

信 通



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An Early Example of *Svasthāveśa* Ritual: A Chinese Hagiography of the Early Fifth Century*

IYANAGA Nobumi 彌永信美

Introduction

Studies on Indian lore about spiritual possession, generally known as *āveśa* rituals, have made great progress in recent years (*āveśa* means “entry”; *āveśa* as a spiritual possession is the “entry” of the spirit into the body of a medium). Among various practices which were object of research, one that seems particularly spectacular is the oracular possession using a child as medium. Studies on this type of rituals appear to suppose that they mainly belong to the Tantric stratum of Indian religions that flourished after the sixth or the seventh century. In this paper, I will examine a Chinese text of the fifth century in which is reported the deed of a third to fourth century monk who came from Central Asia, who is said to have practiced a ritual of this type. This will show that, if most of the documents describing such practices are from the Tantric period of Indian religions, the origin of the oracular possession using a child medium go further in the history, up to the large folk religious traditions of India or around, which served as sources of later Tantric developments. At the same time, this gives me the opportunity of emphasizing the importance of non-Indian (especially Chinese)

*This paper could not have been written without essential contributions from Dr. Oda Etsuyo 小田悦代, and Dr. Rolf Giebel. In addition, Dr. Caleb Carter made English corrections. I express to all these friends and colleagues my deepest gratitude. It goes without saying that all mistakes are mine own. It must be noted that parts of the contents of this paper were presented in a talk at the public workshop of the Research Institute for Old Japanese Manuscripts of Buddhist Scriptures (Nihon koshakyō kenkyū-jo 日本古寫經研究所) of International College of Postgraduate Buddhist Studies (Kokusai Bukkyō-gaku daigakuin daigaku 國際佛教學大學院大學), Tōkyō, held on the November 11th, 2017. A paper based on this talk is published in the *Journal of the Research Institute for Old Japanese Manuscripts of Buddhist Scriptures (Nihon Koshakyō Kenkyū-jo Kenkyū Kiyō 日本古寫經研究所研究紀要)*, 4 (2019), under the title of “Indo, Chūgoku, Nihon ni okeru Hyōrei Shinkō wo megutte: Zōmitsu Bunken no Sekai e no Irigushi to shite” インド、中國、日本における憑霊信仰をめぐって——雑密文獻の世界への入り口として, p. 1-20.

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sources for the study of the early history of Indian religious practices and traditions. Carried by the large diffusion of Buddhism, Indian religiosity had a great influence on Far Eastern cultures. The use of child medium in healing or oracular rituals was certainly one of the outcomes of such influence. Recent Japanese studies on this kind of practices present many interesting results, which remain quite unknown to Western academia focused on Indian religious culture (in fact, the inverse is true too: Japanese academia on Japanese phenomena largely ignore Western studies on Indian spiritual possession traditions). I also want in this paper to draw attention of Western researchers to these rich studies done in the field of Japanese studies.

However, it is good to first present a simple overview of recent studies on the Indian lore of spiritual possession: I will only mention two major works among them which have greatly advanced our knowledge of this field: Jackie Assayag and Gilles Tarabout's edited volume, *La possession en Asie du Sud: parole, corps, territoire—Possession in South Asia: Speech, Body, Territory, Puruṣārtha*, 21 (1999), which contains fascinating ethnographic and ethnologic studies along with an important article by André Padoux on Kashmirian Tantric texts on the theory and practice of Śaiva *āveśa* dating back from the 9th to fourteenth century;¹ the other is Frederick M. Smith's great book, *The Self Possessed: Deity and Spirit Possession in South Asian Literature and Civilization*,² which presents in its over 700 pages, fruitful insights combining ethnologic perspective with a historical and philological study of Indian textual traditions from the Vedic times up through the present.³ As it may not be well-known in Western academia, it is worthwhile to bring attention to Japanese research on the Buddhist Tantric conception of the “entry (*āveśa*) of the Buddha's wisdom” in the practitioner's body, in the ritual tradition of the *Sarvatathāgata tattvasaṃgraha*. Inui Hitoshi 乾仁志 wrote two important papers on this subject (both in Japanese): “Wisdom-Entry in *Sūtras* and Rituals in Chinese Translation” (2005) and “The Characteristic of Esoteric Buddhism Viewed Through the Vajradhātu (Adamantine Realm) Maṇḍala, with a Special Reference to Bodhisattva Vajrāveśa (Adamantine Entry), or Bodhisattva Vajraghaṇṭa (Adamantine Bell)” (2008).⁴

¹ André Padoux, “Transe, possession ou absorption mystique? L'*āveśa* selon quelques textes tantriques cachemiriens,” *in op. cit.*, p. 133-147.

² New York, Columbia University Press, 2006.

³ Other interesting studies are listed and discussed in Geoffrey Samuel, “Possession and self-possession: spirit healing, tantric meditation and *āveśa*,” *Diskus* [Electronic journal of religious studies], vol. 9 (2008), online at: <<http://jbasr.com/basr/diskus/diskus9/samuel.htm>> [last accessed on Dec. 11, 2017].

⁴ Inui Hitoshi 乾仁志, “Kan'yaku kyō-ki ni mieru nyūchi” 漢訳經軌に見える入知, *Yoritomi Motohiro hakase*

On the Buddhist (or Śaiva) side, another short but important contribution was made by Rolf Giebel in his exemplary translation of the (*Garuḍa*) *āveśa Rite Explained by the God Maheśvara Which Swiftly Establishes Its Efficacy* (*Suji liyan Moxishouluo tian shuo [jialouluo] aweishe fa* 速疾立驗魔醯首羅天說 [迦樓羅] 阿尾奢法).⁵ He presents this translation in a paper entitled “A Śaiva Text in Chinese Garb? An Annotated Translation of the *Suji liyan Moxishouluo tian shuo aweishe fa*,”⁶ a title suggesting the peculiar characteristic of this text. As Giebel writes:⁷

...the greater part of [this text] describes the use of child mediums in rites of spirit possession (*āveśa*) for the purpose of divination. The text itself would seem to be entirely devoid of any Buddhist content (apart from one reference to a Buddha when describing the iconography of Maheśvara), and Alexis Sanderson (2009: 136-38, n. 318) has pointed to the possible influence of Śaivism.⁸

This text is ascribed to a translation by Bukong (Jp. Fukū 不空, Amoghavajra) sometime before his death in 774. It opens with a question raised by Nārāyaṇa to Maheśvara on Mount Gandhamādana. Indeed, there are almost no references to Buddhism in the whole work (except an image of the Buddha on the top of Maheśvara’s crown). This text was mentioned and partially translated into French by Paul Demiéville as early as in 1929 in the first fascicle of the *Hōbōgirin* 法寶義林.⁹ Later in 1983, I mentioned it alongside several references to Chinese Buddhist texts and Japanese folklore materials in my article on Maheśvara in Buddhism in the same dictionary.¹⁰ Moreover, Michel Strickmann worked on it extensively in his book *Chinese Magical Medicine*, thus preparing the way for the translation by Giebel.¹¹ It was also discussed by Edward L. Davis in his important study on

kanreki kinen ronbun-shū. *Mandara no shosō to bunka. Jō. Kongō-kai no maki* 頼富本宏博士還暦記念論文集 マンドラの諸相と文化 上—金剛界の巻, Kyōto, Hōzōkan 法藏館, 2005, p. 183-198; Id., “Kongō-kai mandara wo tōshite mita mikkyō no tokushoku: tokuni Kongōrei bosatsu wo chūshin to shite” 金剛界マンドラを通して見た密教の特色——特に金剛鈴菩薩を中心として, in *Nihon bukkyō-gaku nenpō. Bukkyō to chie* 日本佛教学會年報——佛教と智慧 (*The Journal of the Nippon Buddhist Research Association*), 2008, p. 125-138.

⁵ T. XXI 1277 329b-331a.

⁶ In Andrea Acri, ed., *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, Singapore, ISEAS Publishing ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, 2016, p. 381-388.

⁷ Idem, *ibid.*, p. 381a.

⁸ Alexis Sanderson, “The Śaiva Age—The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism During the Early Medieval Period,” in Shingo Einoo [永ノ尾信悟], ed., *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, Tōkyō, Institute of Oriental Studies, Tokyo University, 2009: 41-349, p. 136-138, n. 318 [p. 138].

⁹ *Hōbōgirin* 法寶義林, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d’après les sources chinoises et japonaises*, fasc. 1, Tōkyō, Maison Franco-japonaise, 1929, p. 7a-b, s.v. Abisha 阿尾奢.

¹⁰ Iyanaga Nobumi, in *Hōbōgirin*, fasc. 6, Paris, Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, Jean Maisonneuve, Succ. ; Tōkyō, Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1983, s.v. Daijizaiten 大自在天, p. 752b-753b.

¹¹ Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, edited by Bernard Faure, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2002, p. 229-232.

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Society and the Supernatural in Song China.¹² Frederick Smith's book is not limited to Indian sources, but makes abundant references to sources in other languages such as Chinese and Tibetan as far as they are related to the Indian lore of spiritual possession. Relying on secondary works in Western languages for the Chinese sources, he discusses it in chapter 11 ("Tantra and the Diaspora of Child") of his book, which focuses on mainly Śaiva materials on the *āveśa* ritual of induced possession of children for divination purposes.¹³

According to Smith, this type of *āveśa* rituals is called "*svasthāveśa*" (literally "possession of one who is in a good state of [mental and physical] health").¹⁴ Such rituals are characterized by the use of young children as mediums for oracular possession. Smith further notes:¹⁵

In *svasthāveśa*, a medium causes a spirit or deity to descend into any one of several reflective objects or into the body of a young boy or girl, after which the medium or youth answers questions from a client regarding events of the past, present, or future.¹⁶ Most of the Sanskrit texts in which *svasthāveśa* is mentioned by name or described without using this term are unedited tantric compendia from northern and eastern India that may be dated from the ninth to twelfth centuries. A few texts that mention *svasthāveśa* or its distinctive components predate this material, while others describing this practice without identifying it by name are, with rare exception, much later manuscript fragments found in libraries in South India.

To the best of my knowledge, the name *svasthāveśa* is mentioned in only four published texts: the *Harṣacarita*, a prose hagiography of King Harṣa composed by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the mid-seventh century; the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, composed by Somadeva in the eleventh century; a tantric compendium called *Īśānaśivaguru-devapad-dhati (ĪŚP)* by the eponymous Īśānaśivagurudevamiśra, composed in Kerala in the eleventh century; and the anonymous tantric digest titled *Tantrarāja* of the sixteenth century. Except the *ĪŚP*, all of these were composed in North India. [. . .] Of central concern is the transmission of this ritual, at least in its textual redactions, from its probable point of origin in North India, eastward across the Himalayas into China and southward into the Deccan and the present-day states of Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu.

Thus, the Chinese remains of Buddhist texts are important sources of this type of *āveśa* rituals. Finally, we must mention recent Japanese studies on *āveśa* rituals in Japan, in

¹² Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2001, p. 125.

¹³ *The Self Possessed: Deity and Spirit Possession in South Asian Literature and Civilization*. New York, Columbia University Press, 2006, p. 416-470.

¹⁴ F. Smith, *ibid.*, p. 416.

¹⁵ Idem, *ibid.*, 417.

¹⁶ It is obvious that the medium object does not "answer" any questions by itself; it is either the practitioner or the young medium who "reads" the answers in reflections that appear on the object and interprets their meanings. [This is my own note.]

which many Chinese sources are examined, along with properly Japanese developments of the rituals.

It is useful to recall the context in which Japanese researchers came to recognize forms of *āveśa* rituals in historical records of the Heian and later periods. For some time now, it has been known that the Japanese court and aristocracy had recourse to a certain type of Buddhist ritual when they fell ill. They used to call esoteric monks to the bedside of sick persons. These monks prayed and performed a ritual by which the demonic being that was thought to have had caused the illness was transferred to mediums (often children or ladies-in-waiting). The demon was then “tied up” (*baku* 縛) inside the medium’s body, questioned until it was compelled to reveal its identity, and finally was expelled. The mechanism of this type of exorcist-magical healing method has been an object of research since at least 1976 (by Komatsu Kazuhiko 小松和彦).¹⁷ Then in 2002, Morimoto Sensuke 森本仙介 published a historical analysis of healing rituals focused on those which were executed on the occasion of Taira no Tokushi’s 平徳子 (a.k.a., Kenreimon-in 建禮門院, 1155-1214) pregnancy of the future emperor Antoku 安徳天皇 (1178-1185, r. 1180-1185).¹⁸ In this study, he identified among contemporaneous documents a manual for a healing ritual describing an *āveśa* ritual involving a child medium. Since then, other studies on this ritual from the Heian period until the Muromachi period have been conducted. Of note are various pioneering articles by Koyama Satoko 小山聰子¹⁹ and a remarkable book by Ueno Katsuyuki 上野勝之 entitled

¹⁷ Komatsu Kazuhiko, “Gohō shinkō-ron obogaki: chiryō girei ni okeru ‘mononoke’ to ‘gohō’” 護法信仰論 覚え書き——治療儀禮における「物怪」と「護法」[Note on the beliefs of *Dharma*-protector (*gohō*): *mononoke* [disease-causing demon] and *gohō* in healing rituals], *Kikan Gendai Shūkyō* 季刊現代宗教, 7 (1976), of which an enlarged version is included in his *Hyōrei Shinkō-ron: Yōkai Kenkyū e-no Kokoromi* 憑靈信仰論——妖怪研究への試み, Tōkyō, Kōdansha 講談社, 1994.

¹⁸ Morimoto Sensuke, “Tennō no shussan kūkan: Heian-matsu, Kamakura-ki” 天皇の出産空間——平安末・鎌倉期 [The Space of the Delivery of Emperor: At the End of Heian and Kamakura Periods] in Yamamoto Kōji 山本幸司 ed., *Kosumoroji to Shintai* コスモロジーと身体 [Iwanami Kōza Tennō to ōken wo kangaeru 岩波講座 天皇と王權を考える, vol. 8], Tōkyō, Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 2002, p. 227-248.

¹⁹ Koyama Satoko, *Shinran no Shinkō to Jujutsu: Byōki Chiryō to Rinjū Gyōgi* 親鸞の信仰と呪術——病氣治療と臨終行儀 [Shinran’s beliefs and Magic: Healing and Death-bed Rituals], Tōkyō, Yoshikawa kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2013, especially p. 11-47, notes on p. 62-72; Id., “Yori-gitō no Seiritsu to Abisha-hō: Heian-chūki ikō ni okeru Byōki-chiryō to no Kakawari wo Chūshin to shite” 憑祈禱の成立と阿尾奢法——平安中期以降における病氣治療との関わりを中心として [The Formation of the Possession-exorcist Ritual and *āveśa* Ritual: Focusing on the Relationship with the Healing Rituals of Mid-Heian and later Periods], *Shinran no Suimyaku* 親鸞の水脈, 5 (2009): p. 25-43; Id., “Gohō-dōji Shinkō no Seiritsu to Fudō Shinkō” 護法童子信仰の成立と不動信仰 [The Formation of the Belief in the Youth *Dharma*-protector and Belief in Acala], in Iso Mizue 磯水繪 ed., *Ronshū Bungaku to Ongaku-shi: Shiika Kangen no Sekai* 論集 文學と音楽史——詩歌管弦の世界, Tōkyō, Izumi shobō 和泉書房, 2013, p. 499-515; Id., “Hikaru Genji to Rokujō-miyasudokoro no Shiryō” 光源氏と六条御息所の死靈 [Hikaru Genji and the Soul of the Dead Rokujō-miyasudokoro], *Setsumu* 説話, 21 (2014), p. 11-17; Id., “Inseiki no Yori-gitō ni okeru Monotsuki no Taigū: Roku wo Chūshin to shite” 院政期の憑祈禱における物付の待遇——祿を中心として [The Treatment of the Medium for Possession-exorcist Rituals in the Heian Period: Focusing on the Pay], *Nihon Shūkyō Bunka-shi Kenkyū* 日本宗教文化史研究』19-1 (2015): 22-41; Id., “Hakujo na Otoko Hikaru Genji: Genji-monogatari no Aishū to Hijō” 薄情な男、光源氏——『源氏物語』の愛執と非情 [Hikaru Genji: A Cold-hearted Man: Sentimental Attachment and Heartlessness in the *Genji Monogatari*], in *Nishō-gakusha daigaku Bungaku-bu Kokubun-gakka* 二松學舎大學文學部國文學科, ed., *Koi suru Jinbun-gaku: Chi wo Hiraku Nijū-ni no Tobira* 戀する人文學——知をひらく 22 の扉, vol. 1, Tōkyō, Kanrin shobō 翰林書房, 2016, p. 47-59; Id., “Kakunyo ga Ikita Jidai no Ekibyō Chiryō” 覺如が生きた時代の疫病治療 [Plague Healing

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Yume to Mononoke no Seishin-shi: Heian Kizoku no Shinkō Sekai 夢とモノノケの精神史——平安貴族の信仰世界 [An Intellectual History of Dreams and Ill-causing Demons: The Belief World of Heian Aristocracy].²⁰ Ueno's important work makes extensive use of aristocratic diaries that record esoteric rituals that were performed for various illnesses. These diaries are indeed unique treasures of Japanese historical documentation. Not only do they report extraordinary or public events but also daily events in minute details that occurred in the lives of their authors. Analyzing these descriptions, Ueno reconstructs in a vivid manner the familial life of the court and aristocracy. This includes how they faced diseases and the types of healers they relied on: medical staff who administered medicines, *Onmyōdō* 陰陽道 officials who diagnosed and prescribed various interdictions, and Buddhist monks who performed diverse types of rituals. A special category of monk referred to as “*genja* [or *genza*]” 驗者 that was thought to have particularly strong magical efficacy, was one of the most common types. These healers visited the sick person's houses with a medium (or chose a medium among the personal of the house). The officiant (the *genja*) used a spiritual being called *gohō* 護法 (*dharma*-protector, which would correspond with Skt. *dharma-pāla*) as his agent.²¹ He made him capture the disease-demon and tied it up (*baku* 縛 or *jubaku* 呪縛) inside the medium's body; the officiant served the *gohō* as his “messenger.” Through a meticulous analysis of all cases mentioned in these historical documents, Ueno determined the period in which the esoteric ritual of *āveśa* was introduced in the healing methods of the Japanese courtly life around the mid-tenth century. He also shows that interest in the *āveśa* ritual among monks dates the end of the ninth century, with one instance involving the Tendai monk Enchin 圓珍 (814-891).²²

These works by Koyama and Ueno open a new perspective into the study of so-called “shamanic phenomena” in the history of Japanese religions. Indeed, until their publication, it was generally assumed that these phenomena were rooted in timeless Japanese traditions, going off of records in ancient sources such as the *Kojiki* 古事記 (712) and *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (720). By demonstrating that some “shamanic” healing methods (where the spiritual possession of medium played an essential role) were used from the Heian period onward and clearly originated in continental Buddhist rituals, these studies historicize at once these

in the Period when Kakunyo lived], *Shinran no Suimiyaku* 親鸞の水脈, 19 (2016): p. 35-42.

²⁰ Ueno Katsuyuki, *Yume to Mononoke no Seishin-shi: Heian Kizoku no Shinkō Sekai* 夢とモノノケの精神史——平安貴族の信仰世界, Kyōto, Kyōto daigaku gakujutsu shuppankai 京都大學學術出版會, 2013.

²¹ This deity is represented as a child deity (*dōji* 童子). It is interesting to note that the term *dhama-pāla* is also used in Tibet in a context of *āveśa* ritual. See Frederick M. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

²² In his *Doubts and Questions* [to Tang masters], *Gimon* 疑問, Enchin asked for an explanation on the phrase “[the practitioner] should next protect the [medium] girl's one hundred and eight life-nodes (*myōsetsu* 命節) with the great *mudrā*” (see the *āveśa* Rite Explained by the God *Maheśvara*, T. 1277 330a8; Giebel's translation, *art. cit.*, p. 386a and n. 33); he also adds: “Some people here attempted to perform this ritual, but without success. I doubt that there are some hidden teachings not written in the text. I humbly ask you to please instruct us about this point” (大日本佛教全書, 27, 智證大師全集, 3, p. 1018b17-1019a2). Unfortunately, we have no record of answers by Tang masters to his question. See Ueno, *op. cit.*, p. 96 and p. 108; p. 118, n. 51 and p. 120, n. 68.

practices. The impact of this new idea is not yet fully developed: for example, many rituals of possession that can be observed in present-day village festivals may (at least partially) go back to this Buddhist influence. However, this has not yet been studied. I believe this will soon become the core of a major revision of the history of Japanese religious traditions.

Since Ueno, Oda Etsuyo 小田悦代 has published an important book on related subjects in a work titled *Jubaku, Gohō, Abisha-hō: Setsuwa ni Miru Sō no Genryoku* 呪縛・護法・阿尾奢法——説話に見る僧の験力 [Magical Binding, Dharma Protectors and *āveśa* Rituals: Monks' Magical Efficacy related in Tale Literature].²³ In this book, the author analyzes how *āveśa* rituals are described in Japanese medieval tales literature (*setsuwa* 説話). In doing so, she goes back to Chinese esoteric *sūtras* and ritual texts to examine instances of *āveśa* and related rituals that had not yet been examined in previous studies. This material gives a new dimension to the Japanese studies on *āveśa* rituals by providing a new historical and intercultural background against which Japanese phenomena should be contextualized. While studies by Japanese researchers very often tend to limit their fields of investigation to uniquely Japanese facts, the important parts of the texts referred to by Oda belong to the Chinese Buddhist Canon which are translations from Indian originals. In this way, her study shows that Japanese medical-religious traditions of the Heian and later periods were closely related to earlier Indian practices, opening thus a new broad perspective in South and East Asian religious studies.

The majority of Chinese translations of Indian Buddhist texts can be dated, which is rarely the case for Indian texts (especially those from the first to eighth or ninth centuries). In addition, the considerable number of examples of texts related to the *āveśa* ritual in the Chinese Canon is an important element that must be taken in account for further study of the subject.

However, as I will show in the next section, it is *not* in the Chinese *Buddhist Canon*, but in a secular collection of tales from the Liu Song 劉宋 dynasty (420-479) that one of the oldest texts reporting an *āveśa* ritual using a child could be found.

One of the Oldest Examples of the *āveśa* Ritual: Fotucheng's Case

Concerning the historical origins and evolution of *svasthāveśa* rituals, Frederick Smith, who refers to a personal communication by Alexis Sanderson, writes:²⁴

Although the relevant Tantras are themselves undated, Sanderson suggests that one of the earliest, the *Niśvāsaḡuhyā* [which mentions a rite of the type of *svasthāveśa*],

²³ Tōkyō, Iwata-shoin 岩田書院, 2016.

²⁴ Frederick Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 427-428.

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could be a product of the sixth century, though it can be dated with certainty only to a single ninth-century Nepalese manuscript. Thus, Sanderson states that, though the *Niśvāsaguhya* “seems to be one of the very earliest Tantras of the Siddhānta,” it is nevertheless representative of “a tradition for which we have epigraphical evidence from the sixth century onwards.”²⁵ Sanderson’s remaining texts, which describe *svasthāveśa* in greater complexity and variation, were composed at various times up to the twelfth century. The epigraphical evidence to which Sanderson refers is important because it helps establish a general dateline for the diffusion of *svasthāveśa* to China. This evidence exposes a Śaiva tradition from Central and South India that appears to have entered Kashmir only in the first few decades of the eighth century with the ascendancy of Lalitāditya, the wealthiest and most successful of Kashmir’s imperial monarchs. It is worth noting that Lalitāditya and his successors patronized both brahmanical sects and Buddhism, establishing a climate conducive for intellectual exchange. Given the strong tantric presence in Kashmir at that time, this active exchange of ideas quickly engendered a common tantric foundation for Hindu and Buddhist sects.

Sanderson and others have extensively explored the epigraphical evidence for the background of northern Tantrism. Among the most important epigraphia are the following:²⁶ (1) A hoard of nine copperplate inscriptions of a local monarch named Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna discovered in Sirpur (Śrīpura, the ancient capital of Dakṣiṇa Kosala; Raipur District, Chattisgarh), which includes records of grants to Śaiva *ācāryas*. This is shown by their initiation names, which confirms that the Śaiva Siddhānta was established by the second half of the sixth century.²⁷ (2) The Senakapāt stone slab inscription issued in the fifty-seventh year of the reign of Śivagupta (c. 647).²⁸ This records a grant to an ascetic named Sadāśivācārya, who, the inscription implies, is the lineage successor to an ascetic named Sadyanśivācārya who hailed from a hermitage (*tapovana*) called Āmardaka.²⁹ The latter is also a name of Kālabhairava, a form of Śiva dominant in this tradition, who, as we see below, is

²⁵ Note 59 of Smith’s chapter 11 (p. 461): “Personal communication, September 13, 2001. Sanderson further notes, ‘Tantric Śaivism of this relatively public and strongly soteriological variety was not merely present in the seventh century but well established’ (2001 [Alexis Sanderson, “History Through Textual Criticism in the Study of Śaivism, the Pañcarātra and the Buddhist Yoginītantras,” in *Les sources et le temps / Sources and Time. A Colloquium*, Pondicherry, 11-13 January 1997, ed. François Grimal, pp. 1- 47, Pondicherry: École française d’Extrême Orient, 2001]:11).”

²⁶ Note 60 of Smith’s chapter 11 (p. 461): “This account is based on a long message sent to me by Sanderson (March 10, 2002) and references he has suggested, as well as on his 2001 article.”

²⁷ Note 61 of Smith’s chapter 11 (p. 461): “Cf. Bakker 2000 [Hans Bakker, “Somaśarman, Somavaṃśa and Somasiddhānta: A Pāśupata Tradition in Seventh-Century Dakṣiṇa Kosala,” in *Harānandalaharī: Volume in Honour of Professor Minoru Hara on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Ryutaro Tsuchida and Albrecht Wezler, 2000: 1-19, Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen], p. 15f. n. 42.”

²⁸ Note 62 of Smith’s chapter 11 (p. 461): “Cf. Dikshit and Sircar 1955-56 [M. G. Dikshit and D. C. Sircar, “Senakapat Inscription of the Time of Sivagupta Balarjun,” *Epigraphia Indica* 31 (1955-56)], p. 31-36]; Shastri 1995 [Ajaya Mitra Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṃśins and Somavaṃśins*, 2 vols. New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, and Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1995], 1: p. 169-172, 2: p. 154-159.”

²⁹ Note 63 of Smith’s chapter 11 (p. 461): “*āsīsadyaḥśivācāryaḥśrīmānvarystapovatām(-tām) | śrīmadāmarddakakhyāti-tapovanavinirggataḥ ||*”

closely affiliated with the possession deities in some of our texts.³⁰ It is also important that this hermitage is the parent institution of most of the Saiddhāntika lineages recorded in inscriptions, lineages that eventually became ascendant in Kashmir. (3) Inscriptions recording the Śaiva initiations to several important southern monarchs in the latter half of the seventh century.³¹ Although this is evidence for the broad dissemination of Śaiva lineages, the inscriptions do not take note of specific practices. Nevertheless, linguistic and cultural evidence permit us to speculate on the range of practices that constituted the divinatory milieu of *svasthāveśa*.

Thus, for Smith, the possible origin of the *svasthāveśa* ritual seems to go back to the sixth century, in a Śaiva milieu of the northern India. However, —and this is the main point that I want to make in this paper—one of the oldest testimonies to a performance of this type of possession ritual seems to be much earlier. Oda Etsuyo, through personal correspondence, drew my attention to a passage of the *Youminglu* 幽明錄 [Records of the Hidden and the Visible Worlds], a text of which Zhenjun Zhang writes that it is “conventionally attributed to Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444), [. . .] one of the most important collections of *zhiguai* 志怪 (accounts of anomalies) in the Six Dynasties period (222-589).”³² In an email of February 13th, 2017 that she wrote to me, Oda quoted an article by Sano Seiko 佐野誠子, a specialist of the medieval Chinese literature, entitled “Chūgoku no bukkyō-sha to yogen, shinshi: bukkyō ryūnyū-ji kara Nan-Boku-chō jidai made” 中國の佛教者と豫言・讖詩——佛教流入期から南北朝時代まで [Chinese Buddhists and Prophecies and Prophetic Poetry: From the Period of the Introduction of Buddhism until the Period of Southern and Northern Dynasties]³³ in which she found a reference to this passage of the *Youminglu*. The story is about Fotucheng 佛圖澄 (ca. 233?-349?), who was one of the earliest Buddhist monks of some renown in China, especially known for his magical power.³⁴

Fotucheng’s biography is described in several sources: the most detailed is included in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks] by Huijiao 慧皎, compiled in

³⁰ Note 64 of Smith’s chapter 11 (p. 461): “Dikshit and Sircar state: ‘Āmardaka, which is the name of Kāla-Bhairava, a form of Śiva, was probably derived from the locality where Bhairava was worshipped’ (1955-56: p. 34-35).”

³¹ Note 65 of Smith’s chapter 11 (p. 462): “See Sanderson 2001, p. 8-10, n. 6: ‘These kings are the Cālukya Vikramāditya I of Bādāmi, the Eastern Gaṅgā Devendravarman, and the Pallava Narasiṃhavarman of Kāñcī.’”

³² Zhenjun Zhang, “A Textual History of Liu Yiqing’s *You ming lu*,” *Oriens Extremus*, 48 (2009): 87-101, p. 87. —Liu Yiqing belonged to the imperial family of the Liu Song dynasty, and is known as the author (or compiler) of important works such as the *Shishuo Xinyu* 世說新語 [A New Account of the Tales of the World].

³³ Edited by Higashi-Ajia kaii-gakkai 東アジア権異學會, *Ajia yūgaku* アジア遊學, 187, special issue “Kaii wo Baikai suru mono” 怪異を媒介するもの [That what Mediates the Anormal Phenomena], Tōkyō, Bensei shuppan 勉成出版, 2015: p. 206a-220b, p. 207b-209a. —Sano Seiko wrote another paper on similar subjects: “Rikuchō Sōryo Koji Tankyū: Shikai to Sōden no Aida” 六朝僧侶故事探求——志怪と僧傳のあいだ [Research in Legends of Buddhist Monks in Six Dynasties: Between Records of Anomalies (*zhiguai* 志怪) and Buddhist Monks’ Biographies], *Nagoya daigaku chūgoku-go bungaku ronshū* 名古屋大學中國語學文學論集, 29 (2015): 21a-43a, especially p. 28b-29a; p. 33a-34b.

³⁴ I briefly presented this discovery by Oda Etsuyo in my talk at the meeting of the Research Center of Japanese Old *Sūtra* Manuscripts (Nihon koshakyō kenkyūjo 日本古寫經研究所), on November 11, 2017, at International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, Tōkyō. See *supra* note *.

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519.³⁵ The *Shiliuguo chungiu* 十六國春秋 [Historical Records of the Sixteen Kingdoms], compiled by Cui Hong 崔鴻 (478-525), contains also much information on Fotucheng's biography (*juan* 卷 11, 13, 15-17, 20-21, 32, 42).³⁶ The dynastic history of the Jin, *Jinshu* 晉書, compiled in 648, *juan* 95, p. 2484-2489 is mainly based on the *Shiliuguo chungiu*.³⁷ Probably native to Kutcha, Fotucheng had learned about Buddhism in the north-western region of India (present-day Kashmir and Gandhāra) and came to the northern China, in Loyang 洛陽, in 310, for the propagation of Buddhism and construction of temples. But the time was not favorable because that was the moment of the collapse of the Western Jin 西晉 (311), and the region was in disorder. However, Fotucheng could find a protector in the person of Guo Heilüe 郭黑略, a general who believed in Buddhism and served under the order of Shi Le 石勒 (ca 274 - 333), the brilliant general of Jie 羯 origin,³⁸ who later became the first emperor of the dynasty of Later Zhao 後趙 (Emperor Ming 明皇帝, r. 319-333). Fotucheng excelled in prophecy and especially in divining the future victory or defeat of battles; he communicated his prophecies to his protector Guo. Shi Le was surprised that his lieutenant always knew the tide of battles and asked him the reason. Having known the source of his knowledge, Shi Le took Fotucheng as his own counsellor. Thus, the Buddhist master could become influential in the military government of Shi Le.

It is in this context that our tale of the *Youminglu* can be placed. According to the *Youminglu* (before 444), it is said that once,

Shi Le asked Fotucheng: “I want to capture Liu Yao 劉曜 (ca 275 - 329).³⁹ Is there any sign for such an event?” Cheng then made a child purify himself and fast for seven days. [After that,] he took sesame oil (*mayou* 麻油)⁴⁰ and smeared it on his

³⁵ *Gaoseng zhuàn*, T. L 2059 ix 383b15-387a29. This biography was translated into English with extensive notes by Arthur F. Wright, “Fo-T'u-Têng 佛圖澄: A Biography,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1948): 321-371 (referred to by Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins : le bouddhisme tantrique en Chine*, Paris, Gallimard, 1996, p. p. 461, n. 20); see also a translation into modern Japanese by Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫 and Funayama Tōru 船山徹, *Kōsō-den* 高僧傳 [Iwanami bunko 岩波文庫 33-342-3], vol. 3, Tōkyō, Iwanami shoten, 2010, p. 297-343.

³⁶ The edition of the collection *Qinding siku quanshu* 欽定四庫全書 can be consulted online, at <<https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=933789>> [last accessed on February 24, 2018].

³⁷ *Jinshu* 晉書, *juan* 95, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, edition of 1974, p. 2484-2489. See Sano, “Rikuchō Sōryo Koji Tankyū: Shikai to Sōden no Aida,” p. 29a and n. 16. The passage of interest for our topic, p. 2484, was translated into English by Alexander Vovin, Edward Vadja and Étienne de la Vaissière, “Who Were the *Kjet (羯) and What Language Did They Speak?,” *Journal asiatique*, 304-1 (2016): p. 125-144, p. 128-129. — On Vovin's argument, see also <http://s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/29Huns/AVovin_XiongnuLanguageEn.htm> (last accessed on February 18, 2018).

³⁸ Jie 羯 (Middle Chinese pronunciation: *jié* corresponding with a hypothetical phonetic value “*kjet”) is the name of an ethnic group of northern China (or Central Asia), to which Shi Le belonged. See for example the *Wikipedia* article at <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jie_people> (last accessed on the February 22, 2018).

³⁹ The fifth and the last emperor of the Early Zhao 前趙 dynasty. Shi Le was first a general under Liu Yao. Liu Yao was Shi Le's greatest enemy. Having defeated him, Shi Le ascended to his emperorship.

⁴⁰ The Chinese word *mayou* 麻油 may mean “hemp oil” as well, but in the Buddhist context, it seems to correspond with Skt. *taila*, meaning “sesame oil.” Sano adopts this rendering; see also the translation of the Biography of Fotucheng from the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* by Arthur Wright, *art. cit.*, p. 337, n. 3,

hands and rubbed them. He burnt [the incense of] sandal-wood and intoned a charm. After some time, he raised his hands and showed them to the child. His palms were shining in a strange way. Cheng asked [the child]: “Do you see anything?” [The child] replied: “I see only an officer; he is tall and big and has a clear complexion.⁴¹ [He has peculiar looks.]⁴² His elbows are bound by a red cord.” Cheng said: “That is Liu Yao!” That year, [Shi Le] could indeed capture alive [Liu] Yao.⁴³

The same episode is narrated in very similar terms in the *Shiliuguo chunqiu* 十六國春秋 (before 525) and the *Jinshu* 晉書 (648).⁴⁴ In the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (519), the story of the capture of Liu Yao is related, but without the child medium. Among all these sources, the *Youminglu* is the earliest one.⁴⁵ The difference between the version of the *Youminglu*, *Shiliuguo chunqiu* and *Jinshu*, on the one hand, and that of the *Gaoseng zhuan* on the other hand, is interesting. As has been noted (see above, p. 9), the *Gaoseng zhuan* contains the most detailed and longest biography of Fotucheng. There are three instances where the special magical ability of the monk is referred to or narrated. First, in the introductory part of the biography, it is said:⁴⁶

[Fotucheng] excelled in the recitation of divine spells (*shenzhou* 神呪). He was able to make demonic deities serve him (*yishi guiwu* 役使鬼物). Mixing sesame oil with rouge (*yanzhi* 臙脂, Skt. *kusunbha*?)⁴⁷ and smearing his palms with it, he could see things of one thousand *li* 里 away as if they were just before him, and he could also show them to people who had been purified themselves.⁴⁸ He could also listen to the sounds of bells and tell [things] without any failures.

where he refers to Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* [Field Museum of Natural History. Anthropological ser. vol. 15. no. 3], (Chicago, 1919), p. 289-296.

⁴¹ According to Vovin *et al.*, p. 128, Liu Yao was an albino.

⁴² Sano, “Rikuchō Sōryo Koji Tankyū,” p. 33b and Id., *Chūgoku Koten Shōsetsu Sen* 中國古典小說選 [Anthology of Old Tale Literature of China], vol. 2, Rikuchō 六朝, vol. 1, Tōkyō, Meiji shoin 明治書院, 2006, p. 406 adds here to the text: “有異望”

⁴³ 石勒問佛圖澄。劉曜可擒兆可見不。澄令童子齊七日。取麻油掌中研之。燎旃檀而呪。有頃舉手。向童子。掌內粲然有異。澄問有所見不。曰。唯見一軍人長大白皙。〔有異望。〕以朱絲縛其肘。澄曰。此即曜也。其年果生擒曜 (quoted in the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 [ed. Siku quanshu 四庫全書, Wenyuange 文淵閣], *juan* 370, 5a, corresponding to the edition of the *Youminglu* by Luxun’s 魯迅 *Gu xiaoshuo gouchen* 古小說鈎沈, *shangce* 上冊, Hong Kong, Xinyi chubanshe 新藝出版社, 1970, p. 264, tale number 89). See also the Japanese translation by Sano, “Rikuchō Sōryo Koji Tankyū,” p. 33b; Id., “Chūgoku no bukkyō-sha to yogen, shinshi,” p. 208b-29a; Id., *Chūgoku Koten Shōsetsu Sen*, vol. 2, Rikuchō, vol. 1, p. 405-407.

⁴⁴ *Jinshu* 晉書, ed. Zhonghua shuju, 1974, *juan* 95, p. 2484: “及曜自攻洛陽、勒將救之、其羣下咸諫以為不可。勒以訪澄、澄曰：「相輪鈴音云：『秀支替戾岡、僕谷劬禿當。』此羯語也。秀支、軍也。替戾岡、出也。僕谷、劉曜胡位也。劬禿當、捉也。此言軍出捉得曜也。」又令一童子潔齋七日、取麻油合胭脂、躬自研於掌中、舉手示童子、粲然有輝。童子驚曰：「有軍馬甚衆、見一人長大白皙、以朱絲縛其肘。」澄曰：「此即曜也。」勒甚悅、遂赴洛距曜、生擒之。”—See the text of the *Shiliuguo chunqiu* in n. 53 below.

⁴⁵ The postface of the *Gaoseng zhuan* explicitly mentions the *Youminglu* as one of its sources. See T. L 2059 xiv 418b28-29; see also Arthur Wright, *art. cit.*, p. 345, n. 31.

⁴⁶ T. L 2059 ix 383b21-24: 善誦神呪。能役使鬼物。以麻油雜胭〔胭脂=燕脂<三>、茵灰<宮>〕脂塗掌。千里外事皆徹見掌中如對面焉。亦能令潔齋者見。又聽鈴音以言事。無不効驗。Cf. the translation by Arthur Wright, p. 337-338. See also Japanese translation, p. 298.

⁴⁷ See Wright’s translation, p. 337, n. 4, where he refers to Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 324-328.

⁴⁸ Wright’s translation, p. 338, n. 5, gives interesting accounts on this magical practice. According to Qian Daxin’s 錢大昕 *Nianershi kaoyi* 廿二史攷異, *juan* 10, *ad Jinshu* (*juan* 95, p. 2484), Fotucheng’s magical operation would be the origin of the “art of round light (*yuanguang zhi shu* 圓光之術) of the present-day custom”

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The second instance is the one that narrates the capture of Liu Yao by the army of Shi Le. The passage is rather long. Shi Le and Liu Yao are about to undertake the final battle in 328: Liu Yao and his party were in Loyang, and Shi Le’s army attacked that city. Shi Le wanted to know the battle’s tide and asked Fotucheng about it. The latter replied:⁴⁹

[. . .] “I heard the bells attached to the wheel [on the top of] the *stūpa* (*xianglun* 相輪).⁵⁰ It said ‘*xiu zhi ti li gang pu gu qu tu dang*’ 秀支替戾岡僕谷劬禿當. These are words in the language of Jie 羯. ‘*Xiu zhi*’ means ‘army’; ‘*ti li gang*’ means ‘going out’; ‘*pu gu*’ designates Liu Yao’s rank in his ethnic group [*bok kok*]; ‘*qu tu dang*’ means ‘to capture.’ [All this] means ‘Armies went out and will catch Liu Yao.’”⁵¹ At that time, Xu Guang 徐光, [an official under Shi Le.] heard Fotucheng’s words and strongly recommended [Shi Le] to relocate the army in preparation for battle. [Shi Le decided] to leave his eldest son Shi Hong 石弘 to stay in the province of Xiangguo 襄國 (the present-day Xingtai 邢台 in the department of Hebei 河北省) with Cheng to protect it, and to go to lead himself his infantry and cavalry in the direction of Loyang [the location of Liu Yao’s army]. As soon as the battle had begun, Yao’s army was routed, and Yao’s horse sank in the water. Shi Kan 石堪 [a general of Shi Le’s army who became his adopted son] captured him and sent him to Le’s place. At that time, Cheng [who was in Xiangguo] smeared his palms with something (*yi wu tu zhang* 以物塗掌), and examined them: he saw there many people among whom one was bound, with a red cord tightened around his neck. He informed Hong about [this sign]. It was at that very time that Yao was captured.

The third case is about a disciple of Fotucheng. It is narrated:⁵²

(*jin suchuan* 今俗傳) (the text is available online: <<https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=21649&page=64>>, last accessed on Feb. 25, 2018). On this magical “art of round light,” Wright quotes also an anecdote from the *Qingbai leichao* 清裊類鈔 (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1917, 1920), compiled by Xu Ke 徐珂 (1869-1928), 33.60, where is reported, among other stories on the magic divination of *yuanguang*, a story about a magician who practiced “the magic art of Fotucheng” (佛圖澄術) in the later nineteenth century (the text is available online: <<http://www.guoxuedashi.com/a/2772r/124620j.html>>, last accessed on February 24, 2018). On another important reference given by Wright in this note, see below, Appendix 1.

⁴⁹ *T.* 2059 ix 384b5-14: 勒以訪澄。澄曰。相輪鈴音云。秀支替戾岡僕谷劬禿當。此羯語也。秀支軍也。替戾岡出也。僕谷劉曜胡位也。劬禿當捉也。此言軍出捉得曜也。時徐光聞澄此旨。苦勒勒行。勒迺留長子石弘。共澄以鎮襄國。自率中軍步騎。直指洛城。兩陣纒交。曜軍大潰。曜馬沒水中。石堪生擒之送勒。澄時以物塗掌。觀之見有大衆。衆中縛一人。朱絲約項。其時因以告弘。當爾之時正生擒曜也。 Cf. Arthur Wright’s translation, p. 344; Japanese translation, p. 306-307.

⁵⁰ On the meaning of the word *xianglun*, see Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyō-go Daijiten* 佛教語大辭典, p. 870a-b. Alexander Vovin *et al.*, art. cit., p. 129, explains that “相輪鈴 *xiāng lún líng* refers to Buddhist ritual bells that have their handles shaped like a pagoda spire (相輪 *xiāng lún* ‘pagoda spire’), see, e.g., <http://www.narahaku.go.jp/collection/1407-0.html> for some early specimens preserved in Japan.” This explanation is not correct. A description of such a *stūpa* with bells can be found for example in the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記, *T.* LI 2092 i 1000a1-14; see also an image at <<http://www.redleaves.jeez.jp/enr1013.html>> [last accessed on February 18th, 2018].

⁵¹ This couplet of Jie phrase, being practically the unique remaining of examples of Jie language, is the object of an important controversy about the phonetic values of characters, meaning, and the origin of the language referred to. Here, I follow the most recent reconstruction in an article signed by Alexander Vovin, Edward Vadja and Étienne de la Vaissière, quoted above, n. 37, p. 138: “**sjuwH ke*” 秀支, “army”; “**t^hejH lejH kaj*” 替戾岡, “go out”; “*bok kok*” 僕谷, “[a barbarian title]” and “*guo t^hok taj*” 劬禿當, “catch.” The meaning of the phrase would be “Armies went out and will catch Bokkok!” The original language would be the Yeniseian (a family of languages that were spoken in the Yenisei River region of central Siberia).

⁵² *T.* 2059 ix 385b17-22: 澄常 [常 = 嘗 <宋> <元> <宮>] 遣弟子向西域市香。既行澄告餘弟子曰。掌

Once, Cheng sent a disciple to the Western regions (*xiyu* 西域) in order to purchase incense. After he had departed, Cheng said to his other disciples: “I see in my palm my disciple who went to buy the incense, who arrived at a place: he is attacked by a band of brigands and is on the point of dying.” He then burnt incense and made a magical vow (*zhouyuan* 呪願) [in order to] rescue him from afar. After the disciple returned, he said: “On such and such a day of such and such a month in such and such a place I was attacked by brigands. When I was about to be killed, I suddenly smelled the fragrance of incense. The brigands for no [apparent] reason were frightened and said, ‘Rescuing troops have arrived,’ and they fled from me.”

Thus, in the three cases, the *Gaoseng zhuan* describes the magical ability of Fotucheng as that of seeing from afar in his palms events which are invisible to other people (a kind of clairvoyance; in modern Chinese and Japanese, *qianliyan* / *senrigan* 千里眼). This was certainly the understanding of its author, Huijiao. However, for the *Youminglu* as well as the *Shiliuguo chungiu* and the *Jinshu* (which adopt the *Youminglu*'s understanding of the ritual),⁵³ it is clearly an oracular power used by Fotucheng. The use of the child for the prophecy is a feature proper to the possession ritual of *svasthāveśa*. It is understandable that when Huijiao composed his *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, he could not realize the importance of this detail, because this ritual would be fully described only much later in Tantric texts. It is fortunate for us that the *Youminglu* and the other two texts did not omit this detail.

Later Descriptions of the Oracular Possession Rituals Using Fingers in Chinese Canon

Now, this description of Fotucheng's magical ritual, as found in the passages above, closely corresponds with later descriptions of a certain type of *āveśa* ritual in Tantric texts. I could

中見買香弟子在某處初〔初被劫=被賊<三><宮>〕被劫垂死。因燒香。呪願遙救護之。弟子後還云。某月某日〔(於)+某處<三>〕某處爲賊所劫。垂當見殺〔殺=死<宮>〕。忽聞香氣。賊無故自驚曰。救兵已至。棄之而走。Cf. Wright's translation, p. 353-354; Japanese translation, p. 320.

⁵³ In the first part of the episode of the capture of Liu Yao, these two texts agree with the *Gaoseng zhuan* by narrating the story of the sounds of the *stūpa*'s bells and their interpretation by Fotucheng, but the later part is very similar with the version of the *Youminglu*. Here is how that part is narrated in the *Shiliuguo chungiu*: “Moreover, he [Fotucheng] made a child purify himself for seven days. He took some sesame oil and mixing it with rouge, he smeared his palms with it. He raised his hands and showed them to the child. They were clearly shining. The child was surprised and said: ‘There are many war horses and people. I see one person, tall and big, with a clear complexion. His elbows are tied with a red cord.’ Fotucheng said: ‘That is Liu Yao. If a big army is sent, he will certainly be captured.’ Le was very pleased” (又令童子潔齊七日。取麻油合臙脂。自研于掌中。舉手示童子。粲然有輝。童子驚曰。有軍馬甚衆。見一人長大。白晳。以朱絲縛其肘。澄曰此即曜也。大軍若出必擒劉曜。勒甚悅。 *Shiliuguo chungiu* 十六國春秋, *juan* 13, 24b-25a (ed. Qinding siku quanshu 欽定四庫全書, Wenyuange ben 文淵閣本; see <<https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=58899&page=146\#\%E4\%BD\%9B\%E5\%9C\%96\%E6\%BE\%84>>). —The text of the *Jinshu* is quoted above, n. 44.

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identify five examples from the Chinese Canon,⁵⁴ and several references in F. Smith's book. Here, I translate the Chinese texts in chronological order. The first is a passage from the *Subāhu-pariprcchā* translated by Śubhakarasiṃha in 726:⁵⁵

Moreover, ô Youth Subāhu, if the *mantrin* (*niansong ren* 念誦人) [wants] Prasenā (Bosina 鉢私那)⁵⁶ to descend and ask her a question, he must follow the appropriate method of invocation (*rufa qingzhao* 如法請召). [Prasenā descends on media objects] such as the fingers, copper mirrors, pure water, sword-blades, flames of a lamp, a jewel, a statue of [the Bodhisattva] Ākāśagarbha,⁵⁷ youths, pearls, or flints (? *huojushi* 火聚石; literally “stones of accumulated fire”). Prasenā, having been evoked, descends and shall talk herself [everything that happens] on the heaven as well as in the human world; she shall narrate in detail everything of the past, present and future, and things transcending the Three Times [of the past, present and future], good and bad things. If the ritual has missing things, such as too many syllables or too few syllables in the recited *mantra*, or the non-recitation of the *sūtra*, or not having the correct faith or the non-execution of the worship, or the impurity of the ground, or the bad weather, or [the fact that] the youth is too tall or too short; if there are such insufficiencies, Prasenā shall not descend. If [the practitioner] wants to make her descend, he must first recite her *mantra*.

Having succeeded in the recitation, he must fast either the eighth, fourteenth, or fifteenth day of the White [half of the] month. Then he must smear the ground with

⁵⁴ The second one of these examples was given to me by a private email of Oda Etsuyo of March 8th, 2018; and another one, the fifth, was identified by Dr. Rolf Giebel; see below, n. 68 and Appendix 2.

⁵⁵ *Supohu tongzi qingwen jing* 蘇婆呼童子請問經, T. XVIII 895 728a16-b9: “復次蘇婆呼童子。若念誦人問下鉢私那者。應當〔如+ (是) <三><宮><甲>〕如法請召。所謂手指或銅鏡。及清水橫刀燈焰寶等。虛空尊像童子真珠火聚石等。於如是處。鉢私那下者。請召來已。當即〔自=得<宮>〕自說天上人間。及過去未來現在。超越三世善惡等事。一一具說。法若有關。持真言字數或有加減。不具正信亦不供養。於不淨地天不晴明。童子身分或臃或少。有斯過等私那不下。若欲請〔〔下〕—<三><宮><甲>〕下。初應持誦私那真言。持誦功畢。即於白月八日或十四日或十五日。是日不食。以瞿摩塗地如牛皮形。即將童子清淨澡浴。著新白衣坐於其上。以花香等而為供養。自亦於內面向〔其=正<三>, 求<宮>〕其東。而坐茅草。又若欲令彼鏡中相貌現者。〔則=相<三><甲>〕則先取其鏡。以梵行婆羅門呼摩之灰。揩鏡令淨。或七八遍乃至十遍。置於曼荼羅上。仰著鏡中。即現出世間事。又於橫刀中看事法者。亦同如鏡。若欲於手指面上看吉凶者。先以紫礦水清淨其指。後以香油塗之。即現諸吉凶事。若欲於水中看者。淨澆其水置於瓶中或甕中。然後遣一童子於中看之。即皆見一切吉凶〔. . . 〕” —Corresponding with the Song translation by Dharmadeva: T. XVIII 896 754b14-c12. — The Tibetan translation of this passage of the *Subāhu-pariprcchā* (containing many elements not found in the Chinese translations) is summarized in Japanese by Ōtuka Nobuo 大塚伸夫, *Indo Shoki-mikkyo Seiritsu-katei no Kenkyū* インド初期密教成立過程の研究 [Study on the Formation Process of the Early Esotericism in India], Tōkyō, Shunjū-sha 春秋社, 2013, p. 880-882 (from *sDe dge*, no. 805, the “*Phags pa dpuñ bzān gis žus pa zes bya ba’i rgyud*, 131a3-b3, 121b5-132b3). See also Giacomella Orofino, “Divination with Mirrors. Observations on a Simile Found in the Kālacakra literature,” in Per Kværne, ed., *Tibetan Studies*, Oslo, 1994, vol. 2, p. 612-628 (quoted by Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins*, p. 460, n. 16), especially p. 614-615. Strickmann, *Ibid.*, p. 222-224, translates this passage from the Chinese.

⁵⁶ Prasenā (or Prasena; also Pasiṇa or Pasiṇā, etc. in Middle Indian) seems to designate a special deity who responds to the questions asked by the practitioner in an *āveśa* session. The very complicated etymology of this name was elucidated by Frederick Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 421-427; one possible origin is Skt. *praśna*, meaning “question.”

⁵⁷ The original Chinese has “Xukongzun *xiang*” 虛空尊像 (the Song translation does not have any corresponding word). Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins*, p. 460, n. 18, understands it as “une statue creuse,” without a determined identity.

論 文

cow dung in the shape of a cow hide; he must purify the youth by bathing him, and dress him in a new white garment, and make him sit down on there [the ground smeared with the cow dung]. He must offer flowers and incense [to the deity (or the youth)?]. He sits down himself inside the [smeared ground], on the thatch (*maocao* 茅草, Skt. *kuśa*) seat, with his face toward the east. If he wants to make her appear in the mirror (*ruo yu lingbi jingzhong xiangmao xian zhe* 若欲令彼鏡中相貌現者), he must first take that mirror. He shall wipe its whole surface seven or eight times, up to ten times, with the ash of the *homa* ritual executed by a brahman of pure behavior in order to purify it. He shall put it on the *maṇḍala*, with its surface upward (? *yang zhu jing* 仰著鏡). Then there shall appear things transcending the world. If [the practitioner uses] the method of seeing things in a sword-blade, he shall do what was prescribed for the mirror. Or if he wants to see the good or bad luck on the surface of [his] finger, first, he shall purify it with the water of amethyst (? *zikuang shui* 紫礦水), then smear it with perfumed oil (*yi xiangyou tu zhi* 以香油塗之). Then good or bad lucks shall appear. If he wants to look in the water, he shall put purified water inside a bottle or a jar, then dispatch a youth to make him see in it. He shall see there all the good and bad lucks. [. . .]⁵⁸

The text continues further to give long prescriptions about the ritual procedure, but there is no more mention of the finger as a medium in this passage. The use of finger smeared with oil as a medium of oracular apparition is explicitly stated in this passage, although it is not clear if it is the youth or the practitioner himself who is supposed to see it.⁵⁹

The second text that discusses the ritual is dedicated to Cuṇḍī [or Cundī] (Zhunti 准提), a female deity whose name's original meaning is unknown (perhaps a form of Caṇḍī, one of the numerous names of Durgā?). In Buddhist esotericism, she is thought to be the “mother of seven million buddhas.” Her main *mantra* is “*Oṃ cale cule cunde svāhā*.”⁶⁰ One of the ritual manuals dedicated to this deity, translated by Amoghavajra between 746 and 771, is the *Qijuzhi fomu suoshuo Zhunti tuoluoni jing* 七俱胝佛母所說准提陀羅尼經.⁶¹ It opens with a long enumeration of various magical rituals.⁶² Many of them are *āveśa* rituals; in one of them, the practitioner's thumb is smeared with oil for the portending of future events.⁶³

⁵⁸ Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins*, p. 461, n. 20, gives, besides a reference to the translation by Arthur Wright on the biography of Fotucheng (see above, n. 35), many other references to works on similar methods of apparitional oracles practiced in different cultures, on an oiled finger or palm, in the flame of a lamp, in a magical mirror, etc.

⁵⁹ Strickmann translates so that it is the youth who is supposed to see the apparitions; but the text itself seems without precision on this point.

⁶⁰ *Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten* 望月佛教大辭典, III, p. 2526a-2527c; *Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辭典, p. 1105c-1107a; see also Japanese and English *Wikipedia* articles on this deity: <<https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%87%86%E8%83%9D%E8%A6%B3%E9%9F%B3>> and <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cundi_\(Buddhism\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cundi_(Buddhism))> [last accessed on March 10, 2018].

⁶¹ *T. XX 1076*.

⁶² On these rituals and other related texts, see Ōtsuka Nobuo, *op. cit.*, p. 753-755.

⁶³ *T. XX 1076 179a28-b24*: 若有修持此陀羅尼。當知未來成就處所。有難無難。悉地遲疾。應於一淨室。以糝摩夷塗一小壇。隨力供養。以結界真言結十方界。以香水一瓶置在壇中。一念誦。其瓶動轉。當知所為

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If one uses this *dhāraṇī*⁶⁴ [in a ritual practice], one is able to know its [i.e. the ritual's] future success (*siddhi*), if there will be difficulties or not, and if the success will be quick or slow. [For this purpose,] build a small altar in a pure room with the [ground] smeared with cow dung. Make offerings according to one's abilities. With the *mantra* for creating a boundary around the ritual area (*jiejie zhenyan* 結界真言), delimit a ritual area in the ten directions. Put in the center of the altar a jar full of perfumed water. Recite once [the *dhāraṇī*]. If the jar moves (*dongzhuan* 動轉), that means that the wanted purpose [of the ritual] shall be realized [that is, there will be *siddhi*]. If it does not move, that means it shall not be realized.

There is another method: Take a bowl made of tile. Smear it with perfume and put it on the altar. Recite [the *dhāraṇī*] with concentration. If the bowl moves, then the wanted thing shall be realized; if it does not move, then it shall not be realized.

There is another method: If one wants to know the future, build a small altar with [cow dung] smeared on it. Order a youth of good looks (*juxiang fude tongzi* 具相福德童子) to purify himself and wear a new pure garment. With the *mantra* of [the mother of] the seven million (*qijudi zhenyan* 七俱胝真言, Skt. *saptakoṭi mantra*?) [*buddhas*], sacralize and empower the youth's hand by smearing it with perfume; sacralize and empower flowers [with the *mantra* recited] seven times and put them in the youth's hand; then make him stand on the altar with his face covered. Take another flower and recite the *mantra*. Sacralize and empower it once and strike [once] the back of the youth's hand with it. Continue this with twenty-one [flowers]. Then ask the youth of the [future] good or bad events. The youth shall tell everything.

There is another method: Take a clear mirror and put it on the altar. First, sacralize and empower flowers by reciting the *mantra*. When it has been done one hundred and eight times, then recite again the *mantra*. [Recite] once and strike once the surface of the mirror. On the mirror's surface shall appear letters, which shall tell [all] the good or bad events.

There is another method: If one wants to know in advance if the [desired] thing is good or bad and if it will be a success or not, take some perfumed oil of the great flowered jasmine (*sumona hua* 蘇摩那花, Skt. *sumanā*). Recite the *mantra*, sacralize and empower it one hundred and eight times. Then smear the ball of one's thumb on the right hand with this oil. Recite the *mantra* so that your voice never stops. Make

所求事成就。若不動轉其事不成。又法。取一瓦椀。以香塗置於壇中。專心念誦。椀若轉動事即成就。若不動事即不成。又法。欲知未來之事。先塗一小壇令一具相福德童子。澡浴清潔。著新淨衣服。以七俱胝真言。加持香塗童子手。又加持花七遍。置童子手中。令童子掩面立於壇中。又取別花誦真言。加持一遍一打童子手背。乃至二十一枚。即問童子善惡之事。童子皆說。又法。取一明鏡置於壇中。先誦真言。加持花一百八遍已。然後又誦真言。一遍一擲打鏡面。於鏡面上即有文字現。說善惡事。又法。欲知事善不善成就不成就。取蘇摩那花香油。誦真言加持一百八遍。塗右手大母指面。誦真言聲不斷絕。令童子觀指上。現諸佛菩薩形像。或現文字。具說善惡。又法。若人患鬼魅病。取楊柳枝或茅草。誦真言拂患者身。即得除愈。又法。若患重病者。誦真言一百八遍。稱彼人名。以牛乳護摩即差。又法。若孩子夜啼。令童女右搓線。誦真言加持。結二十一結繫於頸下。孩子即不夜啼。—It is Oda Etsuyo who drew my attention to this text.

⁶⁴ That is, certainly, the *mantra* “*Oṃ cale cule cunde svāhā*.”

the youth look at the finger's surface. There shall appear images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Or there shall appear letters, which shall tell in detail the good or bad [omens].

There is another method: If there is a sick person possessed by a demon (*guimei* 鬼魅), take a willow branch or a [bunch of] thatch; brush the sick person's body with it while reciting the *mantra*. He shall be healed.

There is another method: If there is a seriously ill person, recite the *mantra* one hundred and eight times; recite the person's name and put the cow milk in the *homa* [sacrifice fire]. He shall be healed.

There is yet another method: If there is a baby who cries in the night, make a girl twine in the right direction a string; recite the *mantra* and sacralize and empower it. Make twenty-one knots in the string and tie it around the [baby's?] neck. The baby shall no longer cry in the night. [. . .]

Similar rituals follow. Here it is clearly stated that it is the youth who is supposed to look at the signs appearing on the ball of the practitioner's thumb.

Next in the chronology is a translation attributed to the Indian master Prajñā (ca. 734 - ca. 810) called the *Shouhu guojie zhu tuoluoni jing* 守護國界主陀羅尼經 [*Dhāraṇī sūtra of the Protection of the State Master*]. Dated by Takagi Shingen 高木神元 to 804,⁶⁵ it is in fact a compilation by Prajñā partially based on earlier texts.⁶⁶ In chapter nine, entitled “Merits and Rituals of *Dhāraṇī*” (Tuoluoni gongde guiyi pin 陀羅尼功德軌儀品), one section is devoted to the ritual of *āveśa*. It contains a long *dhāraṇī* of forty-one Sanskrit words in transliteration and also two other Sanskrit words in transliteration (which certainly designate substances for offering). These were restored into Sanskrit thanks to Dr. Rolf Giebel (see infra n. 68-76). —It is Vajrapāṇi who teaches this ritual:⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Takagi Shingen, *Shugo kokkai-shu darani-kyō* 守護國界主陀羅尼經, Shin kokuyaku daizōkyō Mikkyō-bu 新國譯大藏經 密教部, vol. 3 (Tōkyō, Daizō shuppan 大藏出版, 2000), p. 21. Yoritomi Motohiro 賴富本宏, *Chūgoku Mikkyō no Kenkyū* 中國密教の研究, Tōkyō, Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社, 1979, p. 27-30, dates it to 803.

⁶⁶ Takagi, *op. cit.*, p. 31-47; Yoritomi, *ibid.*, p. 54-62.

⁶⁷ *Shouhu guojie zhu tuoluoni jing* 守護國界主陀羅尼經, T. XIX 997 569a21-b26: 若欲先知善惡吉凶不定者。應當誦此陀羅尼曰。

南謨^一囉怛曇^{二合} 怛囉^{二合} 耶也^二 南謨^三 始戰^{二合} 拏囉折囉^{二合引} 跋曇曳^四 摩賀^五 藥乞叉^{二合} 那犀鉢
戴曳^{平六} 翳鬘^七 勿嚩^{字也反八} 鉢囉乞叉^{二合} 若^九 娑 若^十 勿嚩^{字也反十一} 三沒哩嚩^{字也反十二} 唵^{十三}
阿蜜唎^{二合} 低發^{十四} 怛囉也^{二合} 他^{十五} 戰拏^{十六} 戰拏^{十六} 印拏 泯拏^{十七} 僧羯囉摩^{十八} 泯拏^{十九} 阿尾
奢 矯囉^{二十} 鉢囉^{二合} 尾奢矯囉^{二十一} 阿悉泯^{二十二} 阿嚩瑟咤^{二合二十三} 曼荼哩^{二十四} 鉢扇努^{二十五} 那囉迦
囉^{二十六} 那哩迦^{二十七} 囉尾那^{二十八} 斫菟灑^{二十九} 阿閉 觀^{三十} 摩努山^{三十一} 斫菟入^{拏囉反} 眠斫菟^{三十二} 跋
囉^{二合} 嚩^入 多也觀^{三十三} 系那 紇哩^{二合} 單^{三十四} 曳^入 寫紇哩^{二合} 單^{三十五} 曳^入 怛囉^{二合三十六} 悉他比單^{三十七}
恒^{三十八} 薩挽^{三十九} 捺哩灑^{二合} 也^{四十} 莎嚩^{二合引} 賀^{四十一引}

次說持念軌儀。金剛阿闍梨先以瞿摩夷塗成方壇。以乳酪末作 [[作] —<明><甲>] 囉也^合 阿樂多。各盛滿碗置壇四角四角。置燈。然後散花燒安〔悉=息<明>*〕悉香。或於劍中或鏡或牆。或指或掌或燈或佛像。或水精或壇或琉璃中。稱心所欲見其善惡。當以童男或有童女。身無癩痕清淨無過。澡浴身體著〔解=鮮<甲>〕解白衣。誦此真言用加持之。我當至彼自現其身。隨其所問三世之事。悉皆辯說。隨心疑惑悉皆斷除。若為癩痢鬼魅所著。當以楊枝及石榴枝。以上真言加持七遍。燒安*悉香。於地畫復鬼神形像。令前

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If one wants to know in advance the [future] good and bad lucks either determined or undetermined (*ding buding* 定不定), one must recite the following *dhāraṇī*:⁶⁸

namo ratnatrayāya namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye imām vidyā[m] pra[va]kṣāmi⁶⁹ sā me vidyā samṛdhyatu om amṛte phaṭ tad yathā caṇḍi caṇḍi iṇḍi miṇḍi samkrāma miṇḍi āviśa gauḍi praviśa gauḍi asmin aṅguṣṭhamaṇ-ḍale paśyantu dārakadārikā div[ye]na cakṣuṣā apetu⁷⁰ mānuṣaṃ cakṣu divyaṃ⁷¹ cakṣu pravartayatu kena hṛtaṃ yasya hṛtaṃ yatra sthāpitaṃ taṃ sarvaṃ darśaya svāhā.

*Tentative English Translation:*⁷²

Homage to the Three Jewels! Homage to Violent Vajrapāṇi, great general of *yakṣas*! I shall proclaim this spell. May the spell succeed for me! *Om*, O immortal one, *phaṭ*! To wit: O Caṇḍī, Caṇḍī, Iṇḍī, Miṇḍī! Appear, Miṇḍī! Enter, Gauḍī!⁷³ Enter, Gauḍī, into this thumb pad!⁷⁴ May the boys and girls see with divine vision! May human vision go away and divine vision come forth! [In the case of a missing article,] make them see everything—by whom it was taken, for whom it was taken, and where it is kept.⁷⁵ All hail!

Next, I [*guhyaṇi* Vajrapāṇi] shall teach the ritual for the recitation (*chinian* 持念, Skt. *jāpa*?): the *vajrācārya* [i.e. the practitioner] must first smear the cow dung and construct a rectangular alter (*fangtan* 方壇). With coagulated milk (*rulao* 乳酪, Skt. *dadhī*), an intoxicating drink, (*moniye* 末爾也, Skt. *madya*) and blood (*aleduo* 阿樂多, Skt. *rakta*),⁷⁶ he must make [a substance for offering]. On the four corners

童子執楊枝等。鞭鞭圖書鬼神形象胸背等處。時彼病人如撻其身。嗚叫啼泣叩頭求救。從今永去不敢更來。時阿闍梨令鬼立誓。若再來者願我眷屬喪滅無餘。鬼立誓後更不再來。病者平復。非唯去病種種勝事。此總持力皆得稱心成就所作。

⁶⁸ This *dhāraṇī* was restored by Dr. Rolf Giebel, to whom I express my deep gratitude. Dr. Giebel also made me aware of the reference to the *Xifang tuoluo nican zhong jingangzu Amiliduo Junzhali fa* 西方陀羅尼藏中金剛族阿蜜哩多軍吒利法, *T. XXI 1212 60c8-18*, where is found a very similar *dhāraṇī* and a ritual which seems almost identical with this one. See below, Appendix 2.

⁶⁹ For *pravakṣyāmi*, cf. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, §§2.23, 31.29. [Note by Rolf Giebel.]

⁷⁰ For *apetu*, cf. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, §3.67. [Note by Rolf Giebel.]

⁷¹ This reading is uncertain but is based on the same *dhāraṇī* in *T. 1212* (and is supported by the Bower Manuscript, which includes the phrase *apetu mānuṣaṃ cakṣu divyaṃ cakṣu pravartatu*). [Note by Rolf Giebel.]

⁷² Translation by Dr. Giebel.

⁷³ “Caṇḍī” (from “caṇḍa”, violent, cruel), is a name of Durgā, the consort of Śiva. Monier-William’s *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* does not record the names “Iṇḍī” and “Miṇḍī”; they are probably names associated with Caṇḍī. “Gauḍī” is the feminine form of “gauḍa,” designating a wine extracted from molasses; it is considered as an intoxicating liquor. Gauḍa is also a region name of Bengal, and “gaudī” may also mean a woman from this region. Here, it may to be the name of a minor female deity associated with Durgā.

⁷⁴ Giebel renders the Sanskrit “aṅguṣṭhamaṇḍala” by “thumb pad.”

⁷⁵ This mention of the “missing article” can be explained by the ritual described in *T. 1212*. See below, p. 30 and n. 117

⁷⁶ The two transliterated words, “moniye” 末爾也 and “aleduo” 阿樂多, were restored into Sanskrit by Dr. Rolf Giebel. He notes: “Takagi Shingen 高木神元 in his *Shin kokuyaku daizōkyō Mikkyō-bu* 新國譯大藏經 密教部, vol. 3, p. 238, emends the text on the basis of the *Sanjūjō sakushi* 三十帖策子 [of Kūkai], etc., [from *mozuoniye* 未作爾也] to *moniye* 末爾也 and restores these two words to *māireya* (a combined wine?, *chōwa-shu* 調和酒) and *raktaka* (a red pigment) respectively. However, these should be corrected to *madya* (intoxicating drink) and *rakta* (blood), which would then tally with the statement *Sijiao an siping sheng jiu. Yiping sheng xie* 四角安四瓶盛酒。一瓶盛血 [“Put on the four corners four jars full of wine and a jar full of blood”] in *T. XXI 1212 60c19-20*.” —On this text, a passage from the *Xifang tuoluo nican zhong jingangzu Amiliduo Junzhali fa*, *T. 1212*, see Appendix 2, p. 29.

and four intermediate directions [?] (*sijiao sijiao* 四角四角) of the *maṇḍala*, he puts bowls full of [the substance] and lamps. Then he must spread flowers on it and burn the incense of Sogdiana (*anxi xiang* 安悉香, Skt. *guggula*). [The practitioner shall have the oracular] visions according to his desire, either in [the blade of] a sword, on a mirror, a wall (*qiang* 牆, Skt. *prākāra*?), on one's finger or one's palm, in [the flame of?] a lamp, on a statue of Buddha, in a crystal (*shuijing* 水精, Skt. *sphaṭika*), on an altar, or on a lapis lazuli (*liuli* 琉璃, Skt. *vaiḍūrya*). [In order to determine whether] the desired will is good or bad, he must take a young boy or a young girl whose body has no scars and is pure without sins. He then has the child take a bath to purify the body, wear a new white garment, and recite this *mantra* in order to sacralize and empower (*jiachi* 加持, Skt. *adhiṣṭā*?) him [or her]. I [Vajrapāṇi] shall come to him [or her] and manifest my own body. I shall speak in details about things of the Three Times [of past, present and future] according to what is asked. Following the mind [of the practitioner], I shall settle and eliminate all the doubts. If there is a [sick] person possessed by a demon of epilepsy (*dianxian guimei* 癲癇鬼魅, Skt. *apasmāra*?), [the practitioner] must use a willow stick or a pomegranate stick. He shall recite seven times the above *mantra* and sacralize and empower [the stick]. He shall burn incense of Sogdiana and draw the form of the demon on the ground. He shall make the youth take the stick, and whip its image with it on its chest and back, etc. At that time, the sick person shall behave as if his own body were being beaten. He shall cry and roar, kowtow on the ground, and ask to be saved. [He shall say,] “From now on, I will leave forever and never dare to come back!” At that time, the *ācārya* makes him vow: “If you ever happen to come back, it shall be that my attendants will destroy [you] without any remains.” The demon, having made that vow, shall never come back, and the sick person shall be healed. This [method] is not only efficacious in ridding the disease [demon], but it is excellent for many other things. The power of this *dhāraṇī* shall bring about all successes according to one's desire.

The last part of this ritual, in which a healing method is taught, is particularly interesting in that it is similar with the healing method that was practiced in Japan from the tenth century onward.

The fourth text is a long ritual text focused on the deity Mārīcī translated in the Northern Song, between 980 and 1000 by Devaśanti (Tianxizai 天息災). The description of the *āveśa* ritual is rather short:⁷⁷

⁷⁷ *Foshuo Da Molizhi pusa jing* 佛說大摩里支菩薩經, T. XXI 1257 i 264a28-b9:
 復有成就法。初〔(日) + 初<三>〕出時令一童女洗浴清淨。以白花梅檀塗身。著白衣服住。嚩摩夷作者。
 曼拏羅中燒安悉〔悉=息<明>*〕香。用燕脂染手大指。令念此真言一百遍。真言曰
 264b03: 唵^引 唧里唧里目娑嚩^{二合引} 賀
 復誦真言八百遍加持其油。將此油亦塗大指上。塗已指面明照。能現天人等像。復誦唵唵真言。加持燈八
 百遍。其童女能見過去事。如對目前。及能調伏一切母〔母鬼=鬼母<明>〕鬼之衆。復能更念唵(引)晚
 多隸(引)唵(引)目。真言。阿喻多數。決定能知一切善惡之事。

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[. . .] There is yet another *siddhi*. Make a young girl take a bath at the break of the day to purify herself. With sandalwood of white flowers (? *baihua zhantan* 白花梅檀), smear her body, and make her wear a white garment. Use cow dung [to make a *maṇḍala*], and inside it, burn incense of Sogdiana. Smear one's ball of the thumb with rouge (*yan zhi* 燕脂, Skt. *kusunbha*?). Make [the girl (?)] recite this *mantra* (*ling nian ci zhenyan* 令念此真言) one hundred times. The *mantra* states:⁷⁸

Oṃ [tsīək [?] 唧⁷⁹ līo 里 tsīək [?] 唧 līo 里 mīuk 目] svāhā! [Oṃ cili cili muḥ svāhā!]
Recite repeatedly eight hundred times the *mantra* and sacralize and empower the oil.⁸⁰ Then smear again one's ball of the thumb with this oil. The finger surface shall shine, making divine persons appear. Then recite another *mantra* “Oṃ Mām” (*on man* 唵唵).⁸¹ Sacralize and empower the lamp eight hundred times. [Then] the girl shall be able to see things of the past as if in front of her eyes. [The practitioner ?] shall be able to subjugate all the demon-mothers (*mugui* 母鬼, Skt. *mātrkā*?). He shall also be able to recite the [following] *mantra*:⁸² “Oṃ [mīwen 唵 tα 多 liei 隸 (引)] Mām 唵 (引) [miuk 目]! Oṃ vartale mām muḥ” a billion (*ayuduo* 阿喻多, Skt. *ayuta*) times. He shall be certain to know all good and bad things.

Here it is clear that it is the girl who sees the vision on the practitioner's ball of his thumb, just as in the description in the *Youminglu*. It both texts, moreover, rouge is used to magically empower his thumb.

Other Indian References

Now, I would like to quote some passages from the eleventh chapter of Smith's book, in which the finger or the palm of the practitioner is used for an oracular ritual. First, Smith refers to a Jain text known as the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*. As he describes, it was “composed in the mid-seventh century by the prolific Jaina scholar Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara.”⁸³

⁷⁸ This *mantra* was restored into Sanskrit thanks to Dr. Giebel. The Chinese characters are preceded by their Tang phonetic values according to the transliteration system of Wang Li 王力 (I use the web search function of “Xiaoxue tang zhongguyin ziliao ku” 小學堂中古音資料庫 <<http://xiaoxue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/zhongguyin/>>, last accessed on August 18th, 2018).

⁷⁹ Wang Li's system does not have the character “唧”; I use instead the value of “即.”

⁸⁰ The oil in question is certainly an oil of mustard (*jiezi you* 芥子油, Skt. *kaṭuka-taila*?) mentioned earlier in the same passage, *T. XXI* 1257 i 263a7 and a8.

⁸¹ The character “唵” corresponds with the Sanskrit phonetic value of *man*: see *Shittan-zō* 悉曇藏 by Annen 安然, *T. LXXXIV* 2702 v 418b14. As the same character appears later in this passage with the annotation of long vowel (引), I suppose that here too, the long vowel is intended.

⁸² This *mantra* was restored into Sanskrit thanks to Dr. Giebel. The Chinese characters are preceded by their Tang phonetic values according to the transliteration system of Wang Li.

⁸³ Smith, *The Self Possessed: Deity and Spirit Possession in South Asian Literature and Civilization*, p. 423-424. —P. 423, n. 38 quotes “Cf. Jain 1999 [Sagarmal Jain, *Jaina Literature and Philosophy: A Critical Approach*, Varanasi: Pārśvanātha Vidyāpīṭha, 1999], p. 8; more detailed is Sen 1975 [Madhu Sen, *A Cultural History of the Niśītha Cūrṇi*, Amritsar: Sohanlal Jaindharma Pracharak Samiti, 1975], p. 6-9.”

According to the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, a question is asked of a *paṣiṇā*, which had entered one's thumbnail (*aṅguṭṭha-paṣiṇā*) or arm, the leftovers after eating a sweet called *kamsāra*, a piece of cloth, a mirror, a sword blade, water, or a wall. *Paṣiṇāpaṣiṇā*, according to this text, is also a kind of divination in which a question is answered by a *paṣiṇā* who appears in a dream, thus confirming that the *PSM* [*Prākṛtaśabda-mahārṇavan*] drew its definition from this late section of the *āyaraṃgasutta*. This *paṣiṇā* is called "dream deity" or "dream-divination" (*suviṇā-paṣiṇā*).⁸⁴ It must be noted that the northern and eastern (and subsequently the Tibetan and Chinese) use of this kind of divination may well have been adopted, at least partially and indirectly, from these Jaina sects.

Smith later quotes a passage from the *Cakrasaṃvara Tantra*, a Buddhist *tantra* from the eighth century.⁸⁵

It [the word "prasenā"] also appears in chapter 43 of the *Cakrasaṃvara Tantra*, in a verse that reads, "Having repeated the mantra over a sword, water, one's thumb, a lamp or a mirror, one will cause the descent of the divinatory image [*prasenā*] by means of the yoga of oneself [as the deity]."⁸⁶ This is clearly drawn from earlier Indic material.

Smith also refers to personal communication with Sanderson:⁸⁷

The loci of the *prasenā* are many. She appears in highly insubstantial and unstable form as a shadow or apparition. Her appearance does not come out of thin air, however, but,

on the surface of water, a metal pot, a sword-blade, in the flame of a lamp, in a mirror, the eye of a girl, the sun, the moon, his own thumb smeared with oil, or within his body in the point of light between his brows, and there reveals the answer he seeks. The answer may take the form of apparitional writing or a disembodied voice, or it may be uttered by a young boy or girl placed in a trance for this purpose (*svasthāveśan*); or it may appear to such a medium in one of the aforesaid substrates; or it may arise in the *sādhaka's* mind when he awakens after a night spent in a temple of the deity.

Smith also provides another example of a divinatory ritual using a young girl:⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 424, n. 41, quotes: "Niśītha Cūrṇi 3, p. 383: *suviṇayaviṇā kahiyam kathimṭassa paṣiṇāpaṣiṇam bhavati*; cf. Sen 1975: p. 317."

⁸⁵ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 426-427.

⁸⁶ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 427, n. 55, refers to: "Translated from the Tibetan by Gray (2006, in press). The Sanskrit of this chapter is lost. Gray provides a translation of Bhavabhaṭṭa's commentary on this verse: 'Having repeated [the *mantra*] one hundred and eight [times] over a sword, etc., one will cause the descent of the luminous divinatory image.' The name of the *mantra* that causes the divinatory image to descend into the object is *upahṛdaya*."

⁸⁷ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 430 (n. 70 quotes: "Sanderson, personal communication, September 13, 2001").

⁸⁸ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 431-432.

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A further example of this, though not explicitly labeled *svasthāveśa*, is found in Hemacandra's [a Jain philosopher of the twelfth century] *Yogaśāstra* (5.173-176). The context here is very specific, the determination of lifespan. In this passage, the deity is said to enter into an inanimate reflective medium, such as a mirror, after which a young girl picks up and passes on messages transmitted by the deity through the reflective surface. One might argue that this is not possession of the girl; rather, it is an allied divinatory practice. However, in South Asia, people, especially women, are considered possessed if they transmit such messages in trance states. There is every reason to believe that this was also the case in the first millennium. Hemacandra says:

Upon being queried, a deity [*devatā*], who has been made to descend into a mirror, a thumb, a wall, or a sword through a rite involving mantra repetition, announces her verdict regarding time [of death]. The mantra to be recited is *om naravīre svāhā*, and is perfected after 10,008 repetitions of it during a solar or lunar eclipse. After that, whenever such a question is asked, the ritualist need repeat it only 1,008 times at that moment. The deity then becomes absorbed in the mirror, etc., following which a young girl [*kanyā*] announces the verdict. In this way, the deity, attracted by the virtues of a good *sādhaka*, herself speaks decisively on topics regarding the past, present, and future [*trikālavīṣayam*].⁸⁹

This variety of media that might become possessed appears to be retained in the comparable Chinese texts, though the later Sanskrit manuscript material focuses on inducing *āveśa* only in young boys. It is interesting to consider that the earliest Sanskrit suggestion of this procedure is found in one of the foundational texts of Āyurveda, the *Suśruta-Saṃhitā*, composed in approximately the second century c.e. This text includes the following verse: "As a reflection is to a mirror or other similar surface, as cold and heat are to living beings, as a sun's ray is to one's gemstone, and as the one sustaining the body is to the body, in the same way 'seizers' [*grahāḥ*] enter an embodied one but are not seen."⁹⁰ This raises an important question: Do we see in this statement a movement from metaphor to metaphysics as the idea proceeds from āyurvedic texts to tantric texts? Can we assume that what began as a trope ended up assuming a concretized cosmological and ritual locus? Or does Suśruta take an older known divinatory practice and turn it into a trope? Based on the present state of evidence, it is impossible to answer these questions confidently.

⁸⁹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 431, n. 74: "The syllables *tha tha* are code for *svāhā*. See now the translation by Qvarnström (2000 [Olle Qvarnström, "Jaina Tantra: Divinatory and Meditative Practices in the Twelfth-Century Yogaśāstra of Hemacandra," in David Gordon White (ed.), *Tantra in Practice*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2000, p. 595-604], p. 600), that in part misunderstands this passage. This chapter of the *Yogaśāstra* is very much in the tradition of omens and portents established by Varāhamihira."

⁹⁰ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 431, n. 75: "*SuSam* [*Suśrutasamhitā of Suśruta, with the Nibandhasamgraha Commentary of Śrī Dalhaṇācārya and the Nyāyacandrikā Pañjikā of Śrī Gayadāsācārya on the Nidānasthāna*, ed. ācārya Trivikram Yādav and Nārāyaṇ Rām ācārya "Kāvyatūrtha." Jayakṛṣṇadāsa āyurveda Series, 34. Bombay: Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1938; 4th ed., Varanasi, Delhi: Chowkhamba Orientalia, 1980], 6.60.19: *darpanādīn yathāchāyāśītoṣṇaṃ prāṇīno yathā | svamanībhāskarasyośrā yathā dehaṃ ca dehadṛk | viśanti ca na dṛśyante grahās tadvac chariṇīṇam ||*"

Finally, it is good to quote Michel Strickmann's words on the importance of the use of youth in these rituals of possession:⁹¹

Although the use of children as seers appears to have been widespread in Tibet, the priest himself may gaze into the mirror. Some descriptions of *pra*-divination⁹² omit the child entirely, presenting the visionaries (*pra-ba*) as experienced monks. Such is the account given by Lama Chime Radha (head of the Tibetan section at the British Library). He states that the diviner focuses his attention by gazing into a small mirror of polished stone or metal. He may also employ the still waters of a lake or the clear sky itself. It is also possible for him to use his own thumb, a method that dramatically illustrates the terse reference to the use of the fingers as an alternative to a mirror in the Chinese translation of the *Questions of Subāhu*:

The ball of the thumb (*the-bon*) can also be used for *pra* divination. It is painted red and dipped in soft wax so that it becomes covered with a film of it. All light is shut out of the room and only a single butter-lamp is left burning. The *pra-ba* holds up his thumb and to everyone present it appears to grow in size and become like a large screen. On this screen appear visions of various symbolic objects—it may be of trees, lakes, people, or other concrete forms. The visions then have to be interpreted according to the question which was asked. If the interpretation is doubtful or uncertain, the *pra-ba* asks again in his mind, and another vision appears. If he asks yet again, then letters appear on the thumb-screen. After that, the visions fade.

Like other authorities on the subject, Lama Chime Radha states that if the *pra*-method does not at first succeed, one may repeat it, seeking fresh visions, but after a third unsuccessful attempt, it is necessary to try some other method. He cites a famous example of *pra*-apparitions in a holy lake near Lhasa, which in 1935 guided the Regent of Tibet and his associates in their discovery of the present (fourteenth) Dalai Lama. He also quotes cases of successful *pra*-divination using a mirror, the ball of the thumb, and the sky from the experience of Tibetan friends and colleagues.⁹³

Evidently, the child-visionary or child-medium could be left out of the procedure completely, at least in Tibet.⁹⁴ Perhaps children were eventually relegated to a secondary role as the technique came to be applied in vital decision making processes of

⁹¹ Michel Strickmann, Bernard Faure, ed., *Chinese Magical Medicine*, p. 216-218.

⁹² According to Strickmann, *op. cit.*, p. 215 and n. 42, the Tibetan word "*pra*" stands for the Sanskrit *prasena*. "The word *pra*, in Tibetan, designates a particular class of divinatory techniques and phenomena. *Pra pha-pa* ("to bring down the *pra*") means to divine by means of a charmed mirror. This is, of course, precisely what we find in the eighth-century *Questions of Subāhu*: The text speaks of bringing down *Prasena* and recommends prominently, among other implements, a mirror over which a spell has been pronounced."

⁹³ Strickmann, *op. cit.*, p. 217, n. 45: "Chime Radha 1981 [Chime Radha, Lama, "Tibet," in Carmen Blacker and Michael Loewe, eds., *Oracles and Divination*, p. 3-37, London: Random House, 1981]: p. 8-12." —The quoted passage is on page 9.

⁹⁴ Strickmann, *op. cit.*, p. 217, n. 46: "See Alexander Macdonald 1975 [Alexander W. Macdonald, *Essays on the Ethnography of Nepal and South Asia*, Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1975], p. 126-27. Contrary to Macdonald, who does not think that *pra*-ceremonies reflect an Indian influence on Tibet, Strickmann argues that we are in presence of a type of phenomena found in all societies where Tantric culture spread—although voluntary

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the Lamaist state. There can be little doubt, though, that the use of a child was basic to the original operation, and I believe it very likely that the *Questions of Subāhu* was a primary scriptural source for this form of divination, in Tibet as well as in China and Japan. It is, in any case, precisely the utilization of juveniles that we need to pursue here. After all, at least one of the Chinese texts makes it clear that this *prasena*-figure was envisioned as being a youth—the Prasena-youth who was requested to carry the officiant’s message up to the buddhas in heaven.⁹⁵ The association between a child-medium and a childlike god is, I think, no accident. It seems fully consistent with a principle that has been emerging as a fundamental *modus operandi* in Tantric Buddhist ritual structure: the association by nature or analogy of like elements in the divine, demonic, and mortal spheres. The better to explore this sympathetic link, we now turn to a figure of the Indian pantheon, within Buddhism as well as outside it, in whose cult such traits and propensities appear to exist in close alliance: the god Skanda. [. . .]

I personally believe that this insight by Strickmann is very important. Skanda, as the prototype child deity of possession, messenger, and a dangerous disease-causing demon, must be studied in depth.⁹⁶

Conclusion

Initially, I thought of titling this paper “The Oldest Example of *Svasthāveśa*,” but I now realize that it is safer to title it as “An Early Example of *Svasthāveśa*.” It is always best to be prudent in one’s affirmations. This is particularly the case if one later discovers texts which may go back even earlier than what had been presumed to be the oldest version. In fact, Strickmann, in his *Mantras et mandarins*, already referred to three verses of the first text of the *Dīgha nikāya*, the Brahama-jāla sutta (I, 26), where, in a list of “lower arts” practiced by “some recluses and Brahmans (Pāli *samaṇabrāhmaṇā*) [who live] on food provided by the faithful, earn their living by wrong means of livelihood,” the following items are mentioned:⁹⁷

possession clearly predates Tantrism. But again, Asian ‘shamanism,’ as we know it, is not a “primitive” technique of ecstasis (as Eliade and Blacker would have us believe): It is always a “secondary” shamanism, influenced by Indian and Chinese practices.” [The notes in this book are partly due to its editor, Bernard Faure.]

⁹⁵ Strickmann, *op. cit.*, p. 210 and n. 33 refers to the *Yaoshi rulai guanxing yigui fa* 藥師如來觀行儀軌法 translated by Vajrabodhi, T. XIX 923 28c12 (“*fengqing Bosina tongzi*” 奉請鉢私那童子) where Prasenā (or Prasena?) is mentioned as a “child” who serves as the practitioner’s “messenger” to convey with the smoke of the burnt incense his wishes to the Buddhas and other deities.

⁹⁶ See the very interesting remarks by Duquenne Robert, in his review of “M. Strickmann (éd. B. Faure), *Chinese Magical Medicine*,” in *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie*, vol. 14, 2004, In *Memoriae Isabelle Robinet* (1932-2000), *Pensée taoïste, Alchimie et cosmologie*: 423-440, p. 437-440.

⁹⁷ Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins*, p. 216 and p. 459-460, n. 7, quoting T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, London, Frowde, 1899, p. 24. Strickmann, *ibid.*, refers also to Anne-Marie Esnoul, “La divination dans l’Inde,” in André Caquot et Marcel Leibovici, ed., *La Divination*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1968, vol. 1, p. 115-139, especially p. 119-121. Giacomella Orofino, “Divination with Mirrors,” p.

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- (14) Obtaining oracular answers by means of the magic mirror.⁹⁸
- (15) Obtaining oracular answers through a girl possessed.⁹⁹
- (16) Obtaining oracular answers from a god.¹⁰⁰

In the Pāli original text, these three verses are condensed only in these three words: “*ādāsapañhaṃ kumārikapañhaṃ devapañhaṃ*.”¹⁰¹ The translation by Rhys Davids must be based on the commentary of the text by Buddhaghosa of the fifth century, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī Dīghanikāya-Aṭṭhakatā*. Strickmann adds: “Ainsi, on faisait appel, dans l’un et l’autre cas [that is, above (15) and (16)], à un médium possédé, et on considérait que ces méthodes étaient apparentées à l’art de la catoptromancie, qui consiste à utiliser un miroir pour obtenir des images mantiques et des réponses visuelles aux questions.” It is indeed a fragmentary reference, but if we take into account other old references to a similar practice,¹⁰² I think we must take these verses of the *Dīgha nikāya* as an important proof of the early date of such methods.

If the original line, “questioning a mirror, questioning a girl and questioning a deva,” of the Pāli *Dīgha nikāya* means what Buddhaghosa suggests, then one must suppose that these kinds of practices were already known around the first century in India (in what region?). Even if that is not the case, by the fifth century (when Buddhaghosa was active), these oracular possessions were certainly practiced in India.¹⁰³ This date roughly corresponds with that of the *Youminglu*, an account more detailed than the short mentions of the *Dīgha nikāya* and its commentary. If we consider that Fotucheng lived around the first half of the fourth century (he died circa 349), and if the *Youminglu*’s account of his magical operations had any historical foundations,¹⁰⁴ it is possible to go back to the late third century in India (Kashmir or Gandhāra?) or in Central Asia (Kutchā?) one of the earliest affirmative sources of such practices.¹⁰⁵ At any rate, we should put stress on the fact that the *Youminglu*

614 and n. 21 also mentions the reference to the verses of the *Dīgha nikāya*.

⁹⁸ Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 24, n. 1: “*ādāsa-pañho*. Buddhaghosa says they made a god appear in the mirror and answer questions put. It is a later conception to discard the god, and make the mirror itself give pictures of the hidden events. The mirror is of metal (Par. Dip. [*Paramattha Dīpanī*] p. 235).”

⁹⁹ Rhys Davids’s note, p. 24, n. 2: “*Kumāri-pañho*. Through a girl of good family and repute.”

¹⁰⁰ Rhys Davids’s note, p. 24, n. 3: “*Deva-pañho*. Also obtained through a girl, but this time a *deva-dāsī* or temple prostitute. It is instructive to find, even under the patriarchal regime of the sixth century b.c., that men thought they could best have communications from the gods through the medium of a woman.”

¹⁰¹ *Dīgha-nikāya*, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter, vol. 1, London, Pali Text Society, 1975. p. 11, meaning literally “Questioning a mirror, questioning a girl, and questioning a *deva*.” The Pāli word “*pañhā*” derives from the Sanskrit “*praśna*” (> *pr̥ch-*)—which, itself, is one of the supposed etymologies of the Sanskrit odd word “*prasenā*” (or “*prasena*,” related also to the Middle Indian “*paṣiṇa*” or “*paṣiṇā*”). See above, n. 56.

¹⁰² Quoted by J.-P. Norelius, see below, note 105; see also the reference to *Suśrutasaṃhitā* of the second century mentioned by Smith, quoted above p. 22.

¹⁰³ Perhaps the area was in Śrī Lāṅka, where Buddhaghosa lived. However, he was originally from another part of the Indian subcontinent of which we know very little.

¹⁰⁴ The very close relationship between this text and three other Chinese accounts of the same events (*Shiliuguo chungjiu*, *Jinshu* and *Gaoseng zhuan*) allows to believe that they all rely on a common source, which may go back earlier than all the four texts.

¹⁰⁵ There is yet another old mention of a ritual of the same kind, although the precise date cannot be known:

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is exceptionally detailed and concrete compared to these earlier examples of the oracular possession rituals.

All these sources show that these kinds of oracular rituals were known from a much earlier date than the Tantric texts that were discussed by Frederic Smith. It is certainly not in Tantra, nor in Śaivism, that we must look for the original environment where they were first formed. Rather, they seem to derive from an earlier, common ground of Indian folk religion, and developed in such an environment (which were shared by Buddhism as well as Jainism); Tantric and Śaiva sources incorporated these earlier materials and gave them a new turn.¹⁰⁶ Tantric Buddhism also made them an important doctrinal core of “being possessed by the Buddha while entering oneself in the Buddha as well” (*nyūga ganyū* 入我我入)—to “realize the Buddhahood in the present body” (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成佛).¹⁰⁷

Another lesson that we can draw from this quest for earlier examples of this type of possession ritual for oracular purpose is the crucial importance of Chinese Buddhist materials for this kind of study (not only properly Buddhist but also secular sources reflecting Buddhist elements, such as the *Youminglu*). As I have pointed out, Chinese sources are often datable, and the tremendous abundance of data that can be found in them is interesting not only for the history of Buddhist beliefs but also for Indological references. Buddhist studies should not be limited to Buddhist interests; a broader perspective on the history of Asian religious traditions will reveal all kinds of new information. At the same time, Indological studies should not be limited to the narrowly “Classical Indian materials,” but also look into Buddhist, Jaina or ethnologic phenomena that are scattered not only in Indian various dialects but also in Chinese, Tibetan, South-East Asian languages, and Japanese. Last but not least, Japanese studies on Japanese or Chinese phenomena should not be ignored; but at the same time, students of Japanese phenomena should not ignore Indological studies.

see P.-J. Norelius, “*Strikāmā vai gandharvāḥ*: Spirit-possession, women, and initiation in Vedic India,” *Acta Orientalia*, 76 (2015): 13-89, p. 29 of the online version (<<http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1162086/FULLTEXT01.pdf>>, last accessed February 26, 2018), where we read: “. . . the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa*, 3.8.1ff (one of the very youngest Brāhmaṇa texts, but certainly older than any of the tantric texts treated by Smith), prescribes a very similar ritual, with the purpose of preventing one’s rebirth after death. Here, a *kanyā* [girl], with plaited hair (*sikhaṇḍinī*-) and noose in hand, serves as oracle in a preparatory, nightly ritual; she reveals to the person wishing not to be reborn the year, half-year, season, month, etc., down to the day or night and *muhūrta* [moment] when he is going to die, thereupon to be reborn (3.8.3). With this knowledge, that person may then, using spells and penance, avert the rebirth awaiting him, and instead attain the realm of air (*ākāśa*-) after death.”

¹⁰⁶ A recent article by Ronald M. Davidson, “Magicians, Sorcerers and Witches: Considering Pretantric, Non-sectarian Sources of Tantric Practices,” *Religions*. 8 (2017), 188, [p. 1-33, doi:10.3390/rel8090188] is very interesting in this regard.

¹⁰⁷ See also the articles by Inui Hitoshi referred to in the above n. 4; see also my paper published in *Nihon Koshakyō Kenkyū-jo Kenkyū Kiyō*, 4 (2019), p. 14 and notes 58 and 59 [see *supra* note *].

Appendix 1

A Passage from the Biography of the Nun An Lingshou 安令首:

Arthur Wright, in his translation of the biography of Fotucheng, refers to a passage of the Biographies of Nuns (*Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳) composed around 517 by Baochang 寶唱 (*fl.* from around the end of the 5th and the beginning of the sixth century).¹⁰⁸ Its date is almost the same as the *Gaoseng zhuan* by Huijiao (519). It contains an interesting biography of a nun named An Lingshou's 安令首 who was ordained by Fotucheng, where one finds a reference to a magical use of the hand in which appears a vision—this time, the vision of a previous life. Although the method is somehow different from what other sources report about Fotucheng's magic of seeing the distant or future events, it is worth translating.¹⁰⁹

[The nun] An Lingshou's 安令首 original family was Xu 徐, from Dongguan 東莞 (a city in the present-day Province of Guantong 廣東省, roughly 50 km to the east of Canton 廣州); her father, of the name Chong 忬, served the false Zhao 趙¹¹⁰ as a supernumerary official of the army. From her young age, Lingshou was clever and liked to study. Her speech was pure and elegant, and her character was indifferent and unworldly. She did not like human affairs; calm and tranquil, she found contentment in Buddhist Law and did not want to be married. Her father said: “You should belong to another [man]. [If you do not want to be married,] then what would you get?” Shou replied: “Upright in thought in the path of my *karma* (*yedao* 業道), I want to go beyond the thoughts related to human affairs. Immobile regarding the honor or dishonor, I want to be a person of true integrity and self-sufficiency. Why is it necessary [to follow the path of] the three obeisances [to her father before marriage, to her husband when married, and to her eldest son after becoming a widow] and then be correct in the [Confucian] Rite (*sancong ranhou wei li* 三從然後為禮)?” The father said: “If you want to be the only correct person (*dushan* 獨善, self-righteous), then how would you be able to rescue your parents?” Shou replied “I want to become a person practicing the [Buddhist] path in order to save and deliver all [the sentient beings]; what more could I do on behalf of my parents?” On this, Chong went to ask Fotucheng. Cheng said: “Return to your home, and purify yourself and fast for three days; then come back again to see me.” Chong followed this advice. [When he came

¹⁰⁸ Arthur F. Wright, “Fo-T'u-T'eng 佛圖澄: A Biography,” p. 338, n. 5.

¹⁰⁹ *Biqiuni zhuan* by Baochang, T. L. 2063 iv 935a7-20: “安令首。本姓徐。東莞人也。父忬仕僞趙〔〔為〕—〈三〉〕為外兵〔郎=部〈三〉〕郎。令首幼聰敏好學。言論清綺雅性虛淡。不樂人間。從容閑靜。以佛法自娛不願求娉。父曰。汝應外屬何得如此。首曰。端心業道絕想人外。毀譽不動廉正自足。何必三從然後為禮。父曰。汝欲獨善一身。何能兼濟父母。首曰。立身行道方欲度脫一切。何況二親耶。忬以問佛圖澄。澄曰。君歸家潔齋三日竟可來。忬從之。澄〔〔以〕—〈宋〉〈元〉〕以〔齒支子=燕樞〈元〉, 臙脂〈明〉〕齒支子磨麻油傅忬右掌。令忬視之。見一沙門在大眾中說法。形狀似女。具以白澄。澄曰。是君女先身。出家益物。往事如此。若從其志。方當榮拔六親令君富貴。生死大苦〔〔海〕—〈三〉〕海向得其邊。忬還許之。首便剪落。從澄乃淨檢尼受戒。立建賢寺。”

¹¹⁰ “False Zhao” (*wei Zhao* 僞趙) designates the Later Zhao; the epithet “false” is added because the author, Baochang, belongs to the dynasty of Liang 梁.

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back to ask Fotucheng], Cheng smeared Chong's right hand with rouge [mixed with] sesame oil and made him rub his hands. Then he ordered Chong to see in [his hand]: he saw there a *śramaṇa* among a crowd who was preaching. [The *śramaṇa*] looked like a woman. Chong reported that to Cheng. Cheng said: "That is your daughter in her previous life. She had left her home to help people. Since it was already thus in old times, if you comply with her will, she will [help you to] prosper and save all your family and relatives (*liuqin* 六親). She will bring [all your family and relatives] to the [other] side of the ocean of sufferings of birth and death." Chong returned to his home and allowed [her to become nun]. Shou then had her head shaved, followed Cheng who confirmed her purity, and received from him the precepts of a nun. She built the temple called Jianxiansi 建賢寺. [. . .]

Appendix 2

A *svasthāveśa* ritual of the *Xifang tuoluo nicang zhong jingangzu Amiliduo Junzhali fa* 西方陀羅尼藏中金剛族阿蜜哩多軍吒利法:

This long ritual dedicated to Amṛta Kuṇḍalin is a developed version of the rituals described in the *Tuoluoni ji jing* 陀羅尼集經 (*T. XVIII 901 viii 851c11-860b23*). Its text has a very peculiar history: as accounted by Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 in his preface to the text (*T. XXI 1212 49b6-50b1*), this is a translation by Yicao 義操 (*fl.* end of the 8th to beginning of the ninth century) who was a disciple of Huiguo 惠果 (746-805). The translation date is given as 821, and it was "written down" (*bishou* 筆受) by Haiyun 海雲 (*fl.* first half of the ninth century). This very manuscript was transmitted to Japan by Ennin 圓仁 (794-864) in 847, and was preserved at Hieizan 比叡山 and then at Ishiyama-dera 石山寺, but almost nobody has consulted it since the tenth century. In the Meiji period, it came into the possession of Tanaka Mitsuaki 田中光顯 (1843-1939), an official of the Meiji government. He recognized the importance of the manuscript, and consulted Ōmura Seigai who was working with the editing team of the *Taishō Canon*. Ōmura transcribed the text and published it in 1916; afterward, it was included in the *Taishō Canon*.

In addition to the passage that will be translated, the text contains another *āveśa* ritual where children or women are used as mediums (*T. XXI 1212 53a5-b9 and sq.*).¹¹¹ Its sixteenth chapter, titled "Methods of Kuṇḍalin for seeing things" (*Juntuli kanshi fa* 軍荼利看事法, 60c7-61c4) is entirely devoted to *āveśa* rituals. Dr. Rolf Giebel, to whom I asked to reconstruct the Sanskrit original of the *dhāraṇī* of the *Shouhu guojie zhu tuoluoni jing* (see above p. 17-19), discovered that the *dhāraṇī* in question was almost identical with the first *dhāraṇī* that is written down in this chapter. Moreover, the ritual prescription that follows

¹¹¹ See also *T. XXI 1212 59a2-27; 59c15-60b25; 69b19-71a9*.

it is very similar to the one recorded in the *Shouhu guojie zhu tuoluoni jing* and contains details that help to better understanding the latter text. Here is a tentative translation of this passage:¹¹²

Sixteenth: Methods of Kuṇḍalin for seeing things:

*namo ratnatrayāya namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakaśasenāpataye imām vidyām pravakṣāmi sā me sā me*¹¹³ *vidyā [samṛdhya]tu oṃ amṛte phaṭ tad yathā caṇḍi caṇḍi iṇḍi miṇḍi samkrāma miṇḍi āviśa gaudī niviśa gaudī praviśa gaudī asmin aṅguṣṭhamaṇḍale paśyantu dārakadārikā divyena cakṣuṣā apetu mānuṣaṃ cakṣu divyaṃ cakṣu pravartatu yena hṛtaṃ yasya hṛtaṃ yatra sthāpitaṃ taṃ sarvaṃ darśaya svāhā*

Tentative English Translation

Homage to the Three Jewels! Homage to Violent Vajrapāṇi, great general of *yakṣas*! I shall proclaim this spell. May the spell succeed for me! *Oṃ*, O immortal one, *phaṭ*! To wit: O *Caṇḍi*, *Caṇḍī*, *Iṇḍī*, *Miṇḍī*! Appear, *Miṇḍī*! Enter, *Gauḍī*! Descend, *Gauḍī*! Enter, *Gauḍī*, into this thumb pad! May the boys and girls see with divine vision! May human vision go away and divine vision come forth! [In the case of a missing article,] make them see everything—by whom it was taken, for whom it was taken, and where it is kept. All hail!¹¹⁴

This magical method [is the following:] Smear the ground with cow dung. Put on the four corners four jars full of wine and a jar full of blood (*sijiao jue an siping sheng jiu, yiping sheng xie* 四角安四瓶盛酒。一瓶盛血)。¹¹⁵ Light four lamps. Spread flowers on the alter, and burn [fragments of] an aromatic tree (*xunlu xiang* 薰陸香, Skt. *kunduruka*).¹¹⁶ On the corner of the alter, take oil.

¹¹² T. XXI 1212 60c7-61a8: 軍荼利看事 [法+ (品) 力<原>] 法第十六

那謨 囉怛那但囉^{二合}夜也 那莫失 旃拏跋折囉波拏曳 摩訶藥叉栖那鉢多曳 伊摩訶^{二合}尾甜 跋囉麼乞沙弼 莎弼 莎弼 尾地也^{二合}觀 唵 阿蜜哩底 泮吒 跢 姪他 戰呢 戰呢 因呢 泯呢 僧訖囉摩 泯呢 阿尾捨 嬌呢 儻尾捨 嬌呢 鉢囉^{二合}尾捨 嬌呢 阿悉泯 殃愚瑟佉曼拏利 鉢扇都 那囉迦^上那哩迦^平 唵^入毘曳^{二合}那 斫軀^上梳沙 阿比都 摩奴衫 斫軀^上梳 唵弼鹽 斫軀^上梳 鉢囉末多 觀 曳娜 囉哩^{二合}擔 也寫 囉哩^{二合}擔 拽怛囉 塞地畢擔 怛 薩渴刺婆訶^{二合} 娜囉捨也 莎嚩^{二合}訶 此呪法。牛糞泥地。四角安四瓶盛酒。一瓶盛血。燒四盞燈。散花在壇上。燒薰陸香。於壇邊取油。別本云。和墨及油塗大母指面上押誦呪。遣童子〔(或童子) 一力<原>〕或童子或童女。清淨洗浴著新淨衣。呪水洗面。遣看。於中所有吉凶之事。總於中現。若失物者。亦看。在何處作何色。是誰將去何處安置。悉於中見。心中所疑一切亦如是。看於中悉見一切。欲得轉鉢合竹等。亦誦呪七遍。燒安悉香。即轉。取竹或藤枝安〔檀=壇力<原>〕檀中。著取鬼病人。清淨澡浴著鮮潔衣。坐著壇中。取藤枝或竹打地。其鬼即叫喚啼哭告言。莫打我更不來也。呪師即報云。與我作誓。若來我更作法。其鬼即去。病者即差。又法。取無病童男童女。清淨澡浴著鮮潔白衣。香水灑頭面上淨處擦治。一壇二肘。著新〔坐=座力<原>〕坐小床子。於壇中著遣小兒坐上。燒安悉香花供養。誦護身呪。〔訖誦=誦訖力<原>〕訖誦請喚。取兩碗水〔交=教力<原>〕交小兒。一手擎一碗。即燒香誦呪。乃至小兒動轉下語。過去未來一切吉凶事總說。

¹¹³ The repetition of *sā me* is probably a scribal error. [Note of Giebel.]

¹¹⁴ Both the Sanskrit reconstruction and the translation of the *dhāraṇī* are due to the kindness of Dr. Rolf Giebel, to whom I express my deep gratitude.

¹¹⁵ See above, n. 76.

¹¹⁶ Monier William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* has "the resin of the plant *boswellia thurifera*." See *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* <<http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=%E8%96%B0%E9%99%B8%E9%A6%99>> [last accessed March 5th, 2018].

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Another text states (*bieben yun* 別本云): Mix ink and oil (*he mo ji you* 和墨及油) and smear one's ball of the thumb with it. Then recite the spell on it. Make a boy or a girl purify himself [or herself] in a bath and wear a new pure garment. Make him [or her] wash the face with water on which the spell [was recited], then make him [or her] look at [the ball of the thumb]. All things of good or bad lucks shall appear there. If there is a missing article, he [or she] shall see where it is kept, what its colors are (*ruo shiwu zhe, yi kan zai hechu zuo hese...* 若失物者。亦看在此處作何色。.), who has taken it away and where it has been put. All this is seen there.¹¹⁷ All the doubts in one's mind, all the same way, all is seen there. If one wants to turn a bowl and put together a bunch of bamboo (? *zhuambo hezhu* 轉鉢合竹),¹¹⁸ one must recite seven times the spell and burn the incense of Sogdiana. Then it [the bowl?] shall turn [or move]. Take bamboos or branches of wisteria [wisteria vine?] (*tengzhi* 藤枝), which shall be installed on the alter. [To expel?] a demon which possess a sick person, make the person take a bath and be purified and dressed in a new garment; make him sit in the center of the alter. Take a branch of wisteria [wisteria vine?] or a bamboo and strike the earth with it. The demon shall cry and weep, saying "Do not strike me! I will not come again!" The *mantrin* shall reply: "Make an engagement with me. If you come back again, I will do again the [same] method." The demon shall immediately leave and the sick person shall recover. There is yet another method. Take a boy or a girl without illness. Make him [or her] take a bath, be purified and be worn of a new white garment. Spread on his [or her] face perfumed water. In a pure place, take care in order to construct an alter of two forearms [*er zhou* 二肘; *zhou* is a unit of length, a "cubit," approximately 18 inches]. Take a new chair and put it on the center of the alter. Make the child sit down on it. Burn incense of Sogdiana and

¹¹⁷ This mention of the quest for a missing article explains the phrase of the *dhāraṇī* "yena hṛtaṃ yasya hṛtaṃ yatra sthāpitaṃ sarvaṃ darśaya," translated by "[In the case of a missing article,] make them see everything—by whom it was taken, for whom it was taken, and where it is kept." [Note by Giebel.]

¹¹⁸ The meaning of this passage is not clear to me. The expression "*zhuambo*" 轉鉢 literally means "turn or move a bowl"; it may also mean "transform a bowl [into]"; but it seems that it means here "to make a bowl fly in the sky." Cf. *Dafoding guangju tuoluoni jing* 大佛頂廣聚陀羅尼經, T. XIX 946 v 174c2-3 where we read: "If one wants to turn a bowl, then burn the incense as before. The bowl will immediately turn and fly in the sky and everything shall be as one wants" (*Ruo yu zhuambo, ruqian shaoliang. Qibo ji zhuang ji tengkong. Yiqie ruyi* 若欲轉鉢。如前燒香。其鉢即轉及騰空。一切如意). Then "put together bamboos" (*hezhu* 合竹) would mean "gather bamboo sticks." We find an interesting passage in the anonymous Biography of Huiguo where we read that in a session of magic performance that Huiguo (746-805) executed before Emperor Daizong 代宗 (726-779, r. 762-779) when he was twenty-five years old (that would be in 770, since the year compute is one year less in the Chinese civilization areas), he could "turn a jar and put together bamboos" (*Datang Qinglongsi sanzhuo gongfeng dade xingzhuang* 大唐青龍寺三朝供奉大德行狀, T. L 2057 295a19: "*Zhuaping hezhu. Bing de chengjiu*" 轉瓶合竹。并得成就). The whole passage is T. L 2057 295a15-20: "年二十五。特奉恩旨詔命入內。於長生殿。當時有勅喚。對問。師有何功効。夾天云。微僧未有功効。奉勅便誠當時。喚童子八人。考召加持。恩命所問。盡皆成就。轉瓶合竹。并得成就。帝乃大喜。" Tentative translation: "At the age of twenty-five years, he [Huiguo] had a special favor of being summoned to the palace by an imperial order. He was summoned to the Palace of the Longevity (Changshengdian). He was asked: "Master, what merit have you?" [He said:] "Being close to the Heavenly [person] (? *jiantian* 夾天), I, humble monk, have not yet any merit." Having received an imperial order, he summoned eight youths, whom he sacralized and empowered [so that they were possessed]. Then he asked them questions raised by the emperor. Everything succeeded. The bowl turning and the bamboo gathering also succeeded. The emperor was greatly pleased." The expression "*kaozhao*" 考召 is the technical term (of frequent use in Daoist literature) meaning "ask questions to a possessed medium." —The expression "bowl turning and bamboo gathering" is certainly related to this passage of the *Xifang tuoluo nicang zhong jingangzu Amiliduo Junzhalifa*. On this episode, see also below.

make flower offering. Recite a spell to protect the body. Having finished reciting, invite and summon [the deity] (*qinghuan* 請喚). Take two bowls of water and hand them over to (*jiao* 交) the child. [Make him (or her)] raise one hand with one bowl, and burn incense and recite the spell once, [and continue to do thus] until the child begins to tremble (*xiaoer dongzhuan* 小兒動轉) and make descend words (*xia yu* 下語). He shall speak all the past and future things of good or bad lucks.

After this method, the same chapter describes other *āveśa* rituals in which the practitioner can see all the past, present and future things in water, or make an image of the deity Kuṇḍalin move, etc.¹¹⁹ This text of the Amṛta Kuṇḍalin ritual raises a problem concerning the nature of the text of the *Shouhu guojie zhu tuoluoni jing* that we translated above. As it is known that the latter *sūtra* is a compilation due to the pretend “translator” Prajñā, we can assume that he borrowed the passage in question from the Amṛta Kuṇḍalin ritual that would be later translated by Yicao. But as some details are different, it is also possible that the sources for the two texts were not the same.

The performance of oracular ritual by Huiguō that I referred to in the previous note 118 is described with other details in the “*History of the Transmission of the Teaching of Secret maṇḍalas*” (*Himitsu mandara-kyō fuhō den* 祕密漫荼羅教付法傳) by Kūkai 空海 (774-835). Here, it is explicitly stated that the ritual was an *āveśa* ritual to make Maheśvara reply to questions of Emperor Dazong 代宗; however, the detail about “the bowl turning and the bamboo gathering” is not reported here:¹²⁰

When he [Huiguō] was fifteen years old,¹²¹ he had for the first time some magical efficacy. Emperor Daizong, having heard that, invited him [to the palace] and ordered him, saying: “I have some doubts. Please resolve them for me.” The Master [Huiguō] then sacralized and empowered two or three children (*ryō san dōji* 兩三童子) and summoned the *deva* Maheśvara to descend [into them]. His magical power being inconceivable, [the deity] completely entered (*hennyū* 遍入, Skt. *āveśa*) the children. The master said to the king: “Now, the method has succeeded. Please ask them according to your saintly intentions.” The emperor descended from his seat and

¹¹⁹ T. 1212 61a9-c4.

¹²⁰ *Himitsu mandara-kyō fuhō den* 祕密漫荼羅教付法傳, *kan* 卷 ii, Kōbō-daishi zenshū 弘法大師全集, Kōyasan 高野山, Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo 密教文化研究所, 1965, vol. 1, p. 38-39: 年甫十五、稍得靈驗。代宗皇帝聞之、迎入、命之曰。朕有疑滯。願為解之。和尚即令兩三童子依法加持、請降摩醯首羅天。法力不思議、故、即遍入童子。和上白王言。法已成。隨聖意、請問。皇帝下座問天。則說三世事、委告帝王曆數。皇帝歎曰。龍子雖小、能起雲雨。釋子雖幼、法力降天。入瓶、小師、於今見矣。即錫絹綵以神用。—This reference was given to me by Oda Etsuyo in a private email of March 5th, 2018, to whom I would like to express my deep gratitude. This text is cited in the *Shingon fuhō san'yō-shō* 眞言付法纂要抄 by Seison 成尊 (1060), T. LXXVII 2433 418a25-b3.

¹²¹ Huiguō's age is different from the account in the Chinese biography (where it is stated that “the Master was twenty-five years old”). Counting from his birth year, 746, if he was fifteen years old according to the Chinese compute of one's years (that is fourteen), the year would be 760; that year, Dazong would not be on the throne (he reigned from 762 to 779). One should probably suppose that the character “二” (“two”) before “十” (“ten”) had fallen during the transmission of the manuscripts.

An Early Example of *Svasthāveśa* Ritual
(IYANAGA Nobumi)

asked the *deva*. He then told [everything concerning] the Three Times [past, present and future]. He informed Emperor of the details of his destiny (*rekisū* 曆數). The emperor said with a sigh: “The dragon, even if he is young, is able to raise clouds [and bring] rain. The Buddha’s child, even if he is young, has the miraculous power of making a *deva* descend [into children] and make [?] enter in the jar a little master (*nyūbin shōshi* 入瓶小師).¹²² I saw it now!” Then he bestowed [on Huiguo] silk twill as the insignia of his miraculous power.

¹²² I do not understand the exact meaning of this phrase. —The image suggests a story like that of “Aladdin’s magic lamp.” The “little master” would correspond to the deity who “descended” and the jar, the medium children (?).