes merit must start ahead of time,	立功須及早，
One who learns the Way also commences at the youth.	學道亦當時。
In days and nights one would diligent and take pains,	晝夜宜勤苦，
Making commitment, one shall no longer be hesitant.	發意莫狐疑。
Burn incense and frequently pay homage,	燒香常禮拜，
Recite the scripture and always serve the master.	誦經恒奉師。
Be vigorous and be persistent,	勇猛加精進，
Be with fixed sincerity and be without wandering thoughts.	專誠無想思。
With the Four Classes <sup>717</sup> and the Six Perfections,	四等將六度，
By means of the Three Leaps <sup>718</sup> and the Five <i>Cis</i> . <sup>719</sup>	三奔與五雌。

<sup>716</sup> Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 277.

<sup>717</sup> The term comes from the Dongzhen zhihui guanshen dajiewen 洞真智慧觀身大戒文, “The Way locates in me but not in others. As for compassion, love, kindness, and patience, one who can practice these four classes is able to be near to the Dao 道在我不由彼。唯慈，唯愛，唯善，唯忍，能行此四等，亦與道為鄰矣” (recited in *WSMY*, *DZ* 1138, 45. 22b).

<sup>718</sup> According to *Shangqing huachen sanben yujue* 上清華晨三奔玉訣, it refers to the seven stars of the Dipper constellation and the two invisible stars Fu and Bi, *DZ* 409, 1a. In the *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔, however, *sanben* refers to the sun, the moon, and star, *DZ* 16. 8b.

Wash off dust and enter into the empty silence,<sup>720</sup>  
Hold the heart that is void.  
Only hope for not be retrogressed,  
How can be mocked by others.  
If one can be like this,  
Within day and night one will be transcendent.

洗塵入空寂，  
虛心將自持。  
唯期不轉退，  
豈為人所嗤。  
若能如是者，  
朝夕自仙飛。

### 3). The Encomiums of the Perfected

#### A.<sup>721</sup>

The Great Way has no intention,  
Yet it allows the sentient beings to pursue.  
Halting the vehicle in the hollow and Comprehending,  
[He] looks back at flowing clouds and rivers.  
Outside the pure and bright Three Realm,  
Leisurely he wanders in the Jade Capital.  
If without fate of mysterious outstanding,  
Who can understand the unseen intention.  
Spreading wide, the Heavenly Han is clear,  
In the briefest moment [he] approaches the void and the tender.  
For the ancestors in seven generations the dark night is dispersed,  
Returning to the embryo, they are  
compliant with the vicissitude of rebirth.  
If the unseen date is hidden and congealed,  
[He] may not be worried when *yangjiu*<sup>722</sup> comes.  
Witnessing the time of going and returning,  
Again [he] would stay for [the people in this world].  
[He] exteriorize the body and it hence exists,

大道雖無心，  
可以有情求。  
佇駕空洞中，  
迴眄翳滄流。  
淨明三界外，  
蕭蕭玉京遊。  
自無玄挺運，  
誰能悟冥趣。  
落落天漢澄，  
俯仰即虛柔。  
落落天漢澄，  
俯仰即虛柔。  
七玄散幽夜，  
返胎順沈浮。  
冥期苟潛凝，  
陽九無虞憂。  
觀此去來會，  
時復為淹留。  
外身而身存，

<sup>719</sup> It is not clear what *wuci* exactly refers to. Perhaps it deprives from the notion *ciyi*, feminine divinities dwelling in the Palace of the Golden Flower that is situated in the brain. According to *Dao De zhenjing guang shengyi* 道德真經廣聖義, Du states that “the method of Three Leaps and Five Cis both aim to soften one’s ambition and make one’s spirits harmonious. In this way, one obtains longevity 三奔五雌之法，皆柔弱其志，和靜其神，以致長生也。” (DZ 725, 24. 2a)

<sup>720</sup> *Kongji* may be an analogous with *qingjing*, or pure tranquility. In the Encomium of Scripture of the Most Highest Wisdom 太上智慧經讚 in the *Taiji yinzhū*, a couplet contains the term that: By annihilating thoughts one stops the empty leisure. Leisurely one enters into the empty silence 滅念停虛閑蕭蕭入空寂. (DZ 425, 18a.)

<sup>721</sup> For the translation A and B I consult the section of “*Taiji zhenren song ershou*” 太極真人頌二首 in the *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing jieyi* 洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經解義 by Dong Sijing 董思靖, a Southern Song scholar.

<sup>722</sup> It is an eschatological term initially proposed in *Taishang lingbao tiandi yundu ziran miaojing* 太上靈寶天地運度自然妙經, denoting the catastrophe caused by the deficiency of heaven. That caused by earth is called *bailiu*. Specifically, minor *yangjiu* occurs every 3,300 years and major one every 9,900 years. (DZ 322, 6b)

And the true transcendents would meet the excellent companion. 真仙會良儔。

B.

Wonderfully attractive is the intention of the mystery,	豐豐玄中趣， <sup>723</sup>
Deeply placid are the waves of the pure Han.	湛湛清漢波。
The succession in turn is like a cyclic ring,	代謝若旋環，
Yet the <i>chun</i> wood <sup>724</sup> does not change its branch.	椿木不改柯。
[He] calms the heart and fixes the mind on the ultimate truth,	靜心念至真，
And follow the cycle to be compliant with encounters.	隨運順離羅。
The stimulus and response is the reason that explains all,	感應理常通，
And the spiritual perception freely arrives and departs.	神適逮自徂。
The pure wandering has no bonds after all,	澹遊初無際，
And the numerous thoughts penetrate the nine far distance.	繁想洞九遐。
The flying root spreads mysterious leaves,	飛根散玄葉，
There is no other method to return to that truth.	理返非有他。
[He] always recite the jade stanzas,	常能誦玉章，
With the mysterious sounds penetrating the clouds.	玄音徹霄霞。
Then when the flood comes in the <i>jiashen</i> year,	甲申洪災至，
Controlling the bird,	
[he ascends to] the family of the Queen Mother.	控翻王母家。
He enjoys the everlasting epics,	永享無終紀，
Without being aware of the <i>kalpas</i> .	豈知年劫多。

C.

In the forest of seven treasures in the Capital of Mastery,	玄都七寶林，
The ten flowers are all flourished.	十華並彌羅。
The purple smoke tops the numinous radiance,	紫烟冠靈暉，
And the capital in the cloud surpasses the jade mountains.	雲京秀玉阿。
In the above there is the hall of fortune and virtue,	上有福德堂，
The palaces and rooms are erratically arrayed.	宮室互參差。
They are all the gentlemen of pure confidence,	皆是清信士，
Belonging to the family	
of the true transcendent and flying celestials.	真仙飛天家。
The Three Realms are the path leading to the mystery,	三界通玄路，
And the Five Ways are pure, without deviance.	五道清不邪。
The good causes are born in correspondence to the root,	善緣應根生，
Accumulated merits bring more fortune.	累功享福多。

<sup>723</sup> The character of xin in the *Jiutian shengshen zhangjing* is 寔, which makes more sense in the context here. I hence read in accordance with this.

<sup>724</sup> The *chun* wood, or the cedrela, is the legendary tree with extremely longevity in *Zhuangzi*.



The tugging involvement<sup>725</sup>, succeeded, are approaching,  
 The Grand Law is truly not false.  
 A man of myriad years does not exist,  
 All must perish with the *kalpas*.  
 In the world of pleasure and joy that men are longing for,  
 The words spoken even become enchanted songs.  
 In this world the pleasure is limitless,  
 But what it is like in the imminent cycle.

牽對相尋續，  
 大法諒不虛。  
 無有萬年人，  
 皆與劫同徂。  
 依依歡樂世，  
 發言成詠歌。  
 此世歡無極，  
 當奈來運何。

D.

From the gate of cause and condition,  
     under eight observations<sup>726</sup>,  
 Both the sin and the fortune grow.  
 Occasionally there is one with the mind,  
 Whose thinking and enlightenment  
     move the celestial numinous.  
 It is by this reason that,  
 I am beginning to speak the true and wonderful scripture.  
 Those who follow the words in the scripture,  
 Would become flourished in hundred thousand of *kalpas*.  
 Accustoming with the Dao and performing the persuasion,  
 I would deliver my body by the virtue of the scripture.  
 Thinking the root of fate,  
 I would wash off what I suffered in the former lives.  
 I would transcend the Three Nets,  
 Whence the Eight Difficulties<sup>727</sup> become afar.

八觀因緣門，  
 罪福從中生。  
 時見有心者，

思悟感天靈。  
 吾今為是故，  
 開說真妙經。  
 如從經中言，  
 憶劫皆受榮。  
 習道行勸戒，  
 以經度我形。  
 思念宿命根，  
 洗拔先身嬰。  
 超越過三羅，  
 八難於是冥。

E.

Whence the *huns* return to the fixed essence,  
 The spiritual manipulation becomes flourished.  
 The obliteration and cross over [in liberation]<sup>728</sup>

魂返入定質，  
 神操從是榮。

<sup>725</sup> *Qiandui* basically means the inherited evil caused by the transgression conducted by ancestors. In the *Dongxuan lingbao xuanyi zhenren shuo shengsi lunzhuang yinyuan jing* 洞玄靈寶玄一真人說生死輪轉因緣經, it explains that “the retribution of the evil conducted by ancestors shall involve the descendant and forms the bond between the parents and the offspring.” 先世行惡之報，更相牽對為父母子孫(DZ 1119, 5b)

<sup>726</sup> It refers to the observation to the eight directions.

<sup>727</sup> The Eight Difficulties are the Three Labors (*santu* 三徒) and the Five Sufferings. The Three Labors are the labor in the everlasting night (*changye tu* 長夜徒), the labor in the freezing lake (*hanchi tu* 寒池徒), and that of moving stone (*lianshi tu* 撻石徒). (DZ 87, 2. 41b)

<sup>728</sup> While the early Buddhist translation uses the term to mean transit into extinction, in Daoism, particularly Lingbao context, it should be read literally as a compound, see Stephen Bokenkamp,

is as casting off the amnion,  
 In the unconfined brilliance I witness the Eight Purities.<sup>729</sup>  
 Beyond the turn wheel I would become transcendent,  
 By myself, I would change the essence of the heart.  
 The reward would be limitless,  
 With the mind determined I enter into the court of fortune.  
 The seventy-two primary and secondary marks,  
 Are manifested from the body.  
 The neck bears the light of seven treasures,  
 Shining upon the body of heavenly people.  
 The clouds haste around the vehicle of the eight luminous,  
 The winds revolve, assisting the green carriage.  
 I will ascend into the Gate of Enigmatic Mystery,  
 In hope of enjoying the joy that never ends.

滅度如蛻胞，  
 曠朗觀八清。  
 轉輪得神仙，  
 由我改心精。  
 受報無窮量，  
 志定入福庭。  
 七十二相好，  
 皆從身中明。  
 項負七寶光，  
 照耀諸天形。  
 雲迅八景輿，  
 風迴匡綠駟。  
 昇入玄玄門，  
 期樂樂未央。

F.  
 The wonderful penetration turns my spirit,  
 Which widely spreads limitless merit.  
 When the Dao generated the commencement  
 of the heaven and the earth,  
 The wheel transformation startled the nine layers.  
 In the obliteration and cross over [in liberation]  
 one experiences rebirths,  
 Each the causal involvement has a origin.  
 Who understands the suffering of life and death,  
 The body and the soul both are not eternal.  
 Only by accumulating good one's base of fortune raises,  
 May I would be pulled out from the peak of Five Difficulties.  
 And be delivered from the path of Three Evils,<sup>730</sup>  
 Leisurely entering into the hall of leisure.  
 I would think of delivering [people] in the boundless lands,  
 And fixing mind to move the spiritual powers.  
 The wheel of the law returns for three times,  
 Assisted by the effort of our eminent transcendents.  
 Walking back in the pace of giant *chun*,

妙通轉我神，  
 弘普無量功。

道成天地初，  
 輪化發九重。

滅度歷生死，  
 緣對各有宗。  
 孰悟去來苦，  
 形覓無始終。  
 積善隆福基，  
 身拔五難鋒。  
 脫離三惡道，  
 蕭蕭入閑堂。  
 念度無邊境，  
 思定感神通。  
 法輪三度迴，  
 輔我高仙功。  
 迴我大椿步，

“Death and Ascent in Ling-pao Taoism,” Taoist Resources I, no. 2 (1989): 9.

<sup>729</sup> The Heaven of the Eight Purities is an alternative name of the Four Heavens of Brahman 四梵天 or Four Heavens of Seed People 四種民天, which are cosmologically under the Three Purities 三清天 and above the heavens in the Realm of the Formless 無色界. (DZ 1032, 21. 11b)

<sup>730</sup> The usage of the term here is the same as it is used in the Buddhist context, that is, the three bad destinies in which one is reborn in the hell, as a hungry ghost, and as an animal.

I would ascend onto the Palace of Greatest Supreme.<sup>731</sup>

飄昇太極宮。

The Encomiums of the Brightness mainly describes the duties of the Daoist priest, particularly the ritual practices, and encourages the initiates to fulfill them. It is only by the consistent practice that ultimately transforms them. The transcendence may manifest by many forms, one of which brings the brightness of the initiate 身有光明. This notion may originate from the Lingbao tradition. The *Duren jing* initially claims that the recitation of the scripture brings many effects to the initiate, including purified souls, solidified pneuma, expelled perturbation, and brightness of body. It then brings one the communication with the celestial deities. Once the merit is complete, one attains transcendence.<sup>732</sup> The notion also genealogically entails the initiate and his/her family. The Daoist theology of hell and heaven prescribes that ancestor who has been saved would ascend to the heaven and serve the celestial official there.<sup>733</sup> The brightness embedded in the title hence portrays the promising perspective that the initiate who would achieve in the future.

The Encomiums of the Perfected are directly recited or rewritten from the

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<sup>731</sup> There is an entire section on ascending to the Palace of Greatest Supreme (Sheng Taiji gong pin 昇太極宮品) in the *WSMY*. According to the commented catalogue of *WSMY* in the Dunhuang manuscript, this section, along with other sections in the 38th *juan*, is themed on those who are outstanding and are hence assigned to the heavenly official positions. (*Zhonghua daoang*, 28: 314) The palace is also the celestial residence of Laozi in the Heaven of Greatest Clarity, *Hunyuan shengji*, DZ 770, 2. 8b.

<sup>732</sup> DZ 1, 4b–5a.

<sup>733</sup> *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yugui mingzhen ke* 洞玄靈寶長夜之府九幽玉匱明真科 DZ 1411, 2b.

hymns in the Daoist scriptures that are temporally prior to Du’s time. The scriptural sources can be listed as follows:

Piece of the Encomiums of the Perfects	Scriptural Source
A&B	“The Encomium of The Perfect of the Greatest Supreme (Taiji zhenren song 太極真人誦)”, DZ 318 <i>The Stanzas of the Life Spirits of the Nine Heavens</i>
C	“The Encomium of the Eternal Joy of the Wisdom of the Most Highest (Taishang zhihui changle song 太上智慧長樂頌)”, DZ 457 <i>Scripture on the Supreme Great Rules of Wisdom Concerning the Roots of Guilt.</i>
D&E	“The <i>Gāthā</i> Encomium of Ascending the Mystery and Pulling out the Root of Fate of the Wheel of the Law (Falun badu minggen shengxuan ji song 法輪拔度命根昇玄偈頌)”, DZ 455 <i>Scripture of Encouragement and Prohibition, Escaping from the Three Bad Destinies and the Five Sufferings</i>
F	“The <i>Gāthā</i> Encomium of Marvelous Perception and Conversion of the Spirit of Wonderful Penetration of the Limitless (wuliang miaotong sinian zhuanshen ji song 無量妙通思念轉神偈頌)”, DZ 347 <i>Scripture of Entering Samadhi of Marvelous Perception and Conversion of the Spirit</i>

Table 26. The Scriptural Source of The Encomiums of the Perfected

First and foremost, all the scriptural sources are from the Lingbao tradition and are revealed by a holy origin. The first two pieces are eulogy of Xu Laile, a legendary transcendent who stands at the head of the lineage of transmitting many

Lingbao scriptures to a wide spectrum of religious communities in the Six Dynasties, including both the Daoist and the Buddhist. The piece C is anthologized from the “Encomium of the Eternal Joy of the Wisdom of the Most Highest”, a hymn composed by the Lord Dao of the Most Highest. It outlines the seed people within the hall of fortune in Daoist heavens who are free from sorrow and suffering.<sup>734</sup> The rest pieces, respectively from two extant individual scriptures, originally belonged to a single work, that is, the three-*juan* Scripture of the Wheel of the Law [Expounding] Sins and Blessings. The encomium D and E are originally from the single hymn of the “*Gāthā* Encomium of Ascending the Mystery and Pulling out the Root of Fate of the Wheel of the Law”. The hymn originates from the endless *kalpas* prior to the Primal Commencement. The worship and practice of the hymn bring one benefit in this world and transcendence into the heaven.<sup>735</sup> The encomium F encourages one to perform Daoist practice 道行 that transforms the body and the spirit into the ultimate perfect.<sup>736</sup>

Although the pieces are selected from different contexts, Du arranges them in the coherent order that represents the process of becoming perfected. The piece A and B eschatologically portrays the preceding flood that destroyed the world and the transcendent who has been delivered from this world. Succeeded to this, piece

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<sup>734</sup> DZ 457, 2. 16a.

<sup>735</sup> DZ 455, 11b.

<sup>736</sup> DZ 347, 6b.

C densely delineates the perspective of the Daoist heaven in the Jade Capital. Pieces D and E then give a detailed picture of how the transformations of body exactly are in the heaven. The last one further emphasizes that these transformations eventually bring the initiate to the Palace of Greatest Supreme.

Du Guangting's agency also lies in that he intentionally rewrites the lyrics of the hymn to make them more matching to the context here. Although Du usually only makes a few changes on the characters, the meaning of the lyrics are fundamentally differentiated. This is mostly obvious in the last encomiums. Besides the *Baibiaoyi*, the lyrics can also be found in two pre-Tang Daoist texts:

<i>Zhuanshen ruding jing</i>	<i>WSMY</i>	<i>Baibiao yi</i>
..... 孰悟去來因 .....	..... 孰悟去來辛 .....	..... 孰悟去來苦 .....
積慶藉福基 .....	積慶籍福基 .....	積善隆福基 .....
..... 蕭蕭入閑空 .....	..... 蕭蕭入閑堂 .....	..... 蕭蕭入閑堂 .....
法輪三度場 轉成高仙公 .....	法輪三度揚 輔成高仙公 .....	法輪三度迴 輔我高仙功 .....

Table 27. The Encomiums of the Perfected and the Similar Lyrics in the Pre-Tang Texts

While the content of the three versions are mostly the same, the changes that Du makes cannot be overlooked. While the others seem to be minor variants, the last one indeed makes the meaning in the encomium fundamentally different. In the original “*Gāthā* Encomium of Marvelous Perception and Conversion of the Spirit

of Wonderful Penetration of the Limitless”, the hymn is in the persona of the transcendent who ascends to the heavenly palace. Regardless of the turning wheel of the law, the transcendent is reborn in the paradisiacal realm because he has become the celestial official there. The same as the version is in the *WSMY*. This picture fits what Bokenkamp categories as “specialized rebirth”, in which the rebirth in the favored model of transcendent existence dominates and the familial element is less concerned.<sup>737</sup> However, the *Baibiaoyi* emphasizes the merit that the transcendent accumulated. When the wheel of the law turns, one must accumulate enough merit to be transcendent. In this way, the general path opening to the practitioner toward the transcendence is highlighted.

4). The Encomium of Pursuing the Precept

Pursuing the precept as the treasure of body,  
 Within eternal *kalpas* we enjoy the numinous longevity.  
 With the void mind we meet the void silence,  
 And the refined response relies on the refined thoughts.  
 The Nine Simurghes accompany the jade vehicle,  
 And the Eight Phoenixes present the golden mushroom.  
 The Azure Lad sings the wonderful songs,  
 And the Mystery Lady recites aloud the pure words.  
 The spiritual worthy shows the bright luminous,  
 And the Most Highest manifests the inaudible and the invisible.  
 The heavenly flowers, mixing with incense, arise,  
 The rain of the law, spreading the numinous, nourishes.  
 Diligently we practice the Way of longevity,  
 And perfervidly think the base of making transcendent.  
 If we are purely sincere, without indolence,  
 Then we would achieve transcendence by riding the crane.

奉戒為身寶  
 永劫享靈期  
 虛心會虛寂  
 精感在精思  
 九鸞陪玉軼  
 八鳳薦金芝  
 青童歌妙曲  
 玄女唱清詞  
 神尊示光景  
 太上湛希夷  
 天華雜香起  
 法雨散靈滋  
 勤苦修生道  
 翹想作仙基  
 精誠如不怠  
 鶴駕自當之

<sup>737</sup> Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety*, 162–3.

This piece is placed between the closing of incense burner and the proclaiming the twelve commitments, when the communication with the celestial realm is ended and the relations with the community become the focus of the ritual. The stanza is centered on the theme of pursuing the precept. In the mysterious atmosphere of the ending part of the ritual, auspicious omens are imagined to take place after the Daoist teaching is revealed. The stanza ends with the commitment for practicing the Dao. This commitment is not only the significant content of the precept, but also serves the promise of continuously pursuing it.

5). The Encomium of Learning Transcendence

Learning transcendence is a urgent practice,  
 Pursue the precept to control emotion and mind.  
 By tranquility and calm the orthodoxy pneuma is residing,  
 The transcendent sages seek for each other.  
 If he does not believe in the word of the law,  
 What help of residing in the mountains and woods.

學仙行為急，  
 奉戒制情心。  
 虛夷正炁居，  
 仙聖自相尋。  
 若不信法言，  
 胡為棲山林。

This piece is the only stanza used inclusively in the rituals that Du designs. It is widely applied in the Du's Rite of the Most Highest Yellow Retreat 無上黃籙齋儀 as the typical module prior to the incantation of existing the ritual realm.

6). The Encomium of Bidding Farewell to the Three Masters

[Recite]: We have completed the retreat and received the mystery grace from above. We are bowing and taking refuge, respectively bidding farewell to the Master of Scripture.

修齋已訖仰荷玄恩稽首歸依奉辭經師

The law of the scripture is in accordance  
 with the mysterious wonderfulness,

經法隨玄妙，



Our worship and practice all follow the master.  
One who hopes to practice the good,  
Shall pay homage to the master and desire for the scripture.  
With the fixed pneuma the effort is easy to complete,  
By indolent mind the regret can hardly be corrected.  
If one is able to tie the mind to them,  
In transient period one would become transcendent.

崇奉悉因師。  
凡欲立善者，  
咸當禮願之。  
氣專功易就，  
心慢悔難追。  
若能勤繫念，  
朝夕自仙飛。

[Recite]: We have completed the retreat and received the mystery grace from above. We are bowing and taking refuge, respectively bidding farewell to the Master of Heritor.

修齋已訖仰荷玄恩稽首歸依奉辭籍師

The Dao emphasizes on the retreat,  
The law persists on the audience ritual.  
How can one who does not respect nor believe in it,  
Wander in the land of the Thearch.<sup>738</sup>  
One who possesses the bone<sup>739</sup> ranks among the transcendent,  
The spontaneity opens the Purple Room.<sup>740</sup>  
The Mystery Lady ascends on the Platform of Cloud,  
Whence only the halls of gold and silver can be seen.  
Therefore we express gratitude to the Three Masters,  
Paying homage to the Void Luminous.

道以齋為重，  
法以朝為常。  
不奉不信者，  
焉能遊帝鄉。  
有骨入仙品，  
自然開紫房。  
玄女登雲臺，  
但見金銀堂。  
是故謝三師，  
稽首禮虛皇。

[Recite]: We have completed the retreat and received the mystery grace from above. We are bowing and taking refuge, respectively bidding farewell to the Master of Delivery.

修齋已訖仰荷玄恩稽首歸依奉辭度師

Lofty is the Mountain of the Jade Metropolis,  
How majestic is the Mystery Capital.  
The perfects move by the pace of void,  
And the everlasting night is broke by the brightness.

峩峩玉京山，  
玄都何巍巍。  
真人乘虛步，  
朗朗長夜開。

<sup>738</sup> Dixiang is the allusion in the Tiandi chapter in the Zhuangzi, “by taking the vehicle on the clouds, [the transcendent] reaches the land of the Thearch”. According to Cheng Xuanying’s commentary, the term means the land of heaven and earth 天地之鄉 where the spirit, merging with the Grand One, ascends to. (Zhuangzi jishi, 188.)

<sup>739</sup> It refers to the belief originally developed in the *Shangqing* tradition that one’s transcendence is predetermined, which is manifested by the shape of skeleton.

<sup>740</sup> According to the *Dadong jing* recited by Xue Youqi, the Purple Room is the residence of the Lord of Great Way (DZ 87, 1.2b).

The grand Dao can be broadened by man, <sup>741</sup>	大道由人弘，
And with ultimate mind the spirit automatically returns.	心至神自歸。
Having completed the practice of Dao and performing the retreat,	修齋行道畢，
We bow and bid farewell to the Three Masters.	稽首辭三師。

[Recite]: The carriage of cloud no longer halts anymore, the vehicle of crane is hard to stay. If there is a retreat in the future, we shall respectfully invite.

雲輿不駐鶴駕難留後有修齋還當奉請

On the surface, the lyrics express the gratitude to the Three Masters. It is by the merit of the Three Masters, as eulogized in the hymns, that the disciples and other descendants of the lineage eventually have become transcendent. However, the performance of the hymns, along with the verbal instruction of recitations, indicates the Three Masters are more than the objects who are passively paid gratitude. Instead, they are imagined as taking vehicle of cloud and crane, like any other transcendents. They seem to appear in the retreat at the invitation of the ritual master. According to the last recitation, this role is likely to be repeatedly undertaken and become fixed in the retreat. Unlike the deities who actually supervise the ritual or undertake other functions to aid the completion of it, the masters seem not involve in the functional process of the ritual. In other words, they are not placed in the celestial bureaucratic system.

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Most of the hymns here, including *The Encomiums of Penetrating the Mystery*,

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<sup>741</sup> Here Du may take reference from *Analects*, “It is man who broadens the Way, not the Way broadens the man,” 人能弘道 非道弘人 (*Lunyu*, 15. 140b)

The Encomiums of the Brightness, and The Encomiums of the Perfects, are practiced in the model of the *buxu*. To perform the encomiums, the ritual officiants would encircle the platform and recite them. Having completed each stanza of The Encomiums of the Perfects, they would exclaim aloud “excellent 善!”. These two features suggest that the performance of the encomiums here follow the module of the *buxu*. It seems that Du Guangting adopts the normative music and dance in the *buxu* praxis in the Tang with the innovated lyrics compiled by his own.

The large number of the hymns augmented throughout the procedure is utterly exceptional in the course of transmission rite of the *Dao De jing*. The performance of the hymns constitutes more than one third of the ritual steps. The similar large proportion of the performative hymns does not exist in the *Yuzhi xinyi*. Neither can it be embedded in the *Ziran zhai*, for the performance of them would certainly make the ritual less “simple and easy”. On the other hand, we are not unfamiliar with the performance of hymn in the Lingbao transmission. The exemplary *Lingbao shoudu yi* prescribes the detailed performance of singing the hymn of the Five Perfected, that of Pacing the Void, of Worshiping the Scripture, of the Three Paths and the Five Sufferings, of Pursing the Precept, and of Returning to the Precept. However, it is very unlike Du strictly followed the model that Lu Xiujing had established almost half millennium ago. As the textual

analysis has shown, Du intentionally rewrote the new hymns or recomposed the lyrics for the old hymns. Needless to say, the purpose was to match the literary and performative taste of the Tang people.

More significantly, certain hymns in the *Baibiao yi* function to direct the action. That is, the hymn is not supposed to be performed for its own sake, but to be associated with the action that function independently in the previous rituals. There are at least two points that suggest this innovated function. In the step 3, the Hymn of Transmitting the Scripture is recited. Given that the entire ritual does not give other explicit action of transmitting the *Dao De jing*, the actual transmission must take place here. At the very end of the ritual (step 16), with performing hymns, the ritual officiants are lead to the tablet of the Mystery Master and dismiss.

Again, the combination of action and music has its early precedent in the *buxu*. As mentioned earlier, to practice the *buxu*, the ritual officiants, following the master, encircled the platform while chanting the lyrics of the hymns. However, the circulation and alike were the intrinsic components of the *buxu*. In other words, the combination of the action and the music was the distinct ritual pattern of the *buxu*. This contrasts with the cases in the *Baibiao yi* in the performed hymn is added to the action that originally belongs to the fixed ritual module. As Raz notes, the medieval Daoist ritual module, with possibly changing

meaning, freely flowed from one ritual context to another.<sup>742</sup> Here the *Baibiao yi* vividly shows how the boundary of the module became less fixed and allowed the influx of performative elements.

This new form of ritual synthesis in which the role played by the performative hymn is stressed can be found somewhere in Du Guangting's other works. The 53th chapter of the *Taishang huangluzhai yi* is themed on praising and chanting, where Du Guangting records a complete rite called "Chanting Encomium on the Platform of Retreat" (zhaitan zanchang yigui 齋壇讚唱儀軌). The rite lasts three, five, or seven days, each day comprising of a Nocturnal Announcement, and a tripartite Practicing the Dao. Given that the patron of the rite (zhaizhu 齋主) is mentioned, the rite may aim to provide kind of service for the public. Unlike the ritual protocols collected in the previous chapters in the *Taishang huangluzhai yi*, Du does not specify the function of this particular rite. Instead, he gives a quite flexible prescription for the patron to state the purpose of the retreat 自述齋意. As the title of the chapter indicates, the ritual sample stresses on a very innovated form of the retreat characterized by chant, recitation, and other means of musical performance.

This purpose is elaborated in the very beginning of the chapter, an independent section called leading [the ritual] by chanting (zandao 讚導). Du

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<sup>742</sup> Gil Raz, "Ritual Theory in Medieval Daoism," in Axel Michaels ed., *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), 407–26.

commences the section with:

The scriptural codes all confirm that: among the ritual officiants, one whose virtue is lofty can serve the ritual master, one who is expert at ritual regulations can serve the chief preceptor. The Positional Code for the Preceptor also regulates that: "[the preceptor] should first knock the dharma drum, and lead the officiants. The preceptor sets the example of behavior and appearance, [and the others] respectfully rely on his/her praise and explanation." This is to say, the preceptor is in charge of chanting, reciting and leading [the officiants]. In the Wu region, as well as the lower and the middle reaches of the Yangtze, the preceptor, holding the inverted bell, is assigned to lead the ritual by chanting. As for the knocking the dharma drum, it means to [knock] the bells. Those who hope to make the officiants in the solemn order and the ritual well proportioned, should first gather the officiants by knocking the bell, and then lead the crowds onto the platform by chanting. This is indeed the task of the preceptor.

經科皆云：齋官之內以道德尊高者為法師，明練法度為都講也。又都講職詞云：“先鳴法鼓，次引朋眾。風則軌儀，敬憑讚說。”此即讚唱導引，皆都講之務也。吳中江表荆楚之間，皆以都講執磬讚導行禮。夫先鳴法鼓者，鍾磬之謂也。欲令群官整肅，儀制森然，須先擊磬齊眾，而後讚唱陞壇，亦都講之職也。<sup>743</sup>

Here Du Guangting is mainly attempting to redefine the role of the preceptor. He first summarizes from the traditional ritual codes about the definition of the preceptor. As we have shown, this definition originates from the *Jinlu jianwen*. The content of the Positional Code for the Preceptor, with slight variance, is recited in the *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* as the Powerful Rite of Performing the Retreat 敷齋威儀, probably one of the three scriptures of the *Powerful Rite of Spontaneity*.<sup>744</sup> Both derive from the prescription in the old *Jinlu jianwen*, an early 5th century text, that defines the six officiants in the Lingbao retreat. As explicitly stated there, the preceptor's major role is to lead the participants to

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<sup>743</sup> DZ 507, 53. 1a.

<sup>744</sup> DZ 463, 8. 10b.

proceed ritual actions.<sup>745</sup>

These traditional ritual codes use *zanshuo* as the means of leading the crowds in rituals. As a genre of Daoist texts, *zanshuo* signifies the hymns and the elaboration of doctrine. For instance, Lu Xiuqing classifies the ancient Lingbao scriptures into talisman, chart, encomium and elaboration.<sup>746</sup> The term also denotes the ritual techniques of praising the virtue of principle deities, and those of explaining the scriptural doctrines, commonly used in both Daoism and Buddhism. Accordingly, these techniques were most frequently applied in the ritual of chanting and reciting scripture, one of the commonest religious rituals in medieval China.<sup>747</sup>

While generally following this prescription, Du emphasizes that *zanshuo* is no longer a ritual technique but an equally indispensable part of the preceptor's role. He associates ritual actions, such as holding the bell and chanting, as the content of *zanshuo*. Moreover, the meaning of the "knocking the dharma drum" is explained by Du as knocking the bell. In this way, he completely ignores the alternative understanding of the term in the Tang Daoist communities that it could mean to knock one's own teeth in order to summon the body deities.<sup>748</sup>

All of his efforts here are made in order to add exterior and performative

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<sup>745</sup> Lü, *Tangqian Daojiao yishi shi gang*, 148–9.

<sup>746</sup> “玄科舊目三十六卷，符圖則自然空生，讚說皆上真注筆，” *DZ* 528, 1a.

<sup>747</sup> Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, 141–3; Qing Xitai 卿希泰 ed., *Zhongguo daojiao shi* 中国道教史, 4 vols (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1994), 3: 194–7.

<sup>748</sup> *DZ* 463, 8. 10b.

ritual actions into the role of the Daoist ritual officiants. This innovation suggests that the traditional understanding of the ritual officiants no longer fit the need of the real ritual practice in the late Tang and was subject to change. According to Du's description to the contemporary practice in the wide regions along the Yangtze reaches, this change took place widely in the south China.

The introduction of performative elements eventually led to the redefinition of the Daoist ritual officiants. In addition to the six traditional ritual officiants, Du himself seems to add a new position called the supervisor of the bell (zhiqing 知磬) in the *Huangluzhai yi*. At the commencement of the Rite for Recitation (zhuanjing 轉經), the supervisor is supposed to recite aloud to order the ritual officiants to take refuge to the Way, the Scriptures, and the Master.<sup>749</sup> In the ending portion of the “Zanchang yigu”, the supervisor is prescribed as leading the ritual officiants to chant the encomiums, and to move on the platform.<sup>750</sup> On the surface, this is conflicting with Du Guangting's own principle that no more ritual position may be set up in the retreat other than the traditional six officiants.<sup>751</sup> However, a scrutiny of the prescriptions reveals that it exactly matches Du's understanding of the preceptor's roles—that is, leading the chant and the movement on the platform. The function of the supervisor was considered as the divided yet identical part of the preceptor's.

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<sup>749</sup> *DZ* 507, 52, 1a.

<sup>750</sup> *DZ* 507, 53, 17a.

<sup>751</sup> *DZ* 507, 53, 3a.



The coexistence of the preceptor and the supervisor in the *Huangluzhai yi* thus represents the significant transition of the Daoist ritual that created new ritual agent. On the one hand, the innovative content of the preceptor went hand in hand with the growing density of the performative elements. The large numbers of hymns were performed with playing musical instruments and chanting songs. On the other hand, this change transformed the traditional ritual actions, exteriorizing the interior experiences. For instance, by knocking the teeth the ritual master visualized to summon his/her body deities. This fixed action and meaning were traditionally considered as the content of knocking the dharma drum. However, Du's ignorance of this interpretation suggests the traditional visualization somehow became less favored technique in the real ritual practice in the late Tang.

This transition gradually expanded to the other ritual officiants. In the *Standardized Rituals of the Supreme Yellow Register Retreat* (Wushang huanglu dazhai lichengyi 無上黃籙大齋立成儀) compiled by Jiang Shuyu 蔣叔與 (1162–1223), he describes the titles of the ritual officiants in his time that:

Nowadays the Supervisor of the Bell in charge of the Rite plays the role of the Preceptor in Chief in the past. The Announcer plays the role of the Supervisor of the Retreat. The Intendant and the Auxiliary on Platform was the Attendant of Scripture. Burner-attendant was the Incense-Watcher. The Auxiliary of Lamp and Candle was the Lamp-watcher. When these officiants do not fulfill their duties, there begin to appear more superfluous titles besides the six officiants.

今世知磬掌儀即古都講之職。表白即古監齋之職。點酌直壇即古侍經之職。手

爐即古侍香之職。直燈燭即古侍燈之職。壇官各不舉職，而六職之外始多冗名矣。<sup>752</sup>

This description confirms that the assistants had been added to the most of the traditional ritual officiants by the 12th century. Part of this transition was similarly noticed by Lü Taigu 呂太古 (fl. 1201) in the *Comprehensive and Requisite Manuals of Daoism* (Daomen tongjiao biyong ji 道門通教必用集).<sup>753</sup> Lin Lingzhen 林靈真 (1239–1302), the compiler of the *Golden Book of Salvation according to the Lingbao Tradition* (Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu 靈寶領教濟度金書), considered this was due to that the senior ritual officiants were not able to brought to completion of the ritual actions and hence more participants were appointed to the new positions in order to assist them.<sup>754</sup> This theory, however, cannot explain why the transition precisely began to take place in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century, for the incompetence of performing ritual action caused by age was undoubtedly a universal phenomenal throughout the history of Daoism. As the analysis above reveals, the introduction of *zhiqing* in the ritual officiants was the result of innovated content of its ritual function.

Moreover, the transition was only not the result of innovated Daoist ritual praxis within Daoist communities, but also that of the interaction with the Chinese society. In his petition submitted to the last emperor of the Late Tang (923–936),

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<sup>752</sup> DZ 508, 2. 2b.

<sup>753</sup> DZ 1226, 6. 1a–b.

<sup>754</sup> DZ 466, 319. 10a.

Li Chongmei 李重美, the Missioner of Merit (gongde shi 功德使), suggested the state to establish the examination subjects for those who requested to be ordained as Daoist. The complete examination and its content includes: the Subject of Scripture 經法科 tests the scriptural knowledge, the Subject of Elaboration 講論科 tests the writing of scriptural discourse 試經論, the Subject of Regulated Essay 文章應制科 tests the composition of poems, the Subject of Announcement 表白科 tests voice 聲喉, the Subject of Chanting 聲贊科 tests the performance of Pacing the Void and the Three Reports<sup>755</sup>, the Subject of the Cultivation by Burning 焚脩科 tests the performance of retreat and libation.<sup>756</sup>

In Li's plan, the six subjects should correspond to the progressive apprenticeship of a Daoist, or more strictly, a Daoist priest. Except of the first two subjects that concern the Daoist doctrine, the content of the following subjects all contribute to the practice of ritual in one way or another. The capacity of composing poetry was directly helpful for one to write the religious hymn.<sup>757</sup> Likewise, the technique of chanting was tested because of its significant role in the performance of Daoist hymns. The last subject stands as most advanced one, testing the module(s) or the whole procedure of a Daoist ritual.

The loud and clear voice was certainly among the requirement for Daoist ritual,

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<sup>755</sup> The Three Reports refers to the action of reverencing the scripture by chanting three hymns and bowing, see Lü, *Tangqian daojiao yishi shigang*, 146, 157.

<sup>756</sup> *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), 61. 686a.

<sup>757</sup> As for the relationship between Chinese traditional poetry and religious, particularly the Buddhist, hymn, see Thomas J. Mazanec, "The Medieval Chinese Gāthā and Its Relationship to Poetry," *T'oung Pao* 103-1-3 (2017): 94–154.

however, the nomination of the subject seems likely a production of the new development in the late Tang. The term *biaobai*, meaning the statement at the outset of a sermon or the report of the meaning and order of the ritual to the principal Buddha image, had been widely used in the Buddhist rituals.<sup>758</sup> Given that Li likewise suggested the Subject of Announcement to be examined for ordained Buddhist, it is much likely the technique of *biaobai* was considered by the state as equally significant and hence would be used in both Buddhist and Daoist ritual.

It must be noticed, however, *biaobai* could be used interchangeably with *zandao*, or leading the movement by chanting and reciting in the Song Buddhist context.<sup>759</sup> Moreover, it never became the title of the ritual participant. On the other hand, the Daoist *biaobao* partly shared the original meaning in the Buddhist context and partly introduced new task into the ritual officiant. In some the Nocturnal Announcement and Audience section in the Daoist ritual in the Song, *biaobai* was required to explain and announce as the circumstance needed 宣白隨意.<sup>760</sup> Some ritual required the tablet of ritual officiants 知職榜 to be established, in which the task of *biaobai* was prescribed as assisting the actions, supervise the

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<sup>758</sup> Tsukamoto Zenryū, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 望月佛教大辭典 (Tōkyō: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1996–1999), 4362

<sup>759</sup> *T* no. 2126, 54: 242a18.

<sup>760</sup> *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 靈寶領教濟度金書, *DZ* 466, 8. 11b, 9. 3b.

offerings, explain the writs, and announce the hymn and the incantation.<sup>761</sup>

In conclusion, the *Baibiaoyi* represents both the continuousness and the dynamics of Daoist ritual tradition in the late Tang. On the one hand, the basic structure of the Lingbao retreat was adopted. Although the importance of the Nocturnal Announcement was reduced, the protocol generally followed the procedure of the Practice of the Dao and the Report of Merit. In the real transmission, the typical symmetrical structure is also maintained. On the other hand, the module of transmitting register, with necessary modification, was embedded within the transmission rite that originally aimed to transmit scripture. A large numbers of hymn were composed and played throughout the ritual. The chanting and singing became flexibly associated with the certain actions. Arising from the augmented performative elements, the new ritual agents were made. This phenomenal was recognized by the society.

## 5.5 Conclusion

In his study of *homo* rituals in India, Michaels classifies three facets of ritual dynamics: historical dynamics, social dynamics, and structural dynamics. The historical one concerns the ritual agency. It rises and attempts to answer the questions like how ritual transfers, how it is criticized, and how the new and innovative elements became the constitutive elements in its the synthesis forms.

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<sup>761</sup> “讚舉壇儀，監眎齋獻，表白詞文，宣告讚祝，” *DZ* 508, 13. 11a.

The social dynamics focuses on the impact the rituals generate on the society, encompassing the notions such as “identity, power, hierarchy, solidarity, control, and efficacy, which are negotiated and contested in rituals.” The structural dynamics targets the inner composition of ritual itself, investigating the vicissitude of media, structure, event, and the procedure of the rituals.<sup>762</sup> Michaels’s classification provides us a comprehensive perspective for observing how Daoist transmission rites of the *Dao De jing* changed in the course between the 5th century and the 10th century.

Historically, it evolved from the simple rite applied between master and disciple in the individual Daoist community to the more complex one employed by the wider groups of users in the various Daoist communities. In this process, the model of the six Lingbao ritual officiants allowed different members in these communities to participate. This model had undergone two significant modifications. The first took place in the early Tang, when the member to each officiant was augmented. The Three Masters and the Five Guarantors alike not only maintained the strict performance of the ritual prescription, but also enabled more ritual specialists to participate. In this way, the Lingbao retreat became the dominated transmission model adopted by many Daoists. The ritual provided frequent interaction for Daoist ritual specialists, by which the ritual rationale

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<sup>762</sup> Alex Michaels, *Homo Ritualis: Hindu Ritual and Its Significance for Ritual Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 22–3.

became more crystalized and widely accepted. In the late Tang, the assistants were further augmented for the traditional six ritual officiants due to the growing needs of performative elements. This change paved the way of the climax that the innovation of the Daoist ritual took place in the Song.

Socially, as the main purpose of rite changed from the transferal of scripture to that of ordination rank, the identity that the ritual created changed accordingly. That is, while the transmission rite functioned solely to establish the master-disciple relation in the Six Dynasties, it became both to reinforce this relation and to create the new ordination rank for the recipient by which one shared with the whole Daoist community in the Tang. Moreover, the ordination rank system, transferred by the transmission rite, was opening to both the Daoists and the laypeople. In other words, the laypeople were allowed to take the similar rite as the Daoist in the transmission. This made the ritual less esoteric than it was often claimed by Daoist, and hence made the flowing ritual elements from Daoist tradition to the society/other religious traditions, or vice versa.

Structurally, while the structure of the Lingbao retreat was basically maintained, the role of Nocturnal Announcement was reduced. The *Baibiaoyi* broke the general pattern of the *Lingbao* retreat. It keeps the elaboration of precept (shuojie 說戒), one of the most significant parts in the nocturnal announcement, whereas there is no evidence to show it adopts the nocturnal

announcement as an independent section in the whole ritual procedure. The report of merit is conducted by the master and aims to report the merit of deities, often in lower ranks such as the clerks and officials, to the supreme ones in order to make promotion of these deities. However, in the *Baibiaoyi* it is the one who receives the scripture should practice the ritual. In the petition the practitioner wishes the power and glory of these deities not only protects the state but also blesses his/her ancestors.<sup>763</sup>

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<sup>763</sup> “伏惟至真眾聖，道德高尊，三洞威神，三寶官屬，降以真氣，賜以光靈，使存注感通，功行圓備，魔精摧伏，道化隆昌，佐國立功，濟人度物，真靈覆祐，存歿沾榮，九祖七玄，三途六趣，神功所被，咸享福緣。謹以三日限畢，拜謝恩朱表一通。” *DZ* 808, 13a.



## CHAPTER 6

### EPILOGUE:

#### RITUAL, BODY, AND CHINESE RELIGIONS

This dissertation presents a comparative study of ordination rite in the two major Chinese religious traditions in the medieval period. Through the detailed textual examinations, I clarify the process of the ritualization of Daoist and Buddhist ordination rites that created new ritual agents, including the laity, and shaped the religious community, modeling relationships and lineages. By the interaction with the structuring and structured religious community, the ritualized body congregated bodily, social, and cosmological experience via the dialectic of objectification and embodiment in the ordination rites. These findings further lead us to think of the roles played by ritual and body in Chinese religions as a whole.

#### **6.1 Ritual**

The textual analysis provided by this study has revealed many details on ritual actions. There are certain markers and cues framing the ritual actions and distinguishing them from the profane and everyday activities. Not only do they mark the commencement and the end of the ritual, but also signify the special time, space, and decorum. The patterns of ritual action are typically marked by body changes, communicative changes, and time and place changes.<sup>764</sup> By the

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<sup>764</sup> Michaels, *Homa Ritual*, 41–2.

means of comparison, this study reveals different features of these changes in *chuanshou* and *abhiṣeka*.

1). Body changes refer to both the physical features of the body and the transcendent efficacy brought to it. Both *chuanshou* and *abhiṣeka* apply the both changes to the initiate's body in terms of physical change and transcendent efficacy. The Daoist ordination rank system assigned the ordained with the ritual attires, and endowed the spiritual documents, representatively the register, to transform not only the outward appearance but, notionally, the very inner structure of the body. The *abhiṣeka* also endowed the initiate with ritual objects and promised to bring him/her the enlightenment in this life. However, *abhiṣeka* staged and used multiple media to provide the initiate a more intense experience of body changes. Ritual objects, made of different materials, were conferred directly to the initiate's body. Symbolizing the transferal of religious authority and identity, the objects aim to create the new body. In addition, the precise usage of *āveśa*, symbolizing the installation of a vajra inside the body, would similarly be supposed to change what is inside the body. Indisputably, the ritual techniques that change the inner corporeality represent one of the most advanced doctrines within each tradition.

2). The communicative changes refer to the alteration of language, writings, festivity, and alike. Again, both ordination rites applied the distinctive techniques

to mediate the communication among the master, the initiate, and the cosmology. Based on the model of celestial bureaucracy, the Daoist *chuanshou* intensively used the ritual technique of visualization to facilitate the communication. Not only the request for practicing the rite sent to the celestial court depended on the master's visualization, but also he/she used the same method to actualize this request in the disciple's body. Moreover, the Daoist communicative actions also depended on the rationale of audience ritual. A large number of hymns, chanted with dances, were performed in accordance with the secular audience rite undertaken at court.

On the other hand, the chanted mantras and the performed *mudrās* were not only the two basic techniques in the *abhiṣeka* that generated a variety of ritual effects, but also, according to the theory of three esotericas, ontologically constituted the major communication with the dharma body—the true body of reality. Unlike the Daoist visualization that was primarily guided in the mind, the Esoteric communicative techniques manifested performatively as speeches, singing, dancing, and reciting. While *abhiṣeka* may contain several ritual elements of visualization, the degree and the frequency of it were far lower than that was in the Daoist counterpart.

3). Both rites placed extra emphasis on the construction of ritual space and on the strict observance to the ritual time. The Daoist platform symbolized not only the gathering of deities, but also the process of the re-genesis of cosmology. The

strict regulation on the participants' movements on the platform assured the conformity between the individual and the universe. The practitioners of *abhiṣeka* employed multiple platforms, demarcating the symbolic function (the platform of *maṇḍala*) and the practical function (the platform of consecration and that of *homa*). On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists were cautious on the ritual time. Amoghavajra's scheme of holding the *abhiṣeka* in the three months of retreat actually did not only help the acceptance of the rite, but also conceived the rite was an accumulation of merit. It seemed the Daoists more flexibility on ritual time.

## 6.2 Body

Ordination rites are acted out to restore, reinforce, or redirect identity. As Mol has remarked, "(ordination rites) maximize order by strengthening the place of the individual in the group or society, and vice versa by strengthening the bond of a society vis-à-vis the individual. They unify, integrate, and sacralize."<sup>765</sup> Since they embody the initiate with the social, cultural, and religious meaning through the symbolic representations shared by the society, ordination rites help to establish the plurality of identity.

Both *chuanshou* and *abhiṣeka* functioned as one of the most effective means within its own tradition to create an inclusive community. Daoist ordination rites

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<sup>765</sup> Hans Mol, *Identity and the Sacred: A Sketch for a New Social-scientific Theory of Religion* (New York: Free Press, 1976), 233.

used with the ordination rank created an inclusive society. Women, aliens, and lay people were transmitted with the ordination ranks by means of the rite, and hence were included in the community. The existence of women and minorities appeared in the theocracy of Hanzhong of the Celestial Masters, but also they were transferred with the registers. Since the registers functioned to deliver the pneumas of the universe into the body of the initiate, the recipients became to merge with the overarching body of the Dao. While the Daoist ordination rites contained the module from the ritual of transferring register, the inclusiveness of the Daoist body might simultaneously be inherited within the ordination rank system. As attested by various records in the Tang, the system mediated multiple social groups, ranging from the imperial house to the commoners, by drawing their members into the system.

The ordination rites took different approaches to achieve the inclusiveness of laity. Probably due to the influential notion of the expedient means, Chinese Esoteric Buddhists targeted two distinctive groups of audience for *abhiṣeka*. Those who sought for worldly benefits were supposed to take the karma-tying *abhiṣeka* whereas the candidates of *ācārya* were allowed to take the *abhiṣeka* of dharma-transmission. Both types of *abhiṣeka* might include laity. Very first time in the history of Chinese Buddhism, laymen were allowed to actually play the role as both practitioner and preceptor in the Buddhist community by taking the ritual

of entry. Not only did *abhiṣeka* establish *karma* bond with common lay believers, but it also allowed outstanding laymen to serve as *ācārya*, who transmitted both Esoteric knowledge and authority.

The inclusiveness generated by *abhiṣeka* brought profound impact to the Chinese Buddhist community. The endowment of the Buddhist authority to the laymen expanded the influence of Esoteric teachings and transformed the local Buddhist community into lay-based. An excellent example comes from Liu Benzun 柳本尊 (855–907), the celebrated lay-Buddhist thaumaturge. He practiced the ritual and doctrines in accordance with the mature Esoteric Buddhism in the area of Guanghan 廣漢 just to the north of Yizhou during the early 10<sup>th</sup> century. He used the spells and mantras of the Mahā Mandala for exorcism and healing practices. Moreover, this process of spreading the Esoteric teachings by laymen may further expand the inclusiveness of women into Buddhist community, for instance, Liu Benzun himself was initiated by a local woman.

The Daoists made more hierarchies in the ordination rank system; however, the functions of *chuanshou* delivering the ranks were identical. According to Zhang Wanfu's record on the Prince Golden Transcendent and the Prince Jade Perfected's ordination, the ritual was strictly performed, showing no fundamental doctrinal difference with that for other Daoist priestesses. This association of the

rite to the ordination rank can also be found in the case of Li Bai's initiation.

Unlike those who undertook the *abhiṣeka* of dharma-transmission, the ordained Daoist lay people seemed not actually to play a role of transmitting what they had been transmitted.

This divergent inclusiveness reflects the different Buddho-Daoist approaches to include the individual body within the religious community and to interact with the lay society. While they were allowed to carry out the role of transmitting Esoteric practices, the laymen seemed not to be the member of Buddhist *saṃgha* by taking the full set of precepts. No evidence shows that the elite officials, or the local commoners, in the Tang became *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs* after undertaking *abhiṣeka*. The introduction of the lay people to the Buddhist community by *abhiṣeka* actually created two paralleling entities—the less opening *saṃgha* on the one hand and the more inclusive Esoteric lineages on the other. While it was excluded from the *saṃgha*, the individual lay body was able to join with the wider Buddhist dharma body and hence to be placed in the trans-historical lineages.

The Daoist community seemed to be more internally coherent. Both the monastic clergies and the laity were equally endowed with the ordination ranks. This undifferentiation was made possible by the appropriation of Chinese indigenous relational categories. By replacing blood ties with the association with the Daoist law, Daoists used the familial categories of mourning attire to signify

their communal relationships. Among these relationships, that of the master and disciple played the core role, centered by which other relationships were established. As a result, the entire Daoist community was conceived as the coherent union of multiple master-disciple relations. This pattern of relationships was itself a miniature of that of the larger Chinese social relationships. Therefore, the overlap of the two patterns left the place for the inclusiveness of laity.

These observations on the models of inclusiveness of laity may further prompt us to think the syncretism of Chinese religions. In his influential theory on the Buddho-Daoist interaction, Zürcher remarked that it took place at the lower stratum of the Chinese religious practitioners, resulting a much less differentiated lay religion.<sup>766</sup> However, this comparative study showed that the inclusiveness of the laity into Chinese religions concerned less with the class than the intrinsic rationale of the Buddho-Daoist ordination rites themselves. Not only did the interaction occurred at almost all levels of the religious communities, but also the flowing exchange of doctrine and ritual elements moved smoothly from the top to the bottom, and vice versa. For instance, the Buddhist *ācāryas* who were authoritative experts of Esoteric rituals, *abhiṣeka* and alike, accounted for a small number of Chinese Buddhist. The advanced Esoteric ritual techniques, such as *adhiṣṭhāna*, *pratiṣṭhā*, and *āveśa*, seemed not to be in wide application. While

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<sup>766</sup> Erik Zürcher, "Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism," 146.



Buddhist sources remain almost silent on the incorporation of elite Esoteric traditions and their attendant ritual practices, the sources on the Daoist Pure Tenuity movement in the Southern Song show how Daoist ritual priests actively interacted with their local Buddhist competitors who employed the advanced Esoteric ritual techniques.<sup>767</sup>

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As an inter-disciplinary study, this work may also extend the frontier of Chinese studies. The rich context of the rituals is primarily defined by a societal purpose. Politically the ordination rites served an important conduit between the state and the religions. Not only the ritual places for ordination were established within the palace, but also the masters made personal yet religious connections with the emperor and the elites. A visible impact on Chinese society was further generated through economical exchanges. The large amount of financial resources usually constituted the pledges and utensils for transmission. In both Daoism and Buddhism, these resources partly became the asset of the institution that held the ritual, and partly were distributed among the larger religious community, which in return invisibly brought coherence to the religious communities and reshaped the relationships within. This politico-economical intricacy reveals new roles that religions historically played in Chinese society.

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<sup>767</sup> Hsien Shu-Wei, "Song Yuan Daojiao Qingwei fa yu difang Mijiao chuantong," 9–17.

Equally important is that it provides an opportunity to reconsider the nature of Chinese religious poetry. Similar to many Daoist poems, these hymns were also highly occasional yet not self-referential at all.<sup>768</sup> Unlike Daoist poetry in the Six Dynasties, the hymns written by Du Guangting are much less abstruse, dense, and obscurely allusive. The author seems consciously to use the plain language to deliver poetic ideas to the societal audience. This feature can similarly be found in the Buddhist side. In addition to the meaningless *dhāraṇī*, a number of *gāthās* were also chanted throughout the entire process of *abhiṣeka*. As has been noticed, *gāthā* had become like regulated verse in the late period of the Tang, sharing the structure, tonal patterns, and rhymes as secular poetry.<sup>769</sup> Consciously made to fit the literary tastes of the time, these religious hymns were acted out in the ways to attract potential audience, thus constituting a significant source of the Chinese vernacular literature and performance arts in the later period.

Last but no least, this work helps to think of the notion of *li* in a larger context. As a distinctive feature of Confucianism, *li* often denotes morality, responsibility and social hierarchy. As Schwartz once observed, the term “refers to all those ‘objective’ prescriptions of behavior, whether involving rite, ceremony, manners, or general deportment, that bind human beings and the spirits

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<sup>768</sup> See Paul Kroll, “Daoist verse and the quest of the divine,” in John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi ed., *Early Chinese Religion Part Two: The period of Division (220–589 AD)* 2vols (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2: 984.

<sup>769</sup> Thomas J. Mazanec, “The Medieval Chinese Gāthā and Its Relationship to Poetry,” *T’oung Pao* 103-1-3 (2017): 127.

together in networks of interacting roles within the family, within human society, and with the numinous realm beyond.”<sup>770</sup> The Daoists and Buddhists did not precisely apply the term to signify their ritual praxis, and sometimes might even criticize *li* as false and deviant. Nevertheless, both considered their rituals, including the ordination rites, to be helpful for shaping an idea community and society by using the notion of merit. Moreover, the very actions of their rituals, particularly the Daoist ones, further began to be merged with the Confucian state rituals in the Tang. These contributed to pave the way for the mingling ritual elements in even larger social context from the Song and afterwards, which eventually shaped the Chinese ritual as an organic whole in the early modern China.

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<sup>770</sup> Schwartz, *The World Of Thought in Ancient China*, 67.

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- DZ* Daozang 道藏 as cited according to Schipper, Kristopher and Franciscus Verellen, eds. *The Daoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. 3 vols. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- P.* Numbered manuscripts from Dunhuang in the Pelliot collection (Fond Pelliot chinois) held in the Biblioth.que nationale, Paris.
- S.* Numbered manuscripts from Dunhuang in the Stein collection held in the British Library, London.
- T.* Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經. 1924–1935. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, et al. eds. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai.
- X.* Wan xu zang jing 卍續藏經. 1975. 150 vols. Taipei: Xinwenfeng Chubanshe. (Repr. of Dainippon zokuzōkyō 大日本續藏經 1905–1912).

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*YJQQ* DZ 1032 *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤.

*WSMY* DZ 1138 *Wushang miyao* 無上秘要.

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- 790 *Nüqingguili* 女青鬼律
- 615 *Chisongzi zhangli* 赤松子章曆
- 1294 *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* 上清黃書過度儀
- 789 *Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiaojie kejing* 正一法文天師教戒科經
- 1127 *Lu xiansheng daomen kelue* 陸先生道門科略
- 785 *Laojun yinsong jiejing* 老君音誦誡經
- 791 *Zhengyi weiyi jing* 正一威儀經
- 1243 *Zhengyifawen taishang wailu yi* 正一法文太上外籙儀
- 1205 *Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經
- 22 *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwentianshujing* 元始五老赤書玉篇真  
文天書經
- 322 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao tiandi yundu ziran miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶  
天地運度自然妙經
- 184 *Taizhen yudi siji mingke jing* 太真玉帝四極明科經
- 352 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶赤書  
玉訣妙經
- 411 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao wudi jiaoji zhaozhen yujue* 太上洞玄靈寶

- 五帝醮祭召真玉訣
- 425 *Shangqing taiji yinzhū yujing baojue* 上清太極隱注玉經寶訣
- 532 *Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue* 太極真人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣
- 671 *Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wuchengfu shangjing* 太上無極大道自然真一五稱符上經
- 528 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi biao* 太上洞玄靈寶授度儀表
- 1278 *Dongxuan lingbao wugan wen* 洞玄靈寶五感文
- 355 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 太上靈寶五符序
- 530 *Dongxuan lingbao yulu jianwen sanyuan weiyi ziran zhenjing* 洞玄靈寶玉錄簡文三元威儀自然真經
- 1313 *Dongzhen Gaoshang Yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing* 洞真高上玉帝大洞雌一玉檢五老寶經
- 1352 *Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu* 洞真太上太霄琅書
- 1372 *Shangqinggaoshangyuchen fengtai qusu shangjing* 上清高上玉晨鳳台曲素上經
- 1380 *Shangqing taishang huangsu sishisifang jing* 上清太上黃素四十四方經
- 129 *Taixiao langshu qiongwen dizhangjue* 太霄琅書瓊文帝章經
- 1439 *Dongxuan lingbao yujing shan buxu jing* 洞玄靈寶玉京山步虛經
- 1016 *Zhen'gao* 真誥
- 441 *Dongxuan lingbao wuyue zhenxing tu* 洞玄靈寶五嶽真形圖
- 640 *Dongshen badi miaojing jing* 洞神八帝妙精經
- 803 *Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi* 太上洞神三皇儀

- 1284 *Taishang dongshen sanhuang chuanshou yi* 太上洞神三皇傳授儀
- 1283 *Taishang dongshen xingdao shoudu yi* 太上洞神行道授度儀
- 335 *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* 太上洞淵神咒經
- 421 *Deng zhen yinjue* 登真隱訣
- 598 *Shizhou ji* 十洲記
- 292 *Hanwudi neizhuan* 漢武帝內傳
- 303 *Ziyang zhenren neizhuan* 紫陽真人內傳
- 783 *Yongcheng jixian lu* 壩城集仙錄
- 1129 *Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞
- 508 *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀
- 507 *Taishang huanglu zhai yi* 太上黃籙齋儀
- 1238 *Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue* 傳授經戒儀注訣
- 1241 *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* 傳授三洞經戒法籙略說
- 808 *Taishang sandong chuanshou Dao Dejing zixu lu baibiao yi* 太上三洞  
傳授道德經紫虛籙拜表儀

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- 190 *Fo benxing ji jing* 佛本行集經
- 212 *Chuyao jing* 出曜經
- 294 *Foshuo luomojia jing* 佛說羅摩伽經



- 379 *Si tongzi sanmei jing* 四童子三昧經
- 848 *Da pilu zhen chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經
- 852 *Da Piluzhe'na chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang bei sheng mantuluo guang da chengjiu yigui gongyang fangbian hui* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏悲生曼荼羅廣大成就儀軌供養方便會
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- 893 *Suxidi jieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯囉經
- 897 *Ruisiye jing* 蕤呬耶經
- 901 *Tuoluoni ji jing* 陀羅尼集經
- 1007 *Mouli mantuluo Zhou jing* 牟梨曼陀羅咒經
- 1058 *Qianshou qianyan guanshiyin pusamu tuoluoni shen jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩姥陀羅尼身經
- 1092 *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空絹索神變真言經
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Appendix I:

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF P. 2559

In the midnight spread out the mat on the platform in the courtyard, and set the seats on the north [of the platform] that face the south. Expand the azure cloth in 3 *chi* as seat. Attentively place the cups and trays in front of it. Set up a table to hold the Scripture of Three Luminaries, the plank, and so forth.

夜半於庭壇敷席，北面南向位。舒碧巾三尺為座，杯棹奠貯置前，前設一奏案，以擎三皇經及傳等。

The master first incants in lowest voice to the north that: O Jade Ladies of the Incense Smoke, report to the Perfected Lord of Three Luminaries that, such and such is correctly burning the incense and offering ale, respectfully inviting the Perfected Lord of Three Luminaries. May [the lord] bestow the numinous pneuma into my body so that what my report would be directly delivered to the table of the Perfected Lord of Three Luminaries.

師初北向微祝曰：香煙玉女上白三皇真君，△甲正爾燒香醮禮，拜請三皇真君，願降以靈氣，下入△身，所啟徑御三皇真君几前。

Then burn the incense and pour the ale into the cup, bow twice for three times, knell and say: the male novice and disciple such and such, respectfully request the Perfected Lord of the Celestial One of the Heavenly Luminary, the Perfected Lord of the Great One of the Terrestrial Luminary, and the Perfected Lord of the Mysterious One of the Human Luminary to come. May they condescend to partake the offerings and examine my true heart.

因燒香酌酒，三再拜，長跽曰：男生弟子△甲，謹奉請天皇天一真君，地皇太一真君，人皇玄一真君，并願曲垂降饗，鑒察丹心。

Then prostrate and think about the deities for quite a while. Rise up, pour the ale into the cup, and say: I such and such once followed the premier master to receive the Large Character of Celestial Pattern of the Three Sets of Inner Writs of the Heavenly Luminary, the Terrestrial Luminary, and the Human Luminary, as well as the talismans of *Jianqian* and Azure Embryo. They are in total 10 *juan*. I carry them with me. Since I have met with the spiritual pneuma, it has been years; but I dare not to transmit. Now there is male/female novice such and such from such residential compound in such village in such county of such prefect. He/she has a confident heart and is exclusively devoted. He/she is joyfully willing to receive and uphold [the scriptures]. In accordance with the ritual rule, I shall permit the transmission. Respectfully I am setting up the humble banquet and displaying the covenantal token. Together with him/her I will be reporting, sealing the plank, and transmitting [the scriptures]. With these respectful reports, I request your permission.

因伏思神良久，起酌酒曰：△甲昔從先師△奉受天皇、地皇、人皇三部

內文天文大字，青胎監乾眾符，合十卷，佩服在身。被蒙神氣，從來積年，未敢傳付。今有△郡縣鄉里男女生△甲，信心專到，願樂受持，依如科法，許聽傳授。謹以今日施設微禮，并陳盟信，對共啟告，封傳付授，謹以奏言，請賜矜允。

Rise up, read the writs on the lower plank, take it into [disciple's] cloth. Place the upper plank upon it, bind the two sides with the thread. Press the vermilion wax, roast with slow fire to make it soft. Then hold the seal to seal it. Use two thumbs to twist the seal. Rise up and approach to the disciple. The disciple too knells and twists two thumbs on the master's.

起讀傳下板文竟，內衣，加以上板，縱纏兩頭畢，安朱臙，小火炙令軟。因執印加上封，兩上手大指捻印，起就弟子。弟子亦長跽，以兩手大指捻師指上。

The master in incants low voice that: O the primal essence of the Three Luminaries that match the *qian* numen. I carry the talisman and wear the plank, paying respects at the Jade Court. The transcendent laids support me, the jade ladies assist my form. I shall enter into and go out of the Gate of Heaven, pay respects at the Greatest Clarity.

師微祝曰：三皇元精，上應乾靈，佩符帶傳，朝拜玉庭，仙童扶己，玉女侍形，出入天門，朝晏上清。

Then exhale the penuma, spitting it out thrice. Raise figures, twist the seal to make pattern. Rise backwards, press the lower seal, roast, approach to the disciple, and make the seal as above. After finishing this, endow the disciple with the back belt. The male disciple should wear around on the left shoulder whereas the female on the right. The belt should be knotted in front of the heart. When the master returns to his place, the disciple should still face to the cups, bowing twice to each of them. Then [the disciples] pay respect to the master by bowing twice.

因吐氣，三噓之，舉指捻印成文，起退，安下封，火炙，就弟子封如上。畢，仍與弟子帶背，男絡左肩上，女絡右肩上，結於心前。師還位，弟子仍對杯，各再拜，又禮師再拜。

Then the master knells and says: the disciple such and such has been endowed with [the status] of carrying the plank. Now I am requesting their wearing the talismans. Then take and roll the writs of silk that are in two *juan*, knell, and transmit them to the disciple. [The disciple] should receive the talismans with the left hand, then having them around the waist for three circles. Then the master knells and says: the disciple such and such has already carried the plank and worn the talismans, now I am requesting the transmission of the

scriptures. Then take the ten *juans* [of the scriptures], and kneel to the east. The disciple should receive the scriptures with the left hand and hand over the pledges with the right hand. Having the scriptures in hand, [the disciple] bows twice for three times. Then [the disciple] bows to the master.

師更跽曰：弟子△甲已蒙帶傳，今請佩符。因卷取二卷素文，跽授弟子。左手受符，仍以繞腰三匝。師又跽曰：弟子△甲帶傳佩符已畢，今請授經。因取十卷至弟子前，東向跽，弟子左手受經，右手執信，交度，仍捧經，更三再拜，又拜師。

The master returns his place, pours ale into the cup, and presents incense, saying: I such and such, who rely on and receive the luminous kindness, have transmitted scriptures and talismans to the disciple. However, I fear that the person of flesh who was born into this depraved age, and his/her mind and comportment are not pure. The correct pneuma is flimsy and weak, the disaster and the catastrophe easily gather. Only do I rely on the True Way, requesting for the condescended guard, which makes [the disciple] such and such who has already worn [the talismans] and received [the scriptures] can have peace and fortune. The master is naturally akin, who takes the care and the protection [for the disciple] as his base. He should have transmission and the time needs the virtuous and the wise. If I violate the rule, transgressive and neglectful, then I comply with [the punishment] in the Mysterious Regulation. Respectfully I prostrate and bow to the ground, reporting with my true heart. The master and the disciple each bow twice. The master presents the ale and incense, saying that we were in the hope of the descending numen, who descended to the mean and the unclear from afar. Since the report and the transmission are completed, I dare not to retain [the deities]. In a breath they ascend, returning to the spiritual place. I request the remaining blessings, which are tendentiously bestowed to the mean and the low. Then bow twice for three times. After sending back the deities, take the ale, prostrate, and drink. Sprinkle [the ale] to four directions. When finished, burn the incense and restore the burner, saying: O Jade Ladies of Incense Smoke. The true luminary descended and returned to the celestial office. Those who transmit and are transmitted have already been endowed with the fortune. The incense smoke is aloft and scattered, merging and mingling wit the Way. When all has been completed, remove the seat.

師還，酌酒上香曰：△甲今日仰承皇恩，傳付弟子經符已畢，但恐肉人生長末世，心行不淳，正氣淺薄，災禍易集，唯仰憑真道，乞垂保衛。令△佩奉以後，得荷安吉，師資天親，愛護為本，應有傳付，時須賢哲。若違科犯慢，具依玄制，謹伏地稽顙，陳奏丹心。師弟子各三再拜。師上酒燒香曰：仰降高靈，遠臨鄙濁，啟傳既畢，不敢稽留，呼吸上昇，還神反位，請乞餘福，曲沾卑陋。因三再拜，送神畢，取酒各伏飲，又四灑如法。畢，乃燒香

復爐曰：香煙玉女，真皇降臨，上還天府，授受之身，已荷福，香煙飛散，與道和合。都畢，撒座。

Appendix II.

THE RITUAL PROCEDURE OF THE SEVEN DAY UNIVERSAL  
GATHERING MANDALA



- Day 1
1. The *ācārya* confirms the initiates' determination to receive the secret dharma treasury of the buddhas.<sup>771</sup>
  2. Having incanted to the water for 21 times, the *ācārya* burns the incense, announces the seven-day *maṇḍala* meeting to make offerings to all the buddhas, the *prajñāpāramitās*, the *bodhisattvas*, *vajras*, and *devas*, and requests all the buddhas and their crowds 諸佛領諸徒衆 to come to validate it 取諸證成.
  3. The *ācārya* sprinkles the water all over the ritual realm.
  4. The *ācārya* fixes the boundary 結界 by using the *Kuṇḍalī* spell.
- Day 2
5. In the morning, the *ācārya*, with four or five initiates, adorns the ritual realm.
  6. The *ācārya* once again fixes the boundary 結界 by using the *Kuṇḍalī* spell.
  7. The *ācārya* incants the mud and smear it on the ground.
  8. The *ācārya* once again fixes the boundary 結界 by using the *Kuṇḍalī* spell.
- Day 3
9. The *ācārya* smears the ground with the cow dung mixed with fragrant water.
  10. The *ācārya* demarcates the halls of *maṇḍala*.
  11. The *ācārya* fixes the boundary 結界 by using the *Kuṇḍalī* spell for three times.
  12. The *ācārya* recites the expelling spell of *Vināyaka* and forms its *mudrā*.
- Day 4
13. Having fixed the boundaries, the *ācārya* sets up the gates.
  14. The *ācārya* sets up the logs at four corners of the platform, hangs above them the large banners that cover the platform, and hangs above the large banner the flags in the four directions and in the middle.
  15. Attach decorated large banners as curtain to the four directions, which serves as side panel.
  16. Decorate the logs.
  17. String ropes around the logs and hang decorations such as colorful curtain and bells.
  18. Attach the pearls on the four sides.
  19. Decorate the platform with jewelry net.
  20. Set up the seat of lotus.
  21. Set up the four-hasta water platform on the northeast of the

<sup>771</sup> The procedure has been generally summarized by Shinohara, from which I have consulted for my own table here.

- platform
22. Set up the four-hasta white platform on the southwest of the platform
23. Practice the spell and *mudrā* for Fixing the Grand Boundary 大結界.
- Day 5 24. The *ācārya*, along with initiates, enters into the platform 阿闍梨行道一遍讚歎作禮。
25. One initiate uses the fragrant mud to paint the ground of the platform.
26. The *ācārya* marks the halls of the *maṇḍala*.
- Day 6 27. The *ācārya* incants to the cords 呪索
28. Package the Five Grains and Seven Jewels with silk patches.
29. Towards sunset, the *ācārya* and the initiates bathe, put on fresh cloth, perform the rite to fix the boundary and to protect body.
30. After sunset, the *ācārya* enters into the platform, requesting the buddhas, bodhisattvas, vajras, and devas to enter into the platform.
31. The *ācārya* leads the initiates to the western gate, standing in line and burning incense. 作法事
32. The *ācārya* forms the body-protect *mudrā*, chants spells, and places the *mudrā* unto the initiates.
33. The initiates are sent to the seats, facing to the east.
34. The *ācārya* incants the white mustard seeds and throw 咒打 them unto the each initiate's head, face, and heart for three times.
35. The *ācārya* incants the Spell of Hayagrīva to protect body.
36. The *ācārya* confirms the initiate's determination to receive the dharma.
37. The *ācārya* holds the vessel of fragrant water upon the initiate's head, presses his right hand on his heart, and recites the Spell of Hayagrīva.
38. The *ācārya* ties the cords on each initiate's left arm.
39. The *ācārya* leads initiates away from their seats. They descend from the eastern stair [of the western gate] and knell down at the bottom of the western stair.
40. The *ācārya* sprinkles the juice of the *sāla* tree and encircles them for three times.
41. The *ācārya*, with a torch, encircles the initiates.
42. The *ācārya* gives each initiate a willow branch and a flower.
43. The initiate chews the willow branch and throws it in front of him, the place where it falls shows success or failure of the ritual.
44. Each initiate has the fragrant water poured into the palm, and

drinks it three times.

45. The *ācārya* seals the water with vajra and drinks the water.

46. The *ācārya* leads the initiates into the ritual realm and offers incense.

47. The *ācārya* asks the initiates to go back to sleep and tell him their dream to him tomorrow.

48. The *ācārya* leads the initiates to their residence.

49. The *ācārya* returns to the ritual realm and announces the deities about the forthcoming ritual.

50. The *ācārya* sends off the deities.

51. The *ācārya* lights the furnace at the northern side of the platform, recites the Spell of Hayagrīva to the white mustard seeds, and burns them in the furnace for 108 times. This functions to expunge the sins of the candidates.

52. With the assistance of the ordained initiates, the *ācārya* decorates the *maṇḍala* with colorful powders and arranges the seats of deities.

53. The *ācārya* decorates the lotus flowers in the furnace with red and white powder.

54. The *ācārya* makes another four-*hasta* platform in the northwest, on which there are only white and red boundaries and lotus flower.

55. The *ācārya* marks the *abhiṣeka* platform with white boundary and sets a seat of lotus flower.

56. The *ācārya* checks the seats, makes corrections if necessary, and fixes the boundary once again.

Day 7 57. The *ācārya* bathes, dress in fresh clothes, and wears a three-foot yellow crown and a four-foot crimson forehead band. This is called the method of wearing heavenly crown 頭戴天冠.

58. The *ācārya* bonds the five-colored cord on his arm, incants the Spell of Hayagrīva, seals on himself, and enters into the ritual realm.

59. The *ācārya* holds a *vajra*, recites the Spell of, and forms the *mudrā* of Kundalini. He encircles the platform for three times and performs rites.

60. The *ācārya* forms the *Mudrā* of Hayagrīva and fixes the boundaries of ten directions.

61. The *ācārya* prepares the vessels for consecration.

62. The *ācārya* fills two golden plates with fragrant water and two silver plates with flowers.

63. The *ācārya* plants fruit trees of jeweled flower inside the platform.
64. The *ācārya* prepares ten five-colored candles and puts them on the copper candleholders.
65. The *ācārya* places foods on the plates.
66. The *ācārya* lights lamps.
67. The *ācārya* prepares other ritual items.
68. The *ācārya* prepares items that are to be burned.
69. Two groups of musicians are placed outside the ritual realm.
70. The *ācārya* performs rite to make initiates at rest.
71. Towards sunset, the *ācārya* enters into the ritual realm, recites the spell of invite the central deity, and places the golden water pot on its seat.
72. The *ācārya* takes other ritual items into the platform and arranges them in order.
73. The *ācārya* makes certain that the ritual items are correctly placed and ready to use.
74. The *ācārya* uses the five-colored thread to encircle to platform.
75. The *ācārya* leaves the ritual realm, chants the hymns to lead four initiates who, holding the ritual items, enter into the ritual realm, and deposits these items properly.
76. The *ācārya* exits the ritual realm and makes offerings to the guarding divine kings.
77. The *ācārya* moves to the *abhiṣeka* platform and makes the ritual items there in proper order.
78. Facing each other, the two groups of musicians line up outside the entrance of the ritual realm.
79. Having checked the arrangements, the *ācārya* reenters the ritual realm, knells outside the western gate of the platform, holds the incense burner, reports to the deities, presents offerings, and praises them. When his finishes, the musicians play the Music of Offering Flower to Buddha 散花佛曲.
80. The *ācārya* dips a flower in fragrant water, holds it in his palm, and forms the Mudrā of Inviting Buddha 請佛印.<sup>772</sup> He first invites the central deity of the inner hall. When deity comes, he

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<sup>772</sup> The ritual of making offerings on the seventh day first commences with the invitation to the deities. Holding a flower on his palm, the *ācārya* forms the fundamental *mudrās* 本印, i.e., the *mudrās* for each group of deities, to invite the deities and forms the *mudrā* of flower seat 華座印 to place them on seats. The fundamental seals are practiced for the buddha, the Prajñāpāramitās, the bodhisattvas, the vajras, and the devas, respectively. The *mudrā* of flower seat, in contrast, is universally applied to all. (*T* no. 901, 18: 817b22.)

- forms Mudrā of Lotus Seat and chants spell for seven times.
81. The *ācārya* invites the other deities in the inner hall, in the sequence of east, north, south, and west.
  82. The *ācārya* invites the deities in the middle and exterior halls.
  83. The *ācārya* fixes the boundary of samaya 三摩耶大結界.
  84. The *ācārya* scatters incense and flower onto the seats of the deities.
  85. The *ācārya* pays homage to the *maṇḍala* and encircles it for three times.
  86. The musicians play the Music of Amitābha Buddha
  87. The *ācārya* leads six disciples to exist the ritual realm and make offerings to the attendant and the protective deities, as well as the hungry ghosts.
  88. The *ācārya* reenters the ritual realm, pays homage for three times, and chants.
  89. The musicians play the Music of Avalokiteśvara.
  90. Followed by the musicians, the *ācārya* and his ten disciples, who hold different ritual items, line up to welcome the candidate. In this process, the *ācārya* should chant to praise.
  91. The *ācārya* and his disciples who hold the water pot, mustard seeds, and robes enter into the *abhiṣeka* platform.
  92. The *ācārya* speaks the teaching of the Buddha and confirms the initiate's determination.
  93. The *ācārya* incants the Spell of Kundalini on the water and sprinkle it over the initiate's heads.
  94. The *ācārya* incants and throws mustard seed to the initiate.
  95. The *ācārya* chants the praise and leads the candidates to the ritual realm. In this process, the music is played.
  96. The *ācārya* incants the Spell of Hayagrīva for seven times and throws the mustard seeds to the candidates for three times.
  97. The *ācārya* forms the body-protect seal and seals it on the initiate's body. This method is as same as the Kundali method.
  98. The candidates wash their hands and rinse.
  99. The *ācārya* leads the candidates towards the ritual realm. The candidates pay respect for three times and repent sins. The music should be played.
  100. The *ācārya* enters into the ritual realm, pays respect for three times, and chants the praise. After this, he exists the ritual realm and music starts to play.

101. The *ācārya* performs the great protective rite.<sup>773</sup>
102. The *ācārya* asks candidate to kneel down on the mat beside the gate.
103. The *ācārya* covers the eyes of candidate with white silk, leads him to form the Mudrā of Bodhisattva Samadhi of Avalokiteśvara and places a flower within. Then the *ācārya* takes him into the ritual realm and stops at the western gate of the platform.
104. The *ācārya* incants the Spell of Samadhi of Avalokiteśvara for seven times. Then he asks the candidate to throw the flower into the platform. After the flower reaches the lotus seat of [a deity], the *ācārya* uncovers the silk and makes him to see his rank 位 and to pay homage. Then this candidate should retreats, knells, and waits at the south of the ritual realm.
105. The *ācārya* scatters the flower.
106. The musicians are invited to ascend to play several pieces of music towards the platform.
107. The *ācārya* leads the initiates to pay respect, report to [deities], and encircle the platform. After this, they sit on their seats.
108. The *ācārya* takes the water pot placed on the seat of the central deity and moves to the *abhiṣeka* platform. His feet stand in the shape of character ding and his figures are like a hook.
109. He recites the Heart Incantation for seven times and consecrates himself. He should make vow when the water falls.
110. He changes fresh cloth and enters into the ritual realm.
111. The *ācārya* asks initiates to enter into the platform to take the water pots. Then he leads the candidates into the *abhiṣeka* platform.
112. The *ācārya* holds a flower in his palm, forms the initiate's fundamental seal 本印, and places it above his head. The water falls through the seal. The fundamental spell is recited and the initiate shall make vow in silence.
113. The *ācārya* gives the initiate a bag that blocks the water pot.
114. The initiate who receives *abhiṣeka* is allowed to take *ācārya*'s ritual items. He moves to the platform, pays respect for three times, and sits on the seat that corresponds to his original deity.
115. After all initiates have received *abhiṣeka*, the *ācārya* pays

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<sup>773</sup> He throws the mustard seeds to candidate once more, forms body mudrā 身印 to subjugate the *mantras* in his mind, touches his heart with incanted water, seals him with the *mudrā*, sprinkles him with fragrant water, perfume him with incense burner, seals his head with vajra, gives him the fragrant water to wash hands and rinse. Some music seems to be played in this process. (T no. 901, 18: 891b8–12.) Shinohara treats these performances independent from the great protective rite (*Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas*, 221.)

respect, makes offerings, leads the initiates to encircle the platform. Then they return to the seats.

116. The *ācārya* sits at the west of the furnace, burning grains and woods.

117. The *ācārya* forms the Mudrā of Agni, incants the fundamental spell, and summons the deity in the furnace. Then he makes the offering to Agni.

118. The *ācārya* silently notes, “Agni is about to come and sit beside the furnace. Now I am about to make offering to buddhas, prajñāpāramitā, bodhisattvas, and so forth.”

119. The *ācārya* forms the *mudrā* of and recites the spell of Hayagrīva to invite the deity who is forming the Mudrā of Lotus Flower and sits in the furnace.

120. The *ācārya*, holding a *vajra*, asks a disciple to come to his right side. The initiate pays respect, knells, and holds palms together. The initiate takes the head of the *vajra* and the *ācārya* uses his right hand to hold the *vajra* in initiate’s hand. Then the *ācārya*, while reciting the fundamental heart spell [of Hayagrīva], uses the left hand to throw the mustard seeds into the furnace.

121. The *ācārya* takes the ghee, incants for 21 times, and burns.

122. The initiate pays respect and retreats to his seat.

123. After all disciples have done the same as the above step, the *ācārya* recites the spell of Hayagrīva and sends off the deity to the original seat.

124. The central deity and other ones in the inner hall are all invited and worshiped in the same way. The incense, flowers, sesame seeds, ghee, honey, milk, curd, drink, fruits, and oil are offered. The fundamental spell is recited for 108 or 77 times.

125. The deities in other hall are invited and worshiped in the same way.

126. The fire offering is then made to the king and other members of royal house, to the officials, to the all teachers and parents from past kalpas, to the all officials in the course of karma 業道諸官, to the all donors, to the all sentient beings. The spell to them shall be recited for 49 times. Then the offering is made to *ācārya* and the sponsor of the ritual. The spell to them shall be recited for 21 times. The spell here is the Longer Heart Spell of the eleven faced Avalokiteśvara.

127. The *ācārya* forms the mudrās for all buddhas, prajñāpāramitā, bodhisattvas, vajras, and devas, and shows these mudrā to the

initiates so that they can make offerings.

128. The *ācārya* forms the PrajñāpāramitāMudrā of Expiating Sins and holds it above his heart. He repents the present and past sins conducted by body, speech, and thoughts. The initiates urgently 數數 pays respect to the buddhas.

129. The *ācārya* forms the Mudrā of Praising the Completion of Vajragarbha Kundalin and recites its spell. After praising, each makes vow.

130. The *ācārya* performs protective rite to each initiate. When this has been done, it comes towards the dawn.

131. The *ācārya*, holding the incense burner, leads the initiates to encircle the platform, and exists.

132. The *ācārya* reports to the deities, forms the mudrā to send off deities.

133. The *ācārya* asks initiates to collect the donations and food in the platform and distribute.

134. The *ācārya* shows the initiates the seats of deities in the platform.

135. The *ācārya* sweeps off the colored seats, i.e., the *maṇḍala*, with clean mud before the sun rises.



Appendix III:

AN ANNOTATED ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF *THE RECORD OF*

*ĀCĀRYA YIZHAN OF THE CLOISTER OF EAST PAGODA—ENGYŌ'S*

*ENTERING INTO THE PLATFORM*

1. This appendix aims to provide the punctuated and criticized Chinese text and the corresponding English translation of the manuscript provided by Prof. Takeuchi Kozen 武内孝善 in his “Tōji kan chiin bon tōtō ingishi naji riki roku Engyō nyūdan nokenkyū 東寺觀智院本東塔院義真阿闍梨記錄円行入壇の研究本文校訂,” in *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Esoteric Buddhist Culture* 高野山大学密教文化研究所紀要 no.12 (1999): 39–73.
2. As regard to the reconstruction of the Sanskrit spells, I consult to Hatta Yukio 八田幸雄, *Shingon jiten* 真言事典 (Tōkyō : Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1985); Hirakawa Akira, *Bukkyō Kan-Bon daijiten* 平川彰佛教漢梵大辭典 (Tokyo: Reiyūkai, 1997).
3. I also take reference from modern Japanese translations of a series of Esoteric Buddhist scriptures, including Fukuda Ryōsei 福田亮成, *Dainichikyō* 大日經 (Tōkyō : Daizō Shuppan, 1998); Yūshō Miyasaka 宮坂宥勝 *Kokuyaku issaikyō indosenjutsu bumikyōbu* 1国訳一切經印度撰述部密教部1 (Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha, 1931).

## The Record of *Ācārya* Yizhen of the Cloister of East Pagoda—Engyō’s *Entering into the Platform*

### 東塔院義真阿闍梨記錄円行入壇

Recorded by Yizhen, the *ācārya* of the Cloister of East Pagoda in the Temple of Azure Dragon of the Great Tang  
大唐青龍寺東塔院義真阿闍梨記錄

As for who is about to bestow abhiṣeka to him, one should first chant the true words of Purified Three Karmas (trīṇi karmāṇi) over the liquid scent and sprinkle over him in order to make him pure.

[Om svabhāva-śuddhah sarva-dharmāḥ svabhāva-śuddho ’ham (Om, all dharmas are naturally pure, I am naturally pure)]

Then one should chant the true words of Vajra-Hāsaḥ over the teeth stick (dantakāṣṭha)

[Vajra-hāsa (O Vajra-hāsa!)]

Then one should chant over the emblematic cords.

Then one should chant over the smeared incense.  
Then one should chant over the white flowers.  
Then one should chant over the burning incense.  
Then one should chant over the lamps.  
Then one should chant over the (vases containing water for) consecration.  
Then one should chant over the objects scattered on the platform.  
After the true words have been chanted for seven times over the objects above, each of those should be put back to the original place and be arranged in order.  
夫欲與人受灌頂者，先以淨三業真言加持香水，灑之令淨。  
次以金剛笑真言加持齒木。  
次加持緹。  
次加持塗香。  
次加持白色花。  
次加持焚香。  
次加持燈。  
次加持灌頂。  
次加持所散置壇上。  
已上加持等物各明加持七遍已，各置本處次第布列。

Then one person chosen from the four groups (varga) is asked to beseech the *ācārya*, as is detailed in another text.

Then the master agrees the plea, saying that: “You are coming to appeal to undertake the supreme Commandment of Bodhicitta. [I] comply with all that are appealed. Each should keep mind pure, and refrain from being dispersed and unsettled. (I) shall appeal for all sacred groups of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and vajras.”

次令四眾內一人先請阿闍梨，具如別文。

次師許請，云：眾等至求受無上菩提心戒，一依所請。各各一心清淨，利[離]諸散亂。當為請一切諸佛菩薩金剛聖眾。

Then practice the ritual to transmit the commandment. Here one should respectfully follow the text of *Transmitting Commandments* by Śubhakarasiṃha, the master of Three Baskets (tripiṭaka). First drink [the initiate] the enchanted scented liquid to make the mind purified, thereby [the initiate] would have the all the karmas of body, mouth, and mind purified. After this [the initiate] can be bestowed the Supreme Commandment of Great Bodhi of Becoming Buddha of Tathāgata. Having aroused the *bodhicitta*, one proceeds to the following rituals.

次作法事授戒者，僅[謹]依無畏三藏授戒文。先以加持香水授與令飲，彼心清淨，故咸得身口意三業清淨。然可堪授如來成佛無上大菩提戒。菩提心了，然後入諸法事。

Then [the *ācārya*] chants the true words of entering the Samaya of Buddha:  
Namah samantabuddhānām asame trisame samaye svāhā (Homage to all the buddhas. O samaya of three equals, without equal, svāhā!)

次入佛三昧耶真言：

曩莫 糝滿多沒馱喃 阿糝迷 底哩糝迷 娑縛賀。

Then [the *ācārya*] uses the crimson brocade to overlay the initiate, covering his eyes and leading him into the *samaya*:

Om, namah samantabuddhānām dharmadhātu svābhāvatmako 'ham (Om. Homage to all the buddhas. I am the intrinsic nature of the universe)<sup>774</sup>

已[以]排[緋]帛袂[抹]行人，掩眼引入三摩耶：

吽 曩莫 三滿多沒馱喃 達摩馱賭 娑縛娑嚩 句唵。

Then [the *ācārya*] chants the true words of Vajrasattva's Empowerment:

Namah samantavajranām vajrātmake 'ham (Homage to all the buddhas. I am the one who possesses the vajra as my own self)

次金剛薩埵加持真言：

曩莫 三滿多 縛日羅赧 縛日羅 怛摩 句唵。

Then [the *ācārya*] chants the true words of Tathāgatānkuṣa to lead the initiate:

Namah samanta-buddhānām tathāgatānkuṣa bodhi-carya-paripūraka svāhā (Homage to all buddhas. The hook of tathāgatā, the fulfillment of bodhisattva's practice, svāhā)

次如來鉤真言引行人：

曩莫 三滿多 沒馱喃 怛他蕤黨句舍 冒地捨哩耶鉢哩布囉迦 娑嚩賀。

Then [the initiate] throws the flower, meanwhile [the *ācārya*] chants the true words to empower:

Namah samanta-buddhānām asame trisame samayas tvam samaya hum pratīccha vajra hoh (Homage to all buddhas. The three equals, without equal, you are the pledge. Hum. Accept. O vajra.)<sup>775</sup>

次散花，真言加持：

曩莫 糝滿多沒馱喃 阿糝迷 底哩糝迷 三麼野 娑怛鑊 糝麼野 吽 鉢囉底車 嚩日囉 斛。

<sup>774</sup> These are the true words of the Production in Dharma Realm.

<sup>775</sup> Although the instruction states the performance here is to scatter flower, it is not the common *sanhua* used as presenting offering to deity. The last part of the true words, *pratīccha vajra hoh*, exactly corresponds to the spell chanted by the *ācārya* before the initiate throws the garland/flower into the *maṇḍala* to decide the personal deity. It hence becomes clear that the true words here is used when the initiate throws the flower.

Then [the *ācārya*] chants these true words, forms themudrā of Samaya, and releases it upon [the initiate]’s heart. The true words are:

Om tiṣṭha vajra dṛḍho me bhava śāśvato me bhava hṛdayam me ’dhitiṣṭha sarva siddhim ca me prayaccha hūm ha ha ha ha hoh (Om. Reside! O vajra. Be the firm for me. Be the eternal for me. Empower the heart for me, and endow me with all accomplishments. Hūm ha ha ha ha hoh)

次授此真言三遍，於心上解前三昧耶契。真言曰：

唵 底瑟咤 嚩日囉 涅哩 掉銘婆摩 舍濕嚩 觀銘婆摩纒哩 娜耶銘阿地底瑟咤 薩嚩悉地者 (悉)鉢哩 野車戶哈 訶訶訶訶斛。

Then [the *ācārya*] makes commitment that vajra constantly abides, empowers my wishes, and endows me all accomplishments.

Then [the *ācārya*] takes the garland, projects onto the top of [the initiate]’s head, empowers [him], and recites this true words:

Om pratigṛhṇa tvam imam sattva mahābalaḥ (Om, you accept this being, the great power.)

即願金剛常在堅固加持我心願授與我一切悉地。

即又取所擲花鬘於頂上加持，念此真言曰：

唵 鉢囉 底紇哩 恨拏怛嚩縊 (牟十含) 薩埵此云眾生 摩訶摩囉大力也。

Then [the *ācārya*] recites the true words of Buddha’s Eyes, and let [the initiate] see the *maṇḍala*:

Namah samanta buddhānāṃ tathāgata cakṣu vyavalokāya svāhā (Homage to all buddhas. Observe with the Buddha’s Eyes. Svāhā.)

次念佛眼真言令見曼荼羅：

曩莫糝滿多沒馱喃 怛他薩多 作具芻 尾也嚩路迦野 娑嚩賀。

Then [the *ācārya*] recites this esoteric words and reveals what covers [the initiate]’s eyes. The esoteric words are:

Om vajra sattvah svayam te ’dya cakṣūdghāṭana tat parah udghāṭayati sarvākṣo vajra-cakṣur anuttaram he vajra paśya (Om. Vajrasattva, open your eyes by yourself. The eyes that are superior than all eyes are made open. O vajra! See!)

Call [the initiate] to see the *maṇḍala*. The *gāthā* says:

In the immeasurable *koṭis* of *kalpa*,

All the sins and its karma that had been committed,

After you see this *maṇḍala*,

Shall be ceased and extinguished without remainder.

次誦此密語，解所掩眼物。密語曰：

唵 嚩日囉 薩埵薩嚩燄帝提田餘反 汝親開目者也 斫具芻手眼反 伽吒那開也 怛

鉢囉專也 唄伽吒野底令開反 薩囉斫具芻一切眼即五眼也 囉日囉 斫具芻金剛眼也 阿努怛囉無上法也係囉日囉 跋捨  
呼彼令觀見曼荼羅偈  
無量俱胝劫，  
所作眾罪業。  
見此曼荼羅，  
消滅盡無餘。

Before reciting the *gāthā* of consecration, [the *ācārya*] should first smear the smeared incense on two hands and forms the seal of wish-granting jewel of Samaya. [The *gāthā* is]:

In the consecration,

One shall be placed on the wonderful lotus.

Presented with the smeared incense and flowers,

As well as the lamps brighten and *arghya*.

In the above [the platform] is covered by banners, flags, and a canopy,

(On the platform) the Unifying-mind Music is played.

In the auspicious *gāthā* and others,

There are many wonderful words.

If one makes offering by means of these,

Then one surely obtains joy in the end.

One would face all tathāgatas,

Then (the *ācārya*) pours water onto one's head.

Then (the *ācārya*) makes offerings to one,

With various wonderful fragrant flowers.

次授灌頂偈前，先以塗香塗兩手，結三昧耶如意珠印。

彼於灌頂時，

當置妙蓮上。

獻以塗香（華），

燈明及闍伽。

上蔭（幢）幡蓋，

奏攝意音樂。

吉慶伽他等，

廣多美妙言。

如是而供養，

令得歡喜已。

親對諸如來，

而自灌其頂。

復當供養彼，

妙善諸香花。

Then it goes the *gāthā* of holding the golden stylet  
Son of Buddha! For you the Buddha,  
Thoroughly removes the membrane of ignorance.  
Like the lord of healing in this word,  
Who skillfully exerts the golden stick.

次應執金篋偈  
佛子佛為汝  
決除無智膜  
猶如世醫王  
善用以金籌

Then the *gāthā* of the mirror:  
All the dharmas are without form or image.  
(Their nature) is pure and limpid, without defilement or turbidity.  
No appropriation is attached, nor can it be expressible.  
It only arouses from the operation causes.  
Thus (you) know this dharma,  
Its nature is without being dyed nor contaminated.  
This is the world-peerless benefit,  
And from the heart of the Buddha you are born.

次鏡偈：  
諸法無形像，  
清澄無垢濁。  
無執離言說，  
但從因業起。  
如是知此法，  
自性無染污。  
為世無比力[利]，  
汝從佛心生。

Then the *gāthā* of dharma conch:  
You, from today,  
Shall turn the wheel of salvation.  
The sound spreads to everywhere,  
By blowing the supreme law conch.  
Do not arouse from the heterodox wisdom,  
Leave the minds of doubt and repentance.  
Open up and indicate (the teaching) to this world,  
With the extraordinary practice of the way of true words.

Always make such commitments,  
Proclaim and announce the Buddha's grace and virtues.  
All the Vajradharas,  
Should protect you by their mindfulness.

次法螺偈：  
汝自於今日，  
轉於救世輪。  
其聲普周遍，  
吹無上法螺。  
勿生於異慧，  
當離疑悔心。  
開示於世間，  
勝行真言道。  
常作如是願，  
宣唱佛恩德。  
一切持金剛，  
皆當護念汝。

Then the *gāthā* of endowing the pounder:  
In accordance with the rite of all buddhas and tathāgatas  
I have poured water on your head already.  
To accomplish buddhas' embodied nature,  
You shall be endowed with vajradhara.

次授杵偈：  
諸佛如來灌頂儀，  
我今與汝灌頂竟。  
為成如來體性故，  
汝當應（受）金剛杵。

Then for the all disciples [the *ācārya*] should preach the *gāthā* of *samaya*:  
Son of the Buddha, henceforth,  
You shall not spare your life.  
Shall never repudiate the dharma,  
Nor abandon nor leave the bodhicitta.  
Nor begrudge every kind of the dharma,  
Do not practice that is not helpful to sentient beings.  
The Buddha taught samaya,  
By which you well abide in the commandments.  
Just as you protect your life,



You guide the commandments in the same way.  
One shall pay ultimate sincerity with reverence,  
And make obeisance at the Holy Worthy's foot.  
One shall practice in accordance with the teaching,  
And must not engender any doubting thoughts.

次當為諸弟子等說三昧耶偈讚：

佛子汝從今，  
不惜身命故。  
常不應捨法，  
捨離菩提心。  
慳悋一切法，  
不利眾生行。  
佛說三昧耶，  
汝善住戒者。  
如護自身命，  
護戒亦如是。  
應至誠恭敬，  
稽首聖尊足。  
所作隨教行，  
勿生疑慮心。

Then [the *ācārya*] briefly teaches the commandments to all the disciples, commands them make up mental initiation of the firm and sure, of the zealous and progressive, of the assurance of ultimate, and of the nonretrogression, which speedily leads one to obtain the *siddhis* and *yoga*, speedily leads one to the accomplishment.

次略說戒諸弟子等教令發堅固精進必竟不退之心。速令獲得悉地瑜伽，速令成就。

Then [the *ācārya*] should endow the title of *vajra* to disciples.

次下合為諸弟子等與授金剛名號

Then it goes to the *gāthā* of Vairocana-tathāgata:

Every kind of well-born seed,  
Is the body of the marvelous function, yet without concrete form.  
The Three Realms are like Great King,  
Shining everywhere, to which I prostrate myself.

次授毗盧遮那如來偈讚：

一切善生種，  
妙用體無身。

三界如大王，  
遍照我頂禮。

Then it goes to the commitment to the transference of merit.

The disciples order all the participants in the ritual arena to make resolution on mind, put two palms together, prostrate, and pay obeisance, possessing great good fortune [and saying]: Till now, (we) have already entered into the Great Maṇḍala King of Vairocana-tathāgata in the Womb-store of Great Compassion, being consecrated and endowed with title of *vajra*. We beseech Mahāvairocana of the pure dharmabody, Tathāgata Ratna-ketu in the east, Tathāgata Saṃkusumitarāja in the south, Tathāgata Padma-garbha in the west, Tathāgata of Decorated Myriad Virtues in the north, Bodhisattva Samantabhadra in the southeast, Bodhisattva Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta in the southwest, Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in the northwest, Bodhisattva Maitreya in the northeast, Śākyamuni, locating inside the first entrance in the eastern quarter, who adorns himself with the perfect thirty-two attributes and eighty marks, the groups of irate *vajras* in the Cloister of Vidyādhara: empower us, mentally protect us, and make us determinatively to learn and practice esoteric teaching of *siddhi* and *yoga*, and apprehend and enter into the true sect. Dharmas have no self-nature, which is called the true emptiness. The nature is both the embodied nature, and the nature without nature.<sup>776</sup> It is fundamentally pure and dusts and sands of the use of the body are as the void empyrean.<sup>777</sup> Sheer deep is the samādhi, the Three Awareness is completed,<sup>778</sup> the mind understands thoroughly the Eight Liberations,<sup>779</sup> Six Transcendental

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<sup>776</sup> I read *sheng* as interchangeable with *xing*. As it is defined in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the nature without nature cannot be understood by speech. It is transcendent from the world and depends itself on nothing 無性之性，言語道斷，超諸世間，無有所依，T no. 279, 10: 105b6. The discourse emphasizes on both the substance and the emptiness of nature. Here we may consult to Chengguan 澄觀's *Commentary of Avataṃsaka-sūtra (Da fangguang fo huayan jingshu 大方廣佛華嚴經疏)*: The nature of the mind is the womb of the tathāgata. The mind is nature, which is the pure mind of self-nature. There is the nature of deluded mind, and the nature without nature, which is the empty womb of the tathāgata. There is also the nature of true mind and the nature of substantial nature, which is the non-empty womb of the tathāgata. They are all equal and identical. 心之性故，是如來藏也。又心即性故，是自性清淨心也。又妄心之性無性之性，空如來藏也。真心之性實性之性，不空如來藏也。皆平等無二。T no 1735, 35: 602a11–14.

<sup>777</sup> I suspect there is a missing character after *chensha*. However, it may not be a hindrance on our understanding on the phrase, which basically means the countless usages of the nature. Based on the similar phrase in Zongmi 宗密's *Dafangguang yuanjue xiuduoluoyijing lueshuzhu 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經略疏註*, I tentatively add the character de here. (As regard for the term dharani, it is called total retention here. This means that in the body of perfect enlightenment, there are dusts and sands of its employments 陀羅尼此云總持謂圓覺體中有塵沙德用 T no. 1795, 39: 532a7–8)

<sup>778</sup> It refers to either the three superior cognition among the six super powers of buddha, or the *tri-vidya* in the *abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*.

<sup>779</sup> There are varied interpretations on what the *aṣṭau-vimokṣaśāh* are. According to the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra (Yuqie shi di lun 瑜伽師地論)*, the eight liberations are by means of the

Powers is attained,<sup>780</sup> and the Three Emancipations is testified.<sup>781</sup> All return to the ocean of the bhūtatahatā of the true thusness of the ultimate reality<sup>782</sup>, which is equal and nature void. The Law Body is perfect and bright, (its) light and illumination. May the perfectly accomplished nature of reality, with body and mind purified, permeate the realm of dharma (dharmadhātu). May Siddhi and yoga be united with in an instant of thought. May the light of wisdom thoroughly penetrate the three periods. Every kind of dharma, without hindrance and impediment, can lead us to accomplish the transmundane *siddhi*. We commit to universally extend this merit to all, may we and all other beings together attain the buddhahood. (We) commit to the transference of merit, take refuge with the ultimate sincerity, and make a prostration to the Three Treasures.

次迴向發願

弟子眾等令道場人志心合掌稽首和南，具大吉祥：“至於今日，已入大悲胎藏大毗盧遮那如來大曼荼羅王，得授灌頂及授金剛名號。惟願清淨法身遍照如來、東方寶幢如來、南方開敷花如來、西方蓮花藏王如來、北方萬德莊嚴王如來、東南方普賢菩薩、西南方妙吉祥菩薩、西北方觀自在菩薩、東北方彌勒菩薩、東方初門中釋迦牟尼如來具卅二相八十種好而自莊嚴。下列持明諸忿怒金剛眾，加持護念，能令我等誓當修習悉地瑜伽秘密教門，悟入真宗。法無自性，之是名真空。性者體性，無生之性，本來清淨，塵沙[德?]用，體

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follows: 1). imagining self lacing the inner form, one examines the external form 內有色觀諸色; 2). without imagining self lacing the inner form, one examines the external form 內無色想觀外諸色; 3). one stays at the pure liberation by the body with the completion of witness 淨解脫身作證具足住; 4). one realizes the infinity of the emptiness 空無邊處; 5). one realizes the infinity of the cognition 識無邊處; 6). one realizes the absolute nothingness 無所有處; 7). the state of mind where there is neither thought nor absence of thought 非想非非想處; 8). one stays in the extinction, sensation, and consciousness by the body with the completion of witness 想受滅身作證具足住 T no. 1579, 30: 328c17–21. A list of the items fully interpreted in Sanskrit is available in Ogiwara, *Kanyaku taishō bonwa daijiten*, 1236.

<sup>780</sup> The term means the six abilities corresponding to the Buddha (Skt. ṣaḍ-abhijñā), including the power of unimpeded bodily action 神足通; the power of celestial vision 天眼通; the power of celestial hearing 天耳通; the power of awareness of the minds of others 他心通; the power of the knowledge of previous lives 宿命通; the power of the extinction of contamination 漏盡通.

(*Dirghāgama (Chang a'han jing 長阿含經)*, T no. 1, 1: 54b9)

<sup>781</sup> The Three Emancipations refers to the three kinds of liberations that a buddha possess: 1). liberation by the purity of expedients 方便淨解脫; 2). liberation by the perfect purity 圓淨解脫; 3). liberation by the nature of purity 性淨解脫, see Zhiyi 智顛, *Weimo jing xuanshu 維摩經玄疏*, T no. 1777, 38: 553c2–3.

<sup>782</sup> The term *bhūtakoṭi* is also rendered into Chinese as *zhenji* 真際 and *benji* 本際. *Benji* can be found in *Wenshu shili wen pusa shu jing* 文殊師利問菩薩署經 as well as in the *Daoxing bore jing* 道行般若經, the translation by Lokaksema 支婁迦讖 in 168–186CE. There it serves a synonym of nirvāṇa. Around the fourth and fifth century, the term was more preferred as *zhenji*, *shiji* 實際, or *zhenshiji* 真實際, by which it connotes the meaning of “absolute truth” or “absolute reality”, see Robert Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: a Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 228–30.

若虛空，甚深三昧，具足三明，心通八解，得六神通，證三解脫，同歸實際，真如性海，平等性空。法體圓明，光明遍照。圓成實性，身心清淨，遍周法界。悉地瑜伽，一念相應。智惠光明，了達三世。一切諸法，無罣礙故，是能令我等誓出世間悉地成就。願以此功德普及於一切，我等與眾生皆共成佛道。發願迴向以至心歸命，禮三寶。”

On 3<sup>rd</sup> day of the first (*run*) month in the fourth year of Kaicheng reign period (839 C.E.), Yizhen, the *ācārya* of the Cloister of East Pagoda in the Temple of Azure Dragon recorded this. This equals the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Jōwa reign period in Japan.

開成四年閏正月三日，青龍寺東塔院僧義真錄記之。準日本國承和六年也。