

Capturing the Dharma at the Margins of Tangibility: On Eikyūji's Two Dharma-Transmission Paintings

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Among diverse genres of medieval Japanese Buddhist art, the portraits of Esoteric Buddhist (*mikkyō*) Dharma transmission masters distinguish themselves in the way they were totally integral within the ritual performance of abhiseka, and also as indispensable parts of Buddhist architectural structures, such as abhiseka halls (*kanjōdo*) and mikkyō pagodas (*daitō*). Perhaps the most intriguing representative of these medieval art works is the *Mikkyō ryōbu taikyō kantokuzu* (*Paintings of the Spiritual Reception of the Two Great Sutras*), a pair of paintings, one depicting Subhakarasiṃha's mysterious mastery of the puja ritual dedicated to the *Mahāvairocana Sutra*, the other illustrating Nāgārjuna's entry into the iron tower in southern India in which Vajrasattva conferred upon Nāgārjuna the teaching he the *Vajrasekhara Sutra*.

The two images originally belonged to the Eikyūji monastery, a grand Shingon-Hossō temple complex at Uchiyama in Yamato Province, which was totally destroyed by the persecution of Buddhism that began in 1868. Currently the paintings are preserved at Fujita Museum at Osaka and are recognized by the Japanese government as *kokuho*, the artifacts classified as the "national treasure." Both works were produced by the imperial court painter Fujiwara Munehiro, who completed them in 1136 for the purpose of adorning the interior of Shingon-do (Mantra Hall), the building erected in that year primarily to carry out the abhiseka rituals for Eikyūji's priests. With the incorporation of exquisite landscapes in subtle tinges and shades in the style of *yamato-e*, these works were among the finest examples of the late Heian paintings, and thus have been extensively studied by art historians.

In contrast, and curiously, there exist no serious studies of these paintings from the viewpoint of Buddhology and religious studies. The recent discovery of a floor plan of Shingon-do prepared for the abhiseka ritual performed there in 1666 (*Uchiyama eikyūji shingon-do shizu*, Daigoji shogyō, box 344: no.30) made it clear that the two paintings, respectively, were hanged on the backside of the two principal walls standing on the right and left side of the central altar. That is, on the front side of these walls facing the central divinity enshrined were, respectively, the Matrix and Diamond mandalas. Hanging on the reverse side of the wall holding the Matrix Mandala was Subhakarasiṃha's picture. Located on the reverse side of the opposite wall adorned with the Diamond mandala was Nāgārjuna's picture.

Having these spatial arrangements as a guide, in this essay I attempt to analyze the polysemic symbolism these pictures manifest and assess its intentions for the performance of abhiseka. The Subhakarasiṃha painting captures the image of the master sitting right next to the soaring five-story stupa in northern India, the tower that commemorates a buddha of the past kalpa who expounded the Dharma there. To Subhakarasiṃha who was pursuing to obtain the appropriate ritual method of offering in accord with the *Mahāvairocana Sutra*, golden clouds manifest themselves on the sky over the stupa. Then the clouds suddenly transform themselves into golden characters of a ritual manual text that describe the exact offering ritual Subhakarasiṃha have desired to

master. In a hurry, while looking up the sky, Subhakarasingha begins copying out the celestial text by hand, while his attendant prepares for his master the next supply of a brush and ink. In this manner, the master's body, with its labor of brushwork, transforms itself into a conduit by means of which the mystical heavenly text of the intangible Dharma is rendered into a sacred, yet totally palpable text for the worldly circulation.

In the Nagarjuna painting, the patriarch is about to enter the iron tower whose front doors have flung open in response to his mantra chanting and sprinkling white poppy seeds. The wrathful divinities guarding the Dharma rush to the gate to block his entry. However, having understood Nagarjuna's person and intention, they allow him inside. Having entered the tower, Nagarjuna realizes that the interior of the tower is the vast, boundless Cosmic Vajra Palace, the sacred space in which Mahavairocana eternally preach to Vajrasattva his teaching of the Diamond Realm mandala. Nagarjuna receives the abhiseka performed by Vajrasattva in the tower, and with the voluminous texts of the *Vajrasekhara Sutra* in his hand, re-emerges from the palace as a dharma-transmitter master. It is, first, Nagarjuna's physical act of shaking the iron door of the tower by the sound of his mantra chanting, and then his bodily work of hitting it with the poppy seeds, now impregnated with his mantra's power, that enables his access to the Dharma. Once in the tower, it is his body itself, his corporeality sprinkled with Vajrasattva's sacred water, that qualify Nagarjuna as the Dharma transmitter, the one who moves the Dharma out of the interior of the tower and circulate it in the world outside.

In this paper, I place my focus on the function of the body of the two patriarchs as the interface for the Dharma that moves back and forth between the intangible and the palpable. By doing so, I strive to compare both the symmetrical and asymmetrical relationship between the two paintings in their designs and semantic against the historical background of medieval Japanese Buddhist culture, society, and institution.

Importing and Localizing Ritual Paintings in Ninth-Century Japan

Both Saichō and Kūkai imported mandala paintings to Japan following their China sojourns, but none survive. Kūkai's *Catalogue of Imported Items* (Shōrai mokuroku) lists mandala paintings in two sections (of seven total sections comprising texts or objects). The fourth section lists five mandala: three different types of Womb (*Daihi taizō*) mandala and two types of Diamond (*Kongōkai*) mandala. It also lists five Tang portraits of the foreign masters (*ajari*, Sk: *acharya*), or patriarchs. Kūkai describes the initiations (*kanjō*, Sk: *abhis'eka*) he received from his teacher Huiguo deploying the Womb and Diamond World mandalas in the prose passage of the sixth *Catalogue* section, titled "Items Handed Down by the *Acharyas*." This section lists two more mandala among eight items that, Kūkai states, were brought from India by Vajrabodhi, given to Amoghavajra, and then to Huiguo: one "Great Mandala (Daimandara, Sk: *Mahāmandala*) of 447 divinities [painted] on white silk" and one "Diamond World *samaya mandala* of 120 divinities [painted] on white silk." These are precious details for the study of Tang mandala and related concepts as received by Kūkai in a context lacking a significant body of extant materials and textual substantiation.

We know virtually nothing about the deployment of two Diamond World mandalas imported by Saichō. Kūkai's *mandala* were sent to the Heian court in 806 along with the *Catalogue* and all the imported texts and objects listed within it. The goods were returned to Kūkai in 809. In 821, one pair of Chinese painted mandala (a Diamond and Womb mandala) was recreated/copied due to poor condition from extensive use; this copied pair of 821 does not survive. Reliable records indicate that the extant works known as the *Takaosanji mandala* are copies of the 821 versions. Made for installation in the Takaosanji (Jingoji) Initiation Hall between 829 and 833, the Takaosanji works are slightly smaller than the size notations given in the *Catalogue* for the imported Chinese works. More striking is that the Takaosanji copies are not executed in polychrome pigments on plain silk, the medium of the originals and the 821 copies, but in gold and silver pigments on purple-dyed damask silk. Economic reasons or patronage may have resulted in this radical change in artistic presentation; whatever the causes, the copying and new media brought the foreign imports much closer to a Japanese visual sensibility. The differences seem unrelated to "ritual function" per se. We also have as "indigenous" mandala forms the *karma mandala* of statues in the Tōji Lecture Hall, planned by Kūkai and completed in 839; this vast assembly has no Tang precedent, even though such a source is likely. Kūkai's use of mandala in memorial services or other (non-*abhis'eka*) rites prior to 809 might be substantiated by votive texts (*ganmon*); several among forty such extant texts have directives for the making and/or deployment of painted *mandala*.

At ninth-century monasteries connected to Kūkai and administered by the first generation of his disciples, there are Initiation Halls, pagodas, Lecture Halls, and other structures that housed Diamond and Womb World mandala representations or conceptualizations in single or multiple media. Often, Diamond World iconography is expressed in another medium even when the "Two Worlds" mandala exist in painted form. For example, a pair of Diamond and Womb mandala paintings, along with statues of the Five Buddhas of the Diamond World (Gochinyorai), were made or planned for halls at Jingoji, Kongōbuji, Anshoji, and Zenrinji. At Kanshinji, however, a single Womb World mandala in the Nyohōdō was to be balanced by the Five Diamond World Buddhas in another hall. Portraits of the patriarchs are also part of many Two World mandala programs.

Concepts relating to the reception and use of imported mandala, their copies, notations about mandala in Kūkai's writings, and various types of installations or iconographic programs in the ninth-century halls of Kongōbuji, Tōji, Jingoji, Zenrinji, Kanshinji, and Anshōji are not well studied even if the statues and paintings themselves have been closely observed. Through the former we may discern shifts or patterns that elucidate Chinese sources, or suggest local preferences. This paper begins such an avenue of inquiry and will benefit from the insights of colleagues researching related materials.

Esoteric Buddhist Schools and the Publication of Esoteric Texts in the Koryo Period

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The main schools of Buddhism in the Koryo period were the Meditation and Avatamsaka Schools; Esoteric Buddhism was a minor school. However, Esoteric Buddhism was also included in the curriculum of the national examinations to become a monk. Evidence for this can be found out both through remaining objects and from records of writing sutras relating to Esoteric Buddhism. The printing of such texts certainly helps to identify the Esoteric elements visible in Buddhist art and present in Buddhist rituals of the Koryo period, and to clarify the real nature of Esoteric Buddhist activities in Korea at that time. A comparative investigation of Japanese Buddhism, especially the Shingon and Tendai schools, also helps to explain why Esoteric Buddhism did not become a major school in Korea.

**Practices, Genres, and Images
of the *Dasuiqiu Dhāranī* in Late Medieval China:
Some Preliminary Remarks**

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This paper is a preliminary attempt to map and account for the range of forms and practical contexts in which historians and archeologists of late medieval China have found the “Incantation of Wish-Fulfillment,” the *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni* 大隨求陀羅尼, or *Mahāpratisarā dhāranī*. These forms include both physical examples—the amulets and text-relics featuring the incantation found in tombs, stūpas, and in the Mogao “library cave” at Dunhuang, as well as the scriptural accounts of the spell and its efficacies found in the canonical collections. The paper builds on other recent studies on the *Dasuiqiu* amulets and text-relics, but differs from them in that in it I explore the overarching practical, textual, and visual frameworks in which *Dasuiqiu* practice can be seen as something like an organic whole during the late seventh through early eleventh centuries. It is part of a larger project in which I study the *Dasuiqiu* (and other dhāranīs, including the *Zunsheng zhou* 尊勝咒) principally as an inscribed spell, as in fact one of the most important dhāranīs for understanding the practices and imaginings of written, printed, and stone-carved incantations—as amulets and as other talismanic objects—in the China of the late medieval period. In this paper I examine these issues both in terms of the pictures of the *Dasuiqiu*, and of dhāranīs in general, found in the Baosiwei 寶思惟 (*Manicintana; d. 721) translation of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāranī-sūtra* (T no. 1154)—and in other incantation and talisman texts, canonical and otherwise—as well as in terms of some wider Indic Buddhist and native Chinese traditions. I also consider the relevance of other votive objects discovered at Dunhuang. Specifically, I focus here on two aspects of those *Dasuiqiu* amulets that were to be worn on the body while alive or to adorn corpses in tombs. First, I explore how these objects were inextricable parts of both Indic Buddhist and native Chinese traditions of wearing (a perhaps surprisingly wide range of) powerful objects. Situating the amulets in these contexts clarifies why they were to be carried or worn in the ways the texts prescribe, ways in which we in fact find them in tombs. Second, I show how a fuller understanding than is usually provided of how dhāranīs were construed in Buddhist literature and practice, as well as of how they were enacted in ritual, helps us better understand the particular visual forms of these dhāranī-amulets. That is, I try to explain why they were used in the ways they were used and why they look the ways they look.

***Reconceiving the Iconography of Empowerment in Mediaeval Japan:
A New Esoteric Triad and Its Ritual Articulation***

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Several new esoteric rituals were created in medieval Japan, which focused on ‘unorthodox’ icons not documented in canonical or early Japanese sources. These liturgical inventions may be read at different levels. From a socio-historical point of view, they were presented as ‘exclusive’ secret knowledge and served at once to legitimize the existence of different lineages and the extra-sectarian dynamics of political power. At the religio-philosophical level, they offered new interpretations of the empowerment that could be gained through the practice of esoteric Buddhism. Yet these medieval rituals have hitherto been little studied, partly because sectarian scholarship deemed them to represent only heretical and marginal groups, and partly because they were not documented in mainstream literature on esoteric Buddhism. Important material that has recently been unveiled in the mediaeval archives of Japanese temples, such as the Shinpukuji (Osu Kannon bunko) in Nagoya, demonstrates that such ritual interpretations were in fact shared by orthodox branches of the esoteric world and produced by major figures of the religious establishment. A reconsideration of the imagery developed by mediaeval practitioners, a virtually unexplored aspect of esoteric Buddhism in Japan and one that poses complex historical questions of authority and continental connections, is thus crucial to understand the development of Japanese tantrism beyond the usual, ‘official,’ sectarian divisions.

This paper analyzes the ritual tradition that combined the cult of two Kings of Knowledge, Fudô and Aizen, with the cult of the wish-fulfilling jewel in an obscure practice that sources name *sanzon gôgyô* (the practice of the union of the sacred triad). The link between Fudô and Aizen seems to have been created in Japan, probably in the 12th century, and developed along the lines of multiple associations with other binary elements of the natural world, including the sun and the moon and ‘colour-coded’ sexual terms, according to the correlative logic that dominated mediaeval Japanese

hermeneutics. A close analysis of material recently made public suggests that by the 14th century the bipolar pattern represented by Fudô/Aizen had been transformed, visually and ritually, in a threefold interpretative structure where the central object of worship epitomized the perfect (androgynous) body of enlightenment that may be attained only liturgically. Focusing on iconographic sources of different provenance, in particular the illustrations contained in the commentaries to the *Goyuigô* (the apocryphal ‘Testament’ of Kûkai) and in related unpublished sources compiled by Tômitsu lineages, I would like to explore the extent to which the visual representations of this triad articulated a discourse on non-duality to give tangible form to the individual empowerment of the practitioner and the potential transformation embodied in the ritual act.

Occult Buddhism in a Time of Turbulence

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The goddess Cundī (准提, a.k.a. Saptakoṭi Buddhābhagavatī 七俱胝佛母) — held in Japan and in modern (but not pre-modern) China to be a form of Avalokiteśvara (觀音) — came to be a, if not *the*, central focus of esoteric Buddhist practice in late traditional Chinese Buddhism. She is still a significant presence in Chinese Buddhism today. The textual and iconographical foundations of her cult were established in the late seventh and early eighth centuries with multiple Chinese translations of the *Cundīdevīdhāraṇī* (e.g., 佛說七俱胝佛母心大准提陀羅尼經, T1077) and attendant ritual manuals (e.g., 七俱胝佛母心大准提陀羅尼法, T1078). Late in the eighth century, or early in the ninth, she was assigned a prominent place in the configuration of the *Mahākaruṇāgarbhôdbhava maṇḍala* (大悲胎藏生大漫荼羅王) — in the “Chamber of Pervasive Knowledge” (遍知院) and, especially in that latter capacity, she then made her way to Japan where her career would develop in distinctively Japanese directions. The corpus of Cundī scripture in Chinese was expanded in the early Song with translations of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha sūtra* (大乘莊嚴寶王經, T1050), the *Māyājāla tantra* (佛說瑜伽大教王經, T890), and a fully fledged *Cundī (Cundā) tantra* (佛說持明藏瑜伽大教尊那菩薩大明成就儀軌經, T1169), but it was not until the late eleventh century, in the Buddhism of the Liao 遼 dynasty, that her cult came truly into prominence and was given its classical formulation. That accomplishment may be credited especially to the monk Daoshen (道殿) and his *Xianmi yuantong chengfo xinyao ji* (顯密圓通成佛心要集 *Collection of Essentials for the Attainment of Buddhahood by Total Comprehension of Both the Esoteric and the Exoteric*, T1955), which treatise also served to “locate” Cundī in the broader Chinese Buddhist tradition by arguing for the deep mutual complementarity of Cundī practice (especially *dhāraṇī* recitation and visualization) with Huayan (華嚴) Buddhist thought. Daoshen’s work was the mainstay of what came to be called “Cundī Esotericism” (准提密教) down to the twenty-first century. It is particularly noteworthy, however, that the development of the Cundī cult was not a steady and gradual process. There was an intriguing period of especially rapid acceleration in its growth, in southern China, at the very end of the Ming and the beginning of the Qing dynasty, that is to say, in the seventeenth century. From that one period and region there survive today, in the *Supplement to the Buddhist Canon* (新纂續藏經 = SSZZ) no fewer than six substantial texts devoted entirely to the exposition and interpretation of Cundī practice.

弘贊。七俱胝佛母所說準提陀羅尼經會釋, SSZZ 446

謝于教。准提淨業, SSZZ 1077

施堯挺。準提心要, SSZZ 1078

弘贊。持誦準提真言法要, SSZZ 1079

受登 (a.k.a. 景淳)。天溪准提三昧行法, SSZZ 1481

夏道人 (a.k.a. 埽道人默)。佛母准提焚修悉地懺悔玄文, SSZZ 1482

Some of these texts include prefaces rich in pertinent historical information. Moreover, the extracanonical literature of the same period (e.g., 澹歸。遍行堂集) also abounds in references to Cundī, and we have numerous examples of painted and cast images of the deity that appear to date from the same era. This paper will survey the Cundī literature and iconography of seventeenth century southern China and will propose possible explanations for the popularity of this form of esoteric practice in that particular time and place.

The Relationship Between Iconography and the Rituals of *Sahasrabhuja* in Tang-Song China

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In China, an abundance of *Sahasrabhuja* (Thousand-armed Kannon) images have been created since the Tang period. Quite often, these images are surrounded by various figures many of which ride clouds flying in towards the deity. This paper will study the iconographical features of the *Sahasrabhuja* images made during the Tang and Song dynasties, and attempt to explain the significance the images held for those who confronted them in Buddhist ceremonies.

The Chinese translations of sutras related to *Sahasrabhuja* promise that many worldly difficulties will be resolved by chanting *dharani* in front of a *Sahasrabhuja* image. *Dharani* incantation share an important similarity with Buddhist repentance (*chan-hui* 懺悔), in that both aim to realize earthly benefits. Thus from the end of Tang through Song, many Buddhist repentance rituals (*chan-fa* 懺法) were developed based on Esoteric Buddhism sutras. *Qianshou-qianyan-dabeixin-zhou-xingfa* 千手千眼大悲心呪行法, also called *Da-bei-chan-fa* 大悲懺法, is one of such *chan-fa*, created by the Song monk *Zhi-li* 知禮 based on the sutra *Qianshou-qianyan-guanshiyin-pusa-guangda-yanman-wuai-dabeixin-tuoluoni-jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經 translated by *Jia-fan-da-ma* 伽梵達摩.

Interestingly, around the same time, many colossal *Sahasrabhuja* images were built. The size of these images suggests that a large number of worshippers gathered in front of them to participate in Buddhist ceremonies such as the ones based on the *Da-bei-chan-fa*. The colossal images would have functioned as the main icon of these ceremonies, in which case the numerous figures shown around the *Sahasrabhuja* would have functioned as deities attending the ceremony.

Additionally, records from the Song period mention instances where *Sahasrabhuja* images were adopted as the main icon in the Buddhist ceremony of *Shui-lu-hui* 水陸會. *Shui-lu-hui* is a kind of *Shi-e-gui-hui* 施餓鬼會 which is a ceremony based on the *Wu-zhe-hui* 無遮會, a Buddhist ceremony of food giving.

As iconographical feature that link the *Sahasrabhuja* images with *Shui-lu-hui*, the paper will pay special attention to the “*Gan-lu-shou* 甘露手” and the “*Bao-wu-shou* 寶雨手”.

Sahasrabhuja images were believed to save the people by the power of their thousand arms. Among these arms, forty (or forty-two) either form *mudra* or hold attributes that visually symbolize the effects promised by each arm. Furthermore, when an individual performs “the ritual of the forty arms (四十手法),” the forms of the *mudra* used by the performer correspond to the forms of *Sahasrabhuja*’s forty hands, suggesting the existence of a powerful linkage between the deity’s image and the performer of the rite.

Often accompanying the *Gan-lu-shou* and *Bao-wu-shou* which are incorporated among the forty arms, are images of a *preta* (餓鬼) receiving sweetened water (甘露水) and a beggar (貧人) receiving coins. Thus, the *Sahasrabhuja* image represents not only the actual benefits of the deity’s power through its forty hands, but also its beneficiaries. The *Shui-lu-hui* aims to relieve various demons (*gui* 鬼) using the power of the Buddhist and Taoist deities summoned during the ceremony. A *Sahasrabhuja* image surrounded by many deities and accompanied by images of beneficiaries such as the *preta* and the beggar would have served as suitable main icon in the *Shui-lu-hui*, which main purpose is to feed and relieve the starving demons. The *Sahasrabhuja* images from the Tang-Song periods mentioned in this paper thus existed as suitable visual symbolizations for ceremonies where worshippers both receive benefits from the deity and make donations in order to relieve the starving demons.

Origin, Significance, and Legends of Seven Tathagatas and the Ritual of Feeding the Hungry Ghosts in *Kamno-t'aeng*: Doctrinal and Visual Aspects

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The latter period of the Chosŏn witnessed a tendency of expansion and elaboration in Buddhist ritual, especially rituals for the dead. *Sisik* (C: *shishi*; J: *segaki*, literally [rites for] distributing food [for the hungry ghosts]) is a rite of feeding the dead and the hungry ghosts as part of the *Ullambana* festival and other salvific rituals as *suryuk-chaе* (C: *shuiluzhai*). *Sisik* shows an example of the esoteric Buddhist tradition, its characteristics and developments in Korea and finally gives an idea of the tradition handed down to us. Related to this rite, we find the spread of esoteric ritual and the appearance of a new form of ritual painting *kamno-t'aeng*, existing only in Korea.

In examining the uniqueness of this ritual painting in Korea, this paper will address the way in which Korean Buddhism adopted the esoteric tradition. Various ritual manuals for performing *sisik* within *suryuk-chaе* show its obvious connection with esoteric practice. In the early examples of *kamno-t'aeng* the importance of Amita Yŏrae stands out, reflecting the popularity of the belief in the Amitabha's Western Pure Land. From the eighteenth century, however, the importance of Seven Tathagatas becomes prominent by replacing the location of the Amita Yŏrae triad in the centre of *kamno-t'aeng*. The Seven Tathagatas of *kamno-t'aeng* are directly related to the esoteric scriptures, and their names specially recited on the occasion of the *sisik* rite are only found in the sutras. The appearance of the Tathagatas in the ritual manuals and the painting reflects one aspect of the esoterification of Chosŏn Buddhism through adopting the esoteric rituals.

This paper investigates the doctrinal underpinning that led to the visual representation of the *sisik* in Korea and textual sources for the creation of the image of the Seven Tathagatas depicted in *kamno-t'aeng*. It explores the way in which a text is enacted in the visual medium of ritual and artistic representation. The study on the historical popularization of the ritual also offers insight into the meaning of religious and social life of Korean Buddhists which is reflected in the artistic expression.

A Study on the Korean Vajradhātu Maṇḍala with Thirty-Seven Buddhist Deities

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Since the introduction of Buddhism in the Korean peninsula, most of the Buddhist paintings produced in Korea were based on exoteric Buddhism. Nonetheless, previous scholarships had not conducted any comprehensive research on Korean esoteric Buddhist paintings with an exception of Amitābha with Eight Great Bodhisattvas, which had been the topic of several studies. It may not be an overstatement that there were no meaningful scholarships that closely examined Korean Buddhist paintings in the context of esoteric Buddhism.

I will attempt to prove that quite a large number of esoteric Buddhist paintings were commissioned and highly appreciated during the Joseon period through examinations of various historical documents as well as several extant works. *Vajradhātu Maṇḍala with Thirty-seven Buddhist Deities* (法身中圍會三十七尊圖, 1845), painted by both Naewon (乃圓) and Ikchan (益贊), well-known nineteenth-century Buddhist monk-painters active in Jeolla province, and dedicated to the Supreme Light Hall (Daegwangmyeong-jeon) at the Daeheung-sa (大興寺) temple will be the central piece of my discussion.

In the center of the painting, is situated Vairocana Buddha with the Bodhi-sri-mudrā (智拳印), commonly known as diamond fist mudrā, surrounded by Four Directional Buddhas, who are enclosed by thirty-two Bodhisattvas. This composition which contains thirty-seven Buddhist deities who residing in the realm of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala (金剛界曼陀羅), is indeed extraordinary. In order to understand both the format and the iconography of this distinctive Buddhist painting, it is necessary to take a close look at the ideological tenet and features of the Vajraśekhara Sūtra (金剛頂經).

The Daeheung-sa temple's *Vajradhātu Maṇḍala with Thirty-seven Buddhist Deities*, based on the Vajraśekhara Sūtra, can be recognized as one of the most representative esoteric Buddhist paintings. I believe that the production of such a painting was possible with the ideological synthesis between Zen and esoteric Buddhism that intensified after the late

Joseon period. In other words, the Assembly of the Five Buddhas and thirty two Bodhisattvas not only reflects Choui's profound knowledge and his comprehensive understanding of Zen Buddhism, esoteric Buddhism, the Pure Land Buddhism, and even Confucianism, but also the creative and experimental spirit of Buddhist monk painters active in Jeolla province who were not afraid of searching for new iconographic and stylistic vocabularies.

Esoteric Buddhist Rituals in Medieval Korea

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The purpose of this paper is to examine esoteric Buddhist rituals in medieval Korea, which is correspondent to the Koryo dynasty (918-1392), focusing on their historical development, social role, and characteristics.

Buddhist rituals flourished in medieval Korea. More Buddhist rituals were held during the period than at any other time in Korean history, a frequency also unsurpassed in China or Japan. In particular, esoteric Buddhist rituals occupied the major part of Koryo Buddhist rituals. However, Buddhist exorcism in Korea remains an unexplored field in both Korean and Western academe.

Composed of three sections, Section One of this paper will examine the historical development of esoteric Buddhist rituals in medieval Korea. Esoteric Buddhist rituals were performed from the beginning of the dynasty to its demise. However, in terms of target ritual and period, special emphasis will be given to the Calamities-Solving Ritual (*Sojae toryang*), representative of esoteric Buddhist rituals in medieval Korea, and the thirteenth century, when the Calamities-Solving Ritual was held with conspicuously high frequency in Korean history. Section Two will be devoted to identifying the social role of esoteric Buddhist rituals in medieval Korea. Medieval Koreans interpreted natural abnormalities as heavenly punishment for misgoverning and tried to resolve these problems by invoking the Buddha's miraculous power. With regard to this, the Buddhist expression of medieval Koreans' cosmology will be extensively analyzed. Some important Buddhist rituals performed in the then Korea were unique to Korea. In addition, Tantric elements are hardly found in Korean esoteric Buddhist rituals. Therefore, Section Three will examine the characteristics of esoteric Buddhist rituals in medieval Korea.

The research methodology is textual criticism. However, we can barely understand the contents and process of each esoteric ritual from source materials. In addition, extant records of esoteric Buddhist philosophy in medieval Korea are almost nil. Therefore, the topics of our concern in this article will be discussed through an in-depth analysis of esoteric Buddhist rituals as recorded in such materials as the *Koryo sa* (Historical Records of the Koryo Dynasty), related literary works by scholar-officials, including the "Commentary on the Calamities-Solving Ritual," and Buddhist canonical texts.

Buddhist rituals can serve as an important medium of research on Korean history and society and do much to manifest the identity of the Korean people. Therefore, this paper will provide the impetus to Korean studies scholars so they will recognize the significance of Buddhist rituals and related research. All three East Asian states held rituals in case of calamities. However, the ritual named the Calamities-Solving Ritual is found only in Korea. Therefore, this research will also contribute to widening scholarly understanding of East Asian Buddhist ritual, and by extension, East Asian Buddhism in general.

**Invoking the Buddha's Relic in the Frame of Esoteric Buddhism –
A Ninth-Century Reliquary Set Excavated from
the Famen Monastery, China**

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This paper will discuss the significance of the images depicted on a ninth-century reliquary set, excavated from the Famen monastery, China. In 873 the reliquaries, the nesting set of eight caskets, were bestowed by emperor Yizong to enshrine the famous Buddha's finger bone relic in the state ceremony.

This paper will present the religious significance and function of this nesting set of eight reliquaries within a proper frame of references. The reliquary set is perceived as an entirety, explanatory principles will be adopted from actual exegeses within a proper hermeneutic in the hope of disclosing their concrete implications and the functions they fulfill in the appropriate cultural contexts. Accordingly a critical approach that uses only texts with unambiguous provenances, no later than the Tang period, will be adopted. The iconography on each side of the caskets will be briefly discussed, based on which a comprehensive analysis of the connotations between the panels of each reliquary casket as well as that between each reliquary casket and the next will be articulated, assuming that the images depicted on the finger-bone relic itself, those on each casket and how these caskets were placed inside one another as a reliquary set, was not some random practice intended by those who dedicated the reliquaries to fulfill no particular function.

From early evidence in India, the Buddha's relics were enshrined in layers of reliquaries. The same practice applied in China as shown in the archaeological finds. This reliquary set continued this tradition yet it is one of the most lavish examples and the function it fulfilled is unforeseen. The set of eight caskets are one of the first evidence of the cult of relic veneration being invoked in the framework of Esoteric Buddhism in China. Performing rituals according to exclusive manuals, esoteric Buddhism promised greater mundane success. The votive images depicted on these reliquaries were made to be invoked for a specific purpose framed in specific procedures. The images found on each casket not only reveal the subject-matter of the rituals but the sequences of the layers of this reliquary set also bring to light the ritual procedures. It sheds the light of how the renowned Cakravartin Abhiseka ceremony in Tang China was performed for the first time.

A Case Study of the Yuan Esoteric Buddhist Mural, *The Assembly of Tejaprabha* of Guangsheng Temple

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A Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) Esoteric Buddhist mural, *The Assembly of Tejaprabha* now in the Nelson–Atkins Museum of Art was originally located in the main hall of the Lower Monastery of Guangsheng Temple in southern Shanxi province, China. On the wall opposite *The Assembly of Tejaprabha* was painted *The Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru*, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Meanwhile, two Ming dynasty (1368-1644) murals from the front hall of the Lower Monastery of Guangsheng Temple – *The Assembly of Tejaprabha*, also paired with *the Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru* – are in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

Paintings of Tejaprabha Buddha constitute important iconic material of Esoteric Buddhism in China from the late Tang dynasty (847-906) to the Ming dynasty. Traditionally, Bhaisajyaguru was not paired with Tejaprabha. In over ninety caves in Dunhuang which contain the paradise paintings of Bhaisajyaguru, ranging in date from the Sui dynasty (581-618) to the Song dynasty (960-1279), there is not a single case in which Bhaisajyaguru was paired with Tejaprabha. Why was Tejaprabha paired with Bhaisajyaguru in the Lower Monastery of Guangsheng Temple murals?

Guangsheng Temple suffered damage from powerful earthquakes between 1303 and 1309. The earthquakes almost totally destroyed the Guangsheng Temple. Tejaprabha's special function as celestial controller against disasters must have been the most important reason for pairing him with Bhaisajyaguru in the Lower Monastery murals. When the Guangsheng Temple was rebuilt after the earthquake in 1309, priority had to be given to the prevention of similar destructive forces, whether of social or cosmic origins. When the Assembly of Tejaprabha was paired with the Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru, Tejaprabha was evoked to guard against social and natural disasters; Bhaisajyaguru, was called upon to provide the strongest possible protection from harm.

Monks, Dragons, and Guardians: Sacheonwangsa, an Esoteric Buddhist Temple in the Unified Silla

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According to *Samguk yusa*, one of the primary sources for ancient Korean history, in 669, shortly after the unification of the three kingdoms then existing in Korea, the Tang forces invaded Silla for not properly complying with the rule they had imposed on the Korean peninsula. Following hard deliberations with the awareness of the insufficient military resources to respond, the Silla court asked Master Myeongnang to quell the Tang attack by the mystic power he had acquired in a dragon palace. With the attack imminent, he had a temple built in haste with colored silk cloth and installed figures of the five directional deities made of grass. With twelve great monks of Yogācāra, he performed the *munduru* (*mudrā*) ritual in the temple. Immediately, even before the Silla and Tang forces engaged in a battle, violent winds blew on the sea and all the Tang boats sank. Soon afterwards, around 679, buildings were properly erected on the site, the temple being named Sacheonwangsa, the Temple of the Four Heavenly Kings. This temple was one of the earliest institutions established as an active center of esoterism in ancient Korean Buddhism, where Sininjong, the school of the Divine *Mudrā*, flourished through the Goryeo period (935-1392). It also became renowned among Buddhist art specialists for the discovery of a number of terracotta plaques that represent guardian figures in exquisite naturalistic style unseen in Korea before the period of the foundation of the temple. With the plaques, which originally decorated double pagodas in the courtyard of the temple, heated debates continued about the identity of the guardians. Recent excavations have revealed additional fragments of the plaques and more details about the architectural structures of the site. This paper will present a critical synopsis of what we know and what we have so far discovered about this important temple in early Korean esoteric Buddhism.

**The Mystery of the Silver Box:
A Clue to the Ritual Culture of the Famen-si Reliquaries**

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The complex sets of nested reliquaries discovered in 1987 in the crypt beneath the Famen-si pagoda in Xi'an have been the subject of dozens, if not hundreds, of studies. This interest in the reliquaries is understandable: the Famen-si finds, dating to the ninth century, are among the precious few material remains associated with esoteric Buddhism in the Tang, and the four reliquary sets, each of which contained a "finger bone" of the Buddha, take pride of place among the artifacts recovered from the crypt.

Scholars have spent considerable time and energy interpreting the iconographic and ideological significance of the nested caskets. But one casket seems to have gone unnoticed or been ignored by virtually every scholar who has worked on the subject. I refer to the plain silver box that is number six in the eight-casket set found in the rear chamber.

On the basis of Tang period ritual texts associated esoteric Buddhism, I will argue that this plain silver box provides a crucial clue as to the ritual and doctrinal logic behind the eight-casket set. I will go on to argue that my revised account of the iconographic significance of the reliquaries has important consequences for our understanding of the ideological program of the crypt, and that this understanding will contribute directly to recent debates on the nature and status of esoteric Buddhism in the Tang period.

On Depictions of Foding-zunsheng-tuoluoni-jing 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經 and the Dharani Pillars
(*tuoluoni-jingchuang* 陀羅尼經幢) in Tang China

By Akiko SHIMONO

The Foding-zunsheng-tuoluoni-jing is a sutra of esoteric Buddhism translated during Tang China after the latter half of the sixth century. Of the several versions of the sutra translated by persons such as Du Xingyi 杜行顛, Divākara 地婆訶羅, Buddhapāri 佛陀波利, and Yijing 義淨, the Buddhapāri version is most widely accepted.

The earliest remaining painting depicting scenes from this sutra dates back to the beginning of eighth century, and is located in Dunhuang Mogaoku's cave 217. In Mogaoku, caves 103, 23, 31, created during Tang, and caves 55 and 454 created during Song, also contain paintings of the same theme. The paintings all show the contents of the sutra: how Shanzhutianzi 善住天子 of the Heaven of Thirty-three Gods (*Sanshisantian* 三十三天) learns the contents of the Foding-zunsheng-tuoluoni-jing from Buddha in order to avoid falling into hell, the methods of worshipping this sutra, and the effects of worshipping this sutra.

As remnants of such Foding-zunsheng-tuoluoni-jing worshipping, stone “dharani pillars” exist throughout China. The pillars consist basically of three parts, the base, the octagonal pillar in the middle, and the top. According to manuscripts, the pillars existed already at the beginning of eighth-century, and both the earliest pieces and ink-rubbings date as far back as the Kaiyuan 開元 years. Evidently, the popularity of dharani pillar worshipping continued in China after Tang, since pieces from Five-Dynasties, Song, Liang, Jing, Yuan, Ming remain. Even in the Min-guo regime and the present day, such pillars donated by the Chinese Buddhists can be seen in temples, showing the lasting popularity of the belief

The Foding-zunsheng-tuoluoni-jing instruct that the dharani be copied and placed on one of the following: on a 幢 *dhvaja*, on top of a high mountain or a multi-story building, or inside of a stupa. A *dhvaja* is a type of a banner, and in the Mogaoku murals, they are either held by bodhisattva or *tianren* 天人, or planted on the grounds in front of pure-land scenes. *Dhvaja* consist of layers of tubular fabrics hung from top of a pole. Although it remains uncertain whether or not these fabric *dhvaja* with the copied dharani were actually created, records show that large numbers of stone imitations were made, some of which exist today.

The *dhvaja* illustrated in the depictions of the Foding-zunsheng-tuoluoni-jing meet the sutra's instructions, and is shown with a characteristic structure where the dharani is written on a piece of paper pasted on a board attached on the top of the *dhvaja*. Such illustrations of *dhvaja* are motifs unique to the Foding-zunsheng-tuoluoni-jing depictions, and can be seen in all examples including cave 217 mural.

This presentation will introduce the details of the *dhvaja* illustrated in the Foding-zunsheng-tuoluoni-jing depictions, and compare them to their stone imitations. Furthermore, the presenter will attempt to introduce a hypothesis on how the Foding-zunsheng-tuoluoni-jing worshipping spread throughout China, through close studies of the stone imitations and the iconography of the depictions of the sutra in the Dunhuang.

On the Empowerment of Buddhist Images and the Use of Printed *Maṇḍalas* and *Dhāraṇīs* during the Koryŏ Dynasty (936–1392)

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Due to historical, cultural and geographical differences Esoteric Buddhism was never established in Korea along the same institutionalized and sectarian lines as we have seen for China and Japan. Therefore, and only in a fairly short period during the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392), did something akin to actual Esoteric Buddhist denominations come into being. However, although the sectarian aspect of Esoteric Buddhism was relatively weak, and did not outlast the Koryŏ dynasty, Esoteric Buddhist practices and beliefs greatly influenced the well-established Buddhist schools including both those devoted to doctrine and the more meditative traditions.

This presentation will be devoted to a discussion of the presence and use of *maṇḍalas* and of what I refer to as “*dhāraṇī*-charts” in Korean Esoteric Buddhism during the Koryŏ. So far no proper *maṇḍalas* comparable to those of the Japanese Shingon School of Japanese Buddhism have been identified in the Korean cultural context. What we do have, however, are several graphic *maṇḍalas*, some in the form of line-drawings and some wood-block printed ones, all of which were used in connection with the empowerment of Buddhist images. While the *maṇḍalas* in question do not feature actual Buddhist images, but instead portray them in the form of *bījas* or the so-called “seed-syllables” used to symbolize the various divinities.

The *maṇḍalas* and *dhāraṇī*-charts were not the only “objects of power” used in the empowerment rites to create the “intestines” (Kor. *pokchang*) of a given Buddhist image. These rites also included proper relics, holy scriptures and other precious objects. In contrast to these more physical objects, the *maṇḍalas* constituted a sort of micro-cosmic element, in effect an internalized representation of the *dharmadhātu*, the Buddhist sphere of universal enlightenment.

This presentation will focus on a number of *maṇḍalas* and *dhāraṇī*-charts used in the empowerment rites and will seek to explain —through an analysis of their doctrinal and iconic contents— their meaning and function within 1) the rites of empowerment and 2) within the larger Esoteric Buddhist tradition in Korea.

A Mahāmaṇi-vipula-vimāna-maṇḍala from Khara-Khoto

In 1908, a Russian expeditioner, Kozlov, discovered many precious documents and paintings from the stupa named "*suburgan*" at Khara-khot. Among them, a Buddhist painting which is now kept at the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, has been interpreted as the Buddha Śākyamuni preaching the Prajñāpāramitā. However, after a detailed iconographic analysis, I discovered that the painting is the single extant example of the Mahāmaṇi-vipula-vimāna-maṇḍala outside of Japan.

The Mahāmaṇi-vipula-vimāna-maṇḍala is a specific type of mandala, so called *besson mandara* 別尊曼荼羅 in Japan, based on the *Mahāmaṇi-vipula-vimāna-viśva-supraṭiṣṭhita-guhya-paramarahasya-kalparāja-nāma-dhāraṇī* 大寶廣博樓閣善住秘密陀羅尼經, translated by Bukong 不空 (Skt.: Amoghavajra; 705-774) and generally abbreviated to *Bao-lou-ge-jing* 宝樓閣經 ("Jeweled Pavilion Sutra"). There is also an earlier Chinese translation of this work called *Mou-li-man-tuo-luo-zhou-jing* 牟梨曼陀羅呪經 by an unknown translator dating from the Liang dynasty (5-6c), and Sanskrit fragments of this work thought to date from the 6c have also been discovered among the Gilgit manuscripts.

This maṇḍala does not have the geometrical structure characteristic of later works; instead, the deities centered on a triad, are depicted as forming part of a landscape, and this style is thought to be close to the original format of the maṇḍala.

Typical examples of this maṇḍala are found in the Freer Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.) and in a private collection in Gifu Prefecture, Japan. There are considerable discrepancies in the disposition of the deities. However, both examples are made in Japan and we don't have any example of this maṇḍala outside of Japan. If we compare the arrangement and iconography of these two examples to the maṇḍala from Khara-khot, Khara-khot version is more similar to the example in the Freer Gallery than to the one kept in a the private collection in Gifu. It means that the Khara-khot version and the Freer Gallery version are based on the chapter of the icon 画像品 of the Jeweled Pavilion Sutra.

In the center of this maṇḍala there is a pavilion with Śākyamuni 釈迦牟尼 shown making the dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā 轉法輪印 and flanked on the right by the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, with four faces and twelve arms, and on the left by the bodhisattva Mañvajra 宝金剛, who has four faces and sixteen arms. The pavilion is surrounded by the Four Heavenly Kings 四天王 and four goddesses.

And the iconography of the Four Heavenly Kings is similar to the one in Dun-huang paintings after Tibetan occupation and it seems to reflect the influence of Tibetan Buddhism introduced during late Xi-xia 西夏 and Yuan dynasty. But taking into account that the early esoteric Buddhism represented by the Jeweled Pavilion Sutra was not so popular in Tibetan Buddhism, there is a strong possibility that there existed the tradition of the Jeweled Pavilion Sutra among Han-Chinese or Tangut Buddhists even in 13-14th century.

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Vināyaka Images at Dunhuang

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The Vināyaka (also Vinataka) images are abundant in Buddhist art as guardians of Buddhism. The earliest Vināyaka image was found in the west wall of the Western Cave 285. An elephant-headed god and a dragon-headed god appeared on either side of the preaching scene on the north side of the west wall in the Sui Cave 244. During the reign of Wu Zetian, the Esoteric Buddhism got very popular. However, no Vināyaka image was seen in the Tantric paintings at Dunhuang in this period. Though three great masters of the Kaiyuan era were spreading the Esoteric Buddhism during High Tang period, the Tantric paintings almost found no way into Dunhuang art at that time. The Tantric paintings were only found along with the Vināyaka image in Cave 148, which was constructed in 760s. Henceforth, Tantric paintings including many Vināyaka images appeared in large number at Dunhuang till the Yuan Dynasty.

Based on a general investigation, this paper discusses the following features of the Vināyaka images at Dunhuang: 1. Instead of being independent images, they were always attached to the images of Thousand-armed and Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara, Cintāmanicakra and Amoghapāśa; 2. Most of these images appeared as evil gods, and were set in two lower corners because they were defeated by Avalokiteśvara; 3. The Vināyaka images embracing a female god were exhibited in a very obscure way, which demonstrates that these images was not unique to Tibetan Buddhism, and they also appeared in the tantric paintings of Central Plains.

敦煌毗那耶迦图像

王惠民

毗那耶迦作为佛教的守护神，曾广泛存在于佛教艺术中。敦煌最早的毗那耶迦出现在西魏 285 窟西壁。隋代 244 窟东壁门北说法图中，主尊两侧有象头神和龙头神。武则天时期密教图像十分流行，但敦煌此期的密教图像中并没有看到毗那耶迦神。盛唐时期虽然有开元三三大士弘扬密教，但这一时期的密教图像在敦煌艺术中几乎没有出现，直到 8 世纪 60 年代开凿的 148 窟才出现许多密教图像，并伴随出现了毗那耶迦神。此后至元代，密教造像一直存在于敦煌石窟中，其中有许多毗那耶迦图像。

本文对敦煌画中的毗那耶迦像进行了普查。敦煌毗那耶迦图像的特点是：1，几乎没有独立像，而是依附于千手千眼观音、如意轮观音、不空绢索观音等图像中。2，多数作为恶神身份出现，因被观音降服，所以一般位于下方两角。3，毗那耶迦的男女合抱像则以极其隐晦的形式表达出来，说明汉传佛教系统中就有男女合抱像，而非藏传佛教专有。

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On Amoghapasa

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Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara (Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva with the Unfailing Rope; Ch. Bukongjuansuo Guanyin 不空罽索觀音, J. Fukūkenjaku Kannon) is one of the popular esoteric forms of Avalokiteśvara. However, the beginnings of this bodhisattva in East Asia in the seventh and eighth centuries remain unclear, with only a small number of examples dating from this early period. And yet, the earliest extant representation of this Amoghapāśa in Tōdaiji (dated around 748), Nara, attests to the significance attached of the cult of this bodhisattva. This paper examines the textual sources and iconography of this bodhisattva, the antecedents of the worship of Amoghapāśa in China and the circumstances under which the cult was introduced to Japan.