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Dissertation Advisor: Professor James Robson Jingyu Liu

"The Unimpeded Passage: The Making of Universal Salvation Rites and Buddho-Daoist Interactions in Medieval China"

Abstract

This dissertation probes the interactive relationships between Buddhism and Daoism in terms of their liturgical exchanges. I focus on the prominence of a special ritual known as "universal salvation" (*pudu* 普度) between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Aiming at bringing about the deliverance *en masse* of the souls of the dead and conferring blessings upon the living regardless of age, gender, or social status, universal salvation rites gained increasing prominence in the twelfth century and are still practiced nationwide in contemporary China as well as in some diasporic Chinese communities. My study is the first to investigate how liturgical interactions among various religious traditions, Buddhism and Daoism in particular, gave rise to the popularization of two similar yet competitive universal salvation ceremonies known as the Water-Land Retreat (*Shuilu zhai* 水陸齋) in Buddhism and the Yellow Register Retreat (*Huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋) in Daoism. Although there have been many studies on the shift from doctrinal studies to ritual studies, there remain paucity of studies on Chinese religions that have explored specific cases concerning that shift in focus. Therefore, my dissertation provides a comprehensive case analysis and demonstrates a new model for how to better understand Chinese religious culture. Furthermore, my research shows that the universal salvation rites included seemingly contradictory yet compatible religious elements, such as self-cultivation and merit-transfer, public trial and divine amnesty, spiritual enlightenment and worldly welfare. I argue that the formation of universal salvation rites did not come from a direct "face-to-face"

Buddho-Daoist interaction but grew out of a socio-religious repertoire in which Buddhist, Daoist, Confucian, and other religious elements were intermixed. What undergirded this repertoire was a contractual, numerical/mathematical, and bureaucratic historical context that is intrinsic to Chinese culture. By writing the history of a given ritual practice and by understanding its meaning in a sociopolitical context, my study constructs a socio-liturgical matrix that sheds light on the reassessment of the complexity of the Chinese religious landscape and its social history.

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INTRODUCTION

During the early years of the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279), a scholar-official named Ge Shengzhong 葛勝仲 (1072-1144) wrote two memorials (*shu* 疏) for two rituals, one called the "Non-discriminative Assembly of [the Beings of] Water and Land" (*Shuilu wuzhe hui* 水陸無遮會) held at the Field of Merit Cloister (*Futian yuan* 福田院)[1] in Wudun 烏墩 (in modern Zhejiang 浙江) and the other called the "Yellow Register" (*Huanglu* 黃籙) ritual, in an unknown location. In the two memorials, Ge wrote:

> [I] hope that, by means of our vast compassionate hearts and the non-discriminative majestic power of the Buddha, the victimized children of the Buddha, being either male or female, peasant or soldier, [living in] the city or countryside, religious or secular, [those who died from] stick beating, bow or knife attack, suicide due to fear, falling, or drowning when escaping, all the souls of violent death will come to the pure banquet. Having taken the three refuges, they will be delighted to be full again [after eating]. Bathing in the Dharma water, [they] realize the original emptiness of [their] transgressions; listening to the perfect voice [of the Buddha,] [they] question how there could be enmity and hatred. Immediately [they] are rid of the disturbing hindrances and obtain rebirth. [Eventually they] avoid [the fate of] sinking into the path of hell and enjoy the celestial happiness of being reborn into the Buddha-realm.
> 願我廣大悲憫之心，承佛平等威神之力。使被害諸佛子等若男若女，若民若兵，若城若村，若道若俗，或罹於掊挺，或中於弓刀，或怖畏而自裁，或奔逃而墜溺，一切冤死强魂，皆來祗造净筵。既受三歸，復欣一飽。沐浴法水，

[1] The Field of Merit Cloister is a place that houses the homeless, especially those are young or old. It was run by the government and first appeared in the Tang dynasty under the name of Cloister of Compassion Fields (*Beitian yuan* 悲田院). It was during the Song that its name was changed to the Cloister of Merit Fields (*Futian yuan* 福田院). For studies on the historical and social development of the Futian yuan, see, Zhang Wen 張文, *Songchao shehui jiuji yanjiu* 宋朝社會救濟研究 (Xinan shifan daxue chuban she, 2001); Liu Junfeng 劉軍峰, "Nan Song louze yuan shiye yu fojiao sengzhong de canyu 南宋漏澤園事業與佛教僧眾的參與," *Fayin luntan* 法音論壇, no. 12 (2011): 39-43. Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū* 中國佛教社會史研究 (Kyōto: Hōyū Shoten, 2002), 111-144.

悟罪垢之本空；聆聽圓音，了讎冤之何有。頓空惑障，亟受後身。免泥犁鬼趣之沉淪，躋佛土天空之快樂。[2]

Today, [we] respectfully constructed the numinous altar so as to entertain the pure assembly. In accord with the marvelous programs of the Golden Ritual, we proclaim the secret words of the Jade Book. Depending on the spiritual powers, we ask them to come to the ritual assembly. The Nine Obscurities are completely illuminated by the candles of everlasting light, and the five defilements are perfumed by the uninterrupted incense. Their filthy defects are cleansed by the unimpeded bath, their bodies adorned with innumerable clothes. The Great Brahman Words of all the devas and the Book of Salvation of the Primordial Beginning[3] will save [those in] the eight difficult circumstances and open the gate of the Long Night. All of you can be delivered through confession and become in the [existence of] *yang*. Humbly we pray for the generous presence of the Lord on High, may the high Perfected turn around and illuminate us. [We] take pity on those who have died an unnatural death and could not exhaust their allotted lifespan. Grant them transformation and rebirth so that they may transcend the register of ghosts.

今則祗結靈壇，款延清衆。按金科之妙式，宣瓊笈之秘文。咸仗明威，俾臨法會。以長明燭徧燭九幽，以不斷香普熏五濁。以無礙沐浴滌蕩其垢瑕，以無數裳衣莊嚴其膚體。諸天大梵之語，元始度人之經。救八難之場，開長夜之户。凡可懺拔，悉爲諸陽。伏願上帝博臨，高真回照。憫此亡身殞命，未盡天年。與之托化往生，得超鬼録。[4]

These two writings, which shared a similar tone, suggested that there were at least two kinds of postmortem ritual services prevailing by the Southern Song dynasty. However, their shared goal of providing universal salvation for the dead thus triggered a series of questions which served as catalysts for the research in this dissertation: What are the "Non-discriminative Assembly of [the Beings of] Water and Land" and the "Yellow Register" ritual? What are the similarities and differences between them? What was their relationship, derivative or competitive? And, what

[2] "Wudun futian yuan she shuilu shu" 烏墩福田院設水陸疏, *Danyang ji* 丹陽集 (QSW), 381.163.

[3] This refers to the *Duren jing* 度人經 (Book of Salvation), short for the *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經 (*Most Excellent and Mysterious Book of the Marvelous Jewel That Saves Innumerable Human Beings*), the most prominent scripture of the liturgical Lingbao 靈寶 tradition.

[4] "She huanglu zhuijian yuanhun zhipo shu" 設黃籙追薦冤魂滯魄疏, *Danyang ji* 丹陽集 (QSW), 381.164.

can we say about the Chinese religious landscape based on understanding that relationship? The answers to these questions are closely related to the prominence of a special kind of ritual known as the "Universal Salvation" (*pudu* 普度) rituals.

The Water-Land Retreat: A Mythical Early History

The "Non-discriminative Assembly of [the Beings of] Water and Land" mentioned in Ge's memorial is but one of the multiple names for the Buddhist Water-Land Retreat (*Shuilu zhai* 水陸齋), also known as the Water-Land Dharma Assembly (*Shuilu fahui* 水陸法會). Taking shape in the mid-ninth century, the Water-Land Retreat aimed at bringing about deliverance *en masse* for the souls of the dead and conferring blessings upon the living regardless of age, gender, or social status. It developed rapidly and spread throughout the imperium in the following eras. That being said, other sources claim that the origin of the ritual was in the Liang 梁 Dynasty (502-557). All manuals from the Song dynasty (961-1279) onward iterate a basic story, which first appeared in a text entitled "Record of the Efficacious Traces of the Great Retreat of Water-Land (*Shuilu dazhai lingjiji* 水陸大齋靈跡記)" composed by a Sichuanese layman named Yang E 楊鍔 (fl. 1024). In that story, Emperor Wu 武 (464-549; r. 502-549) dreamt that he was visited by a divine monk who told him about a ritual called the "Expansive Netherworld Retreat for [All Beings of] Water and Land" (*Shuilu guangda mingzhai* 水陸廣大冥齋). According to the monk, the retreat can bring about universal salvation of all sentient beings who experience suffering in the four modes of six rebirths. However, when the emperor consulted his courtiers, no one had ever heard of the ritual. The monk Baozhi 寶誌 (d. 514), the emperor's spiritual advisor, urged him to search through the Buddhist canon for textual resources. He worked hard for three years, until the emperor finally

composed a ritual manual himself based on eleven Buddhist classics, including the *Sūtra for Saving the Burning-Mouth Hungry Ghosts* (*Jiu mianran egui jing* 救面然餓鬼經) in particular. After that, the emperor performed the first Water-Land Retreat in 505 CE—fourth year of the Tianjian regin 天監 (502-519)—at the Temple of Beneficence Heart (*Zexin si* 澤心寺) on the island of Runzhou 潤州 (in modern Jiangsu 江蘇 province).

Nevertheless, the dating of the key text of the Emperor Wu's composition of the Water-Land ritual manual, the *Sūtra for Saving the Burning-Mouth Hungry Ghosts,* in fact suggests an anachronism which rejects the facticity of the story: this scripture was not translated until the middle of the Tang dynasty by Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀 (fl. late seventh to early eighth century),[5] that is, about two centuries after Emperor Wu supposedly created the Water-Land Retreat.[6] Nor do we find in official histories any record of Emperor Wu's religious activities bearing the name of "Water-Land" except the notes about the emperor periodically holding a "Great Assembly of Nondiscrimination" (*Wuzhe dahui* 無遮大會) in the capital of Jinling 金陵 (modern Nanjing 南京). Although the term "nondiscrimination" was used by Yang E in the appellation of "The Great Non-discriminative Retreat of Water and Land" (*Wuzhe shuilu dazhai* 無遮水陸大齋),[7] seemingly suggesting a connection between the Water-Land Retreat and the Non-discriminative Retreat, there hasn't been any solid evidence of a genetic relationship between the two liturgies.[8]

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[5] *Jiu mianran egui jing* 救面然餓鬼經, T.1314: 21.

[6] Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮, "Suiroku'e shōkō" 水陸會小考, *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 12 (1957): 14-33; Daniel B. Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land," in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, edited by Marsha Weidner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 43.

[7] "Churu daochang xujian shuilu yi" 初入道場敘建水陸意, SSTL, X.961:57. 116b03.

[8] Both Daniel Stevenson and Philip Bloom argued against the necessity of there being a connection between the two liturgies. See, Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*," 43; Philip E. Bloom, "Descent of the Deities: The

Nevertheless, although the myth-history of Emperor Wu and his invention of the Water-Land Retreat is most likely a later fabrication intended to enhance the historicity of the ritual practice, discoveries of sources concerning the variant practices of the Water-Land Retreat in different regions of China seem to suggest a time later but closer to the real formation of the ritual: the late Tang and the Five Dynasties. References to the ritual in the ninth and tenth centuries are to be found not in the historical record but in a variety of genres including liturgical paintings, stele inscriptions, biographical accounts, anecdotal collections, and even Daoist texts. [9]

The Yellow Register Retreat: A Condensed Early History

The Yellow Register ritual mentioned in Ge's memorial is undoubtedly the Daoist Yellow Register Retreat (*Huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋), a communal rite of passage aiming at the universal deliverance of the dead. [10] Characterized by its emphasis on universal salvation, a concept originally brought in by Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Yellow Register Retreat was primarily based on the Numinous Treasure (*Lingbao* 靈寶) scriptural and liturgical traditions but had also absorbed elements of other contemporary Daoist movements such as the Divine Empyrean (*Shenxiao* 神霄)

Water-Land Retreat and the Transformation of the Visual Culture of Song-Dynasty (960-1279) Buddhism" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2013), 88, note 157.

[9] Several early Song accounts of a late Tang painter called Zhang Nanben 張南本 also mentioned that Zhang drew liturgical paintings for the Water-Land Retreat and for the Cloister of Water-Land (*Shuilu yuan* 水陸院) in the Sichuan area during Xizong's 僖宗 reign (873-888). See, Dai Xiaoyun 戴曉云, *Fojiao shuilu hua yanjiu* 佛教水陸畫研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2009); Bloom, "Descent of the Deities," 98-116.

[10] For general studies of the Yellow Register Retreat, see, Shirley Sze Wan Leung 梁斯韻, "The Development and Transformation of the Yellow Register Retreat in the Southern Song Dynasty: A Case Study of Jiang Shuyu's Standardized Rituals of the Supreme Yellow Register Retreat" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2015); Zhang Chaoran 張超然, "Zhaike yu jingfa: Song-Yuan huanglu zhaifa yanjiu," *Proceedings of the International Conference on Taoist Ritual in Chinese Local Society in Comparative and Historical Perspective* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2015), 329-58; Lai Chi Tim 黎志添, "The Daoist Identity of the Yellow Register Retreat in the Southern Song: A Case Study of Jin Yunzhong's Great Rites of Lingbao," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 63-93.

and Celestial Heart (*Tianxin* 天心) movements.[11] The Yellow Register Retreat usually lasted for five days. The first day was dedicated to general preparations and the Nocturnal Invocation (*suqi* 宿啟).[12] The following three days were for the main ritual performances, and the final day was for closing ceremonies.

Compared with unclear origins of the Buddhist Water-Land Retreat, the history of the origin and development of the Daoist Yellow Register Retreat is much clearer. A sketchy description of the history of the Yellow Register Retreat before the Song was provided in a Southern Song ritual compendium entitled *The Great Rites of the Shangqing and Lingbao* (*Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法) composed by Jin Yunzhong's 金允中 (fl. 1224-1225):

> The Retreat liturgy began in the medieval times. During the period between the Jin and the [Liu] Song, Master Jijian [Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (406-477)] began to separate the catalogues of the Three Caverns and to distinguish the origins of the Four Supplements. He commented on and enumerated codes of rites; collated and rectified methods of the Retreat. In the Tang dynasty, Zhang Qingdu [Zhang Wanfu 張萬福 (fl. 711-713)] tried to organize [the liturgy of Yellow Register Retreat], but his work was not completed. It was not until the time of Master Guangcheng [Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850-933)] who consecutively compiled and edited the liturgy that the liturgical codes of Yellow Register [Retreat] were eventually finalized to become clear and coherent. Later generations followed it without a single deviation. The fundamental purpose of [Du's] Yellow Register Retreat was to attend to both

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[11] Both of these Daoist movements arose during the Song dynasty (960–1279) and proceeded to make a major impact on the development of Daoist beliefs and practices. For studies on the new Daoist movements during the Song, See, Judith M. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1987), 26–33; Boltz, "Not by the Seal of Office Alone: New Weapons in Battles with the Supernatural," in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 241–305; Matsumoto Kōichi 松本浩一, "Chō Tenshi to Nan Sō no dōkyō" 張天師と南宋の道教 [The Zhang Celestial Masters and Taoism in the Southern Song period], in *Sakai Tadao sensei koki shukuga kinen no kai* 酒井忠夫先生古稀祝賀記念の会 (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1982), 337–350; Lowell Skar, "Administering Thunder: A Thirteenth-Century Memorial Deliberating the Thunder Rites." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 9, 97 (1996): 159–202; Lowell Skar, "Ritual Movements, Deity Cults, and the Transformation of Daoism in Song and Yuan Times," in Livia Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 413–463; Michel Strickmann, "Sōdai no raigi: Shinshō undō to dōka Nansō ni tsuite no ryakusetu"宋代の雷儀--神霄運動と道家南宗についての略説 [The Thunder Rites of the Sung: Notes on the Shen-hsiao Sect and the Southern School of Taoism]. Translated by Abe Michiko 安部道子, *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 46 (1975): 15-28; Michel Strickmann, "The Longest Taoist Scripture," *History of Religions* 17 (1978): 331–354.

[12] This is a preparatory ritual held at night aiming to inform the divine world of the upcoming ceremony and invoke the divine beings for their assistance in the subsequent performance. See, John Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History* (Macmillan, 1987), 103-105.

> the living and the dead, to equalize good fortune between humans and deities. From common people to emperors, all can practice it. Its efficacy is boundless.
> 齋法起於中古。晉宋之間，簡寂先生始分三洞之目，別四輔之源，疏列科條，校遷齋法。又唐時張清都經理之餘，尚未大備。至廣成先生荐加編集，於是黃籙之科儀典格，燦然詳密矣。後世遵行，莫敢越也。但其本旨，謂黃籙兼總生死，人天同福，下而兆庶，上自帝王，皆可修崇，其功無際。[13]

We can be a bit more precise than Jin Yunzhong, who merely traces the origin of the Yellow Register Retreat to the medieval times, since we have found that the mention of "Yellow Register Retreat" (*Huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋) first appeared in one of the "Old Lingbao scdriptures" (*gu lingbaojing* 古靈寶經) called *Taishang dongxuan lingbao huanglu jianwen sanyuan weiyi ziran zhenjing* 太上洞玄靈寶黃籙簡文三元威儀自然真經[14] and later in Lu Xiujing's 陸修靜 (406-477) *Five Sentiments [of Gratitude]* (*Taishang lingbao wugan wen* 太上靈寶五感文), where it is listed as one of the various Methods of Retreats (*zhong zhaifa* 衆齋法) and second only to the Golden Register Retreat (*Jinlu zhai* 金籙齋).[15] Mainly composed of confessions made to the twenty directions, the principal function of the Yellow Register Retreat at that time was to uproot the sins and transgressions of ancestors of up to nine generations (*ba jiuzu zuigen* 拔九祖罪根).[16] However, its full maturation as an independent liturgy was not to take shape until Du Guangting compiled the *Liturgical Manual for the Yellow Register Retreat* (*Taishang Huanglu zhaiyi* 太上黃籙齋儀), which can be considered the culmination of medieval Daoist rituals for the dead. After

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[13] *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法, HY1223, 608b.

[14] Lü Pengzhi 呂鵬志, "Lingbao liuzhai kao"靈寶六齋考, *Wen Shi* 文史 3 (2011): 95-96.

[15] The Yellow Register ritual is practiced sometimes in a form of *zhai* 齋 (retreat) and sometimes in a form of *jiao* 醮 (offering). Similar situation is found in the practice of the Water-Land ritual. The liturgical forms of *zhai* and *jiao* will be discussed in the next section. For a detailed review of Lu Xiujing's organization of the liturgical codes of retreat, see, Lü Pengzhi 呂鵬志, *Tangqian daojiao yishi shigang* 唐前道教儀式史綱 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008).

[16] *Dongxuan lingbao wuganwen* 洞玄靈寶五感文, HY1278, 620b.

that, the Yellow Register Retreat became a systematically organized and widely practiced liturgy that accommodated a great variety of needs, including state peace and prosperity, repose for the dead, salvation of restless spirits, exorcism of ghosts and demons, and so on. Throughout later generations, this manual became an authoritative source for the practice of Yellow Register Retreat and served as a model through the following three centuries.

Du Guangting was active during a time of social and political turbulence and fragmentation. His compilation of the Yellow Register Retreat liturgy echoed throughout this troubled era, since it addresses a wide variety of social needs, as Jin Yunzhong later pointed out:

> … Among the liturgies compiled by Guangcheng [Du Guangting], those that serve the purposes of preventing misfortune for the empire, praying for the people, promoting and aiding teachers and friends, saving all orphaned souls, seeking blessing from the Three Primes, and supporting ancestors of nine generations, are all called Yellow Register, the liturgical methods of which all came from the Lingbao tradition.
> 今廣成科中為國消災，為民祈福，拔濟師友，普度孤魂，請福三元，關陞九祖，皆曰黃籙，悉有科儀齋法出靈寶。[17]

According to Jin's account of Du Guangting's Yellow Register Retreat liturgy, the surviving fifty-eight *juan* of Du's *Liturgical Manual for the Yellow Register Retreat* in the Daoist canon have gone through many modifications and are probably incomplete.[18] *Juan* 40 to 48 in the present text in the Daoist canon, which are directly related to saving the ancestral souls from hell, were absent in the table of contents of the manual that Jin handed down, but the opening chapters on the "Establishment of the Altar" (*jiantan* 建壇), the "Preliminary Rites" (*xingshi* 行事), and the

[17] *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, HY1223, 428a-b.

[18] Kristofer Schipper, "Taishang huanglu zhaiyi," in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Dazang* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), vol. 1, 578-79.

"Nocturnal Announcement" (*suqi* 宿啓) are often cited and referred to by liturgists of the Song dynasty.

The Prominence of Universal Salvation Rituals in Medieval China

Dynastic transitions accompanied by constant turmoil destabilized not only the social system but also social mentality. Wars, famine, and pestilence swept over the entire empire and left fields littered with corpses. The unpredictability of one's fate was further aggravated by increasing concern about the unstable boundaries between this world and the other worlds. The interactions between human and ghost domains is reflected in numerous anecdotes that reveal people's anxiety about being harassed by their own deceased family members, friends, or other wandering ghosts, thus opening up the society to the possibility of ritual manipulation.[19] Salvation rituals provided effective remedies for helping the souls of the dead to gain relief from the fate of postmortem punishment and restore tranquility to the living. Among the salvation rituals, the Buddhist Water-Land Retreat and the Daoist Yellow Register Retreat were the most popular. Both liturgies had their origins in the tenth century, but their textual elaboration and social spread was a product of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[19] *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 988

As for the social diffusion of these rituals, Changlu Zongze 長蘆宗賾 (ca. 1041-1106), a Northern Song Buddhist master,[20] provided a glimpse of the wide geographic distribution of the Water-Land Retreat and some ideas about the degree of participation:

> The practice of Water-Land Buddhist rituals in the Jianghuai, Zhejiang, Sichuan, Guangdong, and Fujian regions prevailed since ancient times. If one desires to preserve and celebrate peace but does not hold a Water-Land [ritual], then people will consider one not virtuous; if in serving one's superiors and elders one does not hold the Water-Land [ritual], then people will consider one unfilial; if in aiding the needy and the young one does not hold the Water-Land [ritual], then people will consider one uncompassionate. Hence, wealthy patrons will sponsor the ritual on their own, while the impoverished will pool their resources to sponsor it collectively.
> 所以江淮兩浙川廣福建水陸佛事。今古盛行。或保慶平安而不設水陸。則人以為不善。追資尊長而不設水陸。則人以為不孝。濟拔卑幼而不設水陸。則人以為不慈。由是富者獨力營辦。貧者共財修設。[21]

The idea of "universal salvation" has long been a Mahāyānist Buddhist goal since early on in Chinese history. But it was during the late tenth century through the thirteenth century that it became prominent in both Buddhist and Daoist postmortem ritual services, such as in the Water-Land Retreat and the Yellow Register Retreat in particular. It is noteworthy that the liturgical performance and social significance of these two rituals developed in tandem. There has been a significant amount of scholarship on these two rituals, but heretofore little discussion about the reciprocal relationship between them. This dissertation asserts that if we want to gain a better understanding of the history of the liturgical development of both Buddhism and Daoism, as well as a better comprehension of the general picture of the religious and social landscape during medieval China, then it is essential to consider these two rituals together.

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[20] For an introduction to Zongze's life and career, see Hou Chong 侯冲, "Song seng Cijue Zongze xin kao 宋僧慈覺宗賾新考," in Shi Daan 釋大安, ed., *Chaoyue qianzai de zhuisi: Jinian Huiyuan dashi danchen 1670 zhounian* 超越千載的追思:紀念慧遠大師誕辰 1670 周年 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2008), 263-280.

[21] "Shuilu yuanqi"水陸緣起, SSTL, X.961:57.114b14-115a01.

Using supporting materials from Hong Mai's 洪邁 (1123-1202) *Records of Hearsay* (*Yijian zhi* 夷堅志), Edward L. Davis compared the Water-Land Retreat and the Yellow Register Retreat. He demonstrated that there was convergence between the two rituals during the Song dynasty. For example, these rituals share a similar tripartite structure of altar construction and other essential rites.[22] After comparing the liturgical discourse of summoning the soul and the anecdotal accounts of the epiphany of the dead, Davis argued that the core of Buddhist and Daoist death rituals in the Song is exorcism rites in which a Buddhist monk or a Daoist priest usually used a child-medium to summon and subjugate the deceased.[23] According to Davis, almost all the accounts of Buddhist and Daoist death rituals concern the appearance of the dead,[24] which takes primacy over other aspects of these rituals. Some anecdotes convey a sense of institutionalization of possession by the deceased in these rituals during the twelfth century, suggesting that what had been a discrete and distinctive space for the Chinese spirit-medium had moved within the precincts of these death rituals by the time the anecdotes were written down.[25] Davis also provided a detailed analysis of the synchronic intersection between the Daoist rite of Summoning for Investigation (*kaozhao fa* 考召法) and theatrical performances and judicial processes during the Song dynasty. Although he

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[22] Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 227-241. Some convergence is found in rites for destroying the earth-prisons; for opening the roads from purgatory; for releasing souls from sin or ignorance; for bringing souls into the ritual area; for washing, clothing, and feeding the souls; and for subjecting the souls of the dead to transformation and/or conversion. However, Davis admitted that it is hard to trace the origins of certain rites or to confirm the direction of influence. The example of the "bathhouse" he provides suggests possible influences from both the Tantric rite of feeding hungry ghosts with "sweet dew" and the ancient Chinese funeral practice of bathing, clothing, and feeding the dead from the Daoist "bathing" procedure in the *liandu* 煉度 ritual.

[23] Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 179-199. Davis argues that at the most basic level the Daoist Yellow Register Retreat was a rite of summoning for investigation (*kaozhao fa* 考召法), a rite in which a demon or soul of the deceased was summoned and then investigated/interrogated.

[24] Davis claimed that the dead would appear as group as often as they would appear individually in the Buddhist ceremony whereas the dead would appear only individually in Daoist rites, even if it was open to all. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 179.

[25] Ibid., 186.

mentioned the Buddhist Water-Land Retreat as a parallel example of a naturally complex tension, rather than a speciously comprehensive cohesion, of the relations among the categories of Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, and local religions in the Song, his conclusions are primarily based on the study of the Daoist rituals. The discussion of Tantric exorcists offered a glimpse of the expected Buddhist involvement, yet the interaction between the Buddhist and Daoist postmortem rituals awaits further interpretation and discussion.

Matsumoto Koichi's 松本浩一 comparison of the Yellow Register Retreat and the Water-Land Retreat also discusses invisible exorcistic warfare in the Yellow Register ritual. Yet, he further points to a syncretic feature of these two rituals and emphasizes that during the Song it was likely that people saw less difference between the two rituals than we do today. Insofar as they share a general goal of saving the dead and curing the living, the criteria of choosing which one to be performed really depends on the personal interest of ritual patrons or the local religious traditions.[26] From the liturgical point of view, Matsumoto drew attention to a ritual element shared by both Buddhist and Daoist salvation rituals, namely the rite of Food Offerings to Hungry Ghosts. Based on a close analysis of Buddhist sūtras concerning Food Offering rituals (*Shishi yi* 施食儀) in the Tang dynasty (618-907), he argued that the concept of universal salvation is not solely a Buddhist product but is also closely associated with native Chinese religious traditions. In other words, the origin of the idea of universal salvation may have come from Buddhism, but the cult of orphaned spirits and malevolent ghosts could be traced back to pre-imperial Chinese religious history as well as the Daoist practice of pacifying these restless souls that were woven together to establish the cultural background and social context for the development of the idea of Universal

[26] Matsumoto Koichi 松本浩一, "Songdai de Shuiluzhai yu Huangluzhai" 宋代的水陸齋與黃籙齋, *Diyi jie daojiao xiandao wenhua guoji yantao hui* 第一屆道教仙道文化國際研討會, unpublished (Taiwan: Gaoxiong, 2006), 641-654.

Salvation. Therefore, the shaping of the concept of universal salvation and the spread of *pudu* rituals were deeply embedded in networks of Buddhism, Daoism and local cults in China.[27] This point of view echoes what Lowell Skar has suggested about the increasingly intense contact between earlier elite-focused religious traditions (including aristocratic Buddhism), which became more and more diffused into a decentralized and regionalized society, and local beliefs and popular cults.[28]

John Lagerwey's comparative study on the Water-Land Retreat and Yellow Register Retreat also noted the significance of exorcism and the shared goals of universal salvation in the two rituals. He found that the Water-Land Retreat is, at its basis, a form of the *pudu* ritual, which serves all sorts of aims ranging from protection of the nation and timely rain, to annual celebrations at local shrines. In this capacity, the Water-Land Retreat is similar to the Daoist rites of cosmic renewal (*jiao* 醮). Likewise, the Yellow Register Retreat is for both the living and the dead, but it is primarily a rite for the salvation of the individual dead to which is added a concern for universal salvation. Yet, if the universal salvation ideology and practice found in both traditions manifestly represent Buddhist influence, the exorcistic features are primarily derived from Daoist ritual. Lagerwey concluded his analysis by positing that Buddhism introduced to China the concepts and practices of universality characteristic of all "universal" religions. Daoism, by contrast, had its biggest impact on the theatrical representation of imaginary worlds and the process of interiorization and individualization.[29]

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[27] Matsumoto, "Chūgen-bushi no seiritsu ni tsuite — Shin Watari bunken no hensen o chūshin ni" 中元節の成立について—普渡文獻の変遷を中心に, *Gendaichūgoku-gaku hōhō-ron to sono bunka-teki shikaku* (*hōhō-ron bunka-hen*) 現代中国学方法論とその文化的視角 (方法論・文化篇) (Aichidaigaku kokusai Chūgoku-gaku kenkyū sentā, 2006), 126-130.

[28] Lowell Skar, "Ritual Movements, Deity Cults, and the Transformation of Daoism in Song and Yuan Times," Livia Kohn ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 413-463.

[29] John Lagerwey, "The Water-and-Land and Yellow Register Fasts: A Comparison of Programs," unpublished paper, 2011.

Liu Xiangguang 劉祥光 discussed the Water-Land Retreat and Yellow Register Retreat within the context of Buddho-Daoist competition over postmortem services during the Song dynasty from a non-religious perspective. Most of the materials he investigated were from official government documents and literati collections. He pointed out the importance of the social circumstances under which the competition for postmortem services took place. At that time there were an increasing number of dead people and thus a pressing need for them, especially the wandering ghosts, to be saved.[30] Liu further argued that the competition for saving the dead prompted the diversification of liturgies, producing an economic form of the ritual which aimed to serve a broader range of people. This point of view resonates with Zongze's description of the performance of the Water-Land Retreat, where we saw how wealthy patrons sponsored the ritual on their own, while the impoverished pooled their resources to sponsor it collectively. Several stories from the *Records of Hearsay* also attest to the belief that orphaned souls can attend those rituals and thus be saved. Liu's study contributed an economic perspective to the interpretation of the rituals that compliments well what Davis observed in anecdotal records about the emergence and popularity of Ritual Masters in Song society.

Mihwa Choi's study of death rituals during the Northern Song dynasty also includes a discussion of the two liturgies, but from a top-down perspective that locates them in the context of the emergence of neo-Confucianism and the Confucian reaction to the engagement of the state in Buddhist and Daoist ritual activities.[31] An intriguing point that she observed is the different

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[30] Liu Xiangguang 劉祥光, "Shuilu fahui, Huanglu zhai yu songwang yishi de jingzheng" 水陸法會，黃籙齋與送亡儀式的競爭, in *Songdai richang shenghuo zhong de pusuan yu guiguai* 宋代日常生活中的卜算與鬼怪 (Taibei: Zhengda chubanshe 2013), 191-252.

[31] Mihwa Choi, "Contesting *Imaginaires* in Death Rituals during the Northern Song Dynasty," (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 2008).

deployments of the rituals by different social groups in order to advance their interests through the practice of death rituals. According to Choi, the popularization of non-Confucian death rituals was attributed to the emergence of a new class of wealthy merchants who lacked political power yet chose to spend lavishly on the performance of Buddhist and Daoist death rituals. This point of view echoes Liu Xiangguang's study of the socio-economic influence of Buddho-Daoist competition in the ritual arena.

Since the two universal salvation rituals under discussion belong to the Buddhist and Daoist religious traditions, the comparative study of the two will inevitably be placed within the context of the history of so-called Buddho-Daoist interactions.

The Buddho-Daoist Approach

Interactions between Buddhism and Daoism started as early as the first century CE. The interaction between Daoism and Buddhism occurred in many different ways. It has often been regarded as a competition between an indigenous religion of China (Daoism) and a foreign religion from India (Buddhism) which gradually came to occupy a large portion of the religious market in China. However, the actual situation was far more complicated than what the term "competition" can capture. Terms such as syncretism, mixture, hybridization, and integration have been used by scholars to describe the reciprocal relationship between the two religions. "Borrowing" and "influencing" are verbs often used to describe the dynamic process of their reciprocity.

Earlier studies of Buddho-Daoist interaction from the perspective of the sinification of Buddhism by Eric Zürcher[32] and Kenneth Ch'en[33] have been supplemented by more recent studies that approach the problem from different perspectives. Stephen Bokenkamp, for instance, has discussed how Buddhist accounts of rebirth and the afterlife were adapted to preexisting Chinese conceptions of dealing with the dead. By looking at sources that do not strictly belong to any particular religious tradition, such as standard histories, literati writings, and anecdotes, he pointed out that the Buddhist accounts of rebirth and the afterlife did not come to be accepted in China by default, or through ideological poverty, or by fiat. Instead, they were gradually adapted into preexisting Chinese conceptions of how to deal with the dead because they helped to solve particular problems among the living. Anxieties concerning family relations with their cherished dead and concerns arising from the prevalence of disease, warfare, and societal dislocation in the third to fifth centuries formed the context for Daoist deployments of the Buddhist doctrine of rebirth.[34] In other words, it was not simply because a Buddhist ideology was forcefully superimposed upon preexisting Chinese conceptions, but Bokenkamp shows how the agency of the Daoists was restored and recognized in the process of adaptation. The Daoist adoption of Buddhist concepts was not without change; rather, the Daoists were selective about which Buddhist terms that they selected, which suggests that theirs was a strategic appropriation of terms and concepts.[35]

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[32] Eric Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[33] Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964).

[34] Stephen Bokenkamp, *Ancestor and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

[35] 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: Chinese University Press, 2004), 317-339.

Similar to Bokenkamp, Charles Orzech approached Buddho-Daoist interactions from a linguistic perspective. He adopted a "translation theory" approach in his survey of the "Releasing the Flaming-mouths" (*Fang yankou* 放焰口) and *pudu* rituals. Unsatisfied with the metaphor of "syncretism,"[36] which implies an unnatural conglomeration of two distinct religions or rituals that they would separate while the mixture circumstances change, he turned his emphasis to the reactions within this mixture. The "translation theory" approach, according to Orzech, "not only articulates that things come together but also affords a way to articulate how things come together, following the trail from initial encounter to forms of mutual accommodation, borrowing, or transformative development."[37] This theory gives credit to the creative changes of the original concept by the target culture and also shows respect to the original meaning and function in the source culture.

Like Bokenkamp and Orzech, Christine Mollier acknowledges that Buddho-Daoist interaction is not simply the borrowing or plagiarizing of the terms and concepts or one tradition by another, but that it is a more complicated game played out among different social and cultural forces. Mollier's study can be viewed as a critical response to Zürcher's image of comparing Buddhism and Daoism to two pyramids rising from a common base. In that image, the top of each pyramid represents the elite and sophisticated realm of religious "professionals," while the common foundation of the two pyramids belongs to the devotional activities of "simple believers." Mollier instead points out that it is unfair to claim that those "simple believers" are of so-called undifferentiated lay religion. Her study reveals a web-like picture in which the interaction between

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[36] Robert Sharf also problematized the application of the term "syncretism," see, Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 290, n. 26 and 27; Sharf, "On Pure Land Buddhism and Ch'an/Pure Land Syncretism in Medieval China," *T'oung Pao* 88.4/5 (2002): 282-331.

[37] Charles Orzech, "Fang yankou and pudu: Translation, metaphor, and religious identity," in Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth, eds., *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 213-234.

the two religions vividly took place in terms of various aspects, such as scriptural composition, ritual practice, and a reconfiguring of the pantheon. Mollier also contended that she does not only discuss the interaction between the two great religions but also brings in another concept of "a third party" namely astrologers, diviners, medicine men, and other experts in parareligious techniques. She affirms that the participation of this "third party" in the interaction between Buddhism and Daoism is also significant and should not be simply ignored.[38] However, the weakness of Mollier's work is as apparent as its contribution. Since this work seems to have been initiated as a response to the argument of "Daoism plagiarizing Buddhism,"[39] its polemical character (so telling in the title) failed to serve as a dispassionate account of the encounter between Buddhism and Daoism. This perspective further compromised her analysis of Buddho-Daoist interactions by narrowing the view to the competitiveness of this bilateral relationship. Competition is admittedly one important part of this relationship and market share (governmental approval, monetary support, etc.), which was also a concern related to the survival of both communities.

Joshua Capitanio's recent study of the Sanskrit and pseudo-Sanskrit incantations in Daoist ritual texts furthered Bokenkamp's and Orzech's studies by analyzing the different considerations of Daoist authors when they incorporated non-Chinese language into their making of new incantations.[40] According to Capitanio, "Daoists were required to frame these newly introduced and foreign-seeming incantatory paradigms in ways that justified their presence within Daoist

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[38] Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 211.

[39] Erik Zürcher, "Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism: A Survey of Scriptural Evidence," *T'oung Pao* 66.1/3 (1980): 84-147.

[40] Joshua Capitanio, "Sanskrit and Pseudo-Sanskrit Incantations in Daoist Ritual Texts," *History of Religions* 57.4 (2018): 348-405.

works."[41] Therefore, the ubiquitous Sanskrit and pseudo-Sanskrit incantations in Daoist ritual were not a vulgar parody, but the result of the strategic deployment of elements from a different religious repertoire toward a specific end. They were used, for instance, to present Daoism as a comprehensive religious tradition that contained the best of what other religions had to offer.

James Robson in his survey of the religious history of a sacred mountain in southern China, Hengshan 衡山 (also known as Nanyue 南嶽), also pointed out the complex relationship between the two religious traditions. In the discussion of the famous Buddhist monk Huisi's 慧思 (515-577) vow text and the impact of his arrival on the mountain, he notes that "both Huisi's conversion of the mountain spirit and acquisition of land, as well as his victory over the Daoists at court, are indicative of one side of the relationship (the competitive side) between the Buddhists and Daoists at Nanyue; the Daoist tone of Vow is indicative of the other side of that relationship (mutual interchange)."[42] In order to understand such complexities that we encounter in Chinese religious history non-sectarian studies are necessary. The choice of studying a since cultic site, like Hengshan, is one possible option, but certainly not the only one. Can the idea of "dynamic boundaries and plural histories" be applied in ritual studies as well? In fact, there are certain shared features between the analytic categories of "place" and "ritual": First, they both are framed within a temporal and spatial imagination; Second, they both require participation of a great diversity of elements; Third, in ritual performance as in the changing of a cultic site, the boundaries among those different participants are dynamic and ambiguous. Both "place" and "ritual" are like "group

[41] Ibid., 374.

[42] James Robson, *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue 南嶽) in Medieval China*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 226.

play" in which all actors who might seem unrelated elsewhere are brought together to interact with one another within a single domain.

Chapter Structure

Recent research has resulted in sophisticated studies of the relationship between Buddhism and Daoism. It is hoped that our journey through the labyrinth of the Buddho-Daoist relationship in the context of salvation rituals will provide another perspective on the nature of medieval Chinese religious history. This study primarily focuses on ritual practice. Although there has been a general shift from doctrinal studies to ritual studies, there remain a paucity of studies on Chinese religions that have explored specific cases of that shift in focus. This dissertation provides a comprehensive case study and analysis of two specific rituals and proposes a new model for how to better understand Chinese religious culture.

This dissertation is divided into four chapters. The first three chapters focus on the Buddhist Water-Land Retreat and investigate it from three different aspects. Chapter one discusses the ritual tradition represented mainly by the *Fajie shengfan shuilu shenghui xiuzhai yigui* 法界圣凡水陸勝會修齋儀軌 (*Ritual Manual for Performing the Retreat of the Grand Assembly of All Saintly and Mundane Beings of Water and Land*, X. 1497: 74; hereafter, FJSF). In that chapter, the discussion is developed around the question of how the concept of "universal salvation" is realized within the liturgical practices. It aims to present a clear picture of the salvific scheme of the Water-Land Retreat by probing into the ritual paradigm of "universal conversion."

Both the second and the third chapters focus on another Water-Land Retreat tradition represented by a different ritual manual, namely the *Tiandi mingyang shuilu yiwen* 天地冥陽水陸儀文 (*Manual for the Ritual of All Beings of Heaven and Earth, This World and the Netherworld,*

and Water and Land; hereafter, TDMY).[43] This ritual manual has not yet been thoroughly researched, so it requires a longer discussion. Different from the FJSF which evinces influence from the Tiantai 天台 and Pure Land 淨土 traditions, the TDMY reveals synthetic features that involve a variety of religious traditions. Chapter two examines the ritual elements from Esoteric Buddhism and situates them in the discussion of the "esotericization" and "democratization" of Chinese religion, two major trends in the study of medieval Chinese religious culture. With the ritual technologies imported from the Esoteric Buddhist tradition during the medieval period, these "esoteric technologies" required the intervention of specially trained religious professionals in rituals in order to ensure their efficacy, which led scholars to reflect on this phenomenon. However, at the same, there has also been much discussion about the process of "democratization" across the changing religious landscape, pointing on the one hand to improved access to the sacred realm, and on the other hand to an ecumenical soteriology on the other. Contrary to the process of esotericization, this improved access to the sacred realm indicates a more direct relationship and interaction between common people and the gods/ghosts. The burgeoning cult of Avalokiteśvara as a universal savior who provides immediate assistance to anyone in desperate need—regardless of gender, age, or social status—is strong evidence for such a trend.[44] By simply reciting the bodhisattva's name one would be saved at once. The expansion of the cult of Wenchang[45] and the abundance of miracle tales about people's visits to the underground *yamen*[46] also attest to a

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[43] *Tiandi mingyang shuilu yiwen* 天地冥陽水陸儀文. 6 fascicles. Ca. 1520-1620. East Asian Library. Princeton University. <http://eastasianlib.princeton.edu/ diglib.php>.

[44] Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

[45] Terry F. Kleeman, *A God's Own Tale: The Book of Transformations of Wenchang, the Divine Lord of Zitong* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

[46] Robert Ford Campany, *Signs from the Unseen Realm: Buddhist Miracle Tales from Early Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012).

growing tendency to secure one's well-being by directly addressing the deities in the celestial heavens or the netherworld. Moreover, the popularization of salvation rites concerned with the deliverance of the dead *en masse*, such as the Yellow Register Retreat, indicates an equally ecumenical religious movement.[47]

Alongside my discussion of the Esoteric elements in the Water-Land Retreat in chapter two is an analysis of its non-Buddhist elements in chapter three. Chapter three asserts that unlike the FJSF liturgy, which was fully contextualized within the Tiantai doctrinal system, the compilation of the TDMY liturgy was guided by a different force that was not rooted in any high-end religious philosophies but rather came from common popular and a concern for a practical end: ritual efficacy. The compilers, who were probably also the performers, of the TDMY liturgy attempted to harness what for them must have been the powerful indigenous practice that they could add to their repertoire of potent ritual techniques. Taking into consideration the discussion of the Esoteric Buddhist elements in chapter two, it is helpful to investigate its synthetic features by looking at the Esoteric and Daoist elements together. This shared feature created a feasible interactive channel between the Buddhist and Daoist salvation rituals.

Chapter four turns its sights to the main competitor of the Buddhist Water-Land Retreat, namely the Daoist Yellow Register Retreat. Developed in tandem with the Water-Land Retreat, the Yellow Register Retreat seemingly shares the same soteriological goal and method. Nevertheless, after careful scrutiny of its ritual practices and the inner logic of the whole liturgy, the Yellow Register Retreat demonstrated an entirely different salvation scheme that has largely based on traditional Chinese religious elements while selectively integrating new cultural elements.

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[47] Lagerwey, "The Water-and-Land and Yellow Register Fasts: A Comparison of Programs."

It is important to keep in mind that the Water-Land Retreat and the Yellow Register Retreat are more than merely a kind of religious practice. From an ethnographic perspective, they are stages on which to present and to preserve the ancient arts of sound and image, such as, for example, liturgical paintings, musical compositions, and theatrical performances. From a sociological perspective, these retreats, which are held annually or on-demand, are one of the important sources of income for monasteries. They also provide a perfect arena for intercommunication between different social classes. In other words, both rituals reflect social lives. Therefore, this study of the rituals will not only tell us about specific religious situations at a moment in time, but will also shed light on the general picture of religion and society in a certain geographic area.

CHAPTER 1

The Buddhist Map of the Path: The Water-Land Dharma Assembly of the *Fajie shengfan shuilu shenghui xiuzhai yigui* 法界聖凡水陸勝會修齋儀軌

"What does *pudu* mean? It means that no one will not be saved."
「何謂普度，無不度故。」[1]

Introduction

As we have seen in the Introduction, Ge Shengzhong's writing provided a glimpse of who would be saved in the Water-Land Retreat. These include all deceased "children of the Buddha" (*fozi* 佛子), regardless of gender (male or female), social role (peasant or soldier), residency (urban or countryside), or religious affiliation (religious or secular),[2] will be saved by attending the ritual. During their presence at the ritual, according to Ge, they will be feted with pure offerings, cleansed with Dharma water, and after listening to the teaching [of the Buddha], they will be free from sinking into the path of hell and will be reborn into the blissful Buddha-realm.[3] This then raises the question: if the Water-Land Retreat is supposed to deliver all sentient beings, which is in keeping with the goal of "universal salvation," why did Ge in his ritual memorial mention that

[1] FJSF 1, X.1497:74. 787c02.

[2] "Wudun futian yuan she shuilu shu"烏墩福田院設水陸疏, *Danyang ji* 丹陽集 (QSW), 381.163.

[3] Ibid.

only the "children of the Buddha,"[4] in other words, the followers of the Buddha, should be saved? There also seems to be a contradiction in Ge's statement when he uses the term "children of the Buddha" and the term "either religious or secular" to describe those who are to be saved in the ritual. Then, how could those who are secular also be the "children of the Buddha"? What exactly does this statement suggest by juxtaposing the two seemingly incompatible categories of people? It is thus the task of this chapter to lay bare the interests of the Water-Land Retreat, and to declare what it hopes to achieve and how to achieve it, before bringing it into a comparative discussion with the Daoist Yellow Register Retreat which shares its soteriological goal of "universal salvation."

Most contemporary performances of the Water-Land Retreat in mainland China and diaspora Chinese communities use a four-fascicle manual entitled *Shuilu yigui huiben* 水陸儀軌會本 (*Synthetic Manual of Water-Land Rite*; hereafter, Huiben) which includes four names in relation to the compilation of the text. Under the title of the first fascicle it lists the contributors in the following sequence:

> Created by the Master Zhigong et al. of the Liang [dynasty]; recompiled by Donghu Zhipan of the Song [dynasty]; supplemented by Yunqi Zhuhong of the Ming [dynasty]; republished by Zhenji Yirun of the Qing [dynasty].
> 梁誌公大師等撰；宋東湖志磐重訂；明雲棲袾宏補儀；清真寂儀潤彙刊。[5]

The "Master Zhigong et al" refers to the legendary origin of the Water-Land Retreat. According to a mytho-historical account, one night, Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty 梁武帝 (464-549; r. 502-549) had a dream in which he was visited by a divine monk who informed him

[4] "諸佛子等": "等" is a following pronoun or noun(s), indicates plurality or inclusion of unnamed others of the same kind.

[5] Huiben 1, in *Zangwai fojing* 藏外佛經 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005), 27.

of a ritual called the "Expansive Netherworld Retreat for [All Beings of] Water and Land" (*Shuilu guangda mingzhai* 水陸廣大冥齋). According to the monk, the retreat can bring about the universal salvation of all sentient beings who experience suffering in four of the six paths of rebirth. After waking up, the emperor consulted his courtiers about this ritual, but no one had ever heard of it. Baozhi 寶誌 (d. 514), the emperor's spiritual advisor, urged him to search through the Buddhist canon for textual resources. Working hard for three years, the emperor finally composed a ritual manual himself based on eleven Buddhist classics and the *Sūtra on Saving the Burning-Faced Hungry Ghosts* (*Jiu mianran egui jing* 救面然餓鬼經) in particular. After that, the emperor performed the very first Water-Land ritual at the Temple of Beneficent Heart (*Zexin si* 澤心寺) on the island of Runzhou 潤州 (in modern Jiangsu 江蘇) in 505.[6] The "master Zhigong" in the quote above must refer to Emperor Wu's spiritual advisor Master Baozhi.

Later during the Song dynasty, the Tiantai Buddhist monk Zhipan 志磐 (ca. 1220-75)[7] amended the Water-Land Retreat. However, the Zhipan's extant manual can be found nowhere else but among the Ming Buddhist master Zhuhong's 袾宏 (1535-1615) compilations.[8] It is a six-fascicle manual entitled *Fajie shengfan shuilu shenghui xiuzhai yigui* 法界圣凡水陸勝會修齋儀軌 (*Ritual Manual for Performing the Retreat of the Grand Assembly of All Saintly and Mundane Beings of Water and Land*; hereafter, FJSF). It later gained canonical sanction by Yongzheng's

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[6] SSTL, X.1497:74. 113c04-114b08.

[7] On Zhipan and his composition of the FJSF, see Satō Seijun 佐藤成順, "*Busso tōki* senjū no basho: Geppasan Jihi fusai-ji to Fukusensan Enjuō kōfuku-ji ni tsuite 『仏祖統紀』撰述の場所:月波山慈悲普済寺と福泉山延寿王 広福寺について," *Indo bunka to Bukkyō shisō no kichō to tenkai* インド文化と仏教思想の基調と展開, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 2003): 3-28; and Tada Kōshō 多田孝正, "Shiban to *Busso tōki* 志磐と『仏祖統紀』," *Eizan gakujutsu kenkyū kiyō* 叡山学術研究紀要 25 (2003): 179-202.

[8] Yunqi Zhuhong, *Yunzi fahui*, an expanded edition of this collection is available as *Lianchi dashi quanji* 蓮池大師全集 (Taibei: Dungchu chubanshe, 1973). On studies of Zhuhong, see, Chun-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).

reign 雍正 of the Qing dynasty (1723-1735) and is now preserved in the *Xu Zangjing* 續臧經.[9] This version bears only the names of Zhipan and Zhuhong and its content is concerned exclusively with the practice of the inner altar (*neitan* 內壇) of the Water-Land Retreat, with only passing reference to the parallel performances of the outer altars. It also includes very few descriptions of the settings of the inner altar and does not mention the production of all sorts of rituals documents and proceedings of personnel. In other words, this version of the ritual manual preserves the very essence of the Water-Land performance: the inner altar.[10]

Later in the Qing dynasty, the Buddhist master Yirun 儀潤 (fl. early nineteenth century) collected a series of materials of procedural instructions, probably mostly based on the contemporary ritual conventions, and added them to Zhipan and Zhuhong's version to have published the aforementioned Huiben. Minor amendments were made to Zhipan and Zhuhong's version but the basic structure of practice remains the same. After Yirun, the Huiben was republished by several Buddhist scholars[11] during the Republican period and later gained a preface by the Buddhist master Yinguang 印光 (1862-1940).[12] However, despite the ample supplements made by Yirun in the nineteenth century Huiben, we should still consider this text as part of an unbroken tradition of ritual performance extending back to Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty,

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[9] FJSF 6, X.1497:74.

[10] Another work that is exclusively for the inner altar is called *Shuilu daochang tonglun* 水陸道場通論 (*Comprehensive Treatise on the Water-Land Rite*) compiled by the Qing layman Zheng Yingfang (alias Zhiguan, d. ca. 1879). Yet, this work is patterned closely on the works of Zhuhong and Yirun with a few alternations of the rite to reflect Zheng's personal investment in Huayan and Pure Land teachings. See, Daniel Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the Shuilu fahui, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land," in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, edited by Marsha Weidner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 34-35.

[11] Huiben 1, 5: "The printing plate of its Hangzhou version has become extremely blurred. Although the Tiantong temple has printed [another one], it was hard to popularize. Therefore, our deceased Master Ji of Wanshou and Master Yu of Baolun in Yangzhou raised money to reprint it, in hope of spreading it" 此書杭垣之板，模糊不堪。天童雖刻，亦難普及。以故維揚萬壽寂公，寶輪裕公等，募資重刻，以冀廣傳.

[12] Huiben 1, 6

with Zhipan and Zhuhong's version lying at its core. As Philip Bloom has nicely put it, "although Zhuhong, Yirun, and the other Qing-dynasty reformers each expanded Zhipan's manual slightly, they did so only with the intent of clarifying, or making more explicit, Zhipan's instructions. Ritual, in other words, is meant to be seen as a resolutely conservative medium, a medium that privileges orthopraxy above all else."[13]

In this chapter, I will focus on the Water-Land liturgical tradition preserved in Zhipan and Zhuhong's FJSF manual and look at its soteriological scheme of universal salvation in terms of its ritual programs. Later, I will try to compare it with the Daoist Yellow Register liturgical tradition preserved in Jiang Shuyu's 蔣叔輿 ((1162-1223) *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 (*Standardized Rituals of the Supreme Yellow Register Retreat*; hereafter, *Licheng yi*) which will be the focus of Chapter 2. While it seems at first sight that these are not really comparable manuals—one has 57 chapters, the other only six; one is arguably a Song product, the other a Ming redaction—I would nonetheless argue that they are comparable. First, despite no direct evidence of its Song provenance, we have clues to hypothesize that it was Zhipan's recodification based on the Song Buddhist ritual conventions which played an essential role as a model for the FJSF manual. In the Buddhist canon version, it was in its last fascicle that Zhuhong "supplemented" (*bu* 補) a liturgy of chanting the Buddha's name at the end of the manual, indicating that it was but a minor revision of the earlier liturgies.[14] Based on our knowledge of Zhuhong's Buddhist training, he was a Pure Land devotee well versed in the Pure Land tradition,[15]

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[13] Philip Bloom, "Descent of the Deities: The Water-Land Retreat and the Transformation of the Visual Culture of Song-Dynasty (960-1279) Buddhism" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2013), 52.

[14] FJSF 6, X.1497:74. 820a.

[15] Chun-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).

among which chanting the Buddha's name is the most prominent practice. It is thus reasonable to conclude that the changes Zhuhong made to Zhipan's manual are mostly related to Pure Land practices while the liturgy of the six-fascicle FJSF manual has likely preserved the main body of the late-Song liturgical traditions of the Water-Land ritual. Second, both the FJSF manual and the *Licheng yi* are representatives of their respective traditions. On the one hand, the FJSF manual is deeply rooted in the doctrinal and liturgical traditions of the Buddhist Tiantai school as the author/editor quotes extensively from commentaries by the Tiantai patriarchs Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597) and Zhili 知禮 (960-1028).[16] The *Licheng yi* manual, on the other hand, keeps close ties with Lingbao Daoism 靈寶 while absorbing elements from other new ritual movements such as the Rectified Methods of the Celestial Heart (*Tianxin zhengfa* 天心正法).[17] Third, both the FJSF manual and the *Licheng yi* seek to define an orthopraxy by building connections with the past and critiquing contemporaneous practices. According to Daniel Stevenson, Zhipan and Zhuhong's version tried to construct a Water-Land tradition that "bears no resemblance whatsoever to the [Jinshan 金山 tradition's] excessive hanging of scrolls in all directions."[18] Jiang Shuyu, in a similar tone, claimed that the compilation of the *Licheng yi* was to "collect the guiding principles and to rectify the mistakes" 總其綱領，訂其疑誤.[19] Therefore, it is intriguing to see how the two rituals work out a shared concept of "universal salvation" within their own separate religious legacies.

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[16] FJSF 4, X.1497:74. 809c, 810a, 810c, 811a.

[17] Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1017.

[18] Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the Shuilu fahui, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land," 69, n. 115.

[19] *The Standardized Rituals of the Supreme Yellow* Register *Retreat* (*Wushang Huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀), HY508, 378c.

1. Overview of the Water-Land Ritual Programs

As mentioned above, the ritual programs in the FJSF primarily concern practices of the inner altar—the core of the Water-Land Retreat. Although it has already been summarized by other scholars,[20] a brief overview of the ritual structure and programs remains necessary here given that it provides the framework for the following discussions.

The first of the six fascicles concerns a series of preparatory works, including the setting up of the altar and empowering the sacred space. After performing the rites of taking refuge in the Three Treasures,[21] followed by reciting incantations of self-purification and pacification of the monastery spirits, a variety of protective deities and their attendants are summoned to guard the ritual site. [22] Then the altar is purified and sealed with incantation water and the burning of incense. Mantras (*zhenyan* 真言) are recited and the myriad Vairocana Buddhas 毗盧遮那不空如來[23] are summoned to empower the water and incense. Finally, before dispatching emissaries who hold talismans (*chifu shizhe* 持符使者) to send written documents, such as memorials (*zouzhuang* 奏狀), letters of invitation (*qingshu* 請書), and writs and certificates (*diewen* 牒文), to the realms of ten directions,[24] a formalized series of questions and answers about the meaning of the title of the ritual are given.[25] All of these thus mark the official opening of the Water-Land Retreat.

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[20] Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the Shuilu fahui, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land"; Bloom, "Descent of the Deities."

[21] FJSF 1, X.1479:74. 784b.

[22] They include Ucchuṣma 大穢迹金剛; the Ten Vidyārājas 十大明王; Brahma 大梵天王, Indra 帝釋天主, the Four Heavenly Kings 護世四王, and the Eight Classes of Devas and Dragons 天龍八部; the Monastery Guardian; and the City God, local shrine spirits, and hearth gods. FJSF 1, X.1479:74. 785a-785c.

[23] FJSF 1, X.1479:74. 786c-787a.

[24] Ibid., 787c.

[25] Ibid., 788a-b.

The rest of the six fascicles constitute the main body of the Water-Land ritual performance. The second and the third fascicles treat the summoning practices while the fourth and fifth fascicles are about offerings. The last fascicle is about explaining the Buddha's teaching to the assembly who came from the six paths. According to the nature of the assembly, the summoning program is divided into two parts. Part one, as treated in the second fascicle, is devoted to the summoning of the deities of the "Upper Hall" (*shangtang* 上堂). Those who are summoned to be temporarily installed in the inner altar include ten classes of divine figures, each of which is exemplified by ten or more particular figures, namely 1) all the myriad buddhas 一切諸佛;[26] 2) all the honorable dharma 一切尊法;[27] 3) the various bodhisattvas saṃgha 諸菩薩僧;[28] 4) the various *pratekyabuddhas* saṃgha 諸緣覺僧;[29] 5) the various *śrāvakas* saṃgha 諸聲聞僧;[30] 6) the twenty-three patriarchs 二十三祖;[31] 7) spirits and immortals of the five penetrations 五通神仙;[32] 8) *rājas* 明王, *devarājas* 天王 and *devas* 天;[33] 9) spirit kings 神王 who are protective deities, including protectors of monasteries and relics as well as protectors of the state and cities[34]; and 10) the Ten

[26] FJSF 2, X.1479:74. 789c-790a.

[27] These include *The Garland Sutra* (*Buddhâvataṃsaka-sūtra* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T. 279:10); *The Brahmā's Net Sutra* (*Brahmajāla-sūtra* 梵網經, T. 1484:24); he Four Āgama Sūtras 四阿含 (*The Longer Āgama-sūtra* 長阿含經, T.1:1; *The Middle Length Āgama Sutras* 中阿含經, T. 26:1; *The Āgama of Combined Discourses* 雜阿含經, T. 99:2; *The Increased by One Āgama Sutras* *增一阿含經*, T. 125:2); *The Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* 淨名經, T. 475:14; *The Sutra of Golden Light* (*Suvarṇa-prabhāsôttama-sūtra* 金光明經, T. 663:16); *The Sutra of Humane Kings* 仁王經, T. 245:8; *The Diamond Sutra* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T. 235:8; *The Lotus Sutra* 妙法蓮華經, T. 262:9; *The Nirvana Sutra* 大般涅槃經, T. 374:12; *The Contemplation Sutra* 觀無量壽佛經, T. 365:12, etc. Ibid., 790a-b.

[28] Ibid., 790b-c.

[29] Ibid., 790c.

[30] Ibid., 790c-791a.

[31] Ibid., 791a.

[32] These refer to the beings who obtained supernatural powers and assisted in spreading the Buddha's teachings. Ibid., 791a-b.

[33] Ibid., 791b.

[34] Ibid., 791c.

Great Masters of the Water-Land Retreat 製儀立法十大士, who are historical or mytho-historical figures associated with the early codification and performance of the Water-Land Retreat from the Liang through the Song dynasties.[35] The summoning is then followed by offerings to the figures of the Upper Hall after which a discourse of explaining the origin of the Water-Land Retreat is given. Finally, the ritual program for the Upper Hall ends with a statement of thirty-two wishes and veneration of the Three Treasures.[36]

The second part of the summoning program takes place in the Lower Hall (*xiatang* 下堂) on the evening of the third day. After a series of routine purifying actions of sprinkling water and burning incense, the ritual master begins to summon the assembly of the Lower Hall. While those who are summoned to the Upper Hall carry clear Buddhist identities, those who are summoned to the Lower Hall show a mixed nature that encompasses figures of all other major Chinese religious traditions and local cults. The full list of figures summoned includes: 1) deities of the celestial bureaucracy;[37] 2) deities of the terrestrial bureaucracy;[38] 3) officials of the human bureaucracy, including famed Confucian and Daoist figures;[39] 4) humans of various occupations;[40] 5) *asuras*;[41] 6) hungry ghosts and wandering souls;[42] 7) the Ten Kings of Purgatory and their officiants;[43] 8)

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[35] Ibid., 791c-792a. These figures include Ānanda 阿難陀; the saintly monk of the Liang dynasty 梁朝神僧聖師; Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty 梁武皇帝; the Saintly Master Baozhi 梁朝誌公聖師 and the Chan Master Sengyou 梁朝祐公律師, also of the Liang; the Chan Master Ying of Fahai Monastery 唐朝法海英公禪師 of the Tang; and the Chan Master Foyin 宋朝佛印禪師, the Chan Master Changlu Zongze 長蘆賾公禪師, the scholar- official Su Shi 蘇軾, and the layman Yang E 楊鍔, all of the Song.

[36] Ibid., 789c-799c.

[37] FJSF 3, X.1479:74. 800c-801a.

[38] Ibid., 801a.

[39] Ibid., 801a-b.

[40] Ibid., 801b.

[41] Ibid., 801c.

[42] Ibid., 801c-802a.

[43] Ibid., 802a.

denizens of Hell;[44] 9) animals;[45] 10) spirts of the intermediate stage;[46] 11) local gods, specifically those of Hangzhou;[47] 12) guardians of the monastery;[48] 13) souls of the deceased members of the sponsor's family;[49] and 14) souls of the deceased clergy and laity of the monastery.[50] Further, the ritual master goes on to summon the wandering souls of those who have suffered any of the twelve types of violent deaths—everyone from royal family members to soldiers killed in battles, to the victims of pirates, and women who died in labor. These people, according to the ritual master, are those whose "physical bodies have been broken, but whose destined age hasn't been reached yet" 色身雖壞，世壽未終.[51] Thus, they are "neither taken into the subterranean bureau nor recorded by the celestial officials" 地府莫收，天曹弗錄.[52] After the assembly of the Lower Hall is hierarchically positioned, the ritual master starts the last procedure of summoning—the ritual of breaking the earthly prisons (*po diyu* 破地獄) which is regarded as the climax of the evening ritual program. The verses (*gāthā*) of breaking the earthly prison (*po diyu ji* 破地獄偈)[53] are chanted seven times or more while different mantras are used to facilitate the process. For example, there are mantras of opening the path (*kai daolu* 開道路),[54] of freeing of fear (*li buwei* 離怖畏),[55] of

[44] Ibid., 802a-b.

[45] Ibid., 802b-c.

[46] Ibid., 802c.

[47] Ibid., 803a

[48] Ibid., 803a-b.

[49] Ibid., 803b-c.

[50] Ibid., 803c.

[51] Ibid., 804a.

[52] Ibid., 804a.

[53] Ibid., 807a. The *gāthā* is from the *Flower Ornament Sutra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經): T. 279:10.102b.

[54] Ibid., 807a-b.

[55] Ibid., 807b.

opening the needle-thin throats (*kai yanhou* 開咽喉),[56] of release from karmic ties (*jie yuanjie* 解怨結).[57] Then two further mantras are used to purify the assembly of the Lower Hall in a bath chamber[58] and to provide them with pure clothes.[59]

The focus of the fourth fascicle is on the rites of precept bestowal. The ritual master first teaches the Dharma to arouse the faith (*shuofa qixin* 說法起信)[60] of the assembly of the Lower Hall before they are led to take refuge in the Three Treasures. They then confess past transgressions and resolve to attain *bodhicitta* (*puti xin* 菩提心),[61] receiving the three categories of pure precepts (*sanju jingjie* 三聚淨戒)[62] and the ten principal bodhisattva precepts (*shi zhongjie* 十重戒)[63] in sequence. Finally, all of the Lower Hall assembly again take refuge in the Three Treasures and the ten classes of saintly beings of the Upper Hall. The whole ritual process is accomplished through the ritual master's visualization and the incantors' reciting of mantras.

Since the beings of the Lower Hall have not been bestowed with precepts or taken refuge in the Three Treasures, they are now formally converted and thereby can be called "children of Buddha" (*fozi* 佛子).[64] The next step for them, which is also the main content of the fifth fascicle, is to ascend the altar (*dengtan* 登壇) where they are presented with offerings of food consecrated

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[56] Ibid., 807b.

[57] Ibid., 807b-c.

[58] Ibid., 807c-808a.

[59] Ibid., 808a-b.

[60] FJSF 4, X.1479:74. 809a.

[61] Ibid., 810a-811a.

[62] Ibid., 811a-b.

[63] Ibid., 811c-812b. The definitive text for the ten grave precepts is the *Brahmā's Net Sutra* (*Fanwang jing* 梵網經): T. 1484:24. 1004b-1005a.

[64] FJSF 4, X.1479:74. 811b.

by mantras. In the end, after the ritual master gives a discourse on the sixteen kinds of marvelous contemplations (*shiliu miaoguan* 十六妙觀),[65] all of them are sent to be reborn in the Western Pure Land of Amitābha Buddha. In the appendix that Zhuhong added to Zhipan's version, the ritual master continues to teach the *samādhi* of mindfulness of Amitābha Buddha (*nianfo sanmei* 念佛三昧).[66] The practice is, according to Zhuhong, based on the *Amitâbha-sūtra* (Amituo jing 阿彌陀經)[67] and the soteriological goal is to attain rebirth in the Pure Land. In the concluding section, all merit is transferred (*huixiang* 迴向) to all sentient beings in the Dharma realm.[68]

2. The Meaning of "Zhai"

Just as the title of the FJSF manual implies, the Water-Land Retreat is a grand ceremony based on the performance of a retreat (*xiuzhai* 修齋) for all dwellers of the water and land realms. Yet, the "retreat" within the soteriological vision of the "universal salvation" has two facets. The first facet is reflected in the legendary description of the origin of the Water-Land Retreat which says that the practice of food offerings is the only "Dharma gate" 唯施食一法門爾.[69] This also echoes what Ge Shengzhong mentioned in his ritual memorial that "all are invited to enjoy the pure food offering at the ritual" 皆來祇造淨筵. In the first fascicle of the FJSF manual, the ritual master, amidst a sequence of preparatory actions, makes an announcement of the opening of the ritual in which both the terms "*pudu*" and "*zhai*" are explained:

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[65] FJSF 6, X.1479:74. 819c.

[66] Ibid., 820a.

[67] Ibid., 820a.

[68] Ibid., 822b.

[69] FJSF 2, X.1479:74. 797b.

> What does "*pudu*" mean? It means no one will not be saved. Despite the distinctions among the six paths of existence, all inhabitants will be liberated. What does great "*zhai*" mean? It means almsgiving of food.
> 何謂普度，無不度故。六道雖殊，俱解脫故。何謂大齋。以食施故。[70]

In this sense, the "*zhai*" here should be rendered as "fast" which emphasizes the practice of food giving. Later in the second fascicle, in a statement for summoning the enlightened beings of the Upper Hall, the meaning of "*pudu*" is interpreted with a slight difference:

> Fill the [realms of] water and land with pure offerings; reaching to heaven and earth for universal benefit.
> 崇水陸之清齋，極地天而普濟。[71]

Here, "*zhai*" is used in combination with the word "pure" and thus extends the meaning beyond "food offering" to further indicate the consecration of a space and period of religious solitude and sacredness in which divine power can be invoked for saving the whole universe. Here, the "*zhai*" should be rendered as "retreat."

Retreat/fast, *posạdha*, *posạtha,* or *uposạdha* in Sanskrit, *uposatha* in Pāli, *zhai* 齋 in Chinese, is one of the most important ritual practices in Buddhism. Unlike the rites of ordination which are mostly practiced within the monastic circle, the *zhai* has played an important role in the lives of monastics and laypeople alike. Modeled on the Vedic *upavasatha* ceremony, a sacrifice to the god Soma held on the full moon and new moon days, the *zhai* was originally practiced among the clergy by referring to a series of regulations of the monastic life, consisting in eating one meal per day before noon, confessing transgressions, and reciting monastic codes.[72] There are also a

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[70] FJSF 1, X.1479:74. 787c.

[71] FJSF 2, X.1479:74. 789c.

[72] Sylvie Hureau, "Buddhist Rituals," in John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi, eds., *Early Chinese Religion*, Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD), vol. 2 (Brill, 2010), 1213-1221.

variety of *zhai* for laity, such as the six short retreats per month (*liuzhai ri* 六齋日 or *yue liuzhai* 月六齋) and three long retreats per year (*sui sanzhai* 歲三齋 or *san changzhai* 三長齋).[73] The goal of these retreats is self-purification, and thus a strict dietary code and confession of transgressions are observed.

The Water-Land Retreat belongs to a category of *zhai* called "*zhaihui*" (retreat assemblies 齋會), during which the lay and the monastic communities join together to perform a series of ritual actions that include chanting sūtras (*songjing* 誦經), confessing transgressions (*chanhui* 懺悔), reciting the Buddha's name (*nianfo* 念佛), and making offerings (*gongyang* 供養), which are often followed by preaching the Dharma (*shuofa* 說法).[74] From the beginning of the fifth century, the conferral of bodhisattva precepts (*shou pusa jie* 受菩薩戒) started to be performed in retreat ceremonies.[75] As we can see from the ritual programs in the FJSF manual, all of these programs are included in the Water-Land Retreat, thus making it a "superior assembly" (*shenghui* 勝會), the scale and efficacy of which far exceed that of other Buddhist rituals.

There exists a scholarly controversy on "*zhai*" in the Buddho-Daoist context. Some scholars saw an influence going from the Buddhist "*zhai*" to the Daoist "*zhai*"[76] whereas some scholars saw the influence as going in the opposite direction.[77] I'm afraid that there is no single

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[73] Hirakawa Akira 平川彰, *Genshi bukkyō no kenkyū: kyōdan-soshiki no genkei* 原始仏教の研究：教団組織の原型 (Tokyo, 1964), 416–425. Antonino Forte and Jacques May, "Chōsai," in *Hōbōgirin*, vol. 5 (*Chōotsushō—Chūu*), 392–407.

[74] Sylvie Hureau, "Buddhist rituals," 1221-1227.

[75] Ibid., 1227-1230.

[76] Lü Pengzhi 呂鵬志, *Tangqian daojiao yishi shigang* 唐前道教儀式史綱 (Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2008), 130-142.

[77] Wang Chengwen 王承文, "Han Jin daojiao dingqi zhaijie yu fojiao busa zhidu guanxi lunkao 漢晉道教定期齋戒與佛教布薩制度關係論考," *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 中山大學學報, No. 1, vol. 57 (2017): 99-124; idem, "Cong zhaijie guifan lun gudai guojia jisi dui han jin daojiao de yingxiang 從齋戒規範論古代國家祭祀對漢晉道教的影響," *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 中山大學學報, No. 2, vol. 56 (2016): 77-102.

answer to the question of which influenced the other, but a complicated historical situation in which all of the factors that those scholars have discussed, such as Chinese indigenous sacrificial rites, early Daoist movements, and Buddhist traditions have all contributed to the formation of the "*zhai*" practice, which then served as the basic structure for the *pudu* rites in both Buddhism and Daoism.

The aforementioned two levels of meaning of "*zhai*" in the Water-Land ritual, as we will see below, are the bedrock of its two most important ritual programs: The food offering for hungry ghosts and the confession ritual. The integration of the two ritual programs within the soteriological scheme of the Water-Land Retreat has defined the nature of Buddhist "universal salvation." However, before turning to the discussion of the two ritual programs, let's briefly take a look at the doctrinal context of the liturgical tradition preserved in the FJSF manual.

3. The Doctrinal Context of the Water-Land Retreat

Throughout the FJSF manual, especially in the *gāthās* (*ji* 偈) and narrative statements, the term "non-discriminative offering" (*pingdeng gong* 平等供) is frequently mentioned. It usually appears in phrases such as "Today, we devotedly provide a non-discriminative offering" 此日虔興平等供;[78] "Today, we will perform a non-discriminative offering" 此日將修平等供;[79] and "dedicating a non-discriminative offering" 致平等供;[80] etc. So, what is this "non-discriminative

[78] FJSF 1, X.1479:74. 784c.

[79] Ibid., 785c.

[80] FJSF 2, X.1479:74. 798b.

offering"? What does it mean in the context of the Water-Land Retreat? To answer these questions, we should first take a look at the doctrinal context in which the FJSF manual was produced.

That the provenance of the FJSF manual is based on the Tiantai tradition is without controversy due to the fact that not only Zhipan, the alleged author/editor, was a Tiantai Buddhist monk, but also the names of several famous Tiantai masters, such as Zhiyi, the *de facto* founder of the Tiantai school, and Zhili, a zealous revivalist of the school, and their quotes are frequently cited throughout the text.[81] Tiantai was one of the major indigenous Buddhist traditions in China, and together with Chan 禪, they are regarded as the two most important Buddhist traditions during the Song dynasty. Previous scholarship on the Tiantai tradition has largely focused on its doctrinal development.[82] Yet, recently, a number of studies have looked at the social context of the Tiantai tradition, with a special focus on its interaction with non-Buddhist communities and its role in ritual practice.[83]

Zhiyi's primary teachings, namely, the perfectly integrated three truths (*yuanrong sandi* 圓融三諦), the three thousand worlds in an instant of thought (*yinian sanqian* 一念三千), and inherent evil (*xing'e* 性惡), established the foundations of Tiantai philosophy and practice. Later,

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[81] See my note 16.

[82] Paul L. Swanson, *Foundations of T'ien-T'ai Philosophy: The Flowering of the Two Truths Theory in Chinese Buddhism* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1989); Brook A. Ziporyn, *Emptiness and Omnipresence: An Essential Introduction to Tiantai Buddhism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016).

[83] Despite its origin in the sixth century, the Tiantai school was virtually recreated as an independent tradition in the Song by Zhili and Zunshi. The early Song Tiantai tradition had a variety of controversies over doctrine and ritual. While Zhili strove to define the orthodoxy for Tiantai from his standpoint of the Home Mountain (*shanjia* 山家) position, Zunshi spent effort codifying Tiantai's orthopraxy by distancing Buddhist rituals from the local cultic practice of making blood offerings. See, Chi-wah Chan, "Chih-li (960-1028) and the Crisis of T'ien-t'ai Buddhism in the Early Sung," in Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr., eds., *Buddhism in the Sung* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 409-441; Daniel B. Stevenson, "Protocols of Power: Tz'u-yün Tsun-shih (964-1032) and T'ien-t'ai Lay Buddhist Ritual," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, eds., Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr., (University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 340-408.

Zhili elaborated these teachings and his reinterpretation is reiterated in the salvific discourses of the FJSF ritual manual.

In his *Guan wuliangshoufo jingshu miaozong chao* 觀無量壽佛經疏妙宗鈔, Zhili's view of the ontological relation between mind and phenomena is best illustrated by his claim that "the mind is all phenomena and all phenomena are the mind" 即心是法，即法是心.[84] In other words, phenomena and mind are ontologically nondual. Similar syntactic structures of the type "X is Y and Y is X" is found throughout the FJSF manual as well. While empowering water with spells, the ritual master announces: "All spells are water and all water are spells. Essence and function are nondual" 全呪是水，全水是呪，體用不二.[85] While empowering food, he announces: "The mind creates food and all food are mind. It is because essence and function do not differ from each other" 是心作食，全食為心。以由體用不殊.[86] He further elaborates on the nonduality of mind and food in the following discourse:

> The offering of Dharma and the offering of food are nondual. What Vimalakīrti said about the equality in food offerings[87] means that all teachings are equal. That all teachings are equal means food offerings are also equal. As for this Mahayana Dharmic food, the essence is *dharmadhātu* [experiential realm]. The principle of *dharmadhātu* is the oneness of the threefold truth. The threefold truth applies equally to both food offerings and Dharma, and it has never been unequal.
> 法施食施無有二相。淨名所謂於食等者。諸法亦等。諸法等者。於食亦等。蓋此大乘法食。體是法界。法界之理。只一三諦。然則於食於法均是三諦。而此理未嘗不平等也。[88]

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[84] *Guan wuliangshou fo jingshu miaozong chao* 觀無量壽佛經疏妙宗鈔 1, T. 1751: 37.195b14.

[85] FJSF 1, X.1479:74. 787b.

[86] Ibid., 788c.

[87] *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* 維摩詰所說經 3, T. 475: 14. 552a6-553b8.

[88] FJSF 2, X.1479:74. 798a.

Here, the "oneness of the threefold truth" is in fact the intrinsic quality of the equality between food and mind. By emphasizing that the simultaneity of emptiness and provisionality of all phenomenal beings is designated as the truth of middle way, it not only suggests that the three truths, namely, emptiness (*kong* 空), provisional existence (*jia* 假), and the middle way (*zhong* 中),[89] are integrated, but further implies an elevated status of provisional truth to a level equal with ultimate truth and even with the middle way. Therefore, this gives equal weight to the ritual practices of food offerings and Dharma teachings because they are mutually contained.

Moreover, based on the second teaching of Zhiyi's which points out that each phenomenon and each individual being intrinsically includes all other phenomena and beings,[90] it is taught that all beings, no matter if they are sages or the mundane, share the nature of Buddhahood. This tenant, as found in the FJSF ritual manual, says "sentient beings and the buddha are the same" 生佛咸同;[91] "sages and regular people are of the same essence; delusion and enlightenment made their minds different" 聖凡體同。迷悟心異.[92] In that sense, the equally shared essence between a sagely being and a regular person is in fact the nature of the soteriological scheme of the Water-Land Retreat and serves as the theological basis for the "non-discriminative offering."

As we have seen from the discussion above, the Tiantai teachings have not only effected its role as the "perfect teaching" (*yuanjiao* 圓教) in its classificatory system of the Buddhist teachings (*panjiao* 判教), but has also substantially informed its ritual practices: the all-inclusive

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[89] Derived from a verse of Nāgârjuna: "All causally produced phenomena, I say, are empty; are but a provisional name, and indicate the middle-path" 眾因緣生法, 我說卽是無。亦爲是假名, 亦是中道義, *Madhyamaka-śāstra* 中論 4, T.1564: 30. 33b10.

[90] This teaching later came to be referred to as "nature inclusion" (*xingzhu* 性住), the basic tenet of the Home Mountain school (*Shanjia* 山家). See, Chi-wah Chan, "Chih-li (960-1028) and the Crisis of T'ien-t'ai Buddhism in the Early Sung."

[91] FJSF 2, X.1479:74. 797a.

[92] FJSF 1, X.1479:74. 788c.

vision of the Tiantai teachings, which saw all types of existence as imbued with Buddhahood, thus provided a solid ground for the salvific scheme of universal salvation. In the following discussion, we will see how this teaching taxonomy functions in the ritual of confession.

4. The Ritual of Confession and Precepts Bestowal

As we've seen earlier, one of the two levels of the meaning of "*zhai*" refers to the consecration of a space and period of religious solitude and sacredness in which divine power can be invoked. The consecration, however, is not only embedded in the construction and purification of a ritual arena but is further reflected in the ritual practice of confession (*chanhui* 懺悔). In other words, participants should become both physically and karmically clean. In fact, the ritual of confession is not only an important liturgical component of the "*zhai*" but it is in effect the foundation for all Buddhist liturgical performances.[93] The *Repentance of the Compassionate Altar* (*Cibei daochang chanfa* 慈悲道場懺法), also known as the *Litany of Emperor Liang* (*Lianghuang chan* 梁皇懺), compiled during the Tianjian period of the Liang dynasty (502-519), provided a standard model for later penitential rites. Moreover, pervading the Chinese Buddhist liturgical year, Buddhist repentance rituals not only establish a close connection with easing the sufferings of the deceased relatives, which is a dominant feature of Chinese Buddhism, but also constitute a major bond between the monastic elite and the laity.[94]

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[93] Based on Stevenson's taxonomy of Buddhist ritual as "self-cultivation" rites and "public services," we found rites of repentance prevailing in both categories. See, Daniel B. Stevenson, "Buddhist Ritual in the Song," in John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone, eds., *Modern Chinese Religion I: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960-1368 AD)*, vol. 1 (Brill, 2015), 328-448.

[94] David W. Chappell, "The Precious Scroll of the Liang Emperor: Buddhist and Daoist Repentance to Save the Dead," in *Going Forth: Visions of Buddhist Vinaya, essays presented in Honor of Professor Stanley Weinstein*, ed., William M. Bodiford (University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 40-67.

The ritual of confession in the Water-Land Retreat begins right after all figures in the Lower Hall aroused the vow to take refuge in the Three Treasures. However, since they've accumulated incalculable karma, they are not pure enough to receive the following service: precept bestowal. Thus, a ritual of confession becomes a preliminary necessity for achieving karmic purity as the ritual master loudly says:

> Since all of you, the various beings of the Six Paths, have taken refuge in the Three Treasures, you now become disciples of the Buddha. Therefore, you must further seek the bodhisattva precepts of the Great Vehicle and make it the constant foundation of accomplishing Buddhahood. However, since beginningless time, you all have gone through various paths and accumulated sinful karmas which have become obstacles [to accomplishing Buddhahood]. Today, I'm going to follow the teaching of the Great Vehicle and perform the method of confession for you all so that your body and mind will become bright and clean. Only after that can you receive the precepts.
> 汝等六道一切羣靈。已能歸依三寶。為佛弟子。當更進求菩薩大乘戒法。永為成佛之本。但以汝輩無始而來。經歷諸趣。罪業重積。能為遮障。今為汝輩依大乘門。行懺悔法。俾身心光潔。方堪納戒。[95]

Three levels of actions are implied in the statement above. The first is taking refuge in the Three Treasures. After that, one can be considered a preliminary "disciple of the Buddha." The second is repenting, which is preparation for the third action of receiving the bodhisattva precepts. Only after one successfully received the precepts would they increase their ability for achieving enlightenment. These are in effect the typical procedures of monastic ordination.[96]

The transgressions that are to be confessed are explicated based on a dichotomy of the assembly, namely, the sages and the commoners. As for the commoners, since they are bound to karmic law, their transgressions are the accumulative results of their own karma:

> All of you, the various beings of the six paths: if you practice any perverted disciplines of the five heinous crimes and ten unwholesome kinds of behavior, do

[95] FJSF 4, X.1479:74. 810a.

[96] John R. McRae, "Ordination," in Robert E. Buswell, ed., *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (Macmillan, 2004), 614-618.

evil in every thought, or get close to evil companions, these are the karmic causes of hell and you will receive the retribution [of being reborn into] hell where you will suffer from severe pain for eons without liberation. If you are deeply obsessed with the five desires, make money through unrighteous ways, benefit yourself by harming others, or are foolish and ignorant, these are the karmic causes of animals and you will receive the retribution [of being reborn into] the path of animals where you will harm each other without ceasing. If you are grudging and do not give alms, taking on mistaken views and being deceptive, breaking the time for meals and other monastic precepts, or do not believe in the law of cause and effect, these are the karmic causes of hungry ghosts and you will receive the retribution [of being reborn into] the path of hungry ghosts where you will become hungry and thirsty forever with no way to become satiated. If you mitigate cultivation by always wanting to surpass others, being prideful and insulting others, or are fond of argument, these are the karmic causes of Asuras and you will receive the retribution [of being reborn into] the path of Asuras where sufferings automatically comes to you three times a day. These beings should confess so as to eliminate karmic hindrance. If you fail to abide by the three mainstays and the five constant virtues nor uprightly hold the five precepts [of not killing, not stealing, no debauchery, no false speech, and no drinking], these are the karmic causes of humans and you will receive the retribution [of being reborn into] the path of humans where there are eight kinds of suffering and as you conduct more and more unwholesome acts you will fall into worse paths after death. Those who have committed the transgressions mentioned above should confess so as to eliminate karmic hindrances. As for those who practice the ten good ways or mundane meditative concentration, these are the karmic causes of heaven and you will receive the retribution [of being reborn into] the path of heaven where there are five decays. If you indulge in desires and pleasures without cultivating yourself, you will fall [into other paths] once your blessed rewards are exhausted. There are even celestial beings who fall directly from the upper realm into hell. All of you should confess so as to eliminate karmic hindrances.

汝輩六道羣靈。若造五逆十惡諸惡律儀。念念作惡。親近惡侶者。是為地獄業因。當得地獄趣報。受極重苦。曠劫莫脫。若有深著五欲。不義取財。利己枉人。癡獃無知者。是為畜生業因。當得畜生趣報。更相殘害。無能止息。若有慳貪不施。邪見諂曲。破齋犯戒。不信因果者。是為餓鬼業因。當得餓鬼趣報。常時饑渴。無緌一飽。若有薄修福業。常懷勝他。我慢陵人。多好爭訟。是為脩羅業因。當得脩羅趣報。一日三時。苦具自至。此輩應須懺悔。滅除業障。若失慎守綱常。堅持五戒。是為人業因。當得人趣報。然人中有八苦。而復多造種種不善。死墮惡道。如是等罪。應須懺悔。滅除業障。至於行十善道。修世禪定。是為天業因。當得天趣報。然天中有五衰。耽著欲樂而不修行。福盡還墮。甚有直從上界入地獄者。應須懺悔。滅除業障。[97]

[97] FJSF 4, X.1479:74. 810a-b.

In addition, those who obtain a temporary status (*zhongyin* 中陰) and wander beyond the six paths are also addressed since they are still bound to karmic law:

> Besides, there are those who come and go between the six paths in the intermediate forms, those who transmigrate according to their karma, and even those who encountered bad karma unexpectedly and thus did not live through their live spans and died unnaturally; there are even violent ghosts who, taking advantage of people's convenient occasion, requesting food offerings by means of arousing disasters or harming [people]. Beings like this should all confess so as to eliminate karmic hindrances.
> 此外更有六道往來。受中陰身。隨業遷轉者。更有值遇惡緣。不盡天年。遂至橫亡者。更有強暴之鬼。伺人之便。興禍求食。或復加害。如是等類。皆應共行懺悔。滅除業障。[98]

However, the most intriguing part of the confession is that not only those who belong to or wander beyond the six paths should confess, but sagely beings are supposed to confess too. The reason is explicated within the context of Tiantai's teaching taxonomy. According to Zhiyi, the teachings of the Buddha can be classified into four types based on the different capabilities of audiences, namely the Tripiṭaka or Hīnayāna Teaching 藏教, the Penetrating Teaching 通教, the Separated Teaching 別教, and the Perfect Teaching 圓教.[99] The audiences of these teachings, although they belong to the category of the saintly, are still distinctive in their capability to comprehend the Buddha's teachings and thus are distinguished in their ability to achieve enlightenment:

> Although the sages of the three vehicles (i.e., śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas, and bodhisattvas) who received the Tripiṭaka and the Penetrating Teachings differ in [their capacity to] analyze and experience phenomena and realize [the truth of] emptiness, and differ in skills of dwelling within and beyond the world, they all indistinctively remove the four entrenchments of affliction and realize pervasive emptiness. However, although they have been freed from views of nihilism and eternalism, they have not yet heard of [the teaching] of buddha-nature. Therefore,

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[98] FJSF 4, X.1479:74. 810b.

[99] *Tiantiao si jiaoyi* 天台四教儀, T. 1931: 46.

> they should confess so as to eliminate karmic hindrances. Although the recipients of the Separate Teaching are the best at the ten dedications of merits, they are still in the process of cultivation and have not yet realized [Buddhahood]. Although they have been through the ten stages [of the bodhisattva practice], they are still in process of realizing [Buddhahood] and have not yet avoided posterior impediments to the realization of perfect enlightenment. Since they have not yet gone beyond training, they should therefore confess so as to eliminate karmic hindrances. Even as those who have gone through the ten stages of the Perfect Teaching have achieved perfect enlightenment, their views of wisdom and the elimination of the Dharma-body have not yet been surpassed, just like the moon of the fourteenth night [of a month.] Therefore, they should confess so as to eliminate karmic hindrances.
> 藏通二教。三乘聖人。雖有析色體色入空之殊。界內界外巧拙之異。然同除四住。同證偏空。但離斷常中。未聞佛性中。是故應須懺悔。滅除業障。別教雖臻十向。尚修中。未能證中。雖歷十地。猶證中。未免後障。乃至等覺。尚或未得無學。是故應須懺悔。滅除業障。即如圓教十住。至於等覺。法身智斷猶未究盡。喻同十四夜月。是故亦須懺悔。滅除業障。[100]

Therefore, except for the Buddha, all those in the assembly of sages and commoners are required to confess since they are more or less deficient in attaining enlightenment. This sounds counter-intuitive since the dichotomy between sages and ordinary people usually follows a model of "the savior-and-the saved" in which sages or the enlightened, such as bodhisattvas and celestial deities, are supposed to be superior than ordinary people, or the unenlightened. Yet, in this ritual of confession, all the sagely, except the Buddha, are treated equally as the mundane in terms of the need of clearing obstacles for attaining perfect enlightenment:

> From the infernal karma to the perfect enlightenment of the Perfect Teaching, every position has the three impediments [the impediments of affliction, of past actions, and of painful retribution]. The head count of afflicted karma and retribution of suffering does not differ between the saintly and the ordinary. Therefore, according to the *Wushi jiaoji jing*,[101] everyone up to those [who have attained] perfect enlightenment shall confess. This is exactly what it means. The only one who has eliminated the two kinds of death [fragmentary death and miraculous death] and

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[100] FJSF 4, X.1479:74. 810b.

[101] Abbreviation of *Foshuo mingdu wushi jiaoji jing* 佛說明度五十校計經, in *Qianlong da zing jing* 乾隆大藏經, fasc., 434 (Toowoomba, Australia: Jingzong xueyuan, 2003). The main content of this scripture is about Buddha explaining to bodhisattvas why they couldn't reach Buddhahood. The implication is that Buddha is the only one who has achieved true enlightenment.

> the three basic afflictions is the Buddha. The rest of the saintly beings should still confess, let alone [the beings of] the six paths.
> 從無間業。上至圓教等覺。位位皆有三障煩惱。頭數結業流類苦報等差。該互凡聖。故五十校計經云。齊至等覺。皆令懺悔。正此義也。夫二死已亡。三惑永斷。唯佛一人。自餘聖賢。尚須懺悔。況六道乎。[102]

After the confession is completed, the ordinary, now purified "children of the Buddha," proceed to receive the precepts. The precepts they are bestowed include the ten principal precepts (*shi zhongjie* 十重戒) which are also known as the bodhisattva precepts, namely, the prohibition of killing (*shajie* 殺戒), the prohibition of stealing (*daojie* 盜戒), the prohibition of the pursuit of lust (*yinjie* 婬戒), the prohibition of intentional lying (*wangyu jie* 妄語戒), the prohibition of selling alcohol (*gujiu jie* 酤酒戒), the prohibition of speaking of the faults of the four Buddhist groups (*shuo sizhongguo jie* 說四眾過戒), the prohibition of praising oneself and disparaging others (*zizan huita jie* 自讚毀他戒), the prohibition of stinginess and abuse of others (*qianlin jiahui jie* 慳吝加毀戒), the prohibition of holding resentment and not accepting apologies (*chenxin bushouhui jie* 瞋心不受悔戒), and the prohibition of the denigration of the Three Treasures (*bang sanbao jie* 謗三寶戒). According to the *Sūtra* of *Brahmā's Net* (*Fanwang jing* 梵網經), an apocryphal scripture compiled in the mid-fifth century, where the ten principal precepts were first explicated, these precepts are the "adamantine jewel precepts" (*Jingang baojie* 金剛寶戒)[103] which is the "origin of all buddhas and all bodhisattvas" 一切佛本源, 一切菩薩本源.[104] It is the

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[102] FJSF 4, X.1479:74. 810b-c.

[103] *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*, 梵網經 2, T. 1484: 24. 1003c8.

[104] Ibid.

"seed of buddha-nature" 佛性種子[105] and "all sentient beings have it" 一切眾生皆有佛性.[106] Moreover, "all consciousness, form and mind are contained within the buddha-nature precepts"一切意識、色心、是情是心，皆入佛性戒中.[107] As the Buddhist master Yanshou 延壽 (904-975) once said:

> The bodhisattva precepts set up the land of thousands of sages and produce the foundation of millions of goodness. They open the nectar gate and [let one] enter the path of bodhi [enlightenment].
> 夫菩薩戒者。建千聖之地。生萬善之基。開甘露門。入菩提路。[108]

Therefore, the reception and the cultivation of the bodhisattva precepts is regarded as the basic prerequisite for all other activities that would lead one to Buddhahood.

Earlier studies of Tiantai Buddhism have demonstrated the effort taken by Zunshi to evangelize local cults by replacing their blood offering with moral retribution and Buddhist devotion and merit-making.[109] Yet, according to Getz's study of Pure Land's influence on ordination practices on Mt. Tiantai, long before Zunshi's liturgical reform, the Tiantai tradition had already developed proper ritual expressions to address the needs and concerns of a lay audience. The liturgical transformation was found in a series of ordination rites during the period from the end of the Tang to the early Song. The conferral and practice of the bodhisattva precepts, which had long been the province of monastic communities, was expanded to include a number of new elements, such as litanies of popular religious deities, prayers for the mundane welfare of society, and an increased emphasis on Pure Land devotion that offered large numbers of lay

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[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

[108] *Shou pusa jie fa* 受菩薩戒法, X.1088:59. 365b09.

[109] Stevenson, "Protocols of Power: Tz'u-yün Tsun-shih (964-1032) and T'ien-t'ai Lay Buddhist Ritual," 340-408.

persons and monks alike a readily accessible path to liberation.[110] This change marks an effort on the part of monastic Buddhism to engage laity from all social strata.

It is important to pause here and take note of the fact that among all the ritual programs of the Water-Land Retreat, the confession of transgressions and the conferral of bodhisattva precepts stand not just as two among many disparate ritual actions but rather function as a set that underlies and orients the rest. It indeed provides the basic logic for the whole Water-Land Retreat service: universal salvation functions within the basic conceptual and symbolic infrastructures of Buddhist conversion scheme.

5. The Ritual of Offering Food

As we saw in the origin legend of the Water-Land Retreat, the whole liturgy is primarily based on an array of sūtras, among which the *Dhāraṇī Sūtra on Saving the Burning-Mouth Hungry Ghosts* is the most important. That sūtra tells the story about how Ananda was visited by a hungry ghost named "burning-mouth" (*mianran* 面然). The hungry ghost told Ananda that three days later he will be reborn into the path of hungry ghosts. Frightened, Ananda asked the hungry ghost for a solution and was told that:

> If, in the morning, you offer the incalculable hungry ghosts as well as brāhmans and seers (*ṛṣi*), using the Magadha measure,[111] each with a peck of food, and make offerings to the Three Treasures for us, you will increase your lifespan and let us be free from the suffering of hungry ghosts and be reborn into the heavenly realm.

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[110] Daniel A. Getz, "Popular religion and Pure Land in Ordinations," in William M. Bodiford, ed., *Going Forth: Visions of Buddhist Vinaya, essays presented in Honor of Professor Stanley Weinstein* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 161-184.

[111] Magadha is one of the sixteen larger countries in the Buddha's time, located in central India. Many discourses of the Buddha took place in its capital, Rājagṛha 王舍城. At the moment of Buddha's nirvana, Cunda 純陀, a lay disciple of the Śākyamuni Buddha offered him the last meal, which was the rice produced in Magadha, measured in eight *hu* and four *dou*. See, *Niepan jing* 涅槃經 10, T. 374: 12. 424a12: "爾時純陀所持粳糧成熟之食，摩伽陀國滿足八斛，以佛神力，皆悉充足一切大會。"

汝於晨朝，若能布施百千那由他恒河沙數餓鬼，并百千婆羅門及仙人等，以摩伽陀國斗，各施一斗飲食，并及為我供養三寶，汝得增壽，令我離於餓鬼之苦、得生天上。[112]

Upon hearing this, Ananda went to seek advice from the Buddha who told him to recite a *dhāraṇī* called the "Omnipotent Power of All Virtuous Illumination" 一切德光無量威力. This *dhāraṇī*, according to the Buddha, will immediately grant food to all hungry ghosts as well as all brāhmans and *ṛṣi* (*xian* 仙).[113]

A similar story is found in the *Dhāraṇī Sūtra on Saving the Flaming-Mouth Hungry Ghosts* translated by Amoghavajra (705-774). One of the major differences is that the *dhāraṇī* mentioned in this version is called the "Marvelous Potent Dhāraṇī of Imminent Mighty Power and Omnipotent Radiance" 無量威德自在光明勝妙力.[114] Moreover, in this version, the recitation of the four epithets of the Buddha, namely, Prabhūtaratna-Tathāgata 多寶如來,[115] Surūpakāya-Tathāgata 妙色身如來,[116] Vipulakāya-Tathāgata 廣博身如來,[117] and Abhayaṃkara-Tathāgata 離怖畏如來,[118] is added. These four epithets of the Buddha are exactly the titles that are recited in the FJSF manual, in the ritual program of food offerings.[119]

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[112] *Dhāraṇī Sutra for Saving the Burning-Mouth Hungry Ghost* 佛說救面然餓鬼陀羅尼神呪經, T.1314: 21. 465c11-c20.

[113] Ibid., 466a14.

[114] *Dhāraṇī Sutra on Saving the Flaming-Mouth Hungry Ghosts* 佛說救拔焰口餓鬼陀羅尼經, T.1313: 21. 464c24.

[115] Ibid., 465a14.

[116] Ibid., 465a18.

[117] Ibid. 465a22.

[118] Ibid. 465a26.

[119] FJSF 5, X. 1497:74. 814b. Some scholar regards the *Dhāraṇī Sutra on Saving the Flaming-Mouth Hungry Ghosts* as the provenance of the Water-Land ritual. See, Matsumoto Koichi 松本浩一, "Fojiao shi egui he daojiao pudu"佛教施餓鬼和道教普度, *Bijiao shiye zhong de daojiao yishi* 比較視野中的道教儀式, Conference paper (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2015), 434.

In Zongxiao's 宗曉 (1151-1214) *Comprehensive Collection of Food Giving [Texts]* (*Shishi tonglan* 施食通覽), we find a number of texts on the Water-Land Retreat liturgy. The inclusion of the Water-Land Retreat liturgy in a collection on the topic of food giving strongly indicates the centrality of the practice of food giving in the Water-Land Retreat. According to the FJSF manual, the ritual of giving food directly follows the ritual of confession and precepts bestowal as an equivalent service of Dharma teaching for the beings of the six paths:

> At this moment, all [of you] have confessed your karmic causes and further seek to transcend the mundane world. It should be understood that this is the proper time for you to take refuge in the Three Treasures, to conduct confession, to arouse the thought of enlightenment, and to make the four great vows of the bodhisattvahood. You are shown the three sets of pure precepts and revealed the marvelous essence of the three virtues. [You have become] clear and understood [the Dharma] thoroughly and have no more aggregates. And at this time the benefits of the Dharma food are added [to you.] The attainment of both the Dharma and the food is beneficial. This is like a saying of Tiantai [philosophy]: take healing with suffused medicine for example, as the medicine enters human body via intense fire, it cures the illnesses and recovers [the body]. Similarly, the Dharma enters bodies via food. Regardless of whether far or near, it will eventually destroy all delusion.
> 即於此時。咸悔業因。進求出世。當知適為汝輩歸依三寶。奉行懺悔。發菩提心。立四弘誓。示之以三聚淨戒。顯之以三德妙體。明白洞達。更無餘蘊。而又於此時加之以法食之益。是法是食。俱得為利。則如天台之言曰。譬如熏藥。藥隨火勢。入人身中。患除方復。法隨食入。亦復如是。或近或遠。終破無明。[120]

In other words, the food and the Dharma work as a pair in the metaphorical scheme of "principle" and "phenomena." The food is given through the recitation of a specific *dhāraṇī*, the name of which has already be given in the *Sūtra on Saving the Burning-Mouth Hungry Ghosts* but with a slight change in the FJSF: "Marvelous Potent Dhāraṇī of Imminent Mighty Power and Omnipotent Radiance" 無量威德自在光明勝妙力陀羅尼. According to the FJSF manual, the

[120] FJSF 5, X.1497:74. 814a.

dhāraṇī equals the *dharmāhāra* (i.e., dharmic diet)[121] which is the total retention 總持 of all dharmas, the principle of which is the three virtues 三德, namely the Dharma-body 法身, wisdom 般若, and liberation 解脫.[122] Therefore, food giving and Dharma teachings are indispensable to each other in the soteriological program. At the end of the fifth fascicle, a paragraph in smaller characters comments:

> The ritual master should know that every offering received belongs to the giving of goods while reciting the [sūtras of] Great Vehicle belongs to the giving of Dharma. Goods are used to nourish life and assist meritorious activities; Dharma is used to uncover the nature and is the perfection of wisdom. The two forms of giving are practiced together: this is called the way of universal salvation.
> 法師當知前來所奉一一供事。並是財施。今誦大乘。乃是法施。財以養命。惟資福業。法以開性。是為智度。二施並運。方名博濟之道。[123]

6. The Practice of Paperwork: A Bureaucratic Perspective

Throughout the whole liturgical performance, the resonance of Daoist influence on the Buddhist Water-Land Retreat can be detected by the extensive use of paperwork. During the preparatory ritual, the ritual master first summons the four emissaries who hold the talismans (*chifu shizhe* 持符使者), namely, the emissary of the heavens of the four quarters (*sitian* 四天), the emissary of heavenly practice (*kongxing* 空行), the emissary of earthly practice (*dixing* 地行), and the emissary of the subterranean bureau (*difu* 地府). And then he states:

> [I hereby] present memorials to the King of the Brahman Heaven and report documents of conditions to the Sovereign Śakra; [I hereby send] talismans to the subterranean bureau governed by the [lord of] Mt. Tai and inform all the deities

[121] Ibid., 813c: "陀羅尼即法食."

[122] Ibid., 813b.

[123] Ibid., 819a.

within the territory of City God. All, by means of embodying the supreme compassion, shall carry out the general amnesty immediately.
具奏牘以進梵王。錄情文而于帝釋 。符地府泰山之所主。關城隍土境之諸神。咸仰體於至慈。即奉行於大赦。[124]

This statement reveals a construction of a divine bureaucracy made of both Indian and Chinese deities. The Sovereign Śakra (*Dishi* 帝釋) is the king of heaven and the mighty lord of devas. He is one of the two tutelary gods of Buddhism. According to the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經), at the time of teaching precepts on the fifteenth day of a lunar month, the four deva kings who protect the four quarters of the universe will descend from heaven and inquire into the moral state of the secular world.[125] They then report the result to the Sovereign Śakra. The lord of Mt. Tai and City God are indigenous Chinese deities. The former is in charge of the other world and the latter is considered to be the head of the local sacred community. The blend of Indian and Chines deities constitutes an interesting bureaucracy in which deities of different origins work together to carry out an imperial legal act: great amnesty. General amnesty is a Chinese legal tradition that began in the Han dynasty and was rekindled in the Tang and Song.[126] However, as we will see in the later discussion, the Daoist salvation liturgy has a stronger legal sense. The general amnesty here simply means releasing those who are imprisoned underground.

In addition to the blended bureaucracy, a variety of written documents are widely used throughout the performance, such as petition books (*qingshu* 請書), memorials (*zouzhuang* 奏狀),

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[124] FJSF 1, X.1497:74. 789a.

[125] *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經, T.125: 2. 625a7: "十五日說戒之時，四天王躬自來下，案行天下，伺察人民。"

[126] Brian E. McKnight, *The Quality of Mercy: Amnesties and Traditional Chinese Justice* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1981).

talismanic certificates (*fudie* 符牒), and passports (*guandie* 關牒).[127] The reason for using such an abundance of paperwork is because both heaven and the underground are under the administration of different bureaus:

> The different places in the Buddhist world and celestial palaces are governed by different bureaus; the separate paths of the human realm and the subterranean bureau are responsible for their own duties…. All wills are written on talismans and documents.
> 佛國天宮之異處。各謹攸司。人寰地府之殊途。分當其任。……所有意旨。具在符文。[128]

This betrays a typical characteristic of traditional Chinese bureaucracy, the entire operation of which is built upon paperwork. Even the salvific effect of the whole liturgy depends on the efficiency of the bureaucratic paperwork:

> Where lies exactly the efficacy of universal salvation? It is in the [following procedures that] we, at the beginning, send emissaries to present documents to and invite the four positions of sages of the Upper Hall as well as all the devas to come to the ritual and enjoy the modest offerings. And then, we pass documents to invite all the sentient beings of the six paths to the Lower Hall, as well as the true lords who come to the offering and the deceased members of the ritual patron's family. They all come to the Dharma Assembly this evening. Yet, because we are concerned that the prisoners in the subterranean bureau cannot act at their convenience, we send out a special memorial which bears the sincere wish of the patrons to the King of the Brahman Heaven to request a general amnesty. Besides, we send memorials to the Sovereign Śakra who summons the four heavenly kings and dispatches divine troops, together with emissaries, to report on all sentient beings of the six paths. Meanwhile, written orders have already been sent to the subterranean bureau of Mt. Tai and all temples under the City God's jurisdictions to ask for their assistance for the commanders who hold celestial documents of pardon.
> 普度之功。其實何在。是以我輩已於先時敬憑使者修書通請上堂四聖。及以諸天。已荷光臨。亨茲微供。仍別委使者。通書致請下堂六道一切羣靈。及隨筵真宰。受薦先亡。冀在今宵。來趨法會。然恐地府幽囚。未能自便。於是備錄施家拳拳之意。專發奏章。上達梵王。乞行大赦。仍備奏帝釋。號召

[127] FJSF 1, X.1497:74. 787c.

[128] Ibid., 789a.

四大天王。分遣天將。同所委使者。徧報六道會內一切羣生。仍已移文地府泰山城隍當境諸廟。請各伺候天庭赦文指揮。[129]

Upon the request of the ritual documents, those who are imprisoned underground are allowed to come to the ritual assembly to receive offerings and listen to the Buddhist teaching. After that, they will leave the dark destinies forever and be reborn into the Pure Land.[130]

By virtue of the extensive use of paperwork within a bureaucratic system made of hybrid divine officials, the efficacy of the Water-Land Retreat is strengthened in a very "Chinese" way. It might be possible to speculate that due to active Daoist movements on Mt. Tiantai, the editor of the FJSF manual would have been familiar with at least some Daoist ritual practices by virtue of living in close proximity to Daoists on the mountain. But it seems more plausible that ever since their arrival in China, Buddhists had already deftly tailored their soteriological rituals to the Chinese context, which included a deeply bureaucratic structure.

Concluding Remarks

As we can see from the discussions above, there are multiple factors at play in the Water-Land ritual tradition preserved in the FJSF manual. Confession, precepts, food, and dharma teachings—all basic ritual elements in Buddhism—are incorporated and reassembled to function within a soteriological system that is predominantly modeled on the Buddhist path for achieving

[129] FJSF 2, X.1497:74. 798b.

[130] Ibid., 798c.

enlightenment. In other words, the universal salvific power of the Water-Land Retreat is realized through its promise of arousing enlightenment in all sentient beings, the prerequisite of which is taking up the practice of Buddhism.

In addition, the ubiquitously embedded Tiantai philosophy and teaching taxonomy in the FJSF ritual manual indicate an attempt by Tiantai Buddhists to assert their own orthopraxy in the Water-Land Retreat. Included in this orthopraxy is a sense of superiority of Tiantai orthodoxy over all other Buddhist teachings and practices.

Yet, no matter how "Tiantai" the Water-Land Retreat is, it could not escape from the influence of indigenous Chinese culture. In one form or another, the use of paperwork and bureaucratic features had already become an essential part of all classical Chinese ritual Buddhists were obliged to conform to that model. That the ritual master reports to a blended divine bureaucracy of Indian and Chinese gods via a variety of written memorials and documents in the Water-Land Retreat attests to this development.

Taken together, the Water-Land ritual tradition preserved in the FJSF manual illustrates a salvific scheme of universal salvation achieved within a Buddhist path of cultivation, whose concerns and practices are aimed at advancement in the spiritual enlightenment of sentient beings, while they also reflect the adaptation of indigenous Chinese practices into a Buddhist milieu. Despite the presence of various religious elements in the ritual, Tiantai orthopraxy and the conversion paradigm serve as the critical infrastructure of the whole liturgy. As we will see in the next two chapters, another ritual manual for the Water-Land Retreat, namely the *Tiandi mingyang shuilu yiwen* 天地冥陽水陸儀文 (TDMY), manifests religious hybridity to a much higher degree and reveals an even more complicated ritual logic.

CHAPTER 2

The Secret Path of Salvation: Esoteric Buddhism and the Making of the Buddhist Universal Salvation Ritual in the *Tiandi mingyang shuilu yiwen* 天地冥陽水陸儀文

"By means of the secret empowerment"
「憑秘密之總持」[1]

Introduction

Zhixu 智旭 (1599-1655), a Buddhist master of the Ming dynasty, once wrote a "Memorial Statement on the Great Retreat of Water-and-Land" (*Shuilu dazhai shu* 水陸大齋疏) in which he said:

> Probably after Zhipan made revisions, [the new ritual manual] was practiced in the Siming region and was widely known as the "Southern Shuilu." The old liturgy of the Jinshan [Temple] had been preserved by conventional truths since the Song and Yuan. Miscellaneous practices were added, and it was used to provide bustling activities for secular male and female bystanders. It was known as the "Northern Shuilu."
> 蓋由磐公較定后，行與四明，世稱南水陸。而金山舊儀，被宋元以來世諦住持，附會添雜，但事熱鬧，用供流俗仕女耳目，世稱為北水陸也。[2]

[1] TDMY, fasc. 1, 3a.

[2] Shi Zhixu 釋智旭, "Lingfeng zonglun" 靈峰宗論, *Ouyi dashi quanji* 藕益大師全集, vol. 18 (Taibei: Fojiao shuju, 1989), 11383.

Here the "Southern Shuilu" refers to the liturgical tradition represented by Zhipan 志磐 (ca. 1220-1275) and Zhuhong's 株宏 (1535-1615) *Fajie shengfan shuilu shenghui xiuzhai yigui* 法界圣凡水陸勝會修齋儀軌, which was discussed in Chapter one. But what does the "Northern Shuilu" refer to? Zhixu didn't specify any particular ritual manuals, but only indicated that it should have inherited the old liturgical tradition of the Jinshan Temple, which was the very first Water-Land Retreat liturgy that was said to have been codified by Emperor Wu of the Liang after three years of efforts.[3] While no liturgy has been directly identified as the old liturgy of the Jinshan Temple, a ritual manual called *Tiandi mingyang shuilu yiwen* 天地冥陽水陸儀文 (TDMY) seems to provide clues about this "Northern Shuilu" liturgy. Although the ritual manual compiled by Zhipan and Zhuhong included in the Buddhist canon remains the focus of most previous research,[4] further research has identified numerous records in Sichuan,[5] Yunnan,[6] and Dunhuang,[7] which demonstrates that the Water-Land Retreat was also performed with local variations. The TDMY manual is believed to have preserved the regional tradition of the Water-Land Retreat that was once practiced in Northern China.[8] According to several studies, the extant recension of the TDMY manual seems to have been compiled in Shanxi province 山西 during the early decades of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) by a Buddhist monk named Yijin 義金 (act. ca. 1368-1424), who most

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[3] The legendary origin of the Water-Land Ritual attributes the creation of the ritual to Emperor Wu of the Liang, who performed the ritual for the very first time at the Jinshan Temple. See, SSTL, X.961:57. 114b.

[4] Daniel Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land," in Marsha Weidner, ed., *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

[5] Philip Bloom, "Descent of the Deities: The Water-Land Retreat and the Transformation of the Visual Culture of Song-Dynasty (960-1279) Buddhism" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2013).

[6] Hou Chong 侯沖, *Yunnan Azhali jiao jingdian yanjiu* 雲南阿吒力教經典研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shuji chubanshe, 2008).

[7] Xie Shengbao 謝生保 and Xie Jing 謝靜, "Dunhuang wenxian yu Shuilu fahui: Dunhuang Tang Wudai shiqi Shuilu fahui yanjiu" 敦煌文獻與水陸法會: 敦煌唐五代時期水陸法會研究. *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 96 (2006): 40-48.

[8] Dai Xiaoyun 戴曉雲, *Fojiao shuiluhua yanjiu* 佛教水陸畫研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2009).

likely based his manual on an earlier text that postdated the Northern Song dynasty and found great popularity under the Jurchen Jin (1115-1234).[9] The most obvious clue that indicates the kinship between the TDMY manual and the "old liturgy of the Jinshan Temple" is a statement in the TDMY ritual manual which says:

> Śākyamuni Buddha and his disciples transmitted teachings by practicing esoteric empowerment, [hereby] summoning the saints and the mundane beings of heaven and earth, this and other worlds, in water and on land. The monk of ritual service, so-and-so, humbly learned that the original intention of the Jinshan [liturgy] conforms to the primary foundation [of Buddhism] from the very beginning. Whoever practices the liturgy of marvelous enlightenment suddenly feels the revelation [of the Buddha] between the lines. It may be called the unimpeded supreme compassion and the superb good cause. It is the marvelous gate of all actions and the beneficence of all sentient beings. It is the cause of leaving the six paths and the basis for saving the beings of the four kinds of birth. [It makes one] suddenly transcend the path of enlightenment without being lost.
> 釋迦如來，遺教弟子，奉行秘密加持，召請天地冥陽水陸聖凡。法事沙門某，伏聞金山本意，始合元基。凡修妙覺之儀章，頓感顯明於言下。可謂無礙上善，最勝良因。為眾行之妙門，作群機之利益。出離六道之由，拔濟四生之本。頓超覺路，不入迷津。[10]

Unlike Zhipan and Zhuhong's version, which is basically a liturgical elaboration of Tiantai doctrines, the TDMY manual shows a highly synthetic feature that tightly integrates a variety of non-Buddhist religious traditions, such as Daoism, Confucianism, and local cults, into its Buddhist soteriological program. The entire ritual manual is full of visionary implications and literary connotations. Most noticeably of all, throughout the manual, elements of Esoteric Buddhism are everywhere. Esoteric Buddhist deities are invoked and various "esoteric words" (*miyu* 密語) are employed in nearly every ritual section. Furthermore, in the volume on "altars and diagrams"

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[9] Hou Chong, "Hongji zhi fanyi: Zongze 'Shuilu yi' kao" 洪濟之梵儀: 宗賾《水陸儀》考, in Huang Xianian 黃夏年, ed., *Liao-Jin-Yuan fojiao yanjiu shang* 遼金元佛教研究上 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2012), 390-391.

[10] TDMY, fasc. 1, 21b-22a.

(*tantu shi* 壇圖式), we find maṇḍala-like layouts of different altars for the Water-Land Retreat. The abundance of Esoteric Buddhist elements in the TDMY has thus aroused scholarly interest and raised questions about what role Esoteric Buddhism may have played in making the Water-Land Retreat and how the Esoteric elements were integrated and worked together with other religious elements that were originally separate in achieving the salvific goal of universal salvation.

Currently, there are six different extant copies of the extant TDMY manual. According to Dai Xiaoyun's research, the copy now preserved at the Princeton University library is the most complete, including three fascicles of the main liturgy, two fascicles of assorted ritual documents (*zawen* 雜文), and one fascicle of altar images and diagrams (*tan tushi* 壇圖式).[11] All copies share an urtext which no longer exists. In addition to those six copies, another copy preserved in Yoshitoyo Yoshioka's 吉岡義豐 (1916-1979) private collection also bears the title *Tiandi mingyang shuilu yiwen* 天地冥陽水陸儀文, yet according to the published table of contents, its length extends to eight fascicles of the main liturgy, three fascicles of assorted ritual documents, and one fascicle of altar images and graphs.[12] This copy was dated in the Gengzi 庚子 year (1480) of the Chenghua 成化 reign (1465-1487) and includes a preface by a Buddhist monk named Jiexiu 戒秀 (d. unknown) from the Jinshan Temple. It is said to be based on the Water-Land Retreat liturgy of the Jinshan Temple,[13] further confirming the transmission of the "old liturgy of Jinshan" in the Water-Land liturgical tradition preserved in the TDMY manuals.

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[11] Dai Xiaoyun, *Tiandi mingyang shuilu yiwen jiaodian* 天地冥陽水陸儀文校點 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2014).

[12] Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豐, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 道教と佛教, vol. 1 (Tōkyō: Nihon gakujutsu shinkōkai, 1959), 406-408.

[13] Ibid., 406.

Moreover, there are three other Water-Land ritual manuals, one in Japan and two in Korea, that bear variant titles of the TDMY manual but the contents of which show a genetic relationship with the TDMY liturgical tradition. The Japanese edition is entitled *Foshuo yankou jing tiandi mingyang shuilu yiwen* 佛說焰口經天地冥陽水陸儀文. This is in fact a fragment that only preserves one fascicle of the manual, namely the "last fascicle" (*juanxia* 卷下), which is now kept in the Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun KagakuKenkyūjo 京都大学人文科学研究所. It is attributed to a Buddhist monk called Zaikui 仔夔 (d. unknown) from Taiyuan 太原 (in modern Shanxi 山西 province). That fragmentary text starts from chapter sixty-five, which includes the invoking of the Ten Kings and the invitation of the assembly of the Dark Bureau. At the end of this text there are two postscripts, one penned by the highest governor of the imperial academy (*Da sicheng* 大司成) called Jichang 吉昌 (d. unknown) in the third year (1401) of the Jianwen 建文 era (1399-1403) and the other penned by a layman called Wu Juren 吳居仁 (d. unknown) in the Yihai 乙亥 year (1299) of the Dade 大德 reign (1297-1307). These two texts in fact relate a lot about the transmission of the TDMY liturgy.

Jichang's postscript notes that after Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398) established the Ming dynasty, he ordered the Water-Land Retreat to be performed nationwide every spring and winter. He also ordered the ritual manual originally composed by Yang Dazhong 楊大中[14] to be reprinted so as to promote the ritual.[15] Wu Juren's postscript, almost one century earlier, clearly provides a chronological order of the transmission of this ritual manual:

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[14] Should be Yang E 楊鍔 (fl. 1034). See, Hou Chong, "Yang E 'Shuilu yi' kao" 楊鍔 "水陸儀" 考, *Xin shiji zongjiao yanjiu* 新世紀宗教研究 9 (2010): 1-34.

[15] YKSL, 77b.

> … The Immortal Po [i.e., Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101)] and other revered celebrities also kept different liturgical traditions [of the Water-Land ritual]. Besides, the scholar Yang in the Shu region, in order to repay his mother, edited a great exemplar [of the ritual] during earlier times, while the Master [Zai]kui, based on the original edition, carried on the heritage in later generations. … Today, our [Master] Xuetang gives forth a mind of compassion and kindness. Having entered the Buddhist priesthood in his youth, [the Master] traveled extensively. He first got a manuscript [of the ritual] in Taiyuan and later obtained a rare edition from the Jiangzhe region. In order to promulgate this mind, he made this woodblock for everyone.
> ……坡仙名公等亦各有儀。況蜀揚士報母，筆削高範於前；夔師依本，續遺風於後。……今遇 雪堂總統瑮慈惠善心，自幼披度，遍覽諸方，得寫本太原，後又得善本江浙。欲廣此心，鏤板以施天下。[16]

In addition to its open praise of the Buddhist Master Xuetang, this postscript also outlines the transmission of the ritual manual from Yang E in Sichuan to Zaikui in Shanxi, and then to Xuetang and Wu Juren in Kaifeng. It also indicates that the Water-Land ritual tradition had already developed regional variations back in the Song dynasty in Su Shi's day.

The other two manuals are found in Korea. The one entitled *Tiandi mingyang shuilu zawen* 天地冥陽水陸雜文 contains only the assorted ritual documents and a few altar diagrams.[17] Its preface exactly duplicates the one in the TDMY manual kept at the Princeton University library, but it is followed by a paragraph not found in the Princeton version. This paragraph was written by the Buddhist master Xuetang and it aims to explain and emphasize the efficacy of five ritual entities: the first one is called the Subterranean Bureau's Dossier of Merits (*Difu gongde an* 地府功德案). When the divine emissaries arrive at the Dark Bureau, they should reverently present a certificate to the principal deity, who will immediately open and examine the record of crimes and

[16] Ibid., 79a-b.

[17] Tiandi mingyang shuilu zawen 天地冥陽水陸雜文, in Pak Se-min 朴世敏, ed., *Han'guk Pulgyo ŭirye charyo ch'ongsŏ* 韓國佛教儀禮資料叢書, vol. 1 (Sŏul T'ŭkpyŏlsi: Pogŭpch'ŏ Yŏkkyŏngwŏn Saŏppu, 1993), 502.1a.

transgressions.[18] The second one is the Five Precepts (*sangui wujie* 三歸五戒), the reception of which will free subterranean prisoners and heal patients. If one did not receive the precepts, he/she would not be reborn into human's path.[19] The third one is the Sacred Titles of the Five Buddhas (*wufo shenghao* 五佛聖號), the recitation of which can save people from afflictions, remove their craving and aversion, let them forget ugliness, feed them with sufficient food, and free them from fear.[20] The fourth one is the image of the Great Bodhisattva that Guides [One on] the Path (*Yinlu wang pusa* 引路王菩薩), who will lead the souls to the Pure Land of the West.[21] The last one is the Banner of the *Dhāraṇī* of the Jubilant Corona (*Zunsheng jingchuang* 尊勝經幢), the recitation of which will allow all the dead to transcend the path of retribution and realize enlightenment.[22] The last one, according to the Master Xuetang, was highly valued by Daoists as well.[23] These five things are so important that, as Master Xuetang said: "Whenever there is a Water-Land ritual, if one is without these documents they have no proof to ascend to heaven and become a buddha"凡遇水陸會者，若無此戒牒，生天成佛以無憑驗.[24]

Moreover, the postscript for this text is almost the same as the one in the Japanese edition but with additions of a few sentences indicating the time and purpose of its production:

> The ritual manual of the Water-Land liturgy has multiple variants. There are Zikui's, Zhipan's, Zhongli's, and Jieshou's [versions]. They each have their own woodblock prints but the only thing they don't preserve is the models for the ritual statements and placards. It was in the Jiashen year [1464] that our Great Sejo searched [models] in China and produced dozens of typeset printed versions.

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[18] Ibid., 502, 2a.

[19] Ibid., 501, 2a.

[20] Ibid., 502, 2a.

[21] Ibid., 502, 2a.

[22] Ibid., 502, 2b.

[23] Ibid., 502, 2b.

[24] Ibid., 502, 2b.

> 水陸儀文廣略非一焉，曰仔夔，曰志磐，曰中禮，曰結手。皆有板本，而獨排備疏榜未有。歲甲申我世祖大王求諸中國，以鑄字印出數十件頒施。[25]

The other Korean copy, entitled *Shuilu wuzhe pingdeng zhaiyi zuoyao* 水陸無遮平等齋儀撮要, is basically a condensed version of the TDMY liturgy.[26] What is unique about this version is that it has kept most of the incantations and added diagrams of *mudrā* for every *mantra*. It seems to be a guidebook of spells that supplements a regular ritual manual, or it may be used as a concise edition for a very short Water-Land Retreat performance.

However, all the aforementioned ritual manuals of the Water-Land Retreat should be considered as belonging to the same liturgical lineage that originated at the Jinshan Temple, the target for opposition by the Water-Land Retreat renovated and represented by Zhipan and Zhuhong's FJSF manual. The common characteristic of the TDMY liturgical family is that they all demonstrate a synthetic feature that incorporates a variety of religious practices. Therefore, in this chapter, I will focus on the Esoteric elements that are pervasive the entire ritual text and try to sort out what Esoteric elements have been employed in the liturgy.

1. Differences Between the TDMY and the FJSF Liturgies

As we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, the Water-Land liturgical traditions represented respectively by the TDMY and the FJSF manuals differ from each other so

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[25] Ibid., 570, 2a.

[26] *Shuilu wuzhe pingdeng zhaiyi zuoyao* 水陸無遮平等齋儀撮要, in Pak, Se-min 朴世敏, ed., *Han'guk Pulgyo ŭirye charyo ch'ongsŏ* 韓國佛教儀禮資料叢書, vol. 1 (Sŏul T'ŭkpyŏlsi: Pogŭpch'ŏ Yŏkkyŏngwŏn Saŏppu, 1993), 621-649a.

dramatically that they were labeled as “Northern” and “Southern.” But exactly how different are they? We will look briefly at their differences from the following four perspectives.

First, the general duration of the two liturgies differs. The TDMY liturgy seems to be a three-day ritual since we find phrases such as “launching the Great Assembly of Water-and-Land for three days and nights” 啓建水陸大會三晝夜 or “setting up the ritual space of the Water-Land for three days and nights” 建置水陸道場三晝夜 mentioned for a number of ritual placards. The FJSF liturgy, however, usually lasts for seven days.

In terms of altar arrangements, the TDMY liturgy features a radial configuration of altars. The following diagrams are altar arrangements found in the last fascicle of the TDMY ritual manual, which preserves pictures and diagrams of different altars set up for the Water-Land Retreat.

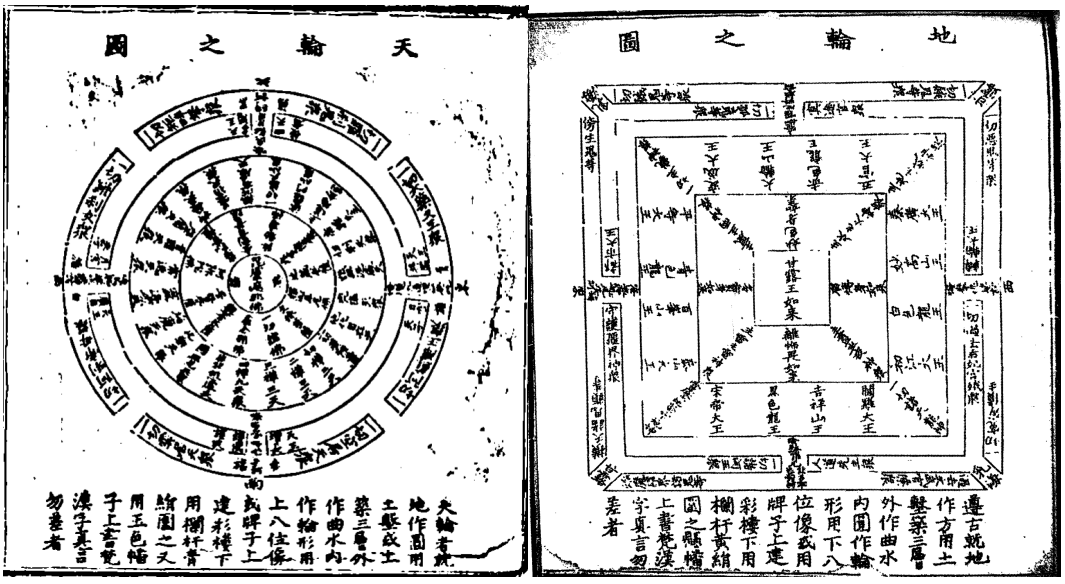


Fig. 1 (Left) Diagram of the Heavenly Wheel (*Tianlun zhi tu* 天輪之圖)[27] and (Right) Diagram of Earthly Wheel (*Dilun zhi tu* 地輪之圖)[28]

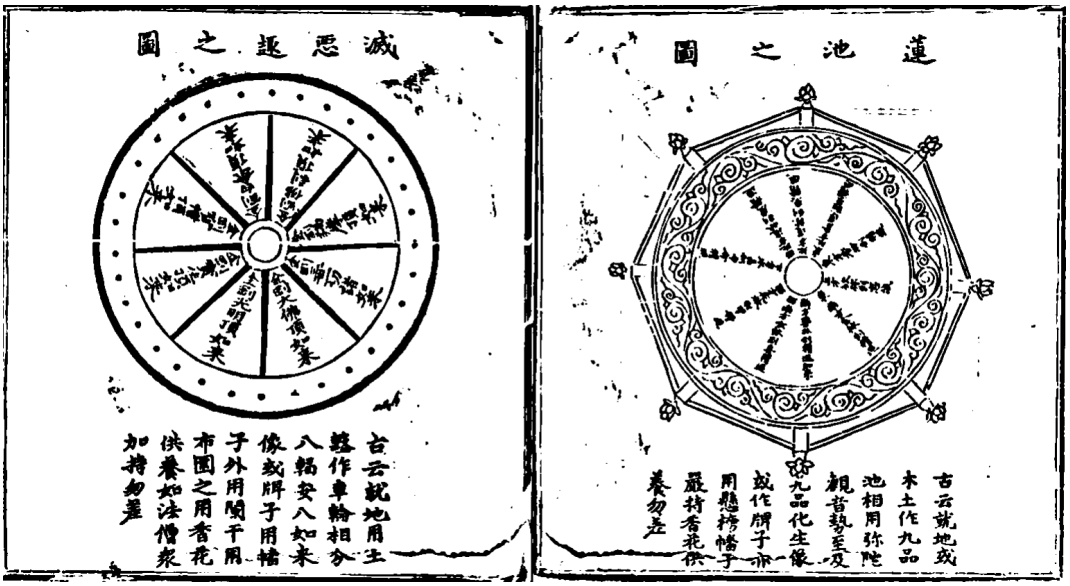


Fig. 2 (Left) Diagram of Diminishing the Path of Evil (*mie equ zhi tu* 滅惡趣之圖)[29] and (Right) Diagram of Lotus Pond (*lianchi zhi tu* 蓮池之圖)[30]

[27] TDMY, "Tantu shi," 4a.

[28] Ibid., 4b.

[29] Ibid., 6a.

[30] Ibid., 5b.

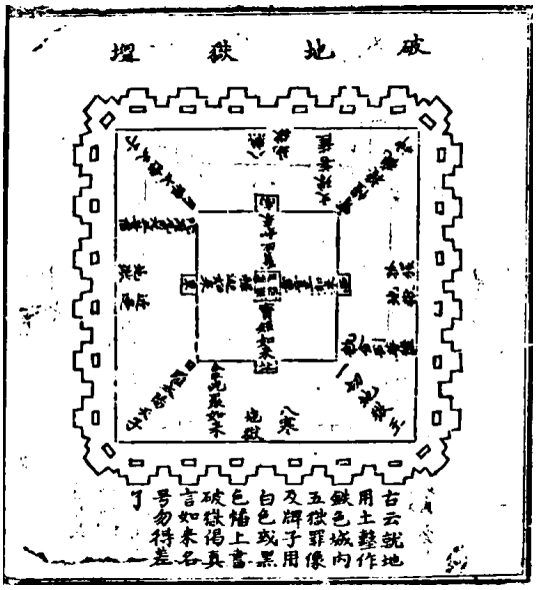


Fig. 3 Altar of Breaking the Earthly Prison (*po diyu tan* 破地獄壇)[31]

As can be seen from these altar arrangements, the deities seats are arranged in concentric, descending tiers around the most important deities in the center, resembling the structure of *Maṇḍala*s commonly used in Esoteric Buddhist rituals (see Fig. 4), especially in the Japanese Shingon 真言 and Tendai 天台 schools. In the FJSF liturgy, however, the altars are constructed in a bipartite structure which places Buddhist deities in the rear, hierarchically superior, Upper Hall (*shangtang* 上堂) of the ritual space, and places the non-Buddhist spirits in the front, yet inferior, space of the Lower Hall (*xiatang* 下堂).

[31] Ibid., 7b.

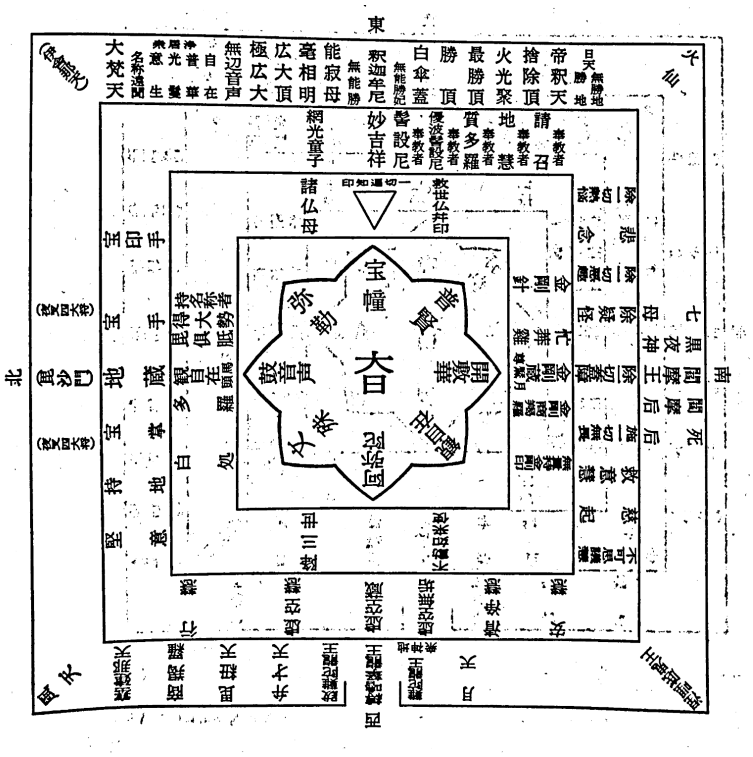


Fig. 4 *Maṇḍala* based on the *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana-abhisaṃbodhi-tantra* 大日經疏[32]

As a result of the distinct arrangements of the altars, the display of the pantheon in the ritual differs too. In the TDMY liturgy, the pantheon features a tripartite division of the cosmos which includes three categories of beings: the upper saints, namely all Buddhist deities; the celestial deities, both Indian and Chinese; and the beings of the lower realm, including all terrestrial deities, water deities, and asuras. In the FJSF liturgy, however, since its altar features a bipartite construction, its pantheon thereby features a dyadic division into Upper and Lower halls, with all

[32] Hatta Yukio 八田幸雄, translated by Lin Guangming 林光明 and Shi Yiguan 釋依觀, *Mijiao jingjiao yigui jieshuo* 密教經教儀軌解說 (Taibei: Jiafeng chubanshe, 2003), 23.

the Buddhist deities being seated in the Upper Hall while all the non-Buddhist deities are stationed in the Lower Hall.

In terms of their doctrinal basis, the two liturgies evince even further discrepancies. As was discussed in the Chapter one, the FJSF liturgy was deeply rooted in the Tiantai Buddhist doctrines and thus adopted a specifically Tiantai approach to ritual. The liturgy cites extensively from Tiantai masters such as Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597) and Zhili 知禮 (960-1028), especially in the repentance part of the ritual. It also relied imbued with the Pure Land practice of reciting the Buddha's name. The TDMY liturgy, however, adopted a synthetic approach that combines Esoteric, Daoist, and folk cultic practices, that are evident in the ritual practices of food bestowal, precept bestowal (*Samaya* precepts), bureaucratized document transmission, and the delineation of certain settings of the netherworld. In this chapter, the focus will be on the Esoteric elements. But before that, we will take a look at the overall performance of the TDMY liturgy.

2. Overview of the TDMY Liturgy

The preface of the TDMY ritual manual mainly relates the legendary origin of the ritual[33] and clarifies its name,[34] focusing particularly on the meanings of "water" and "land."[35] The main liturgy that follows is divided into three major sections, each with an emphasis on invocation and empowerment.

[33] TDMY, fasc. 1, 2b-4b.

[34] Ibid., 4b-6a.

[35] Ibid., 6a-b.

The first section, which corresponds to the first fascicle of the manual, starts with a series of preparatory works that include directions for setting up the altar and empowering the sacred space. After reciting the mantras for purifying the Dharma world and cleansing the three karmas,[36] the priest holds a mallet and rings a bell[37] before he empowers the precept knife,[38] the pure water,[39] and Piṇḍola 賓頭盧, the sacred monk.[40] Then the first round of invocation begins. Those who are invoked in this round include territorial deities that govern the place where the ritual is held, such as the city god,[41] weather god,[42] earth god, and monastery guardians,[43] followed by the deities of the five paths[44] and supervisory missionary of the ritual performance.[45] After these deities have taken their place, the priest officially announces the opening of the ritual.[46] Banners are raised,[47] certificates are sent,[48] and the Emperors of the Five Directions are summoned to open the gates and clear the paths.[49] Finally, after the Yellow Path of the Middle is empowered,[50] incense is burned, and flowers are scattered, then invitations are sent to the saintly figures that are to occupy

[36] Ibid., 8b.

[37] Ibid., 8b-9a.

[38] Ibid., 9a-b.

[39] Ibid., 9b-10a.

[40] Ibid., 10b-12b.

[41] Ibid., 12b-14a.

[42] Ibid., 14a-16b.

[43] Ibid., 16b-19a.

[44] Ibid., 19a-20a.

[45] Ibid., 20a-21a.

[46] Ibid., 21a-23b.

[47] Ibid., 23b-27a.

[48] Ibid., 27a-34b.

[49] Ibid., 34b-37b.

[50] Ibid., 38a.

the upper seats are invited.[51] Before their arrival, an altar is to be built and purified with water, followed by the invoking of the saintly figures of the upper seats, which include all buddhas, all bodhisattvas, ten *rājas*, five hundred *arhats*, and all other Buddhist deities. After all the saintly figures are seated, the priest pays homage to them and praises them with recitations.

The second ritual section begins with worshipping and taking refuge in the Three Treasures,[52] after which the second and third rounds of invocation begin. Those who are summoned in the second round of invocation include a group of Indian and Chinese celestial deities,[53] such as the four formless heavenly beings; the Great Brahma and his retinue, the four meditation heavens in the realm of form, the rulers of the heavens of the six desire realms, Sovereign Śakra and his retinue, the four heavenly kings who guard the four quarters of the universe, the wandering heavenly beings of the Great One, the sovereigns of the five directions, the kings of the sun and moon, the Lords of stars and constellations, twelve zodiac gods, gods of the twelve hours, gods of the twenty-eight mansions, Lords of the Northern Dipper, Officers of the Three Primes, the Daoist Four Saints, and the four talismanic messengers. Immediately following the summoning of the celestial beings is the summoning of the beings of the lower realm,[54] which include mountain gods, dragon kings, local guardian gods, water gods, Asuras 阿修羅, Āṭavika 曠野大將,[55] pāñcika 般支迦大將,[56] and Hāritī 訶利帝.[57] After being seated, those who are summoned in the second and third rounds are purified with incantatory water and then are led to

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[51] Ibid., 38b-63b.

[52] Ibid., fasc. 2, 1b-7a.

[53] Ibid., 7a-12b.

[54] Ibid., 13a-20a.

[55] Ibid., 18a. The general of the spirits of the wilderness

[56] Ibid., 18a. The general of music gods.

[57] Ibid., 18a. The female deity who aids in pregnancy and childbearing, and protects children.

pay homage to the Three Treasures before they receive offerings. Then the priest continues to carry out a series of empowering rituals. He first empowers the lamps, which symbolize the constancy and pervasiveness of the Dharma and which are used to make offerings.[58] He next empowers the precept altar of the five directions,[59] the heaven altar,[60] the earth altar,[61] the milk ocean,[62] the altar of eight trigrams,[63] the terrace of retrospecting hometown,[64] the city of unjust deaths,[65] the woods of iron and rivers of desires,[66] golden bridge,[67] and the wheels that cease suffering.[68] After all these empowerments are completed, the priest starts to perform the ritual of breaking the earthly prisons[69] as preparation for the summoning of the suffering souls that follows. The dark path is empowered[70] before the priest sends out an order to invite the Ten Kings of the Dark Palace.[71] The second section ends with the ritual for summoning of the souls of the deceased members of the ritual patron's family, including the ancestors of the closest three generations and all remote relatives.[72]

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[58] Ibid., 20a-25b.

[59] Ibid., 25b-28a.

[60] Ibid., 28a-29b.

[61] Ibid., 29b-31b.

[62] Ibid., 31b-32a.

[63] Ibid., 32a-33a.

[64] Ibid., 33a.

[65] Ibid., 33b-34a.

[66] Ibid., 34a-b.

[67] Ibid., 34b-35a.

[68] Ibid., 35a-37a.

[69] Ibid., 37a-39a.

[70] Ibid., 39b.

[71] Ibid., 39b-47a.

[72] Ibid., 47a-52a.

The repertoire of the last ritual section concerns summoning and delivering the souls of the dead. It begins with the summoning of the souls of all sentient beings.[73] They take a bath before coming to take refuge in the Three Treasures. After they are all seated, the summoning of all orphaned souls follows.[74] Just as for the procedure for the souls of sentient beings, the orphaned souls also purify themselves by taking a bath and putting on clean clothes before coming to take refuge in the Three Treasures. After all the souls are seated, the priest begins making food offerings. He first prepares a bowl of rice three or four *dou* 斗 in size. Then he inserts a few spoons and chopsticks into the rice and places the bowl in front of the Buddha together with a narrow flag on which is written a spell.[75] Empowering these items with incantatory water, the priest starts to reiterate the food offering methods in the *Sūtra of Burning Mouth* 面然經 and recites the titles of the seven tathāgatas, namely Ratnaketu-tathāgata 寶勝如來, Abhayaṃkara-tathāgata 離怖畏如來, Vipulakāya-tathāgata 廣博身如來, Surūpakāya-tathāgata 妙色身如來, Prabhūtaratna-tathāgata 多寶如來, Amitâbha-tathāgata 阿彌陀如來, and Radiance Tathāgata of the Majestic Worldly Superb Power 世間廣大威德自在光明如來.[76] The priest then continues to confess on behalf of the souls before they are fed with the incanted food. After that, the priest restates the efficacy of the Water-Land Retreat and prepares for the following precept conferral. He cites from a number of Buddhist scriptures to emphasize the importance of the three refuges and the five precepts. He

[73] Ibid., fasc. 3, 1b-6a.

[74] Ibid., 6b-13a.

[75] Ibid., 16b.

[76] Ibid., 18a-19b.

then leads the hordes of souls to confess their past crimes and transgressions,[77] followed by arousing the mind of bodhi for them, and finally conferring the samaya precepts on them.[78]

The next part of the ritual is concerned with empowering the mountain of unimpeded money and the lotus pond,[79] before the ritual officiant makes offerings in front of Buddhas.[80] A series of rituals that incantate food for and feed all the souls follows.[81] The whole ritual ends by sending off of all the saints and mundane beings present at the ritual.[82]

3. The Esoteric Elements in the TDMY Liturgy

Throughout the TDMY liturgy, Esoteric elements are pervasive and manifest in a variety of forms. In the preface, it says that "if one would like to set up a ritual performance, he should entirely rely on the power of spells" 將欲建置法事，全憑咒力加持.[83] The power of spells is also emphasized in another statement, which says: "[All of these are] relying on Tathāgata's marvelous power and the special merit of magic spells" 俱仗如來之妙力，還依神咒之殊功.[84] In addition to spells, another element that bears the distinctive Esoteric Buddhist features is *Maṇḍala*s. At the time of invoking the most superior saintly beings, the priest loudly proclaims: "I, following Tathāgata's empowerment, proclaim the secret words of yoga. Today we build a *Maṇḍala* at this

[77] Ibid., 20a-21b.

[78] Ibid., 21b.

[79] 34b-37b.

[80] Ibid., 37b-39b.

[81] Ibid., 39b-44a.

[82] Ibid., 44a-46a.

[83] Ibid., fasc. 1, 6b.

[84] Ibid., 31a.

place, may it be protected by the compassions of all saintly beings" 我依如來加持力，宣揚瑜伽秘密文。今於此地建曼拏，聖眾慈悲垂加護.[85] Moreover, the pantheon displayed in the TDMY liturgy involves a number of Esoteric deities who will be discussed in the following sections. However, before delving into details concerning the esoteric elements in the TDMY liturgy, a record in the *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳) deserves our attention. A Buddhist monk called Shouzhen 守真 (d. unknown) who pursued years of study under different Buddhist masters finally obtained the essence and gist of the Buddha's teaching after receiving the Teaching of Yoga (*Yuqie jiao* 瑜伽教) from an *ācārya* called Yanmi 演秘 (d. unknown). During his forty years of preaching, Shouzhen ordained more than three thousand monks, nuns, and lay practitioners and performed the *abhiṣeka* ritual five times and the Water-Land ritual twenty times.[86] Taking into consideration that *abhiṣeka* is a hallmark of Esoteric Buddhism, it seems a common practice that, since as early as the Song dynasty, a Buddhist priest actively participated in Esoteric and Water-Land rituals at the same time, suggesting a close connection between the Water-Land Retreat and the Esoteric Buddhist tradition.

3.1 Esoteric Sūtras

The TDMY ritual manual cites from a variety of Buddhist sūtras, among which three are distinctively Esoteric Buddhist sūtras, including the *Jingangding jing* 金剛頂經, the *Suxidi jing* 蘇悉地經, and the *Shenbian jing* 神變經. In fact, these are the abbreviated titles of the three most

[85] Ibid., 41b.

[86] *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 25, T. 2061: 50.87b.

important scriptures of Esoteric Buddhism in East Asia: *The Adamantine Pinnacle: The Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathagatas and the Realization of the Great Vehicle, Being the Scripture of the Great King of Teachings* (*Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshi shedasheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來眞實攝大乘現證大教王經, T. 865: 18), translated by Amoghavajra 不空 (705-774); the *Susiddhikara-sūtra* (*Suxidi jieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯羅經, T. 893: 18), translated by Śubhakarasiṃha 善無畏 (637-735) in 726 CE; [87] and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi-sūtra* (*Da Piluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經, T. 848: 18), translated by Śubhākarasiṃha and his Chinese disciple Yixing (683–727) in 724-5.[88]

In addition to the three Esoteric Buddhist sūtras, there are a number of scriptures connected with Esoteric Buddhism that are cited in the liturgy. These include the *Yankou shishi yi* 焰口施食儀, the *Mianran guiwang jing* 面然鬼王經, and the *Puguang jing* 普廣經. The first two scriptures belong to the same scriptural tradition which addresses the problem of feeding and saving the hungry ghosts. The latter is an abbreviation of the *Dhāraṇī Sūtra for Saving the Burning-Mouth Hungry Ghosts* (*Jiu mianran e'gui tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 救面然餓鬼陀羅尼神呪經, T. 1314: 21) translated by Śikṣānanda, and the former is an abbreviation of the *Ritual Procedures from the Yoga Collection for Feeding the Burning Mouths* (*Yuqie jiyao yankō shi shi yi* 瑜伽集要焰口施食儀軌, T. 1320: 21), a ritual text based on the former that is attributed to Amoghavajra.

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[87] For translations of the two sūtras, see, Rolf W. Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras: The Adamantine Pinnacle Sūtra, The Susiddhikara Sūtra* (Numanta Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2001).

[88] For a translation of this sūtra, see, Rolf W. Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi-sūtra* (Numanta Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2005).

The *Puguang jing* is in fact the eleventh fascicle of the *Consecration Sūtra* (*Guanding jing* 灌頂經), whose full title is "Foshuo guanding suiyuan wangsheng shifang jingtu jing" 佛說灌頂隨願往生十方淨土經 (T. 1331: 21). It is also known as the "Puguang pusa jing" 普廣菩薩經. The *Consecration Sūtra* is a Buddhist book of spells[89] whose eleventh fascicle includes the conversation between the Buddha and the Puguang Bodhisattva about how to save all sentient beings and deliver them to the Pure Lands of the ten directions.

3.2 Secret Spells

Throughout the ritual manual, spells are extensively used for all kinds of different circumstances. The extensive use of spells is based on the nature of spells and their perceived religious or secular efficacy:

> It is said that the secret spells of yoga are the master of causes for all buddhas of the three times, and the subtle words of the marvelous teaching[90] are the mother of wisdom for the bodhisattvas of the ten stages. Today, as we set up [the ritual], we require utmost sincerity. Ringing the golden bell, we invoke the Three Worthies; waving the jeweled mallet, we invite and welcome the ten saints. Secret utterances are widely announced while golden words are broadly recited. Thousands of mudras are manifesting while millions of sounds are vibrating.
> 蓋聞瑜伽密咒，乃三世諸佛之緣師；妙教微言，是十地菩薩之智母。今當啓建，須要至誠。振金鈴而啓請三賢，揮寶杵而邀迎十聖。廣宣密語，遍誦金言。千般之印相分明，萬種之音聲震響。[91]

A side note written in small characters in the FJSF manual interestingly illustrates that the spell serves as a powerful ritual device to generate ritual efficacy:

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[89] Michel Strickmann, "The Consecration Sūtra: A Buddhist Book of Spells," in Robert E. Buswell, Jr, ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: The University of Hawai'i Press, 1990).

[90] The "miaojiao" (marvelous teaching) here probably refers to the *Lotus Sūtra*, whose full title is *Miaofa lianhuajing* 妙法蓮華經 (*The Lotus Sūtra of the Marvelous Teaching*, T. 262: 09).

[91] TDMY, fasc. 1, 15b.

> During the reign of Tang Taizong (r. 630-649), someone used this incantation, and it proved to be highly efficacious. The court deemed that it would delude people and therefore banned its recitation. The version preserved in the Buddhist canon had down ten characters removed according to imperial order. Later on, a śramana named Huichi from the Bodhi Monastery by the West Lake of Qiantang encountered an eminent monk from Sichuan and was taught the esoteric method of Ucchuşma by the latter. He thereby obtained the complete version of the incantation. After reciting it for two years, he received strong resonance and efficacy. He became capable of making a pestle float in the air and move at will. And not a single patient failed to be cured by his incantatory water. What has been circulated nowadays is the complete version, which is different from that in the canonical version.
> 唐太宗朝。有人持此呪多驗。朝廷以為惑眾。禁抑不令誦。遂勅藏本削除十字。後有錢塘西湖菩提寺慧持沙門。遇蜀中高德教授穢迹持法。復得全呪。誦及二年。大有感驗。能令杵升虛空。隨意而徃。呪水治病。無不愈者。今世間傳多此加句全本。與藏不同。[92]

Nearly ubiquitous in Mahāyāna Buddhist literature, spells were prominent features of Buddhist practice in medieval China and from there across East Asia. Rendered in a variety of Chinese terms, including "spell" (*zhou* 咒), "*dhāraṇī*" (*tuoluoni* 陀羅尼), "grasp/hold" (*chi* 持), "encompassing grasp/hold" (*zongchi* 總持), "sublime and secret grasp/hold" (*weimichi* 微密持), as well as, often and confusingly, "real word" (*zhenyan* 真言) and "mystic word" (*miyan* 密言), Buddhist spells have a confusing (and often confused) set of referents and genres, the most often seen being *dhāraṇī* and *mantra*.[93]

Dhāraṇīs were originally Indic incantations transliterated into Chinese syllables whose functions are much more than simply the strings of Sanskrit syllables rendered awkwardly into Chinese. Meaning "to hold," "to grasp," and "to wield," their earliest function indicates mnemonic

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[92] FJSF 1, X.1497:74. 785b07.

[93] Richard D. McBride II, "Dhāraṇī and Spells in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28 (2005): 85-114; Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: The University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 263-278; Paul Copp, *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

devices used in holding or containing within its short passages all the meaning of a portion of the Buddha's teachings.[94] As the Buddha's teachings were gradually textualized, the mnemonic function of *dhāraṇī* shrank while its religious function as incantatory devices or textual objects in liturgical practices increased.[95]

Mantra (*zhenyan* 真言), however, are much more complex than *dhāraṇī* in terms of origin and meaning.[96] It can be understood both as a linguistic device for attaining enlightenment and as a magic formula that relates to mundane effects such as winning a battle, recovering health, or attaining longevity.[97]

Nevertheless, the distinction between the two forms of incantation is not always clear.[98] In many East Asian sūtras, especially in apocryphal scriptures, "*mantra*" and "*dhāraṇī*" are used interchangeably. Indigenously written texts in China the so-called "apocryphal" scriptures--incorporated abundant spells and magical incantations. Very popular in medieval China, a large number of *dhāraṇī* scriptures was produced.[99]

In the TDMY ritual manual, the incantatory spell is basically a hybrid of *dhāraṇī* and mantra. The very first spell to be incanted is the Cundi *Dhāraṇī* (*Zhunti zhou* 準提咒) which is

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[94] Lü Jianfu 呂建福, *Zhongguo mijiao shi* 中國密教史, vol.1 (Taibei: Kongting shuyuan, 2010), 33. Abé Ryuichi, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 5.

[95] Paul Copp, *The Body Incantatory*, 84-85. Lü Jianfu, *Zhongguo mijiao shi*, 33.

[96] Lü Jianfu, *Zhongguo mijiao shi*, 33; Abé, "Word," in Donald S. Lopez Jr., ed., *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism (Buddhism and Modernity)* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 306-308; Frits Stall, "Vedic Mantras," in Harvey P. Alper, ed., *Understanding Mantras* (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1989), 48-95; Wade T. Wheelock, "The Mantra in Vedic and Tantric Ritual," in Harvey P. Alper, ed., *Understanding Mantras* (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1989), 96-122; André Padoux, *The Hindu Tantric World: An Overview* (Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 2017), 98-112.

[97] Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 5-6.

[98] Abé pointed out that Kūkai distinguished mantra from *dhāraṇī* in terms of their semantic and semiotic functions. Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 6-7.

[99] Paul Copp, "Dharani Scriptures," in Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 176-180.

just "like the wish-granting jewel.[100] If practitioners use it in any situations, they will all obtain accomplishment" 似如意珠。若有行人處處用之。皆得成就.[101] This *dhāraṇī* is from a scripture called the *Dhāraṇī of the Seven Koṭīs of Buddha-Mothers' Mind and the Great Cundī* 佛說七俱胝佛母心大准提陀羅尼經 (T.1077:20) translated in the Tang dynasty by Divākara 地婆訶羅 (613-687). This short one-fascicle scripture extolls the efficacy of reciting the *dhāraṇī*. The *dhāraṇī* can assist one with worldly ends, such as winning a verbal dispute or warding off illness or danger, or religious requests such as attaining the visualization of bodhisattvas. As the opening spell of the Water-Land Retreat, it is used to bless and protect the whole performance.

In the TDMY ritual manual, there are over nineteen kinds of *mantra* and more than thirty-six kinds of *dhāraṇī*. Some have general functions, such as the "*dhāraṇī* for purifying the secular world" (*Jing fajia tuoluoni* 淨法界陀羅尼)[102] or the "*mantra* for purifying the secular world" (*Jing fajie zhenyan* 淨法界真言).[103] Some have specific functions related to Esoteric practices such as the "great *dhāraṇī* of the Vajra-being of Impure Traces" (*Jin'gang huiji da tuoluoni* 金剛穢跡大陀羅尼),[104] the "*mantra* of samaya precepts" (*Sanmiye jie zhenyan* 三密耶戒真言),[105] the "great *dhāraṇī* of purifying the Homa zone" (*Jiejie humo sajing da tuoluoni* 結界護摩灑淨大陀羅尼),[106]

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[100] A "magical jewel," is that which manifests whatever one wishes for. Also rendered in "Ruyi bao 如意寶" (*Zheng fahuajing* 正法華經, T. 263: 9. 94c11), or "Ruyi baozhu 如意寶珠" (*Dafangguang fo Huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 78, T. 279: 10. 413b26).

[101] TDMY, fasc. 1, 6b.

[102] Ibid., 38b.

[103] Ibid., 5b.

[104] Ibid., 26a.

[105] Ibid., fasc. 3, 43a.

[106] Ibid., fasc. 2, 25a.

the "*dhāraṇī* of opening throats" (*Kai yanhou tuoluoni* 開咽喉陀羅尼).[107] These spells all indicate the involvement of different practices of Esoteric Buddhism.

The spells of Vidyārāja Ucchusṃa (*Huiji Jin'gang* 穢跡金剛) refers to the cult of Ucchusṃa, an Esoteric Buddhist deity who commands a host of divine soldiers. Studies have shown that the cult and practices of Vidyārāja Ucchusṃa were related to the methods introduced by Vajrabodhi 金剛智 (671–741) and his followers that inform and underlie later Chinese exorcism practices in the Tang, Five Dynasties, and Song periods.[108] Identified as a "devouring" deity, Ucchusṃa always comes with a garland of flames, the fire that transforms and purifies all impurities. Zhaohua Yang has shown that on Ucchusṃa's move from India to China, this Indian god with transgressive features, was refashioned by authors in Kucha from an Indian scatological god to a Chinese eschatological protector by absorbing indigenous ritual practices.[109] The motives behind such a transformation mainly lie in their need to meet the expectations, desires, and aversions of an imagined Chinese audience in the heartland. According to Edward Davis, the cult of Ucchusṃa peaked during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and mainly manifested in rituals of child possession.[110] The comprehensive efficacy of Ucchusṃa was condensed into a thirty-three syllable *mantra* called the "Spell of [the Vajra-Being] of the Golden Disc and Impure Traces" (*Jinlun huiji zhou* 金輪穢跡咒).[111]

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[107] Ibid., fasc. 3, 38b.

[108] Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et Mandarins: Le bouddhisme tantrique en Chine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 213-41; Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 128-136.

[109] Yang Zhaohua, "Devouring Impurities: Myth, Ritual and Talisman in the Medieval Chinese Cult of Ucchusma" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2013), 306

[110] Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 128-152.

[111] Ibid., 129. *Song Bai zhenren Yuchan quanji* 宋白真人玉蟾全集 (Taiwan: Committee to Publish Bo Yuchan's Works, 1976), 424 ("Yulu," 6a–b).

The Vidyārāja Ucchusṃa *dhāraṇī* in the TDMY liturgy is mainly used in the summoning of the earthly messengers.[112] The purpose of invoking Ucchusṃa here is to ward off all evil beings and purify the ritual space. Here in the TDMY ritual, Ucchusṃa is merely a Buddhist guardian responsible for warding off evil beings and guaranteeing the purity of the ritual space. It corresponds to Zhaohua Yang's description of the transformation Ucchusṃa experienced from an Indian scatological god with a variety of antinomian features to a Chinese eschatological protector whose transgressive power has been tamed and become amenable to practitioners.

The "*mantra* of samaya precepts" in the TDMY liturgy points to the Esoteric *abhiṣeka* ritual, which originated in India. According to Charles Orzech, during the early eighth century *abhiṣeka* was one of the defining features of the ritual programs of the Esoteric scriptures translated by Śubhakarasiṃha 善無畏 (637-735) and by Vajrabodhi 金剛智 (671-741), and his disciple Amoghavajra 不空 (705-774).[113]

Based on Brahmanic consecration rites, *abhiṣeka* is a gateway ceremony into the esoteric system and represents a ritual of passage that was required for a candidate to be considered a member of the esoteric community. Originating in India, it was imported to China along with Mahāyāna Buddhism, with its original function as an imperial initiation that was expanded to include a variety of liturgical functions such as transmitting Buddhist authority, bestowing religious benefits, and fulfilling worldly requests.[114]

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[112] TMDY, fasc. 1, 28a.

[113] The *homa* ritual is another defining feature. Charles D. Orzech, "On the Subject of Abhiṣeka," *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, 13 (2011):117. For studies on those Esoteric Buddhist masters, see, Geoffrey C. Goble, *Chinese Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra, the Ruling Elite, and the Emergence of A Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019);

[114] Ronald M. Davidson, "Abhiṣeka," in Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 71-75; Ronald M. Davidson, "Some Observations on an Uṣṇīṣa Abhiṣeka Rite in Atikūṭa's Dhāraṇī*samgraha*," in Istvάn Keul, ed., *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond* (Berlin; Boston:

However, *abhiṣeka* itself usually doesn't produce direct worldly benefits, rather, it produces adepts who could wield the ritual techniques that can help serve three sorts of worldly ends: pacification, prosperity, and subjugation. During the *abhiṣeka* ritual, one first invokes the Buddhas of the ten directions, confesses sins before them, worships the assembled Buddhas, and then takes the bodhisattva vows. In Esoteric Buddhism, the adepts take further *samaya* vows which aim to uphold the true teaching, to uphold the seed of enlightenment, and to avoid harming sentient beings, signifying a dramatic transformation of their religious status, marking their real entry into the esoteric world of Buddhism and their mastery of advanced supernormal powers.[115]

Among the various uses of *abhiṣeka*,[116] the ritual performed, as in the TDMY liturgy, at the end of the ritual of saving the orphaned souls, which is right after they had confessed their past transgressions and aroused the mind of enlightenment, indicates that it is an *abhiṣeka* used as a metaphor of recognition: recognizing the admission of those orphaned souls into the Buddhist community. The text quotes a scripture called the *Dazang baowang jing* 大藏寶王經[117] and prescribes the process of conferring the samaya precepts in detail as follows:

> If one recites the samaya *mantra* once, when reentering the altar, he will realize all good dharmas of samādhi, which all conform with the three sets of pure precepts.[118] If one recites it seven times, his action is granted and is not regarded as stealing from the Dharma. When conferring the precepts, one, forming a *mudrā*, visualizes

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De Gruyter, 2012), 77-98; David L. Gardiner, "The Consecration of the Monastic Compound at Mount Koya by Kukai," in David Gordon White, ed., *Tantra in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 119-127.

[115] Charles D. Orzech and Henrik H. Sørensen, "Mudra, Mantra, Mandala," in Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 76-89.

[116] Abhiṣeka has at least six different uses: 1) as a rite of coronation, 2) as a ritual of renewal, 3) as a metaphor signifying recognition, 4) as a ritual of purification, 5) as a ritual of consecration, and 6) as a rite of bathing images as honor given the divinity. See, Ronald M. Davidson, "Abhiṣeka," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 71-75.

[117] The *Dazang baowang jing* is probably short for the *Foshuo dacheng zhuangyan baowang jing* 佛說大乘莊嚴寶王經 (T. 1050: 20). Translated by Tianxizai 天息災 (act. 980-1000) in the Song, this sūtra mainly tells about the merits of the Avalokitêśvara Bodhisattva and his great six-syllable *dhāraṇī*.

[118] That is, 1) Precepts for the maintenance of restraint; 2) Practicing all virtuous deeds; and 3) Granting mercy to all sentient beings.

the white letter of *vaṃ*[119] which emits great beams of light illuminating all sentient beings and all ghostly beings. Receiving light and [being] enlightened [by] candles, the buddhas of the three times achieved completion of the morality pāramitās all at once. All dharmas become good dharmas and merge into bright light, and pour onto the heads of the ghostly beings, whose bodies then become equal to that of Samantabhadra [bodhisattva], sitting on a big moon disc. The summoned ghostly beings all become the children of the Buddha. Sages of the past once said: this precept is different from the five precepts or the eight precepts which are limited to humans and heavenly beings. These samaya precepts can be obtained by anyone who has a mind. It doesn't need the methods of declaring the karman either. [Reciting] the *mantra* three times, the sound resonates throughout both the exoteric and esoteric [realms]. Once the precepts are obtained, bodhi can no longer be lost. This comes from the *Jin'gang ding jing*[120] and is the method for conferring precepts on ghosts and spirits.
若誦三密耶戒真言一遍，如再入壇，證三摩地一切善法，悉皆滿足三聚淨戒。若誦七遍，即許行作，不成盜法。若付戒時，印中想一白色鍐字，放大光明，普照有情，并諸鬼類。蒙光照燭，三世諸佛，戒波羅蜜。一時圓滿，法皆善法。總成光明，灌入自他人鬼頂中，身同普賢，坐大月輪。召諸魂識，為佛嫡子也。又先聖云：然此戒者，不同五戒八戒，唯局人天。此三昧耶戒，凡有心者，悉皆得受，亦不假作白羯磨等法。三遍真言，聲絕顯密，戒品已具於身，乃至菩提，更無散失也。此出金剛頂經，為諸鬼神受戒之法。[121]

The *Jin'gang ding jing* here very likely refers to the four-fascicle *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* (*Jin'gang ding yuqie zhonglüe chu niansong jing* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經) translated by Vajrabodhi. The last fascicle presents a detailed procedure for the *abhiṣeka* ritual.[122] This *abhiṣeka* procedure was appropriated into the TDMY liturgy to convert ghosts and spirits.

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[119] An esoteric Siddham character which indicates wisdom, a seed character of Mahāvairocana 大日如來 in the Vajradhātu realm 金剛界. See, Richard D. McBride II, "The Impact of Translated Esoteric Buddhist Scriptures," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 311.

[120] The *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* 金剛頂經, the *Susiddhi-kara Sūtra* 蘇悉地經, and the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* 大日經 are regarded as the three sūtras fundamental to the Japanese Tendai esoteric school 三部秘經/真言三部/秘密三部/大日三部. See, Clemente Beghi, "The Dissemination of Esoteric Scriptures," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 662; Osabe Kazuo 長部和雄, *Tō Sō Mikkyō shi ronkō* 唐宋密教史論考 (Kōbe: Kōbe Joshi Daigaku Tōzai Bunka Kenkyūjo; Kyōto: Hatsubaijo Nagata Bunshōdō, 1982); Koichi Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014); Geoffrey C. Goble, Chinese Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra, the Ruling Elite, and the Emergence of A Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019)

[121] TDMY, fasc. 3, 44a-b.

[122] *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* (*Jin'gang ding yuqie zhonglüe chu niansong jing* 金刚顶瑜伽中略出念诵经) 4, T. 866: 18. 251a9-252a2.

As we have noted above, the "*mantra* of *samaya* precepts" recited in this ritual procedure is a crucial step. The "*samaya* precepts" are also known as "*samaya* vows," which are believed to be able to "liberate all beings in the evil destinies" 能解脫諸惡趣中一切眾生.[123] In the general liturgical practice of *abhiseka*, the vows are whispered in the ear of the candidate as he first prepares to enter the *Maṇḍala*. Yet, here in the TDMY liturgy, the *samaya* precepts are used as a spell that is recited multiple times, and then transforms the dharmas into good ones which are poured onto the heads of the ghostly beings. In addition, the precepts are conferred together with the practice of visualizing the seed syllable "*vaṃ*," the seed syllable of Mahāvairocana. The practice of visualization is also another defining feature of the Esoteric Buddhist tradition which will be discussed in the following sections.

3.3 The Construction of Altars

The practice of spells is not in itself a definitive marker of an Esoteric Buddhist practice since they were widely used in mainstream Sinitic Buddhism. What is specific to Esoteric Buddhism, however, is the systematic use of *mudrās* and seed syllables (*bijas* 種字), and the establishment of *maṇḍala* altars. These features are also found in the TDMY liturgy.

As we have noted in the discussion of the *abhiṣeka* ritual above, the practice of consecration is indispensable for the construction of a *maṇḍala* and is also closely connected with the practice of visualization. Let's first turn to the construction of the ritual altars and the invocation of the pantheon in the Water-Land Retreat.

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[123] Ibid., 250b20.

As I have mentioned earlier, a Water-Land Retreat is comprised of a series of correlated rites performed at different altars. The FJSF liturgy requires six altars. The TDMY liturgy is no exception in using multiple altars, but the number and category of altars are different from those in the FJSF liturgy.

The "Altars and Diagrams" included in the last part of the miscellaneous documents of the TDMY ritual manual provides a visual protocol of how to build the altars. First, the space delineated for the ritual performance is called the "Sagely Altar of the Dharma Realm" (*Fajie shengtan* 法界聖壇). It includes a number of smaller altars in which different sections of the ritual are performed.



Figure 5: The Sagely Altar of the Dharma Realm (*Fajie shengtan* 法界聖壇)[124]

[124] TDMY, "Tantu shi," 1a-b.

The sub-altars include Lotus Pool 蓮池, Milk Sea 乳海, Altar of the Eight-trigrams 八卦壇, Bridge of Universal Salvation 普度橋, Heavenly Wheel 天輪, Earthly Wheel 地輪, Tower of Heavenly Palace 天宮樓, 淨土樓 Tower of Pure Land, Wheel of Ceasing Suffering 息苦輪, Altar of Extinguishing the Evil Existence 滅惡趣壇, City of Transformation 化城, Black Path 黑道, Yellow Path 黃道, Woods of Iron 鐵樹, River of Desires 愛河, Courtyard of Inviting the Saints 請聖庭, Golden Bridge 金橋, Silver Bridge 銀橋, Bathroom [for the saints]浴戶, Range of Missing Hometown 思鄉嶺, Platform of Reviewing Hometown 望鄉台, City of Unjust Dead 枉死城, Endless Hell (e.g. Avīci) 無間獄, Golden Money Mountain 金钱山, Silver Money Mountain 銀錢山, Hall of Orphaned Souls 孤魂堂, Bathroom for Orphaned Souls 孤魂浴室, Forest of Happiness 快活林, Cold Forest 寒林, Mountain of Broken Money 破錢山, and Mountain of Merits 功德山. The majority of these sub-altars are modeled on folk practices for delivering the souls of the dead.

This sacred space adopts a vaguely encircling structure. At the outer circle are stations for the divine assistants, such as the Four Emissaries of Talismans 四直符使, the Five Emperors and their retinue 五帝眾, Master of Rain and Lord of Wind 風伯雨師, and the City God 城隍. As we proceed to describe the following sub-altars, this encircling style becomes even more evident.

The main sub-altar is the place where the sagely beings are installed. The textual description straightforwardly calls it "*man na luo*"曼拏囉,[125] that is, "*maṇḍala*," which is said to

[125] TDMY, fasc. 1, 41b.

be the “eye of producing merits and the site to widely gather all sages” 出生功德眼，普集諸聖賢.[126] The construction of this sub-altar is described in verses as follows:

> The terrace of the three-leveled altar is twenty feet high, with gates at the four directions of east, west, south, and north.
> The ten wise kings are protecting the eight directions while the thirty-seven worthies are installed in the right positions.
> Today, I proclaim the Indian celestial words, may it [the altar] be protected by the greatly sage Śākyamuni.
> The ox on the Vulture Peak feed on rich grass; the powders of the ox-head sandalwood incense.
> [The powders being] mixed with nectar are used to paint the altar, in order to cover the world of impurity in the mundane realm.
> The stones and earth of all the mountains are the same; we should universally sprinkle the defilements so as to keep them constantly clean.
> 三結壇臺高丈二，東西南北四門開。
> 十大明王護八方，三十七尊居正位。
> 我今宣念竺天文，大聖牟尼垂加護。
> 靈山牛食肥膩草，細末栴檀牛首香。
> 甘露和合用塗壇，為覆凡境濁惡世。
> 諸山石土盡皆通，普灑塵勞常清淨。[127]

[126] Ibid., 45b.

[127] Ibid., 46a.

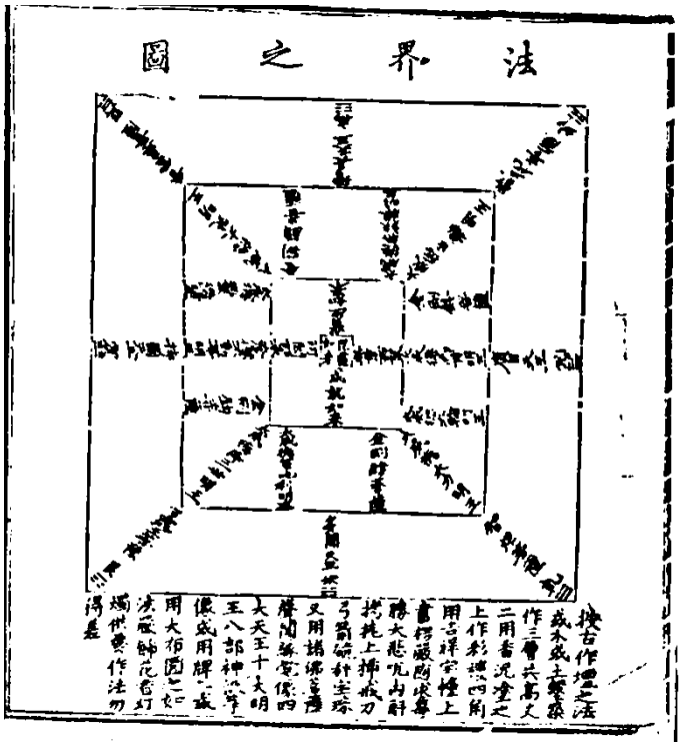


Figure 6: Diagram of the Dharma Realm (*Fajie zhi tu* 法界之圖)[128]

The text under the picture provides the instructions for building this altar:

According to the old method for building altars, whether of wood or clay, build it by piling up to three levels to a height of twelve feet. Coat it with fragrant mud. Set up decorated towers at the four corners in which auspicious banners are installed. On these banners the *Lengyan suiqiu zunsheng dabei zhou* [*the Great Compassionate Spell of the Śūraṃgama Mahāpratisarā Worthy*] is written. Inside [the altar], a precept knife, bow and arrow, mirror, scale, and jewelry are installed. Also, the images of all buddhas, bodhisattvas, śrāvakas and pratyekbuddhas, the four heavenly kings, the ten wise kings, and deities of the eight kinds are hung up. Tablets can also be used for this, or they can be enclosed by large cloth. Decorate them and make offerings of flower, incense, lamps, and candles as usual. Make sure the methods are correct.
按古作壇之法，或木或土，壘築作三層，共高丈二，用香泥塗之，上作彩樓四角，用吉祥寶幢，上書楞嚴隨求尊勝大悲咒，內斛拷挌，上插戒刀、弓箭、鏡秤、寶珠。又用諸佛菩薩，聲聞緣覺像，四大天王，十大明王，八部神祇

[128] TDMY, “Tantu shi,” 3a.

等像。或用牌，亦或用大布圍之，如法嚴飾，花香燈燭供養。作法勿得差。[129]

This altar is also known as the "Precept Altar of the Five Directions" (*Wufang jietan* 五方戒壇), which infuses some indigenous Chinese cultural elements:

> The altar extends to the three realms and its color corresponds to the five directions. Therefore, because Goumang comes first, Taigao should be placed at the position of *jiayi*. Because Zhurong is on the right, the Emperor of Flames should be placed in the palace of *bingding*. Because Zhuanxu is in charge of time, Xuanming governs solemn matters [i.e. the ritual]. Because Rushou assists [governing], Shaohao dwells in the palace of Nine Yang. Because Lilian ascended the throne, Yellow is in the middle. Auspicious colors appear in the five directions; sagely beings are gathered from the four directions on the upper and lower levels.
> 壇敷三界，色應五方。是以句芒在先，太皞居甲乙之位；祝融垂右，炎帝列丙丁之宮；顓頊臨時，玄冥主肅穆之事；蓐收輔弼，少皞處九陽之宮。離簾即位，黃色居中。吉祥彩映現於五方，集聖賢四維於上下。[130]

If we look closely at the third tier of the altar, we will notice that there are names and symbols of the eight trigrams: Qian (乾 ☰), Kun (坤 ☷), Xun (巽 ☴), Kan (坎 ☵), Li (離 ☲), and Gen (艮☶). The display of eight trigrams and the number of tiers in this altar closely resemble the altar for the Daoist Yellow Register Retreat (*Huanglu zhai tan* 黃籙齋壇, Fig. 7),[131] which came to be the most typical altar construction used in medieval Daoist rituals.[132] However, the divinities

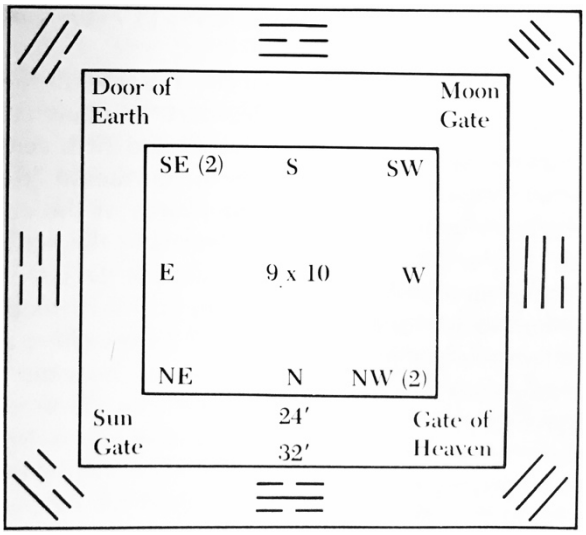


Fig. 7: Altar for the Yellow Register Retreat
(Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History*, 36)

[129] Ibid., 2b.

[130] TDMY, fasc. 2, 25b.

[131] John Lagerewey, *Wu-shang pi-yao: somme taoiste du VIe siècle* (Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1981).

[132] John Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History,* 35. *Licheng yi*, HY508, 384a-386b.

installed on the altar are all Buddhist divinities, most of which are closely connected with the Esoteric tradition.

In the center is Mahāvairocana Tathāgata (*Dari rulai* 大日如來). Surrounding him on the first tier are four tathāgatas: Chengjiu rulai 成就如來 (Amoghasiddhi/Śākyamuni), Wuliangshou rulai 無量壽如來 (Amitābha), Baosheng rulai 寶生如來 (Ratnasaṃbhava), and Achu rulai 阿閦如來 (Akṣobhya Tathāgata). They are known as a group of five buddhas who are usually referred to as the five dhyāni-buddhas/Wisdom-Tathāgatas (Wuzhi Rulai 五智如來). They belong to the Vajradhātu (*Jingang jie* 金剛界) and are seen in the Chengshen hui 成身會 (Perfected Body Assembly), the first and central group in the nine assemblies that comprise the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala 金剛界曼荼羅. The origin of the five tathāgatas as a set can be traced back to an Esoteric scripture called *Dacheng yuqie jingang xinghai manshushili qianbi qianbo da jiaowang jing* 大乘瑜伽金剛性海曼殊室利千臂千鉢大教王經 (T. 1177A : 20). According to this scripture, at the moment when Mañjuśrī was speaking to the audience, asking who, among all good people, would like to share his vow of saving sentient beings unremittingly, will hear his teaching of "Great Cause of the Secret Sagely Samadhi of the Great Vehicle Yoga Vajra for Attaining Perfect Enlightenment of Supreme Bodhi" 大乘瑜伽金剛祕密聖性三摩地成等正覺無上菩提廣大因緣,[133] five great men stepped out of the crowd to pay homage to and share the vow. They became the followers of Mañjuśrī and were given the names of Mahāvairocana 毘盧遮那, Akṣobhya 阿閦, Ratnasaṃbhava

[133] T. 1177A : 20. 746b.

寶生, Avalokitêśvara 觀自在王, and Amoghasiddhi 不空成就.[134] After they were given names, they were assigned separate locations in the five cardinal directions.

The second tier of the altar is composed of the four gathering bodhisattvas (*Sishe pusa* 四攝菩薩), which include Vajrāṅkuśa 金剛鉤菩薩; Vajrapâśa 金剛索菩薩, Vajrasphoṭa 金剛锁菩薩, and Vajrāveśa 金剛鈴菩薩, whose primary work is to convert the living, and the ten wise kings (*Mingwang* 明王). According to the text, these ten wise kings are the manifestations and representations of the ferocious sides of ten bodhisattvas (See List 1).[135]

Wise King	**Bodhisattva**	**Direction**
Yanfa dejia mingwang 焰發德迦明王	Mañjuśrī 文殊	Northeast
Daxiao mingwang 大笑明王	Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏	Southeast
Wunengsheng mingwang 無能勝明王	Kṣitigarbha 地藏	South
Buzhi mingwang 步擲明王	Samantabhadra 普賢	Southwest
Mashou mingwang 馬首明王	Avalokitêśvara 觀世音	West
Dali mingwang 大力明王	Śākyamuni 釋迦牟尼	Northwest
Kuṇḍalī 軍吒利明王	Amitâbha 阿彌陀	North
Acalāgra 不動尊明王	Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin 除蓋障菩薩.	East
Trailokyavijaya 降三世明王	Vajrapāṇi 不動佛	Upper
Dalun mingwang 大輪明王	Maitreya 彌勒	Lower

List 1: The Ten Wise Kings and Ten Bodhisattvas

On the third tier of the altar is occupied by the four deva kings, namely the Dhṛtarāṣṭra King (*Chiguo tianwang* 持國天王), Virūḍhaka (*Zengzhang tianwang* 增長天王), Virūpākṣa

[134] Ibid., 746c20.

[135] TDMY, fasc. 1, 52a-54a.

(*Guangmu tianwang* 廣目天王), and Vaiśravaṇa (*Duowen tianwang* 多聞天王), and the four bodhisattvas who are in charge of flowers, nectar, fragrance, and lamps.

As we can see, the geometric array of the altars and the installation of the central divinities largely resembles the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, one of the two crucial realms in the Esoteric tradition and representation of the wisdom of Vairocana in its indestructibility and activity. Nevertheless, it has also absorbed traditional Chinese characteristics, such as the eight trigrams. The same is true of other sub-altars. For example, both the altars of the heavenly and earthly wheels (Figure 1) follow the style of a *maṇḍala*. The Buddhist heavens and their assemblies are installed on the altar of heavenly wheel. All the sovereigns of the earth and water, as well as the kings of the underground world, are installed on the altar of the earthly wheel. According to the instructions, the altar of the heavenly wheel should be round and built with earth up to three stories high, with a water channel dug around it. The altar of the earthly wheel, on the contrary, should be square and built with mud up to three stories, with a water channel around it. The different shapes of the altars are clearly an accommodation to indigenous Chinese cosmological notions that depict heaven as round and the earth as square.

3.4 Visual Practice

Also unofficially called the "teaching of images" (*Xiangjiao* 像教),[136] Buddhism is famous for its visual representations, which have a long heritage in Buddhist liturgies. In Buddhist ritual manuals, there are different types of visual representation. One is the eminent visionary practice

[136] Eric M. Greene, "The "Religion of Images"? Buddhist Image Worship in the Early Medieval Chinese Imagination," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 138.3 (2018): 455-484.

of "visualization" (*guan* 觀), which was especially privileged in Tiantai 天台 writings, while the other is much less evident in practical prescriptions but more manifest in discursive accounts and visual descriptions. In the TDMY ritual manual, these two ways of visual representation are both used, one in the discursive descriptions of the gods invited to occupy the altars and the other in the visionary practice in the ritual of baptizing and offering food to the lost souls and hungry ghosts.

As mentioned earlier, the pantheon invoked in the TDMY ritual tradition is trichotomous, divided into upper, middle, and lower sections, and is therefore different than the pantheon invoked in the FJSF ritual tradition. In addition to this difference, the way of invoking deities also differs. In the FJSF ritual manual, the discursive descriptions of those who are invoked are very concise. The ritual masters simply chant their names and titles. Whereas in the TDMY ritual manual, the discursive accounts of the pantheon are far richer through the addition of descriptions of the divinities. The discursive pattern in the text is "[we] wholeheartedly invite, AAAA, BBBB, CCCCCC, DDDDDD…, divinity so-and-so…" These discursive accounts are like "profiles" of the deities. Some provide imagery descriptions of the imagery of the deity; some depict historical or religious stories about the deity; while some reflect doctrinal teachings of the deity. For example, when invoking the Medicine Buddha, the description says:

> [Paying homage, we hereby] wholeheartedly invite the Beryl Light Medicine Buddha of the twelve vows,[137] whose Dharma body is pure white and whose reward

[137] The twelve vows are: 1. Illuminating all worlds with his bodily lights as a burning lamp. 2. Enlightening all sentient beings with his beryl-like body which is pure and clean. 3. Using his infinite wisdom and expedient means to make sure that all sentient beings have affluent lives. 4. If there are ones who practice evil ways, he will make them stay in the path of Bodhi; if there are ones who follow the vehicles of śrāvaka and pratyekabuddha, he will settle them in the vehicle of Mahāyāna. 5. If there are ones who have already received precepts yet still violated the precepts, once they hear the name of the buddha, their transgressions will be eliminated and they will not fall in the evil paths. 6. If there are ones whose have physical disabilities, once they hear the name of the buddha, they will be healed. 7. If there are ones who are suffering from illnesses and poverty, once they hear the name of the buddha, their illnesses will be cured. 8. If there are women who are suffering from the hundred failings of women, once they hear the name of the buddha, they will be transformed into men and attain the supreme enlightenment eventually. 9. Making all sentient beings be free from non-Buddhist fetters. 10. If there are one who are suffering from torture or imprisonment, once they hear the name of the buddha, they will be liberated from the sufferings. 11. If there are ones who commit various crimes due to their craving for food, once they hear the name of the buddha, they will be fed with food and drink until full first before being calmed by the taste of Dharma. 12. If there are ones who are exposed to insect bites, heat, and cold due to lacking clothing, once they hear the name of the buddha, they will be given various good clothes, as well as various ornaments, garlands, fragrance, musical instruments,

> body is complete and bright. He demonstrates the true appearance of amber and manifests the marvelous image of beryl. The hair [between his eyebrows] shines like jade and his dark hair is spiraled (like a conch shell). He accepts all sentient beings and arouses a compassionate mind to welcome all species of living creatures.
> 南無一心奉請，法身皎潔，報體圓明。證琥珀之真容，現琉璃之妙像。毫輝玉彩，髮紺青螺。雙持六願接群生，獨起悲心迎品類。十二大願，藥師瑠璃光佛。[138]

When invoking Avalokitêśvara Bodhisattva, the text says:

> [Paying homage, we hereby] wholeheartedly invite the Great Sage Avalokitêśvara, who is embraced by clouds of willow floss and a red halo. He reveals a body decorated with emerald and gems and manifests images of flower garlands and woven silks in the shape of a *sauvastika*(卍). He responds according to conditions and saves the suffering by following their sounds. His compassion is as firm as bell and mountain, and his unimpeded supernatural powers are like water and the moon.
> 南無一心奉請，兜羅雲裏，紅暈光中。呈翡翠瓔珞嚴身，現花鬘綺羅卍像。隨緣赴感，救苦尋聲。慈悲堅固似鐘峯，自在神通如水月。大聖觀世音菩薩。[139]

In addition to the image-provoking invocations, there are also discursive descriptions of the environment of the ritual space that are found everywhere in the text. Accounts such as "the smoke of the five kinds of incense is curling upwards while the emerald shadows of the seven enlightenment flowers are accumulating layer upon layer. Being auspicious signs and becoming spreading clouds, they extensively permeate the three realms and reach out to myriad beings" 五分香清煙裊裊，七覺花翠影重重。為瑞為祥，成雲成蓋。普熏三界，徧集萬靈.[140] "On that day, the incense burns and fumes on the Oxhead mountain, while flowers are marvelously scattered. Teams of Kylin parade like woven silks, while pheasants wind up into two groups and divide the

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servants, and anything they want. See, *Yaoshi liuliguang rulai benyuan gongde jing* 藥師琉璃光如來本願功德經 1, T. 450: 14. 405a7-b22.

[138] TDMY, fasc. 1, 50a.

[139] Ibid., 50b.

[140] Ibid., 37b.

splendid banners" 是日香焚牛首，花散曼殊。麒麟隊遶列綺羅，鷄鴙雙盤分錦繡.[141] "Flags and banners distantly circle like pouring rains and dispersing clouds. The rise and fall of troops and their weapons are like soaring flames and rising mist" 幢幡遼遶兮，雨驟雲奔。隊仗低昂兮，焰騰霧滃.[142] According to the ritual statement, all ritual participants "sincerely hope that by means of the samadhi power of the *tathāgata* and the permeation of the supreme great compassion, auspicious signs will appear in the celestial palace and the light emitting from the tuft of hair between his eyebrows will shine over the earthly realms" 唯願如來三昧之力，無上大悲所熏，瑞像現於天宮，毫光照於地界.[143]

However, the use of discursive descriptions and visual imagery is not unique to Esoteric Buddhism as Buddhist texts are replete with terms such as "image" and "sign," while Buddhist ritual is full of practices such as "seeing" (*jian* 見), "imagining" (*xiang* 想), and "visualizing" (*guan* 觀). [144] As mentioned previously, where the liturgies truly differ is not in the deployment of visual techniques, the building of altars, the identification of one's body with that of a Buddha, or even of *mantras*, but in the systematic deployment of "seed" syllables and the use of *mudrā*. In the TDMY ritual manual, the practice of visualizing the buddhas and their related seed syllables is encountered in the rite performed particularly for those who demand prompt salvation, namely, orphaned souls and hungry ghosts.

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[141] Ibid., 43b.

[142] Ibid., 43b.

[143] Ibid., 47b.

[144] The term "visualization" (*guan* 觀), which may be understood as a virtual extension of liturgical practice, contains different layers of meaning. See, Paul Copp, "Visualization and Contemplation," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 142.

In the rites of confession and repentance (*zhaozui chanhui* 召罪懺悔), there are instructions for what the ritual master is to do after reciting the *mantra* of offering food (*shishi zhenyan* 施食真言):

> Reciting it seven times, the empowered *sangha* will obtain the three mysteries: secretly recite this spell, secretly visualize in the mind, and secretly make a *mudrā* with body. Snap the right [-hand fingers] to flip the forbearance mudra, there will be various dharmic foods flowing out of two syllables of *vaṃ* and [filling] the entire universe.
> 誦七遍。加持僧要具三密。密念此呪，意密想觀，身密結印。右彈忍禪，有二錢字流出種種法食，遍周沙界。[145]

A similar scene including food flowing out of syllables is repeated again at the end of the confession rite. After the empowered priest practices the three mysteries and snap his fingers seven times, all participating monks utter a loud voice and hold up cymbals to receive the dharmic food. They circumambulate the Buddha and arrive in front of the mountain of unimpeded money, visualizing food flowing out of the *vaṃ* syllable and into vessels. After incantatory water of the Marvelous High Mountain (*Miaogao shan* 妙高山) is poured, one vessel of food becomes ten vessels of ambrosia.[146]

In addition to the syllable *vaṃ*, another syllable that is visualized in the ritual is *oṃ* 唵. During the rite of making non-dual offerings before the mountain of unimpeded money (*wu'ai shan qian bu'er gongyang* 無礙山前不二供養), which immediately follows the confession rite, after reciting the *mantra* of making universal offerings (*pu gongyang zhenyan* 普供養真言) of the Ākāśagarbha (*Xukongzang* 虛空藏) Bodhisattva, we read the following instructions:

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[145] TDMY, fasc. 3, 21b.

[146] Ibid., fasc. 3, 21a.

> The empowered priest makes a mudrā of universal offering by joining the hands to make a *vajra*. Hold the mudrā at the level of one's heart and visualizing a yellow oṃ syllable emitting bright light, illuminating the offerings. Whether it is wealth or food, they are all transformed to fill the Dharma-realm.
> 加持僧結普供養印，作金剛合掌，置印當心，內想黃色唵，放大光明，照前所施。若財若食，展轉變化，充滿法界。[147]

The visualization of the syllable *oṃ* also appears in the concluding rite when the entire assembly is sent off. But this time, it is a white *oṃ* that is visualized.[148] The visualization of syllables occupies a central place in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, according to which, *vaṃ* is the seed syllable of Mahāvairocana in the Vajradhātu realm, indicating the supreme wisdom. The *oṃ* syllable, which originated in Hindu tradition as a mystic name and was adopted into Esoteric Buddhism. It functions both as an object of meditation and as the first syllable of most of the *dhāraṇīs* in the Vajradhātu realm.

3.5 The Ghost-Feeding Rite

At the very end of the TDMY ritual manual, two scriptures concerning rites for feeding ghost are attached in their entirety. One is the *Foshuo jiu mianran yankou jing* 佛說救面然焰口經 (*Sūtra for Saving the Burning-Mouth, preached by the Buddha*) translated by Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀 (652-710), and the other is the *Foshuo jiuba yankou egui tuoluoni jing* 佛說救拔焰口餓鬼陀羅尼經 (*Dhāraṇī Sūtra for Saving the Flaming Mouth Hungry Ghosts, Preached by the Buddha*) translated by Amoghavajra 不空 (705-774). The inclusion of these two scriptures in the ritual

[147] TDMY, fasc. 3, 23a.

[148] Ibid., 44b-45a: "想白色唵字，放大光明，普照三界六道有情。蒙光所觸，同證法身，常樂之果。以其印咒，三誦三開。謝聖賢而浩浩盈空，送海眾而喧喧滿路。東歸鷲嶺，西返祇園。在穹者俄赴天宮，居海者旋歸水府。或遊十方剎土，或往四方界中。"

manual suggests the importance of the rite of feeding hungry ghosts for the Water-Land Retreat. According to Hun Lye, it is in the late Tang that we begin to see traces of the practice of ghost-feeding rites inspired by the *Burning/Flaming-Mouth Sūtra*.[149]

While the narrative and sūtra of the ghost-feeding rites originated in India. The standard procedures used in later Chinese Buddhist ghost-feeding rites include two liturgical elements: the chanting of the spell and names of the Buddhas; offering rice-grains and drops of water. Later ghost-feeding liturgies mostly relied on Amoghavajra's *Flaming-Mouth Sūtra*. The focus of the sūtra is on a special *dhāraṇī* used for the empowerment, transformation, and multiplication of food and drinks for the purposes of feeding all hungry ghosts, which are precisely those creatures prohibited from eating or drinking as a punishment for their past transgressions. It was not until the late Tang (at the earliest) and in the Song that ghost-feeding traditions centered on the *Burning/Flaming-Mouth Sūtra* began to emerge as an alternative to the Mulian-complex in the Chinese post-mortem ritual market.[150] The emphasis of the *Burning/Flaming-Mouth Sūtra* is on the power of the spells and the ritual that is promoted—a power that can be appropriated by anyone, be they lay or monastic.[151]

That the ritual of feeding hungry ghosts can be performed without the mediation of the clergy is but one of the two general directions that the ritual has taken during the late Tang and early Song. It was represented by the Song Tiantai ghost-feeding rites, which attempted to distance the practice from the Esoteric tradition by minimizing its Esoteric elements and adopting

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[149] Hun Y. Lye, "Feeding Ghosts: A Study of the Yuqie Yankou Rite" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 2003).

[150] Ibid., 238.

[151] Ibid., 238.

extensively from local popular religions.[152] This was the exact opposite attempts made to place the practice of ghost-feeding within relatively more systematized forms of Esoteric Buddhist traditions such as those introduced and promoted by figures such as Amoghavajra, Śubhakarasiṃha and their disciples.

Attempts to situate the practice of feeding hungry ghosts within the mainstream Esoteric tradition in East Asia are explicitly found for the first time in a liturgical manual called the *Sūtra of the Flaming-Mouth Liturgy, the Collected Essentials of the Yoga of the Dharani that Saved Ānanda* (*Yuqie jiyao jiu a'nan tuoluoni yankou yigui jing* 瑜伽集要救阿難陀羅尼焰口軌儀經, T.1318). This liturgical sūtra was already in circulation as early as the twelfth century as evidenced by the Jin-period carving of the text and the inclusion of the text in the Qisha 磧沙 canon completed in 1321.[153] New materials in this sūtra made it distinctive from previous scriptures on the practice of hungry ghost feeding. It enlarged the original soteriological goal of the practice by framing it within the standard Mahāyāna rhetoric of universal liberation of all sentient beings. Besides, it emphasized that the performers of ghost-feeding rites have to be properly initiated into Esoteric practice by a qualified Esoteric preceptor (*ācāryas* 阿闍梨), thus indicating the necessity of an *abhiṣeka* rite, which is the most important rite within the standard Esoteric traditions anchored in the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* 大日經 and the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra* 金剛頂經. That sūtra emphasizes that only those who have been initiated into the Esoteric teachings by a qualified teacher should practice the ghost-feeding rite by issuing a warning about the negative consequences of not

[152] Lye, "Feeding Ghosts: A Study of the Yuqie Yankou Rite"; Stevenson, "Protocols of Power: Tz'u-yün Tsun-shih (964-1032) and T'ien-t'ai Lay Buddhist Ritual," 340-408.

[153] *Ershiwu Zhong zangjing mulu duizhao kaoshi* 二十五種藏經目錄對照考釋, ed. Cai Yunchen 蔡運辰 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1983), 151.

adhering to its stipulations. Related to this newly added emphasis were instructions for the construction of a special altar or platform, the "*Samaya* platform" 三昧耶戒壇, necessary for the performance of the ritual.[154] In general, "*samaya* precepts," also known as the "Esoteric *Samaya*-precepts"秘密三昧耶戒, "Buddha-nature *Samaya*-precepts" 佛性三昧耶戒, "Esoteric-precepts" 秘密戒 and "Three-worlds without obscurations wisdom-precepts" 三界無障礙智戒, only appear in Esoteric teachings.

The rite of feeding hungry ghosts within the TDMY liturgy is obviously related to the Esoteric practice of feeding the hungry ghosts, just as were the *abhiṣeka* rite and the conferral of the *samaya* precepts. However, the participant in the rite and the recipient of the precepts are non-human beings: they are orphaned souls and hungry ghosts. In other words, the ghosts and spirits are treated as acolytes waiting to be converted and admitted into the Buddhist community. We find this expressed by the Master of Contemplating Emptiness (Sikong dashi 思空大師, d. unknown) at the end of the practice of precepts conferral:

> Today, for all of you the conferral of the *Samaya* precepts is completed. From now on you are able to enter the rank of *tathāgata* and become the true disciples of the Buddha.[155] [You will] transform according to the Dharma and be divided by the Buddhist teachings.
> 今為汝等，受三昧耶戒竟。從今已去，能令汝等，入如來位，是真佛子。從法化生，得佛法分。[156]

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[154] Lye, "Feeding Ghosts: A Study of the Yuqie Yankou Rite," 261-262.

[155] Those who received Buddhist precepts are the ones that enter the position of Buddha, equal to those have achieved great enlightenment. See, *Fanwang jing pusa jie ben siji* 梵網經菩薩戒本私記, X.683:38. 277c-278a: "既入於初地以上位。故言入諸佛位。十地皆為佛地故。……真是諸佛子者。約地上菩薩。故言真佛子。"

[156] TDMY, fasc. 3, 32b.

Concluding Remarks

The Esoteric features of the TDMY liturgy were made particularly obvious in one of the ritual memorials found in the "assorted documents" section:

> Today, we have [so-and-so] of [such-and-such] place, who venerates and makes offerings to the Three Treasures, in order to give rise to the boundless mind and cultivate the unimpeded offering, at this [so-and-so] temple, set up the Non-discriminative and Unimpeded, Pure and Equal Great Ritual of Water-Land for the Three Vehicles of the Dharma Realm, the Dead and the Living of Heaven and Earth for three days and nights. Altars are open since [such-and-such] day and will be dismissed on [such-and-such] day. During this time, the ritual relies on the *ācārya* who holds the teaching, as well as all Buddhist priests of the altar, who alternatively perform the Great Teaching of Yoga and secretly empower [the performance] according to the Dharma…
> 今有某府某方居住，奉三寶摩訶檀信某人，發廣大心，修無遮供，詣於某寺，建置法界三乘，天地冥陽，無遮無礙，清淨平等，水陸大道場三晝夜。於某日啓壇，至某日罷散。其間專仗秉法闍梨，及僧眾一壇，輪演瑜伽大教，如法秘密加持……[157]

In terms of the overall liturgical framework, previous studies have suggested that the Water-Land Retreat in effect adopts a combination of the so-called "guest-host" model, which had an Indian provenance in the *pūjā* (*gongyang* 供養) ritual, and the "conversion" model in which all benighted beings are instructed to give rise to *bodhicitta* after being bestowed with the precepts.[158] According to Charles Orzech, the guest-host ritual structure is a Tantric model, the liturgical sequence of which includes an elaborately choreographed performance: the worshiper prepares and purifies himself, repents sins and dedicates merit, contemplates the images of the deities, establishes the boundaries of the ritual arena, and invokes the deities by inviting them to be present. The deities are then installed in the ritual arena, which is sealed and purified. Each part of this

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[157] TDMY, "Zawen," 6.

[158] Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins: le bouddhisme tantrique en Chine (*Bibliothéque des sciences humaines. Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 25. Robert Sharf, "Thinking Through Shingon Ritual," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 26.1 (2003): 51-96. Bloom, "Descent of the Deities," 58.

sequence is constituted by a series of acts involving the making of *mudrās* that are coordinated with the enunciation of the appropriate *mantra* and an envisioning process.[159] Philip Bloom has also points out, based on his reading of the FJSF ritual manual, that the "host-guest" paradigm, repentance ritual, and recitation of Buddha's name are interwoven to produce a ritual syntax that reveals characteristics of a "Mahāyāna-Esoteric" syncretism.[160] This is indeed the case with the Water-Land ritual tradition represented by the FJSF liturgical text, because not only does the repentance ritual betray a Tiantai liturgical agenda but the recitation of the Buddha's name and aspiration for being reborn in the Bliss World, as elaborated at length in the last fascicle, also suggests connections to Pure Land Buddhist beliefs and practices.[161] However, the entire Tantric model of guest-host was rendered as an infrastructure that provides an order and structure for giving rise to *bodhicitta* and realizing bodhisattva vows.

However, after sorting out all these esoteric elements in the TDMY ritual manual, it is now imperative to reconsider the "Mahāyāna-Esoteric" paradigm and ask the following questions: Does this paradigm remain the same in the TDMY liturgy? What is the role of the typical Esoteric Buddhist elements, such as *abhiṣeka*, *samaya* precepts, and visualizing seed syllables, that are

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[159] Charles D. Orzech, "Tantric Subjects: Liturgy and Vision in Chinese Esoteric Ritual Manuals," in Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar, eds., *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 24.

[160] Bloom, "Descent of the Deities," 131-132.

[161] The Pure Land school is known for its emphasis on faith in the power of Amitabha's vows, on the practice of the recitation/invocation of Amitabha's name (*nianfo* 念佛), and on the goal of rebirth in Amitabha's Western Pure Land. The wide variety of practices that went under the general rubric of *nianfo* are to be found in the ritual manuals of all the principal liturgical traditions. As Sharf rightly pointed out, however, the faith in Amitabha was an ubiquitous feature of Chinese Buddhism and that desire for rebirth in the Pure Land was virtually universal among Buddhist practitioners regardless of their ordination lineage, their ecclesiastical education (or lack thereof), or their institutional affiliation. The practice most closely associated with Pure Land thought is *nianfo*, a cover term for a variety of practices extending from a single utterance of the name of a buddha—often, but by no means necessarily, Amitabha—to an elaborate ritual involving chanting, prostration, and visualization. In various forms *nianfo* has always been an important component of the Chinese Buddhist *dhyāna* tradition. See, Robert Sharf, "On Pure Land Buddhism and Chan/Pure Land Syncretism in Medieval China," *T'oung Pao* 88 (2002): 282-331.

found in the TDMY ritual manual and how does it inform larger aspects of the Water-Land Retreat, such as the perceptions of ritual efficacy?

On the one hand, it seems easy to identify what specific Esoteric elements that have been incorporated into the TDMY liturgy. It is evident that the TDMY liturgy received considerable influence from the Vajradhātu Esoteric tradition whose hallmarks included the practice of visualizing the seed syllables of *vaṃ* and *oṃ,* the configuration of a *Maṇḍala*-like altar with the five tathāgatas at the center, as well as the transformation from a compassionate bodhisattva to a ferocious vajra. While on the other hand, it seems to have made the liturgy much more expertise-oriented by coating it with Esoteric elements that are not accessible to common lay people. This echoes Hun Lye's discoveries of the two current yet developmentally different directions of the feeding of the hungry-ghosts ritual: One gradually eliminated the need for the mediating power of the *sangha* by emphasizing the infinite power of a single *dhāraṇī.* The other primarily involved the professionalization by situating the ritual into the normative practices of feeding hungry ghosts.

That these two directions are found in both the feeding of the hungry-ghosts and Water-Land rituals is intriguing. It bespeaks the liturgical manifestation of two trends in Chinese religious history: "democratization" and "esotericization." There are multiple ways to understand these two trends, but one point that can be misleading and thus needs immediate clarification is that "democratization" does not necessarily suggest a revolutionarily elimination of monastic intervention. In fact, both "democratization" and "esotericization" can be seen as two modes of enhancing the authority of the monastic: while the latter imposes further restrictions on the laity's accessibility to religious rituals, the former skillfully integrates monastic norms into the ritual lives of the general public. While the former diminishes distance between the monastic and the lay, the latter intentionally creates more distance. However, the goals of the two modes are effectively the

same: both are attempts to increase ritual efficacy, which is the central solution for religious and societal issues.

Nonetheless, it is still too premature to offer a conclusive statement about the Water-Land Retreat being "esotericized" in the TDMY liturgy, because we still need to consider another side of the TDMY liturgy in the following chapter that reveals its strong synthetic nature.

CHAPTER 3

The Synthetic Configuration of Universal Salvation: The Non-Buddhist Elements in the TDMY Liturgy

"Listening to the Dharma and asking for further teaching in the city of Śrāvastī;
Transforming pneuma and feeling resonance on the isles of Penglai and Yingzhou."
「聽法請益於舍衛城中，化氣感應於蓬瀛島內。」[1]

Introduction

As discussed previously, the TDMY liturgy was not only heavily "esotericized" through the integration of elements from Esoteric Buddhism, but it also extensively incorporated a variety of non-Buddhist elements. The eclectic nature of the TDMY liturgy makes it a valuable lens through which we can observe the clashes of different cultural values and practices which then gave rise to the development of a synthetic ritual tradition. This type of complex amalgam is characteristic of Chinese religion since the arrival of Buddhism at the end of the Eastern Han period. Philip Bloom's dissertation included thoughtful reflections on the bureaucratic nature of the Water-Land Retreat, suggesting that bureaucracy is an overarching framework for the entire ritual performance.[2] In fact, as we will see in the following discussion, "bureaucracy" provides not only the framework for the whole ritual performance to be carried out but it is also the

[1] TDMY, "Zawen," fasc. 2, 9a.

[2] Philip Bloom, "Descent of the Deities," 370-452.

infrastructural support for bringing in and reorganizing different religious elements—such as indigenous Chinese cosmological theories, Daoist philosophy and ritual paraphernalia, and local perceptions of and practices involving the supernatural world—which did not originally hold strong connections with one another. I argue that, with a bureaucratic setting incorporated, non-Buddhist religious concepts and practices are "translated" into the Buddhist scheme of universal salvation in the TDMY liturgy, which would, on a practical and popular level, significantly improve the "efficacy" of the Water-Land Retreat.

Such a realistic and popular-level concern is vividly reflected in an anecdote in the *Records of Hearsay* which relates about the experience of a young man named Shujie 叔介 traveling into the underworld. The events in the story occurred during the performance of a postmortem ritual, namely the Yellow Register Offering (*Huanglu jiao* 黃籙醮), held for Shujie's deceased mother, Madame Zhao 趙. During the ritual, due to his eagerness to see his mother again, Shujie volunteered to serve in the ritual space where the soul of his mother would be summoned. When his mother's soul arrived, he saw her and entered into a trance in which his visit to the underworld began. There, Shujie encountered an underground marshal and inquired about his surname. The marshal answered: "While I was alive, my surname was Wang 王, but now I don't have any surname. I often see that when people hold Water-Land rituals they invoke the officers of the dark bureau with names such as Judge Cui and Judge Li, who, however, refuse to respond to the call. Because they preferred to be called by their official titles: 'Judge of such-and-such table of such-and-such department.'"[3] The marshal continued:

> I was provided with a very narrow curtained seat [during the ritual], but I seldom stayed in there. Instead, I waited all the time on the altar at the command [of the

[3] *Yijian zhi*, 450.

lord], daring not to leave for even just one second. Even though when there were only two words [to report], I still processed them and reported to my superiors… However, it was due to the improper position of my curtained seat that there was filth to both right and left. In addition, the man in yellow who burned incense didn't keep his clothes clean, and the man who carried water didn't keep his body pure. A child in black clothes who held a baby was playing in front of the seat of the Celestial Worthy. Infuriated, the Celestial Worthy requested that all of them be arrested. The Green Memorials were good though.[4] When the ritual master made an announcement to open the gate of the earthly prisons, his pardon was also sincere. Although his voice was loud enough, he didn't say the words correctly—he pronounced one of the characters as 'Tan'潭, which could be identified with any of our officials. The Celestial Worthy and the Lord were angry. Soon, the character was recognized correctly as 'Tao'濤. The Lord requested six people to be released. But, since the ritual master's request of a pardon was not clear enough, only two of them were freed, one of whom was Madame Zhao." Again, the Marshal said to Shujie: "Since your father always blames you for being lazy and not studying hard, I will teach you a spell for becoming smart, which is 'no impediment, no obstruction, my smartness is vast "*Yulü shahe wujin jie*."
吾得一幕次甚窄。身卻不在彼。常在壇上聽指揮。不敢離一步。便一兩字亦從吾手中過。然後奏上。……只為排得幕次不是。左右多有穢觸。又黃衣人炷香衣服不潔。負水人身體腥穢。一青衫小兒抱嬰孩來天尊位前戲狎。天尊怒。皆追來枷了。青詞甚好。宣開地獄。赦亦至誠。特以判官聲雄。道字不真。有一字讀作潭字。數人清不出。天尊主者皆怒。已而辨之。乃濤字也。主者白請放六人。判官密言赦文不明白。再墮其四。只赦兩人。其一則趙氏也。將軍曰。汝父常誚汝懶惰不讀書。我教汝聰明咒云。無礙無遮廣聰明。喬律莎訶無緊揭。[5]

He also told Shujie that he holds five duties at the same time, the first one being in charge of guiding [the dead] at the third Heavenly Gate, the second being in charge of written documents for the ritual master, the third being the Master of Natural Mountains (*Ziran shanzhu* 自然山主), the fourth being the Supervisor of Ash River (*Hui he* 灰河). He refused to disclose the fifth duty because "it is too trivial to be even mentioned."[6]

[4] Ibid., 450. For studies on Green Memorials (*qingci* 青词), See, Franciscus Verellen, "Green Memorials: Daoist Ritual Prayers in the Tang-Five Dynasties Transition," *Tang Studies*, 35:1, 2017: 51-86.

[5] *Yijian zhi*, 450.

[6] Ibid., 450.

The marshal then took Shujie to Ash River. Those who committed no transgressions before death crossed the river using a bridge whereas those who committed serious crimes in their lifetime were asked to take off their clothes, put on wading pants, and cross through water. There were big withered trees on the banks of the river, on which ghost soldiers (*guizu* 鬼卒) hung the clothes of the dead waders. After that, the ghost soldiers all transited to carriages to cross the bridge.[7]

This long story provides a different perspective on the salvation rituals under discussion. The story took place within the local liturgical context of the performance of the Daoist Yellow Register Ritual, within which the marshal of the dark bureau that Shujie met criticized the contemporaneous practice of the Water-Land Rituals that invoke divine officials by their surnames. In other words, the act of calling them by their surnames personalized the divine/dark bureaucracy and was considered an illegitimate and ineffective practice, which was perhaps a common phenomenon at the time the story was written. After his critique of the Water-Land Ritual, the marshal brought up two things that bear clear marks of Buddhism. The first is the spell to make the son smart. The name of this spell is "no impediment, nor obstruction" (*Wu'ai wuzhe* 無礙無遮), which are common terms used to describe the Buddhist core doctrine of "emptiness" (*kong* 空). The terms are also alternative names for the Water-Land Ritual, as we've seen in previous chapters. The string of syllables immediately following the spell are transliterations of a non-Chinese language, most likely Sanskrit but no exact source has been identified. The other Buddhist elements include Ash River. Ash River is one of the sixteen subsidiary hells within the Buddhist system.[8] It was so named because it consists of a river covered in ash, and it is one of the places

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[7] Ibid., 451.

[8] The sixteen subsidiary hells are also known as the sixteen itinerant hells 十六遊增地獄 because those who fall into these hells are constantly moving from place to place. They include the hells of black sands 黑沙地獄, boiling shit 沸屎地獄, iron nails 鐵釘地獄, starvation 饑餓地獄, of thirst 渴地獄, one bronze cauldron 一銅鑊地獄, many bronze cauldrons 多銅鑊地獄, grinding

where wrongdoers receive severe punishment. The earliest description of the Ash River hell is found in the *Āgama of Combined Discourses* (*Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經; Skt. Saṃyuktāgama-sūtra). At the time when the Buddha was at the Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada-ārāma 祇樹給孤獨園 near Śrāvastī 舍衛國, he told all the monks that "the southern bank of Ash River is extremely hot and is covered by thorns. It is located in the dark and numerous wrongdoers are drifting along in the river's currents" 灰河。南岸極熱。多諸利刺。在於闇處。眾多罪人在於河中隨流漂沒.[9] A further detailed description of this hell is found in the *Strange Stories in Sūtras and Vinayas* (*Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相):

> The hell of Ash River is five hundred *yojanas* in width, length, and depth. With ash boiling and bad smells swelling its whirly waves hit each other and make huge frightening sounds. Rising up from the bottom of the river are vertical and horizontal iron spikes. On the banks of the river, there are forests of swords, whose branches, leaves, and flowers are all made of knives and swords. Wrongdoers enter the river and go up and down with the waves. As they swirl around and sink their bodies are pierced by the iron spikes so that pus and blood flow out. The pain is unbearable and lasts forever. Coming out of Ash River onto the bank, sharp swords pierce their body while jackals and wolves come to bite the wrongdoers and feed on their flesh. When the wrongdoers climb the trees of swords, the blades turn downward. Whey the wrongdoers climb down on the trees of swords, the blades turn upwards. When climbing with their hands, their hands are severed; when climbing with their feet, their feet are cut off. Skin and flesh fall apart while only bones and veins remain connected. The birds in the sword trees have iron beaks, which peck the heads [of the wrongdoers] and eat their brains. Their painful cry lasts forever. They then return to Ash River and sink with the waves. The iron spikes pierce through their bodies, causing extreme pain. Their skin and flesh become rotten while pus and blood drain out. There are only white bones floating on the water's surface. When the cold winds blow, they all immediately stand up. 灰河地獄。縱廣深淺各五百由旬。灰湯涌沸惡氣漰渤迴波相搏聲響可畏。從底至上鐵刺縱橫。其河岸上有劍樹林。枝葉華實皆是刀劍。罪人入河隨波上下。迴覆沈沒鐵刺刺身。內外通徹膿血流出。苦痛萬端故令不死。乃出灰河

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stones 石磨地獄, pus and blood 膿血地獄, fire 量火地獄, ashen rivers 灰河地獄, iron rings 鐵丸地獄, axes and hatchets 釿斧地獄, wolves 豺狼地獄, sword-trees 劍樹地獄, and ice-water 寒水地獄. The earliest complete description of the sixteen lesser hells is found in the *Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相 49, T. 2121: 53. 260b27-c3.

[9] *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經, T. 99: 2. 316c24.

至彼岸上。利劍割刺身體傷破。復有豺狼來嚙罪人生食其肉。走上劍樹劍刃下向。下劍樹時劍刃上向。手攀手絕足蹋足斷。皮肉墮落唯有白骨筋脈相連。時劍樹上有鐵嘴烏。啄頭食腦苦毒號叫故令不死。還入灰河隨波沈沒。鐵刺刺身苦毒萬端。皮肉爛壞膿血流出。唯有白骨浮漂於外。冷風來吹尋便起立。[10]

From this story, it seems that by the time of the Southern Song dynasty, the local perception of salvation rites had already been informed by a synthetic salvific scheme that embraces a wide variety of religious and cultural ideas and practices. However, as we will see in the following discussion, this synthetic salvific scheme was not only reflected in storytelling, but was also reflected in liturgical texts, like the TDMY ritual manual.

In addition, among all the anecdotes that mentioned the Water-Land Retreat in the *Records of Hearsay*, only one of them specifically refers to the ritual by the name of "Water-Land Retreat for the Dead and the Living" (*Mingyang shuilu zhai* 冥陽水陸齋).[11] Intriguingly, this anecdote shares a similar storyline with Shujie's story: A deceased mother meets her living son and then the son visits the underworld. Madame Shi 施, a deceased woman of a household in Chizhou 池州 (in modern Anhui 安徽 province), visited her living son in a dream and passed him a message, requesting a salvation ritual so that she could transform into a man before attaining ultimate salvation. Later, Madame Shi's grandson also had a dream, in which he visited the netherworld and had a conversation with a deceased old friend of his grandfather. During his visit to the underworld, the grandson learned that two Buddhist scriptures, namely the *Sūtra of the Girl*

[10] *Jinglü yixiang* 49*,* T. 2121: 53. 260c3-261b5.

[11] *Yijian zhi*, 422-23.

Candrôttarā (*Yueshangnü jing* 月上女經)[12] and the *Sūtra of Neither Increase Nor Decrease* (*Buzeng bujian jing* 不增不減經),[13] could help his grandmother transform into a man. Following the advice of his son and grandson, Madame Shi's husband eventually held a "Water-Land Retreat for the Dead and the Living" during which the two Buddhist scriptures were recited a thousand times. After a hundred days, the man had a dream in which Madame Shi appeared and told him that, thanks to the inconceivable Buddhist merits generated in the postmortem ritual, she would soon be reborn as a male descendent in the Huo 霍 family in Luzhou 廬州 (in modern Anhui 安徽 province).[14]

But these two Buddhist scriptures are not found in any of the ritual manuals for the Water-Land Ritual; nor are they mentioned in other anecdotes in the *Records of Hearsay*. The fact this example of Buddhist misogyny is not found in any of the Water-Land liturgies will prove of interest in the following investigation of the TDMY liturgy, especially in relation to the soteriological goal of universal salvation.

1. Doctrinal Synthesis

Similar to the FJSF text, the TDMY text cites extensively from a variety of sources, suggesting a certain involvement with the traditions represented by the sources. In the section on

[12] The *Yueshangnü jing* 月上女經 2, T. 480: 14. Full title of this scripture is *Foshuo yueshangnü jing* 佛說月上女經. It is said to be translated in 591 by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 (b. 523) and contains the story of Vimalakīrti 維摩 and his wife Candrôttarā 娘月上女.

[13] The *Buzeng bujian jing* 不增不減經 1, T. 668: 16. The title literally means *Sūtra of Neither Increase Nor Decrease*. It was translated by Bodhiruci 菩提流志 (d. 727) in 520 and the main content concerns the nature of the *tathāgatagarbha* and its relation to sentient beings.

[14] *Yijian zhi*, 423.

inviting deities into the ritual space, we encounter a passage which literally fuses doctrines of the three major religious traditions of Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism:

> The Buddha said: "A bodhisattva is like the pure moon wandering in the emptiness of a jade-blue mirror; the mind of all sentient beings is like tranquil water in which *bodhi* manifests itself." Li Baiyang [i.e., the Lord Lao] said: "Supreme goodness is like water, water benefits all things while remaining tranquil." Confucius said: "Benevolent people are fond of mountains while wise people are fond of water." … [Water] is as good as sweet yogurt. If cooked, it tastes like sweet cream. Its power is like continuous saliva. If refined, it becomes the true elixir and great medicine.
> 釋師子曰，菩薩清涼月，遊於碧鏡空。眾生心水靜，菩提影現中。李白陽曰，上善若水，水善利萬物皆靜。孔仲尼曰，仁者樂山，智者樂水。……良如酥酪，烹之則上味醍醐。德若懸津，煉之則真丹大藥。[15]

The first quote is actually from a five-character poem, "Ode to the Pavilion of the Clear Mind" (*Chengxin ting song* 澄心亭頌),[16] composed by Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105), who was inspired by a *gāthā* (*ji* 偈) in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經).[17] There are a few characters that differ from the original verses, such as "bijing"碧鏡 (jade-blue mirror) for "bijing" 畢竟 (ultimate) and "jing" 靜 (tranquil) for "jing" 凈 (clean). The second quote is from the Daoist classic *Scripture of the Way and Its Power (Daode jing* 道德經), which compares the highest level of goodness to being like water. Yet, there is also a discrepancy between the TDMY quote and the *Daode jing* original, which says "supreme goodness is like water, which has a tendency to benefit all things on earth without being contentious"上善若水。水善利萬物而不争.[18] The last quotation is from the *Analects.* It is quoted without any significant change to the original, but the

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[15] TMDY, fasc. 1, 45a-b.

[16] Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105), *"*Ode to the Pavilion of the Clear Mind" (*Chengxin ting song* 澄心亭頌), in *Yuzhang Huang xiansheng wenji* 豫章黃先生文集 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1929). In SBCK,15.106-107.

[17] *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 49, T. 279: 10. 315c.

[18] *Daode jing* 道德經 (GYCS), 2.3.

sequence of the two parallel phrases is inverted. Despite these quotes all coming from three different religious traditions, they are infused into a short paragraph to become a set of integrated statements demonstrating the excellence of water, which is used to purify the ritual space. As is implied in the last sentence, water maintains the potency that can be manifested in different forms under different circumstances. It can be transformed into the most delicate, tastiest, and richest sweet cream. It can also be an important agent for refining an elixir which is the most efficacious concoction for achieving immortality in Daoism. These metaphors from different religious traditions are melded together to serve the single purpose of verifying the potency of water as an effective tool for the ritual performance. With all these "endorsements" from the major religious texts, the purifying power of water is clearly demonstrated.

In addition to the quotes cited above, Daoist and Confucian thoughts and values are found elsewhere in the text. For example, in the memorial (*shu* 疏) for the ritual of opening the five paths (*kaitong wulu* 開通五路), a sentence reads: "As the greatest square has no corner, [the realms] were not distinguished from each other at the beginning; since the seven apertures are chiseled, the far and the near eventually developed distance between each other" 大方無隅，初不分於彼此；七鑿既兆，遂有間於邇遐.[19] The first half of the sentence is a citation from the *Scripture of the Way and Its Power* while the second half refers to the story of "Hundun" 混沌 in the *Zhuangzi*.[20] However, the original meanings of these two sources were not imported into this memorial. Instead, they both adapted the lines to new meanings and thus generated new functions for the literary context within which they are used. The liturgical purpose of this memorial is to

[19] TDMY, "Zawen," fasc. 2, 7a.

[20] *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (SBCK), 10.70-71.

introduce the necessity and significance of the performance of opening the five paths to the audience. The necessity comes out of the cosmogonic theory stated at the beginning of the memorial, which relates that ever since the ascendance and the descendance of the two energies of *yang* 陽 of *yin* 陰, the original undifferentiated universe was separated and the five directions formed. Since then, divine bureaus were established to govern different parts of the world and deities were placed in different administrative positions. Because of the divisions of the world, paths are thus created to receive and deliver messages among different segments of the divine territory. Therefore, in order to gather all beings in the whole universe, the paths leading to the five directions, namely, east, west, north, south, and middle are set up and the rulers of these five directions, namely, the Five Emperors (*Wudi* 五帝), are informed. It is thus clear that the citations from the *Scripture of the Way and Its Power* and the *Zhuangzi* are used here to form the cosmogonic backdrop in which the salvific scheme is carried out.

Furthermore, on the placard (*bang* 榜) for the altar gate (*tanmen* 壇門), the Confucian virtue of filial piety (*xiao* 孝) is affirmed in the following statement: "It is generally heard that after the pneuma of the Great One was separated, *yin* and *yang* appeared. Simply by being close to virtue, one will move heaven and earth; those who can receive assistance are determined by gods and spirits. Therefore, among the myriad Buddhist precepts and imperial rules, filial piety is the very first of all [correct] behaviors, and benevolence is the first of the five constant [relationships]" 蓋聞始分一氣，中列二儀。動乎天地，唯德而親；感乎神明，由誰而輔。是以佛乘萬戒，王制千條。孝為百行之初，仁乃五常之首.[21] The first half of this statement is

[21] TDMY, "Zawen," fasc. 1, 9a.

a citation from two of the Five Confucian Classics, the *Book of Change* (*Yijing* 易經)[22] and the *Book of History* (*Shangshu* 尚書),[23] and also from the *Commentary of Zuo* (*Zuozhuan* 左傳),[24] a narrative history of early China that is traditionally regarded as a commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋). The original quote in *the Book of History* is "the Heaven is not close to anyone; it assists only those who are virtuous" 皇天無親，惟德是輔.[25] In the *Commentary of Zuo*, it interprets this original quote as "ghosts and gods are not close to humans; they comply with only those who are virtuous" 鬼神非人實親，惟德是依.[26] As a written notice which is put up at the entrance to the ritual altar, this placard takes on some practical functions, such as promulgating the rules of behavior in the ritual. Therefore, it serves to make the rules readily accessible to the public. Obviously, the indigenous Chinese correlative cosmology,[27] which

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[22] *Zhouyi* 周易 (SBCK), 7.67.

[23] The other three Confucian classics are the *Book of Songs* (*Shijing* 詩經), the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記), and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋).

[24] Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 309 [Xigong wunian 僖公五年].

[25] *Shangshu* 尚書 (SBCK), 4.46.

[26] *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 309 [Xigong wunian 僖公五年].

[27] There is an extensive secondary literature on correlative cosmology. See esp. Derk Bodde, "Types of Chinese Categorical Thinking," in *Essays on Chinese Civilization*, eds., Charles Le Blanc and Dorothy Borei (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 141-60; Robert Eno, *The Confucian Creation of Heaven: Philosophy and the Defense of Ritual Mastery*, SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture (Albany: SUNY Press, 1990); Stephan D. R. Feuchtwang, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy* (Vientiane: Vithagan, 1974), 40-48; Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 2: The Period of Classical Learning (from the 2nd century B.C. to the 20th century A.D.), trans. Derk Bodde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 7-87; A. C. Graham, *Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking*, IEAP Occasional Paper and Monograph Series, no. 6 (Singapore: Institute of East Asian Philosophies, 1986); John Hay, "Values and History in Chinese Painting, 1: Hsieh Ho Revisited," *RES* 6 (fall), 1983: 97-101; John B Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 1-58; Ho Peng-yu and Joseph Needham, "Theories of Categories in Early Medieval Chinese Alchemy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courauld Institutes* 22, 1959: 173-210; Hsiao Kung-chuan 萧公權, *A History of Chinese Political Thought*., vol. 1: From the Beginnings to the Sixth Century A.D., trans. F. W. Mote (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); Francois Jullien, *The Propensity of Things: Toward a History of Efficacy in China*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Zone Books, 1995); Charles Le Blanc, *Huai-nan tsu, Philosophical Synthesis in Early Han Thought: The Idea of Resonance (kan-ying) with a Translation and Analysis of Chapter Six* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1985); Michael Loewe, *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death: Faith, Myth and Reason in the Han Period (202BC-AD 220)* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982), 38-47; John Stephen Major, "Myth, Cosmology, and the Origins of Chinese Science," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 5 (1), 1978: 1-20; *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought: Chapters Three, Four, and Five of the Huainanzi*, SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993), 28-32.

is at work behind this notice, offers an accessible connection with its audience. Filial piety, the most important moral virtue promoted by Confucianism, is now used within the setting of a Buddhist ritual performance as a reminder of how the human world is resonates with and responded to by the divine world.

2. Constructing a Synthetic Pantheon

As seen in the previous chapters, the deities invoked in the Water-Land Retreat have made the ritual space a "multicultural community." The pantheon, as we will see in the following analysis, is assembled with not only exoteric and esoteric Buddhist divinities, but also a variety of non-Buddhist deities.

Throughout the developmental history of the Water-Land Retreat, the pantheon invoked in the ritual has always been the part that experienced the greatest variation, which, in turn, became a telling internal reflection of the external transformations that affected the immediate social and cultural environment in which the ritual was carried out. The total number of deities invoked in the TDMY liturgy is one hundred and twenty. The setting of one-hundred-and-twenty deity seats was, according to Zongjian 宗鑒 (d. 1206), a popular practice in the Zhejiang region during or even before the Song dynasty[28] and an enlargement of the original Water-Land pantheon: "all of the one-hundred-and-twenty seats of images used in the regions of Jianghuai, the Capital, and Zhejiang are an enlargement and supplement made by people of later generations, for the purpose of promoting their own rites. As for the soteriological goal, they are the same" 然江淮京浙所用

[28] Studies of the Shuilu paintings have shown that at least by the end of the Tang dynasty, the setting of the one-hundred-and-twenty deity seats already existed. See, Huang Xiufu 黃休復, *Yizhou minghuaji* 益州名畫記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 19-20.

像設一百二十位者。皆後人踵事增華。以崇其法。至於津濟一也.[29] The original pantheon, however, had only sixteen seats, according to Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101): "In the past when the Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty first launched the Water-Land Ritual, he used only sixteen seats to stand for the trichiliocosm (whole universe)" 昔梁武皇帝始作水陸道場，以一十六名盡三千界.[30] The opening statement of the TDMY liturgy also attests to the number of "sixteen" by saying that "the Emperor [Wu] used sacrificial turtles to stand for sixteen different seats while today's ritual has about one hundred and twenty categories [of deities]" 帝代明龜，摽位則一十六異；方今儀軌，約類乃百二十殊.[31]

In 1096, Zongze 宗賾 collected different versions of the Water-Land ritual manuals and edited them by deleting and adding things, and eventually produced a liturgical manual totaling four fascicles.[32] In his edition, the pantheon is divided into three tiers:

> As for details about the Water-Land Assembly, offerings are made above to all buddhas, bodhisattvas, *śrāvakas* and *pratyekbuddhas*, *rājas* of the eight divisions, brāhman *ṛṣi*; in the middle to the King of the Brahma Heaven Indra, the twenty-eight heavens, and all venerable deities of the celestial constellations; and below to the dragon gods of the Five Peaks, rivers and oceans, and earth, all humans in the past, *asuras* and their families, all hell beings, wanderings souls and stagnant spirits, and all ghosts and spirits that have no place to rely on.
> 詳夫水陸會者。上則供養法界諸佛、諸位菩薩、緣覺聲聞、明王八部、婆羅門仙。次則供養梵王帝釋、二十八天、盡空宿曜一切尊神。下則供養五嶽河海大地龍神、往古人倫、阿修羅眾冥官眷屬、地獄眾生、幽魂滯魄、無主無依諸鬼神。[33]

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[29] *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統 4, X. 1513: 75. 304a.

[30] SSTL, 115a24.

[31] TDMY, fasc. 1, 1a.

[32] SSTL, 114b14-115a24.

[33] Ibid., 114b14-15..

Therefore, Zongze's edition not only provides further evidence of the formation of the pantheon of one-hundred-and-twenty seats, but further suggests that, by the time of the late Northern Song, these one-hundred-and-twenty seats were already divided into three levels of upper, middle, and lower. It is very likely that this tripartite pantheon was the model of the pantheon in the later TDMY liturgy because the deities invoked in the rites of "Inviting [Divinities] to the Central Seats" (*Yaoqing zhengwei* 邀請正位), "Welcoming the Celestial Immortals" (*Yingqing tianxian* 迎請天仙), and "Summoning [the Beings of] the Lower Realms" (*Zhaoqing xiajie* 召請下界) are arranged precisely in accordance with Zongze's division: most of the supreme Buddhist divinities occupy the higher tier, while all the lesser Buddhist divine beings and non-Buddhist deities are all assembled in the middle and lower tiers (see Appendix).

At the end of the "Assorted Documents," in the section entitled "Tablets of the Water-Land [Ritual]" (*Shuilu paiwei* 水陸牌位), a list gives a symmetric division of left and right seats for deities, sixty seats on the left (*zuo liushi wei* 左六十位),[34] sixty on the right (*you liushi wei* 右六十位):[35]

Left 左	Right 右
The Buddhist *devas* 諸天	Terrestrial deities 地祇神眾
Celestial gods, Emperors of the Five directions, and deities of the sun, moon, and stars 天神、五方五帝及日月星君	Dragon kings 諸龍神眾
The Three Officials, Heavenly officials, and the Four Marshals 三官天曹及四大元帥神	Deities of Seasons and Times 太陰神眾
Asuras 阿修羅眾	Local gods 土地神眾
Humans of the past	Lords and beings of the netherworld

[34] TDMY, "Tantu shi," 26a-b.

[35] Ibid., 27a-b.

往古一切人倫	地府神眾

The first three categories in the "left tablets"—the Buddhist *devas*, the celestial and Daoist marshal deities—correspond to the "Celestial Immortals" (*Tianxian* 天仙) that take up the second tier of the pantheon. However, *asuras* and humans of the past, including the ancestors of the ritual patron(s), are in fact those who are summoned into the lower level, the rest of which is completed with all the categories in the "right tablets." In addition to the placement of *asuras* and deceased human beings with Buddhist and Daoist celestial deities, it seems odd that since the number of the "left" (sixty) and the "right" (sixty) tablets amount to one hundred and twenty in total, the upper tier of the pantheon, which is made up of buddhas and bodhisattvas as well as their ferocious manifestations in the form of the wise kings, is a separate category whose ritual participation is not embodied through tablets. Furthermore, in some sections of the liturgy, even the deities that are invoked are not always the same. For example, in the rite of "Empowering the Transmitting Lamp and Making Exoteric and Esoteric Offerings" (*Jiachi chuandeng xianmi gongyang* 加持傳燈顯密供養), the "Celestial Immortals" completely disappear from the middle tier of the pantheon, which is now occupied by terrestrial deities only:

> Above make offerings to all buddhas of the ten directions, all great bodhisattvas. Next, make offerings to the deities of the Five Peaks, Four Rivers, as well as of all famous mountains, waters, and oceans, and local guardian gods of the city, village, and household. Below, [the lamps will] illuminate the gates of the eighteen earthly prisons and shine over the beings of four kinds of birth in the six destinies, as well as all over wandering spirits and falling souls.
> 上則供養十方諸佛、諸大菩薩。次則供養五嶽、四瀆、名山、大川、河海大帝，社稷城隍、當處居家諸方諸位一切主執神祇。下則照破一十八地獄門開，傍及四生六道滯魄沉魂。[36]

[36] TDMY, fasc. 2, 24b.

However, the oddness just encountered in the discussion above is not the discrepancy. The construction of the pantheon in the TDMY liturgy is not always consistent. There are a number of descriptions of the pantheon being divided into upper and lower seats: "For those who have transcended the three realms [i.e., the desire realm 欲界, the form realm 色界, and the formless realm 無色界] and entered the sagely class, their seats are installed on the upper level. For those who are still bound within the three realms and have not yet escaped the wheel of suffering, their seats are installed on the lower level 原夫超三界入聖流者，位設於上；拘系三界未出苦輪者，位設於下";[37] "I, by means of the infinite lamp of the Dharma wheel, make offerings to the lower eight seats 我以法輪無盡燈，下八位前皆供養."[38] Here, the "lower eight seats" reminds us of the pantheon mentioned in Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037-1101) *Praise of the Dharma Images of the Water-Land Ritual* (*Shuilu faxiang zan* 水陸法像讚), a set of eighteen verses to accompany the iconographic scrolls used in a Water-Land ritual for his recently departed wife. Su specifically described the pantheon of the Water-Land Ritual as divided into "the higher and lower levels, each having eight positions 上下者八位."[39] This configuration of the pantheon was believed to have served as the foundation of the later Water-Land ritual tradition represented by Zhipan and Zhuhong's FJSF manual.[40] These discrepancies strongly suggest that the TDMY liturgy may have been edited based on an older Water-Land liturgy that featured a dyadic pantheon.

The inconsistencies in the layout of the pantheon indicates multiple ways of categorizing deities. It seems that Zongze's categorization, which is also the categorization found in the main

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[37] TDMY, fasc. 1, 29a.

[38] Ibid., fasc. 2, 29b.

[39] SSTL, 115a.

[40] Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation of the Shuilu fahui," 39.

liturgy of the TDMY, is based on a cosmological standard that distinguishes the deities by their physical existence. Those who take up the upper level of the pantheon are buddhas and bodhisattvas whose physical existence is no longer bound to this world. The wise kings are in fact the temporary manifestations of the buddhas and bodhisattvas, so they are also placed into the first tier. Those who take up the middle level are lesser Buddhist divine beings and almost all the Daoist celestial deities. What unites this group is the fact that they are all present in the celestial realms. The lower level is for those whose physical existence is either on earth, in the water, or underground. This categorization of deities into different levels of the pantheon corresponds with the semi-Buddhist and semi-Daoist cosmological settings found throughout the TDMY. As seen earlier in the discussion, the liturgy employed the Daoist cosmogonic theories about how the universe was created from a chaos to explain and describe the situation in which the entire universe is now divided into different segments and thus under different divine governance. The tripartite pantheon thus became a representation of this abstract cosmological theory. The dichotomous pantheon, however, seems to have followed a standard that is based on the states of enlightenment in Buddhism. This standard is fairly straightforward: Those who have attained enlightenment are invited to the upper seats; those who have not yet attained enlightenment are installed in the lower seats. Therefore, since the two ways of constructing the pantheon are based on different standards, they cannot completely replace each other. It is thus not difficult to understand why there are overlaps between these two kinds of pantheon in later Water-Land rituals, such as reflected in the TDMY liturgy.

In the overlaps of the two kinds of pantheon, it is the second tier that shows the most inconsistency. The majority on this tier are made up of Daoist celestial deities, which include: the Emperors of the Five Directions—the Azure Emperor of the East 東方青帝, the Vermilion

Emperor of the South 南方赤帝, the White Emperor of the West 西方白帝, the Dark Emperor of the North 北方黑帝, and the Yellow Emperor of the Center 中方黃帝; the lords of the Eleven Luminaries—Sun 日曜, Moon 月曜, Venus 金星, Jupiter 木星, Mercury 水星, Mars 火星, Saturn 土星, Rāhu 羅睺, Ketu 計都, Purple Mist 紫炁, and Lunar Apogee 月孛;[41] the deities of the twelve zodiacal houses, the twelve symbolic animals, and the twelve primary times; the twenty-eight mansions, and the seven stars of the Great Dipper. In addition, there are also seats for the three Daoist Divine Officers of Heaven, Earth, and Water, and for the four Daoist marshal gods—the Perfected Warrior 真武, the Sagely Assistant 翊聖, the Celestial Peng 天蓬, and the Celestial You 天猷. The last four seats of the second tier are reserved for the divine messengers of the four pillars (*sizhu* 四柱)—year 年直, month 月直, day 日直, and hour 時值.[42]

Among the deities of the second tier, the Emperors of the Five Directions, the four marshal gods, and the four divine messengers are typical Daoist deities, while some of the constellation deities bear distinctive features of a Buddho-Daoist mixture.

The origin of the Emperors of the Five Directions can be traced back to the indigenous concept of Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行), which is the core of ancient Chinese correlative cosmology.[43] Five Phases is a cosmology based on by the five material elements: wood, fire, earth, metal, and water. It is a cosmology about interaction and change. The five cosmic elements

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[41] The planets *ziqi* and *yuebei* are said to have been introduced into China by Li Miqian 李彌乾 early in the Zhenyuan 貞元 (785–805) era. See, *Tongzhi* 通志 (SKQS), 68.1608-09.

[42] The four pillars are terminologies used in traditional Chinese horoscope. They are comprised of Eight Characters (*bazi* 八字), which are grouped in pairs, including the year, month, day and hour of a person's birth, each pair consisting of one Heavenly Stem (*tiangan* 天干) and one Earthly Branch (*dizhi* 地支).

[43] Aihe Wang, *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

conquer and generate one another in a circular sequence. It is also a system of classification that became dominant over other systems. The worship of the Five Emperors of the five directions appeared as early as the Warring States period. Records of imperial worship of the Five Emperors are found in the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhouli* 周禮) and the *Verses of Chu* (*Chu ci* 楚辭): "setting up altars for the Five Emperors at the suburbs of the four directions" 兆五帝於四郊;[44] "reporting to the Five Emperors about right and wrong and inviting the Six Gods to follow [my order]" 令五帝以枎中兮，戒六神與嚮服.[45]

Based on the concept of Five Phases, Daoism adopted a fivefold cosmogonic pattern, which is related to the horizontal axis of the world.[46] From the pattern arises all other celestial and terrestrial configurations. The cardinal directions and the center come under the rule of the Five Emperors adopted from the Han imperial cult and the "weft texts" (*weishu* 緯書), that is, apocrypha.[47] The Five Emperors not only carried on the imperial role as sacrificial recipients,[48] but further adopted new roles in ritual practice. For example, a late fifth century Daoist scripture called *Taizhen yudi siji keming jing* 太真玉帝四極明科經 (*Sworn Code of the Four Poles of the*

[44] *Zhouli* 周禮 (SSJZS), 42.197.

[45] *Chuci* 楚辞 (SBCK), 17.95.

[46] Vertically, a cosmogonic pattern of threefold is employed, such as the "Three Officials" (*Sanguan* 三官): Heaven, Earth, and Water (under the earth).

[47] For studies on the "weft" or "apocryphal" texts in early China, see, Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, and Georges Metailie, eds., *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft* (Boston: Brill, 2007); Sun Yinggang 孫英剛, *The Weft Prophecy Texts and Political Legitimation in Medieval China* 神文时代：谶纬、术数与中古政治研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014); Georges Métailié, "Latter Han Religious Mass Movements and the Early Daoist Church," in John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, eds., *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC-220 AD)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1061-1102.

[48] *Taishang Lingbao wufu xu* 太上靈寶五符序, HY388, 3.3a-5a.

Jade Emperor),[49] presents the rules of the Five Emperors in detail. The Five Emperors, each provided with a formal title, a description of their appearance, and a link with one of the Five Peaks (*wuyue* 五嶽), were presented as the governors of a terrestrial and underground bureaucracy:

> The Five Emperors of the Jade Bureau, who lead Immortals and supervise the Perfected, today during the eight segments of auspicious times, will examine all the Yang crimes and Yin transgressions. Throughout the nine dark realms, up to seven generations of ancestors will be forever saved from the flaming city and sword mountain. The three unhappy paths and the five kinds of suffering will not apply to me…The Azure Emperor of the Jade Bureau, surnamed Liang—with the taboo name Shudu—commands mountain officials of the Eastern Peak Tai, spirits of earth and water, and soldiers of the Azure Jia… The White Emperor of the Jade Bureau, surnamed Wang—with the taboo name Xuandu—commands immortal officials of the Western Peak Hua, spirits of earth and earth, and soldiers of the White Geng… The Vermilion Emperor of the Jade Bureau, surnamed Yu— with the taboo name—Jingdu, commands immortal officials of the Southern Peak Huo, spirits of earth and water, and soldiers of the Vermilion Bing… The Dark Emperor of the Jade Bureau, surnamed Shi—with the taboo name Shengdu—commands immortal officials of the Northern Peak Heng, spirits of earth and water, and soldiers of the Dark Ren…The Central Yellow Emperor of the Jade Bureau, surnamed Huang—with the taboo name Zongsheng—commands immortal officials of the Central Peak Song and the Wu-Ji soldiers of the five directions.
> 五帝玉司，總仙監真，今日吉辰八節，開陳陽罪陰考，絕滅九陰，永始拔釋七玄，免脫火鄉，永離刀山，三塗五苦，不累我身。……青帝玉司君，姓梁，諱叔度……領東嶽泰山官，地靈水精，青甲之兵。……白帝玉司君，姓王，諱玄度……領西嶽華陰仙官，地靈水精，白庚之兵。……赤帝玉司君，姓玉，諱景度……領南嶽霍山仙官，地靈水精，赤丙之兵。……黑帝玉司君，姓史，諱升度……領北嶽恒山仙官，地靈水精，黑壬之兵。……中央黃帝玉司君，姓黃，諱總生……主領中央嵩高山仙官，總領五方戊己之兵。[50]

Because of their special role as governors of this and the other worlds, the Five Emperors made frequent appearance in Daoist salvation rituals. They were invoked for a variety of

[49] This work is among those of many codebooks mentioned by the Shangqing scriptures. The codes are the rules for transmission of the sacred scriptures, as well as for the rites to be observed by those who possess them. The majority of texts mentioned are those of the Shangqing Daoism. See, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, vol. 1, 192-93.

[50] *Taizhen yudi siji mingjing ke* 太真玉帝四極明科經, HY184, 417c-436a.

soteriological purposes, ranging from purifying the ritual space,[51] prolonging life span and eliminating disasters,[52] to sublimating dead souls.[53]

In the TDMY liturgy, the Five Emperors mainly appeared in the rite of opening the path, being invoked to "widely open the gate of skillful means" 大開方便之門[54] so as to make the passage accessible to all those who are invited or summoned to the ritual. By doing this, the Five Emperors, according to the liturgy, will "collectively save those who suffer from the ascending and descending of the *Yin* and *Yang* forces [i.e., life and death]" 同濟升沉之苦.[55]

Following the invocation of the Five Emperors comes the rite of empowering the "Yellow Path" (*Jiachi huangdao yi* 加持黃道儀). This ritual particularly emphasizes the superiority of the center by claiming that:

> It is precisely because the center is the righteous path and the color yellow is the supreme, [beings of] the material world are not the same and what they depend on is different, [that we] sincerely invite the assembly of the pure realm to condescend to come to the place of the defiled earth [in order to] pity the sentient beings who are bound by the five obstructions and to practice the four vows of saving the beings. 切以中央正路，黃色居尊。器界非同。依止各異。虔請淨方之衆。屈臨穢土之鄉。愍衆生五盖之纏。運濟物四弘之誓。[56]

After this, all divine beings of the "correct seats," in other words, the upper seats, are invited. The model of highlighting the center as superior to and surrounded by the other four directions derives from the archaic politico-cosmology of the "*Sifang*"四方 (Four Quarters), which

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[51] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 425b.

[52] *Taishang jidu zhangshe* 太上濟度章赦, HY316, 823c.

[53] *Taishang dongxuan lingbao miedu wulian shengshi miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶滅度五鍊生尸妙經, HY369, 259c-260a.

[54] TDMY, fasc. 1, 34b.

[55] Ibid., 34b.

[56] TDMY, fasc. 1, 36b.

appeared as early as the Shang dynasty (ca. 1700-1045 B.C.).[57] However, in the TDMY, it is intriguing that this Chinese politico-cosmic model was perfectly integrated with Esoteric Buddhism, in establishing the main altar. The ritual is called the "Rite of the Precept Altar of the Five Directions" (*Wufang jietan yi* 五方戒壇儀). It is performed after all the deities of the middle and lower seats have been invoked and before breaking hell and summoning the subterranean dwellers. The ritual features a new integration of the five directions with the five *tathāgatas*, also known as the five dhyāni-buddhas/Wisdom-Tathāgatas, the first and central group in the nine assemblies that comprise the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. In this ritual, the five *tathāgatas* are described as follows:

> Master of the East, the Compassionate Worthy Akṣobhya, resides at the marvelous gate of existence and relies on the unrelenting power of a vajra. Leading countless beings, he guides and aids them. Manifesting his lofty body, he smashes evil and reveals the correct….Master of the South, the Compassionate Worthy Ratnasaṃbhava, establishes the compassionate gate of *abhiṣeka* and sets up the teaching of adornment efficacy. Manifesting all sorts of radiant marks, he guides the ignorant and the deluded. Turing around his excellent body of compassion and wisdom, he supports all sentient beings…. Master of the West, the Compassionate Worthy Amitâbha, opens the gate of the lotus *mudrā* and explains the universal teaching of unconditionality. Worshipping the vast upright marks, he saves all sentient beings. Respecting the grand enjoyment body, he eliminates transgressions and suffering….Master of the North, the Compassionate Worthy of Accomplishment, opens the gate of karmic action and manifests the marks of unimpeded supernormal powers. Expanding every one of the profound teachings, he pities the mundane beings. Earnestly praising the *dharma-kāya* (self-nature body), he pities those in the path of suffering….Master of the Center, the Compassionate Worthy Vairocana, abides at the central gate of liberation and welcomes those who have attained perfectly penetrating ocean-seal (i.e. vision of all things). Realizing the perfectly clear mind ground, he benefits both the living and the dead. Manifesting the fully perfectly clear thusness, his merit moistens both the hidden and manifest.
> 東方教主，阿閦慈尊，居薩埵微妙之門，仗金剛堅固之力。引剎剎塵塵之眾，接物利生；現巍巍蕩蕩之身，摧邪顯正。……南方教主，寶生慈尊，設灌頂

[57] See, Aihe Wang, *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China*, 23-74; Jean Levi, "The rite, the norm and the Dao: philosophy of sacrifice and transcendence of power in ancient China," in John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, eds., *Early Chinese Religion I*, 645-692.

慈悲之門，作莊嚴利益之法。現種種光明之相，導引愚迷；運雄雄悲智之身，提攜品類。……西方教主，無量慈尊，開蓮花印相之門，闡普照無為之教。禮浩浩端嚴之相，濟拔含靈；瞻巍巍受用之身，消除罪苦。……北方教主，成就慈尊，啓羯磨辦事之門，現自在神通之相。張一一深玄之教，愍念凡情；稱元元自性之身，哀怜苦趣。……中方教主，遍照慈尊，住中央解脫之門，接海印圓通之眾。悟明明之心地，利及存亡；現了了之真如，福霑幽顯。[58]

The Five Tathāgatas are installed on the altar based on the arrangement of the Five Emperors:

> The altar extends to the three realms and its colors correspond to the five directions. Therefore, because Goumang comes first, Taigao should be placed at the position of Jiayi. Because Zhurong is at the right, the Emperor of Flames should be placed at the palace of Bingding. Because Zhuanxu is in charge of time, Xuanming governs the matter of solemn. Because Rushou assists [governing], Shaohao stays at the palace of Nine Yang. Because Lilian ascended the throne, Yellow is in the middle. Auspicious colors appear in the five directions; sagely beings are gathered from the four directions as well as the upper and lower levels.
> 壇敷三界，色應五方。是以句芒在先，太皞居甲乙之位；祝融垂右，炎帝列丙丁之宮；顓頊臨時，玄冥主肅穆之事；蓐收輔弼，少皞處九陽之宮。離簾即位，黃色居中。吉祥彩映現於五方，集聖賢四維於上下。[59]

Here, Goumang and Taigao refer to the Azure Emperor of the East; Zhurong and the Emperor of Flames refers to the Vermilion Emperor of the South; Zhuanxu and Xuanming refer to the Dark Emperor of the North; Rushou and Shaohao refer to the White Emperor of the West; and Lilian refers to the Yellow Emperor of the Center.

Another application of the archaic Chinese cosmic model in the TDMY liturgy is found in the ritual of breaking the earthly prisons. This time, we find the integration of the five directions with the five earthly prisons: the Sudden Prison of the East (*Dongfang cuyu* 東方卒獄), the Vast

[58] TDMY, fasc. 2, 26a-27a.

[59] Ibid., 24b.

Prison of the South (*Nanfang haoyu* 南方浩獄), the Kalpa Prison of the West (*Xifang jieyu* 西方劫獄), the Dark Prison of the North (*Beifang heiyu* 北方黑獄), and the Grand Prison of the Center (*Zhongyang dayu* 中央大獄). The punishments associated with each prison are fully in accord with each directional feature. For example, the Eastern Prison, surrounded by mud, has a forest of swords and iron spikes[60] since the east generates wood. The Southern Prison, roasted in charcoals, is full of infernal flames[61] because the element of the south is fire. The Western Prison, where *yin* winds constantly blow, holds bronze snakes and iron dogs which bite and eat prisoners' bodies,[62] since the element of west is metal. The Northern Prison, filled with ice,[63] constantly exchanges flows with the upper city of fire, keeping the prison in extreme temperatures all the time. The Central Prison, however, is called Avīci (*Abi* 阿鼻), known as the Hell of Incessant Suffering (*Wujian diyu*) 無間地獄. This is a typical Buddhist conception of the underworld, which features a kind of suffering that "never pauses; [from which one can] never be saved in everlasting eons" 不閑不住於長年，無救無遮於永劫.[64] Within this Central Prison, there is the Ash River and the place where prisoners repeat their painful punishments without ceasing (*Denghuo diyu* 等活地獄).[65]

In early Buddhist texts, hell, or earthly prison (*diyu* 地獄) in the literal translation of the Chinese term "Diyu"地獄—is described as a segmented place where whoever committed a crime

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[60] Ibid., fasc. 2, 37a.

[61] Ibid., 37b-38a.

[62] Ibid., 38a.

[63] Ibid., 38a-b.

[64] Ibid., 38b.

[65] Ibid., 38b. "Huihe" is the Ash River seen in the story mentioned at the start of this chapter, and "Denghuo" is the first of the eight burning hells (*Bare diyu* 八熱地獄) in which beings experience repetitive painful life forever.

during his/her lifetime receives postmortem punishment in line with one's specific crimes. Prisoners move from prison to prison before eventual rebirth. Buddhist hells are typically conceived of as a series of eight hells, four at each of the four gates of the great hells. The hells are generally divided into hot hells and cold hells, with the latter located above the former. Both the Hell of Constant Repetition (*Saṃjīva* 等活地獄) and the Hell of Uninterrupted Torture (*Avīci* 阿鼻地獄) belong to the hot hells. The integration of Chinese bureaucratic culture into Buddhist ideas of hell resulted in a ten-court purgatory, supervised by ten kings known as kings Guang of Qin (*Qinguang wang* 秦廣王), the First River (*Chujiang wang* 初江王), Di of Song (*Songdi wang* 宋帝王), of the Five Offices (*Wuguan wang* 五官王), King Yama (*Yanluo wang* 閻羅王), of Transformation (*Biancheng wang* 變成王), of Mount Tai (*Taishan wang* 泰山王), of Impartiality (*Pingdeng wang* 平等王), of the Capital (*Dushi wang* 都市王), and Who Turns the Wheel of Rebirth in the Five Paths (*Wudao zhuanlun wang* 五道轉輪王). They serve as judges who preside over the judgment of the dead and decide, according to their karma, which path they will be reborn into for their next life. This ten-court purgatory proved to be a successful case of the combination of Buddhist ideas of hell and characteristic drawn from Chinese bureaucracy. It became so popular that it is the backdrop of almost all miracle narratives about visiting the netherworld and of the visual arts of the netherworld since early medieval China.[66] In the TDMY liturgy, the ten kings are invoked in the ritual called "Respectfully Command the Ten Kings of the Dark Palaces" 命請冥殿十王儀. However, after the ten kings have been invoked, another paragraph states:

[66] Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1994); Robert F. Campany, *Signs from the Unseen Realm: Buddhist Miracle Tales from Early Medieval China* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 2012).

"Wholeheartedly we invite the Prefectural Lord of Mount Tai, who presides as the general commander, assists Yama, honorably in charge of all the offices, leads the three bureaus, distributes talismans and transforms [the dead]" 一心奉請，職居總帥，輔弼閻羅，掌百局之尊權，領三司之重柄。分符外化，泰山府君.[67] The "Prefectural Lord of Mount Tai" (*Taishan fujun* 泰山府君) is in fact the Chinese prototype of the seventh king among the ten, the King of Mount Tai. In other words, the Lord of Mount Tai was invoked twice in the same rite. The first time he was invoked as one of the ten kings, parallel to the King Yama. Yet, the second time he was invoked as a subordinate who only "assists" (*fubi* 輔弼) King of Yama.

The pantheon of celestial deities on the second tier takes up the majority of the space. These deities reflect the successful integration of Buddhist and traditional Chinese astronomical knowledge. A broad variety of astral deities are invoked throughout the TDMY liturgy. The deities invoked in the rite of "Empowering the Ecliptic Lamp Altar" (*Jiachi tianlun dengtan yi* 加持天輪燈壇儀) are the "Seven Luminaries" (*Qiyao* 七曜, Skt. *sapta grahāḥ*), which includes the five visible planets—Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn, plus the sun and moon. The rite begins with a cosmogonic description: "As for the Heavenly Wheel (or Ecliptic), it took shape at the beginning of primordial chaos and arrayed images at the beginning of darkness. Hanging the seven luminaries so as to manifest *yin* and *yang*. It expanded *yin* and *yang* to make heaven and earth" 夫天輪者，分形於混沌之初，列象於杳冥之始。懸七曜以示陰陽，廓二儀而為天地.[68]

The term "Seven luminaries" first appears in the *Book of Jin* 晉書:

> Luminaries adhere to heaven. There are seven of them that are moving, namely, the sun, the moon, and the five plants. The sun is the origin of *yang* essence while the

[67] TDMY, fasc. 2, 44a.

[68] Ibid., 26b.

> moon is the origin of *yin* essence. The five planets are the essence of the Five Phases. As stars are arrayed, substances are formed on earth and essences are completed in the heaven. They are placed alternatively, and each has its affiliation. In the non-official realm, they stand for materials; in the court, they stand for offices; in humans, they stand for affairs. In terms of gods, there are five ranks and thirty-five titles in total. The one that presides over the center is called the Northern Dipper. Spreading to the four directions are groups of seven, thus forming twenty-eight lodges in total. The sun and the moon move in fixed patterns to show portents; the five planets move along their course to inform of fortune and misfortune.
> 文曜麗乎天，其動者有七，日月五星是也。日者，陽精之宗；月者，陰精之宗；五星，五行之精。眾星列布，體生於地，精成於天，列居錯峙，各有攸屬。在野象物，在朝象官，在人象事。其以神著，有五列焉，是為三十五名。一居中央，謂之北斗。四布於方各七，為二十八舍。日月運行，曆示吉凶，五緯躔次，用告禍福。[69]

This early ordering of constellations is based on the indigenous Chinese "field allocation" (*fenye* 分野) system. It is a set of astral-terrestrial correspondences which assigns segments of the sky to geographical areas and interprets the passage of planets through varying zones as being portentous.[70] Archeological studies have shown that Chinese preoccupation with astronomical orientations has a very long history. Evidence from fifth millennium BCE Neolithic cultures of north China show that tombs and dwellings were already being oriented with particular attention to the cardinal directions and the seasonal variations in the sun's location.[71] Along with the pervasive spread of Buddhism in the centuries following the collapse of the Han Dynasty, efforts were made by Buddhist writers to integrate Indian Buddhist cosmological and astrological

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[69] *Jinshu* 晉書 (SKQS), 11.112.

[70] By the late Zhou Dynasty (1046-256BCE), "sky-pattern reading" (*tianwen* 天文), or "astronomy," had taken as its frame of reference the twenty-eight lunar lodges into which the sky was divided. These twenty-eight segments of uneven angular dimensions were correlated with terrestrial domains according to different schemes. See, David W. Pankenier, *Astrology and Cosmology in Early China: Conforming Earth to Heaven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[71] Pankenier, *Astrology and Cosmology in Early China: Conforming Earth to Heaven*, 82.

concepts with the indigenous Chinese system.[72] Subsequently, attempts were made to establish even more complex correspondences between Chinese and Indian astrological sets such as the twenty-eight lunar lodges with the twelve Indian zodiacal signs that were derived from Hellenistic astrology, the Nine Planets of Indian astronomy with the seven astral deities of the Northern Dipper, and so on.[73] Thus, starting from the Tang dynasty, there emerged a number of Buddhist ritual manuals which absorbed extensively from a variety of cultural traditions, such as China, India, Iran, etc. For example, the two-fascicle *Apotropaic Formula of the Seven-Luminaries* (*Qiyao rangzai jue* 七曜攘災訣; T. 1308), attributed to a Brahmin monk of the Tang dynasty called Jinjuzha 金俱吒 (d. u.), introduces a complex system of astronomical ephemerides and astrological lore. Another manual, called the *Nine Luminaries of the Brahma Hora*[74] (*Fantian huoluo jiuyao* 梵天火羅九曜) that is attributed to Yixing 一行 (683–727), provides formulas (*koujue* 口訣), mantras, and iconographic images of the nine astral deities—the above-mentioned seven luminaries plus two Indian astral spirits—Rāhu 羅睺 and Ketu 計都. Both of these manuals belong to the Esoteric Buddhist tradition, where astrological concerns occupied a prominent place.

Another major body of the astral deities is the Northern Dipper (*Beidou* 北斗), which consists of seven stars: Greedy Wolf (*Tanlang* 貪狼), Great Gate (*Jumen* 巨門), Persistent Happiness (*Lucun* 祿存), Civil Song (*Wenqu* 文曲), Pure Virtue (*Lianzhen* 廉貞), Military Song (*Wuqu* 武曲), and Destroyer of Armies (*Pojun* 破軍). As the heavenly center of the world and the

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[72] Jefferey Kotyk, "Astrological Iconography of Planetary Deities in Tang China: Near Eastern and Indian Icons in Chinese Buddhism," *Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 30 (2017): 33–88; "Early Tantric Hemerology in Chinese Buddhism: Timing of Rituals According to Śubhakarasiṃha and Yixing," *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies* 13 (2018): 1–29.

[73] Ibid., 9-10. Henrik H. Sørensen, "Astrology and the Worship of the Planets in Esoteric Buddhism of the Tang," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia,* 232.

[74] The word "hora" (*huoluo* 火羅) refers to Indian astrology and astronomical observations. See, Sørensen, "Astrology and the Worship of the Planets in Esoteric Buddhism of the Tang," 231.

abode of the Great One (*Taiyi* 太一), the Northern Dipper is the object of a significant cult in Daoism, where it is found almost all aspects of Daoist practices, ranging from internal visualization (*cunsi* 存思) to exorcistic Thunder Methods (*leifa* 雷法) for exorcism.[75] A significantly widespread cult, the Northern Dipper naturally made its way into Buddhism, and in particular is well attested in the works of renowned masters of Tang Esoteric Buddhism. The above-mentioned *Nine Luminaries of the Brahma Hora* attached to the end of its main text a "Method of Sir Immortal Ge for Honoring the Northern Dipper" (*Ge Xiangong li beidou fa* 葛仙公禮北斗法), which is a domestic cult in honor of the constellation that includes the veneration of stellar images, offerings of grain and cereal for each of the stars, and the recitation of a mantra in pseudo-Sanskrit.[76]

In addition to the mixed Indian and Chinese astronomic and astrologic ideology, there is also a combination of an indigenous Chinese horoscope and Buddhist cosmology in the TDMY liturgy. Throughout the ritual manual, the four messengers of talismans (*Zhifu shizhe* 執符使者) are frequently invoked. The group is either referred to as the "Speedy Messengers" (*Jieji shizhe* 捷疾使者)[77] and/or the "Talisman Holders of the Four Duties" (*Sizhi zhifu* 四直執符).[78] The former includes the Messenger of the Four Heavens (*Sitian shizhe* 四天使者), the Messenger of Sky-walking (*Kongxing shizhe* 空行使者), the Messenger of Earth-walking (*Dixing shizhe* 地行使者), and the Messenger of Yama (*Yanmo shizhe* 琰魔使者). The latter includes the duties of

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[75] Poul Andersen, "The Practice of Bugang," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5 (1989): 15–53; Paul W. Kroll, "Body Gods and Inner Vision: The Scripture of the Yellow Court," in Donald S., Jr., Lopez, ed., *Religions of China in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 149–155; Isabelle Robinet, *Taoist Meditation: The Mao-shan Tradition of Great Purity*. Translated by Julian F. Pas and Norman J. Girardot (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 200–225; Isabelle Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoïsme.* 2 vols (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1984), 2: 58–65; Edward H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 42–53.

[76] Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, 141-142.

[77] TDMY, fasc. 1, 28a.

[78] Ibid., 28a.

Year (*Nianzhi* 年直), Month (*Yuezhi* 月直), Day (*Rizhi* 日直), and Hour (*Shizhi* 時直). The combination of these two sets, one based on a Buddhist cosmology that divides the universe and the other based on a Chinese horoscopic theory that presents a group of four deities who travel extensively in both space and time.

3. The Use of Talismans

As seen above, the messengers of talismans serve as important mediators between this and other realms. So, what kind of talismans do they transmit?

Talismans as powerful objects are pervasive in many places of the world, where they have been employed in a variety of religious contexts. In most case, they are applied for this-worldly ends such as impelling what is desired and expelling anything unwanted. The latter is a major function of talismans, that includes exorcism and debilitating demonic afflictions as well as invoking higher divinities for protection from large-scale disasters. The origin of talismans in the Han dynasty as the treasure objects[79] endowed them with a military function that was later carried over into the religious realm. The employment of talismans in religious rituals allowed the practitioners to command a variety of divine troops.[80]

Although talismans and talismanic scripts have traditionally been understood to be of Daoist provenance, they are also found—albeit with less frequency—in the Buddhist canon by the Tang dynasty at the latest. One particular place they appear with some regularity is in Buddhist

[79] Anna Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha," in Michael Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein*, vol. 2 (Bruxelles: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1983), 291– 371.

[80] Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments," 310-315.

texts that have been conventionally associated with Esoteric Buddhism.[81] The majority of texts that contain talismans are clustered together in the "Esoteric" ("Mikkyō") section of the Buddhist Taishō canon (especially vol. 21), though the tendency to classify the texts with talismans as proto-Tantric or as solely a part of Esoteric Buddhism is a matter of scholarly debate. Some scholars claim that the use of talismans and talismanic seals are practices the Buddhists borrowed wholesale from Daoism.[82] Other scholars propose alternative perspectives on the interactions between Buddhism and Daoism by resisting the enduring tendency to erect rigid partitions between the two religious traditions.[83] In fact, talismans were more pronounced in Chinese Buddhism than has heretofore been acknowledged. Talismanic writing become a shared practice that is found within Buddhism and Daoism. The inclusion of talismans in Buddhist texts first appeared during the first half of the sixth century.[84] As Buddhism established itself deeper and deeper roots in Chinese soil, talismans and talismanic scripts became more and more embedded in Buddhist texts.

Talismans served as a mediator between this world and the other world by reflecting the hidden powers of the universe and were used to communicate with the spirits.[85] In the TDMY

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[81] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 123-193; James Robson, "Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism," *History of Religions* 48 (2008): 130–169.

[82] Sorensen, "Astrology and the Worship of the Planets," 232.

[83] Michel Strickmann, in his study of the use of "seals" (*yin* 印) in Chinese magico-religion, proposed that "the use of seals in Buddhism and Daoism richly illustrates our long-held contention that such pervasive phenomena cannot be parceled out into sectarian pigeon holes. It is fruitless to ask (as so often is done) 'is it Buddhist or Daoist?' Clearly, therapeutic sigillation has been both Buddhist and Daoist, and more besides." Michel Strickmann, "The Seal of the Law: A Ritual Implement and the Origins of Printing," *Asia Major* 6, no. 2 (1993): 82. Mollier's and Robson's studies not only demonstrate the active interpenetrations between the two religious traditions but also inspire us to think beyond sectarian interests about their shared practices. See, Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*; Robson, "Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism."

[84] One of the earliest Buddhist texts to include talismans is the *Dhāraṇī Sūtra of Āṭavaka, General of Demons* (*Azhapoju guishen dajiang shangfo tuolouni jing* 阿吒婆句鬼神大將上佛陀羅尼經). T.1238. See Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, *Daojiao shuyi yu mijiao dianji* 道教術儀與密教典籍 (Taiwan: Xinwenfeng, 1994), 279; on this text, see, Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 143–151.

[85] See, John Lagerwey, "The Oral and Written in Chinese and Western Religion," in Gert Naundorf, Karl-Heinz Pohl, and Hans-Hermann Schmidt, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien: Festschrift für Hans Steininger* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1985), 301–321.

liturgy, they were used not only as religious documents to deliver messages to the divine sphere, but also as a religious tool to break open the earthly prisons: "When the precious mallet is thrown, the eight cold earthly prisons are shaken and smashed. When the true talismans are tied up, evil demons can no longer encroach" 寶杵擲時，振破八寒之獄。真符纏驗，邪魔覩而更不能侵.[86]

Five talismans are used in the TDMY liturgy (see Figures 1-5 below). All of them are employed for the purpose of protecting the sacred altar in the five directions. They present a combination of legible and illegible script. Only the one for protecting the altar from the East (Figure 2) gives detailed instructions for preparing the talisman and the rest are modeled upon it. The talisman is comprised of three registers: left, middle, and right. Both the left and right registers are legible writings, while the middle register contains illegible graphs. The instructions on the right register say:

> Divine talisman of the eastern sacred realm. The talisman is written in cinnabar on old yellow paper. When performing the ritual, let [the priest] hold and wear it. Wait until a mantra is recited, then place the talisman inside the altar. During the rite of dismissing the east, present the following: "The such-and-such site of the Great Retreat of Water-Land. This site, upon the request of the disciple, so-and-so, is set up for the ritual altar, so as to practice the ritual within a sacred realm. Venerably present the divine talisman of the Buddha's decree." Written in cinnabar according to convention.
> 東方結界神符。旧黃紙寫硃砂書符，於行道時令捧戴。俟真言了，安在壇中，東方散時奏此。水陸大齋所。當所令為弟子某甲修建道場，以令結界行道。謹具佛勅神符。如法硃書。[87]

The left register says:

> Respectfully invite the Nation Preserving Deva King of the East and the General of the Azure Emperor, to descend to this sacred realm, the eastern altar space for protecting the nation, to guide the dead souls to be reborn into the pure land. What is decreed by the divine talisman is in accordance with the statutes and ordinances.

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[86] TDMY, fasc. 1, 40a.

[87] Ibid., "Tantu shi," 13a.

奏請東方持國天王，青帝將軍，來下結界，東方保國壇場。指導亡魂超生淨界。神符所勅，一如律令。[88]

The instructions contained in the right register are for the mundane practitioners who should prepare and use the talisman in strict accordance with the instructions they receive. The left register, however, contains a specific message concerning the divine referents of this talisman, namely, the Buddhist and the Daoist protectors of the East. The message ends with a command: "In accordance with the statutes and ordinances" (*ru lüling* 如律令), which is an abbreviated form of the juridical injunction of "quickly quickly in accordance with the statues and ordinances" (*jiji ru lüling* 急急如律令) that is ubiquitous in Daoist ritual documents.[89]



[88] Ibid., 13a.

[89] This phrase has been identified as a bureaucratic feature of Daoist ritual since early on. See, Anna Seidel, "Traces of Han religion in funeral texts found in tombs," in Akizuki Kan'ei 秋月觀暎, ed., *Dôkyô to shûkyô bunka* 道教と宗教文化 (Tokyo, 1987), 21–57; Peter Nickerson, "Taoism, Death, and Bureaucracy in Early Medieval China," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1996), 83-260; Angelika Cedzich, "Ghosts and Demons, Law and Order: Grave Quelling Texts and Early Daoist Liturgy," *Daoist Resources* 4.2 (1993), 23–35; Lai Chi-tim, "The Demon Statutes of Nüqing and the Problem of the Bureaucratization of the Netherworld in Early Heavenly Master Daoism," *T'oung Pao* 88.4–5 (2002): 251–81.

Figure 1. Divine Talisman for the Closure of the Center 中方結界神符[90]



Figure 2. Divine Talisman for the Closure of the East 東方結界神符[91]



[90] TDMY, "Tantu shi," 12b.

[91] Ibid., 13a.

Figure 3. Divine Talisman for the Closure of the South 南方結界神符[92]



Figure 4. Divine Talisman for the Closure of the West 西方結界神符[93]

[92] Ibid., 13b.

[93] Ibid., 14a.

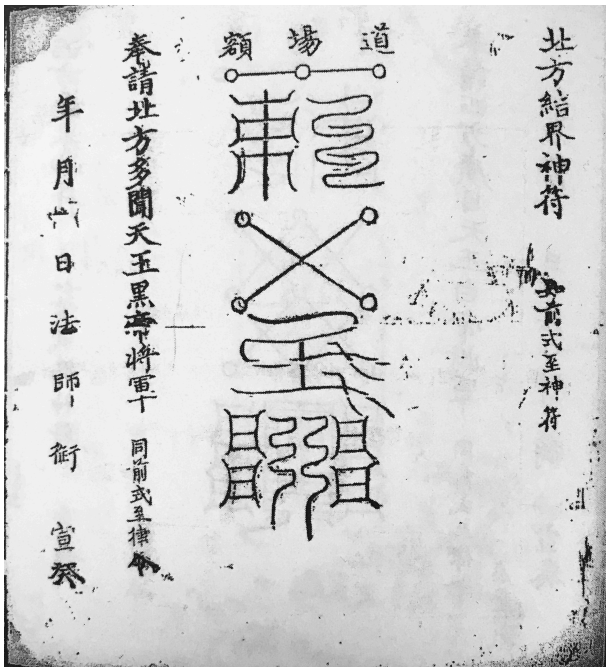


Figure 5. Divine Talisman for the Closure of the North 北方結界神符[94]

As seen earlier in the discussion of the main altar, eight trigrams are distributed to the eight directions of the outer altar. In fact, there is a separate altar specifically built for the eight trigrams in the TDMY liturgy (Figure 6) and there is a ritual to empower that altar. According to the ritual, the eight trigrams, which occupy the eight directions, are personified into eight spiritual gods (*lingshen* 靈神). They are told to follow the Buddha's decree to guard the altar space and save souls.[95]

[94] Ibid., 14b.

[95] TDMY, fasc. 2, 31a.



Figure 6: Altar of the Eight Trigrams (*Bagua zhi tan* 八卦之壇)[96]

4. The Saving of Orphaned Souls (*guhun* 孤魂) and Hungry Ghosts (*egui* 餓鬼):

Like other salvation rituals, the practice of saving those suffering underground is a significant part of the TDMY liturgy. This practice is said to be based on the scriptural tradition of the Buddha, upon the request of Ānanda, for saving the Burning/Flaming-mouth. Both the "Burning-mouth" and "Flaming-mouth" refer to a group of miserable beings known as "hungry ghosts" (*egui* 餓鬼), a translation of the Sanskrit *preta*, one of the three lower destinies (*santu* 三塗). The TDMY liturgy includes a full citation from the two scriptures for saving the hungry ghosts.[97]

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[96] TDMY, "Tantu shi," 3b.

[97] TDMY, "Zawen," 29b-32a.

In the FJSF liturgy, hungry ghosts are invoked as a whole category composed of ten subcategories.[98] They are invoked in parallel with another category called the "orphaned souls of unnatural death" (*hengsi guhun* 橫死孤魂), who are in conditions described as follows:

> [Their] physical bodies are broken, yet their lifespan has not ended. The underground bureau does not admit them, nor does the celestial officer register them. It was due to an unnatural death that they had no place to return. If counting them, their number is substantial. The years they have been through are long. The wandering souls have nothing they can rely on, thus they always mingle with human beings. Since similar *qi* solicit each other, they must search for affiliation with the path of ghosts. If they desire to resume correct thought, they should confess their previous causes. Tonight's merits of universal salvation will provide them with a strategy for their next rebirth.
> 色身雖壞。世壽未終。地府莫收。天曹弗錄。斯為不得其死。畢竟將何所歸。舉其徒則實蕃。歷以歲而且久。遊魂無託。常雜處於人寰。同氣相求。必攝屬於鬼趣。欲回正念。宜悔前因。用今宵普濟之功。作爾輩轉生之計。[99]

However, in the TDMY liturgy, there is no parallel passage concerning the summoning of hungry ghosts and orphaned souls. Instead, only orphaned souls are the ones who are saved from the netherworld. The TDMY ritual summons ten kinds of "homeless orphaned souls" (*wuzhu guhun* 無主孤魂) who are described as follows:

> [Their] heads are [as big] as Mount Tai; their bellies are [as big] as Mount Sumeru; and their throats are [as small] as a needle. Throughout eons of time, they haven't heard the word "broth." Being constantly reborn, they have never seen food. They sit still like skeletons and walk like broken carriages. Fire burns on their face while smoke comes out of their mouth. They stink and there is blood and pus all over their body. Their skin and flesh is dried and burnt, and their hair is disheveled. They sink down due to suffering from disasters and misfortune. They vanish due to encountering danger and adversity.
> 頭如泰山，腹似須彌，咽喉如針，經年劫而不聞漿水之名，永世生而非睹飯食之味。坐如枯骨，行似破車。面上火出，口內煙生。腥膻臭穢，血染膿沾。皮肉幹焦，頭髮鬙亂。受苦受殃而淪溺，遭危遭厄而湮沉。[100]

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[98] FJSF3, X.1497: 74. 801c-902a.

[99] Ibid., 804a.

[100] TDMY, fasc. 3, 7b.

Since the liturgy emphasizes the scriptural tradition of feeding hungry ghosts to the extent that it even cites two classical sūtras on the practice in their entirety, why weren't hungry ghosts included in the summoning ritual? What is the category of "homeless orphaned souls" that replaced hungry ghosts as the only miserable dwellers of the underworld? What can we learn from the replacement of hungry ghosts by these "homeless orphaned souls" in the TDMY liturgy? Before answering these questions, however, it is necessary to sort out what is signified by the term "orphaned souls" and explore how it came to be used as a category parallel to or even as a replacement for "hungry ghosts."

In his examination of the origin of the category "orphaned souls," Xu Wei suggests that the term was most likely introduced by Daoists as a reaction to the Buddhist notion of "hungry ghosts."[101] In the early Indian Buddhist context "Hungry ghosts" originally referred to the spirit of a deceased person and later came to refer to the beings dwelling in one of the unpleasant realms and constantly suffering from insatiable hunger. Despite the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit term *preta* as "hungry ghosts," its original meaning did not refer to those who died of starvation. Rather, the main cause for one being reborn as a "hungry ghost" was insatiable avarice. In other words, "hungry" indicates the status of those who exist in the realm of *pretas* who "haven't seen food for hundreds of years"百歲不聞飲食之名.[102] A few Buddhist legends related to the origin of the Ullambana (*Yulan pen* 盂蘭盆) festival collectively relate a story that provides a vivid description of the postmortem suffering of a woman who refused to offer food to the Buddhist

[101] Xu Wei 許蔚, "Guhun kao: daojiao yu zhongtu fojiao youke Zhong yizhong leixinghua youling de shengcheng 孤魂考—道教與中土佛教幽科中一種類型化幽靈的生成," *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢, no. 132 (April, 2018): 293.

[102] *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 30, T. 1509: 25. 279c21.

sangha and is then reborn as a *preta*. Her body is aflame, her belly as large as a mountain, and her throat as narrow as a needle point.[103] Because of the popularity of the Buddhist Ghost Festival since the medieval period, the notion of "hungry ghosts" became widespread and thus was absorbed into other religious and cultural traditions.[104] The Numinous Treasure Daoists, who received the most influence from Buddhism, appropriated the term and adapted it by narrowing the range of those who could fall into this path to those who died of craving for food while alive.[105] This change not only assimilated the Buddhist notion of the afterlife to the Daoist postmortem concept of one's physical sufferings being carried over into the afterlife,[106] but further enabled it to be juxtaposed with other Daoist categories of souls, such as "grieving souls" (*beihun* 悲魂), [107] "dead souls" (*sihun* 死魂), and "orphaned souls" (*guhun* 孤魂), as one of the many kinds of beings to be saved. On the other hand, the integration of the Buddhist notion of "hungry ghosts" stimulated the formation of an equivalent category which substantiates some of the indigenous concerns for the dead. "Orphaned souls" became the prominent term for souls to be saved because they best reflected the primary concern of indigenous ancestor worship about how the dead has no one or no place to turn for offerings. The term "orphaned souls" does not, it should be emphasized, show up in the various references for ghosts and souls in pre-Qin texts. It made its first appearance in the Eastern Han,[108] referring to the spirits who either had no fixed abode or had no one to reply on for offerings. Its appearance and description had much to do with those who died either in places

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[103] *Zhuanji baiyuan jing* 撰集百緣經 5, trans. Zhiqian 支謙 (fl. 223-253), T. 200: 4. 222b18-225b20.

[104] Stephen Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton University Press, 1996).

[105] Xu, "Guhun kao," 275-76.

[106] See Chapter 4.

[107] *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 太上黃籙齋儀, HY507, fasc. 3, 6, 9, 12, 28, 34, and 39: "三願九夜悲魂，一時解脫。四願孤魂無依，咸得受生。"

[108] *Hou hanshu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 29.1022: "諸徙者骨肉離分，孤魂不祀。"

far away from their hometown, especially those who died on battlefields.[109] From the Song dynasty, the connotation of "orphaned souls" was extended to include not only the war dead but also those who died unnaturally (*hengsi* 橫死) or unjustly (*wangsi* 枉死). Similar to "*li*" 厲, a kind of frightful dead souls that is said to be dangerous and harmful to the living, the orphaned souls are also the target of exorcism. Before the prominence of salvation rituals, these unwelcome souls were mainly expelled by a variety of methods, including the regular offerings made by Confucians and the exorcistic rituals performed by Heavenly Master Daoists (*Tianshi dao* 天師道). Influenced by Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Numinous Treasure tradition (*Lingbao* 靈寶) incorporated the idea of universal salvation into its soteriology and mixed it with Confucian ancestor worship, resulting in a unique salvific scheme which emphasized that the dead will "receive salvation and achieve rebirth" (*shoudu gengsheng* 受度更生).[110] Meanwhile, the juxtaposition of "orphaned souls" and "hungry ghosts" gradually became common in subsequent liturgies. For example, in the *Litany for the Mercy of the Most High for Deliverance From the Nine Realms of Darkness and the Remission of Sin* (*Taishang cibei jiuyou bazui chan* 太上慈悲九幽拔罪懺), a liturgy dated to the Tang dynasty, we see a combined use of "hungry ghosts and orphaned souls" (*egui guhun* 餓鬼孤魂).[111] In Jiang Shuyu's 蔣叔與 *Licheng yi*, orphaned souls were listed together with hungry ghosts as those who are waiting to be saved.[112] It is thus safe to speculate that at least by the Southern Song

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[109] Xu, "Guhun kao," 282-283.

[110] *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 靈寶無量度人上經大法, HY219, 703b: "則出長夜之戶受度更生"; *Licheng yi*, HY508, 206a: "告下道境魂神受度更生"; *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法, HY1221: 507a. See my chapter 2 about the Daoist practice of "physical sublimation" of the dead.

[111] *Taishang cibei jiuyou bazui chan* 太上慈悲九幽拔罪懺, HY544, 121a: "於是三塗五苦、餓鬼孤魂，悉得超生，皆歸解脫。"

[112] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 453b, 527b, 551a-b.

dynasty, the term "orphaned souls" was sometimes used in combination with the term "stuck spirits" (*zhipo* 滯魄), which had by that time become an important category in Daoist salvation rituals.

However, the distinction between the two notions is not always clear cut. In fact, the descriptions of the "homeless orphaned souls" in the TDMY liturgy mentioned above bear a striking similarity with that of hungry ghosts described in the two main *dhāraṇī* sūtras: "When Ānanda saw this burning-mouth hungry ghost, his body was weak, skinny, dried, burnt, and exceptionally ugly. Fire was burning on his face, his throat was as tiny as a needle, and his hair was disheveled" 阿難見此面然餓鬼，身形羸瘦、枯燋極醜、面上火然、其咽如針、頭髮蓬亂;[113] "When Ānanda saw this flaming-mouth hungry ghost, his body was weak, skinny, dried, burnt, and exceptionally ugly. Fire was burning in his mouth, his throat was as tiny as a needle point, and his hair was disheveled" 阿難見此焰口餓鬼，身形羸瘦、枯燋極醜、口中火然、咽如針鋒、頭髮蓬亂.[114] In addition, another passage juxtaposed "orphaned souls" and "hungry ghosts" as follows:

> The orphaned souls, wandering spirits, and *pretas*…. [Since] the orphaned souls have no one to rely on, with the passage of time, who will take care of them? [Since] the wandering spirits have no one to depend on, in summer and winter, who will make offerings to them? … There are even the three classes of extremely hungry ghosts and nine ranks of emaciated starving spirits. They are suffering from needle-like throats and boiling soup burning their hearts; their mouths are in flames and the sharpness of hunger presses on their bellies.
> 孤魂滯魄，薜荔部多。……孤魂何托，春秋而誰肯招呼；滯魄無依，冬夏而何人享祭。……更有三品極餓之鬼，九階羸殍之魂，遭針咽而湯炎燒心，感炬口而飢火逼腹。[115]

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[113] *Foshuo jiu mianran e'gui tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 佛說救面然餓鬼陀羅尼神呪經, T.1314:21. 465c20.

[114] *Foshuo jiuba yankou e'gui tuoluoni jing* 佛說救拔焰口餓鬼陀羅尼經, T.1313: 21. 464b29.

[115] TDMY, fasc. 3, 8b-9a.

Considering the physical description of the orphaned souls, it seems to us that the liturgist did not make a serious effort to distinguish the two. Rather, they seemed to have used "orphaned souls" as a general category that includes qualities from both the Daoist "orphaned souls" and the original Buddhist "hungry ghosts," thus making the rite of summoning and offering food to the "homeless orphaned souls" equal to the rite of feeding hungry ghosts.

Therefore, the term "orphaned souls" used in the TDMY liturgy had in fact experienced a two-stage transformation: it first appeared as a Daoist reaction to the very popular Buddhist notion of "hungry ghosts" before it was adopted by the TDMY liturgy to be used as substitute for the category of "hungry ghosts." Therefore, the hybrid category of "homeless orphaned souls" can be viewed as evidence of the interaction between Buddhist and Daoist salvation rituals.

The concern for "orphaned souls" not having a fixed place to rely on was directly reflected in anecdotal records. A story about building a "group cemetery" (*congzhong* 叢冢) relates that a young scholar, during a night trip in Xuzhou 徐州 (in modern Jiangsu province 江蘇), sought temporary lodging in an old man's house. During a conversation with his temporary host, the young man learned that the place was called "group village" (*congxiang* 叢鄉), built by a certain General Fu 富. As he continued to inquire about details, the old man said: "Thanks to General Fu and the Prefectural Governor, people like me who had no place to return to are now gathered here and have settled down. Most who have regained life are here. The merits of General Fu have already been noted in the immortals' registers" 吾之類無歸者，乃得富公與刺史聚之於此，使有安居。從是得生者太半矣。富公之德，以系仙籍焉.[116] The next morning, the young scholar found out that the place he had stayed was a group cemetery. What we can discern from the old

[116] *Qingsuo gaoyi* 青瑣高議 (Qing hongyao shanfang chaoben 清紅藥山房鈔本), 1.4.

man's statement is that the orphaned souls can benefit—"gain life" (*desheng* 得生)—from the group cemetery. In other words, it indicates that only after the orphaned souls had a formal burial and thus obtained a fixed place to receive regular offerings and ritual services could they be saved from a lingering status.

Another story concerns an official in Tanzhou 潭州 (i.e., modern Changsha 長沙) who woke up in the middle of the night and saw a man in a black robe and red hat inflicting punishment on another person. It turned out to be the Stove God (*zaoshen* 灶神) who was interrogating a homeless hungry ghost (*ji'e wuzhu zhi gui* 飢餓無主之鬼) who broke into the official's house for food. The Stove God told the official that: "Within the area under my jurisdiction, the homeless ghosts are suffering from hunger and cold day after day. If you, my lord, could offer sacrifices of meat and wine to them every spring and autumn at a place by the water, the merit would not be small. As for the derelict bones, [if you could] bury them, the rewards will be rich" 在吾境內，無主之鬼，日受饑凍。公能春秋於臨水處，多為酒肉祭之，其德為不細。無主之骨，擇土掩之，其賜甚厚.[117]

As is clear in these last two stories, "orphaned souls," which were usually the result of social chaos caused by war or natural disasters, had been a long-standing problem for maintaining socio-political order. Dying far from one's home and lacking regular offerings, the abandoned bones gave rise to a group of orphaned souls and lingering spirits who constantly caused trouble for the communities in the vicinity of where they lost their lives, but also to their own family

[117] Ibid., 4.

members far away. Therefore, the aim of the salvation rituals was to exorcise the ghostly beings that haunted the living, an aim that sometimes necessitated "saving" a troublesome ancestor.

Concluding Remarks

In the *Licheng yi*, one of the certificates used on the statement of Merit Altar (*Gongde tan* 功德壇) includes the following passage:

> This altar, upon the request of the native of such-and-such a place for the deliverance of his deceased ancestor so-and-so, is built for the Grand Retreat of the Supreme Yellow Register, for the purpose of universally delivering those in the four kinds of birth in the six paths, as well as orphaned souls and wandering spirits. Tonight, of such-and-such day of this month, [we hereby] perform the Unimpeded Evening Retreat for the Beings of the Four Kinds of Birth in the Six Paths, orphaned souls and wandering spirits of heaven and earth, this world, and the netherworld. After taking a bath and changing clothes, [they] will join the Perfected and listen to the teaching. Transmitting talismans and conferring precepts; sublimating and delivering [the beings] for rebirth: these are acts that accumulate merit.
> 本壇奉為鄉貫某人資薦亡故某乙眾會添等字崇建無上黃籙大齋，普度六道四生，孤魂滯魄。取今月某日夜，修設天地冥陽六道四生孤魂滯魄無礙夜齋。沐浴更衣，參真聽法。傳符授戒，鍊度超生，修奉功德。[118]

The juxtaposition of the terms "Huanglu dazhai" 黃籙大齋 (Grand Retreat of the Yellow Register) and "Tiandi mingyang" 天地冥陽 (Heaven and Earth, This world and the Netherworld) in this ritual document for the Daoist Yellow Register Retreat seems to have implied a close interaction with the Buddhist Water-Land ritual tradition represented by the TDMY liturgy. Similarly, Daoist ritual terminology is found in the TDMY liturgy as well. For instance, in the memorial statement for opening the five paths (*kaitong wulu shu* 開通五路疏), it says that "[we]

[118] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 456a.

solemnly follow the methods and models for doing *jiao* in performing the various rituals."[119] The phrase "solemnly follow the model for doing *jiao*" (*jinyi she jiao yishi* 謹依設醮儀式) appears several times in the ritual documents of the TDMY liturgy,[120] while a certificate specifically mentions that it aims to "do *jiao* for any forgotten dead souls" (*she jiao louluo wangling* 設醮漏落亡靈).[121] All of these practices are manifest in "writtin documents for invocation" (*xiuxie zhaoqing* 修寫召請),[122] "cautious writing" (*jinjin xiuxie* 謹謹修寫),[123] or "reverently writing the invocations" (*jingxie zhaoqing* 敬寫召請).[124] In addition, statements such as "in accordance with the statutes and ordinances," as we have seen in the five talismans above, underscore the overarching bureaucratic paradigm within which these talismans function. These commands, such as "in accordance with the statutes and ordinances," or simply "it is commanded" (*chi* 敕) signify the ritual priest's role as a divine bureaucrat issuing military commands to the spirit-generals in his service. In other words, the written documents used in the ritual are largely modeled on the Daoist rites, the *jiao* ritual in particular. It seems odd to see a Buddhist ritual following the model for doing a *jiao*, originally an indigenous Chinese offering practice and later a significant religious service within Daoism. But the bureaucratic infrastructure and sporadic distribution of Daoist elements in the TDMY liturgy indicate a dynamic interaction between Buddhism and Daoism.

The discrepancies we have seen so far in the TDMY liturgy, ranging from the inconsistency of placing the celestial deities, the configuring of earthly prisons based on the Chinese cardinal

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[119] TDMY, "Zawen," fasc. 2, 6b: "謹依設醮科式，遵行種種法事。"

[120] Ibid., 16b, 19a, 19b, 23b, 24a.

[121] Ibid., 24b.

[122] Ibid., 24a.

[123] Ibid., 23b.

[124] Ibid., 24a.

directions and on Buddhist conceptions of the otherworld, to the repetitive invocation of the Lord of Mount Tai, seem to suggest a compiler who was irresolute during his editing of the liturgy. It might be that he either could not find—or did not make enough effort to find—a consistent doctrinal or cosmological framework to accommodate and adjust the tension between the Buddhist doctrine of enlightenment and the indigenous Chinese and Daoist cosmological perception of the world beyond. Thus, in some places of adjustment, we see a seamless integration of different cultural elements, such as the combination of the five *tathāgatas* and the five directions, while in other places, such as the depiction of the tripartite pantheon, we see what seems to be an inconsistent disposition of the lesser Buddhist divine beings and Daoist deities. Unlike the FJSF liturgy, which was fully contextualized and protocoled within the Tiantai doctrinal system, the compilation of the TDMY liturgy seems to have been driven by a different force, not rooted in any high-end religious philosophies but rather came from a popular mindset and for practical ends: ritual efficacy. The compilers, who were probably also the performers, of the TDMY liturgy attempted to harness what for them must have been the powerful indigenous practices that they could add to their repertoire of potent ritual techniques.

Taking into consideration the discussion of the Esoteric Buddhist elements in the TDMY liturgy in the previous chapter, it would be helpful to investigate its synthetic features by looking at the Esoteric and Daoist elements together. If salvation through ritual is a defining trait of Esoteric Buddhism,[125] it is also true of Daoism. This shared feature thus created a feasible interactive channel between the Buddhist and Daoist salvation rituals. This also suggests that the study of Esoteric Buddhism in Medieval China should be conducted in tandem with the

[125] Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar, eds., *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 5.

observation of a series of interwoven cultural and religious elements, the newly emerged Daoist ritual movements in particular, such as the Divine Empyrean (*Shenxiao* 神霄) and Celestial Heart (*Tianxin* 天心).

Appendix I

The Heavenly Beings and Dwellers of the Lower Realms Invoked in the TDMY

Beings of the Four Formless Heavens 四空天眾
Beings of the Heavens the Form Realm: Great Brahma Heaven 大梵天 Heaven of Brahma's Ministers 梵輔天 Heaven of Brahma Followers 梵眾天
Beings of the Four Meditation Heavens: The Nine Heavens of the Fourth Meditation 四禪九天 The Three Heavens of the Third Meditation 三禪三天 The Three Heavens of the Second Meditation 二禪三天 The Three Heavens of the First Meditation 初禪三天
Lords of the Heavens of the Desire Realm: Paranirmita-vaśavartin 他化自在天 Nirmāṇa-rati 化樂天 Tuṣita 兜率天 Yāma 夜摩天 Trāyastriṃśa 忉利天 Dhṛtarāṣṭra of the East 東方持國天 Virūḍhaka of the South 南方增長天 Virūpākṣa of the West 西方廣目天 Vaiśravaṇa of the North 北方多聞天
All Heavenly Beings of the Great One 一切太乙遊空天眾
Azure Emperor of the East 東方青帝 Vermillion Emperor of the South 南方赤帝 White Emperor of the West 西方白帝 Dark Emperor of the North 北方黑帝 Yellow Emperor of the Middle 中方黃帝
The Great Yang Emperor of the Sun 日曜太陽天子 The Great Yin Emperor of the Moon 月曜太陰天子

Lord of the Venus 金星太白真君 Lord of the Jupiter 木星歲德真君 Lord of the Mercury 水星榮德真君 Lord of the Mars 火星熒惑真君 Lord of the Saturn 土星鎮德真君 Lord of the Rāhu 羅睺交初真君 Lord of the Ketu 計都交中真君 Lord of the Purple Mist 紫炁天一真君 Lord of the Lunar Apogee 月孛太一真君。
Aquarius and Capricorn 寶瓶摩羯 Sagittarius and Scorpio 人馬天蝎 Libra and Virgo 天秤雙女 Leo and Cancer 獅子巨蟹 Gemini and Taurus 陰陽金牛 Aries and Pisces 白羊雙魚
The Twelve Animal Zodiac 虎兔龍蛇之相 The Twelve Hours 十二元辰等眾
The Twenty-eight Constellations 二十八宿等眾
Lord of the Dubhe and Lord of Merak 貪狼巨門星君 Lord of the Phecda and Lord of the Megrez 祿存文曲星君 Lord of the Alioth and Lord of the Mizar 廉貞武曲星君 Lord of the Alkaid 破軍閑星君
Heavenly Officer of the Upper Prime 上元天官 Earthly Officer of the Middle Prime 中元地官 Water Officer of the Lower Prime 下元水官
The True Lord of the Marvelous Response of the True Warrior 真武靈應真君 The True Lord Assisting the Sage and Protecting Virtue 翊聖保德真君 The Great Marshal Tianpeng 天蓬大元帥 The Deputy Marshal Tianyou 天猷副元帥
The Four Emissaries of Talismans 四大持符使者

Goddess of Earth 后土聖母
Emperor of the Mount Tai 東嶽天齊仁聖帝 Emperor of the Mount Heng 南嶽司天昭聖帝 Emperor of the Mount Hua 西嶽金天順聖帝 Emperor of the Mount Heng 北嶽安天元聖帝 Emperor of the Mount Song 中嶽中天崇聖帝
Azure Dragon King of the East 東方青色龍王 Vermillion Dragon King of the South 南方赤色龍王 White Dragon King of the West 西方白色龍王

Dark Dragon King of the North 北方黑色龍王
All the dragons in rivers and lakes 江河淮濟五湖百川諸大龍神眾
Gods of Village Altars and Temples 靈壇社廟 Gods of Suburb Shrines 郊野祠堂 Tutelary Gods of Buddhist and Daoist Temples 衛伽藍宮觀之神 Gods that Protect the Country 護國界乾坤之宰
The Upper Prime King of the Mount Madang and the Ling River 上元水府馬當山靈江王 The Middle Prime King of the Mount Niuju and the Ding River 中元水府牛居山芝江王 The Lower Prime King of the Mount Lingsu and the River Zhen 下元水府靈肅山鎮江王

CHAPTER 4

What Makes a Daoist Ritual a Universal Salvation Ritual? The Yellow Register Retreat in the *Wushang huanglu dazhai Licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀

"Things that concern the living are also things that concern the dead."
「陽間所患，陰境亦然。」[1]

Introduction

After a long discussion of the Water-Land Retreat, it is time to pause and bring up again Ge Shengzhong whose writing for the Yellow Register Retreat was mentioned in the introduction. What Ge described in this text is not only a recapitulation of the liturgical performance of the Yellow Register Retreat but also a short preface to the knowledge of the ritual in the Song dynasty. However, similar to the memorial for the Water-Land Retreat in which Ge's description raised a few questions about the nature of the liturgy, this memorial for the Yellow Register Retreat is full of questions. What are the "Golden Ritual" and "Jade Book" and why should they be emphasized here? Why, after taking the bath, are the bodies adorned with clothes specifically mentioned here? Why and how could the souls be saved through confession? What is the "register of ghosts" and what does it mean to transcend it? Finally, this memorial written by a non-religious specialist for a Daoist ritual is permeated with Buddhist terminology, such as the "five defilements" and "non-

[1] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 551b.

discriminative": is this also true of the liturgical manuals of the Yellow Register Retreat and its actual practices? To throw light on these questions and the significance of the ritual practice in question, this chapter will begin with a general discussion of the liturgical foundation and religious/social context of the Yellow Register Retreat and then move on to a close analysis of its two specific ritual programs: the ritual of confession (*chanyi* 懺儀) and the ritual of salvation through sublimation (*liandu* 煉度). I will then approach the central question of this chapter: what makes a Daoist ritual a universal salvation (*pudu* 普度) ritual?

1. "*Zhai*" and/or "*Jiao*": Problematizing the Liturgical Identity of the Yellow Register Retreat

Just like the Water-Land Retreat which has a variety of names, the Yellow Register Retreat is also referred to by different titles such as Yellow Register Ritual (*Huanglu daochang* 黃籙道場), Yellow Register Retreat (*Huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋), and Yellow Register Offering (*Huanglu jiao* 黃籙醮). In Hong Mai's *Records of Hearsay* (*Yijian zhi* 夷堅志), among the eighteen stories that mention the Yellow Register ritual, sixteen of them refer to it as "Yellow Register Offering,"[2] "The Great Yellow Register Offering" (*Huanglu dajiao* 黃籙大醮),[3] or "The Nine Obscurities Yellow Register Offering" (*Huanglu jiuyou jiao* 黃籙九幽醮).[4] In official histories, such as the *Song History* (*Songshi* 宋史) and the *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿, "Yellow Register Offering"

[2] *Yijian zhi* 232, 385, 406, 448, 504, 746, 767, 1100, 1704.

[3] Ibid., 1089, 1319, 1362, 1528, 1710, 1780.

[4] Ibid., 326.

is used far more frequently than "Yellow Register Retreat." The second most common name is "Yellow Register Ritual" (*Huanglu daochang* 黃籙道場). This in turn poses a question: why do all ritual manuals refer to the Yellow Register Retreat as a "*zhai*" while most of the nonreligious sources refer to it as a "*jiao*"?

By modern times, *zhai*, usually translated as "retreat" or "fast," and *jiao*, usually translated as "offering," can be viewed as all-encompassing liturgies, distinguished primarily by the beneficiaries: *zhai* for the dead, *jiao* for the living.[5] However, both rituals have ancient origins that can be traced back to pre-Han times.

The *jiao* ritual appeared in ancient China as a toasting rite during a capping (*guan* 冠) or wedding (*qu* 娶) ceremony.[6] It was also performed as the basic liturgical service of sacrificial ceremonies (*ji* 祭) before it was absorbed into the early Daoist ritual systems.[7] The Daoist *jiao* ritual inherited and at the same time transformed the ancient *jiao* in various ways. It kept the practices of a triple offering of wine and making a congratulatory speech while reforming the sacrificial service by refusing blood offerings. Thus, the new form of the Daoist *jiao* ritual often included burning incense and offering wine to the deities, while replacing the killing of livestock with dried meat (*pu* 脯) as the sacrificial offering.[8]

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[5] John Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History* (New York: Macmillan, 1987).

[6] *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (SKQS), 14. 225.

[7] According to Lü Pengzhi, the *jiao* ritual in early Daoism was borrowed from sacrificial offerings conducted by *fangshi* in southern China. See, Lü Pengzhi, *Tangqian daojiao yishi shigang* 唐前道教仪式史纲 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 16. The earliest known *jiao* ritual is a record in Ge Hong's *Baopu zi* 抱樸子 (Master Who Embraces Simplicity) which mentions the "*jiao* of *fangshi*" (方士之醮). The *Preface to Taishang lingbao wufu* 太上靈寶五符序 provides the first detailed description of the *jiao* ritual. For more references on *jiao*, see, John Lagerwey, 1987, 51-240; Robert P. Hymes, *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 206-260; Zhang Zehong 張澤洪, *Daojiao zhaijiao fuzhou yishi* 道教齋醮符咒儀式 (Sichuan: Bashu shushe, 1994).

[8] *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 太上靈寶五符序, HY388, 326c.

In ancient China, "*zhai*" was often related to the practice of fasting and cleansing before the start of a sacrifice.[9] In other words, the early practice of a *zhai* ritual was in fact a set of preparatory procedures done before entering the space of a religious ceremonies. Participants are required to abstain from consuming meat and to suspend entertainment. They should cleanse their bodies, put on clean clothes, and stay in a quiet place for a certain period of time. This preparatory function remained an important stage in the Daoist rituals in the subsequent eras and it is emphasized in ritual manuals for the Yellow Register Retreat performed later:

> When preparing for the retreat feast, food should be offered according to the [auspicious] time; cakes, fruits, and vegetables should be clean and placed according to the rules. Do not let children or animals pollute them. Sweet cream and yogurt are not allowed in the retreat kitchen. After the retreat, tea and soup are allowed, but only for the sake of ensuring *qi* circulation.
> 几營齋饌，飯食隨時，餅果蔬菜。並須清淨，安置如法。勿使小兒、禽畜污犯，其酥乳酪並不得登齋廚。齋後，茶湯方可，通炁而已。[10]

> To hold a retreat and enter a quiet chamber, one should clean oneself first. Internally one should cleanse the mind with ritual water while externally one should cleanse filth with a fragrant bath. When the mind is quiet, secular thoughts will cease; when filth is rinsed off, perfected qi will flow through. Those who cultivate the Way should always purify the mind and settle thoughts, take bath and burn incense. Then one can communicate with the divine and move the high sages to descend.
> 登齋入靜，以潔為先。內以法水洗心，外以香湯洗垢。心靜則塵念自息，垢除則真氣流行。學道之人，常宜澄心定慮，沐浴薰香。可以通達神明，感絳真聖矣。[11]

In addition to physical cleanliness, the regulation of the mind is also underlined as an important aspect of the "*zhai*" in the performance of the Yellow Register Retreat:

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[9] Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Lunyu yizhu* 論語譯註 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), 101 [Xiangdang 鄉黨]: "*zhai* requires change in traditional food" 齋必變食.

[10] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 388c.

[11] Ibid., 388c-389a.

> *Zhai* means the fasting of mind. [It means] terminating all attractions of the visual, auditory, and physical senses, and the suppression of desire for the tasty and the fragrant. One should exhale and purify, focus on the spirit and become tranquil.
> 夫齋者，齋其心也。絕視聽色身之好，抑口味鼻香之貪。吐氣自澄，抱神以靜。[12]

With the emergence of Numinous Treasure Daoism (*Lingbao* 靈寶) during the early fifth century, the *zhai* ritual was greatly promoted and gradually developed into a sophisticated ritual system. Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (406-477), a disciple of the Celestial Masters—yet also a zealous advocate of the Lingbao ritual methods—strongly emphasized the vital importance of the *zhai* and systemized the Lingbao *zhai* by categorizing them into twelve methods of "*zhai*" (*zhaifa* 齋法) among which the Yellow Register Retreat is listed and briefly introduced:

> The Way makes the fast the foundation of establishing merits and the gateway to seeking perfection. Those who practice the Way and seek immortality and those who pray for blessings all rely on it. … There are twelve methods for fast. … Yellow Register Retreat, [practiced] the same as [Gold Register Retreat,] serves to remove the sinful roots of ancestors up to nine generations. According to the method, an altar should also be established. The width of [altar] entrance is the same as [the entrance of] Golden Register Retreat except that, around the altar, ten lamps are placed at the four sides and three burners of incense at the ten gates. As for patterned silk fabrics placed in the ten directions, common people should provide for one hundred and thirty-six *chi*, federal princes should provide for several *zhang*, while the emperor should provide for several *pi*. In addition, ten golden dragons [are provided.] One of each weighs one *liang*. [The quality of] gold is divided into three grades of top, middle, and low. The numbers of days of practicing the Way and worshipping the twenty directions are the same as that of Golden Register Retreat that follows the rhythm of four seasons. After the ritual is done, the golden dragons are cast into water and buried in the mountains while the patterned silk fabrics are distributed as making merits.
> 道以齋戒為立德之根本，尋真之門戶。學道求神仙之人，祈福希慶祚之家，萬不由之。……齋各有法，凡十二法。……黃籙齋。為同法，拔九祖罪根。法亦立壇，廣狹門戶與金籙同，但圍壇四面安力十燈，十門三香火。十方紋

[12] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 443b. This in fact finds its origin in the story of "fasting of the mind" (*xinzhai* 心齋) in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. It was first brought up in a conversion between Yanhui 顏回 and his teacher Confucius 孔子 about "*zhai*." Confucius was reluctant to recognize the practice of refraining from eating meat and drinking wine for months as the real "*zhai*"; rather, as he tells his student, the real "*zhai*" is the "fasting of the mind." See, *Zhuangzi* (SBCK), 2.10.

繒之信，庶人一百三十六尺，諸侯丈數，天子疋數。金龍十枚，枚重一兩，金有上中下，為貴賤之差。行道禮謝二十方，日數如金籙，隨四時之制，事竟投龍於水，又埋於山，餘紋繒散為功德也。[13]

It was during this period that the sacrificial *jiao*, which often includes the practice of praying and making offerings to gods, was absorbed into the Lingbao *zhai* and served as a conclusion or as an appendix to the performance.[14]

The *jiao* as a part of the *zhai* ritual is a thanksgiving performance, thus it is usually called the "thanksgiving offering" (*xie'en jiao* 謝恩醮). However, according to Lu Xiujing's account of the methods of the *zhai*, the thanksgiving *jiao* had not yet been included in the Yellow Register Retreat. That ritual ended with the performance of "casting the dragons slips" (*tou longjian* 投龍簡), based on the beliefs that merit had to be reported to the Three Officers (*sanguan* 三官) of the early Celestial Master tradition.[15] In this ritual, tablets with vermilion letters, together with dragons and buckles made of gold, were cast into the Daoist "cavern heavens and blissful realms" (*dongtian fudi* 洞天福地).[16]

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[13] *Dongxuan lingbao wugan wen*, HY1278, 619c-620b. See, John Lagerwey, "Canonical fasts according to Lu Xiujing," in Florian C. Reiter, ed., *Affiliation and Transmission in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012)

[14] This does not mean that the *jiao* ritual was completely absorbed into the *zhai* ritual. There are still independent *jiao* rituals performed on special occasions for special purposes, and after the Song, *jiao* even became more popular and gradually took over other rituals to become the most comprehensive Daoist ritual ceremony, the most famous being the *Luotian dajiao* 羅天大醮, which was also known as *Zhoutian dajiao* 周天大醮 or *Putian dajiao* 普天大醮. Liturgical texts on this grand *jiao* ritual are found in the Daoist Canon, such as the *Luotian dajiao shejiao yi* 羅天大醮設醮儀 (HY480) and the *Luotian dajiao zao wu wan sanchao ke* 羅天大醮早午晚三朝科 (HY477, 478, 479).

[15] *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi* 太上洞玄靈寶授度儀, HY 528, 840b.

[16] Zhang Zehong 張澤洪, "Tangdai daojiao de toulong yishi" 唐代道教的投龍儀式, *Shaanxi shifan daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 1 (2007); Huang Shishan 黃士珊, "Daojiao wuzhi wenhua chutan: cong Daozang suocang tuxiang tan songdai daojiao yishi yongpin" 道教物質文化初探：從《道藏》所藏圖像談宋代道教儀式用品, in Lai Chi Tim, ed., *Daojiao tuxiang, kaogu yu yishi: Songdai daojiao de yanbian yu tese* 道教圖像、考古與儀式：宋代道教的演變與特色 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2016), 22-26; Édouard Chavannes, *Le jet des dragons* (Paris, 1916).

A century later, the *Wushang miyao* 無上秘要 (*The Essence of the Supreme Secrets*), the Daoist encyclopedia, composed on orders of Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou (543-578), provided a relatively detailed record of the Yellow Register Retreat. The whole fascicle of the ritual programs is attributed to the "*Xiayuan huanglu jianwen*" 下元黃籙簡文 (*The Tablets of the Yellow Register of Lower Origin*) summarized below:

1) Set up the ritual altar and prepare ritual paraphernalia which include plaques 題榜, incense 香火, dragon weights 鎮龍, and patterned silk fabrics 紋綵.[17]
2) Deploy ritual positions 署職.[18]
3) Offer incense three times 三上香.[19]
4) Incant (grind the teeth twenty-four times) 祝香（扣齒二十四通）.[20]
5) Invoke immortals and celestial officers 請仙官.[21]
6) Offer incense three times 三上香.[22]
7) Repent to the ten directions 謝十方.[23]
8) Repent to sun, moon, and stars, the five peaks, the Officer of Water, and the Three Treasures 謝日月星、五嶽、水官、三寶.[24]
9) Cast a jade tablet with vermilion letters and a golden dragon 投丹書玉札一枚、金龍一枚.[25]

As in Lu Xiujing's account, the Yellow Register Retreat recorded here closed with the performance of "casting the dragons slips." The thanksgiving *jiao* performance has not yet appeared. However, performances such as the taking of refuge, the triple circumambulation and

[17] *Wushang miyao*, HY1138, 196b-197b.

[18] Ibid., 197b.

[19] Ibid., 197b-c.

[20] Ibid., 197c.

[21] Ibid., 197c-198a.

[22] Ibid., 198a-198c.

[23] Ibid., 198c-200c.

[24] Ibid., 200c-202c.

[25] Ibid., 202c.

the greetings suggest a visible inspiration from Buddhism.[26] These greetings, which are pronounced to the ten directions, to the five peaks and often include confessions, constitute the central part of the ritual.

The combined performance of *zhai* and *jiao* became popular during the Tang dynasty. By the time when Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850-933) composed the *Collection of Guangcheng* (*Guangcheng ji* 廣成集), the thanksgiving *jiao* became part of the Yellow Register Retreat:

> [We] venerably open the altar space so as to perform the Precious Retreat of the Yellow Register and prepare for the Great Offering of the All-Encompassing Heaven.
> 崇起壇場，修黃籙寶齋，備羅天大醮。[27]

Jiang Shuyu 蔣叔與 (1162-1223), a Southern Song Daoist liturgist, can be credited with identifying Du Guangting as the one who added the thanksgiving *jiao* to the Yellow Register Retreat:

> Master Guangcheng Du, when editing the offering liturgies for deconstructing the altar of the Yellow Register Offering ritual, considered blood offerings of animals as "sacrifice" and offerings of vegetables and fruits as "offering." "Offering" is another name for sacrifice. … There was no thanksgiving offering in Zhang Qingdu's [i.e., Zhang Wanfu (fl. 713)] liturgy of the Yellow Register. It only started with Du Guangcheng's liturgy [of the Yellow Register.] It was because deities are invoked to [assist] practicing the retreat by guarding the altar space, communicating and corresponding, in order to pay gratitude to their merits that an offering banquet was set up.
> 杜廣成先生刪定黃籙散壇醮儀，以為牲牷血食謂之祭，蔬果精珍謂之醮。醮者，祭之別名也。……張清都黃籙儀無謝恩醮，杜廣成儀始有之。亦以修齋召命神靈，管衛壇場，宣通關告，往來勞役，所以言功，設此醮筵，用行酬賞。[28]

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[26] John Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao: somme taoiste du VIe siècle* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1981), 31-32.

[27] *Guangcheng ji* 廣成集, HY616, 273a-b. On the study of *Luotian dajiao*, see, Verellen, "Green Memorials: Daoist Ritual Prayers in the Tang-Five Dynasties Transition," *Tang Studies* 35 (2017): 51-86.

[28] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 464c.

The activity of Du Guangting "the *jiao* ritual performed to dismiss the ritual altar of Yellow Register Retreat" seems to have corresponded to the change in popularity of the *zhai* and the *jiao* performances from the middle Tang period. Prior to the middle Tang, the performance of *zhai* enjoyed more popularity, while after the middle Tang, the performance of *jiao* gradually became the mainstream. Du Guangting's collection can be used as an example to show the shift: it included only thirty-one poems on the performance of *zhai* rituals but one hundred and eighty-six poems on the performance of *jiao*,[29] thus suggesting the overwhelming interest in the latter. The popularity of the *jiao* rituals continued into the Song and subsequent eras when Jiang Shuyu lamented:

> Today the methods of *jiao* are prevailing all over the world whereas the methods of *zhai* are nearly gone.
> 今世醮法遍區宇，而齋法幾於影滅。[30]

However, it seems that after Du Guangting incorporated the thanksgiving *jiao* into the Yellow Register Retreat, the distinction between the *jiao* and *zhai* became less clear and the interchangeable use of the two names for the same Daoist ritual became more and more common. The compound "*zhai-jiao*" 齋醮 was, for example, often applied to refer to Daoist rituals in general[31] and the cases of non-distinctive usage of "Yellow Register Offering" and "Yellow Register Retreat" found in the nonreligious records mentioned above simply assume this transformation.

Despite their interchangeability in referring to Daoist rituals in the Song, the *zhai* and the *jiao* remained largely different in terms of liturgical functions. As Jiang Shuyu pointed out that:

> Burning incense and practicing the Dao; confessing sins and apologizing for transgressions: these are called [the performances of] "*zhai*." Invoking the

[29] Zhang Zehong, *Daojiao zhaijiao fuzhou yishi*, 27.

[30] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 378c.

[31] Zhang Zehong, *Daojiao zhaijiao fuzhou yishi*, 27-28.

> Perfected and inviting the Saints to come down, begging for mercy and praying for blessing: these are called [the performances of] "*jiao*." The rituals of "*zhai*" and "*jiao*" are not the same.
> 燒香行道，懺罪謝愆，則謂之齋。延真降聖，乞恩請福，則謂之醮。齋醮儀軌，不得而同。[32]

Recalling what Jiang Shuyu mentioned earlier, the reason why a thanksgiving *jiao* is performed at the end of the Yellow Register Retreat is because throughout the performance of the whole *zhai* ritual, celestial deities are invoked to assist the ritual master and facilitate the ritual performance by guarding the altar space and transmitting ritual documents. It is therefore to show gratitude, in both verbal and material forms, to those celestial assistants that a *jiao* is performed. We are not sure of the exact reason why most of the historical records and the anecdotes of the Song dynasty referred to the Yellow Register ritual as an "offering," but we can tell at least one thing, that is, the function of *jiao* as a thanksgiving practice constitutes a crucial part of the Yellow Register Retreat since the late Tang or early Song and henceforth embodies an important identity of the Daoist *pudu* ritual which will be elaborated on in the following discussion.

2. "Golden Ritual" and the "Jade Book": The Liturgical Foundation and Religious Context of the Yellow Register Retreat

2.1 The Daoist Scriptural and Liturgical Foundation

At the beginning of this chapter, we saw how the mention of "*jinke*" (Golden Ritual) and "*qiongji*" (Jade Book) in Ge Shengzhong's memorial raised a question about their meaning and connection to the Yellow Register Retreat.

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[32] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 478c.

The term "*jinke*" was also mentioned in Du Guangting and Jiang Shuyu's ritual manuals of the Yellow Register Retreat in a quotation from a Tang Daoist priest called Zhang Chengxian 張承先 (d. unknown),[33] who said:

> After ascending the altar to receive the middle covenant of Lingbao is completed, [the ritual master should] follow the Golden Ritual of Spontaneity to cast ten golden buckles and dragons into the pure spring. This is the way of seeking immortality.
> 登壇受靈寶中盟畢，依自然金科，投金鈕十口，放龍清泉，為求仙之道。[34]

In the earlier *Wushang miyao*, the performance of casting dragons slips is prescribed by a Daoist scripture called the *Xiayuan huanglu jianwen*[35]:

> The Lingxian section of the *Xiayuan huanglu jianwen* says: after the rituals of removing sinful roots and paying gratitude are done, [the ritual master] should, according to the *Yujue*, cast a golden dragon and a jade tablet [inscribed with] vermilion letters. [The dragon and tablet are] wrapped in black silk and serve to inform spirits, immortals, and the Five Emperors. According to old methods, the letters of transcending and delivering are enclosed in a cliff. The Lingxian section of the *Xiayuan huanglu jianwen* says: after the ritual of informing the Five Emperors is done, [the ritual master] should cast a jade tablet of vermilion letters and a golden dragon, wrapped in black silk, into three rivers so as to inform the Emperor of Water. The letter of transcending and delivering follows the old text of the *Yujue*.
> 下元黃籙簡文靈仙品曰：拔度罪根威儀申謝都畢，當依玉訣，投金龍一枚，丹書玉札，青絲纏之，以關靈仙五帝。升度之信，封於絕岩之中，一依舊法。
> 下元黃籙簡文靈仙品曰：關五帝威儀畢，當丹書玉札一枚，金龍一枚，青絲纏石沈之三江，以關水帝。升度之信，一依玉訣舊文。[36]

Similar protocols for the casting dragons slips ritual attributed to the same scripture are found in Du Guangting's *Taishang huanglu zhai*yi in which the *Xianyuan huanglu jianwen,*

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[33] Wang Chengwen 王承文, *Dunhuang gu lingbao jing yu Jin-Tang daojiao* 敦煌古靈寶經與晉唐道教 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 814-815.

[34] *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 太上黃籙齋儀, HY507, 366c; *Licheng yi*, HY508, 505b.

[35] Wang Chengwen, "Dunhuang ben gu lingbao jing liangbu yijing kaozheng"敦煌本古靈寶經兩部佚經考證, *Dunhuang Research* 敦煌研究 1 (2003); L*ü* Pengzhi, *Tangqian daojiao yishi shigang*, 143-166.

[36] *Wushang miyao*, HY1138, 202c.

abbreviated as *Huanglu jianwen* 黃籙簡文, was cited more than once.[37] During the ritual performed at dusk for saving and transforming the dead 遷拔落景行道, the ritual master states: "we, in accordance with the *Ziyang yuji* (Jade Book of the Purple Yang) and the *Huanglu jianwen* (Tablets of the Yellow Register), set up the altar and arrange the [ritual] fabrics modeled on heaven and earth" 臣等按紫陽玉笈、黃籙簡文。法地象天，敷壇列纂.[38] Here, the "*Huanglu jianwen*" is an abbreviated title for the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao xiayuan huanglu jianwen sanyuan weiyi ziran zhenjing* 太上洞玄靈寶下元黃籙簡文三元威儀自然真經.[39]

The "*Ziyang yuji*," on the other hand, should be a reference to the *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing* 洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經, in which we found the possible provenance of this appellation:

> The Intendant of the Nine Heavens who registers lifespans together with the Jade Youth who attends the immortals opens the Jade Book of the Purple Yang and the pocket of Cloudy Brocade, from which the Jade Stanzas of the Life Spirits of the Nine Heavens appears.
> 登命九天司馬，侍仙玉郎，開紫陽玉笈、雲錦之囊，出九天生神玉章。[40]

Listed among the thirty-five scriptures that are used to pacify and guard (*anzhen* 安鎮) the altar in Jiang Shuyu's *Licheng yi*,[41] the two scriptures had a close relationship to the performance

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[37] *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi*, HY507, 361a.

[38] Ibid., 231a.

[39] We found the original source of the protocols of the casting dragons and tablets in the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao xiayuan huanglu jianwen sanyuan weiyi ziran zhenjing* 太上洞玄靈寶下元黃籙簡文三元威儀自然真經, known to be an "old Lingbao scripture" (*gu lingbao jing* 古靈寶經). Possibly dated to the Eastern Jin 東晉 (317-420), it was only preserved in several excavated Daoist scriptures from Dunhuang 敦煌. See, ZHDZ, fasc. 3, 281b.

[40] *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing* 洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經, HY318, 845b.

[41] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 379b-c. According to Schipper, the *Xiayuan huanglu jianwen* contains only one part of the three Tablets of the Three Principles, whose full title should be *Taishang dongxuan lingbao jinlu jianwen sanyuan weiyi ziran zhenyijing* 太上洞玄靈寶金籙簡文三元威儀自然真一經. But in the *Licheng yi*, this complete scripture is referred to as the *Dongxuan lingbao sanyuan weiyi ziranjing* 洞玄靈寶三元威儀自然經. See, Lü Pengzhi, *Tangqian daojiao yishi shigang*, 143-166.

of the Yellow Register Retreat in the Song dynasty. The *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing* is even among the several scriptures that are to be recited at the commencement of the ritual performance.[42] In fact, a later version of this scripture includes an appendix that features the tale of an intriguing miracle that happened at the beginning of the Song. It tells the story of how during the late Five Dynasties period, a concubine of the Later Shu emperor Meng Chang 孟昶 (919-965) died due to a thunder strike while staying at the Abbey of the Elder Gentleman 丈人觀 on Mt. Qingcheng 青城山. Several years later, on the evening of the Upper Prime festival (*Shangyuan* 上元), a Daoist priest called Li Ruochong 李若沖 (d. unknown) was on his way back to the Abbey when he saw the ghost of this concubine, who wrote a poem for him. As soon as he arrived at the Abbey, he saw a group of celestial beings were investigating the life records of the dead and the concubine was tortured and interrogated. Advised by his master Tang Dongqing 唐洞卿 (d. unknown), Li Ruochong performed a Yellow Register Retreat for the deceased concubine, who was immediately delivered from the netherworld. In the end, Li noted: "If people in the world would like to deliver their deceased ancestors, they should sincerely venerate this 'Jade Book,' which is a shortcut to salvation" 世人慾濟度先亡者，誠當崇此瓊文，為超脫之捷徑.[43]

Without doubt, this tale is a later addition to the original text, but it nevertheless shows that at least by the early Song, the "*jinke*" and "*qiongji*," which represent the tradition of the Lingbao scriptures, were considered to be a crucial part of the scriptural foundation of the Yellow Register Retreat liturgy.

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[42] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 438c.

[43] *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing* 洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經, HY318, 848c.

While the Yellow Register Retreat of the Song dynasty maintained the liturgical identity from the ancient times, there are also new rituals constantly being absorbed into it.[44] The general development of Daoism throughout the medieval period can be characterized as having two parallel yet interwoven trends: localization and synthetization. With the rise of local political and religious lay organizations, especially in the regions south of the Yangtze River, Daoism became more and more immersed in local society and popular culture.[45] In such a dynamic—yet unstable—world Daoism faced challenges and opportunities at the same time. On the one hand, a large number of influential local nonofficial religious organizations distributed their own sacred literature, attracted their own clergy, and created rituals in which the veneration of their saint had a central position. Some of them even obtained imperial patronage.[46] Local exorcistic rites, the Thunder Rites (*leifa* 雷法) in particular, rose to prominence very rapidly, became institutionalized, and established their own initiations and lineage organizations, independent of the existing Daoist liturgical structures. This change further brought out an enlarged distinction between the liturgical capability of the Daoist priest (*daoshi* 道士) and that of the Ritual Master (*fashi* 法師).[47] On the other hand, the expansion of Daoism into local society was accompanied by an extensive

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[44] Lai Chi Tim 黎志添, Leung Sze Wan 梁斯韻, and Zhang Chaoran 張超然 have specifically examined the connection between the early medieval tradition of Lingbao Daoism and the new Yellow Register liturgy in the Song as well as its interaction with and integration of the new ritual practices from the Southern Song dynasty onwards. See, Lai Chi Tim, "The Daoist Identity of the Yellow Register Retreat in the Southern Song: A Case Study of Jin Yunzhong's Great Rites of Lingbao," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 63-93; Leung Sze Wan, "The Development and Transformation of the Yellow Register Retreat in the Southern Song Dynasty: A Case Study of Jiang Shuyu's Standardized Rituals of the Supreme Yellow Register Retreat" (Ph.D. diss., The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2015); Zhang Chaoran, "Zhaike yu jingfa: Song-Yuan Huanglu zhaifa yanjiu," *Proceedings of the International Conference on Taoist Ritual in Chinese Local Society in Comparative and Historical Perspective* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2015): 329-358.

[45] Political and economic transformations accompanied by massive demographic shift after the establishment of the Song regime successfully turned the Jiangnan region into a richer religious environment rooted in local communities and different cultic groups.

[46] Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 79-104.

[47] Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

absorption of local religious elements, bringing out more flexible and encompassing religious services and a broader pantheon. Local deities and their priests were assimilated within the framework of Daoist cosmology and practice; the rites performed by the local shamans were integrated into the Daoist liturgical organization.[48] As the classical Daoist clergy and the newly emergent Ritual Masters worked side by side in the same environment, their mutual integration became a fundamental prerequisite and part of a continual process of this long-lasting ritual proliferation. The Yellow Register Ritual was such an all-aspect synthesizer which had since the late medieval period become more and more predominant. It included a series of rites the aim of which was to save the deceased by means of breaking the barrier of hell, summoning the souls, bathing, feeding, refining the body, and conferring the precepts. These rites are based on the Inner Alchemy techniques combined with sublimation and exorcism rites that marshaled the forces of thunder.

2.2 The Religious Context

Not only a mixed liturgy of both the Lingbao tradition and the new ritual movements, the Yellow Register Retreat in medieval China is also a great synthesizer of Daoist and Buddhist ritual practices.[49] As early as in the *Wushang miyao*, the presence of Buddhism can be detected in the practices of taking refuge in the Three Treasures, and the triple circumambulation, and the greetings. However, as the Yellow Register Retreat rapidly developed in the Song, especially during the Southern Song, and also because of its soteriological emphasis on saving the dead, the

[48] Ibid., 200-226.

[49] Lü Pengzhi has suggested that the Lingbao retreat borrowed massively from the Buddhist practice of retreat, especially in terms of periodic retreats to observe precepts and confess. See, Lü Pengzhi, *Tangqian daojiao yishi shigang*, 130, 137, 140, 161.

Buddhist impact on dealing with dead became clearly manifested in the performance, which often took place in the evening.[50]

Ge Shengzhong's memorial in fact provides an excellent example of the nocturnal rite dealing with the dead. Several key ritual programs are mentioned in his writing: summoning the celestial beings, lightning candles and lamps to illuminate the Nine Obscurities (i.e., hell), burning incense to perfume the five defilements, cleansing the body with the non-discriminative bath, adorning the body with clean clothes, reciting the words of the Great Brahman and the Salvation Scriptures of the Primordial Beginning. In the end, as Ge emphasized, the dead will all be delivered by means of confession and regain the existence of yang. If it were not for the title and the first two sentences, readers might mistake this text as a memorial for a Buddhist ritual since it is filled with Buddhist terminology and metaphors such as "*wuzhuo*" 五濁, "*wuai*" 無礙, "*dafan*" 大梵, "*banan*"八難, "*changye*" 長夜, and "*wangsheng*" 往生.[51] Yet, the last sentence shows a synthetic step by claiming that the dead will be transformed before rebirth which will enable them to escape from the register of ghosts. We will try to understand the meaning of this sentence by looking at the ritual of confession and the ritual of salvation through sublimation in the next two sections.

Creative encounters among local cults, classical Daoist traditions, and the use of Buddhist metaphors were visible in the flourishing of new Daoist ritual compendia. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a number of new Daoist liturgical traditions emerged in the Jiangnan area, resulting in the "feverish" production of Daoist ritual compendia. Due to the miscellaneous

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[50] Matsumoto Koichi compared the Buddhist Water-Land ritual and the Daoist Yellow Register ritual in a general sense and said that while the Water-Land ritual has an expansive category of orphaned souls that are to be saved, the Yellow Register ritual pays more attention to the deliverance of the deceased members of the ritual patron's family. See, Koichi, "Songdai de Shuiluzhai yu Huangluzhai."

[51] Erik Zürcher examined Buddhist vocabulary in the Lingbao scriptures and many of the terms here are already found in the medieval Daoist texts. See, Erik Zürcher, "Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism: A Survey of Scriptural Evidence," *T'oung Pao* 66.1 (1980): 84-147,

background from which they originated, however, most of them developed a growing concern for the normalization of ritual practices. For example, Jin Yunzhong's 金允中 *Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao* (*Shangqing Lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法) is a compendium that sorts out every rite belonging to the ancient Lingbao tradition and relentlessly attacks other liturgical traditions of the day, especially those of the so-called Tiantai school. Another ritual compendium entitled the *Golden Book of Salvation According to the Lingbao Tradition* (*Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 靈寶領教濟度金書) seems to have suggested a Daoist lineage that underscored ritual practice as well. The alleged authors of this compendium are identified as Ning Quanzhen 寧全真 and Lin Lingzhen 林靈真, who are important figures of a Daoist school called the Donghua school 東華派, which came into prominence during the Southern Song dynasty in the Zhejiang region.[52] Wang Qizhen 王契真, probably another disciple of the Donghua school, even had a compendium under the same title of Jin Yunzhong's *Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao*. It is very likely that this Donghua school was the Tiantai school under Jin Yunzhong's attack, and it is also possible that Wang Qizhen's *Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao* was composed later as a response to Jin's compendium.[53] In addition, Jiang Shuyu, a native of Wenzhou 溫州 (in modern Zhejiang province) and author of an important compendium on the Huanglu *zhai*—the *Standardized Rituals of the Supreme Yellow Register Retreat* (*Wushang Huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀)—seems to have followed another ritual tradition from Mt. Longhu 龍虎山 in Jiangxi 江西.

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[52] Lü Chui-kuan and John Lagerwey, "Le taoïsme du district de Cangnan, Zhejiang," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 79.1 (1992): 19-55; Hsieh Shi-wei 謝世維, "Song-Yuan shiqi de 'Donghua pai' tantao—puxi, shengzhuan, yu jiaofa" 宋元時期的「東華派」探討——譜系、聖傳與教法, *Dongwu zhongwen xuebao* 東吳中文學報 23 (2015): 161-190.

[53] John Lagerwey, "Shangqing lingbao dafa"上清靈寶大法, in Kristofer Schipper & Franciscus Verllen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang,* Volume 2 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1021-1024.

The emphasis of that tradition was on the Methods of Five Thunders (*Wulei fa* 五雷法), which was a popular exorcistic rite during the Song and was adopted by many different Daoist liturgical traditions.

Nevertheless, all the ritual compendia mentioned above—the longest, the *Jidu jinshu*, has 320 *juan*—see the Yellow Register Retreat as the core of Lingbao *zhai* rituals in their world. Thanks to Du Guangting's efforts, the Yellow Register Retreat became the high point of medieval Daoist rituals for the dead.[54] It is in Du's collection of writings that we see a concern for retaining classical Daoist ritual purity and a growing pressure to address local cults and rituals. However, this exhibition of tension and accommodation became even more intense in those Song ritual compendia. These new compendia can be characterized as having two features: first, they were compiled in the form of an encyclopedia, categorizing the liturgy into different subjects and providing various sources for each category. Secondly, all of them show a heavy appropriation of the burgeoning local ritual traditions while claiming a classical inheritance from the Six Dynasties Lingbao rituals, the *zhai* ritual of Audience with Spontaneity in particular. What complicated this situation even further was the ubiquitous presence of Buddhism in those ritual manuals, especially in the rites dealing with the dead. As we will see in the following discussion, the creative incorporation of Buddhist concepts and metaphors into the Daoist ritual performance is largely seen in the ritual of confession. Yet, before we proceed to a close analysis of the ritual of confession in the Yellow Register Retreat, let us take a look at its general ritual programs.

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[54] Franciscus Verellen, *Du Guangting (850-933): Taoïste de cour à la fin de la Chine médiévale* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes écoles, Mémoires de l'Institut des hautes études chinoises,1989).

3. The Ritual Programs of the *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*

Unlike the Water-Land Retreat, which is less comparable regarding size and details of performance, the Yellow Register Retreat has a definite and much richer textual history in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As mentioned earlier, a number of the new ritual compendia in the Southern Song include lengthy and detailed prescriptions of the Yellow Register Retreat. Yet, it is only the *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* by Jiang Shuyu that established the Yellow Register Retreat as its sole topic and provided an encyclopedic guide for its ritual performance.[55] Divided into fifty-seven fascicles,[56] the *Licheng yi* is further classified into twenty-four "gates" (*men* 門) based on different categories of ritual procedures. Fascicles sixteen through thirty-one belong to the "Section of Ritual Programs" (*Keyi men* 科儀門)[57] in which the whole set of the ritual programs from the Nocturnal Invocation (*suqi* 宿啓),[58] Three Audiences (*Sanshi xingdao* 三時行道),[59] Salvation Through Sublimation (*liandu* 煉度),[60] to Deconstruction of the Altar and Statement of Merits (*santan yangong* 散壇言功)[61] are prescribed in detail. The following discussion is mainly based on the *Licheng yi* but occasionally cites from other sources.

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[55] Lagerwey has provided a clear historical account of Jiang Shuyu and his *Licheng yi* in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, volume 2, 1014-1018. For an introduction of the *Licheng yi* in Chinese, see, Ren Jiyu 任继愈 and Zhong Zhaopeng 鍾肇鵬, eds., *Daozang tiyao* 道藏提要 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1991), 224-226.

[56] Although attributed to Jiang Shuyu, the compendium is no longer in its original form by Jiang. See, John Lagerwey, "Wushang huanglu dazhai lichen yi"無上黃籙大齋立成儀, in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon,* 1015.

[57] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 403a-568a

[58] Ibid., 403a-480b.

[59] Ibid., 480c-493b.

[60] Ibid., 535c-554a.

[61] Ibid., 493c-497b.

Traditionally, a typical Lingbao *zhai* ritual consists of three major ritual programs, namely the Nocturnal Invocation, Three Audiences, and Proclamation of Merits.[62] A *jiao* ritual is often included in the last part of this three-stage performance, that is, in the Proclamation of Merits, and was performed together with the Presentation of the Memorial (*baibiao* 拜表) and the Casting the Dragons Slips. Together, they mark the closure of the whole performance.

The Yellow Register Retreat usually lasts for five days. The first day is dedicated to general preparations and the Nocturnal Invocation, the next three days are preserved for the main ritual performances, and the last day for the closing ceremony (see table 1). Generally speaking, the ritual program of the Yellow Register Retreat follows the changing rhythm of sunlight, dividing the performance into day and night sections. Rituals during the day are called the Three Audiences (*Sanchao xingdao* 三朝行道).[63] The liturgical sequence of the Three Audiences is in effect an elaborately choreographed performance during which the ritual participants (including ritual masters and laypeople) prepare and purify themselves, (ritual masters only) invoke divine troops and send ritual documents, invite deities and summon orphaned souls, confess sins and dedicate merits, visualize images of the deities and enunciate incantations. Once shriven, the orphan souls are cleansed with water and feted with food.

Firstly, the ritual master enters the altar space and offers incense to the ten directions.[64] The ritual drum is then beaten (*ming fagu* 鳴法鼓)[65] to announce the beginning of the ritual

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[62] Lü Pengzhi, *Tangqian daojiao yishi shigang*, 142-165.

[63] "Three times of a day: dawn, noon, and dusk" 三朝者，日出、日中、日入時也. See, *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法, HY1221, 725c.

[64] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 480a.

[65] Ibid., 481b. According to Lagerwey, *ming fagu* means to grit the teeth as a way of summoning the gods of the body to begin to send them out to carry the message. See, Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History,* 121-122.

performance. The ritual master begins to send out his body gods (*falu* 發爐)[66] and review the divine troops and officials (*yue libing xingshi* 閱吏兵行事).[67] He then announces the purpose of the ritual (*xuanci* 宣詞).[68] After that, he burns incense to the ten directions three times[69] before he starts to perform the confession to the twenty directions (*li ershifang chanhui* 禮二十方懺悔).[70] Upon finishing the confession, the ritual master begins to visualize a round image of nine colors (*si jiuse yuanxiang* 思九色圓像)[71] and swallow saliva to command the demons (*yanye mingmo* 咽液命魔).[72] Secret incantations are uttered while the ritual master circumambulates the ritual area, pacing the void (*buxu xuanrao* 步虛旋繞).[73] Finally, the body gods are recalled (*fulu* 復爐),[74] the ritual master leaves the ritual space and returns to the hall (*guitang* 歸堂).[75] Each part of this sequence is constituted by a series of coordinated acts involving reciting incantations in specific directions.

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[66] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 481b.

[67] Ibid., 481b-483a.

[68] Ibid., 483b-484b.

[69] This could mean presenting three sticks of incense held in both hands three times (each time with a little bow and raising the sticks) before planting them in the incense burner.

[70] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 484b-489c. This performance already existed in the *Wushang miyao*'s Yellow Register Ritual, see, *Wushang miyao*, HY1138, 198a-202b.

[71] Ibid., 490c. For studies of Daoist meditative practices, see, Isabelle Robinet, *Taoist Meditation: The Mao-Shan Tradition of Great Purity*, trans. Julian F. Pas and Norman J. Girardot (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993); and Livia Kohn and Yoshinobu Sakade, eds., *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1989).

[72] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 490c.

[73] Ibid., 491a-c. For references to "buxu," see, Edward H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars* (CT: Floating World Editions, 2005); Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History*, 112.

[74] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 493b. *Falu*, literally "lighting the incense burner," and *fulu,* literally "extinguishing the incense burner," are the two central opening and closing rites in Daoist rituals. They form the basic framework of Daoist rituals. See, Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History*, 121-123.

[75] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 493b. The "hall" here refers to the Silence Hall (*Jingmo tang* 靜默堂) in which seats for the primary ritual master as well as other ritual officiants are installed. See, *Licheng yi*, HY508, 387b.

After sunset, ritual programs for the dead begin. On the first and second evenings, rites that are dedicated to the division of the lamps (*fendeng* 分燈),[76] soul-summoning (*zhaoling* 召靈),[77] and soul-bathing (*muyu wangling* 沐浴亡靈)[78] are performed. On the third and fourth evenings, the rites known as the "salvation through sublimation (*liandu* 煉/鍊度)"[79] are performed. The souls of the dead are summoned from the netherworld, waiting to be sublimated and ascend (*shengdu* 昇度).[80] The *liandu* rite on the third evening is targeted at the massive deliverance of all souls (*pujian* 普薦)[81] while the rite on the next evening is especially performed for the ritual patron's deceased family members (*zhengjian* 正薦).[82]

During the last day of the Yellow Register Retreat, the closing program includes presentation of the memorial (*baibiao* 拜表),[83] tossing the three tablets (*tou sanjian* 投三簡),[84] and making offerings (she*jiao* 設醮),[85] before finally dismissing the altar (*santan* 散壇).

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[76] Ibid., 517a-526c.

[77] Ibid., 530a-532b.

[78] Ibid., 532b-535b.

[79] Ibid., 535c-542c, 548a-554a.

[80] Ibid., 543a-547c.

[81] Ibid., 548a-554a.

[82] Ibid., 535c-542c.

[83] Ibid., 493c-496b.

[84] Ibid., 496b-c; 502a-505c. These include the tablets for the mountains (*shanjian* 山簡), water (*shuijian* 水簡), and earth (*tujian* 土簡).

[85] Ibid., 514a-516c.

Table 1: Ritual Program of the Yellow Register Retreat (based on the *Licheng yi*)

	DAY 1	DAY 2	DAY 3	DAY 4	DAY 5
DAWN **清旦**	Ritual forecast 預告 Raise banners 揚幡 Recite scriptures 轉經 Official announcement 正奏	Practice the Way 正齋行道 Recite scriptures 轉經	Practice the Way 正齋行道 Recite scriptures 轉經	Practice the Way 正齋行道 Recite scriptures 轉經	Dismiss altar and send memorials 解壇拜表 Toss the three tablets 告投三簡 Offering 設醮
NOON **中分**	Make alliances 啟盟 Set up screens 立幕 Purify altar 淨壇	Practice the Way 正齋行道 Recite scriptures 轉經	Practice the Way 正齋行道 Recite scriptures 轉經	Practice the Way 正齋行道 Recite scriptures 轉經	
DUSK **落景**	Lamp distribution 分燈 Nocturnal Announcement 宿啟 Teach precepts 說戒 Install ritual posts 補職 Announce prohibition 宣禁	Practice the Way 正齋行道	Practice the Way 正齋行道	Practice the Way 正齋行道 Send the memorials of Heavenly Officials who save through transcendence 拜天官昇度章	
NIGHT **靜夜**	Venerate lamps 禮燈 Summon 召靈 Bathe 沐浴 Audience 朝真 Incant food 咒食	Lighten the lamps of the nine purgatories 九獄燈儀	Summon all wandering souls 普召幽爽 Set up food utensils 設斛 Deliver the [orphaned souls] via sublimation 鍊度	Set up pools of water and fire 建水火池 Deliver the deceased members [of ritual patron's family] via great sublimation 大鍊昇度亡魂	

4. "Deliverance Through Repentance": The Ritual of Confession

The importance of confession in the Yellow Register Retreat is suggested by its position as a prerequisite of all other rites: "All retreats of the Three Caverns are based on the Divine Scriptures and prioritize penitential rites" 夫三洞諸齋，莫不以神經為本，懺謝為先.[86] Wang

[86] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 378c.

Qizhen also underlines the importance of confession by saying that "the essential part of cultivation is reducing transgressions. If transgressions are not confessed, the path to the Way will be long" 修真之要，寡過為先。過若不悛，去道遠矣.[87] In other words, confession is considered a fundamental precondition essential to the ultimate goal of Daoist cultivation.

The ritual of confession is the main body of the Three Audiences performance.[88] It takes place right after the ritual master has dispatched his body gods who are in charge of transmitting penitential prayers because, according to Jiang Shuyu, "whenever a retreat or an offering is performed, from sending out to recalling body gods, the words of confession are transmitted by the immortals and spirits"[89] 建齋設醮，自發爐至復爐，懺謝之詞皆仗仙靈傳奏.[90] Before the ritual of confession starts, the purpose is announced:

> We memorialize on high to the Celestial Worthy of the Eastern Infinite Supreme High Numinous Treasure: … The deceased so-and-so and all other souls at the gathering will be saved; the family of the retreat patron, his ancestors of myriad generations and relatives who have passed through *kalpas*, as well as all the suffering *hun*- and sinful *po*-souls dwelling in the nine obscurities of ten directions will leave the dark night and get rid of their unwholesome roots. They all come to the retreat altar in order to be saved. On the day of holding the retreat, I request a decree to command the celestial beings of the ten directions and the spiritual officials all to descend to the altar seats and report on high the sincerity of the retreat, in the hope that merciful light will be sent down to verify their alliance with the worshipers, so that the disciples who hold the retreat will forever have blessed years and enjoy peaceful destinies. The conscious beings in this world and the helpless denizens in the netherworld will all benefit from the merits of repentance and thus move away from the suffering of reincarnation. May the grace reach both family and state, the living and the dead.

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[87] *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, HY1221, 726c.

[88] For a detailed description of these ritual procedures within contemporary religious settings, see Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History*, 106-148.

[89] The "xianling" here refers to the two categories of immortals and spirits of the registers (*lu* 籙). When a Daoist priest is ordained, he will receive different registers of celestial beings which will be used under his command. See, John Lagerwey, "Zhengyi Registers" 正一籙, *Zhongwen daxue zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao tekan: Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo fangwen jiaoshou jiangzuo xilie 1* 中文大學中國文化研究所學報特刊：中國文化研究所訪問教授講座系列（一） (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2005), 9.

[90] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 471c.

> 上奏東方無極太上靈寶天尊御前，…… 拔度亡故某乙在會係薦等魂，暨修齋弟子家，億曾萬祖，歷劫種親，十方九幽，苦魂罪魄。出離幽夜，落滅惡根。獲詣齋壇，普受開度。建齋之日，仍乞敕勒十方神仙、靈官聖眾，下臨壇席，上奏齋誠。俯賜恩光，證盟修奉。俾建齋弟子，永處福齡，各安正命。陽間有識，陰界無依。俱承懺悔之功，並脫輪迴之苦。恩覃家國，澤及存亡。[91]

According to this statement, the ritual of confession is performed on behalf of both the deceased members of the ritual patron's family and all other beings that are gathered in the ritual arena. In other words, merits generated from the confession will be shared between those who had blood relations with the ritual sponsors and those who are strangers and outsiders. This way, the ritual of confession perfectly fits with the soteriological paradigm of "universal salvation" which is repeatedly emphasized throughout the *Licheng yi* in statements such as:

> [Even though] the retreat patron worries that, due to their transgressions accumulated in past lives and this life, the deceased so-and-so and the ancestors of nine generations, as well as all destitute souls will suffer karmic retribution and their spirits will be descending, were it not for the merits generated by the retreat, there would be no way for them to confess and *be* delivered.
> 今齋主某仰慮亡靈某及九祖父母，一切窮魂，夙世今生，積成罪垢。業緣報對，神爽沉淪。非假齋功，無由懺拔.[92]

The "universalism" of confession in the Yellow Register Retreat is not only found in the scope of those that are to be saved, but also in the scope of the transgressions that are to be confessed. In order to repent for everyone, confession should therefore cover all kinds of transgressions. They range from severe crimes of harming others to minor mistakes of being dishonest to oneself:

> Rebellion against the ruler, lack of filial respect to parents, betrayal of a teacher, cheating on friends, abandoning the true while approaching the false; defying the

[91] Ibid., 402a-b.

[92] Ibid., 492b.

> superior or acting against inferiors , killing the innocent and faulting the living, attacking other states; harming and injuring animals and other living things, betraying the faithful and upright, deprive people worship and separating families; being wicked and lascivious, colluding with [illicit] sects, being jealous of the talented and not allow others to surpass oneself; criticize moral norms, stealing and burning scriptures, sullying the three luminaries [sun, moon, and stars], offending the four greatnesses [Dao, heaven, earth, and human][93]; being a lawless ruler or a disloyal subordinate, insulting the orphaned and the poor, abusing the populace; resenting and raging at heaven and earth, slandering the true and correct, cursing ghosts and gods, rebuking the wind and rain; disrespecting Daoists, not respecting elders, helping others do what is wrong, laughing at those who do good; thinking no in the heart while saying yes, and being deceived by forms and shadows. For days and months transgressions accumulate (if the patron family has other hidden sins, the master should write them out and insert them here).
> 或賊害君父，不孝二親。背師欺友，廢真就偽。或反上逆下，殺害無辜。罣誤生靈，攻伐家國。或傷戕物命，陷害忠良，奪人所崇，離人骨肉。或姦邪淫泆，門族交通，嫉賢妬能，不欲勝己。或評論道德，焚竊經書，穢觸三光，輕慢四大。或為上無道，為下不忠，輕侮孤窮，酷虐百姓。或怨怒天地，訾毀正真。罵詈鬼神，呵忿風雨。或不崇有道，不敬老人，助人為非，笑人作善。或心非口是，形影自欺。日累月深，罪障因積。如齋主家，別有隱惡欲懺，師為撰文，於此添入。[94]

The last sentence in effect betrays the universal adaptability of the confession. It enables the ritual of confession to suit any special request from the ritual patron's family, further making sure that all needs will be covered.

As we have seen in the Chapter one, the Buddhist Water-Land Retreat also includes a confession ritual that repents for all transgressions in past and present lives and provides a salvation for all sentient beings. However, despite the similar goals and processes, the mechanism of carrying out the ritual of confession in the Yellow Register Retreat is quite different.

The Daoist ritual of confession is deeply embedded in a culture that had interwoven the indigenous Chinese model of "resonance" (*ganying* 感應) with heaven and earlier concepts of

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[93] *Daode jing* 道德經 (GYCS), 2.25.

[94] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 492b-c.

illness and their curative methods. Confession should be established as a major means responding to the heaven's punitive actions for human moral failings.[95] During the first or second century, people had already come to believe in a kind of "sin-illness" chain reaction: if one commits a crime while alive, especially contracting enmity with other people or offending deities, one will suffer or even die from severe illness.[96] This is because everyone will undergo a series of trials in the earthly prisons after death, and his/her living family members or relatives will also be affected.[97] The perception of sin and its connection with illness was elaborated in a proto-Daoist work known as the *Book of Great Peace* (*Taiping jing* 太平經), which addresses "sin" in terms of heredity causes by warning that the sins of the ancestors will be visited upon their descendants. It thus highlights the shared responsibility among all the members of a given patrilineage for the misdeeds of other members of the same lineage. This concept, known as "received/inherited burden" (*chengfu* 承負) is clearly reflected in the following statement:

> The reason why those who avidly do good works yet received bad results is because they were burdened with the transgressions done by their ancestors. The flowing calamities were accumulated and therefore became harmful to them. The reason why those who do bad works yet received good results is because their ancestors had accumulated great merits which flow to [benefit] them. [If one] could do great meritorious deeds that are hundred million more than [his ancestors' transgressions,] even though his ancestors had calamities left, they could not hit this person.

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[95] *Taiping jing*, fascicle 111, 553a. Stephen R. Bokenkamp, "Sackcloth and Ashes: Self and Family in the Tutan Zhai," in Poul Andersen and Florian C. Reiter, eds., *Scriptures, Schools and Forms of Practice in Daoism, A Berlin Symposium* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 33-48.

[96] See, James Robson, "Sin, Sinification, Sinology: On the Notion of Sin in Buddhism and Chinese Religions," in Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, eds., *Sins and Sinners: Perspectives from Asian Religions* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 73-92.

[97] Anna Seidel, "Traces of Han Religion in Funerary Texts Found in Tombs," in Kanʾei Akizuki 秋月觀瑛, ed., *Dōkyō to shūkyō bunka* 道教と宗教文化 (Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1987), 21-57; and Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, ed., Bernard Faure, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 1-57.

力行善反得惡者，是承負先人之過，流災前後積來害此人也。其行惡反得善者，是先人深有積畜大功，來流及此人也。能行大功萬萬倍之，先人雖有餘殃，不能及此人也。[98]

The concept of "inherited burden" played a crucial role in the formation of indigenous Chinese forms of retribution. In the fourth century a Daoist work entitled Declarations of the Perfect Ones (*Zhengao* 真誥), which was composed based on the Shangqing Daoist Yang Xi's 楊曦 visionary practices, provided a number of attestations of the "inherited burden" concept and its immediate consequences, namely sepulchral lawsuits (*zhongsong* 塚訟).[99] As a living member was held accountable for crimes imputed to his/her dead ancestors, he/she would become the ultimate defendant or judicial victim due to the fact that a plaint filed with the judges of the dead. Therefore, in medieval China, the plaint from beyond the tomb was often considered the origin of the pathology. Yet, fortunately, it is treatable by confession. In the *Zhengao*, however, the formulae for confession seems to have integrated something else beyond Daoism. By the time the *Zhengao* was composed, Buddhism had already reached China and its karmic system had made a profound impact on indigenous Chinese cosmology, the vision of the unseen world in particular. In opposition to the indigenous Chinese concept of retribution, the Buddhist karma theory does not extend retribution to blood relations. In other words, the faults are one's own and are not shared with one's family, but they can be accumulated personally through many lives, depending on how many rebirths one had gone through. The two forms of "karma," Indian and Chinese, are

[98] Wang Ming 王明, ed., *Taiping jing hejiao* 太平經合校, fasc. 18-34 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 22. For studies on the idea of Chengfu, see, Espesset, Grégoire, "Criminalized Abnormality, Moral Etiology, and Redemptive Suffering in the Secondary Strata of the Taiping jing," *Asia Major*, Vol.XV(2), 2002: 1-50.

[99] Peter Nickerson, "The Great Petition for Sepulchral Plaints," in Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 230-260.

synthesized and expressed through the formulae of confession that juxtaposes the transgressions of one's ancestors' and those accumulated through one's own past and present lives.[100]

Despite the Buddhist influence on the formation of ideas about confession in the fourth century, the liturgical practice of confession in Daoism had a much earlier origin that can be traced back to the first organized Daoist community in southwest of China. The early Daoist concept of illness and treatment are based on a bureaucratic moral system connected with the Three Officers of Heaven, Earth, and Water. Heaven and the netherworld are envisioned as the cosmic replica of the imperial bureaucracy in which the all-seeing deities take careful notes of major or minor infractions of humans. As early as the second and the third centuries, the first Daoist community of the Celestial Masters in the Hanzhong 漢中 region developed two important liturgies for healing: meditating faults in the quiet chamber (*jingshi siguo* 靜室思過) and submitting written petitions to the Three Officers (*sanguan shoushu* 三官手書).[101] The former requires the "patient" to stay in a room that is separate from the ordinary residence and to acknowledge the faults he/she has made. The latter is performed by a Daoist libationer (*jijiu* 祭酒) who writes down the name of the patient and an account of the circumstances of the case on paper before placing them respectively on a mountain, under the earth, and into the water.

Confession as a non-medical means of healing continued in the successive Daoist traditions. Throughout the course of this development, although a variety of non-Daoist elements have been absorbed into its formulae, the core mechanism that resembles courtroom procedures remains the

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[100] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 39-50.

[101] *Calendrical Petitions of Master Red Pine* 赤松子章歷, HY615, 236a-b. Lü Pengzhi, *Tangqian daojiao yishi shigang*, 18-20; Terry F. Kleeman, *Celestial Masters: History and Ritual in Early Daoist Communities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 353-372.

same. In fourth-century Shangqing Daoism, at the end of confession, the penitent also asks for his name to be removed from the Black Register of the infernal Three Officers.[102] In the *Zhengao*, we find the Register of Sins on Vermilion Tablet (*danjian zuibu* 丹簡罪簿) in the charge of the Three Officers.[103] Similar formulae of confession are found in the *Licheng yi.* The ritual master, on behalf of the penitent, declares at the end of the confession that the names of the penitent and his ancestors up to nine generations, as well as all the souls of the dead, be "removed from the Register of Sins" 削除罪錄.[104] This marks a radical departure from the confession in the Buddhist Water-Land ritual, where it serves as a crucial step leading to the precept bestowal. Practiced within the theological context of the buddha-nature, the ritual of confession and the following precept bestowal in the Water-Land ritual betray the intention of achieving salvation by arousing the seed of the buddha-nature inherent in all sentient beings. In the Yellow Register Retreat, by contrast, the confession is performed in the hope that, with sincere repentance and after careful investigation by the celestial deities, the names of the penitents will be removed from the record of death (*siji* 死籍) and the deceased will be infused with life force (*zhu sheng* 注生), or even have their names inscribed on the register of immortality (*busi zhilu* 不死之錄). This system reflects a stereotyped pattern of judicial litigation that has long been practiced in both the mundane and the unseen realm in China.

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[102] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 47.

[103] *Zhengao* 真誥, HY1016,513b.

[104] *Licheng yi*, HY 508, 484c, 485a, b, c, 486a, b, c, 487a.

5. "Transformed Before Rebirth": The Ritual of Salvation Through Sublimation

What became an indispensable core of the Yellow Register Retreat in the Song was an evening ritual which aims to save the souls of the dead, usually known as "sublimation and salvation" (*liandu* 煉度). During the Southern Song dynasty, the Daoist *zhai* rituals featured a combination of internal cultivation (*neilian* 內煉) and external ritual methods (*waifa* 外法).[105] Under such circumstance, the *liandu* ritual integrated classical Inner Alchemy and new exorcistic methods such as Thunder Rites and became a major way for saving the dead. The Yellow Register Ritual adapted the model of performing repentance by day and *liandu* by night.

At the end of the Southern Song dynasty, Zhang Gang 張綱, a scholar-official, wrote the following lines in a Green Memorial (*qingci* 青詞) for a Yellow Register Retreat:

> Though it was no less than ten years since turmoil arose, the number of those who killed was uncountable. Seeing the places full of bare bones and piled corpses, one is pained to wonder where they can return to in the Long Night. It is by means of the Yellow Register and White Booklet that those vengeful souls can be delivered.
> 自變起不啻十年，所殺傷難以數計。觀露骸積尸之處，痛長夜以何歸。披黃籙白簡之文，尚冤魂之可釋.[106]

In a similar tone, Li Zengbo 李曾伯 (1198-1275), a Southern Song poet, wrote the following lines in another Green Memorial for a Yellow Register Retreat held in the *Jiayin* 甲寅 year for saving those who had died in battle:

> All of those who died in warfare will be delivered through the sublimation of *kan* and *li*, and they will transcend together and thereby escape from all sufferings.

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[105] Studies on the prominence of the *liandu* 煉度 rites have suggested this transformation. "Neilian" refers to ritual techniques of traditional Inner Alchemy while "waifa" refers to ritual techniques of exorcism that were prevalent among new Thunder Methods (*leifa* 雷法) in the Southern Song. See, Lai Chi-Tim, "The Daoist Identity of the Yellow Register Retreat in the Southern Song: A Case Study of Jin Yunzhong's Great Rites of Lingbao"; Zhang Chaoran, "Zhaike yu jingfa: Song-Yuan Huanglu zhaifa yanjiu."

[106] "Zhonghui huanglu qingci" 衆會黃籙青詞, *Huayang ji* 華陽集 (SBCK), 30.142.

凡爾淪亡于師旅，自今煉度于坎離，同一超昇，脫諸苦惱.[107]

These two accounts reveal some important facts concerning social-historical circumstances and religious practices during the Southern Song. First of all, during and after the turmoil, corpses were abandoned everywhere and became a serious social problem. The establishment of *Louze yuan* 漏澤園[108] throughout the country and the practice of public charitable burial were part of the solution to deal with this dire situation. Religious practitioners such as Buddhist monks and Daoist priests were hired to collect abandoned corpses and perform rituals for them, among which the Daoist Yellow Register Retreat and the Buddhist Water-Land Retreat were the most popular ones.[109] Second, during the performance of the Yellow Register Retreat, the dead are delivered specifically by means of a rite known as "salvation through sublimation" (*liandu* 煉度). A general depiction of the salvific process was found in Ge Shengzhong's 葛勝仲 ritual memorial in the Introduction:

> Illuminate the Nine Obscurities with eternal light candles; perfume the five defilements with eternal incense; cleanse their stain and defect with no-discriminative bath; and adorn their skin and body with countless clothes.
> 以長明燭徧燭九幽，以不斷香普熏五濁。以無礙沐浴滌蕩其垢瑕，以無數裳衣莊嚴其膚體.[110]

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[107]"Jiayin jian huanglu pujian zhenwang qingci" 甲寅建黃籙普薦陣亡青詞, *Kezhai xuhao* 可齋續藁 (SKQS), 5.49.

[108] Although the practice of charitable graves started as early as in the Han dynasty, it was not until the Song dynasty that the practice became institutionalized. See: Huang Minzhi 黃敏枝, *Songdai fojiao shehui jingjishi lunji* 宋代佛教社會經濟史論集 (Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1989); Zhang Bangwei 張邦煒 and Zhang Min 張忞, "Liang Song shiqi de yizhong zhidu" 兩宋時期的義冢制度, *Tianfu xinlun* 天府新論 5 (1995); and Zhang Wen 張文, *Songchao shehui jiuji yanjiu* 宋朝社會救濟研究 (Chongqing: Xinan shifan daxue chubanshe, 2001).

[109] Liu Junfeng 劉軍峰, "Nansong louze yuan shiye yu fojiao sengzhong de canyu" 南宋漏泽园事业与佛教僧众的参与, *Fayin* 法音 12 (2011).

[110] She huanglu zhuijian yuanhun zhipo shu" 設黃籙追薦冤魂滯魄疏, *Danyang ji* 丹陽集 (QSW), 381.164.

The last sentence of this passage directs us to what will be the main focus of following discussion: the body and salvation. What I will propose is that given the centrality of the body in indigenous Chinese culture, the *liandu* rite plays a critical role in making the Yellow Register Retreat a real Daoist universal salvation ritual.

The knowledge and experience of the physical body do not only constitutes the major reality of one's life, but also extends to their imagination of the other world. Physical experience does not diminish after a person dies, rather, it serves as a carrier of his/her immortal existence after the salvific ritual is done. In that sense, corporeality develops into different levels: the body that is perishable and thus disposable and the body that transcends and realizes immortality. This sounds similar to the notions of the Buddha's Dharma body (*fashen* 法身) which is considered to be the eternal indestructible true principle, the "real" and "original" body. Death, in this sense, does not reduce the body's corporeality. Rather than simply restoring the body to what it was before death, however, the *liandu* ritual transforms it into what it should be in the liberated state.

Although the concept of *liandu* and the liturgy of the Yellow Register Retreat both appeared as early as the Six Dynasties, it was not until the Song dynasty that the former was added into the latter and practiced as part of the *pudu* ritual.[111] Against the backdrop of the prominence of the new Daoist ritual movements[112] and theories of Internal Alchemy, the *liandu* practice during the Song dynasty also showed new features. It developed a major difference with the old ways of

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[111] Liu Cunren 柳存仁, "Wudai zhi nansong shi de daojiao zhaijiao"五代至南宋時的道教齋醮, *Hefeng tang wenji* 和風堂文集 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 771; Liu Yi 劉屹,"Sihou chengxian: Jin-Tang zhi Song-Ming daojiao de 'liandu' zhuti"死後成仙：晉唐至宋明道教的 '煉度'主題, *Tang yanjiu*, vol. 18 (2012): 226; and Matsumoto Koichi, ""Sōrei saishi ni miru Sōdai shūkyōshi no ichi keikō" 葬禮. 祭禮にみる宋代宗教史的一傾向, in Sōdai no shakai to bunka 宋代の社會 (Tokyo : Kyūko Shoin, 1988), 169-194. *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, HY1221, 217c.

[112] According to Edward Davis, the "new" rituals all concern, in one way or another, various trips to the otherworld undertaken by the Daoist priest or his spiritual messengers in order to gain the release of the souls of the dead from the earth-prisons, bring them into the ritual area, and then transform them into a divinity and/or ancestor. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 231-232.

saving the dead which sent the dead to the Southern Palace (*Nangong* 南宮) to receive refinement by emphasizing the internalization of the whole ritual process within the body of the ritual master.[113] Fire and water refining altars[114] are built within the ritual master's body, and the souls of the dead are refined and reborn in the form of an embryo. All of this is done through the ritual master's visualization. Despite the common emphasis on internalization, the *liandu* rites also show variations. For example, in the *Licheng yi* and in the *Lingbao yujian* 靈寶玉鑒, they are considered to belong to the tradition called the "*Nanchang lian*" 南昌鍊 in which the ritual master resorts to the Southern and Northern Poles for sources of the True Fire and Water 真火真水[115] while the *liandu* rite in Jin Yunzhong's *Shangqing lingbao dafa* is considered to belong to the tradition called the "*Lingbao lian*"靈寶鍊 which regards the Sire Wood (*Mugong* 木公) and Mother Metal (*Jinmu* 金母) as the sources of the Fire and Water.[116] In addition, the attitude and treatment of the body of the dead differ in thsse *liandu* rites, as we will see.

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[113] Judith M. Boltz, "Opening the Gates of Purgatory: A Twelfth-century Taoist Meditation Technique for the Salvation of Lost Souls", in Michel Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies*, Vol. 2, Bruxelles, 1983, 487-511; Chen Yaoting 陳耀庭, *Qingxu ji* 清虛集 (Chengdu: Bashu chubanshe, 2011), 386; Liu Yi has also pointed out several other new features of the Song liandu rites: after refinement, rather than being reborn in their original physical body, the dead will be reborn in the celestial realm in embryological form; during the refinement, the ritual master uses a great number of new talismans. See, Liu Yi, "Sihou chengxian: Jin-Tang zhi Song-Ming daojiao de 'liandu' zhuti," 243.

[114] According to Liu Yi, the practice of refining through water and fire in fact originated in the *Wulian jing* 五煉經, in which water and fire were used to test the "corpses" of the adepts who faked their death. The ordeal of water and fire in that sense simulated the "death" the adepts experienced before being "reborn" as a transcendent. Later, in the *Duren jing* 度人經, dying through the ordeal of water and fire was symbolized and expressed in the metaphors of celestial water and celestial fire issued by celestial deities. See, Liu Yi, Sihou chengxian: Jin-Tang zhi Song-Ming daojiao de 'liandu' zhuti," 237-239.

[115] Based on the model of neidan texts, it refers to kan (fire) as True Yang and li (water) as True Yin. *Lingbao yujian* 靈寶玉鑒, HY547, 153a: "高功云：仰啟北極紫微大帝，云降水。次發建水池符，太陰含化呪，請降真水符，陰炁鍊化呪，月魄符，月中方盈呪，十二河源符，黃精啟輝呪。知磬舉日月普明天尊。高功云：仰啟南極長生大帝君，云降火。"

[116] The major difference between the "Nanchang lian" and the "Lingbao lian" lays in the origins of the perfect water and fire. The true water and fire employed in the "Nanchang lian" come from the Southern and Northern Poles while that used in the "Lingbao lian" come from the Sire Wood and Madame Metal. For detailed comparisons of these, See, Zhu Yiwen, "Juqi huiling, jiuzhuan shengshen: Jiang Shuyu Wushang huanglu dazhai lichen yi zhong de liandu yi" 聚炁回靈，九轉生神：蔣叔輿《無上黃籙大齋立成儀》中的鍊度儀, in Lai Chi Tim, eds., *Daojiao tuxiang, kaogu yu yishi* 道教圖像、考古與儀式 (Xianggang: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 2016), 247; and Chen Yaoting*, Qingxu ji*, 390-391.

The term "*liandu*" is in fact a compound made up of the characters "*lian*" and "*du.*" "*Lian*" is a typical Daoist term inherited from the Shangqing tradition.[117] It denotes the skill cultivated by the Shangqing adepts who spoke often of *lianqi* 煉氣 (refining the breaths) and *lianxing* 煉形 (refining the form). Written as 鍊 or 煉 in Chinese, it can be translated as either "sublimate" or "refine," implying a process of self-cultivation through purification by fire or metal tools. The character "*du*," with the connotation of "saving," on the contrary, was an imported word from Mahāyāna Buddhism. Yet, when being used within the scriptural context of Lingbao Daoism, it expands its original Buddhist meaning, which denotes the ideal of saving the whole world, to integrate the Chinese indigenous traditions of ancestor worship and the Daoist beliefs in immortals.[118] For example, it is in the *Taishang lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 太上靈寶無量度人上品妙經 and the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao wulian shengshi miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶五煉生尸妙經, that the term "*liandu*" specifically refers to the rebirth of the souls of the dead.[119] Therefore, whereas the Shangqing refining practices were for the benefit of the individual adept alone, the *liandu* rites were directed toward the welfare of social groups.

However, despite the shared soteriological goal of the *liandu* rites during the third and fourth nights, their methods for dealing with the "body" of the souls differ. The refining of orphaned souls (*pujian* 普薦) is performed on the third night, one day before the refining of the souls of the patron's deceased family members (*zhengjian* 正薦). The overlapping between the two *liandu* rites is the performance of embryological cultivation. What has been added to the *liandu*

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[117] Isabelle Robinet, *Taoist Meditation*, 168.

[118] Isabelle Robinet, "Fo-Dao jiben maodun chutan" 佛道基本矛盾初探, Wan Yi 萬毅, trans., *Faguo hanxue* 法國漢學 7 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003):178-184.

[119] Liu Yi, "Sihou chengxian," 231-233.

rite for wandering souls is a procedure whereby the ritual master invokes the Celestial Doctors (*Tianyi* 天醫) to heal the illnesses of the wandering souls and then restore their broken bodies. The following description and analysis are therefore mainly based on *fascicle* 29 of the *Licheng yi*, the "Rite of the Five Prefectures of Shangqing for Forcibly Summoning Spectral Souls and Restoring the Body for Transcendence, Returning the Spirit and Recovering the Nature" (*Shangqing wufu shezhao youhun quanxing shengdu huanshen fuxing yi* 上清五府攝召幽魂全形昇度還神復性儀). The liturgical procedures can be summarized as: 1) heal illnesses; 2) fix broken bodies; 3) gestate embryos with vital forces; 4) cleanse, feed, and deliver.

Before the rite begins, an array of incense burner tables is placed at the Ghost Gate (*guimen* 鬼門) in the northeastern corner of the altar. The ritual master then starts to perform the Method of Destroying Darkness and Opening a Path (*po'an kaitong daolu fa* 破暗開通道路法). After burning several talismans, the ritual master informs the divine bureaus of his summoning intent and sends military deities and divine troops to seize the dead and take them to the altar by announcing and burning the Dispatch of General Summoning (*puzhao die* 普召牒). He then makes an announcement to the assembly of the dead:

> Today, depending on the power of the supreme Way, Scripture, and Method, since all of you, the beings in the paths of Heaven, Humans, Devas, Hell, hungry ghosts, and animals, and all orphaned and obstructed souls, have gathered at the altar space, we are concerned that, when alive, you were struck by thunder and lightning, flood and fire, death penalty and battle, dumb and lame, deaf and blind, curse and worm poison, difficult labor and fall to death, killed and torn apart by animals, unnatural and violent death, death by illness and unjust death, souls dispersed and consciousness drifting, form and appearance incomplete, or limbs and body not whole. Things that concern the living are also things that concern the dead. Although you have made it to the Assembly here, you are still entangled in the path of rebirth. Today, following the scriptural teachings, I hereby summon the spiritual bureau, worshipfully practice the Great Method and forcibly summon the Perfected Pneuma to heal illness and remove the roots of suffering for you. You will then be able to return to your original substance and recover your form, bring back your

spirit and recover your nature. After that, your pollution and filth having been eliminated, you will be sublimated and transcend.
今仰承無上道力，無上經力，無上法力，一切天道，一切人道，一切神道，一切地獄道，一切餓鬼道，一切畜生道，一切孤魂滯魄，既已雲集道場，尚慮汝等生世之日，或因雷霆水火、刑殺刀兵、瘖跛聾盲、厭咒蠱毒、胎產顛墜、蟲獸傷殘、非命橫亡、抱疾枉死、魂魄蕩散、神識飄沉，形相不完，肢體未具。陽間所患，陰境亦然。雖詣法筵，尚縈苦趣。今當遵依教典，告召靈司，奉行大法，攝召真氣，為汝等眾，醫治疾病，解釋苦根，返質全形，還神復性。然後蕩除穢濁，鍊化超昇。[120]

Soon afterwards, he commands a number of gods to send down their divine pneuma in order to facilitate the procedures of bodily restoration. The gods that are invited are of two kinds. One includes the subaltern gods associated with the Five Emperors, such as the the *Hun*-Protector Lord of the Azure Emperor (*Qingdi huhun jun* 青帝護魂君), the *Po*-Server Lord of the White Emperor (*Baidi shipo jun* 白帝侍魄君), the Red Emperor who Nourish Pneuma (*Chidi yangqi jun* 赤帝養氣君), the Dark Emperor who Circulates Blood (*Heidi tong xue jun* 黑帝通血君), the Yellow Emperor who Governs the Center (*Huangdi zhongzhu jun* 黃帝中主君),[121] the Perfected Lord of the Fire Prefecture of Vermilion Mountain (*Zhuling huofu zhenjun* 朱陵火府真君), and the Perfected Lord of the Supreme Palace of Southern Flourishing (Nanchang shanggong zhenjun 南昌上宮真君). The other kind includes a group of gods of the viscera and other bodily parts (see table 2 below). These two groups of gods vividly illustrate the correlation between the celestial sphere as a macrocosm and the body as a microcosm. The viscera are the nodal organs of the body, the living points which directly establish a fundamental correspondence between the human being and the essential cosmic forces which are symbolized as the planets on the celestial plane, the five

[120] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 551a-b.

[121] *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 靈寶無量度人上經大法, HY219, 1054a: "青帝護魂，白帝侍魄，赤帝養炁，黑帝通血，黃帝中主。"

sacred mountains on the terrestrial plane, and the five elements on the cosmic plane. The viscera are the points by which the whole body is related to the cosmos. Since most of them are in possession of a special sort of pneuma, they are called upon to descend and to infuse their specific pneuma into the body of the dead: "Speedily descend! On behalf of the wandering souls, gather their *qi* and reassemble their form, return their spirits and recover their nature" 急急速降，奉為幽魂，委炁聚形，還神復性;[122] "Speedily descend! Let the truly perfected life forces flow into the body of the souls waiting to be refined" 急急速降，正真生炁，流入所鍊幽魂身中.[123]

Table 2 correlates the bodily parts and their corresponding gods between the *liandu* rites for *pujian* and *zhengjian*. As we can see from the table, the number of organs and bodily parts mentioned in the *pujian* far exceeds that in the *zhengjian* section. While the practice of embryological gestation in the *zhengjian* section is entirely based on Internal Alchemy and medical knowledge of the internal viscera, the practice of body restoration in the *pujian* section pays more attention to the body as a whole. In other words, not only the cardinal viscera but also ancillary bodily parts such as the five sense organs, hair, bones, fluids, as well as pneumatic constituents must be restored.

[122] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 552a.

[123] Ibid., 552b.

Table 2	
Body Restoration 全形	Embryo Gestation 育胎
Hair 髮	Kidney 腎
Brain 腦	Heart 心
Eyes 眼	Liver 肝
Ears 耳	Lungs 肺
Nose 鼻	Spleen 脾
Mouth 口	Bladder 膀胱
Teeth 齒	Small intestine 小腸
Tongue 舌	Gallbladder 膽
Tracheae 重樓	Large intestine 大腸
Heart 心	Stomach 胃
Liver 肝	Tri-*jiao* 三焦[124]
Gallbladder 膽	Pericardium 心胞胳
Lungs 肺	
Spleen 脾	
Kidney 腎	
Female Organ 陰	
Womb 胞	
Fetus 胎	
Knots 結	
Nodes 節	
Blood 血	
Essence 精	
Pneuma 炁	
Spirit 神	
Life 命	

After pneuma (*qi*, life forces) has been infused into the body of the deceased, bodily guardians are summoned to reside within the body.[125] Lastly, the ritual master summons the three cloud-souls (*hun* 魂) and seven white-souls (*po* 魄) to abide in their positions within the body. He

[124] This refers to the three visceral cavities for the organs, including: thorax, abdomen, and pelvis.

[125] They include Golden Lads and Jade Maidens of Six Ding and Six Jia 六丁六甲; God of the Essence Storehouse 精藏神; God of the Water Storehouse 水藏神; Gods of Eighty-four thousand Apertures 八萬四千毛竅神; Gods of Thirty-six thousand Breaths 三萬六千出入神; Gods of Twenty-four thousand Pneuma 二萬四千息炁神; Gods of Twelve-thousand Essence 一萬二千精光神; Gods of Twelve-hundred Shadows 一千二百形影神; Gods of Three hundred and sixty Bone Joints 三百六十骨節神; Lord of the Jade Lad 玉童君; Lord of the Jade Maiden 玉女君; Lord of white vitality 白元君; Lord of the cinnabar field 丹田君; Thirty-six lords of Master and son 三十六師子君; Master Father 師父君; and Master Mother 師母君; Lord of Taokang 桃康君; Lord of Heyan 合延君; Lords of Upper 上和君, Middle 中和君, and Lower He 下和君; Lord of Upper 上元君, Middle 中元君, and Lower Yuan 下元君.

then chants the "Inner Spell of Jade Clarity which Generates Hun, Nourishes Po, and Protects the Spirit" (*Yuqing shenghun yupo baoshen neizhou* 玉清生魂育魄保神內咒) and makes an announcement to the assembly of the dead:

> Although your illusory bodies are easily destroyed, your mental illnesses are hard to remove. The body of earth, water, fire, and air has already been scattered, but the awareness of hunger, thirst, sickness, and suffering cannot be forgotten for eons. Thus, today I have generated *hun* and nourished *po*, recovered nature and returned spirit for you. Those who did not have a complete body now have a complete body; those who had diseases have now been cured. Your names have been removed from the ledger of transgressions and your roots of evil destroyed. The subterranean bureau will not detain you anymore, and you will be reborn in the realms of humans and gods. Hold yourselves ready and wait to be promoted and transformed.
> 汝等幻身易滅，心病難除。地水火風之形，往日已散；飢渴疾苦之念，曠劫未忘。今故為汝生魂育魄，復性還神。形體不具者，從此完全；病苦未痊者，自今痊愈。疾除罪簿，落滅惡根。陰府不得拘留，人天將行託化。各宜整肅，以俟昇遷.[126]

Unlike the *zhengjian*, which is all about the embryological gestation, the completion of the sublimation of the orphaned souls is mainly embodied in the achievement of their cured illnesses and intact bodies. After that, they join with the souls of the *zhengjian* section to be refined by the perfected fire and water. Only then will they leave the netherworld and transcend to the heavenly realm.

Starting in about the fourth century, Daoists who despaired about the arduous path to immortality in *this* body began praying for an advantageous rebirth in *another* physical body.[127] Although many Daoist hagiographies suggest that the refinement of the physical body and generation of an immortal embryo are to be done when the Daoist adepts are still alive, records

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[126] *Licheng yi*, HY508, 552c.

[127] Anna Seidel, "Post-Mortem Immortality or Taoist Resurrection of the Body," in S. Shaked, D. Shulman, G. G. Stroumsa, eds., *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions, Dedicated to R.J. Zwi Werblowsky* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1987), 223-237.

also show that there is the notion of an imperfect purification which is carried on after death.[128] Liturgical refinement of the physical body of the dead is in fact an important step in achieving this post-mortem immortality. By refining the physical body through a series of ritual procedures, a perfected body obtained through this process then becomes the foundation and the focus of one's practice. The refinement takes place in a celestial palace called the Great Darkness (*Taiyin* 太陰) where those who have accumulated the merits of the Way refine their bodily forms. By the time one's bodily form is refined, his/her bodily parts and inner spirits are re-assembled, beginning with the five viscera and bones. With this "new" perfect bodily form, one can proceed to the cultivation of his/her embryo, the production of which is the sign of immortality.[129] The Daoist control of life can thus be seen from two aspects. One is the refinement of the physical body and the other is the generation of the "true" body which is vividly depicted in the discourse of embryology. The embryo of a perfected self is called Peach Vigor (*Taokang* 桃康),[130] conceived by both the male and the female through the coagulation of the three "breaths" (*qi*). It is generated in the Gate of Destiny (*mingmen* 命門), usually identified with the right kidney, suggesting that the conception of the inner embryo is closely related to one's fate or destiny, and especially to a change in one's life span. The human gestation process causes the formation of "knots" (*jie* 結) and "nodes" (*jie* 節); their function is to hold the five viscera together. In other words, the Daoist practice remakes

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[128] For references to postmortem refinement, see, Stephen Bokenkamp, "Death and Ascent in Ling-pao Taoism," *Taoist Resources I*, no. 2 (1989): 1-20; "Stages of Transcendence: The Bhumi Concept in Taoist Scripture," in Robert E. Buswell Jr. ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 119-147; and "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* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press; Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2004), 317-339.

[129] See, Robinet, *Taoist Meditation*, 45, 96-113.

[130] *Taokang* is found in both the Celestial Master Daoist texts and the Shangqing Daoist texts and is associated with the Lower *Dantian* 丹田. See, *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* 上清黃書過度儀, HY1294, 740a: "太上三氣，共生臣妾身，混沌為一，名曰桃康，舍止北極，號日子丹，衣服五色，赤積大冠，金牀玉榻，五色欄干，珠玉斗帳，正當命門"; and *Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經注, HY402, 525b: "主陰陽之事，徊三為九。"

the physical body as it is the somatic locus of the embryological self. All of these procedures are to be realized through various meditation techniques and especially depend on the liturgical coalescence of *yin* and *yang* pneumas in a process likened to that of the formation and firing of pottery or the melding of metals in the ironworker's furnace. That is why it is called "refinement" (*lian* 煉/鍊).[131]

However, in what way did this tradition of liturgical refinement of the physical body of the dead become an integral part of the Yellow Register Retreat and how does it work to make the Yellow Register Retreat a Daoist universal salvation ritual? Earlier, in his *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi*, Du Guangting wrote: "Save the bodies and souls of the dead through sublimation, freeing them from sins and afflictions" 鍊度形魂，出離罪惱.[132] Although he did not elaborate on the practice of *liandu*, Du clearly pointed out the equivalent importance of saving both the body and the soul of the dead.

Later, Hong Mai 洪邁 recorded a story in his *Records of Hearsay* about an official in Shuzhou 蜀州 who found a skeleton in the ground under his house. However, after he buried the skeleton, its ghost continued to haunt his house. The reason was expressed by the ghost:

> However, at the time when my bones were dug out of the earth, a servant was not careful enough and nearly broke my shin bones. I thus became unable to walk and had no alternative but to stay here.
> 但初出土時。役者不細謹。鋤妾脛骨欲斷。今不能行。不得已留此。非有他也。[133]

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[131] See, Robinet, "Metamorphosis and Deliverance from the Corpse in Taoism," 66-68.

[132] *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi*, HY507, 283c.

[133] *Yijian zhi* 361.

Another story relates that a young man on his way back home at dusk who saw a group of people gathering beside the road. “Looking closely, he found that some of them lacked arms, some eyes, while some had joint necks. None of them had a complete body” 細觀其形狀。略與人同。而或斷臂。或缺目。或駢項。無一具體.[134] They turned out to be a group of ghosts who for some unknown reason then chased after the young man. After the young man reached home, he fell ill and died soon afterwards.

There are quite a few stories in Song anecdotal writings that describe the bodily conditions of the dead. Feelings of compassion and concern for the dreadful fate of the dead in the other world is echoed by Jiang Shuyu in the *Licheng yi*: “Things that concern the living are also things that concern the dead” 陽間所患，陰境亦然.[135] Here, the “concerns” include not only the goal of becoming immortal, but also the hope of achieving the goal in a complete and healthy physical form.

Moreover, for the living, even though the dead are locked away in a subterranean bureau most of the time, with tribunals and prisons where they lead a gray and resentful existence, exiled from the world and without any hope of ascent to the realms of the immortals, they could easily become terrifying revenants who inflict disease and misfortune if they are not properly worshipped or liturgically served. Therefore, to help the dead is also to help the living, and this “help” includes not only spiritual transcendence but also bodily restoration.

The “concern” thus resulted in a variety of ritual innovations, among which the practice of curing illness and recovering bodily forms for the dead is a good example that illustrate the ritual

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[134] Ibid., 249.

[135] *Lichengyi*, HY508, 551b.

developments that encompassed adjusting methods and addressing contemporary needs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By incorporating a variety of religious and medical knowledge and practices, the *liandu* rite truly embodies the traditional Chinese perception of corporeality which suggests that a person, as in this world, so in the other world, would not be complete without both the bodily and the spiritual elements. The body is not regarded as a karmic prison of debased desires and illusions, but rather a potentially perfect microcosmic realization of the primordial life force. In that sense, the *liandu* rite provides a solution that can forge the connections between the perception of corporeal wholeness and the aspiration for attaining immortality even after death. It also speaks to the social needs, and thus opens Daoist immortality practices to all those who are in need of help. It thus made Daoism a qualified competitor on the religious market of the universal salvation services, which had long been monopolized by Buddhists. It has not only effected the salvation of souls lost in purgatory but also conveyed a positive message to the living by showing that all dead are meticulously taken care of, thereby easing their anxiety about any potential post-mortem threat.

Concluding Remarks

Michel Strickmann, in his thought-provoking work *Chinese Magical Medicine*, wrote:

> By the end of the fourth century, Daoists had begun to develop elaborate rituals for the salvation of the dead. For Daoist masters, as for Buddhist monks, it proved infinitely more practical to rescue the legions of the dead than to wean the living from their cult. In this way the laity's concerns could be safely channeled…Rituals for the dead—funerals and memorials and posthumous status-enhancements—soon came to occupy the largest part of the Daoist or Buddhist officiant's repertory.[136]

[136] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 39.

One example of the early Buddho-Daoist interaction in rituals of saving the dead could be found in a sixth-century Daoist scripture entitled as the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan yujing xuandu daxian jing* 太上洞玄靈寶三元玉京玄都大獻經 (*Great Offering in the Capital of Mystery on [Mount] Jade Capital for the [Days of the] Three Primes*). It is said that this scripture was the Daoist efforts to imitate the Buddhist ghost festival Ullambana (*Yulanpen* 盂蘭盆) as it drew extensively on the Buddhist mythology of the festival and employed similar locutions as the *Ullambana-sūtra* (*Yulanpen jing* 盂蘭盆經).[137] Despite the term "Three Primes" (*sanyuan* 三元) containing in the title, the main text of the scripture deals with ritual performed on the Middle Prime Day when the Officer of Earth examines the accounts of the dead and then decides their postmortem destinies. However, at the end of the scripture, the author justified the lack of elaborations of rituals for the other two Prime Days in the following statement:

> Yet, today's Middle Prime Path acts for both the Upper and Lower Primes, thus rendering the most valuable merits. Therefore, the methods of offering in the Capital of Mystery will save and deliver the deceased. That is the reason [we] do not mention the Officer of Heaven or the Officer of Water, but only the Officer of Earth of the Middle Prime. The Officer of Earth stays in the middle, which is the center. Therefore, when [we] hold the [ritual for] the Middle Prime, it will act for both the Upper and Lower [Primes].
> 但今日中元道，攝上下二元，其功最重。故玄都獻法，拔度先亡，所以不言天官、水官，唯稱中元者，唯中元地官。地官處中，中是正色，故舉中元，以攝上下。[138]

The message conveyed through this passage serves as the foundation for later Daoist salvation rituals, that is, to deliver the dead also means to save the living.

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[137] Teiser, *Ghost Festival in Medieval China*, 38.

[138] *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan yujing xuandu daxian jing* 太上洞玄靈寶三元玉京玄都大獻經, HY370, 275a-b.

The development of a ritual is not a unidirectional dynamic; it is the result of accommodating old traditions to the new demands of changing times. As we have seen from the discussion in this chapter, even if rituals had earlier origins, they evolved continuously to meet the needs of the laity. The synthesis of the fourth-century "legacy" and the new religious movements burgeoning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries offered a broad new repertoire of public religious services. They are an amalgamation of the beliefs and practices of three fundamental traditions: pre-Daoist cults of immortality; the inspired meditation practices of the Shangqing revelations; and Buddhist scriptural/liturgical traditions prevalent in the Jiangnan region. All these elements were amalgamated in the liturgical practice of the Daoist Yellow Register Retreat and redefined within the scheme of universal salvation. The synthesis that came into being was not without struggle: the composition of the different ritual compendia represented, in part, an attempt to come to terms with the varying demands of monastic and lay religious orientations encountered in the Song religious movements.

CONCLUSION

The prevalence of salvation rites and the frequent interactions between Buddhist and Daoist rituals during medieval China requires scholars to raise questions about the causes of that phenomenon. Though it is hard to arrive at simple and definitive answers, certain helpful signs and clues can be found in local anecdotes. Stories concerning the failure of rituals are found throughout the *Records of Hearsay*. One story, for example, concerns an official who had once slaughtered many pirates and is then chased by their restless souls. In response, he proposed to hold a Water-Land ritual for them, yet they refused, insisting on taking the official's life. The official eventually died a premature death.[1] Another entry tells a similar story about a person who was tormented by a ghost. He held a grand Water-Land Retreat for the ghost, yet the ghost was not saved and delivered, but continued to pursue the person, insistent on taking his life.[2] Other stories concern the ineffectual outcomes due to the improper practice of the ritual. Improper practices might include the incorrect arrangement of the ritual curtains that symbolize the seats of the gods, ritual priests wearing soiled clothing, or kids playing in front of the altar, etc.[3] All these infractions would irritate the gods and eventually lead to the failure of the ritual. Warnings about paying extra attention to ritual behavior were clearly noted in the placards included in the TDMY liturgy. Drinking alcohol and eating meat were to be strictly avoided. Cookware should be kept clean and

[1] *Yijian zhi*, 120.

[2] Ibid., 156.

[3] Ibid., 450.

all the food should be served fresh. When inviting the gods, the practitioner should keep his mind focused and his mouth shut.[4]

Increasing concerns about ritual efficacy opened up a competitive market for religious services. During the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279), Yu Wenbao 俞文豹 (fl. 1240), a Neo-Confucian scholar in Kuocang 括蒼 (in modern Zhejiang 浙江), wrote down the following notes in his miscellaneous collection *Chuijian lu* 吹劍錄:

> The influence of Neo-Confucianism was widespread in Jiangxi. When Huang Luo, Deputy Minister of Linchuan, died, his son did not want to use Buddhist or Daoist [funeral services]. However, all kin members came to blame him [for doing so]. Thus, he ended up following half of the classic way and half of the contemporary way: using meat offering in sacrifice while using Daoist or Buddhist rites to recall [the soul of his father].
> 江西尚理學，臨川黃少卿犖卒，其子塏欲不用僧道，親族內外群起而排之，遂從半今半古之說：祭享用葷食，追侑用緇黃。[5]

These notes were contextualized in Yu's negative accounts of Buddhism and Daoism, they attested to the pervasive use of Buddhist and Daoist funerals at that time: even the high Neo-Confucian scholar-official could not be fully exempt from it. However, regarding choosing from Buddhist or Daoist religious services, Hong Mai told a vivid story which shed some light on the competition for the market between Buddhism and Daoism:

> A monk in the Jiazhou called Arhat Chang was an extraordinary figure. He always tried to persuade people to hold Arhat Retreat Assembly and thus received the name of Arhat Chang. Old lady Yang was addicted to eating chicken. The number of chicken that had been killed [for her] was more than hundreds and thousands. When she died, her family held a retreat on the forty-second day followed by a Yellow Register Offering. As soon as the Daoist priest was about to present the documents [to the celestials], the monk [Arhat Chang] arrived. He said to the son of Lady Yang: "I can do repentance ritual for you." The Yang family were very pleased and therefore seated him in the house. The monk called on their servant to buy a mottled

[4] TDMY, *zawen* 1, 9a.

[5] *Chuijian lu waiji* 吹劍錄外集, in *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (China: Gushu liutong chu, 1921), 26.

hen from a store on the eastern street. After the servant got the hen, the monk then asked him to kill and prepare it as food for him. The son of Lady Yang requested with tears: "As the Honored have seen, it is not because I cherish it but today we are holding an Offering banquet and the whole family has been abstinent of meat. So, please give it to our neighbors." The monk refused and demanded the hen to be cooked immediately. When the chicken was fully cooked, he sat in the main hall, dismantled the chicken and placed them into nine plates which were offered to the Upper Seats of the Nine Perfected. He then ate up the rest of the chicken. When the retreat was done, he left without a word. That night, both the vendor of chicken and the son of Lady Yang dreamed of the Old Lady Yang, who expressed her gratitude, saying: "I was reincarnated into a hen due to the transgression of my past life. Thanks to the repentance offered by Arhat Chang, I have now released [from the form of hen]." From then on, villagers always resorted to Buddhist rituals for saving the dead, in hope of rescuing them from the netherworld. [Arhat Chang] died during the end of the Shaoxing reign. His body has been preserved till nowadays.
嘉州僧常羅漢者，異人也，好勸人設羅漢齋會，故得此名。楊氏媼嗜食雞，平生所殺，不知幾千百數。既死，家人作六七齋，具黃籙醮。道士方拜章，僧忽至，告其子曰：「吾為汝懺悔。」楊家甚喜，設坐延入。僧顧其僕，去街東第幾家買花雌雞一隻來。如言得之。命殺以具饌，楊氏子泣請曰：「尊者見臨，非有所愛惜。今日正啓醮筵，舉家內外久絕葷饌，乞以付鄰家。」僧不可，必欲就煮食。既熟，就廳踞坐，析肉滿盤，分置上真九位，乃食其餘。齋罷，不揖而去。是夕，賣雞家及楊氏悉夢媼至，謝曰：「坐生時罪業，見責為雞。賴常羅漢悔謝之賜，今解脫矣。」自是郡人作佛事薦亡，幸其來以為冥塗得助。紹興末卒，今肉身猶存。[6]

This story is but one of the many anecdotes that reveal the competitive relationship between Daoism and Buddhism in contending for the market of postmortem religious service. The irony is the contrast between the efficacy of the Buddhist monk who ate meat and the failure of the Daoist ritual which required a long time of abstinence as preparation. As we've seen in Yu Wenbao's account, the dominance of postmortem religious service by Buddhists or Daoists was a common practice in the Song. It is therefore natural to see that they competed for this lucrative market.[7]

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[6] *Yijian zhi*, 385.

[7] Ritual service was an important source of income for religious institutions and individuals. Retreats and Offerings 齋醮 were frequently performed for the public and private welfare during the Song. No matter it was grand public ritual performed at monasteries or small-sized private ritual held at household, these liturgies invited participation of a variety of audience and donation. See, Tang Daijian 唐代劍, *Songdai daojiao guanli zhidu yanjiu* 宋代道教管理制度研究 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2003), 274-276.

There has always been a positive correlation between new religious needs and ritual innovations, which were sustained by the inevitable interactions among different religious cultures.[8] As Schipper once noted:

> New versions of funeral rituals have been added to the old ones. These accretions were due to the influx of new ritual forms, such as those of Buddhism, and more important perhaps, the remodeling of ancient forms in keeping with changes in thought. Each new addition to the old canon represents an attempt to modernize the ritual, and in many cases, a new search for significance.[9]

Such is also the case for salvation rituals in medieval China. As the Buddhist and Daoist ritual specialists encountered each other's teachings and practices, they selected and adapted elements for their own use. In most cases, they adapted ritual techniques for solving similar problems such as natural disasters, social unrest, family issues, and personal illness. Such problems were commonly found within the sets of concerns addressed in ritual practices, as we've seen in the salvation rituals of the Water-Land Retreat and the Yellow Register Retreat, which shared the goal of saving all sentient beings in this and the other world. This bespeaks the mutability of the religious traditions' boundaries, as doctrinal teachings and ritual paradigms were deployed across their permeable borders. The "guest-host" model, which originated in the Esoteric tradition in India, and the "bureaucratic" model, which was an indigenous Chinese political paradigm, were now seamlessly integrated into medieval salvation rituals.

Interactions between the different religious traditions were not, however, indiscriminate adaptations but rather strategic deployments selected from a repertoire of elements that were

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[8] Judith Magee Boltz, "Not by the Seal of Office Alone: New Weapons in Battles with the Supernatural," in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 241-290.

[9] Kristofer Schipper, "Mu-lien Plays in Taoist Liturgical Context," in *Ritual Opera, Operatic Ritual: "Mu-lien Rescues His Mother" in Chinese Popular Culture*, ed., David Johnson (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1989), 136.

directed at specific ends. New elements were adopted and reframed accordingly within different religious contexts. Doctrinal teachings were translated into another language and provided with new meanings while ritual practices were transplanted and transformed to fit the paradigms that best justified their presence. Selective adaptation started as early as the fourth century and became part of an ongoing process throughout subsequent eras. This process was the most common pattern of interaction among different religious traditions, especially in terms of the liturgical interactions between Buddhism and Daoism. When incorporating ritual components from another religious source, they did not simply plagiarize, but reinterpreted the elements and contextualized them according to the new paradigm of ritual efficacy.[10] This further suggests a feature of modularity in the liturgical practices. Recent studies have noticed this feature from a variety of perspectives, such as talismanic practices in Daoist ritual and the artistic productions of Buddhist salvation rituals.[11]

Accompanying the prominence of the modular nature of ritual was a growing socio-religious repertoire in which Buddhist, Daoist, Confucian, and other religious elements were intermixed.[12] Among what was available in the repertoire, elements were drawn from a variety of sources and are identified as juxtaposed or even contradictory components. People resorted to these elements regardless of the original values embedded in these elements and then tailored them to suit specific contexts. Among all the elements in the repertoire in medieval China, Esoteric Buddhist elements were among the most popular.[13] Despite a long-lasting scholarly debate over

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[10] Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins*, 238–39.

[11] Capitanio, "Sanskrit and Pseudo-Sanskrit Incantations," 378. Bloom, "Descent of the Deities," 57-60.

[12] Robert Campany suggests several metaphors of religion in "On the Very Idea of Religions (In the Modern West and in Early Medieval China)," *History of Religions* 42.4 (2003): 287-319.

[13] Recent studies have shown that Esoteric elements were extensively absorbed into difference aspects of East Asian religious practices, see, Henrik H. Sørensen, "Esoteric Buddhism and Magic in China," in Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 197-207; Richard D. McBride II,

the definition and extent of the concept of "Esoteric Buddhism," most studies tend to agree upon the widespread presence of "esoteric elements" or the "esoteric repository" (*mizang* 密藏), which included the use of spirit-mediums,[14] the use of *mudra* and *dhāraṇī*,[15] the presence of Tantric deities and the ritual master's identification with the deity,[16] and rites for feeding hungry ghosts.[17] Recent scholarship suggest that through their rise in the Tang—and prevailing through the following centuries—"esoteric teachings" were most likely viewed as a powerful new technology for gaining control over supernatural forces, rather than as an independent lineage, school, or vehicle.[18] As we have seen in our discussion of the ritual texts for salvation rites, talismans were written and spells were recited in a mixed style in which bureaucratic statements such as "Quickly, quickly, in accordance with the statutes and edicts" or "it is commanded (*chi* 敕)" were interspersed with pseudo-Sanskrit words or names of Esoteric deities, suggesting a creative interaction among different religious repertoires.

"Popular Esoteric Deities and the Spread of their Cults," in Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 215-219; Richard D. McBride II, "The Impact of Translated Esoteric Buddhist Scriptures on Chinese Buddhism," in Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 307-314; George A. Keyworth, "Buddhist Tantras and Chinese Culture," in Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 435-438; George A. Keyworth, "The Esotericization of Chinese Buddhist Practices," in Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 515-524; Joshua Capitanio, "Esoteric Buddhist Elements in Daoist Ritual Manuals of the Song, Yuan, and Ming," in Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 529-535.

[14] Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*; Strickmann, *Mantras et Mandarins*; idem, *Chinese Magical Medicine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

[15] Mitamura Keiko 三田村圭子, "Daoist Hand Signs and Buddhist Mudras," in Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth, eds., *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 235-55. Copp, *The Body Incantatory.*

[16] McBride, "Popular Esoteric Deities and the Spread of their Cults"; Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

[17] Charles Orzech, "Fang Yankou and Pudu: Translation, Metaphor, and Religious Identity," in Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth, eds. *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002). Lye, "Feeding Ghosts: A Study of the Yuqie Yankou Rite."

[18] Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

Based upon the modularity of ritual and the existence of socio-religious repertoires, rituals that provided universal salvation became prominent in medieval China. Although the Water-Land Retreat and the Yellow Register Retreat share themes and terminology, each possesses its own distinctive ritual logic. As we have seen in chapter one, the performance of the Water-Land Retreat is partly patterned on ordination rites in which all non-Buddhist beings are converted into the "children of the Buddha." Ge Shengzhong's ritual memorial mentions how confession and precept bestowal are the prerequisites for salvation. Only after they have been conferred could one be saved from eternal suffering in the underworld and admitted to the blissful paradise of the Buddha. In other words, the soteriological scheme of the Water-Land Retreat is to "Buddhasize" the world by bringing as many people into the Buddha's world as possible. The Yellow Register Retreat, on the other hand, reflects more "exorcistic" aspects by offering a religious service that addresses the core concern of the Chinese populace by adjusting the nature of the relationship between humans and ghostly beings. The judicial nature of the ritual of confession implies a procedure aimed at moving the higher authorities to issue a general amnesty freeing the dead and allowing them to move on to a better condition. At the same time, the living are freed from the threat of otherworldly reprisal. The liturgical sublimation of the bodies of the dead, on the other hand, reflects an indigenous Chinese perception of corporeality in which the physical and the spiritual are equally valued. The thanksgiving offering at the end of the ceremony further illustrates the exorcistic paradigm, since we see that once all the troublesome souls have been warded off, the deities who were invoked to assist the ritual master are repaid with a banquet for their hard work. The thanksgiving offering also reflects the reciprocal nature of Daoist ritual, which we might describe as being a covenantal relationship between the mundane and the divine. This ritual program is so important in concluding the ceremony that common people refer to the Yellow Register ritual more

often as an "Offering" than as a "Retreat." In this, it largely conforms to the structure of Chinese gift giving relationships.

The merging of the soteriological vision of universal salvation rituals with post-mortem transformation and juridical practices of transgression reflects the changing landscape of religion in the medieval period. At this time Buddhism and Daoism sought to transform the ever increasing concerns of local society through the paradigm of universal salvation, the promise of post-mortem deliverance, and freedom from otherworldly threats. Ghost stories in Song anecdotal collections illustrate well how the living were terrified of the prospect that the deceased—suffering at the hands of an underground bureaucracy—would haunt them by sending illness and causing disasters in the world. Thanks to the universal salvation rites, however, there was still room for the hope that pleas for mercy to authorities in the other world might eventually release the dead from their bondage. The growing preoccupation with the other world found throughout Chinese religion since early medieval period on[19] not only served as the backdrop but also the catalyst for the development of universal salvation rituals. The incorporation of the *liandu* rite into the Yellow Register Retreat is a typical expression of this development since it clearly demonstrates a determination to address more forthrightly the worldview and aspirations of this important segment of the audience by offering a synthesis of the Daoist immortal tradition and the Buddhist salvific ideal, of saving one's ancestors and the collective deliverance of all.

Although the Water-Land Retreat and the Yellow Register Retreat have some fundamental differences in their ritual logic and in how they configure the shared concept of "Universal

[19] See, Robert F. Campany, *Signs from the Unseen Realm: Buddhist Miracle Tales from Early Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012). A new concept of the afterlife in medieval Chinese Buddhism emerged and was vividly depicted in the Scripture on the Ten Kings, see, Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994).

Salvation," there are also prominent overlaps. The bureaucratic nature of both rituals, for instance, suggests that it was not a feature exclusive to either tradition, but rather a common liturgical legacy central to Chinese religious life that permeated both Buddhism and Daoism. Many of the overlaps were a function of the socio-religious repertoire that was undergirded by a contractual, numerical/mathematical, and bureaucratic historical context that is foundational to Chinese culture.

APPENDIX II

Manual for the Ritual of [All Beings of] Heaven and Earth,
This World and the Netherworld, and Water and Land
天地冥陽水陸儀文

Index
目錄

Upper Volume
卷上

1. 大雄氏水陸緣起	The origin of the Buddha's Water-Land [Retreat]
2. 水陸齋題	Preface to the Water-Land Retreat
3. 水陸四義	The four meanings of water and land
4. 關鈴取杵儀	Obtain the bell and the [Vajra] pestle
5. 加持戒刀儀	Empower the precept knife
6. 加持淨水儀	Empower the pure water
7. 加持賓頭盧聖僧儀	Empower the divine Arhat Piṇḍola Bharadvaja
8. 召請本郡城隍真宰	Invoke local City God, the Perfected Governor
9. 召請當境風伯雨師	Invoke local Sire of Wind and Master of Rain
10. 加持伽藍土地儀	Empower the earthly guardian of Buddhist temple
11. 召請五道大神儀	Invoke the great gods of the five paths
12. 召請監齋使者儀	Invoke the supervising emissaries of the Retreat
13. 聖前開啟儀	Commencement before the sages
14. 懸掛信幡儀	Raise banners
15. 召請土地使者發牒儀	Invoke the earthly emissaries for distributing the certificates
16. 召請五方五帝開路儀文	Invoke the five lords of the five directions for opening the way
17. 加持黃道儀	Empower the yellow path
18. 邀請正位	Invite [the beings of] of the principal seats

Middle Volume
卷中

19. 讚禮三寶	Praise and venerate the Three Treasures
20. 迎請天仙儀	Welcome the celestial beings
21. 召請下界儀	Invoke the [beings of] the lower realms
22. 加持傳燈顯密供養	Make offerings to empower the transmission of the lamp of the exoteric and the esoteric
23. 五方戒壇儀	Ritual of the ordination platform of the five-direction
24. 加持天輪燈壇儀	Empower the lamp altar of the heavenly wheel
25. 加持地輪燈壇儀	Empower the lamp altar of the earthly wheel
26. 天地二輪總加持儀	Empower the two wheels of heaven and earth
27. 加持乳海儀	Empower the sea of milk
28. 加持八卦壇儀	Empower the altar of the eight diagrams
29. 加持望鄉臺儀	Empower the terrace of hometown-viewing
30. 加持枉死城儀	Empower the fortress of wronged death
31. 加持鐵樹愛河儀	Empower the iron trees and rivers of desire
32. 加持金橋儀	Empower the golden bridge
33. 加持滅惡趣息苦輪儀	Empower the wheel of extinguishing evil path and ceasing the suffering
34. 破有相無間地獄儀	Break the formed and unremitted purgatories
35. 加持黑道儀	Empower the black path
36. 命請冥殿十王儀	Courteously command the ten kings of the dark palaces
37. 召請諸靈儀	Invoke all spirits

Lower Volume
卷下

38. 召請往古人倫儀	Invoke human relations of the past
39. 召請孤魂儀	Invoke the orphaned souls
40. 判斛儀文 a. 敘教謙敬 b. 召罪懺悔 c. 無碍山前不二供養 d. 無主孤魂受食	Food offering a. Modest narration of the origin of the teaching b. Summon the sinful for confession c. Non-dual offerings in front of the unobstructed mountain d. The unowned lonely souls receiving food
41. 再敘功能	Recapitulation of the function [of the Retreat]
42. 施戒開位 a. 懺悔宿業 b. 澄明滅罪 c. 發菩提心 d. 孤魂受戒	Bestow the precepts and commence the positions a. Confess past karmas b. Clear and erase the karmic seeds of sin c. Arouse the bodhi mind d. The orphaned souls receiving precepts
43. 加持無碍錢山儀	Empower the unobstructed mountain of wealth

44. 加持蓮池儀	Empower the lotus pond
45. 齋前供佛儀文	Make offerings to the Buddha
46. 靈前咒食儀	Incant food for the deceased
47. 孤魂家親咒食儀	Incant food for relatives and orphaned souls
48. 奉送聖凡滿散儀	Completion and dismissal of the sages and the mundane
49. 過半夜焚化錢紙飲食儀	Burn paper money and food after the midnight
50. 召請孤魂儀	Invoke orphaned souls

天地冥陽水陸雜文（上） Miscellaneous collection (Upper Volume)

天地冥陽水陸雜文（下） Miscellaneous collection (Lower Volume)

天地冥陽水陸雜文（壇圖式） Miscellaneous collection (Diagrams of the Altars)

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GYCS *Guyi congshu* 古逸叢書. Li Shuchang 黎庶昌 and Yang Shuojing 楊守敬. Yangzhou: Jiangsu guang ling gu ji ke yin she 江蘇廣陵古籍刻印社, Yangzhou gu ji shu dian, 1990.

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QSW *Quan Song wen* 全宋文. Edited by Zeng Zaozhuang 曾枣庄 and Liu Lin 劉琳. 50 volumes. Chengdu: Bashu chubanshe, 1988-1994.

SBCK *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2017.

SKQS *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書. Wenyuange 文淵閣 edition. Edited by Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805). Online edition. <http://www.sikuquanshu.com>.

SSJZS *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏, ed. Ruan Yuan 阮元. Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1997.

SSTL *Shishi tonglan* 施食通覽. Comp. Zongxiao 宗曉. 1 fasc. 1210. X57, no. 961.

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. Edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎. Tokyo: Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924-1932. Digital edition by the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Texts Association (CBETA), <http://www.cbeta.org>.

TDMY *Tiandi mingyang shuilu yiwen* 天地冥陽水陸儀文. 6 fasc. Ca. 1520-1620. East Asian Library. Princeton University. <http://eastasianlib.princeton.edu/ diglib.php>.

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YKSL *Foshuo yankou jing tiandi mingyang shuilu yiwen: juan xia* 佛說焰口經天地冥陽水陸儀文卷下, [Japan], Kenbun 3 [1401]. Facsimile reproduction. Original copy owned by Kyōto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo.

ZHDZ *Zhonghua daozang* 中華道藏. Edited by Zhang Jiyu 張繼禹. 49 fasc. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004.

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Buzeng bujian jing 不增不減經. Trans. Bodhiruci 菩提流支 (d. 527). 1 fasc. T. no. 668.

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