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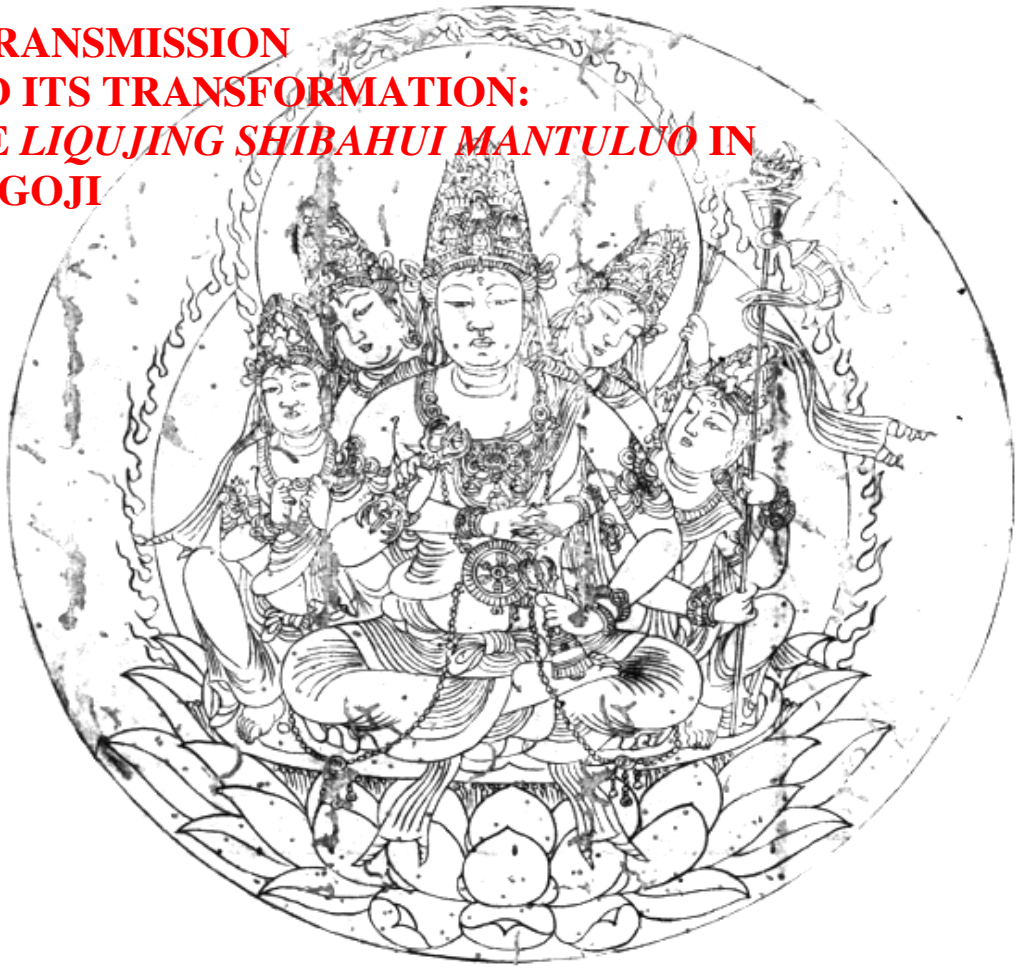
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A TRANSMISSION AND ITS TRANSFORMATION: THE *LIQUJING SHIBAHUI MANTULUO* IN DAIGOJI



HARRIET JEAN HUNTER

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A TRANSMISSION AND ITS TRANSFORMATION:

THE *LIQUJING SHIBAHUI MANTULUO* IN DAIGOJI

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A TRANSMISSION AND ITS TRANSFORMATION: THE *LIQUJING SHIBAHUI MANTULUO* IN DAIGOJI

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a study of an iconographic type of mandala called the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* 理趣經十八會曼荼羅 (Mandalas of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Guiding Principle Scripture).[1] They were originally prescribed by the Tang Dynasty master (*ācārya*) Amoghavajra 不空 (705–774) in his *Liqushi* (Explanation on the Guiding Principle Scripture).[2] Amoghavajra recorded the *Liqujing* in his list of newly translated materials and compositions that he submitted to the Tang Dynasty emperor in 771 for inclusion in the Imperial canon. He also listed in this memorial the *Liqushi*, as well as a second commentary on the scripture's opening section, the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (Explanation of the Great Mandala of the Seventeen Holy Ones), and four ritual handbooks for the practice of the scripture's teachings.[3]

The *Liqushi* elucidates each line of the scripture, explaining terminology and teachings, and it provides instructions, albeit most often very briefly, for mandala-making, visualization practices and ritual performances. The iconography of the existing mandalas, which do not survive in China but are found today only in the Japanese Shingon school, differ markedly from Amoghavajra's directives. The transmission of these mandalas from India to China, and from China to Japan and the ways in which the iconography evolved and changed have not been fully documented. The iconographic type of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* deserves study because of its special position in the doctrinal and ritual traditions of Chinese and Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, but until now it has not been systematically investigated by East Asian or Western scholars.

An essential ritual act in Esoteric Buddhism is the practitioner's invocation of deities and mergence with them (Skt. *ahaṃkāra*). Mandalas, whether actual or visualized constructions, are required elements, serving as a mental support or chart for these often complex practices. In this merger, the practitioner seeks union with the deities enshrined in the mandala by correlating his body, speech and mind with those of the deities. The result of this self-transformation is the practitioner's incorporation of the extraordinary insights, qualities and powers of the deities within himself. This process of union, which involves precise hand gestures 印 (Skt. *mudrā*), recitation of sound sequences 眞言 (Skt. *mantra*) and meditative concentrations 三摩地 (Skt. *samādhi*), termed the three mysteries 三密 (Skt. *triguhya*) of body, speech and mind, requires guidance, that is, special instructions 儀軌 (Skt. *kalpa*, *vidhi*) that deal specifically with the practical aspects that fix the performance of the rite and the creation of the mandalas and so ensure the promised spiritual and material attainments 悉地 (Skt. *siddhi*).

The teaching of the *Liqujing* is the affirmation of passions 煩悩 (Skt. *kleśa*), which are regarded as the materials of enlightenment. Enlightenment is understood as a realm of great bliss 大樂 (Skt. *mahāsukha*) whose entry does not require strenuous practices made over eons of rebirths but can be accessed instantaneously by means of yogic practices.[4] The scripture presents its teachings in sets of doctrinal propositions in each of its sections. In his *Liqushi,* Amoghavajra assigns specific deities to these doctrinal propositions, and installs them in mandalas in a particular order. Further, he explicates in this commentary the practice of mandala and the practitioner's

union 瑜伽 (Skt. *yoga*) with the mandala's deities by means of the four wisdom seals 四智印 (Skt. *catur-jñāna-mudrā*), a development of the three mysteries of body, speech and mind,[5] the fundaments of Esoteric Buddhist practice mentioned above.

While Amoghavajra's instructions in the *Liqushi* for the mandalas and their ritual employment are not given in detail, they are precise. There are distinct correspondences between the deities and their iconography and the doctrinal propositions that they represent. Further, Amoghavajra situates his translation of the *Liqujing*, *Liqushi* and its mandalas within a system of scriptures and ritual practices that he called the "Yoga of the Adamantine Crown" 金剛頂瑜伽.[6] He championed this system throughout his religious career in China because it asserted a new, radical doctrine of immediate enlightenment in this lifetime.[7] The Japanese monk Kūkai 空海 (774–835), revered by the Shingon school as its founder, also taught that this scripture and its ritual and mandalic practices were fundamental for the practice of "becoming a buddha in this very body" 即身成佛.[8] His use of the *Liqujing* and its related materials to develop his own hermeneutics of the esoteric doctrine and praxis resulted in this scripture and commentary becoming canonical works in the post-Kūkai Shingon school.[9]

In this study, I will focus on the inception of the tradition of the iconographic type of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* in China and Japan, and, more in particular, on one example of a transmission and its transformation. In Japan, this is the type represented by a thirteenth-century (1228) copy of a Tang Dynasty set of images that the early Heian pilgrim-monk Shūei 宗叡 (809–884) is said to have brought back from his journey to China (862–865).[10] This set is in the possession of Daigo Temple 醍醐寺 in Kyoto. The established claim of the Shingon school is that the set of mandalas introduced by Shūei (hereafter, the Daigoji exemplar) is based upon Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*. Divergences from Amoghavajra's directives in his *Liqushi* resulted, however, in a qualitatively different iconographic interpretation, which is apparent in the Daigoji exemplar.

STATE OF THE FIELD: ESOTERIC BUDDHISM IN EIGHTH- AND NINTH-CENTURY CHINA AND JAPAN

My study of the *Liqujing* and its associated ritual and iconographic materials addresses crucial topics in the field of Esoteric Buddhism in China and Japan, in particular its history, ritual traditions and icons. I have, in researching the significance of the teachings and practices expounded in the *Liqujing* materials and depicted in its mandalas, explored problems in the received view of the transmissions of certain of the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist masters active in the mid and late Tang Dynasty (618–907) and the understanding of these transmissions in the context of Esoteric Buddhism in Heian Japan (794–1185) and later.

The Received View of Chinese Esoteric Buddhism

The study of Chinese Esoteric Buddhism of the eighth and ninth centuries has been dominated by the interpretations and assumptions of Japanese scholars of Shingon Buddhism, both past and present, who have tended to view Chinese Esoteric Buddhism through their own sectarian lens.[11] Such scholars have claimed Amoghavajra as the founder of an Esoteric Buddhist system that defines the Japanese Shingon school to this day. This is because, they say, he translated and authored scriptures and ritual manuals wherein the practices and iconographies of the independent

Indian traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas) and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* (Scripture of the Perfect Enlightenment of Vairocana) have been amalgamated into an interrelated system.[12] One problem I have reconsidered is the Shingon scholars' definition of the components of Amoghavajra's transmission and their interpretation of the *Liqujing*'s teachings within his transmission. I have analyzed the *Liqujing, Liqushi* and the ritual manuals related to these works, as well as a number of other ritual manuals that Shingon scholars claim to represent this interrelated esoteric system, and I have arrived at a different conclusion, a proposition which I develop and put forth in this dissertation (Appendix B, An Examination of Shingon Scholars' Method of Critical Analysis of Amoghavajra's Transmission).

A Reconstruction of Amoghavajra's Transmission

The sectarian agenda of the post-Kūkai Shingon school and of contemporary Japanese Buddhist scholars and art historians present an image of Amoghavajra's transmission that agrees with their own understanding of Esoteric Buddhism in China as described above.[13] My research therefore also required a reconstruction of Amoghavajra's transmission. This reconstruction I undertook by the examination of four sources. These were: (a) Amoghavjra's translations and such compositions as commentaries and ritual manuals concerning the *Liqujing* and its reference system, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (his translation, the *Jingangding yuqie zhenshi dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂瑜伽眞實大教王經) that he listed in a memorial to the Chinese emperor in 771; (b) his own writings which consist of memorials that he wrote to three Chinese emperors and Chinese officials upon return from his journey to India in 746 until his death in 774, as well as his last testament; (c) visual materials that are based on his doctrinal concerns;[14] and (d) Amoghavajra's transmission as recorded by his immediate disciples.

In this way, I address and expand upon the findings of earlier scholars in Chapter Four of this study. For instance, Charles Orzech's work on Chinese Esoteric Buddhism, and on Amoghavajra's transmission in particular, as well as Robert Sharf's essay "On Esoteric Buddhism in China" in his *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*: *A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* were instrumental in helping me define my questions about and investigation of Amoghavajra's transmission and his place in the Chinese religious landscape of the eighth century.[15]

I offer further substantiation of Orzech's conclusion that "Amoghavajra privileged the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*," the scripture that Amoghavajra regarded as the First Assembly in the system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. I also address Sharf's controversial statement (op. cit., p. 277–278) that "there is little evidence that the South Asian Buddhist masters who made their way to China regarded their teachings as constituting a conceptual break with prevailing forms of Buddhist doctrine or ritual, or that they had any intentions of founding a new sect." My research objectives are to show that, while Amoghavajra and his master Vajrabodhi did not found a new school, the documents I examined, many of which overlap with those that Orzech consulted, attest Amoghavajra's awareness of practicing and propagating a new and distinct form of Buddhism.[16]

Another problem in Japanese Buddhist scholarship has been to identify Amoghavajra's references in the *Liqushi* to "extended" works, that is, to an "extended yoga scripture" 廣瑜伽經, an "extended yoga" 廣瑜伽, and an "extended scripture" 廣經, for example. Scholars have

debated whether the citations indicate a single extended text, or a number of different works, and whether these extended works belong to the textual lineage of the *Liqujing* or that of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.[17] In this study I endeavor to place Amoghavajra's transmission into a broader context that includes the works of Indian masters who were active from the second half of the eighth century onwards, as well as the translations of Indian materials in the Chinese canon that date to the Northern Song (960–1127) and in Tibetan canons that date after the ninth century. This is because the contents of certain texts in the Chinese and Tibetan canons corroborate Amoghavajra's brief descriptions of the contents of a number of the assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* 金剛頂瑜伽十八會指帰 (Guide to the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown), an outline of an Indian Esoteric Buddhist yoga system consisting of the latest of mandala, mantra and ritual technology that he also listed in his 771 memorial to the Chinese emperor. Significantly, similar contents and iconography appear in his *Liqushi, Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* and their associated ritual manuals.[18] Clearly, this evidence indicates that Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui,* based upon materials circulating in written or oral form during the time of his sojourn in India from 741–746, was not fabricated. Rather, this work serves as an important source when reconsidering the Esoteric Buddhist teachings of his time in China, as I demonstrate in this study.

A Reevaluation of Ninth-Century Chinese Esoteric Buddhism

Additionally, I have explored ninth-century Chinese Esoteric Buddhism, a topic that has received little attention to date. The received account among Japanese Buddhist scholars has been that after Amoghavajra and his disciple Huiguo 惠果 (746–805), Esoteric Buddhism in China became stagnant and declined. The studies of Misaki Ryōshū 三崎良周, Charles Orzech and Jinhua Chen, for example, signal the importance of an investigation of Esoteric Buddhism after Amoghavajra.[19]

I chart the origins of a new system of Esoteric Buddhist teachings in Tang China of the ninth century, documenting how the Chinese master Faquan 法全 formulated the contents of this system,[20] an articulation of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings that differed markedly from the descriptions of late eighth-century Esoteric Buddhism. The latter, that is the system developed by Amoghavajra's immediate disciples, continued to be transmitted as a parallel system in the ninth century. For evidence of the practices in the system that Faquan transmitted, however, we must investigate certain ritual lineages of the Shingon school, as well as the Japanese Tendai school and its incorporation of this new esoteric system into its *Lotus scripture*-based doctrine. While I take note of this evidence in Japan, I do not develop an in-depth analysis of this topic, which is beyond the scope of this study.

FOCUS OF THIS STUDY

Scholars have written much about the *Liqujing*, but the mandalas prescribed in the *Liqushi*, which are indispensable ritual instruments for the practitioner's journey through the teachings of this scripture, have not been a focus in this research. Specifically, I have sought the source and the significance of the changes seen in the Daigoji exemplar. There has not been a systematic investigation of the *Liqushi*, the mandalas that it prescribes and the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar. Comparative textual, historical and interpretative studies characterize the research of the *Liqujing*. Toganoo Shōun's 栂尾祥雲 main concern is to locate the *Liqujing* within the teachings

of the broader Buddhist tradition.[21] He collates the ten versions of the *Liqujing*, which survive in Sanskrit and in Tibetan and Chinese translations, seeking to elucidate the historical sources and developments of the texts. Toganoo includes a section on mandalas at the end of each chapter wherein he compares the Tibetan prescriptions for mandalas with that of Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*. He notes the discrepancies between Amoghavajra's commentary and the Daigoji exemplar, but this issue is not his concern.

Further, despite acknowledgement of discrepancies between the *Liqushi* and the Daigoji exemplar in Mochizuki Shinkō's 望月信享 *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (1933–36, vol. 5, p. 4964a), Ōmura Chōkaku 大村澄覺 and the other compilers of the *Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辭典 (1931, 1975, vol. 5, pp. 2263–2264), and Sawa Ryūken's 佐和隆研 edition of the *Mikkyō jiten* 密教辞典 (1975, pp. 703–704), these works do not elaborate on this problem.

Hatta Yukio 八田幸雄 states in his *Himitsu kyōten*: *Rishukyō* 秘密経典 — 理趣経[22] that the set of the *Liqujing mantuluo* was from a different tradition than the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* 金剛頂經 (Amoghavajra's translation, *T*.18.865) and was forcibly made to conform to its Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. Inconsistencies and discrepancies arose, but Hatta does not explain further.[23]

Ian Astley-Kristensen's English translation of the scripture, *The Rishukyō: the Sino-Japanese Tantric Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses* (*Amoghavajra's Version*)[24] presents modern Shingon exegetes' understanding and analysis of the scripture's contents. His section on the mandalas, however, is brief and is merely a restatement of the information given in the studies of Toganoo and Hatta.

In short, Buddhist scholars have noted the discrepancies between Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* and the Daigoji exemplar, but to date no attempt has been made to uncover the source of the iconographical and iconological changes. This is what I propose to do in this study.

Research Problem

Amoghavajra's version of the *Liqujing* introduced to his Chinese patrons and disciples an esoteric reworking of earlier Mahāyāna scriptures of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Wisdom) lineage. A major change was the adaptation of this scripture to a new system that provided a fast path to enlightenment in this lifetime by means of ritual and yogic practices, or more exactly, ritualized yogic practices. Amoghavajra outlined this system in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and he regarded the *Liqujing* as the Sixth Assembly in this corpus.[25]

The system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown constituted the core of Amoghavajra's teachings and it was this system that he propagated at the court of three Chinese emperors, as he himself documented in the memorials that he wrote to the Court. This system underlies his *Liqujing*, as well as its accompanying commentaries and ritual manuals. For instance, the *Liqujing* promises enlightenment in this lifetime, that is, the attainment of the stage of the Tathāgata and the Holder of the Vajra, by passing though the lives of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas.[26] These are the main deities in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm that is revealed in the First Chapter of the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*) of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. The iconography of the mandalas that Amoghavajra stipulates in his *Liqushi* thus belong to the system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown.

Changes have occurred in the representation of the deities in the Daigoji exemplar. Because the mandalas graphically present distinctive aspects of the scripture's teaching and each

deity embodies a different perspective of that teaching, it is significant that changes have taken place. Moreover, the mandala serves as a focus in a sequential cycle of ritual and symbolic meanings that enable the practitioner to access and effectuate the scripture's promised goals. Placement of the figures, as well as their prescribed appearances, poses and attributes are important and, in this case, fixed, symbolizing the scripture's doctrinal propositions and the desired spiritual and material attainments of the practices. A change in position would imply a change in the meaning of the deity. The significance of the positions of deities, who symbolize special constructs of a mandalic reality, is seen also in Amoghavajra's reference system, that is the First Assembly's Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[27] In short, Amoghavajra's instructions for the construction of mandalas conform to the system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, but the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar does not agree at all with his *Liqushi* and its reference system. This indicates the interpretation of another master, active during a different phase in the development of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings and practices in China.

The research hypothesis of this study seeks to demonstrate that the iconographical and iconological changes evident in the Daigoji exemplar reflect the transmission of the ninth-century Chinese master Faquan, whose transmission has yet to be studied. In order to do this, I investigate the transmissions of Amoghavajra and the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist masters who followed him, especially Faquan. Such an investigation reveals the concerns of these masters and the Chinese assimilation and transformation of Indian Esoteric Buddhist materials. The Sinification of Indian Esoteric Buddhist teachings and practices that occurred *after* Amoghavajra's lifetime included the deliberate mixing of differing scriptural and ritual traditions; the reinterpretation of scriptural and ritual traditions that had been introduced by earlier Indian and Chinese masters; the reclassification of the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist teachings; and the revival of earlier iconographic traditions. I contend that the Daigoji exemplar is the result of this process of Sinification, to which Faquan's transmission also belongs.

STRUCTURE AND PRIMARY SOURCES

Historical records suggest that Shūei introduced to Japan two differing Tang Dynasty exemplars of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. In Chapter One, I undertake a comparative study of Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* and these two sets of mandalas. One is represented by the set in the collection of Ishiyama Temple 石山寺, which is dated to the Tang Dynasty (864). Contemporary Japanese scholars have not yet thoroughly examined this Ishiyamadera set. The second set of mandalas is the Daigoji exemplar, a medieval Japanese copy of a Tang Dynasty set of images. The comparison given in Chapter One of this dissertation is the first systematic investigation of text and image ever carried out. My comparison of text and images reveals that the iconography of the Ishiyamadera exemplar better conforms to Amoghavajra's explanations and prescriptions than that of the Daigoji exemplar. Where Amoghavajra refers to his reference system or to an iconographic source for certain of the eighteen mandalas, the iconography of the Daigoji set of mandalas does not agree. In short, I dispel the Shingon school's claim that the Daigoji exemplar is based upon Amoghavajra's transmission.

In Chapter Two I examine late Heian, Kamakura, and Edo period versions of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*, as well as specific treatises related to it, in order to address the problems of the provenance and ascription of the Ishiyamadera and Daigoji exemplars. The Daigoji exemplar is a thirteenth-century copy of a copy said to have been introduced by Shūei. Shingon scholar-monks

active after Shūei's time corrected the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar to make it conform more faithfully to the *Liqushi*. Further, Shingon masters also created their own mandalic interpretations of this scripture's teachings, which were based on the development of Shingon doctrine. My examination of these aspects reinforces the fact that the Daigoji exemplar is not based on Amoghavajra's commentary, and also supplies information about certain characteristics of the iconography of this exemplar. Moreover, it shows that the Daigoji exemplar introduced by Shūei served as an authoritative reference for these revisions and reinterpretations made from the early twelfth to the eighteenth centuries. The Ishiyamadera exemplar, dated with certainty as a Tang Dynasty production, is never mentioned in the ritual compilations of the Shingon scholar-monks because this set of mandalas lay unnoticed in the temple archives until its discovery in the early twentieth century.

Visual traditions that date from after Amoghavajra's time, rather than his *Liqushi* and its references, are the iconographical sources for the Daigoji exemplar. In Chapter Three, first, I document the matches between the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar and the Shingon school's Mandalas of the Adamantine Realm and the Matrix Realm (*Genzu kongōkai* 現圖金剛界曼荼羅 and *taizōkai mandara* 胎藏界曼荼羅), with whose Chinese prototype the pilgrim-monk Kūkai returned to Japan. These mandalas are said to be graphic reproductions of the teachings of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, scriptures from variant Indian Esoteric Buddhist systems. Secondly, I clarify the historical context of the visual and textual traditions upon which these iconographic changes are based. Specifically, I examine the transmissions of Amoghavjra, his disciple Huiguo, who was Kūkai's Chinese master, and Faquan, a second-generation disciple of Huiguo.

As I stated above, the iconographic alterations evident in the Daigoji exemplar do not chronologically coincide with Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*. The ideology of the nonduality of the two transmissions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and their accompanying mandalas postdates Amoghavajra. Furthermore, explanations and mandala directives in the *Liqushi* cannot explain the conspicuous presence of iconographic elements from the Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*) in the Daigoji exemplar. This mixing of disparate systems of Esoteric Buddhist iconographies points to the influence of a later master.

Amoghavajra's transmission is the focus of Chapter Four. First, I reconstruct the iconography of Amoghavajra's version of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* by investigating the sources, both identified and unidentified, he uses in his commentaries on the *Liqujing*. Amoghavajra is doctrinally consistent in the mandala prescriptions he gives in his *Liqushi*. His sources confirm his use of materials from a corpus that he called the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui*. Secondly, I argue that, despite the presence of elements from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and other scriptural traditions, the doctrines and practices expounded in a number of assemblies in the system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown comprised the fundamental component of his transmission. There is, however, a reformulation of the contents of Amoghavajra's transmission in his disciples' biographies, which I also briefly examine. One significant change they made to their master's transmission was the inclusion of the teachings from earlier Indian Esoteric Buddhist scriptures, specifically the *Susiddhikara sūtra* (Scripture on Effectuating the Accomplishment of Special Powers) and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

The claim that Shūei introduced the Daigoji exemplar is problematic, for the set is not listed in his official inventories of imported religious articles. The inventories of the Heian pilgrim-monks recorded the scriptures, icons and religious paraphernalia that they copied and

collected during their sojourns in Tang China. These they presented to the Court and religious authorities upon their return to Japan.

The pilgrim-monks also brought back personal souvenirs, that is, for example, scriptures, ritual manuals and images that they did not register in their official inventories, but did transmit within their respective schools and lineages. In Chapter Five, I examine the reliability of the historical sources that record the importation of the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar from China to Japan. Examples of these sources are the Tendai monk Annen's 安然 (841–915?) *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 諸阿闍梨眞言密教部類總錄 (General Inventory of the Categories of the [Esoteric Buddhist] Masters' Secret Teachings on Mantras),[28] the inventories of pilgrim-monks who went to Tang China, as well as later ritual compilations composed by such scholar-monks as Ejū 慧什 (active 1125–after 1144), Kōzen 興然 (1121–1203) and Kakuzen 覺禪 (1143–after 1213) of the Shingon school and Shōchō 承澄 (1205–1282) of the Tendai esoteric school. There is evidence in these sources that links Shūei to the iconography of the mandalas of the Daigoji exemplar.

In Chinese Esoteric Buddhism of the mid-ninth century there was a renewed focus on ritual practices that display an eclectic mixing of Esoteric Buddhist systems. As examples of this trend, I examine the textual sources for the mandalas that were appended to the Daigoji exemplar. The focus of Chapter Six is the *Jingangjixiang dachengjiu pin* 金剛吉祥大成就品 (Chapter on the Great Accomplishments of Vajraśrī), a chapter of the *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqie yuqi jing* 金剛峰樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經, and the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽法軌儀 (Ritual Manual of Prescriptions for the Practice of the Yoga of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa), which are the sources for the Mandalas of Buddhlocanā and Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa, two of the four mandalas appended to the Daigoji exemplar.[29] Although attributed to Vajrabodhi (671–741) and Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735), respectively, they are apocryphal works that were first recorded in the inventories of mid-ninth-century Japanese pilgrim-monks. Further, I examine two manuals attributed to Faquan. These are the *Gongyang hushi batian fa* 供養護世八天法 (Offering Rite for the Eight World-Protecting Gods) and the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* 建立曼荼羅護摩議軌 (Ritual Manual for Construction of the Mandala for [the Performance] of Fire Oblation).

My reason for presenting the contents and mandalas in these works is to reconstruct some of the particular features of ninth-century Chinese Esoteric Buddhism in whose reinterpretation and dissemination Faquan played a major role.

In Chapter Seven I reconstruct Faquan's transmission. It is my contention that, because the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras* were important to Faquan, he gave them special roles within the Esoteric Buddhist system of three interrelated categories 三部 of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras* that he transmitted to his disciples. This tripartite system signifies a reclassification of the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist teachings, one that occurred after Amoghavajra and Huiguo. Because Faquan left no writings on the category of "accomplishments" 蘇悉地 (Skt. *susiddhi*), first I investigate the writings of his Chinese contemporary, Haiyun 海雲, and his Japanese disciples Ennin 圓仁 (794–864) and Enchin 圓珍 (814–891), as well as disciples' inventories, to determine the form and content of Faquan's teachings. The late Tang reinterpretation of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* culminated in a special mantra whose power effectuated the felicitous outcome of all ritual practices, regardless of textual tradition. The source of this mantra was the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, a text that was important to Faquan, as I demonstrate in this chapter. Significantly, my

research on sources that document Faquan's transmission reveals his continued use of the prototype of the set of mandalas known in the Shingon school as the *Genzu mandara*.

In conclusion, I establish that, based upon the research presented in this study, the prototype of the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar was a product of mid-ninth-century Tang China, and represented Faquan's religious contributions to the further Sinification of Indian Esoteric Buddhism.

CONVENTIONS

In this dissertation, I have made the decision to present my arguments in the chapters of the text and often to put the evidence in the endnotes, especially when I provide a number of reasons and/or detailed explanations to support my arguments. I have also used the endnotes to provide the reader with additional information which I considered necessary for an understanding of such topics as Esoteric Buddhist concepts, the iconography of deities and mandalas, ritual procedures, as well as the contents of texts and of scholarly debates concerning authorship and dating of texts, for example.

Titles of Buddhist works are given in Sanskrit, Chinese and Japanese. Scriptures that have Sanskrit originals are in Sanskrit. Examples are the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Works composed in China, as well as those whose Sanskrit originals remain unknown, have been given in the Chinese *Pinyin* system of transcription. The *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqie yuqi jing* 金剛峰樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 and *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* 尊勝佛頂脩瑜伽法軌儀 are two examples. Amoghavajra returned to China from India with Sanskrit originals of a number of scriptures and ritual manuals. Two of his works, the scripture and its commentary that are central to this study, posed a problem. The scripture is of Indian origin and scholars have reconstructed its title as *Adhyardhaśatikā-prajṇāpāramitā sūtra* and as *Prajñāpāramitā-naya sūtra*. The commentary is thought to be Amoghavajra's own composition and hence its title would have to be given in Chinese. I have decided to present all of Amoghavajra's works that I have examined in Chinese, except his translation of a portion of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, because its original exists.[30]

The names of Buddhist deities are given in Sanskrit with diacritical marks. Buddhist terms that have entered into English usage, like mandala, are without diacritical marks and are not in italics, except when in a Sanskrit compound, for example the technical term *mahā-maṇḍala*. Such specialized but still commonly used Buddhist terms as mudrā and stūpa retain their diacritical marks but are not in italics. Buddhist terminology is presented in English and accompanied with Chinese characters and a Sanskrit equivalent, whenever appropriate. An example is realm of desire 欲界 (*kāma-dhātu*).

An English translation with capital letters is used when referring to Esoteric Buddhist systems, for example, the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, to the mandalas prescribed in the Esoteric Buddhist scriptures and ritual manuals, for example, the Matrix Mandala in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the Mandala of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, and to the titles of the Shingon school's set of mandalas, the Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*) and Adamantine Realm Mandala (*Genzu kongōkai mandara*). Capitals are not used when referring to generic mandalas, for example matrix mandalas or tradition of the adamantine realm mandala. Because the Japanese pilgrim-monks introduced to Japan iconographic materials

that were made in China, these materials are referred to with their Chinese titles and, at first mention, are accompanied with English translations in capital letters between parentheses. Thereafter, they are referred to in Chinese. Examples are the *Liqujing mantuluo* (Mandalas of the Guiding Principle Scripture) and the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo* (Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm). However, in Chapter Two, which focuses on the *Liqujing mantuluo* in the Shingon school of the Late Heian, Kamakura and Edo periods, Japanese titles are used, accompanied with English translations in capital letters between parentheses. An example is *Gobugu e* 五部具會 (Assembly of the Five Families).

Below I have included a Comparative Chart of Materials for reference when reading Chapter One of this study.[31] The character for "chapter" 品 (C. *pin*) appears in the notes in small characters that conclude many sections of the *Liqushi*. However, the ritual works that I examine in Chapter Two, as well as the Japanese commentarial tradition on the *Liqujing* and *Liqushi*, present the contents of these works in "stages" 段, a word that refers to the spiritual journey that the practitioner experiences when performing the ritual materials expounded in the scripture and explained in the commentary. This is a special word that is not seen in the scripture or its commentary but is used exclusively in the Japanese ritual and commentarial traditions. I have throughout my work referred to the Stages of the *Liqujing* and *Liqushi*, or simply to *Liqujing* 3 and *Liqushi* 3, for example.

Comparative Chart of Materials for Chapter One

Liqujing, *T*.8.243	*Liqushi*, *T*.19.1003	Daigoji exemplar, *T. Zuzō,* vol. 5 3044	Ishiyamadera exemplar, *T. Zuzō* vol. 12, 3239
Opening: 784a14-b1	Opening: 607a16-608b18	No. 1 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Venerable Mahāvairocana 大日尊理趣會, p. 776	No. 1[Mandala of the Five Mysteries] 五祕密壇, p. 954 (reordered No. 18)
Stage 1: 784b1-24	First Assembly on Vajrasattva Who Is Infallible and [generates] Great Bliss 大樂不空金剛薩埵初集品, 608b18-610b2	No. 2 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vajrasattva 金剛薩埵理趣會, p. 777	No. 2 [Mandala of Vajrapāṇi] 金剛手壇, p. 955

Stage 2: 784b25-c7	610b3-611a22	No. 3 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Venerable Mahāvairocana 大日尊理趣會, p. 778	No. 3 Mandala of Vairocana 毘盧遮那壇, p. 956 (reordered No. 1)
Stage 3: 784c8-c18	Trailokyavijaya 降三世品, 611b9-612a9	No. 4 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Trailokyavijaya 降三世理趣會, p. 779	No. 4 [Mandala of Vajrasatta] 金剛薩埵壇, p. 957 (reordered No. 2)
Stage 4:784c19-785a2	Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara 觀自在菩薩般若理趣會品, 612a10-c3	No. 5 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Avalokiteśvara 觀自在理趣會, p. 780	No. 5 Mandala of Śākya-Trailokyavijaya (No. 4) 釋迦降三世壇第四, p. 958
Stage 5: 785a3-10	Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏品, 612c4-613a10	No. 6 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏理趣會, p. 781	No. 6 Mandala of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (No. 5) 觀自在菩薩壇第五, p. 959
Stage 6: 785a11-23	Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vajramuṣṭi 金剛拳理趣會品, 613a11-b20	No. 7 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vajramuṣṭi 金剛拳理趣會, p. 782	No. 7 Mandala of Ratnasaṃbhava (No. 6) 寶生壇第六, p. 960
Stage 7: 785a24-b2	Guiding Principle of Mañjuśrī 文殊師利理趣品, 613b21-c27	No. 8 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Mañjuśrī 文殊師利理趣會, p. 783	No. 8 Mandala of Vajra-sarva-tathāgata (No. 7) 金剛一切如来第七, p. 961
Stage 8: 785b3-10	Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pra-vartin 纔發意菩薩理趣品, 613c28-614b3	No. 9 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Vajracakra 金剛輪菩薩理趣會, p. 784	No. 9 Mandala of Kumāra Vajra-Mañjuśrī (No. 8) 金剛文殊師利童眞壇第八, p. 962

Stage 9: 785b11-20	Guiding Principle Bodhisattva Gaganagañja 虛空庫菩薩理趣品, 614b4-c18	No. 10 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Gaganagañja 虛空庫菩薩理趣會, p. 785	No. 10 Mandala of Great Being Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin (No. 9) 纔發心轉法輪大薩壇第九, p. 963
Stage 10: 785b21-29	Guiding Principle of Bosdhisattva Sarva-māra-pramardin 摧一切魔菩薩理趣品, 614c19-615b5	No. 11 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Sarva-māra-pramardin 摧一切魔菩薩理趣會, p. 786	No. 11 Mandala of Bodhisattva Gaganagañja (No. 10) 虛空庫菩薩壇第十, p. 964
Stage 11: 785c1-9	Wheel of Instruction and Command of Trailokyavijaya 降三世教令輪品, 615b6-c9	No. 12 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi 金剛手菩薩理趣會, p. 787	No. 12 Mandala of Vajra-sarvamāra-pramardin (No. 11) 金剛摧一切魔壇第十一, p. 965
Stage 12: 785c10-17	Assembly of the Outer Vajras 外金剛會品, 615c10-616a10	No 13. Assembly of the Guiding Principle of God Maheśvara 摩醯首羅天理趣會, p. 788	No. 13 Mandala of Vajrapāṇi (No. 12) 金剛手壇第十二, p. 966
Stage 13: 785c18-20	Assembly of the Seven Mother Goddesses 七母天集會品, 616a11-28	No. 14 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of the Seven Mother Goddesses 七母女天理趣會, p. 789	No. 14 [Mandala of Maheśvara-rāja] 魔醯首羅王壇, p. 967 (No. 13)
Stage 14: 785c21-23	Assembly of the Three Brothers 三兄弟集會品, 615a29-b9	No. 15 Assembly of the Four Sister Goddesses 四姊妹女天理趣會, p. 790	No. 15 Assembly of Mahākāla-deva and the Sisters (No. 14) 摩訶迦羅天神姊妹集會聚第十四, p. 968

Stage 15: 785c24-25	Assembly of the Four Sisters 四姉妹集會品, 616b10-22	No. 16 Assembly of the Guiding Principle of the Three Brothers 三兄弟天理趣會, p. 791	No. 16 [Assembly] of Nārāyaṇa Three Brothers (No. 15) 那羅延三兄弟第十五, p. 969
Stage 16: 785c26-786a4	616b23-c11	No. 17 Assembly of the Five Families 五部具會, p. 792	No. 17 "Not One Not Different (No. 16) True Teachings of the Four Sisters of the Outer Vajra Family" 不一不異外金剛部四姉妹眞教, p. 970
Stage 17: 786a5-b4	616c12-617a26	No. 18 Assembly of the Five Mysteries 五祕密會, p. 793	No. 18 "This is the third [mandala] expounded in the Scripture of the path [of guiding principles]" 此是第三道經中説, p. 971 (reordered No. 3)

Amoghavajra uses the names Mahāvairocana and Vairocana (see the opening and closing Stages, *T*.243:784a20, Mahāvairocana, 786a5, Vairocana) when referring to the Buddha who expounds the teachings in this scripture. In the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:607c6-7, c10, c21, c23, c27, 608a2, 610b3, c24, for example) he almost always refers to this Buddha as Vairocana. Amoghavajra's disciples also use these two names for this Buddha. For consistency, I have used Mahāvairocana throughout this study despite the fact that the Japanese Esoteric Buddhist tradition holds that there is difference in the significance of these two names. They say the former refers to the *dharmakāya* 法身, the absolute, unmanifested form of Buddha-nature, and the latter to the *saṃbhogakāya* 報身, the body of a buddha manifested as a result of vows and practices to attain buddhahood and who preaches in his buddha-field.[32]

Lastly, I consulted eight sets of the *Liqujing mantuluo* and, although most consist of eighteen individual mandalas, I do not include in this study my examination of every mandala in the eight sets. I present this material chronologically in a section of illustrations (figs. 1–34), wherein I number the mandalas of the eight sets, beginning with the Tang Dynasty Daigoji and Ishiyamadera exemplars and ending with the Edo period monk Shinkai's 眞海 set.

CHAPTER ONE: THE *LIQUSHI* AND THE *LIQUJING MANTULUO*

INTRODUCTION

The historical record seems to indicate that the early Heian Shingon monk Shūei 宗叡 (809–884) brought two differing exemplars of the *Liqujing* 理趣經 set of eighteen mandalas from China to Japan after his travels there (862–865).[1] One, the original of which is presently in Ishiyamadera 石山寺, is dated the fifth year of the Chinese reign period Xiantong 咸通 (864).[2] Names written with Chinese characters mark the positions of the figures in this set of mandalas. The other survives as a copy from the second year of the Japanese reign period Antei 2 安貞二年 (1228), now at Daigoji 醍醐寺.[3] This exemplar, a type called a "great mandala" 大曼荼羅 (*mahāmaṇḍala*), provides physical representations of the different figures that make up the mandalas.

According to Shingon school tradition the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar is based on Amoghavajra's 不空 (705–774) commentary to his translation of the *Liqujing*, the *Liqushi* 理趣釋. In the later Shingon school the iconographic authority of the Daigoji exemplar said to have been introduced by Shūei derives from the school's canonized Amoghavajra transmission.[4] On the other hand, the Ishiyamadera exemplar, an original Tang dynasty document with a precise date, is never mentioned by later scholar-monks. This is because the set lay unknown in the temple archives until its discovery during preparation for the publication of materials for the *Iconographical Supplement* of the *Taishō* 大正新修大藏經圖像部 (*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzōbu*) in the 1930s.[5] Modern researchers, such as Hatta Yukio, fail to discuss the Ishiyamadera exemplar; Ono Genmyō and Fukuda Ryōsei, who do notice it, assert that the Ishiyamadera mandalas do not correspond with the *Liqushi*.[6]

Thus, the Shingon school's official account—that Shūei brought back a copy of the Daigoji exemplar, and that the Daigoji exemplar and Amoghavajra's commentary are closely related—has never been questioned.[7] Nevertheless, it cannot be true. No matter where we turn, whether to the historical record or to the contents of the texts and mandalas, the official account falls apart on close examination, leaving us with more questions than answers.

The first problem is with the claim that Shūei was responsible for introducing a set of the eighteen mandalas to Japan. The ninth-century Tendai monk Annen 安然 (841–915?) is the earliest extant source to state that Shūei returned with a set of the *Liqujing mantuluo*. However, in the same text Annen records that another Tendai monk, Ennin 圓仁 (794–864), also brought back a *Liqujing* set of eighteen mandalas. Neither Shūei nor Ennin left any record of these mandala sets in the place where such information might most logically be sought: the inventories of the religious objects that they had collected in China. Neither exemplar is listed in Shūei's *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* 新書寫請來法門等目錄 (Inventory of Newly Copied and Imported [Works on the) Gateway to the Teachings and Other [Topics]) or the *Zenrinji Shūeisōjō mokuroku* 禪林寺宗叡僧正目錄 (Inventory of Shūei Sōjō of Zenrinji), which is though to have been composed by Shūei's disciples. A like silence prevails throughout Ennin's lists of religious paraphernalia.[8] There is some circumstantial evidence that may be interpreted as linking Shūei to the mandala set in the Ishiyamadera.[9] Shūei's connection with the Daigoji exemplar is more problematical and will be the focus of a later chapter of this dissertation.

When we turn from the historical record to the content of the documents, further questions arise. As we have noted, the Shingon school holds that the Daigoji exemplar is based on Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*. From the standpoint of content, this is patently false: the iconography of the Daigoji set varies widely from what is described in the *Liqushi*. In contrast, the iconography of the Ishiyamadera set corresponds reasonably well to Amoghavajra's text, though a number of inconsistencies remain. Later scholar-monks, such as Kōzen 興然 (1120–1203) of the early medieval period and the eighteenth-century master Shinkai 眞海 (?–1770), not knowing of the existence of the Ishiyamadera document, "corrected" only the Daigoji set in order to match its iconography with Amoghavajra's commentary.

To sum up, the Shingon account of Shūei and the *Liqujing mantuluo* is wholly unreliable. To replace it with something more accurate, we must conduct a systematic investigation of both *Liqujing* sets of mandalas, and the first step of such an undertaking must be a comparative analysis of the base text and the respective images and representations. Below, we will examine several examples in detail, to further illustrate the relationship between the *Liqushi* (Amoghavajra's commentary on the *Liqujing*) and the Daigoji and Ishiyamadera exemplars.

COLLATION OF THE *LIQUSHI* AND THE DAIGOJI AND ISHIYAMADERA EXEMPLARS

The *Liqujing* presents the Tathāgata Mahāvairocana expounding the teaching of the "purity of the perfection of wisdom" 般若波羅蜜多清淨 (*prajñāpāramitā-viśuddhi*[*-pada*]).[10] This is done in successive "Stages" 段, after each of which a seed letter 種子 (*bīja*) is provided to mark the termination of the Stage and summarize its essence.

Although the seed letters are basic to the structure of Mahāvairocana's teachings, their number and placement vary between the *Liqujing* text and its commentary, the *Liqushi*. The *Liqujing* has a total of *sixteen* seed letters: fifteen of these bring to a close specific Stages, and a final seed letter wraps up the text as a whole. Amoghavajra divides his *Liqushi* into *seventeen* sections, and also delineates a mandala for the Opening Assembly. Thus the *Liqushi* prescribes a total of *eighteen* mandalas as graphic representations of the teachings of the text. The actual mandalas are based on the commentary, not the text of the scripture, since they are not explained in detail in Amoghavajra's translation of the *Liqujing*.

Collation of the *Liqushi* with the images in the two sets of mandalas shows at once that the Daigoji exemplar contains more than are prescribed by the *Liqushi*. It adds four mandalas, *Wu Daxukongzang* 五大虛空藏 (Five Great Ākāśagarbhas), *Foyan mantuluo* 佛眼曼荼羅 (Buddhalocanā mandala), *Dafoding mantuluo* 大佛頂曼荼羅 (Mahābuddhoṣnīṣa mandala), and *Airan mingwang* 愛染明王 (Rāgavidyārāja), to the text's eighteen, for a total of twenty-two.[11] The Ishiyamadera set, on the other hand, has eighteen mandalas, but the text's *Wubu juhui* 五部具會 (Assemblies of the Five Families) has been replaced by a copy of the *Jingangshou tan* 金剛手壇 (Mandala of Vajrapāṇi), which is not mentioned by Amoghavajra in the *Liqushi*. Thus, obvious discrepancies exist between the two sets of mandalas and between each and the text they are supposed to be based on. The discussion of four examples below will make the nature of these discrepancies clearer.

The Opening Mandala

The opening Stage of the *Liqujing* names the expositor of the text's teachings, describes the setting, and introduces the assembly that listens to the teachings. Mahāvairocana, the expositor, resides in a palace in the Paranirmita-vaśavartin Heaven 他化自在天王宮 at the summit of the realm of desire 欲界 (*kama-dhātu*). He is attended by a vast crowd of Bodhisattvas, headed by the Eight Great Bodhisattvas.[12] The characters and presentation are very similar to those in the opening of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas),[13] Amoghavajra's Chinese translation of a part of a larger Indian Esoteric Buddhist scripture.[14]

Amoghavajra's translation of the *Liqujing* and the *Liqushi*, his commentary, show a systematic assimilation of Esoteric Buddhist concepts and elements into the earlier *Prajñāpāramitā* tradition.[15] The *Liqushi* discloses an obvious re-interpretation of the *Prajñānpāramitā* teachings within the framework of an Esoteric Buddhist corpus that Amoghavajra referred to as the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui* 金剛頂瑜伽十八會 (Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown) and which he made a summary of after his return to China in 746 from his trip to India.[16] Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* translates a part of the first chapter in the First of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown.[17] The Esoteric Buddhist system to which this First Assembly belongs, as well as other assemblies of this system, underlies the teachings of Amoghavajra's translation of the *Liqujing* and his *Liqushi* commentary.

There are a number of differences between the opening scenes of the *Liqujing* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. For instance, the settings are not the same. In the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, Mahāvairocana resides in the palace of the ruler of the Akaniṣṭha Heaven, located at the summit of the realm of form.[18] The setting of the *Liqujing*, on the other hand, is within the realm of desire, although at its very summit, where desires have been purified.[19] Here Mahāvairocana will teach how to overcome and transform the inner demons of desires into those that will propel the practitioner upward through the more purified realms of form and formlessness, and so on to enlightenment.[20] Nevertheless, in both texts, the same group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas heads the vast assembly who listens to the Tathāgata's teachings.[21] It is important to note here that this group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas is common to the textual lineages of both the *Liqujing* and that of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown.[22]

In the *Liqushi*, Amoghavajra reformulates the elements of the *Liqujing*'s introductory Stage into a mandala.[23] The prescriptions for this opening mandala are similar to the mandala described in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Both have four gates in the four directions, inside of which gates there are eight pillars, and a multi-storied pavilion with an adamantine pinnacle composed of jewels.[24]

Whereas the main characters of this opening scene are simply enumerated in *Liqujing* 1, in *Liqushi* 1 Amoghavaja provides a brief description of each figure as he positions them in the opening mandala. This mandala focuses upon the nine figures of Mahāvairocana and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas who surround him. It represents graphically the teachings of the following stages of the *Liqujing*, wherein Mahāvairocana will transform himself into various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in order to elucidate his teaching from a variety of perspectives.

Thus, each figure in this first mandala embodies one of the core concepts of the teaching that Mahāvairocana will expound in subsequent stages of the *Liqujing*. At the same time, each personifies an aspect of the cosmic Buddha Mahāvairocana. Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* explains each of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in the following way:

> [The scripture states that "he was attended by a great throng of eighty *koṭi* of Bodhisattvas..."] Each one of these Bodhisattvas had the same nature and they [also] had a throng of attendants, ten *koṭi* in number. Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi dwells in the lunar disc in front of [Mahā]vairocana and he represents the mind of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) of All the Tathāgatas. The one who first awakens the mind of enlightenment relies upon the empowerment 加持 (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of Vajrasattva. [Then,] cultivating and realizing the vows and practices of Samantabhadra, he attains the stage of Tathāgata.
>
> Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara resides in the lunar disc behind [Mahā]vairocana and he represents the great compassion of All the Tathāgatas. According to the causal dictates in the six paths [of existence], he rescues all sentient beings [from] the sufferings and impurities [that are due to the rounds] of life and death. [Further,] he speedily realizes the meditative concentration (*samādhi*) of purity, he is not attached 不著 to the [rounds of] life and death and he does not attain *nirvāṇa*. All this is due to the actual realization by Avalokiteśvara of the adamantine teachings (*vajradharma*).
>
> Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha dwells in the lunar disc to the right of [Mahā]vairocana. He represents the stocks of merit and good fortune, [as innumerable as] the grains of sand in the Ganges River, of the absolute reality 眞如 (*bhūtatathatā*) of All the Tathāgatas. Because of the cultivation of the practices of Bodhisattva Ākāśāgarbha, one performs the four types of giving 施 (*dāna*), which I shall explain later. [To give an example,] the purity of the threefold circle [of the giver, the one who receives and the gift], may be compared to empty space. The numberless [acts that are] without the defilements [produced through] causation constitute the raw materials 資粮 of the Enjoyment (*saṃbhogakāya*) and Transformation (*nirmāṇakāya*) Bodies.
>
> Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi [Adamantine Fist] dwells in the lunar disc to the left of [Mahā]vairocana and represents the threefold mysteries of All the Tathāgatas that lie in Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi's palm. Because the bodhisattva of the mantra practice enters the altar [of the mandala] and obtains consecration 灌頂 (*abhiṣeka*), he gets to hear about the practices and secret teachings of the three actions [of body, speech and mind] of the Tathāgatas. [Further,] he acquires the especially excellent attainments (*siddhi*) [that are both] mundane and supramundane. [And then,] he purifies himself by eradicating the ten unwholesome, evil deeds that are without origin and realizes the ultimate wisdom that is devoid of all obstacles.
>
> Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī dwells in the lunar disc in the southeast corner and he represents the wisdom-sword of the transcendent insight (*prajñāpāramitā*) of All the Tathāgatas 一切如來般若波羅蜜多慧劍. He resides in the three

gateways of liberation 三解脱門 and can reveal the eternalness, blissfulness, self and purity 常樂我淨 of absolute reality, the Dharma Body 法身 (*dharmakāya*). Because the Bodhisattva realizes this wisdom, he achieves universal and correct understanding, that is enlightenment].

Bodhisattva Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin [the One Who Turns the Wheel of Dharma as Soon as He Has Produced the Mind of *Bodhi*] resides in the lunar disc in the southwest corner and represents the four types of wheels (mandala) of all the Tathāgatas; that is, the wheel of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界 (*vajradhātu*), the wheel of the Subjugation of the Three Worlds 降三世 (*trailokavijaya*), the wheel of Universal Conquest 遍調伏 (*sakalajagad-vinaya*) and the wheel of the Accomplishment of All Objectives 一切義成就 (*sarvārtha-siddhi*).[25] Because the bodhisattva who cultivates mantra practice can enter such wheels as these, and [because] he relies on the four seals of knowledge 四種智印, he thereby accomplishes the lives of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas [in the great mandalas that are expounded in the four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*] and so realizes supreme enlightenment.

Bodhisattva Gaganagañja [Treasury (as Vast as) the Empty Sky] dwells in the northwest corner, and represents the rites of vast offerings of All the Tathāgatas. Because the bodhisattva who cultivates mantra practice performs a union of meditative concentration (*yoga samādhi*) of Gaganagañja Bodhisattva, in a single instant he is reborn before each of the Buddhas of the Realm of Reality 法界 (*dharma-dhātu*) that is as extensive as space, and in that great assembly he offers to the Tathāgatas various offerings [as numerous as] an ocean of clouds. [Moreover,] he follows all the Buddhas, listening to their expounding of the wondrous teachings. [Further,] he speedily replenishes his stocks of merit and wisdom and he uses the empty space as his storehouse. [Then,] according to the causal dictates in the various paths [of existence], he rescues and aids the many sentient beings, gradually pulling them towards supreme enlightenment by creating skillful means on their behalf.

Bodhisattva Sarvamāra-pramardin [the Destroyer of All Māras] dwells in the northeast corner and represents the great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) and expedient means (*upāya*) of All the Tathāgatas. Outwardly he manifests great wrath, but inwardly he harbors compassion. Residing in the stage of preparatory practice, he defends and maintains the ascetic practices and sweeps away all hindrances. At the time of the attainment of enlightenment, he crushes and subdues all those beings difficult to subdue, like] the celestial Māra [of Paranirmita-vaśavartin] and Maheśvara, causing them to accept conversion and proceed towards supreme enlightenment. Using the wisdom of wrath, he thereby achieves the ultimate [stage of enlightenment].

These Eight Great Bodhisattvas, whom I have explained as above, wield the threefold teachings; these are the mind of enlightenment, great compassion and skillful means. And these Bodhisattvas, whom I have explained as above, contain [within themselves] the mantra teachings of all the Buddhas' Law, as well as the great vehicles of all the revealed [teachings].

> [The line from the scripture such that (*T*.243.8:784a29):] "a great crowd of Bodhisattvas reverently surrounded [[Mahā]vairocana]" refers to the Eight Offering and the Four Gate Bodhisattvas, and these Bodhisattvas represent the symbolic *sama*[*ya*] retinue of the Tathāgata.[26]

Nevertheless, although Amoghavajra provides a few identifying characteristics for the participants, he never gives details about hand gestures or attributes. It is precisely this kind of information that the mandala-maker needs in order to compose a mandala with figures in their anthropomorphic form. Any depiction attempted on the sole basis of this text would be far from complete.[27]

In *Liqushi* 1, the prescriptions for the opening mandala contain specifications from the mandala and text that Amoghavajra used as his reference system. The groups of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas and the Eight Offering and Four Gate Bodhisattvas appear in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm delineated in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. The Eight Great Bodhisattvas attend on Mahāvairocana in the opening scene, and transformations of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, the products of Mahāvairocana's special meditative concentrations (*samādhi*), are members of the thirty-seven figures that compose the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[28] But the problems of the mandala-maker would not be solved by this section of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Like the *Liqushi*, it fails to provide sufficient information to accurately depict the figures of a great mandala.[29]

The *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* has a set pattern for the manifestation of the figures in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. It conveys the doctrinal concepts that the Bodhisattvas embody, as well as their mantras, symbolic forms (*samaya*) and special names, all of which are interrelated. Avalokiteśvara is one example of this. In the *Liqushi*, Amoghavajra lauds Avalokiteśvara's understanding of the adamantine teachings (*vajradharma*). In the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* Avalokiteśvara appears as Vajradharma 金剛法 (Adamantine Teachings) in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[30] The lotus flower is the symbolic form of Avalotiteśvara/Vajradharma, as well as his special attribute, and this figure in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm holds a lotus in a particular manner in order to unfold its petals. A second example is that of Mañjuśrī.[31] In the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm Mañjuśrī/Vajratīkṣṇa's attribute is the sword of wisdom.

In the opening mandala of the *Liqushi*, then, it seems all but inevitable that Avalokiteśvara will be holding a lotus and Mañjuśrī will be holding a sword. But many important details are lacking. In what hand should Avalokiteśvara/Vajradharma hold the lotus flower and which hand should perform the gesture of opening its petals? With which hand should Mañjuśrī/Vajratīkṣṇa brandish his sword? The information that Amoghavajra provides for the figures of the mandala in the opening scene of *Liqushi* 1 is insufficient to depict them at this level of detail.[32] The problem is not limited to the first part of the text. In subsequent stages of the *Liqushi*, Amoghavajra furnishes the elements essential to the ritual practice of each of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas. In addition to outlining each Bodhisattva's mandala, he explains the figure's seed syllable and the attainments (*siddhi*) that result from their ritual practice. But only occasionally does he describe hand gestures or attributes.

When we turn to the opening assembly in the Ishiyamadera exemplar, called *Piluzhena mantuluo* 毘盧遮那壇 (Vairocana's Mandala, fig. 11),[33] the figures of this mandala are represented by their names written with Chinese characters. The characters for "adamantine" 金剛

(*vajra*) prefixes all the names, including that of the central one, [Mahāvai]ro[cana] 金剛盧. This prefix indicates that the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* was Amoghavajra's source for the figures in the opening mandala of the *Liqushi*. Moreover, the names of the figures have been drawn from the names given the Bodhisattvas upon consecration in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, from the figures' heart mantras, or from their symbolic forms. The figures of Vajrapāṇi, Ākāśagarbha and Vajramuṣṭi are indicated by their adamantine names. Avalokiteśvara is designated Vajradharma, which is both his heart mantra and his name in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. Mañjuśrī is identified by his symbolic form, the adamantine sword 金剛劍. A character or two from the names of Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, Gaganagañja and Sarvamāra-pramardin are also prefixed with "adamantine."[34] The Offering and Gate Bodhisattvas are those of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[35]

The opening mandala in the Daigoji set, the *Darizun liquhui* 大日尊理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Venerable Mahāvairovana, fig. 1),[36] presents the figures of Mahāvairocana and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in their anthropomorphic forms and the Offering and Gate Bodhisattvas in their symbolic forms. This depiction of the latter group of Bodhisattvas conforms to Amoghavajra's statement in the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:608a29) where he refers to the figures of the Eight Offering and Four Gate Bodhisattvas as the Tathagata's "*samaya* family" 三昧眷屬; that is, the figures of his retinue represented in their symbolic forms. In this opening mandala Mahāvairocana forms the Mudrā of Meditation 定印, which characterizes the figure of Mahāvairocana in all the matrix mandalas of the Sino-Japanese tradition. Given the fact that Amoghavajra's commentary contains numerous references to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, it stands to reason that the figures would hold attributes and form hand gestures that are stipulated in this text and depicted in mandalas based upon this text. Thus, one would expect that Mahāvairocana in this opening mandala would form the Mudrā of the Fist of Wisdom 智拳印, Mahāvairocana's usual mudrā in the Sino-Japanese tradition of the mandalas of the adamantine realm. There are other discrepancies. For example, although Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara holds a flower as though about to unfold its petals, Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī does *not* hold a sword.[37]

In contrast to the iconography of the Ishiyamadera set, which appears more closely based on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* because it does not represent the figures in the mandalas pictorially, the iconography of the Daigoji set of mandalas has elements drawn from a number of different visual sources, not all of them related to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Thus, while neither of the mandalas follows their alleged source text in every detail, the Ishiyamadera exemplar is a far better fit than the Daigoji set, whose inspiration seems definitely eclectic. We will discuss three further examples in detail below to reinforce this conclusion.

The Mahāvairocana Mandala (*Liqushi* Stage 2)

In the *Liqushi*, Amoghavajra provides detailed specifications for mandalas in its Stages 2, 3, 7, and 9. *Liqushi* 2 deals with Mahāvairocana's enlightenment, the "highest, perfect awakening" 現等覺 (*abhisaṃbodhi)*, and how such a state is to be attained.

Liqujing 1 presents the goal of the text's teachings. Vajrasattva and his Bodhisattva retinue symbolize a process of awaking to one's innate purity. Because it is an enlightened mind that realizes the inherent purity of all elements of reality (*dharmas*), *Liqujing* 2 begins with an

exposition of the contents of Mahāvairocana's enlightenment. Mahāvairocana elucidates this by describing the four types of wisdom that he has acquired: the perfect awakening to the equality of the thunderbolt (*vajra*), the perfect awakening to the equality of benefits (*artha*), the perfect awakening to the equality of the teachings (*dharma*), and the perfect awakening to the equality of all actions (*karma*). Mahāvairocana represents the summation and reintegration of these four wisdoms, called in *Liqujing* 2 the "highest perfect awakening."[38]

This omniscient state is attained by means of the yogic practices of the four wisdoms, which are based upon Yogācāra school doctrines of fourfold wisdom and the school's theory of consciousness.[39] The yogic practice of these wisdoms transforms the practitioner's defiled consciousnesses, and his passage through and mastery of each yogic meditation mark his progression from unenlightenment to the enlightened status of Mahāvairocana.

In the *Liqushi*, Amoghavajra correlates these four yogic meditations to the special meditations associated with the four Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Vajraratna, Vajradharma and Vajrakarma, stating that these four Bodhisattvas are the outer manifestations of the workings of Mahāvairocana's fourfold wisdom.[40] Amoghavajra's specifications for this mandala, one of the few for which he does describe mudrās in detail, are as follows:

> In the center is Buddha [Mahā]vairocana. Behind him is a solar disc. His head is crowned with a preciously ornamented crown, his body clothed in a light silk garment. He makes the Wisdom-Fist Mudrā 智拳印 and sits on the lion seat, his body is like a lunar hall. In front of Buddha [Mahā]vairocana is Vajrasattva. Behind him is a lunar disc. He wears the five-Buddha crown. In his right hand he holds a vajra staff and in his left he holds a bell. He sits in the half lotus pose. At Buddha [Mahā]vairocana's right side is Ākāśagarbha. Behind him is a lunar disc. In his right hand he holds the adamantine gem, and his left hand [forms the Mudrā of] Granting Wishes. He sits in the half lotus pose. Behind Buddha [Mahā]vairocana is Avalokiteśvara. His left hand holds the lotus, his right forms the Mudrā of Opening-and-Spreading-of-the-Flower. He also sits in the half lotus pose. At Buddha [Mahā]vairocana's left side in a lunar disc is Vajrakarma. His two hands form [the Mudrā of] the Turn-Dance 旋舞 and he places [this Mudrā] at the top of his crown.[41] In the four inner corners install the four Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas]. Each manifests her original form. In the outer four corners place the Outer Four Offering [Bodhisattvas]. Each one holds her original utensil of offering. In the four gates place the Hook, Rope, Chain and Bell Bodhisattvas. Each resides in his original majestic pose.[42]

Much concerning the mandala in this Stage of Amoghavajra's commentary has been borrowed from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. The pentad of figures, which is the focus of this Mahāvairocana Mandala, is patterned after the mandala prescriptions given in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. As noted above, in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and its commentary Mahāvairocana generates the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas in four groups of four, who then take their places in the cardinal directions around their parent Buddhas.[43] The format of the Mahāvairocana Mandala reflects Mahāvairocana's method of illustrating his teachings in this and subsequent Stages of the *Liqujing*. In these *Liqujing* Stages, Mahāvairocana expounds the teaching

of each Stage in a fourfold formula of description, and he is both the source of emanation and the point of reabsorption.

This process of emanation (*utpatti krama*) and reabsorption (*utpanna krama* or *sampanna krama*) characterizes Mahāvairocana in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* as well, and is a second similarity between the two texts. For example, the process of emanation outward from Mahāvairocana produces the thirty-seven figures of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, the first of the six mandalas described in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Each figure in this mandala incarnates in ever subtler ways the qualities of the central figure of Mahāvairocana. In an opposite process, that of reabsorption, the thirty-seven deities of this mandala merge into the figures of the mandala of the four seals (*caturmudrā maṇḍala*) and the single figure in the mandala of the single seal (*ekamaṇḍala*), which are the fifth and final mandala of the six prescribed in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.[44]

The significance of the mudrās and attributes of the four Bodhisattvas is also based upon *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. This is a third common point between these two texts. In the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and its commentary, the *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuizheng famen*, the mudrās and attributes of these four Bodhisattvas symbolize the attainments of the teaching and practice of each Buddha and his family. For instance, Vajrasattva's *vajra* represents the first awakening and unfolding of the practitioner's mind of enlightenment, a process that is initiated and fostered by Buddha Akṣobhya and his family members;[45] Avalokiteśvara's mudrā of opening the lotus signifies the further development of the practitioner's wisdom through the guidance and encouragement of Avalokeśvararāja and his family;[46] Vajraratna holds the gem that symbolizes the consecration that is granted by Ratnasaṃbhava and his family;[47] Vajrakarma's dancing hand gesture refers to the beneficial activities that are undertaken on the practitioner's behalf by Amoghasiddhi and his family.[48] The focus of the following four stages of the *Liqujing* and its commentary is the soteriological roles performed by these four Bodhisattvas and their families.[49]

A final common point between the *Liqujing* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* is the use of the mandala in the method of attaining buddhahood. Amoghavajra describes, albeit cryptically, in *Liqushi* 2 (*T*.1003:611a9-22) the process by which the practitioner should envision his mental passage through this Mahāvairocana Mandala, as well as the ritual practice (611a17-22) for which this mandala is the focus. He proclaims that (611a19-21) intensive meditation upon the figures of this mandala will enable the practitioner to eradicate all obstacles and bad *karma*, and that in this present life the practitioner will attain the stage of a bodhisattva and, after passing through sixteen births 十六生, he will attain the stage of the highest form (*dharmakāya*) of Mahāvairocana. Here Amoghavajra refers to the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The practitioner acquires by means of yogic practices the special qualities and wisdoms of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas and, by extension, their parent Buddhas.[50]

The Daigoji mandala corresponding to Amoghavajra's description in *Liqushi* 2, the *Darizun liquhui* 大日尊理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of the Venerable Mahāvairocana, fig. 3),[51] does not match the details given so precisely above. Mahāvairocana forms the Wisdom Fist Mudrā that is prescribed in both the *Liqujing*[52] and the *Liqushi*, but he sits on a lotus, not a lion, throne. Vajrasattva holds the *vajra* in his left hand, and his right forms the Pride Fist Mudrā 慢印; Ākāśagarbha holds the flaming jewels on a long-stemmed lotus in his left hand and a flaming sword in his right; Avalokiteśvara holds a long-stemmed lotus in his left hand, and his right hand performs a mudrā, but not that of the prescribed gesture-of-opening-the-lotus;

Vajrakarma's left hand forms the Pride Fist Mudrā and he holds a long-stemmed lotus topped with a double *vajra* in his right hand. The Inner and Outer Offering Bodhisattvas appear in their symbolic 三昧耶 (*samaya*) forms and not in their original, anthropomorphic forms, holding their "utensils of offerings." In short, the mandala and its "source" have little in common.

In the Ishiyamadera exemplar (fig. 12), there is a much better correspondence.[53] In the mandala's center Mahāvairocana is designated by the epithet "the seal of the mind of the Buddha who is adamantine and universal" 金剛遍佛心印, while he is called the "the Buddha in the Body of Enjoyment (*saṃbhogakāya*) who shines universally" 遍照報身佛 in *Liqushi* 2.[54] The notations for the mudrās and attributes on either side of the names of the Bodhisattvas in the Ishiyamadera mandala agree with Amoghavajra's mandala prescriptions. For instance, Vajrasattva's name has staff 杵 on the right side and bell 鈴 on the left.[55]

The Trailokyavijaya Mandala (*Liqushi* Stage 3)

Our demonstration of the discrepancy between the mandalas prescribed in the *Liqushi* and those of the Daigoji examplar, and, on the contrary, the faithfulness of those of the Ishiyamadera examplar, continues with the example of the Trailokyavijaya mandala prescribed in *Liqushi* 3. To situate this mandala in the third stage of the *Liqujing*'s teachings, let us first describe its doctrinal context.[56]

In *Liqujing* 3, Tathāgata Śākyamuni, who subdues those beings difficult to discipline 難調,[57] begins to expound, in the line of the *prajñāpāramita* tradition, the absence of vain discourse 無戲論 (*niṣprapañca*) on different categories, such as greed, anger, ignorance, all the *dharma*s and the *prajñāpāramitā* itself. He then declares to Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi[58] that if one observes this teaching, then "even if one kills all beings of the three realms, one does not fall into the bad destinies. On the contrary, having subdued [these beings], he will rapidly attain the supreme, correct enlightenment." While all the versions, even the oldest one by Xuanzang, agree up to this point,[59] from here on, Amoghavajra's, and later versions, introduce the new deity, Trailokyavijaya 降三世, who actually subdues all the beings, beginning with the Hindu god Maheśvara (that is, Śiva), who cannot be converted by peaceful means. Thus, to further clarify the significance of this principle of the absence of vain discourse on all elements of reality (*dharma*s), including that of the *prajñāpāramitā* itself, Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi knits his brows, gazes ferociously, bares sharp fangs and forms the Mudrā of Conquering the Three Worlds 降三世印. Dwelling in the stance of conquering the three worlds 降三世立相, he pronounces the adamantine seed syllable of wrath: "*Hūṃ!*"[60]

The mention of Trailokyavijaya in *Liqujing* 3 constitutes an obvious reference to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s second chapter, the Chapter on Trailokyavijaya, whose main subject is the subjugation of Maheśvara by Trailokyavijaya, a wrathful form of Vajrasattva (or Mahāvairocana).[61] Although Amoghavajra did not translate the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s second chapter into Chinese, he describes its contents in his *Jingangding yuqie jing shibahui zhigui*. Here in fact he devotes the greatest amount of space to this Chapter on Trailokyavijaya,[62] thus stressing the importance of this theme of subjugation by wrathful means.

> Next is explained the great Chapter of Trailokyavijaya (Conqueror of the Three Worlds). It has six mandalas. After the Tathāgata had attained perfect enlightenment, had turned the Wheel of the Adamantine Realm, [that is,

> manifested the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm] on the summit of Sumeru and had given to the bodhisattvas their names and functions [in this mandala], such [gods] as Maheśvara and the like were resistant and difficult to convert, being unable to be converted by peaceful means. All the Tathāgatas, who completely filled the space of the Realm of Reality 法界, unanimously entreated Vajrasattva and paid homage to [him] with a eulogy of one hundred and eight names, [saying] "These kinds of gods cannot be converted by peaceful methods." At the time Vajrapāṇi [that is, Vajrasattva], having accepted the entreaty of the Tathāgatas, then entered into the meditative concentration of the wrathful vajra (*krodhavajra samādhi*)[63] and, manifesting a body of great majestic virtue, he subdued [them all] using a variety of skillful means and thus ended their lives. Maheśvara, having died, himself observed in the lower regions, beyond the [number of grains of] sand of sixty-two river [Ganges], a world called Adorned with Ashes 灰莊嚴 (Bhasmācchanna). In that world he attained perfect enlightenment and his name became Tathāgata King Sovereign [over] Fear 怖畏自在王. Vajradhara [that is, Vajrasattva/Vajrapāṇi] pinned [Maheśvara] down with his leg and, intoning the mantra of adamantine longevity, again brought [him] back to life. [The gods, that is Maheśvara and his consort Umā] having accepted conversion, Vajrasattva[/Vajrapāṇi] then explained [to them] the great mandala. The gods that he drew into [the mandala] received the name of adamantine (*Vajra*).[64]

Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* 3 concentrates on the mythical aspects of this universal subjugation. His commentary of this stage begins as follows:[65]

> At the time Tathāgata Śākyamuni, who subdued those beings difficult to discipline, in Jambudvīpa [during] the latter days of the Teaching's period of five pollutions, manifested the eight events [of his life story,] wherein he became a Buddha, in order to subdue those "outside the [Buddha's] way" 外道 (*tīrthika*) [who were] of ninety-five kinds. All [those "outside the [Buddha's] way"] were converted to the path of the Buddha. (...) And in the multi-storied pavilion with a pinnacle [made] of *vajra*s and gems in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three [Gods] on the summit of Mount Sumeru, Buddha [Mahā]vairocana turned the wheel of the Teachings. This wheel is fourfold; the so-called adamantine (*vajra*) wheel, the wheel of gems (*ratna*), the wheel of the teachings (*dharma*) and the wheel of actions (*karma*). These four wheels are all subsumed into two wheels, the so-called wheel of the correct teaching 正法輪 and the wheel of instruction and command 教令輪.[66] That is to say, in Jambudvīpa [Mahā]vairocana transformed [himself] into [Śākyamuni, presenting to the beings] the events of his becoming a Buddha and so saved those outside the way. Then, on the summit of Mount Sumeru he manifested a majestically wrathful form and subjugated Maheśvara and the others who, [filled] with arrogance, idleness, self and pride, erroneously believed that they possessed all wisdoms because all [such] defilements as craving, anger and delusion had perfumed [and so tainted] their store-

> consciousnesses (*ālayavijñāna*). In order to make them pure and free from defilements, [Mahāvairocana therefore manifested [the form whose] left and right feet [respectively] trampled on Maheśvara and his consort Umā.[67]

Here Mahāvairocana manifests himself first as Śākyamuni in order to convert those "outside the Buddha's way" on our continent of Jambudvīpa, and then, manifesting himself upon the summit of Mount Sumeru, he presents himself in a wrathful form in order to subjugate and save such incorrigible gods as Maheśvara. On the surface this passage seems to describe the struggles between those who follow the Buddhist path and those "outside the [Buddha's] way" who adhere to non-Buddhist doctrines and heretical views. This Buddhist drama was patterned after the cosmic battle between Durga, the wrathful form of Śiva's consort Umā, and the Asura Śumbha and Niśumba that is recounted in the *Devīmāhātmya*.[68] Iyanaga Nobumi suggests that an independent version of the submission of Maheśvara and his followers might have been presented originally as a theatrical piece, used to demonstrate the conversion of the Hindu deities to the Buddhist faith.[69] Scholars have interpreted this Buddhist drama in the Indian context, especially the version presented in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, as testimony to the struggle between Buddhist and Śaiva factions.[70]

In China, and even more so in Japan, where this historical reality of the rivalry between Śaivism and Esoteric Buddhism in India was not felt, this myth tended to be interpreted in moral terms. Thus, when a version of this mythical drama was first presented in Śubhākarasiṃha's and Yixing's *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* (Commentary on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*), where the subduer is Acala instead of Trailokyavijaya, it is summarized with the statement that Maheśvara, the lord of the three thousand worlds, is in fact "the beings' own mind 自心, that is to say, the stage of dwelling in ignorance without beginning."[71] The fundamental problem in Buddhism is the elimination of the inner hindrances of passions, which are the cause of all suffering and which impede the attainment of enlightenment. The inner hindrances that disturb the mind are known as the three poisons 三毒 (*tridoṣa*) of craving 貪 (*rāga*), anger 瞋 (*dveṣa*) and delusion 癡 (*moha*). According to the *Liqushi*, because of their three poisons, sentient beings are destined to transmigrate endlessly through the three realms of desire, form and formlessness.[72] This Buddhist dilemma is explicated in *Liqushi* 3 in the dramatic form of a great battle wherein a transformation of Mahāvairocana tramples upon and so subdues Maheśvara, the lord of the three realms who incarnates these three poisons. Maheśvara symbolizes the enemy within, that is, the obstructions to the practitioner's attainment of enlightenment.[73]

Amoghavajra provides in *Liqushi* 3 explicit instructions for the rite of wrathful subjugation 降伏法 (*ābhicāruka*) that the practitioner can perform for both himself and for others. He can subjugate the enemy-like passions that possess him, as well as the gods, demons and evil beings who harm the Buddha's teachings. Further, the practitioner can free another person from the three poisons and their accompanying defilements.[74] There are slight differences in the instructions, depending on whether the practitioner performs this rite for his own benefit or for the benefit of others. But fundamental to this rite of wrathful subjugation is the practitioner's entry into the *samādhi* of the yoga on the five types of absence of vain discourse, which is the teaching of *Liqujing* 3, the forming of the mudrā called the Yoga Seal of the Great Wisdom of Trailokyavijaya and the chanting the single syllable mantra *hūṃ*. The text states that it is the power of this mantra of wrath, which is the mantra of the Vajra Family 金剛部 (*vajra-kula*) that enables the practitioner to quickly accomplish the rite of subjugation.[75]

The rite of wrathful subjugation is the responsibility of the Vajra Family in such early Esoteric Buddhist texts as the *Susisddhikara sūtra* (*T*.18.893A:604b23-29), for example. Further, in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*, Śubhākarasiṃha and Yixing explicate the function of the Vajra Family in the mandala presented in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s second chapter, where they classify the deities of the mandala into three categories or "Families." The text states:

> Generally speaking, this is the first layer [of the mandala]. [Those in the court] above are the many virtuous adornments of the Buddha's body. [Those in the court] below are Buddha's messengers, the holders of wisdom 持明使者 (*vidyādhara-dūṭa*). All [in these two courts] are called the gate of the Tathāgata Family 如來部 (*tathāgata-kula*). [Those in the court] to the right are the pledge (*samaya*) of the Tathāgata's great compassion. Because they can nourish and grow the ten thousand goodnesses, they are called the Padma Family 蓮華部 (*padma-kula*). [Those in the court] to the left are the functioning of the power of the Tathāgata's great sapience 大慧 (**mahā-prajñā*). Because they can smash the three hindrances [of craving, anger and delusion], they are called the Vajra Family.[76]

There are five Families in the system of the Adamantine Realm and wrathful subjugation is carried out by Buddha Akṣobhya and his Vajra Family in the east. Amoghavajra clearly describes this five-family system in his *Dubu tuoluoni mu* 都部陀羅尼目 (Entries on Dhāraṇī of Various Categories), where he uses the term Vajra Family 金剛部 and notes that Buddha Akṣobhya is the head of this family.[77]

The mandala of Trailokyavijaya prescribed in *Liqushi* 3 depicts the first of Mahāvairocana's eight manifestations as the Eight Great Bodhisattvas. This mandala is composed of deities belonging to the Vajra Family, whose parent Buddha, Akṣobhya, is represented by Trailokyavijaya. Amoghavajra's instructions for this mandala are as follows:

> The fivefold wisdoms of the absence of vain discourse [on craving, anger, delusion, the *dharmas* and supreme wisdom] constitute the mandala of Trailokyavijaya. In the center install Trailokyavijaya. In front of Trailokyavijaya install the Bodhisattva Krodhasattva 忿怒薩埵 (Wrathful Being). Behind [him] install the Bodhisattva Krodhasādhu 忿怒善哉 (Wrathful Applause). At his right side install the Bodhisattva Krodharāja 忿怒王 (Wrathful King) and at his left side install the Bodhisattva Krodharāga 忿怒愛 (Wrathful Lust). In the four inner corners install the four wrathful Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas]. In the outer four corners install the four wrathful Outer Offering [Bodhisattvas]. At the east gate install the bow and arrow, drawing [thus] the symbolic [forms representing these deities].[78] At the south gate install the sword, at the west gate the wheel and at the north gate the three-pronged trident.[79]

All the figures are wrathful in appearance; the weapons in the gateways symbolize this.

The tasks of subjugation are ascribed to the Vajra Family in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and in the *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuizheng famen*. These works stipulate, often cryptically, the natures and functions of the buddhas and bodhisattvas in this esoteric system. For instance, Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva's nature and function have been detailed above.[80] Each figure of the *Liqushi*'s Trailokyavijaya mandala represents, then, a phase in the process of subjugation and the awakening of the desire for enlightenment that has been allocated to the members of Akṣobhya's family. Entry into the meditative concentration (*samādhi*) of Trailokyavijaya subdues the practitioner's inner demons and that of Vajrasattva, who is associated with the *Liqujing* 3's teaching on craving, greed and desire, transforms these passions into Great Desire for the attainment of enlightenment for oneself and others.

Because of his position in this mandala, Vajrarāja is associated with the *Liqujing*'s teaching on anger and hatred that must, by means of his *samādhi*, be transformed into a Great Anger that is compassionate. According to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuizheng famen*,[81] he incarnates Mahāvairocana's knowledge of the *samādhi* wherein living beings are pulled into the correct path with an adamantine hook 金剛鉤 (*vajrāṅkuśa*) and led on to enlightenment by means of four special methods of gathering 四攝法 (*catvāri saṃgraha-vastūni*), that of giving both spiritual and material goods, loving speech, conduct of body, speech and mind that benefit sentient beings, and assuming the same form as the sentient being in need of assistance.[82]

Vajrarāga corresponds to the *Liqujing* 3's teaching on ignorance and delusion. Vajrarāga is a Tantric version of Māra 摩羅, the Evil One who symbolizes evil desires and passions and who figures in the historical Buddha's life story.[83] Mahāvairocana generated from a *samādhi* on the Samaya of the Great Bodhisattva Māra the heart mantra Vajrarāga (Adamantine Lust) of All the Tathāgatas, and then he combined within his heart flower[-tipped] weapons of All the Tathāgatas, forming a great adamantine arrow 金剛箭 (*vajravāṇa*). From this arrow appeared myriads of figures of Tathāgatas who merged into the figure of the Great Bodhisattva Māra. Mahāvairocana placed in this Bodhisattva's hands the adamantine arrow and All the Tathāgatas consecrated him with the name Vajradhanu 金剛弓 (Adamantine Bow). Vajrarāga thus arises from the passions of All the Tathāgatas and represents their blinding enrapturement of love. But, because he transcends such defilements, he is able to use passions to subdue those in all beings. This he does with the great adamantine arrow.[84]

Finally, by means of the *samādhi* of Vajrasādhu the practitioner of the teachings in *Liqujing* 3 understands the true nature of all elements of reality. That is, he acquires the supreme knowledge of the illusory character of all and so attains a sphere wherein his thoughts are free from discriminations and distinctions. This achievement brings about a great joy. Extreme joy is the fundament of Vajrasādhu, according to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuizheng famen*.[85] He arises from the heart mantra *vajrasādhu* (adamantine applause), which transmutes into the form of great joy 大歡喜形 and then into the anthropomorphic figure of the Great Bodhisattva King of Extreme Joy 極歡喜王. Mahāvairocana grants him adamantine joy 金剛喜 (*vajrasādhu*) as his emblem and All the Tathāgatas confer upon him the name of Adamantine Joy. He is able to produce supreme joy for those who have transcended all discriminations, and he praises and delights All the Tathāgatas.

But the mandala-maker would find it difficult to produce a mandala of the deities in their anthropomorphic forms based solely on the instructions given in *Liqushi* 3. Amoghavajra specifies

the positions of the deities, but he does not describe the physical features, mudrās or attributes of any. Nevertheless, the common denominator of Trailokyavijaya's iconography in both the *Liqujing* and the *Liqushi* is the "stance of conquest." The *Liqushi* further explains Trailokyavijaya's pose:

> The [scripture's] phrase "dwelling in the stance of conquest" refers to the standing form of Trailokyavijaya 降三世立印 ... bending his right knee, he extends his left knee. His right foot tramples on Maheśvara and his left treads on Umā.[86]

Thus, a standing figure of Trailokyavijaya, in the stance of conquest, and the prostrate figures of Maheśvara and his consort Umā should be present in this mandala.[87]

The Daigoji's *Jiansanshi liquhui* 降三世理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Trailokyavijaya, fig. 4)[88] does not fulfill these expectations. Trailokyavijaya appears wrathful, but he is seated on a lotus blossom. The representation omits his most important iconographical feature, "the stance of conquest," and he is not trampling the figures of Maheśvara and his consort. Indeed, these two latter figures do not appear at all. This is a startling divergence, since in every one of the scriptures and ritual manuals that Amoghavajra translated or composed, Trailokyavijaya is represented in this stance.[89] Moreover, the Bodhisattvas of Trailokyavijaya's retinue do not appear wrathful, despite the stipulations of the *Liqushi*.[90] Finally, the Daigoji mandala is oriented to the north, with its three-pronged trident, instead of to the east with its bow and arrow, as Amoghavajra prescribes.

The Ishiyamadera's Trailokyavijaya mandala (fig. 13), on the other hand, by and large corresponds with the prescriptions of the *Liqushi*. The most obvious instance of this is the title, *Shijie Jiansanshi tan* 釋迦降三世壇 (Śākya-Trailokyavijaya Mandala),[91] that is recorded at the side of the Ishiyamadera mandala, referring to Mahāvairocana's manifestations, first as Śākyamuni and then as Trailokyavijaya.[92] Again, the character "wrathful" 忿 appears in the names of all the figures. Moreover, "draw the symbolic form" 書契 in Amoghavajra's directions has been understood to mandate a depiction of mudrās accompanying the gate symbols.[93] Finally, the names of the Offering and Gathering Bodhisattvas indicate that the *Liqushi* served as this mandala's textual source. However, instead of the names of the group of Offering and Gathering Bodhisattvas that are standard to the mandala described in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, to whom Amoghavajra refers in his instructions, the Bodhisattvas who embody the *Liqujing*'s epithets of purity have been depicted.[94]

The Mañjuśrī Mandala (*Liqushi* Stage 7)

Liqujing 2 is an exposition of the four components of Tathāgata Mahāvairocana's enlightenment, which are the four types of wisdom, that of the perfect awakening to the equality of the thunderbolt (*vajra*), the perfect awakening to the equality of benefits (*artha*), the perfect awakening to the equality of the teachings (*dharma*), and the perfect awakening to the equality of all actions (*karma*).[95] Stages 3 to 6 present this enlightenment in greater detail. The corresponding Stages of the *Liqushi* further explicate Mahāvairocana's four-fold enlightenment and the ritual methods whereby the practitioner can attain it.[96] The teachings of the subsequent four Stages of the *Liqujing*, from 7 to 10, are an exposition of ritual practices whereby the practitioner experiences

the four aspects of Tathāgata Mahāvairocana's inner realization. In the *Liqushi*'s corresponding Stages these practices are those of the Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī, Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, Gaganagañja and Sarvamāra-pramardin, four members of the group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas. Here, we will discuss the first of these four Stages, the seventh Stage dedicated to the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.[97]

The theme of Stage seven of the *Liqujing* is, according to *Liqushi* 7, the remedial treatment of the practitioner's four types of consciousnesses 四種識 that arise from the inferior and erroneous functioning of his five sense consciousnesses, thinking consciousness, mental consciousness and storehouse consciousness by means of the four wisdoms of enlightenment 四智菩提.[98] The praxis taught by Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī brings about a cure. He can destroy the practitioner's delusions by revealing the illusory nature of all elements of reality. *Liqushi* 7 states that

> If [the practitioner] does not eradicate *dharmas* that cause adherence to [such] false views [that self and things are real], then he becomes ill due to his clinging to *dharmas*. Therefore, the bodhisattva [who wants to] increase his knowledge, uses the four types of wisdom-swords of [Bodhisattva] Mañjuśrī to sever hindrances, [both] those mental functions that disturb his mind as well as their objects, concerning the four types of wisdoms [acquired when one] becomes a buddha. For this reason, Mañjuśrī appears, brandishing [his sword] and chopping off the arms of the four buddhas.[99]

Amoghavajra thus equates the four lines of the *Liqujing*'s teachings on the emptiness of all elements of reality 諸法空, their aspectlessness 諸法無相, their being without desires 諸法無願 and their radiant purity 諸法光明 with the meditative concentrations of four manifestations of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.[100] The first three points of the *Liqujing*'s doctrine correspond with the classical Buddhist doctrine of the three gateways to liberation 三解脱門 (*vimokṣa-mukha*).[101] The last one, the radiant purity of all elements of reality, is the result of the practice of the three gateways of liberation, which reveals their true nature.

Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī possesses a penetrating wisdom which he uses like his sword to cut through false and deluded views of self and the phenomena of this world, to uncover the true nature of reality.[102] *Liqujing* 7 states that Mañjuśrī "brandished [his sword], cleaving All the Tathāgatas."[103] This action is described in *Liqushi* 7 as Mañjurśrī wielding his sword and cutting off the arms of four buddhas.[104] Such an act can best be understood in the context of the special practices over which this bodhisattva presides. Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī attacks these buddhas, who are in fact illusionary manifestations, symbolizing misleading thoughts and false arguments that are eliminated in order to understand the true characteristics of all elements of reality.

Four Buddhas, who hold wisdom-swords of emptiness 虛空智劍 in their arms, are present in the mandala that Amoghavajra prescribes in *Liqushi* 7. His directions for the construction of this mandala are as follows:

> [If] the yoga practitioner [wants to] successfully attain perfect wisdom, [then] he must construct this mandala. This mandala is laid out in the form of eight mandalas.[105] In the center draw the form of the youth 童子形 Mañjuśrī. In the

> four directions install the four Buddhas. Secure in each of the four Buddhas' arms a wisdom-sword of emptiness. In the four [inner] corners place the four emblems[106] of transcendent wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*). In the outer four corners install the four Offering [Bodhisattvas]. In the four gates install the [following] four emblems. In the eastern gate draw the sword, in the southern gate the spear 鑠底 (*śakti*), in the western gate the bowl and in the northern gate the sūtra.[107]

The benefits acquired from practice of this mandala are unhindered eloquence of discourse 無礙辯才 (*asaṅga-pratibhāna*), the understanding of innumerable teachings on *samādhi*, and the appearance of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.[108]

Once again, the Daigoji's *Wenshushili liquhui* 文殊師利理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Mañjuśrī, fig. 8)[109] differs in nearly every respect from what is laid out in the *Liqushi*. Although a youthful Mañjuśrī is depicted, he is not in the form that Amoghavajra describes. Both the *Liqujing* and the *Liqushi* specify Mañjuśrī's emblem to be the sword,[110] but the crowned Mañjuśrī in the Daigoji mandala does not hold a sword. Instead, he holds in his right hand a rectangular form that represents a book and in his left a lotus flower. Four youths with topknots replace the four Buddhas, and the emblems of perfect wisdom appear as sets of armour, rather than as sūtras.[111] The iconography of the Daigoji mandala's Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is that of the crowned figure from the Hall of the Eight-Petaled Central Dais 中台八葉院 in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*.[112] Because both the *Liqujing* and the *Liqushi* provide detailed information on the iconography of Mañjuśrī, the substitution demonstrates the presence of both a different interpretation and a different iconographical source.[113]

On the other hand, despite minor discrepancies, the iconography of the Ishiyamadera's *Jingang Wenshushili Tongzhen tan* 金剛文殊利師童眞壇 (Mandala of Kumāra Vajra-Mañjuśrī, fig. 14)[114] is based on the mandala directions and commentarial explanations of the *Liqushi*. In the center of the Ishiyamadera mandala we find "the youth [who holds] the adamantine sword" 金剛利童. The four Buddhas, who represent All the Tathāgatas in the four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, are in the four cardinal directions.[115] In the four inner corners are "offerings of sūtra [boxes]" 梵甲供養, symbols of the teachings of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*. At the gates are the four emblems that Amoghavajra prescribes, the sword, spear whose tip forms a three-pronged *vajra*, bowl, and sūtra, as well as depictions of hands forming mudrās.

A Word About the Remaining Mandalas

It would be possible to repeat this comparison for every one of the mandalas in the two exemplars, but going on at such length would be tedious and even pointless. The pattern established by the four examples discussed above is clear and consistent and holds for all the mandalas we are studying. Let us, however, make the following remarks.

First, there are major discrepancies between the *Liqushi*'s prescriptions and the iconography of all eighteen of the mandalas in the Daigoji exemplar. In many cases the variations appear to be deliberate. Even when Amoghavajra specifies the details of a figure in the *Liqushi* (examples are Stages 2, 3, and 7, as seen above), the iconography of the Daigoji figure does not match. *Liqushi* 9 is another example where Amoghavajra stipulates the iconography of the central figure of the Mandala of Gaganagañja, but the prescribed features for the figure of Bodhisattva

Gaganagañja are not represented in the Daigoji *Xukongku pusa liquhui* 虛空庫菩薩理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Gaganagañja).[116]

The lack of iconographic information in the *Liqushi* posed a major problem for the composer of the Daigoji exemplar. Amoghavajra gives only the names and positions of the figures for most of the mandalas that he describes in the *Liqushi*. For instance, the central figure of the Daigoji's *Jinganglun pusa liquhui* 金剛輪菩薩理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Vajracakra) is a wrathful figure but the theme of *Liqujing* 8 and its commentary is not that of wrath.[117] In contrast, wrath is the theme of *Liqujing* 10 and its commentary, whose focus is Bodhisattva Sarvamāra-pramardin 摧一切魔菩薩 (Destroyer of all Māras). And *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:608a21-22) describes Sarvamāra-pramardin as outwardly wrathful but inwardly compassionate.[118] This Bodhisattva does not appear in his wrathful form in the Daigoji's *Cuiyiqiemo pusa liquhui* 摧一切魔菩薩理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Sarvamāra-pramardin).[119] Further, Amoghavajra states in *Liqushi* 4 and 5, for example, that Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha are to be drawn according to their fundamental form 本形 but he gives no hints in these passages as to what this form should be.[120]

In other Stages of the *Liqushi* (13, 14, and 15, for example) Amoghavajra refers to an "extended book" 廣本 or an "extended scripture" 廣經 and to a mandala (*Liqushi* 16, 17) that was painted on the wall of Jianfusi 薦福寺 in the Chinese capital of Chang'an 長安 for details such as attributes, mudrās and colors.[121] In short, there is never a one-to-one correspondence between the mandala prescriptions in the *Liqushi* and the corresponding Daigoji mandalas.[122]

There are, in contrast, one-to-one correspondences between the *Liqushi*'s mandala prescriptions and the iconography of the Ishiyamadera set: examples are the *Jingangsaduo tan* 金剛薩埵壇 (Mandala of Vajrasattva) and the third mandala (fig. 11) with the notation "This is the third [mandala] expounded in the Scripture of the path [of guiding principles]" 此是第三道經中說.[123] In the Mandala of Vajrasattva, for instance, the names of the figures refer to the deities in *Liqujing* 1 and to explanations given in *Liqushi* 1. In the center of this mandala is Buddha Vajrasattva 金剛[薩]埵佛. This name indicates the major characters in *Liqujing* 1: after expounding the seventeen epithets of purity, the Buddha Mahāvairocana transforms himself into Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva.[124] The names of the figures surrounding Buddha Vajrasattva in the central circular court and in the two square courts of the Ishiyamadera mandala correspond (although not without errors in writing the Chinese characters and mistakenly replacing Kāmāvajra 愛金剛 in the upper right corner of the first square court with Vajrasādhu 金剛善哉, one of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas in the mandala of the adamantine realm) to the names of the figures given in Amoghavajra's directives for this mandala in *Liqushi* 1, as well as in the text of this commentary, wherein he explicates each of the seventeen epithets and specifies their seed letter mandala.[125]

Even if discrepancies can be found between the *Liqushi* and the iconography of the Ishiyamadera exemplar, the *Liqushi* and other writings by Amoghavajra serve as the iconographic sources. In fact, the variations in all but one of the mandalas *Jingangshou tan* 金剛手壇 in the Ishiyamadera exemplar can be linked to Amoghavajra's writings.[126] For instance, most numerous are the matches between the iconography of the mandalas in the Ishiyamadera examplar and the commentarial explanations given in the relevant *Liqushi* Stages. This occurs in the mandalas of Vairocana 毘盧遮那壇, Śākya-Trailokyavijaya 釋迦降三世壇 and Kumāra Vajra-Mañjuśrī 金剛文殊師利童眞壇, as I have demonstrated in this chapter,[127] and also in five other mandalas, those

of *Guanzizai pusa* 觀自在菩薩 (Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara), *Baosheng* 寶生 (Ratnasaṃbhava), *Jingang yiqie rulai* 金剛一切如來壇 (Vajra-Sarvatathāgata), *Jingang Cuiyiqiemo* 金剛摧一切魔 (Adamantine Destroyer of All Māras) and the mandala titled "Not One Not Different. True Teachings of the Four Sisters of the Outer Vajra Family" 不一不異。外金剛部四姉妹眞教, as I will now demonstrate.

There are correspondences between the iconography of the Ishiyamadera's mandalas of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Ratnasambhava, and Vajra-Sarvatathāgata[128] and the *Liqushi*'s prescriptions, as well as the texts that constitute the source of the *Liqujing*'s teachings and the *Liqushi*'s explanations. The first correspondence occurs with the names of the central figures in these mandalas. The terms inscribed in the mandalas signify the ontological and soteriological essence of both the parent Tathāgata and main attendant Bodhisattvas of the Lotus, Gem and Action Families that are expounded in the *Liqushi*, *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865) and its commentary (*T*.870).

Thus, the central figure of the Ishiyamadera Mandala of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is named Vajra Sovereign 金剛自在, which corresponds to Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara 觀自在菩薩, who is described in *Liqushi* 5 as a transformation of his parent buddha, Amitāyus 無量壽;[129] Vajra/Ākāśagarbha 金剛虛空藏, the central figure in the Ishiyamadera Mandala of Ratnasaṃbhava, corresponds to Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏菩薩, who is explained in *Liqushi* 6 as a transformation of his parent buddha, Buddha Ratnasaṃbhava 寶生佛;[130] and the central figure in the Ishiyamadera Mandala of Vajra-Sarvatathāgata is named Vajra Sarvatathāgata-muṣṭi 金剛一切如來拳, and this figure corresponds to Bodhisattva Sarvatathāgata-muṣṭi 一切如來拳菩薩, that is Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi, who is termed in *Liqushi* 7 a transformation of his parent buddha, Amoghasiddhi 不空成就.[131]

A second correspondence is the epithet *Vajra* 金剛 that proceeds all the names of the figures in the Ishiyamadera mandalas. This points to influence from Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* wherein the names of all the figures in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm are prefixed with this term.

In *Liqushi* 10 Amoghavajra provides no information for the depiction of the figures of the mandala wherein the central figure is Sarvamāra-pramardin 摧一切魔菩薩 (Bodhisattva Destroyer of All Māras).[132] As we have noted above, wrath is the theme of *Liqujing* 10 and the teachings in this Stage of the *Liqujing* and passages in the *Liqushi* suggest that Bodhisattva Vajrayakṣa, the central figure in this mandala, would have a wrathful appearance.[133] The central figure in the Ishiyamadera Mandala of the Adamantine Destroyer of All Māras is named Adamantine Destroyer of Demons and Māras 金剛摧鬼魔, suggesting a wrathful deity, and there are other motifs corroborating the theme of wrath. "Wrathful" 忿怒 is appended to the names of all the Offering Bodhisattvas.[134] Moreover, although Amoghavajra's mandala prescriptions do not call for their representation, the inclusion of the angry manifestations of the four Buddhas — Trailokyavijaya 金剛世忿怒 of the Vajra Family, Kuṇḍalī 金剛「illegible」忿怒 of the Gem Family, Hayagrīva 金剛法忿怒 of the Dharma/Padma Family, and Ucchuṣma 金剛羯忿怒 of the Action Family, which is based upon his commentary, makes the theme of wrath more explicit. "Wrathful" also appears after their names.[135]

The title, "Not One Not Different. True Teachings of the Four Sisters of the Outer Vajra Family" for Ishiyamadera's mandala No. 17 is not given in Amoghavajra's work, but there is an

obvious thematic connection.[136] The theme of *Liqujing* 12 to 15 is the teachings of the identicalness of buddhas and sentient beings. In each of these Stages, gods who belong to the Vedic-Brahmanic traditions pay homage to the Buddha.[137] The *Liqushi* elaborates: the heterodox and the Buddhist, the unenlightened and enlightened are but two aspects of the same underlying and universal principle — all sentient beings possess the buddha nature. Thus, non-Buddhist gods become, once incorporated into Buddhism, transformations of Mahāvairocana.[138] For example, according to *Liqushi* 15 the Four Sisters represent the four perfections (*pāramitā*s) of eternalness (*nītyapāramitā*), bliss (*sukhapāramitā*), self (*ātmapāramitā*) and purity (*śuddhapāramitā*).[139] Amoghavajra's equations of identity are clearly recorded in the Ishiyamadera mandala No. 17. Tumburu *deva* is the Four Sisters' Brother and the Transformation Body of Mahāvairocana, as the inscription on the mandala records 毗盧化身／金剛部[都]牟盧／四姊妹兄也. There is confusion in the numbering and labeling in the mandala, but the Sisters are inscribed as: No. 2 Jayā, the perfection of eternalness; No. 3 Vijayā, the perfection of bliss; No. 4 Ajitā, the perfection of self; No. [not numbered] A[para]jitā, the perfection [of purity].[140]

Other writings by or attributed to Amoghavajra also account for obvious iconographical discrepancies that are seen in the Ishiyamadera mandalas for Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin 纔發心轉法輪大菩薩壇, Gaganagañja 虛空庫菩薩壇, Vajrapāṇi 金剛手壇 and an untitled No. 1.

In mandalas No. 10, 11 and 13,[141] for example, the names for the Eight Great Bodhisattvas are not those given in *Liqujing* 1 but are from *Bada pusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼荼羅經 (Scripture of Mandala of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas), a work included in the list of translations and compositions Amoghavajra presented to the Chinese emperor in 771.[142] This group of Bodhisattvas consists of Avalokiteśvara 觀自在菩薩, Maitreya 慈氏菩薩, Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏, Samantabhadra 普賢菩薩, Vajrapāṇi 金剛手菩薩, Mañjuśrī 曼殊室利菩薩, Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhī 除蓋障菩薩, and Kṣtigarbha 地藏菩薩.[143]

Further, the *Liqushi* is not the source of the iconography of the Ishiyamadera's final mandala, which the editors of the *Taishō* have titled *Wubimi tan* 五祕密壇 (Five Mysteries Mandala).[144] *Liqushi* 17 stipulates only five figures for its Five Mysteries mandala. Instead, there are iconographical correspondences between the seventeen-deity Ishiyamadera mandala and Amoghavajra's ritual manual for the rite of Vajrasattva, the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法 (Method for Contemplation and Recitation on Bodhisattva Samantabhadra [taken from the] Supreme First Yoga of the Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha)[145] and the *Dale Jingangsaduo xiuxing chengjiu yigui* 大樂金剛薩埵修行成就儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Perfection of the Practice of Vajrasattva of Great Bliss), a manual that his disciple Yuanzhao 圓照 attributes to Amoghavajra.[146]

Detailed in these two manuals is a seventeen-figured mandala. The positions, attributes, colors and mudrās of the figures are explicitly prescribed, and the resultant seventeen-figure configuration focuses on the Five Mysteries pentad. Common to all three works are the names, attributes, mudrās and colors of the focal pentad, the names of the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas (but not their colors or positions), the names and colors of the Gathering Bodhisattvas (but not their positions) and the attributes and colors of the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas (but not their names or positions). The rotation of the Inner and Outer Offering Bodhisattvas and the Gathering Bodhisattvas accounts for their different positions in the Ishiyamadera mandala.[147]

The lack of iconographic information in the *Liqushi* and Amoghavajra's reference to an "extended scripture" accounts for the iconographical problems seen in Ishiyamadera mandalas of Maheśvara and the twenty-five *deva*s (No. 14), Mahākāla and the Seven Mothers (No. 15), and the three Brahmanic "brothers" (No. 16).[148] For instance, Amoghavajra does not provide the names of either the "eight types of gods" 八種天 in *Liqushi* 12, nor of the Mother Goddesses in *Liqushi* 13, which explains the fact that there are eight empty discs in Ishiyamadera mandalas no. 14 and 15.[149] Amoghavajra identifies the three brothers in *Liqushi* 14 as Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa and Maheśvara but he does not specify their positions in his mandala prescriptions.[150] This is the Brahmanical triad (*trimūrti*) of Brahmā, Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa) and Śiva (Maheśvara) — the Creator, the Preserver and the Destroyer. Maheśvara is in the central circle of this triangular mandala but the names of the other two "brothers" are not inscribed in the two circles to his left and right.[151]

CONCLUSION

In all, three major points are demonstrated by comparison of the two exemplars with their alleged source text.

The first is that the official Shingon line that the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar is based on the *Liqushi* cannot be supported and indeed appears to be false. In every case, there are major discrepancies between the Daigoji mandala set and the text of the *Liqushi*.

The second is that there is a definite relationship, though not always an exact correspondence, between the prescriptions of the *Liqushi* and the details of the second mandala exemplar, that is presently found in Ishiyamadera.

The last is that the *Liqushi* does not in fact contain enough information to make it possible to draw the anthropomorphic forms of the figures relying on its data alone. Even if the composer of the Daigoji exemplar had wished to use the *Liqushi* as his one and only textual source, he would still have had to consult other sources for some of the details. There is simply not enough detail in the *Liqushi* for it to be solely sufficient as a guide.

And yet, despite the lack of precision in many of the *Liqushi*'s mandala prescriptions, the author of the Daigoji exemplar not only deviated from these textual instructions, for example representing as benign deities that the *Liqushi* describes as wrathful, but also failed to maintain doctrinal consistency, following a matrix mandala when he should have represented deities from the adamantine realm mandala. These dramatic iconographic changes point to a source other than Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*. It is well known that Buddhist scriptures are not sufficiently descriptive or explicit to allow the drawing of accurate icons. Icons generally contain more iconographic information than texts. Clearly, a master's oral instructions would have been very important in the production of mandalas and the execution of rituals of which they are the focus.

I discuss the iconographical sources of the Daigoji exemplar in Chapter Three of this study. A close reading of the *Liqushi* discloses that Amoghavajra's reference system never varies: it is the First Assembly, as well as other assemblies of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, as I will demonstrate in Chapter Four. The problems of the provenance and ascription of the Daigoji exemplar must be addressed and this I undertake in the following chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: REVISIONS AND REINTERPRETATIONS OF THE *LIQUJING MANTULUO*

INTRODUCTION

The number of Japanese commentaries on the *Liqujing* and its inclusion in numerous Japanese iconographic and ritual compilations testifies to the importance of its teachings in the Shingon school from the early Heian period onwards. Nevertheless, the *Liqujing mantuluo* do not form a single unbroken tradition. They were revised and reinterpreted.[1]

In this chapter I will examine late Heian, Kamakura and Edo period versions of the *Liqujing mantuluo*, as well as specific treatises on it. These materials, dating from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries, attest both to the significance given to the transmission of the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar, and to the freedom with which the Esoteric Buddhist masters changed the iconography of the *Liqujing mantuluo* to accord with their own iconological interpretations of the *Liqujing* teachings.

I will discuss six major works in the *Liqujing mantuluo* tradition:

- Genkaku's 嚴覺 (1056–1121) seed letter 種字 (*bīja*) version in Kanchi'in 觀智院
- Shinkaku's 心**覺** (1117–1180) *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū* 理趣經段段印明集 (Collection of the Mudrās and Mantras for the [Ritual] Stages of the *Rishukyō*), in the possession of Ninnaji 仁和寺
- Kōzen's 興然 (1121–1203) version from the *Kakuzenshō* **覺禪鈔** (Compendium of Kakuzen)
- Dōhō's 道寶 (1214–1281) version from his *Rishukyō hiketsushō* 理趣經祕決鈔 (Compendium of the Secret Transmission on the *Rishukyō*)
- Ihō's 維寶 (1687–1747) treatise, the *Rishukyō jūshichidan jūhachishu hōmandara shosetsu fudōki* 理趣經十七段十八種法曼荼羅諸説不同記 (A Record of the Dissimilarities of Various Explanations [concerning] the Eighteen Seed Letter Mandalas of the Seventeen Stages of the *Rishukyō*)
- Shinkai's 眞海 (?–1770) version now held at Fudarakuin 補陀洛院.

These mandalas and treatises have been briefly described in previous works, but to date there has been no systematic study of the revisions and reinterpretations they contain. Moreover, there has been no attempt to explore the significant changes that have occurred in the transmission of these works within the Shingon school. This is what I propose to attempt in the following pages.

GENKAKU'S SEED LETTER VERSION IN KANCHI'IN

This, the earliest set of the *Liqujing mantuluo* that both continues and modifies the iconographic tradition of the Daigoji exemplar, is dated by an inscription to 1349 (Jōwa 貞和 5). It is presently in the possession of Kanchi'in 觀智院, a sub-temple of Tōji, in Kyōto.[2]

Toganoo Shōun states that Genkaku's version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* is nothing but the replacement of the figures in the set of mandalas introduced by Shūei, the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing mantuluo*, with seed letters.[3] This is not entirely correct. The iconography and the

accompanying notes of the Kanchi'in set disclose that Genkaku's version (hereafter referred to as the Kanchi'in set) was indeed composed with knowledge of the iconographic features of the Daigoji exemplar. Nevertheless, it differs in ways that show the influence of a new interpretation of the *Liqujing* teachings, one that was propagated by the late Heian Ono subschool to which Genkaku belonged.

In his commentary on the mandalas of the Kanchi'in set, Genkaku repeatedly makes reference to another mandala.[4] One such passage is found in the note on the *Gōzanze mandara* 降三世曼荼羅 (Trailokyavijaya Mandala, fig. 16, *T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, no. 3046, p. 822, No. 4):

> Trailokyavijaya [in the] mandala is blue in color [and he has] three faces and eight arms. Two hands form the Great Seal [Mudrā]. On the right his next hand holds an arrow; the next hand holds a five-pronged vajra [staff]; and the next hand holds a sword. The left hand holds a bow; the next [left] hand holds a rope and the next left holds a three-pronged trident. He sits on a white lotus flower...[5]
> Bodhisattva Wrathful Sattva's right hand forms a fist and it is held at his waist. His left hand grasps the three-pronged [vajra] at his breast. His head tilts slightly to the left.
> Bodhisattva Wrathful Rāja's two hands form the King Mudrā, and his head tilts slightly to the left.
> Bodhisattva Wrathful Sādhu's two hands form the Pride Mudrā and his head tilts slightly to the left.
> Bodhisattva Wrathful Rāga's two hands hold the arrow and [his head] tilts slightly to the right.

This matches the iconography of the figures in the Daigoji mandala of Trailokyavijaya (fig. 4, *T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, no. 3044, p. 779, No. 4).

A second example is provided by the Kanchi'in set's mandalas of Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha. As noted in Chapter One, Amoghavajra gives no iconographic information in *Liqushi* 4 and 5 for the figures of the Avalokiteśvara Mandala and Ākāśagarbha Mandala, stating merely that Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha are to be drawn in their "fundamental forms" 本形.[6] Genkaku has this to say about these two mandalas (*T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, 3046, pp. 823–824, No. 5, 6):

> Avalokiteśvara [is] flesh colored and his left hand holds a lotus flower and on top is placed a conch shell. The palm of his right hand is turned outward, and he presses with his thumb his middle and fourth finger. In his crown is a transformation Buddha...
>
> Ākāśagarbha['s] right hand holds a sword and his left hand holds a lotus flower on top of which is placed a jewel. He wears a jeweled crown with the Five Wisdoms…

The iconography here again matches that of the Daigoji mandalas of Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha (*T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, 3044, pp. 780–781, No. 5, 6).

These two examples could be supplemented with many others.[7] The notes of the Kanchi'in set that show no influence from the Daigoji exemplar contain iconographic information quoted from Amoghavajra's writings instead.[8]

There are also annotations written in a very small hand next to the seed letters of the five types of gods in the Kanchi'in *Kongōshu* 金剛手 (Vajrapāṇi [Mandala]). Some of these read as follows (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 830, No. 12):

> Vajramukha: left hand is placed on the thigh; right hand holds a hook.
> Brahmā: left hand is placed on the thigh; right hand holds a lotus flower.
> Śakra: left fist is placed on the thigh; right hand [holds] a single-pronged pounder.
> Āditya: left fist is placed on the thigh; right hand holds a sun disc.
> Candra: left fist is placed on the thigh; right [hand] holds a moon disc.
> Vāyu: left fist is placed on the thigh; right hand holds a banner.

The hand gestures and attributes here are in complete agreement with those of the gods in the outer court of the Daigoji Vajrapāṇi mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 787, No. 12). There are numerous other iconographical correspondences between the Kanchi'in set of mandalas and the Daigoji exemplar.[9]

The Daigoji exemplar must thus have served as a model for the iconography of the Kanchi'in set. Although no records state explicitly that Genkaku had seen the Daigoji exemplar, circumstantial evidence shows he had access to the collections of the major Esoteric Buddhist temples and that of the most famous Imperial treasury of his day, the Toba Hōzō 鳥羽寶藏.[10] Moreover, Genkaku held important administrative positions, such as *Bettō* 別当 (chief administrator) of Kajūjji 勸修寺 and Anjōji 安祥寺, and *Chōri* 長吏 (abbot) of Kajūji, *Ni no chōja* 二の長者 (second elder) of Tōji 東寺 and the official rank of *Daisōzu* 大僧都 (senior priest general), which would have opened to him the collections of these temples and others within their sphere of influence.

One change that Genkaku obviously made was to replace the figures of the Daigoji exemplar with seed letters. A careful examination of these letters demonstrates that his version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* is shaped by an iconological interpretation that differs from that of the Daigoji exemplar.

In the *Liqujing* Mahāvairocana expounds the teaching of the "purity of the guiding principles of wisdom" 般若理趣清浄. He elucidates the teachings in a series of Stages that center upon the practice of a particular Bodhisattva. A seed letter closes each section, thus expressing the essence of each Stage by embodying the particular qualities of the Bodhisattva.[11]

Now, as was the case in every seed letter version of the *Liqujing mantuluo*, Genkaku was confronted with a twofold problem: number and source. The *Liqujing* and its commentary, the *Liqushi*, do not agree on the exact number and placement of seed letters.[12] Further, the number of seed letters in the two texts is limited. Thus, a mandala-maker cannot extract from these two texts a framework that will be perfectly consistent with both when composing a seed letter version of the *Liqujing mantuluo*. Most of Genkaku's mandalas adopt the seed letters of the *Liqujing*,[13] but examination shows that some are drawn from other sources, while the motivation for several remains obscure.[14]

One such source is the *Genzu kongōkai* and *taizōkai mandara*. For example, the seed letters of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in the Kanchi'in *Shodan Dainichi* 初段大日 (Mandala of Mahāvairocana of the First Stage, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 818, No. 1) are from the *Liqujing*, but Mahāvairocana's seed letter *vaṃ* and those of the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas 外供養菩薩 (Incense, Flower, Lamp and Unguent), which are *aḥ, oṃ, dīḥ, gaḥ*, and the Gathering Bodhisattvas 四摂菩薩 (Hook, Rope, Chain and Bell), which are *jaḥ*, *hūṃ*, *vaṃ* (but this should be *baṃ*, but it is often incorrectly written as *vaṃ* because of the similarity of the two glyphs), *hoḥ*, derive from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*.[15] In the Kanchi'in *Monjushiri mandara* 文殊師利マンダラ (Mañjuśrī Mandala, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 826, No. 8), on the other hand, the seed syllables for the figures of Mañjuśrī's immediate retinue are taken from those for these figures in the *Monju in* 文殊院 (Hall of Mañjuśrī) of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*.[16]

Another source for variants is the names of the figures in the mandala. The seed letters of the eight guardian gods in the *Makeishura mandara* 摩醯首羅マンダラ (Mandala of Maheśvara, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 831, No. 13) derive from the first syllable of their names: *ī* for Indra, *yaṃ* for Yama, *vai* for Vaiśravaṇa, *a* for Agni, *i* for Īsāna, and so on. The Seven Mothers (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 832, No. 14) are all given the seed syllable *mā*, which is the first syllable of the Sanskrit *mātṛkā* (mother).[17]

The final and most interesting source for Genkaku's choice of seed letters, a source whose influence is unique to the Kanchi'in set, is the *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqia yuqi jing* 金剛峰樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 (hereafter *Yuqijing*).[18] In the Preface of the *Yuqijing* a seed letter is assigned to the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas of the four directions. For example, the seed letters of the four Bodhisattvas of the west, Vajradharma, Vajratīkṣṇa, Vajrahetu and Vajrabhāṣa, are *a, ā, aṃ* and *aḥ*, respectively.[19] In the *Kanjizai bosatsu* [*mandara*] 觀自在菩薩 (Avalokiteśvara Mandala, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 823, No. 5) these seed letters surround the focal *hrīḥ*, which is Avalokiteśvara's seed letter in the *Liqujing* (*T*. 243:785a2). The seed letters *hāḥ* and *hūṃ* for the Inner and Outer Offering Bodhisattvas also derive from the preface to the *Yuqijing*.[20]

The seed letter of the Five Mysteries is a double *hūṃ*, which is written in the *siddhaṃ* script as *hhūṃ* (fig. 17, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 836, No. 19). The source for this seed letter is not the *Liqujing*, which gives the seed letter *huṃ* (*T*.243:786b4). The note accompanying the Five Mysteries Mandala explains the pentad as representing the summation of the practices of the teachings of the *Liqujing* as elucidated in the *Liqushi*. It states:

> This mandala [represents the fact that] Vajrasattva has reached the position of ultimate accomplishment. The Mandala of the First Assembly is the mandala of cause. [Cause is] therefore from [Bodhisattva] Desire Adamantine [who represents] the first [stage of awakening the] mind [of enlightenment] until finally reaching [the stage of Bodhisattva] Pride Adamantine. [The Bodhisattvas] reside on different lotus seats and each in [their own] lunar discs, sojourning in their fundamental majestic postures. Now this mandala [begins] from cause and proceeds to the fruit [of result], and from shallowness it proceeds to profoundness, [that is] the position of ultimateness. The aspects of each fuse together in one body that is indivisible 合一躰無二, and they never differ from the Venerables of the Five Families. Apart from this mandala they never have this form. It is the essence of the Five Families. The father and mother of the

> Venerables represent the single Dharma Body 諸尊父母為表独一法身. Just [writing] a doubled letter *huṃ* as one letter represents the union of the Venerables 諸尊和合. For this mandala there are special rules of practice and [they are] a profound secret.

Genkaku's note is a description of Vajrasattva's resultant state of perfection. His journey is symbolized in the iconography of the mandalas that are prescribed in the *Liqushi*'s first and final Stages. The mandala in *Liqushi* 1 presents seventeen aspects of the pure mind of enlightenment by means of seventeen Bodhisattvas who reside on separate lotus seats within separate lunar discs. The iconography of the final mandala signifies Vajrasattva's integration of these seventeen aspects into a single form, symbolized by the Five Mysteries who reside on a single lotus seat within a single lunar disc. Incorporating both the beginning and end of a journey via mandala practice through the Stages of the *Liqujing*, Vajrasattva is the aspiring practitioner on his way to enlightenment as well as the enlightened practitioner himself, whose tainted passions have been transformed and so purified.

Yet the quotation may contain more original ideas than one might suppose at first sight, and this may be the reason I have not yet succeeded in identifying its textual source. Specifically, the problem concerns the double *hūṃ* seed letter symbolizing the relationship between the first and final Stages of the scripture (the seventeen Bodhisattvas of the First Stage and the Five Mysteries of the Final Stage), and thus symbolizing the merger of the many (the seventeen figures of *Liqushi* 1, the five figures of *Liqushi* 17, all the deities of the Five Families of Mandala of the Adamantine Realm (*Liqushi* 16), the father and mother of the deities) into the single *dharmakāya*, that is Mahāvairocana, the body of the enlightened cosmos wherein all opposites are dissolved.

Japanese Buddhist encyclopedias record the double *hūṃ* seed letter as one of the seed letters of the Five Mysteries pentad that symbolizes the *Liqujing*'s theme, wherein the Seventeen Epithets of Purity, personified as seventeen Bodhisattvas in the first Stage, conflate into the five figures composed of Vajrasattva and his Bodhisattva retinue in the last Stage. In the performance of the Seventeen Stages in the *Liqujing* rite 理趣經段々印明 (*Rishukyō dandan no inmyō*), the single seed letter *hūṃ* of the opening Stage of the *Liqujing* (*T*.243:784b24 and the explanation in *T*.1003:609c10-12 that this letter signifies cause, that is the mind of enlightenment of All the Tathāgatas) is added to the single *huṃ* of the final Stage of the *Liqujing* (*T*.243:786b4), and thus signifies that "cause and result, impurity and purity are indivisible" 因果染浄不二. The encyclopedias do not give the textual source for this double hūṃ.[21]

Tradition credits Kūkai with the double *hūṃ* seed letter for the Five Mysteries in the performance of the ritual phases of the seventeen Stages of the *Liqujing*. Kakuzen 覺禪 (1143–after 1213) of the Ono subschool notes in his scroll of the *Rishukyō* rite in the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪抄 a certain transmission 或云 that states Hannya Sōjō's 般若僧正 (Kangen 觀賢, 853–925) transmission of the mudrās and mantras for the Stages of the scripture was from the Book that the Great Teacher Augustly Penned 大師御筆之本. Shinkaku 心覺 (1117–1180) of the Hirosawa subschool too records information from this book in his *Rishukyō dandan inmyō*, a work I examine in this chapter. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* identifies this as the written transmission of Kūkai. The Tōji master Ryōson 亮尊 (1258–1341) records in his *Byakuhokku shō* 白寶口抄 a statement from Kūkai's *Rishukyō kaidai* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 730) that suggests a reason for this attribution: "As for the [meaning of the word] '*rishu*' 理趣 (guiding principle), the content [taught

in this scripture] from the first letter *hūṃ* to the final letter *huṃ* is a repository of exceedingly profound mystery." And yet, Kūkai, who was careful to note the difference between a long and short vowel, records in his *Shinjitsukyō mongu* 眞實經文句 the single seed letter *huṃ* for the Five Mysteries.[22]

The change from the single *huṃ* given in the scripture to the double *hūṃ* in Genkaku's graphic representation of the Five Mysteries Mandala indicates a significant change between the scripture and its commentary (see *T*.1003:617a28 and 609c10-19) and that of ritual practice. Nevertheless, an investigation of transmissions on the *Liqujing* in the Ono subschool's Daigoji and Kajūji ritual lineages that date before and after Genkaku does not reveal the origin of the double *hūṃ* seed letter of the Five Mysteries pentad.[23]

Because Genkaku consulted the *Yuqijing* in order to compose his seed letter version of the *Liqujing mantuluo*, thus indicating his understanding of an obvious and close relationship between the two scriptures, it stands to reason that he might have borrowed for the Five Mysteries the seed letter of Rāga-vidyārāja 愛染明王 (*Aizen myōō*), an important figure in the *Yuqijing*, whose mantra begins with a double *hūṃ*.[24] Indeed, the ritual compilations of Genkaku's immediate predecessors and descendants confirm the *Yiqujing* as the source, as I demonstrate below.

The mantra and an iconographic description of this figure are given in *Yuqijing* ch. 5. Here a ferocious, six-armed Rāgarāja is described as holding in his major pair of hands a golden bell (left) and five-pronged [vajra] staff (right) and having "a manner and form like [Vajra]sattva" 儀形如薩埵. He holds in his next pair of hands an adamantine bow (left) and adamantine arrow (right), and in his final set of hands he holds "that" 彼 (lower left) and a lotus (right) in the attitude of striking 如打勢.[25]

Rāgarāja is thus a composite figure.[26] His links to Vajrasattva are the attributes of the vajra and bell.[27] The Daigoji master Genkai 元海 (1094–1157) records in his *Atsuzōshi*'s 厚造紙 (Thickly Made Papers) that: "Rāgarāga, Buddhalocanā and Trailokyavijaya [inserted note in smaller letters:] are the same buddha. Samantabhadra the Life Extender is also the same. This is because all are transformations of Vajrasattva." Genaki's evidence for this equation is a cryptic passage from *Yuqijing* ch. 5 that states: "This [deity] is called Vajrarāja 金剛王, the most supreme name among the supreme. The meditative concentration of Vajrasattva is the Mother of All the Buddhas 此名金剛王。頂中最勝名。金剛薩埵定。一切諸佛母.[28] Rāgarāja's bow and arrow indicate his connection with Vajrarāga 金剛愛 of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[29] Rāgarāja's equation with Vajrarāga is presented in Kanjin's 寬信 (1084–1153) *Denjushū* 傳受集 (Collection of Transmissions), a recording of transmissions that his master Genkaku received from either Rishubō Jakuen 理趣房寂圓 (d. 1065) or his disciple Rishubō Raishō 理趣房賴照.[30]

Rāgarāja is also considered to be a transformation of a deity called Vajrarāja 金剛王 who does not appear in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[31] This Vajrarāja is the central figure of a ritual manual called the *Jingangwang pusa niansong fa* 金剛王菩薩念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on Bodhisattva Vajrarājā), which Amoghavajra included in his 771 memorial. He is four-armed, and his upper two hands form the attitude of [fixing] an arrow [to a bow] 住端箭勢, his lower right hand holds a vajra and his lower left hand holds a bell. The mantra that concludes his description is a shortened form of Rāgarāja's mantra.[32]

In the Ono ritual tradition, the double *hūṃ* became one of Rāgarāja's seed letters. An early precedent for the double *hūṃ* is given in Genkai's *Atsuzōshi*, where he records the transmission of

Kōryūji Sōjō 香隆寺 (Kangū 寛 空, 884-972). Genkaku, his master Rishubō Raishō, his disciple Kanjin, and Genkaku's contemporary Shōkaku 勝覺 (1057–1129), the Gonsōjō of Daigoji's Sanbōin 三寶院權僧正, used the double *hūṃ*.[33]

Rāgarāja and the Five Mysteries pentad became interchangeable in the Ono subschool's ritual tradition because both symbolize the Esoteric Buddhist premise that the passions are the materials of enlightenment. One aim of the ritual that focused on the Five Mysteries and Rāgarāja was the transformation of the practitioner's tainted passions into the pure ones of enlightenment.

The *Liqujing* describes in its first Stage (*T*.243:784b1-12) a state of innate enlightenment (the Seventeen Epithets of Purity) that is, according to it commentaries (*T*.1003:608b27-609a15, 1004:617b22-618a29), symbolized by seventeen Bodhisattvas who incarnate such pure elements (*dharmas*) as the passions of bliss, desire, touch, love, and pride, as well as the sensual experiences of form, sound, smell and taste. The scripture's final Stage (*T*.243:786a5-17) recapitulates this state of enlightenment as five Bodhisattvas who represent Great Desire 大慾, Great Bliss 大樂, Great Enlightenment of All the Tathāgatas 一切如來大菩提, All the Tathāgatas' Subjugation of Great Powerful Māras 一切如來摧大力魔 and Sovereignty throughout the Three Realms 遍三界自在主. *Liqushi* 17 (*T*.1003:616c15-617a17) identifies these five Bodhisattvas as the Five Mysteries, who are Bodhisattva Vajrasattva and his four Bodhisattva Consorts Desire, Touch, Love and Pride.

Amoghavajra's manuals (*T*.20.1123, 1124, 1125, 1132) provide the ritual technology that enables the practitioner to embody this state of enlightenment. The primary aim of the Five Mysteries rite, for example, is the practitioner's self-identification with Vajrasattva and his four Consorts and so the appropriation of their powers and virtues. His performance of meditative visualizations and yogic practices transmutes the defiled passions of body and mind into the purified passions personified by Vajrasattva and his female retinue, and his union with these deities brings about both supramundane and mundane attainments for himself and all sentient beings.[34]

The *Yuqijing* chapters 5 and 7 present Rāgarāja as a deity who eliminates evil factors and hindrances that stand in the way of enlightenment.[35] *Yuqijing* 5 proclaims throughout its description of Rāgarāja, his mudrās, his mantras and the five rites wherein he functions as the main deity that he can extinguish the multitude of all bad spiritual factors.[36] The subjugation and transformation of afflictions and passions are also the functions of Vajrasattva in the *Liqujing*.[37] In *Yuqijing* 7, Fundamental Hindrance 一障者 manifests itself in the form of Vajrasattva and so Vajrapāṇi teaches how practitioners can, by using Rāgarāja's Fundamental Heart [Mantra] in One Letter 根本一字心 (*hūṃ siddhi*), quickly remove and extinguish Fundamental Hindrance and so become the substance and body of the Vajra.[38] Jichiun's 實運 (1105–1160) *Hizō konpōshō*, a recording of the transmission he received from Genkaku's disciple Kanjin, presents the transmissions of Genkaku's masters Jakuen and Raishō concerning Rāgarāja's right hand that holds the lotus in the attitude of striking the lower left hand, which holds "that": "this [attitude of striking] signifies that [Rāgarāja] strikes and dispels the practitioner's hindrances and difficulties 打除行者障難義也. This is because the scripture's statement [in *Yuqijing* ch. 5]: "the sum of all bad spiritual [factors] will rapidly be extinguished, without any doubt 一切惡心衆速滅無有疑." Jichiun also presents the transmission of Rinken of Kōyasan 高野山林賢 who records that: [the scripture's statement refers to] the removal of Fundamental Hindrance [which appears in *Yuqijing* ch. 7]."[39] We also learn in Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* that Genkaku's contemporary Shōkaku

considered the mantra taught in *Yuqijing* 7 to be of great significance in removing and extinguishing hindrances and in bringing about the love, reverence and subjugation of all worldly gods and people.[40]

The substitution of Rāgarāja for Vajrasattva of the Five Mysteries and the Seventeen Epithets of Purity was neither incongruous nor unprecedented in the Ono subschool's ritual tradition. The compilations of transmissions of the Daigoji and Kajūji ritual lineages disclose the borrowing of such elements as the mandala, mantra and liturgy from Amoghavajra's ritual manuals (*T*.20.1123, 1124, 1125, 1132) for their Rāgāraja rites. Further, Rāgarāja's connection with Vajrasattva and his retinue of Sixteen Bodhisattvas was especially important and relevant in the ritual practice of Rāgarāja.

Jichiun's *Shoson yōshō* 諸尊要抄, his recording of the transmissions he received from Genkaku's disciple Kanjin and from Kanjin's contemporary, the Daigoji master Genkai, offers the earliest, but most unusual, precedent of this substitution of Rāgarāja for Vajrasattva. This compilation contains a diagram of a *siddhaṃ* version of a seventeen-figured Rāgarāja mandala that the Great Teacher (Kūkai) is said to have introduced to Japan 曼荼羅大師歸朝之時御所持云云. In the central court, a double *hūṃ* is surrounded by the letters *ma ha su gha* (*mahāsukha*), a portion of the mantra given in *Liqushi* 1.[41]

The Ono ritual tradition also records that the precedents for this substitution date to the times of Shinzen 眞然 (804–891) of Kōyasan and Ningai 仁海 (951–1046) of Ono Mandaraji 小野曼荼羅寺. For instance, Genkai documents in his *Atsuzōshi* (*T*.2483:270c4-8) a Rāgarāja rite in Accordance with the Rules 如法愛染王法 that the Ono monk Hanjun 範俊 (1038–1112), Genkaku's master, performed for the cloistered emperor Shirakawa 白河天皇 (1053–1129, r. 1072–1086, *In* 1086–1129). The *Rishue* 理趣會 from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies) was spread on the large altar 大壇 and the ritual procedure was according to the *Jingangwang yigui*. The origin of this substitution of Rāgarāja in the mandala of Vajrasattva, according to Genkai, was the transmission of Kōya Gosōjō 高野後僧正 (Shinzen 眞然, 804–891), which used the *Rishue* as the mandala of Rāgarāja. Genkai provides a diagram of the *Rishue* wherein the deities' names are recorded in Chinese characters. Here Rāgarāja 愛染王 replaces the central figure of Vajrasattva.[42]

In the *Hizō konpōshō*, according to scroll 1 of Kanjin's *Denjushū*, the tradition of creating the mandala of Rāgarāja by substituting this figure for Vajrasattva in the *Rishue* is traced back to the *Ono daishidai okusho* 小野大次第奥書 (Secret Document in the Great Procedure of Ono), that is Ningai's manual for the Rāgarāja rite.[43] Jichiun also records Kanjin's transmission which states that the *Rishue* is used as Rāgarāja's mandala.[44]

It is the significance of the double *hūṃ* for Rāgarāja in the context of the note that accompanies Genkaku's Mandala of the Five Mysteries that is a concern here. The key point of this note is the union, be it of many (the Five Families, the Venerables, the seventeen Bodhisattvas, the Five Mysteries) or of few (the Five Mysteries, the father and mother of the Venerables), into one that is symbolized by the unique double *hūṃ* (*hhūṃ*) seed letter. In the rite of emotional subjugation 敬愛法 (*vaśīkaraṇa*) and its variant, the rite of attraction 鉤召法 (*ākarṣaṇa*), wherein both Vajrasattva and Rāgarāja function as the main object of veneration, the practitioner can seek spiritual union with the deities or sexual conquests in the worldly sphere. Genkai records in his *Atsuzōshi* the meaning of sexual union for the double *hūṃ* in an entry on Rāgarāja and his counterpart Zenaiō 染愛王, who is presented in *Yuqijing* ch. 2:

> A certain collection records that the transmission of Reigan 靈巖傳 [Engyō 圓行 (799–852), a second-generation disciple of Kūkai who studied in China 838–839 (see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1212a)] states as follows: The *hūṃ* 吽 for Zenaiō [note in small characters: who symbolizes meditation (*samādhi*) and is male] represents the five-pronged [vajra] staff's two sides 二方五[股]杵. The *hūṃ* 吽 for Aizenō 愛染王 [note in small characters: who symbolizes wisdom (*prajñā*) and is female] represents the five-pronged [staff]'s [other] two sides 二方五股 [杵]. The double *hūṃ* 吽重 is the form of the union of meditation and wisdom.[45]

The last four mandalas of the Kanchi'in set are particularly divergent from the iconographic tradition of the Daigoji exemplar. One big change is that there are two versions of the *Gobu gue* 五部具會 (Assembly of the Five Families, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 835, No. 17 and 18).[46] Although we cannot as yet identify the source for the seed letters in either of these two versions, the seed letters in the central circle of both mandalas — *vaṃ* for Mahāvairocana and *oṃ* for the four Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattvas — as well as the seed syllables of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas are from the preface to the *Yuqijing*. Moreover, in these two versions of the *Gobu gue*, the seed letters of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas in the *Yuqijing* are repeated in each of the five large lunar discs.[47] Genkaku also added a mandala of summation (fig. 18, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 837, No. 20). Although this final mandala of the Kanchi'in set has no attached text, the seed letters provide a synopsis of the stages of the *Liqujing*'s teachings.[48]

To sum up, the most significant change evident in the Kanchi'in set is the commingling of the iconographies of the *Liqujing* and *Yuqijing*, and in particular the substitution of Rāgarāja's seed letter for that of the Five Mysteries pentad. This *Yuqijing* iconography is unique to the Kanchi'in set of *Liqujing mantuluo*, and stands in marked contrast to the program of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo*. In this set the mandalas of the Five Great Ākāśagarbhas, Buddhalocanā and Rāga-vidyārāja, whose iconographies are described in the *Yuqijing*, are appended to the Daigoji set of eighteen mandalas.[49] We cannot determine whether this interpretation was created by Genkaku, though circumstantial evidence suggests it may well have been, since he knew the teachings of the *Yuqijing* and compiled notes on certain chapters of it.[50] Genkaku makes no reference to the substitution of seed letters, but such replacements would have been easily understood by the monks of the Ono subschool to which Genkaku belonged.[51]

Genkaku received a Rāgarāja rite from each master under whom he studied, and his disciple Kanjin assembled these in the *Denjushū*.[52] We learn from this work that the rites of Rāgarāja had an important place in Genkaku's inherited ritual repertoire, in contrast to the single mention of a Five Mysteries rite that formed part of Raishō's transmission in *Denjushū* scroll two.[53] While the *Yuqijing* is discussed twice in the *Denjushū*, the *Liqujing* is not even mentioned.[54]

Rites performed for public protection and succor, such as the rites for rainmaking 請雨經法, as well as those for the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī sūtra* 孔雀經法 (Peacock [Spell] Scripture), the *Renwang jing fa* 仁王經法 (Scripture for Humane Kings) and the *Dabeidou fa* 大北斗法 (Northern Star), are also included in the transmissions of each of Genkaku's masters.[55] These rites are not unique to the *Denjushū*, but are found, for example, in an iconographic compilation called the *Zuzōshō* 圖像抄 (Compendium of Icons) that was compiled by contemporaries of Kanjin.[56] It is, however, their repetition in the *Denjushū* that, like the Rāgarāja rite, clearly attests to their

significance in the ritual context of the Shingon's Ono subschool.[57] In contrast to the numerous Shingon rituals in the ten scrolls of the *Zuzōshō*, the *Denjushū* represents the more limited, but nonetheless important, stock of rites that Genkaku's masters performed both in public and in private for the Imperial Family and the Heian nobility.[58]

The Shingon histories document the performances of the Rāgarāja rite at the court and in the aristocrats' private temples in the late Heian period, especially from the time of Shirakawa's reigns as sovereign and cloistered sovereign onwards.[59] Although there is nothing that explicitly links Genkaku to the performance of this rite, his Ono predecessors actively propagated the Rāgarāja cult to seek for aid in this world.[60]

In one aspect, then, the Kanchi'in set shows strong influence from the Daigoji exemplar; in another, it shows strong influences from other texts, in particular the *Yuqijing*. It is in the selection of seed letters from the *Yuqijing* to illustrate mandalas for the *Liqujing* that this set diverges most seriously from the Daigoji exemplar. The iconography of the Kanchi'in set reflects the religious disposition of the monks of the Shingon school, especially the ritual lineages of the Ono subschool, and their aristocratic patrons from the mid-eleventh century onwards, and reflects the popularity of the Rāgarāja cult, whose rite was conducted to invoke magical powers for worldly success.

SHINKAKU'S *RISHUKYŌ DANDAN INMYŌ SHŪ*

Shinkaku's *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū* 理趣經段段印明集 is presently held in Ninnaji 仁和寺.[61] It records information about the mantras 明 to be intoned and the mudrās 印 to be formed in the performance of each of the Stages 段段 of the *Liqujing* ritual.[62]

In the colophon (fig. 22, file Shinkaku no. 9) that dates the manuscript to 1179, Shinkaku identifies his sources as follows:

> In recent years, I collected various explanations and I recorded them for my private use. First I present the Common Explanation 普通説, then the Ono [Explanation] 小野[説]. The Great Record is the Great Teacher's Augustly Penned Record 大師御筆記. The Great [Record] is the same as the Ono Explanation. It is with good reason that one ought to keep it secret. Then, as to the mandala, I saw the seals of the Venerables 尊印 in a *Rishukyō mandara*, and I present them. These are not the hand gestures that the practitioners make.
>
> Seventh month of the third year of Jishō 治承三年 (1179)
> Recorded by Shinkaku[63]

This passage attests to the transmission of two opposing styles, the Common and the Ono,[64] by focusing on two components of the rite — the mantra and the mudra — and mentions a mandala in which the figures were depicted in their anthropomorphic forms. Collation of Shinkaku's description of the mudrās of the Venerables and the mudrās of the figures in the Daigoji exemplar reveals text and image correspond in every case.

Shinkaku's method is to record first the Common and Ono ritual transmissions and then to describe the mudrā of the figure in the mandala that he consulted. He also documents the prescriptions for the mudrās of the figures that are given in the *Liqujing*. The mudrās formed by

the figures in some of the mandalas that he had seen differ from the directives of the *Liqujing*.[65] One representative example is his entry for the first Stage (fig. 19, Shinkaku no. 1):

> First Stage
> The aspects of the mudrā of the Venerable in the mandala:
> His right fist [holds] a five-pronged [vajra], [which he] waves and places on his right breast; [in] his left [hand he] grasps a bell and places it on his thigh.
> The scripture says as follows: his left hand formed the Vajra Pride [Mudrā] and his right hand grasped and wielded the Fundamental First Great Vajra.[66]

The mudrās here differ from the gestures recorded in the *Liqujing* but match those made by the central figure in the Daigoji Mandala of Vajrasattva (fig. 2). Two other examples are those of Shinkaku's fifth and seventh Stages where there is a disparity between text and image but a match with the central figures of Ākāśagarbha and Mañjuśrī in the Daigoji exemplar.[67] Nevertheless, in three other entries, there is no difference between the received text and the image associated with it.[68]

In some entries Shinkaku omits the scripture's prescriptions and simply documents the hand gesture of the figure in the mandala. This is not due to his inconsistency, because in all but one case the *Liqujing* itself provides no guidance for the Stages in question. One example is the Stage of Bodhisattva Gaganagañja (Shinkaku no. 6):

> Ninth Stage
> The mudrā of the Venerable in the mandala: the [Mudrā of] Homage 金剛合掌 (*vajrāñjali-mudrā*) is placed at his crown.[69]

The mudrā given in this entry correlates with that of the central figure in the Daigoji mandala of Gaganagañja (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 785, No. 10). There are other examples of this correlation between Shinkaku's entry and the iconography of the central figure in the Daigoji exemplar.[70] In fact, we have evidence that Shinkaku consulted a work in the style of the Daigoji exemplar. A colophon after the final mandala in a copy of the *Liqujing mantuluo* owned by Sorimachi Natsuko reads as follows:

> On the sixth day of the seventh month in the first year of Jōan 承安元年 (1171) on the Sacred Mountain of Kōya I copied this, using the book of Ācārya Shinkaku of Ōjō'in 以往生院心覺闍梨本.
> Adamantine Genshō 金剛元性[71]

In the entries for the third, eighth, thirteenth and fourteenth Stages, Shinkaku adds a more detailed description of the figures as they appear in the mandalas that he had consulted:

> Third Stage
> The Venerable in the mandala is three-faced and eight-armed. The mudrā of both his first [pair of] hands [form] the usual Mudrā of Trailokyavijaya.
> The scripture says as follows: [he] formed the Trailokyavijaya Mudrā and sojourned in the Stance of Subjugation.[72]

Shinkaku refers to the figure in the Daigoji exemplar's mandala of Trailokyavijaya (fig. 4). Other examples are the mandalas of Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, the Seven Mothers and the Three Brothers.[73] There is a one-to-one correspondence between the iconographic information that Shinkaku records in his *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū* and Genkaku's notes on the Kanchi'in set. They differ in that Genkaku's notes go into detail about the iconography of such figures as Trailokyavijaya, Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin and Mahākāla (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 822, No. 4, p. 827, No. 9 and p. 832, No. 14), whereas Shinkaku's account is more in the nature of an overview (Shinkaku no. 2, no. 5, no. 7).[74] In short, there are sufficient examples proving the close relationship between Shinkaku's text and the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar.

Shinkaku studied all the major Shingon ritual lineages of his time.[75] His large iconographic collection in fifty-seven scrolls, the *Besson zakki* 別尊雑記 (Miscellaneous Accounts of Specific Venerables), reflects his life-long interest in collecting and recording the works of earlier masters.[76]

Such collection and recording are the central focus of the *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū*. In keeping with his title, Shinkaku's material corresponds with the ritual stages of the *Liqujing*.[77] The problem is that these stages are not so clearly defined in the text. For example, there is no mantra for the sixteenth Stage in the *Liqujing*, and thus Amoghavajra does not supply one in the *Liqushi*: "The reason I will not explain the heart mantras is because in that [master's] teachings each in the sacred assembly has a heart mantra composed of one letter, and so I cannot give them in detail."[78] But Shinkaku does give the mantra and mudrā for the sixteenth Stage (fig. 21, Shinkaku no. 8):

> Sixteenth Stage
> Stage of the Mandala of the Five Families
> At the time the Bhagavān, the Tathāgata of the limitless and boundless ultimate....
> [Common Explanation]: This stage does not have a mudrā or a mantra, but the Master says that [you can use] the mantra *hūṃ* and for the mudrā use the Mudrā of Vajrayakṣa.
> The Ono Explanation is: Mahāvairocana.

Thus, whereas one Shingon ritual lineage, here unidentified, formed the hand gesture of Vajrayakṣa in the sixteenth stage of their ritual, the Ono lineage formed that of Mahāvairocana.[79]

Although Shinkaku does not explicitly identify the two transmissions he had studied, he did leave some clues. In notes in red under the Ono Explanation in the eighth, thirteenth and fifteenth ritual stages (Shinkaku nos. 5, 7 and 8) he mentions the *Shōgutei'in shō* 勝倶胝院抄 (Shōgutei'in Extract).[80] The interlinear note in red at the end of the entry on the fifteenth stage reads as follows (fig. 21, Shinkaku no. 8):

> The Great Recording is silent about what follows below. The Shōgutei'in Extract comments on it: "Personally, I would think that there is no final mudrā. Mantra *hūṃ*."[81]

The *Shōgutei'in shō* is the work of the Ono monk Jichiun 實運 (1105–1160) of Shōgutei'in 勝倶胝院. Shinkaku's mention of this work helps to pin down the identity of the Common Explanation he refers to. The *Besson zakki* is made up of the works of four earlier scholar-monks,

and Shinkaku presents these in a fixed and consistent order: first Kenni 兼意 (1072–1145) of the Jōren'in 成蓮院, then Kanjo 寛助 (1057–1125) of the Jōju'in 成就院, then Ejū 慧什 (active 1129–after 1144) of the Shōjōbō 勝定房, and finally Jichiun of the Shōgutei'in 勝倶胝院.[82] The order in the *Besson zakki* reflects the Shingon ritual lineages to which the monks belonged.[83]

It turns out that the content that Shinkaku gives for the mudrā of the Common Explanation in his *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū* is identical to the Jōren'in transmission on the *Liqujing* that Shinkaku records in his *Besson zakki*.[84] The Common Explanation is thus that of his master Kenni of Jōren'in, author of the *Jōrenshō* 成蓮抄 (Compendium of Perfecting the Lotus).[85] Although the contents recorded for the mudrās of the Ono Explanation are similar to those of Jichiun's entries on Mudrās in the *Rishukyō* 理趣經印 that is collected in his *Hizō konpōshō* 祕藏金寶鈔 (Extract of the Golden Jewel of the Secret Treasury),[86] Shinkaku makes particular mention of Jichiun's work in side notes to entries number eight, thirteen and fifteen, and so it cannot be the primary source.[87]

Shinkaku has actually used Genkaku 嚴覺 as his main source for the Ono Explanation. The instructions for forming the mudrās during the ritual that are recorded in the notes on the Kanchi'in set match Shinkaku's Ono Explanation in every case.[88]

Although Shinkaku does not mention Genkaku's version of the *Liqujing mantuluo*, he would have studied that master's works. Once he left the Tendai School, Shinkaku first went to Daigoji and studied Ono Shingon under Genkaku 賢覺 (1080–1156) and Jichiun.[89] Early in his career Jichiun was a disciple of Kanjin 寛信, Genkaku's 嚴覺 disciple who had collected his master's transmissions into the *Denjushū*. Jichiun constantly cites the *Denjushū* in his documentation of the Ono transmissions in works such as the *Hizō kōnhōshō*, the *Shoson yōshō* 諸尊要抄 (Essential Extracts on the Venerables) and the *Gempishō* 玄祕抄 (Profound and Secret Extracts), fundamental collections of the Sanbō'in branch of the Ono subschool.

In short, Shinkaku consulted, and recorded in his *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū*, three works that he regarded as authoritative for the *Liqujing* rite. Since he was Kenni's direct disciple, Shinkaku honored his master by presenting Kenni's transmissions first in both this work and in his *Besson zakki*. He then documented the Ono monk Genkaku's transmission of the *Liqujing* rite and mandalas, which he had probably received from Jichiun.[90] Finally, Shinkaku gave information from the Daigoji exemplar, despite discrepancies between the *Liqujing* and the iconography of the latter. It seems there were two channels of influence from the Daigoji exemplar: through Shinkaku himself using it directly, and at second hand through his using Genkaku's work, which was also influenced by the Daigoji exemplar. Shinkaku did not explicitly identify the Daigoji mandala, which probably means it was too well known at the time to need labeling.

KŌZEN'S VERSION IN THE *KAKUZENSHŌ*

Scroll 29 of the *Kakuzenshō* contains the monk Kōzen's transmission of the ritual of the *Liqujing* 理趣經法.[91] Two colophons at the end of the entry on the *Liqujing* ritual state that Ryōe 亮慧 (1098–after 1131), the Master of Shinjōbō 眞乘房阿闍梨,[92] transmitted this ritual to Kōzen 興然 (1121–1203) and thirty-nine years later Kakuzen 覺禪 (1143–after 1213) received the ritual from his master Kōzen.[93]

Kōzen's inscription provides an important clue to the iconography of some of the mandalas in this transmission. He records that he added to Ryōe's transmission at a later date, and that he

consulted the Recording of Kanjin 寛信 (1084–1153). Kanjin, whose Buddhist ecclesiastical title was *Hōmu* (administrator),[94] was the direct disciple of Genkaku. In his youth Kōzen was a disciple of Kanjin, who instructed him in the teachings of the double mandala, the rite of *homa* and the ritual manuals of various Venerables.[95] Kōzen's biography in the *Dentō kōrokukō* states that he valued the teachings of Kanjin and Ryōe.[96] Moreover, Kanjin's collection of his master Genkaku's ritual transmissions, the *Denjushū* 傳受集, contains an inscription by Kōzen.[97]

An analysis of the iconography of Kōzen's *Liqujing mantuluo*, which Kakuzen recorded in his *Kakuzenshō*, reveals that the iconography of the Kanchi'in set of mandalas functioned as one of its three iconographic sources. The influence of the Kanchi'in mandalas can be seen in four mandalas of Kōzen's transmission: 1, 3, 14 and 17. However, in no case does the Kanchi'in mandalas appear to be the sole source.

For instance, the iconography of the first mandala (fig. 23, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 713, No. 90) described and illustrated in the *Kakuzenshō* after the Visualization of the Practice Site 道場觀 is that of the final Mandala of Summation in the Kanchi'in set (fig. 18, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 837, No. 20).[98] Here, Kōzen makes a number of changes. To begin with, he replaces the seed letters of the Kanchi'in mandala with the names of the figures written in Chinese characters. A more significant change is that in contrast to the Kanchi'in mandala's reference to the Mahāvairocana of the *Liqujing*, he focuses on Mahāvairocana of the matrix mandala 胎大日,[99] linking this latter text's Mahāvairocana to a source that belongs to the lineage of the Adamantine Crown.[100] Finally, he makes this the opening mandala, entirely omitting the Mandala of the Opening Assembly that Amoghavajra describes in the *Liqushi*, which stands at the head of the Kanchi'in set, the Daigoji exemplar, and the Ishiyamadera exemplar.

There are other iconographic matches between the mandalas of the Kanchi'in set and those of Kōzen's transmission. However, in many cases Kōzen introduced variations taken from a wide variety of sources. Examples are found in his Mahāvairocana Mandala (3),[101] Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses (14),[102] and Assembly of the Five Families (17) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 723, No. 106). In this last example, the seed letters in Kōzen's illustration of the Assembly of the Five Families are taken from one of the Kanchi'in's two versions of the Assembly of the Five Families, whose source is the *Yuqijing*,[103] while the empty moon discs in the four corners display the influence of the Daigoji exemplar (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 792, No. 17).

The ritual mudrās and mantras that Kakuzen records beneath the illustrations of Kōzen's version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* also coincide with those that Genkaku gives in the notes on the Kanchi'in set. Kakuzen identifies this transmission in the first of the scrolls on the rite of the *Liqujing* as the Secret Transmission of the Ono 小野祕傳.[104] A note in small characters states that this is the explanation of the Master Shinkaku. And indeed, the contents of this transmission are identical to the Ono Transmission that Shinkaku records in his *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū*.

The remaining fourteen mandalas illustrated in the *Kakuzenshō*, composed entirely of Chinese characters, diverge from the iconography of the Kanchi'in set. Instead, ten of them (2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 16 and 18) correspond to the instructions in the *Liqushi*, the second of Kōzen's three iconographic sources. In these changes we can detect an effort to make the mandalas conform more faithfully to the *Liqushi*. Examples are the Mandalas of Vajrasattva (2, fig. 24), Ākāśagarbha (6), Vajramuṣṭi (7), Gaganagañja (10) and the Five Mysteries (18, fig. 25).[105]

Nevertheless, iconographic elements from the Daigoji exemplar that do not agree with the *Liqushi*'s instructions frequently remain in the "corrected" version. For example, the Vajrasattva Mandala (2) (fig. 24, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 715, No. 91) is composed from the seventeen seed

letters of the special mantra that Amoghavajra explains in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:609c20-610a8). Accordingly, and in contrast to the central *huṃ* of the Kanchi'in mandala (fig. 15, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 820, No. 2), the focal seed letter in Kōzen's version is *oṃ*. *Liqujing* 1 (*T*.243:784b24) gives the seed letter *huṃ* to Vajrasattva and the seed letter allocated to him in the mantra of *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:609c20) is *oṃ*. The allocation of the series *jaḥ - hūṃ - baṃ - hoḥ* to the gate guardians Form, Sound, Smell and Taste rather than to the Bodhisattvas Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter, as Amoghavajra prescribes in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:610a1-4), occurs in Kōzen's version and in the Kanchi'in set. It is a feature that both have in common with the Daigoji mandala (fig. 2, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 777, No. 2). This series of seed letters are those of the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* 現圖金剛界曼荼羅, whose iconography influenced that of the Daigoji mandala.[106]

As we have noted, Amoghavajra provides scant information — often no more than the names of the figures and their positions — for many of the mandalas in the *Liqushi*.[107] However, because Kōzen uses Chinese characters to compose most of his mandalas, Amoghavajra's terseness is no problem. Two examples whose iconography exactly matches the brief directions given in the *Liqushi* are Kōzen's Avalokiteśvara Mandala (5) (*T*.1003:612a29-b5; compare *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 716, No. 94) and the Mandala of the Four Sisters (16) (*T*.1003:616b12-14; compare *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 722, No. 105).

In four of his mandalas (9, 12, 13, and 15), Kōzen disregards the *Liqushi* and instead follows the Daigoji exemplar, the third of his sources. For example, the order of the five types of gods of the Outer Vajra Family in Kōzen's Vajrapāṇi Mandala (12) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 720, No. 101) corresponds to that in the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 787, No. 12) rather than to that in the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:615b23-c3). Again, the *Liqushi* states that the heads of the gods face outward, but Kōzen's version follows the Daigoji mandala instead. Such characteristic Daigoji details as the flaming vajras in the corners and the empty lotus seats within moon discs are also reproduced.[108]

Kōzen's tradition, recorded by Kakuzen in the *Kakuzenshō,* is thus closer to the *Liqushi* than to the Daigoji exemplar, but it unquestionably includes features that derive from the Daigoji exemplar and the Kanchi'in set. Iconographic agreement between Kōzen's transmission and the Kanchi'in set is seen four times: Kōzen's Opening Mandala (1, fig. 23), the Vairocana Mandala (3), the Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses (14), and the Assembly of the Five Families (17; see *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 715, 721 and 723).[109] Kōzen departed from the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar in eight cases (2 [fig. 24], 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 and 18 [fig. 2], see *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 715, 716, 717, 718, 719 and 724 and Daigoji exemplar, figs. 2 and 18, and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 777, 779, 781, 782, 783, 785, 786 and 793) in order to bring these mandalas into closer accord with the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003: 609c20-610a23, 611b27-c4, 612c19-23, 613b5-10, 613c2-7, 614c2-7, 615a21-27 and 617a1-4). Nevertheless, features characteristic of the Daigoji exemplar remain even in some of the examples thus modified (2 [fig. 24], 4, and 8, and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 715, 716, 718 and compare figs. 2, 4, 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 777, 779 and 783).[110]

Thus, despite the silence of both Kōzen and Kakuzen concerning the Daigoji exemplar, it's mandalas must have served as the basis for Kōzen's transmission of the *Liqujing mantuluo*. It is clear that Kōzen employed the Daigoji exemplar as his starting point and then modified the mandalas in his own works to conform better to scriptural authority, although he also at times drew on the iconography of the Kanchi'in set of mandalas.

DŌHŌ'S VERSION IN HIS *RISHUKYŌ HIKETSUSHŌ*

Dōhō's (1214–1281) seed letter version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* in the *Rishukyō hiketsushō* 理趣經祕決鈔 (Compendium of the Secret Transmission on the Guiding Principle Scripture)[111] clearly shows the influence of the Kanchi'in set of mandalas. Common to both are the seed letters drawn from the *Liqujing*, the *Genzu kongōkai* and *taizōkai mandara*, and the *Yuqijing*. The mandalas that are based on such sources are the Mandalas of Mahāvairocana (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 91a), Avalokiteśvara (ibid, p. 99a), Ākāśagarbha (p.104b), Vajramuṣṭi (p. 108b), Mañjuśrī (p. 110b), Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin (p. 114b), Sarvamāra-pramardin (p. 120a), Maheśvara (p. 125b), the Seven Mother Goddesses (p. 127a) and the Four Sisters (p. 128b). The iconography of the Mañjuśrī Mandala (p. 110b), for example, repeats that of the Kanchi'in mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 826). The seed letters of the figures of Mañjuśrī's retinue, who are taken from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s Hall of Mañjuśrī (*Monju'in*), the helmets instead of the sūtra boxes that are prescribed in the *Liqushi*, and the fact that the eight-spoked wheel is absent are identical in both.[112]

However, Dōhō also modifies his sources. For instance, in his Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 127a) the seed letter *ma* for Brāhmī replaces the Kanchi'in's seed letter *bra* for Brahmā (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 832), again bringing it closer to the *Liqushi (T.*1003:616a24-28).[113] In particular, he often places at the side of the seed letters additional phrases taken from the *Liqushi*. This is seen in the Mandalas of Mahāvairocana (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 91a) and Mañjuśrī (p. 110b). The phrases "Great Round Mirror Wisdom" 大円鏡智 (*T.*1003:610b6-9) and the "Vajra Family of the eastern direction" 東方金剛部 (*T.*1003:610c21) are written at the side of the seed letter *huṃ* in the Mahāvairocana Mandala. In the Mañjuśrī Mandala the names of the four Bodhisattvas of the Sword (*T.*1003:613b23-c1) are written next to the seed letters of Jālīniprabha, Ratnakūṭa, Candraprabha and Vimalaprabha. However, he does not follow the *Liqushi* consistently. He places lotus flowers, which he labels as the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas Joy, Garland, Song and Dance, instead of the fangs which are prescribed (*T.*1003:615a23) in his Sarvamāra-pramardin Mandala (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 120a).[114] Instead, Dōhō is guided by the medieval Shingon teachings on the nonduality of the two realities of the Mandalas of the Adamantine Realm and the Matrix Realm 兩部不二 (or 金胎不二) in deciding how to present and edit his material.

Dōhō's *Liqujing mantuluo* features unique opening and closing mandalas. It is here that the influence of the nonduality of the two realities of the Mandalas of the Adamantine and Matrix Realms can be most clearly discerned.[115] Apart from Dōhō's treatise, works showing the influence of *ryōbu funi* include the Daigoji exemplar,[116] the earlier versions of the *Liqujing mantuluo* by Ningai (955–1046) and Shinkaku (1117–1180), which is in the collection of Kongōsanmai'in 金剛三昧院 on Kōyasan, and Kōzen's (1120–1203) new opening mandala (fig. 23, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 713) discussed above.[117]

Ningai distinguishes between the Mahāvairocana of the Matrix Repository Mandala and the Mahāvairocana of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, although he marks both the sections with the same number, one 胎一 (*Tai-ichi*) and 金一 (*Kon-ichi*).

Shinkaku divides the mandalas of the Stages of the *Liqujing* into two linear arrangements.[118] The mandalas originate in the separate spheres of the Adamantine Realm 金[剛

界] and Matrix 胎, which are marked at the top of the two columns of mandalas, and unite in the Five Mysteries pentad at the bottom of the diagram. Although Dōhō does not specifically mention Shinkaku's version of the mandala, his summary of the theme of the *Liqujing* explicates the iconography of Shinkaku's version.[119]

In Kōzen's transmission of the *Liqujing mantuluo* reference to Mahāvairocana of the Matrix Mandala is made in the opening mandala (fig. 23), where the central Mahāvairocana is noted as "Mahāvairocana of the Matrix [Mandala]" 胎大日 (*Tai* Dainichi).

Moreover, in contrast to the simple pictorial schemas which represent the teaching of *ryōbu funi* in the versions by Ningai, Shinkaku and Kōzen, Dōhō introduces elaborations. The first two illustrations in the introduction of his work are a jeweled stūpa (fig. 26, *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 72b) and a configuration of nine Venerables seated upon an eight-petaled lotus flower (fig. 27, *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 73b). The stūpa symbolizes the setting of the *Liqujing*. In the *Liqushi* Amoghavajra describes the palace of the *Paranirmita-vaśavartin* Heaven in the Realm of Desire where Mahāvairocana expounds the teachings of the *Liqujing* as a mandala that is "a jeweled multistoried pavilion [with] an adamantine pinnacle composed of five adamantine gems of great magnificence … four-sided and having eight pillars... and four gates."[120] Dōhō explains the significance of the stūpa thus:

> The present gold [the text should read adamantine 金剛 but the character 剛 is missing] -pinnacled pavilion is, namely, the jeweled stūpa [that has] five pinnacles and eight pillars; that is, it is the mandala wherein the double aspects [of the Adamantine Realm and the Matrix Mandalas] are not dual. The adamantine pinnacle is the five-pronged vajra; that is, it is the composite symbolic (*samaya*) form of the thirty-seven Venerables [of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm's central assembly]. The pavilion is the eight-petaled [lotus on which are seated] the nine Venerables; that is, it is the [Matrix] Mandala with Mahāvairocana and the eight Great Bodhisattvas. And so, as to the two mandalas in the first stage of the present scripture, they are both identical, and they both express nonduality.[121]

The practitioner is then to visualize within this stūpa Mahāvairocana in the center of a lotus and the eight Great Bodhisattvas on the eight petals of this lotus.[122]

Although the configuration of the nine Venerables and the eight-petaled lotus is the conventional Shingon symbol for the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*, Dōhō explains that this is not its usual meaning.

> However, these nine Venerables on the eight petals do not resemble the usual [meaning]. The Buddha [is] the thirty-seven Venerables of the [Mandala of the] Adamantine Realm and his position [is] the eight petals of the Matrix Repository [Mandala]. This represents the mandalas are not dual.[123]

Dōhō thus substitutes two new mandalas, which represent the teaching of *ryōbu funi*, for the Mandala of the Opening Assembly that Amoghavajra describes in the *Liqushi*, interpreting the introductory Stage of the *Liqujing* as a synthesis of the principles and practices of the two

mandalas that are based upon the two basic Shingon texts, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbhodhi sūtra*.[124]

One of Dōhō's two final mandalas (fig. 28a, *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 139a) continues the theme of *ryōbu funi*. Although the prototype for the iconography is the final mandala of summation in the Kanchi'in set (fig. 18, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 837), the substitution of the seed letter *vaṃ*, the seed letter of Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*, for that of the Kanchi'in mandala's central *āḥ*, which derives from Mahāvairocana's seed letter that is given in *Liqujing* 2, and the arrangement of the nine central figures on the eight-petaled lotus flower express the tenet of *ryūbu funi*. The second summary mandala (fig. 28b, *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 139b) is entirely Dōhō's creation. In the central court are the five seed letters of the Five Buddhas of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. In the two outer courts are the seed letters of the mantra that Amoghavajra allocates to the seventeen Bodhisattvas in *Liqushi* 1 (*T.* 1003:609c20-610a8).[125]

The mandalas of the Assembly of the Five Families (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 130a) and of the Five Mysteries (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 137a) are also unique to Dōhō's version.[126] For instance, despite Amoghavajra stipulating the iconography of the Five Mysteries pentad in the *Liqushi* and his ritual manuals that focus on Vajrasattva,[127] Dōhō depicts the seed letters of the seventeen Bodhisattvas of *Liqushi* 1 within a single moon disc, remarking, "After all, together they form one mantra."[128] Of course, when he wrote this, Dōhō was aware that it diverged from the generally accepted iconographic representation of the Five Mysteries Mandala.[129]

Nevertheless, when we look at his work as a whole, despite his innovations Dōhō's work seems to be largely a compilation from various sources of the teachings, rites and mandalas that were by his time standard to the Shingon school. Some of the material he chose to include is in accord with the Daigoji exemplar, and some diverges from it.[130] He also refers to the iconography of other extant versions of the *Liqujing mantuluo*.[131] In the chapter on Avalokiteśvara, for example, he discusses different representations of the mandala of Avalokiteśava and Amitāyus.[132] He details a rite of subjugation where a cylinder serves as the symbolic form of Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin.[133] In the chapter on the Five Mysteries he presents a visualization procedure of the Daigoji ritual lineage.[134] He also describes the iconography of the figure of Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin and it too corresponds to the iconography of this figure in the Daigoji mandala of Vajracakra.[135] Moreover, as we have seen above, the iconography of the Kanchi'in mandalas furnishes the basis of many of his mandalas.

Such a broad scope is only what we would expect from Dōhō's biography. He held a number of high temple posts in succession and was much in demand at court for his mastery of ritual. He was even called upon by the Emperor to perform a rite of subjugation in Ise in order to ward off the invading Mongols in 1277.[136] It thus appears that he drew upon a wide variety of visual and written sources in his *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, among which were the Kanchi'in set of mandalas and the Daigoji exemplar. There are unique features in Dōhō's version of the *Liqujing mantuluo*, centred around the doctrine of *ryōbu funi*, but these do not seem to reflect Dōhō's personal interpretation of *Liqujing* teachings. Shinkaku's seed letter version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* in the Kongōsanmai'in, for instance, predates Dōhō's thematic description. Dōhō has simply elaborated on a contemporary interpretation current within the Shingon school of his day.

IHŌ'S VERSION FROM HIS TREATISE THE *RISHUKYŌ JŪSHICHIDAN JŪHACHISHU HŌMANDARA SHOSETSU FUDŌKI*

The colophon at the end of the *Rishukyō jūshichidan jūhachishu hōmandara shosetsu fudōki* 理趣經十七段十八種法曼荼羅諸説不同記 (hereafter, the *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*) dates and characterizes the work as follows:

> On the nineteenth, a rainy day, 十九雨日 of the ninth month in the Autumn of the ninth year, the year of the dragon, of Kyōhō 享保 (1724), at the time when [the teachings were] conferred on the students, I merely recorded the gist of the master's transmission, and I entirely copied the ancient illustrations.
>
> Monk Ihō 沙門維寶 wrote this[137]

Ihō (1687–1747) was a monk who worked in Shakamon'in 釋迦文院 of Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺 on Kōyasan.[138] The ancient illustrations that he refers to here are the *Liqujing mantuluo* from the *Rishukyō hiketsushō* of Dōhō, the former *Hōmu* 法務 of Kajūji,[139] and an old version of the mandala 古本曼荼羅 in Nan'in on the Southern Mountain (Kōyasan) 南山南院. As we have noted, the Nan'in version that Ihō records is a near perfect match with the mandalas in the possession of Kanchi'in, both as regards iconography and the contents of the accompanying notes.[140] He is thus working with two sets of the *Liqujing mantuluo* composed in the late Kamakura and late Heian periods respectively. Ihō's study of these two versions is significant because of the wide variety of textual and visual sources he consulted, including the Daigoji exemplar. Nevertheless, he still fails to explain most iconographic disparities.

Ihō discusses the discrepancies in the iconography of Dōhō's version and the Nan'in version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* and the frequent divergences between the iconography and the *Liqushi*. His usual procedure is to record the *Liqushi* mandala prescription first and then compare the two versions.[141] Occasionally he reverses this method, first comparing the iconography of the mandalas and then collating the iconographic features with the *Liqushi*.[142]

In still other entries Ihō gives textual sources that he uses to explain the differences in the iconography. His efforts are not always successful. For instance, Amoghavajra stipulates in *Liqushi* 1 a configuration of seventeen figures for the Seventeen Epithets of Purity.[143] Ihō lists a number of texts that describe the installation of figures that compose a mandala of these Seventeen Venerables. First he gives in detail the method of installing the figures of this mandala from the *Liqushi*[144] and from the *Jingangwang psusa bimi niansong yigui* 金剛王菩薩祕密念誦儀軌, one of the sources he uses. He notes that "there are major similarities and minor differences" between the two works and, indeed, the two sources diverge markedly in the order and position of installation and in the allocation of seed letters.[145] However, Ihō minimizes the iconographic differences and emphasizes the similarity, the shared seventeen-figure configuration.[146]

In the entry on the Stage of Mañjuśrī, Ihō explains the iconographic discrepancies between the *Liqushi* directives and the mandala as follows:

> There are two transmissions concerning [Amoghavajra's directions to install in this mandala] the four Buddhas of the four directions. One is [the transmission] of the four Buddhas [who are] Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and

> Amoghasiddhi. The second is that of the four Bodhisattvas Jālīniprabha, Ratnakuṭa, Candraprabha and Vimalaprabha. Shūei's illustration [fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783] is based on this [latter transmission]. For the Four Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas] in Shūei's illustration four [sets of] armor and helmet have been drawn. The [Nan'in] version [that I have depicted] illustrates a suit of armor [*Shuhōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 248, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 826]. Dōhō illustrates a helmet [*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 110b]. In the Seven Volume Version [of the *Liqujing* by Faxian] it says: "[Place] the four *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*."[147]

> The helmet now [under discussion] is not [a suit of] armor with a helmet. The Sanskrit book is called "helmet." In the last volume of [Kūkai's] *Fuhōden* 付法傳 [note: Life of Amoghavajra] it says that "he personally holds a Sanskrit box." This is the Sanskrit [sūtra] box. In the Shūei illustration it is [a suit of] armor with a helmet. It is difficult to comment on.[148]

Ihō clarifies the misunderstanding over the helmet and sūtra box, but it is unfortunate that he does not identify the two transmissions of Mañjuśrī's retinue.

Ihō offers his own explanation for the iconographic variant in the Ākāśagarbha Mandala in both the Nan'in version and in Shūei's illustration. Once again, he first gives the *Liqushi* prescriptions and then he notes:

> The symbolic forms in the four gates of Dōhō's illustration [*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 104b] are: Hook [and an illustration of a] double *vajra* in the eastern direction [note: mudrā and fundamental mantra [of the] *Karma* [family]; southern direction Rope [and an illustration of a] jewel; western direction chains [and an illustration of a] lotus; northern direction bell [and an illustration of a] bell. The old version in the Nan'in [*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 824, No. 6] depends on Shūei's illustration [*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 781, No. 6], and is the best that can be relied upon. [There] the lotus, bell, five pronged [vajra] and jewel [note: this is confused in the eastward facing mandala] are in the order of east, south, west and north. This means that the main Venerable in this mandala faces to the west and the practitioner faces to the east, because this expresses the rite of augmentation 増益 (*pauṣṭika*).[149]

Ihō illustrates (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 245) the Nan'in version. Although he seems unable to visualize the change that has occurred in the Nan'in version and in Shūei's illustration,[150] his conclusion is correct. The placement of the four symbolic forms of the Gathering Bodhisattvas in Shūei's and the Nan'in illustration do not agree with the *Liqushi*'s instructions and results in a reorientation of the mandala to the west: the central deity Ākāśagarbha sits facing the west. This reorientation is in keeping with the specifications for the performance of the rite of augmentation, wherein the practitioner is to sit in the west facing east and thus the central deity faces the west.[151]

In another example Ihō cites an unidentified Teacher's Transmission in order to explain the iconography of the Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin Mandala.[152] In most cases, however, Ihō cannot explain the iconographic disparities and he simply records extracts from the sources

that he has consulted. Examples, in addition to Dōhō's drawing of the Bodhisattvas on an eight-petaled lotus, the seventeen-figure mandala of *Liqushi* 1 and the Trailokyavijaya Mandala that were discussed above, are the Mandalas of the Command Wheel of Trailokyavijaya,[153] the Three Brothers,[154] the Four Sisters[155] and the Five Mysteries. For instance, he finds the different iconographies of the Five Mysteries Mandalas in the Nan'in and Dōhō's version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* (fig. 17, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 836; *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 137a) inexplicable. He quotes the *Liqushi* prescriptions (*T.* 1003:617a2-5) and then remarks that:

> Outside the Five Mysteries [pentad] in Dōhō's illustration are the positions of twelve Venerables. Is this based on the Extended *Sūtra*? In the case of the Five Mysteries there are only to be the five Venerables. The [Ritual] Manual of Great Bliss and the Manual of the Five Mysteries also only have [the pentad of] the Five Mysteries.[156] The Nan'in illustration places inside the moon circle the double letter *huṃ*, and so it differs from the passage in the *Rishushaku*. I present [figs. 29a and 29b, *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 274 and 275) the separate ways [of interpretation] from [former] teachers' transmissions.[157]

Ihō does not explain *why* the iconography of the Nan'in version deviates from the *Liqushi*, nor does he indicate the source of the iconography of the Five Mysteries Mandala. In short, in this last example as elsewhere, Ihō raises more questions than he can answer, and even when he does attempt an answer, his explanations of iconographic differences are never entirely convincing. Ihō had received the transmission of the Anjōji 安祥寺 branch of the Ono ritual lineage, which had also been that of Dōhō, and he was known as an accomplished scholar, having spent his life searching for and copying texts and ritual manuals in the temples on Kōyasan and in Kōzanji 高山寺 in Kyōto, but it would seem that by the Edo period important details of both Dōhō's and Genkaku's transmission had been forgotten.

The study of the *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki* is chiefly valuable because of Ihō's remarks about the iconography of "Shūei's illustration." When he encounters differences between the iconography of text and mandala or the iconography of the version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* in the Nan'in and Dōhō's version and the *Liqushi* prescriptions, Ihō discusses the iconography of the mandalas that Shūei is said to have introduced. This occurs in the entries for the Mandalas of Vajrasattva, Trailokyavijaya, Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha, Mañjuśrī and Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin.[158] The iconography of these mandalas corresponds to that of the Daigoji exemplar thus testifying to a continuous influence of this set of mandalas up to Ihō's time.

SHINKAI'S VERSION IN FUDARAKU'IN

Changes are evident in the iconography of the *Liqujing mantuluo* that the scholar-monk Shinkai 眞海 of Fudaraku'in 補陀洛院 on Kōyasan composed in Meiwa 7 明和七 年 (1770).[159] Some of the changes may be interpreted as corrections of the iconography of the mandalas that Shūei is said to have brought back from China; others are unique variations. Shinkai, like Kōzen before him, does not state in so many words that he has corrected the iconography to match the *Liqushi*'s prescriptions. Nevertheless, the Daigoji exemplar served as Shinkai's model, just as it had done for Kōzen.

The most striking modification in Shinkai's version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* is the figure of Rāgarāja (fig. 30), who, in contrast to the appended position he has in the Daigoji exemplar, now opens this set of mandalas.[160] Although a figure described in the *Yuqijing*, Rāgarāja became closely associated with the *Liqujing* because he, like Vajrasattva, symbolizes the essence of the *Liqujing* teachings that passions are the materials of enlightenment.

In seven of the mandalas contained in Shinkai's *Liqujing mantuluo* the changes in the iconography bring them into line with the *Liqushi*. These are mandalas 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, and 12. In the Mahāvairocana Mandala (3) (Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, plate 19), for instance, the iconography of the figures of Vajrasattva, Ākāśagarbha and Vajrakarma differs from that of the corresponding figures in the Daigoji mandala. Shinkai's changes follow *Liqushi* 3: Vajrasattva holds the vajra and the bell; Ākāśagarbha holds a lotus topped with jewels in his right hand and he forms with his left hand the Wish-Granting Mudrā; Vajrakarma forms the Turn-Dance Mudrā and places it at his crown.[161]

Although Shinkai often changes elements of the iconography of the Daigoji mandala to correlate with the *Liqushi*, he is not entirely consistent. For example, in the Trailokyavijaya Mandala (4, fig. 32) Shinkai depicts a standing Trailokyavijaya, treading on Śiva and Umā, in accordance with the *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* (*T*.243:784c15-18; *T*.1003:611b18-c4). He further diverges from the iconography of the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Trailokyavijaya (fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779) to reorient the mandala eastward by correcting the placement of the gate symbols following the *Liqushi*, and omits the symbolic forms of the four Gathering Bodhisattvas. However, he goes against the *Liqushi* and moves in the direction of the Daigoji mandala in failing to represent the Bodhisattvas of Trailokyavijaya's retinue and the eight Offering Bodhisattvas in their wrathful forms.[162]

Shinkai makes changes that diverge from the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar in nine other mandalas of his set (1, 2, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17 and 18), where his variations do not follow the *Liqushi* consistently. One example is the Mandala of the Opening Assembly (1, Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, plate 8). The iconography shows changes: for instance, Mahāvairocana still forms the Meditation Mudrā, but he holds a wheel in both hands.[163] Although the exact textual source for the wheel that Mahāvairocana holds has not been identified, the wheel is associated with Mahāvairocana's figure in the Sino-Japanese matrix mandalas.[164] The positions of the Inner and Outer Bodhisattvas and the iconography and positions of the Bodhisattvas Love and Pride in Shinkai's Vajrasattva Mandala (2, fig. 31) also differ from those in the Daigoji mandala (fig. 2, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 777). Still, the differences, especially in the latter, are sometimes matters of detail rather than fundamental disagreements.[165]

Another example is the Assembly of the Five Families (17, Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, plate 60). At first glance it appears as though Shinkai fills the empty moon discs of the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 792, No. 17) with figures. However, the compositions are more divergent than this: in contrast to the one hundred and twenty-five moon discs arranged in five constellations composed of twenty-five moon discs each in the Daigoji mandala, Shinkai enlarges one of the five large constellations. He has, in fact, copied the inner vajra circles of the assemblies of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Common to both are the central group of Mahāvairocana and the four Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattvas, the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas and the flaming jewels in the four corners of each inner circle.[166] The differences are that Shinkai replaces the figures of the four Buddhas of the four directions with the figures of a standing Trailokyavijaya, Ākāśagarbha,

Avalokiteśvara and Vajramuṣṭi,[167] and the flaming jewels replace the *Kongōkai mandara'*s four Inner Offering Bodhisattvas.

There are other variations in the iconography of Shinkai's *Liqujing mantuluo* whose sources have yet to be identified. For instance, in the Gaganagañja Mandala (10, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 41 and p. 286) Shinkai places a single jewel in each of the four outer gates; in the Sarvamāra-pramardin Mandala (11, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 44 and p. 302) the figure of Maheśvara holds a sword instead of the branch that is held by the figure in the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 786, No. 11); in the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (12, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 48, No. 12) Shinkai omits the eight Great Bodhisattvas; in the Mandala of the Three Brothers (15, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 55) Maheśvara is placed in the center; and in the Mandala of the Four Sisters (16, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 58) flaming jewels are placed in the four corners.

Japanese Buddhist scholars such as Toganoo, Mochizuki, the compilers of the *Mikkyō daijiten*, and Hatta assert that Shinkai, like Kōzen, corrected the iconography of the *Liqujing mantuluo* to match Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*. It is true that iconographic changes of this sort are common to both Shinkai and Kōzen.[168] However, despite these changes, many iconographic features of the Daigoji exemplar remain unaltered in both Kōzen and Shinkai, even if they do not agree with what the *Liqushi* says.[169] Moreover, although the scholars cited above qualify their comments by suggesting that Shinkai added his corrections because there were still disparities between text and image in Kōzen, there is little evidence that Shinkai consulted Kōzen's work.[170]

Influences from outside the *Liqushi* account for most major iconographic changes in both Kōzen and Shinkai. The Kanchi'in set of mandalas evidently inspired the iconographic changes Kōzen makes. The changes whose iconography can be sourced in Shinkai — mandalas 1, 2 (fig. 31) and 17 — are based on the *Genzu mandara* and Amoghavajra's commentary on the Seventeen Epithets of Purity, the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*.[171] The *Yuqijing* is the textual source for the iconography of Shinkai's major innovation, the Mandala of Rāgarāja that opens his set of the *Liqujing mantuluo*.

In the final analysis, despite any and all changes, the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar is everywhere to be seen in both Shinkai and Kōzen.[172] The influence is easier to see in Shinkai only because Shinkai uses the figures in their anthropomorphic forms.[173] Kōzen, on the other hand, employs seed letters and the Chinese characters of the names of the figures.

CONCLUSION

Our investigation of works on the *Liqujing mantuluo* that date to the late Heian, Kamakura and Edo periods reveals that significant changes occur in its iconography. First, there were adjustments that were intended to make the mandalas conform more faithfully to the *Liqushi*. The transmission of the Heian period monk Kōzen, recorded in the *Kakuzenshō*, and the set of mandalas composed by the Edo monk Shinkai are closer to the *Liqushi* than is the Daigoji exemplar, whose introduction is attributed to Shūei. Both, however, have unmistakable borrowings from the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar, and must therefore be regarded as revisions of it.

Other changes derive from Shingon doctrinal developments. Such changes can be seen in the iconography of Genkaku's version of the *Liqujing mantuluo*, Shinkaku's seed letter version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* in the collection of Kongōsanmai'in and Dōhō's illustrations of the mandala in his *Rishukyō hiketsushō*. These versions must thus be seen as basically

reinterpretations of the Daigoji exemplar. The mixing of the iconographies of the *Liqujing* and the *Yuqijing* is unique to Genkaku's version, where it was no doubt motivated by Ono subschool's reverence for the *Yuqijing* and the cult of Rāgarāja, who is an important figure in the *Yuqijing*. Shinkai's Edo period set of the *Liqujing mantuluo* begins with the figure of Rāgarāja, underlining the connection between Rāgarāja and the teachings of the *Liqujing*. Shinkaku's schematic presentation of the *Liqujing mantuluo* and a number of Dōhō's mandala illustrations in the *Rishukyō hiketsushō* reflect medieval Shingon teachings on the nonduality of the two realities of the Adamantine Realm and Matrix Realm Mandalas (*ryōbu funi*).

Analysis of the iconography of these revisions and reinterpretations of the *Liqujing mantuluo* discloses the continuing importance of the Daigoji exemplar as a model. Moreover, the Daigoji set also served as an authoritative reference source for Shinkaku's *Rishukyō dandan inmyōshū*, Ihō's *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki* and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Dōhō's *Rishukyō hiketsushō*. A reconstruction of the iconography of the Daigoji mandalas is possible on the basis of these sources.[174] Documentation of the revisions and annotations to the Daigoji exemplar thus reveals a continuous transmission for it from the early twelfth to the eighteenth centuries. On the other hand, the iconography of the Ishiyamadera mandala, the other exemplar we have mentioned, was never analyzed nor even mentioned in the works examined. This is to be expected, of course, because this set of mandalas was not discovered until the 1930s. Finally, there is no material in these late Heian, Kamakura and Edo period treatises and sets of the *Liqujing mantuluo* that would tend to support a link between Shūei and the Daigoji exemplar, other than the statements that Shūei introduced them, which may be motivated by tradition, in both Dōhō's *Rishukyō hiketsushō* and Ihō's *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*.[175] I investigate the historical sources that record the importation of the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar from China to Japan in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

CHAPTER THREE: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DAIGOJI *LIQUJING MANTULUO* AND THE MANDALAS OF THE MATRIX AND ADAMANTINE REALMS (*GENZU MANDARA*) OF THE SHINGON SCHOOL

INTRODUCTION

We have now demonstrated that the Daigoji *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* is not based on Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*.[1] Chapter Three will extend our inquiry by attempting to identify generic features in the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar. We will then discuss the relationship between these features and the visual and textual traditions upon which they are based, and so clarify the historical context of the iconography. We will pay particular attention to divergences from Amoghavajra's prescriptions in the *Liqushi* and to the development of the qualitatively different iconographic type present in the Daigoji *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*.

As we have seen, the notes appended to the Kanchi'in set of mandalas by Genkaku match the iconography of the figures in the Daigoji exemplar. These notes serve to identify some of the sources of this iconography.

Although the Kanchi'in set of the *Liqujing mantuluo* that survive today are line drawings in black ink on paper, Genkaku appears to be discussing a *colored* Daigoji set of mandalas in some of his notes.[2] Closer scrutiny reveals that in most of these cases, he is citing descriptions from earlier iconographic writings on the colored versions of the Shingon school's Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*) and Adamantine Realm Mandala (*Genzu kongōkai mandara*).

One of these texts, Shunnyū's 淳祐 (890-953) *Taizōkai shichishū* 胎藏界七集 compiled in Enchō 1 延長元年 (923), is the source of the first description of Jālinīprabha and Ratnakūṭa.[3] Shinjaku's 眞寂 (886-927) *Daihi taizō futsū daimandarachū shoson shuji hyōshi gyōsō shōi shosetsu fudōki* 大祕胎藏普通大曼荼羅中諸尊種子標幟形相聖位諸説不同記 (hereafter, *Shosetsu fudōki*) is the origin of the second part of the description.[4] Comparison between the Kanchi'in set of mandalas and the two latter works shows that Shunnyū's *Taizōkai shichishū* is the source for the descriptions of Trailokyavijaya, Ākāśagarbha, Mañjuśrī's attendants, and Brahmā, while Shinjaku's *Shosetsu fudōki* is the basis for the accounts of Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, two of Mañjuśrī's attendants, and Mahākāla.[5]

We have no direct evidence that Genkaku consulted a colored version of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo*, and the notes, which record the colors of the figures, their mudrās, and their attributes, clearly derive from these two earlier works.[6] Moreover, the iconography in Genkaku's notes, which matches that of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo,* corresponds on the whole to the iconography of the Shingon school's set of the tradition of the Matrix Realm and Adamantine Realm Mandalas (*Genzu mandara*) that Shinjaku and Shunnyū discuss in their texts.[7] Thus, as far as we know, Genkaku never used a colored Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* and took all his information on colors from secondary sources. Nevertheless, Genkaku referred to these two earlier works *because* the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar was identical to that of the Shingon school's *Genzu mandara*.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE COMPARATIVE MATERIALS

The matches between the iconography of the Daigoji *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* and that of the Shingon school's *Genzu mandara* recorded in a number of Shingon sources support the contention that the *Genzu mandara* was the iconographic source of the Daigoji exemplar.

In the *Shosetsu fudōki* Shinjaku outlines the differences between the iconography of the "revealed illustration" 現圖 (*genzu*), a "certain illustration" 或圖 (*aruzu*), a "mountain illustration" 山圖 (*sanzu*), and occasionally an "Engakuji illustration" 圓覺寺圖 (Engakuji zu). The "mountain illustration" can be identified as the matrix mandala of the Tendai school.[8] There has been a long scholarly dispute over the identification of the "certain illustration" and "Engakuji illustration,"[9] but Scroll 1 of the *Shosetsu fudōki* confirms a connection between Kūkai 空海 (774-835) and the *Genzu*.[10] In Shinjaku's work, the term *Genzu* thus designates the matrix mandala that Kūkai received from his Chinese Master Huiguo 慧果 (746–805) during his stay in Chang'an in 805.[11] The term *Genzu mandara* was not used in Kūkai's time.[12] Nevertheless, *Genzu* eventually came to include both the mandalas of the matrix and the adamantine realm (as known as the Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm) that Huiguo transmitted to Kūkai.[13]

The *Shosetsu fudōki* records the iconography of the first generation of copies of the colored set of mandalas that Kūkai introduced to Japan; that is, the set that was made in Kōnin 12 (821).[14] Shinjaku noted the minutest details of color and pose in his comparison of the iconography of the *genzu,* the *aruzu* and the *sanzu* versions of the matrix mandala.[15] These descriptions correspond, on the whole, to the iconography of the figures in the Omuro wood-block version 御室版 (1869) of the matrix mandala.[16] Since it is reliable, clear, and easily accessible, I will be referring below to the Omuro printed version of the *Genzu mandara*, which includes the mandalas of the matrix and adamantine realm.[17]

I will also refer to the *Bizangji* 祕藏記 (Record of the Secret Treasury), a work whose author and date are controversial, as I present in this chapter. This document contains the earliest discussion of the iconography of the Shingon school's *Genzu mandara*. The *Bizangji*'s iconographic descriptions of the figures of the Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm and Matrix Mandala and their positions as diagrammed in the appended illustrations of these two mandalas[18] correlate with the iconography and positions of the figures recorded in Shinjaku's *Shosetsu fudōki* and Shunnyū's *Ishiyama shichishū*, as well as the Omuro wood-block printed version. In fact, in his *Kongōkai shichishū* Shunnyū quotes the *Bizangji* material on the appearance and positions of the Venerables throughout his entries on the *Kongōkai mandara*.[19]

Finally, I will be consulting Tendai materials. Tendai monks Ennin and Enchin both recorded in their inventories copies of the matrix mandala and the mandala of the adamantine realm.[20] In a number of Tendai sources the mandalas that have been examined are called the *zenbon* 前本 and the *kōhon* 後本,[21] an apparent reference to the temples on Hieizan where the original exemplars were kept.[22] There are correspondences between the iconography of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* as described in the Shingon sources cited and that of the *zenbon* in the Tendai works.[23]

To sum up, although its names differ in Shingon and Tendai sources, in the Heian period both schools used a mandala whose iconography corresponds to that of the present-day version of the Matrix Realm and Adamantine Realm (*Genzu mandara*) that Kūkai received from his Chinese

master, Huiguo. Thus, the *Genzu mandara*, the main iconographic source of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo*, was not the sole preserve of the Shingon school.[24]

COMPARISON OF THE *GENZU MANDARA* AND THE DAIGOJI *LIQUJING MANTULUO*: THE MIXING OF VARIANT ESOTERIC BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHICAL SYSTEMS

The substitution of the iconography of the *Liquhui* 理趣會 (Guiding Principle Assembly) of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* for that of the Vajrasattva Mandala (fig. 2, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 777, No. 2) in the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* supports the contention that Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* is not the sole source for the latter.[25] There are occasional inconsistencies where elements of earlier visual traditions appear, but it is clear that the *Genzu mandara* was the primary source for the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar, with the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* the most important secondary source. These sources are used in two main ways. The first is by depicting the Daigoji exemplar's figures according to the iconography used in either or both; the second, by juxtapositioning their iconographies within individual Daigoji mandala or occasionally among sets of mandalas.

In the Daigoji exemplar, the figures of Mahāvairocana and three of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas — Vajrasattva, Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha — are represented by iconography derived from both the *Genzu taizokai* and the *Genzu kongokai mandara*. All other figures in the Daigoji exemplar, with the single exception of that of Īśāna, draw exclusively on one or the other of the sources, either the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* or the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*.[26]

Another fundamental trait of the Daigoji exemplar's iconography is the conspicuous presence of iconographic elements from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. The figure of Mahāvairocana, who forms the Mudrā of Meditation in the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 776, No. 1), is the most obvious instance. This mudrā, which is not prescribed in the *Liqushi,* identifies Mahāvairocana in all the versions of the matrix mandala in the Sino-Japanese tradition. There are a number of other examples that show an unmistakable iconographic influence from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*.[27]

Analysis of the iconography of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* thus reveals that those figures that do not correspond to the prescriptions in the *Liqushi* match, with few exceptions, the iconography of the figures in the *Genzu mandara*. Further, the Daigoji iconography includes iconographic elements that clearly derive from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. The result is a different iconography than that which Amoghavajra prescribes in the *Liqushi*. Finally, and most important, the mixing of the iconography of the *Genzu kongōkai* and *Genzu taizōkai mandara* and the juxtaposition of the iconography of the Opening Assembly Mandala (No. 1, fig. 1) with that of the Mahāvairocana Mandala (fig. 3, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 778, No. 3) demonstrates a concerted effort to link the iconography of the *Genzu kongōkai* and the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT IN TANG CHINA

The generic distinction between the iconography in the *Liqushi* and that of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* is that the first lacks and the second incorporates the iconography of the Shingon school's Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*), juxtaposing iconography from the Matrix Realm and Adamantine Realm Mandalas (*Genzu taizōkai* and *kongōkai mandara*) and elements derived from the Matrix Realm (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*) in a work ostensibly devoted

to a text in the lineage of the Adamantine Realm. These features provide clues to the historical context for the iconography of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo*.

In the following pages I will outline the different concerns of the Chinese masters Amoghavajra, his disciple Huiguo and Huiguo's second-generation disciple Faquan 法全 (active mid-to late ninth century), to demonstrate three points:

1) The ideology of the nonduality of the two transmissions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and their accompanying mandalas postdates Amoghavajra.
2) This unified ideology was established during Huiguo's lifetime and was propagated by his immediate disciples.
3) The rites of the matrix and the accomplishment of special powers (*susiddhi*) were of major concern to Faquan.

The last of these had a particular influence on the iconography of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* and so will be discussed in a later chapter.

Although the Shingon school states that the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* is the source of their Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara),* and the first chapter of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* is the source of their Mandala of the Adamantine Realm (*Genzu kongōkai mandara*), these texts do not supply all of the iconography we find in these mandalas. As we have noted, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* provides only the general concept of the main figures of its matrix mandala, which is expounded in its second chapter, the *Rumantuluo juyuan zhenyan pin*.[28] Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding yuqie zhong luchu niansong jing* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經, a manual for rites concerning the adamantine realm, and Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie zhenshi dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂瑜伽眞實大教王經, which translate only a part of the first of the four chapters of the Sanskrit *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, give no more than an outline of the mandala of the adamantine realm, recording the positions, mudrās and the symbolic forms of the figures in this mandala while providing no further details.[29]

Amoghavajra and the Ideology of the Nonduality of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*

The Japanese art historian Ishida Hisatōyō 石田尚豊 argues in his *Mandara no kenkyū* 曼荼羅の研究 that the sources of the iconography of the Shingon Mandala of the Adamantine Realm (*Genzu kongōkai mandara*) are the *Shewuai dabeixin datuoluoni jing jiyifa zhongchu wuliang yi nanfang manyuan butuoluo haihui wubu zhuzundeng hongjingli fangwei ji weiyi xingsezhichi sanmoye biaozhi mantuluo yigui* 攝無礙大悲心大陀羅尼經計一法中出無量義南方滿願補陀落海會五部諸尊等弘誓力方位及威儀形色執持三摩耶標幟曼荼羅儀軌 (hereafter, the *Shewuai yigui*) and the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* 法華曼荼羅威儀形色法經. Ishida accepts these two ritual manuals as works that were translated by Amoghavajra. He is correct to the extent that these two manuals provide descriptions of the figures that are found in the central assembly (*Jōjin'ne*) of the Shingon school's Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, as well as those that appear in the school's Matrix Realm Mandala.[30] On the other hand, Mochizuki Shinkō, the compiler of the *Bukkyō daijiten,* conjectures that the mandala described in the *Shewuai yigui* is based on the Shingon *Genzu mandara*, and that the text was composed after the composition of

these two mandalas.[31] In neither case would it be possible to accept Amoghavajra as responsible for these two texts. I agree with this implied conclusion, for three reasons.

First, the attribution of the *Shewuai yigui* and the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* to Amoghavajra is poorly supported. The two texts are not included in a list of translations and compositions that Amoghavajra himself drew up in the eleventh month of 771 and presented to the Chinese Emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779) to be entered into the imperial catalogue of Buddhist texts.[32] They do not appear in the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋經目錄 that Amoghavajra's disciple, the monk Yuanzhao 圓照 (719–800), compiled in the late eighth century.[33] They are absent from the inventories of the articles that the eight Heian pilgrim-monks 入唐八家 (*nittō hakke)* brought back, and are not found in the Tendai monk Annen's (841–915?) *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 諸阿闍梨眞言密教部類総錄, a recapitulation of all the inventories, both official and unofficial, of these early pilgrims.[34] This long, unbroken silence suggests that the texts were Chinese works composed after Amoghavajra's death.

Second, there are a number of differences between the *Shewuai yigui* and the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* and the ritual manuals Amoghavajra listed in the inventory of translations and compositions that he presented to the Chinese emperor.

- Amoghavajra's ritual manuals are characterized by the description of the phases of a rite for which he explains the mudrās that are to be formed, the mantras that are to be chanted and the mandalas that are to be envisioned, as well as a description of the spiritual and material benefits that will accrue from the performance of the rite. These features are absent in both the *Shewuai yigui* and the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing*.[35]
- Both the *Shewuai yigui* and the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* conflate in their mandalas deities from the two major Esoteric Buddhist mandalic traditions and this conflation is not found in Amoghavajra's ritual manuals. The iconography for many deities in the mandalas prescribed in these two manuals matches that of the deities in the *Genzu mandara*. Moreover, the way the material from from these two manuals is used might be taken as evidence that both of them were composed after the creation of the *Genzu mandara*.[36]
- Certain features of the mandalas in the *Shewuai yigui* and the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* sometimes contradict the directions that Amoghavajra gives in his ritual manuals. For instance, the placement of Mahāvairocana in the mandala described in the *Shewuai yigui* is very unusual. Mahāvairocana, the Buddha from whom the cosmos emanates in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, is placed to the east of the southern gate in the mandala's second court (T.1067:131b-132b). He is paired with Bodhisattva Ratnapāramitā from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* and together they attend on Ratnasaṃbhava, the Buddha of the south in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Thus, he is subordinate to the four Buddhas of the four directions, who are placed in each of the four gates of this court, a feature not found in any of Amoghavajra's works.[37]
- The *Shewuai yigui* exhibits inconsistencies between text and iconography that seem unlikely in a work from his hand. There are, for example, discrepancies between the contents of the concepts explicated in the first part of this work and the iconography of the accompanying mandala. Inconsistencies are seen in the members of the Five Families, the rites they preside over and the mandala's iconography.[38]

Finally, it is doubtful that Amoghavajra authored these texts because they use concepts that are found nowhere in his attested writings. For instance, the concepts of Principle 理 (*li)* and Wisdom 智 (*zhi)* and their allocation, first to the left and right hands (Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara's primary pair of hands [Principle and Wisdom] forms the Mudrā of Entering Meditation 理智入定印 [*T*.1067:130b15]) and then to the Matrix Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, given in the introduction of the *Shewuai yigui*, are not found in any of his other ritual manuals.[39]

We have noted that the traditions of the matrix mandala and the mandala of the adamantine realm — the texts they are based on, and the ritual practices associated with them — evolved separately in India. On the other hand, the *Shewuai yigui* confirms that in Chinese Esoteric Buddhism after Amoghavajra the two mandalas came to be seen as a unit symbolized by such concepts as Principle and Wisdom. That is, the two were brought into one system in which they enjoyed equal status. Ishida claims that this process was initiated by Amoghavajra. However, as I have shown, the attribution of these two texts to Amoghavajra can hardly stand. Hence, a different source for this interpretation will have to be found, and the traditional dating of the process will have to be revised.

To sum up, one feature of the mandalas described in the *Shewuai yigui* and *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* that points to a date after Amoghavajra's time is the mixing of iconographies from the Mandalas of the Matrix and Adamantine Realms.[40] The intent to set side by side the iconographies of these mandalas that characterizes the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing mantuluo* also indicates a date of composition after Amoghavajra.

Huiguo's Transmission of the Paired Mandalic Realities Recorded in the Writings of His Disciples

Visual and documentary evidence suggests that the Chinese monk Huiguo, a disciple of Amoghavajra, was the first to pair the two major Esoteric Buddhist mandalas. It was during his career that the two independent traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and their accompanying mandalas came to be interpreted as a single, comprehensive unit. The iconography of the present day Shingon set of *Genzu mandara*, whose prototype dates to the late eighth century, as well as the transmission that Kūkai, whom the Japanese Shingon school claims as their founder, said he inherited from his Chinese master Huiguo, corroborates the existence of this new interpretation.

Whereas Ishida Hisatōyō and other Shingon scholars identify Amoghavajra as the founder of the tradition of paired mandalas, the late Buddhologists Mochizuki Shinkō, Ōmura Seigai and Toganoo Shōun state that the transmission of the two mandalas as a set began with Huiguo. Contemporary Buddhologists accept the attribution to Huiguo.[41] Because there are no writings that can with certainty be assigned to Huiguo, these scholars have cited specific writings by Kūkai as evidence for the content of Huiguo's transmission.[42] The above-mentioned scholars argue that the common denominator of these works is *liangbu* 兩部 (J. *ryōbu*). This term refers to the "dual categories," the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and their accompanying mandalas, and a closer examination of these writings reveals that Kūkai employs the term "dual categories" numerous times to describe the content of Huiguo's transmission. The term "dual categories" signifies that the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and their mandalas were seen as a two-part unit.

In view of the importance attached to the figure of Huiguo, whose thought and activities seem to exemplify a new stage in the Sinification of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings, it will be necessary to re-examine the references to Huiguo in Kūkai's writings. I will start with the *Shōrai mokuroku*, a memorial that Kūkai wrote directly upon his return from China and presented to Emperor Heizei in 806. Hence, it is a dated text, the first in which Kūkai refers to the contents of Huiguo's transmission. Here, Kūkai uses the term "dual categories" to characterize the teachings of the Esoteric Buddhist tradition that he inherited from Huiguo:

> I was fortunate enough, thanks to the compassion of the great master, a national teacher of great merit, to study the great methods of the dual categories 兩部之大法 [of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and their mandalas] and to learn the yoga practices of the many Venerables.[43]

In specifying the religious items that he brought back from China Kūkai once again employs the term "dual categories":

> I have now imported the teachings of the Adamantine Vehicle, which is contained in more than one hundred texts, and the ocean-like assemblies [of Venerables who are depicted in their physical forms] in the great mandalas of the two categories 兩部大曼荼羅海會.[44]

In the same text the term "dual categories" also defines the content of the transmission that Huiguo tells Kūkai he had received from Amoghavajra:

> I [Huiguo] got to study the secret mudrās of the great methods in two categories 兩部大法祕密印契. As for the rest of his disciples, whether monk or laity, some studied the great teaching in one part 一部大法 and some got [to learn] one mudrā of one Venerable 一尊一契, but they did not get to learn them all [as I did].[45]

The term "dual categories" occurs again in a passage of the *Shōrai mokuroku* where Huiguo urges Kūkai to return to Japan to propagate the esoteric teachings,[46] and eight times in the biography of Huiguo in Kūkai's *Fuhōden* 付法傳,[47] four of these in the section dealing with the transmission Huiguo received from Amoghavajra.[48] A passage from Amoghavajra's last testament and a memorial that Huiguo presented to the Chinese Emperor Daizong in 775 immediately follows.[49] Inserted between these two quotations in the *Fuhōden* is another statement that contains the term "dual categories":

> [Among] the three thousand [disciples] of Confucius there were four of virtuous conduct. [Among] Broad Wisdom [Amoghavajra]'s several ten thousands [of disciples] there were eight [who received] formal acknowledgment of [his transmission]. Among them seven obtained [instruction and initiation in] the one category of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界一部. [Huiguo of] Qinglong[si] obtained concurrently the position of teacher of the dual categories 兩部師位.[50]

Kūkai also excerpts the *Datang shendu Qinglongsi Dongtayuan guandingguoshi Huiguo Asheli xingzhuang* 大唐神都青龍寺東塔院灌頂國師慧果阿闍梨行狀 (Account of Conduct of Master Huiguo, the Consecration Teacher of the Nation of the Hall of the Eastern Stupa of Qinglongsi in Chang'an of the Great Tang), which was written by Huiguo's Chinese disciple Wu Yin 吳慇,[51] in which the term "dual categories" occurs another three times.[52] However, a comparison of Wu Yin's account of Huiguo's transmission with that given in the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhao Gongfeng Dade xingzhuang* 大唐青龍寺三朝供奉大德行狀, another biography of Huiguo by an unknown compiler, reveals discrepancies.[53] The most significant of these is that the term "dual categories" is not used in the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhao Gongfeng Dade xingzhuang* to describe Huiguo's transmission. Nevertheless, this term does appear in Wu Yin's description of the wall paintings that Huiguo had painted in the interior of the Consecration Hall 灌頂堂 and on the walls beneath the Stūpa of the Buddha 浮圖塔.[54] It is this description that scholars cite as evidence of Huiguo's concrete pairing of the two originally independent mandalas.[55]

In contrast to the biography of Huiguo, where it appears eight times, the term "dual categories" appears only once in the *Fuhōden* biography of Amoghavajra. At the beginning of this biography, Kūkai cites the Chinese sources he used: the *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji* and the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu,* both by Yuanzhao. The sentence that contains this term is inserted into a passage from the monk Feixi's 飛錫 stele biography 碑銘 of Amoghavajra, which is included in Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji*.[56] It concerns the teachings that a certain Master Samantabhadra imparted to Amoghavajra during the latter's sojourn in Sri Lanka 師子國. Kūkai's version of this passage is as follows:

> Then, Master [Nāgajñāna 龍智阿闍梨][57] conferred on him the scripture [composed] in one hundred thousand verses [concerning] the Yoga [methods] of the Adamantine Crown in Eighteen Assemblies 十八會金剛頂瑜伽十萬頌經, the scripture in one hundred thousand verses [concerning the teaching of] Mahāvairocana's [Mandala Born from the] Matrix Repository of Great Compassion 大毘盧遮那大悲胎藏十萬頌經, secret texts [concerning] mantras and consecrations for the Five Families [of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm] 五部灌頂眞言祕典, as well as [other] scriptures and scholastic discourses 經論 — more than five hundred sacred Sanskrit texts 梵夾 in all. In this way [Amoghavajra] could get all [the sacred works in] this master's transmission. *He had received all of his instructions concerning the teachings on the great mandalas of the two categories* 兩部大曼荼羅*, as well as on the appearances of the Venerables, and he was not unlike a receptacle* [*wherein this master's teachings had been poured without spilling a drop*].[58]

This account differs in various ways from that found elsewhere.[59] Most important for our purpose here, the term "dual categories" occurs in a sentence that is not found in the original Chinese source, and so is most likely an insertion by Kūkai himself.[60] The term "dual categories" is found frequently in the works of Huiguo's disciples Wu Yin and Kūkai to define their master's

transmission, based on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, but it is never seen in the original Chinese biographies of Amoghavajra or Vajrabodhi.[61]

The third work cited as a record of Huiguo's transmission is the *Bizangji* 祕藏記, a compilation with about a hundred entries that explicates Esoteric Buddhist terms and practices. There are two versions of this work: extended and abbreviated. Although the contents are largely identical, the extended version appends descriptions and two illustrations of the Buddhist cosmos that is to be visualized during the ritual phase of the visualization of the sanctuary 道場觀, as well as an enumeration of the figures of the Matrix Mandala and the central assembly of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, with illustrations of the positions of the figures.[62] An inscription on this version states that the work was given to an unidentified Japanese pilgrim-monk in 839 by the Chinese monk Wenbi 文秘 of Qinglongsi 青龍寺.[63] Wenbi was a disciple of Yicao 義操, Huiguo's most accomplished disciple, and had received from Yicao initiation into the rite of the Adamantine Realm.[64] This work contains both the phrase "mandalas of the two categories" and the polar pair Principle 理 and Wisdom 智. In fact, the very first entry, in which the main figures and the basic composition of the Shingon school's *Genzu mandara* are explained, is entitled "Mandalas of the Two Categories".[65]

Although this description of the mandalas of the two categories focuses on the most important sections of the Matrix Realm Mandala, omitting the Halls of Mañjurśī, Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhiī, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha and Susiddhi and the other eight assemblies of the Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm, the extended version of the *Bizangji* does contain more complete information about the compositions of these mandalas. For instance, in this version, a diagram of the Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm comes shortly after the above-cited passage on the mandalas of the two categories.[66]

As mentioned above, appended to the text of the extended version there is a list of the deities that are depicted in the central assembly of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and in the complete Matrix Realm Mandala, and in a note under each deity's name the deity's color, mudrā and, in some cases, distinctive characteristics are given. Diagrams of the two mandalas accompany this enumeration.[67] The *Bizangji*'s description of the features of the deities and their positions in the accompanying diagrams of the mandalas correspond, on the whole, to those in the Shingon *Genzu mandara,* which Kūkai received from Huiguo in 805.[68]

The terms Principle and Wisdom are explained in a number of entries in the *Bizangji* and their nonduality is clarified in one of these entries as follows:

> The letter *a* is the seed letter of Vairocana's Dharma Body of Principle and the letter *vaṃ* is the seed letter of the Dharma Body of Wisdom. Principle and Wisdom are not separate from each other. Principle awakens the functioning of Wisdom and Wisdom awakens Great Compassion. Great compassion can be likened to water. The letter *vaṃ* is the seed letter for the element water. Therefore, it is regarded as the seed letter for the Dharma Body of Wisdom.[69]

There are also parts where the terms Principle and Wisdom are allocated to the Matrix Realm Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm respectively.[70] However, because a number of passages in the *Bizangji* are direct citations from the *Shewuai yigui* and other works, problems of authorship and date again arise. Although the most recent Japanese scholarship does not agree on the date of the *Bizangji,* it has established that the work was not composed by Kūkai

and that its earliest date may be 839.[71] Nevertheless, its contents seem to reflect Huiguo's concerns because its explanations center upon the two mandalas whose iconography corresponds to the Matrix Realm Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm (*Genzu mandara*) that Huiguo bestowed upon Kūkai.

To sum up, in his presentation of his master Huiguo's transmission in the *Shōrai mokuroku* and the *Fuhōden,* Kūkai gives priority to the "great methods of the two categories" 兩部大法, which he says he inherited from Huiguo. Kūkai's version of the transmission that Huiguo received from Amoghavajra contradicts that given in the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhao Gongfeng Dade xingzhuang*, and so, argue some Japanese scholars, we should accept Kūkai's description of his master's teachings in these works with a degree of caution. Kūkai is legitimatizing his new transmission in the *Shōrai mokuroku* and the *Fuhōden,* and to do this he puts forward an interpretation based solely upon the dual system of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-samgraha*, purposely ignoring other, equally important components of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings.[72] Moreover, the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhao Gongfeng Dade xingzhuang* does not contain the term "dual categories" and Kūkai does not use this term to describe Huiguo's transmission in the epitaph he wrote for Huiguo's tombstone.[73]

On the other hand, the germ of Kūkai's system must have originated in the transmission he inherited from Huiguo,[74] and the Matrix Realm Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm that he received from Huiguo, and the *Bizangji*, an oral record of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings most likely transmitted by one of Huiguo's second generation disciples, do serve to elucidate the content of Huiguo's teachings.[75] Although there is no solid evidence that Kūkai actually hung the two mandalas up as a pair, his use of the term "dual categories" in many of his memorials, letters and votive texts indicates that he considered them a set.[76] Kūkai's plan for the temple complex of Kongōbuji on Kōyasan was symbolic of the two aspects of Mahāvairocana as represented in the pairing of the Matrix Realm Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm,[77] a pairing which, as we have seen, characterizes the transmission of his Chinese master Huiguo. Furthermore, in spite of the questions surrounding the authorship of the *Bizangji*, the pairing of the terms Principle and Wisdom in this work also derives from this transmission. Kūkai uses these polar terms in many of his writings, and although the phrase "the nonduality of Principle and Wisdom" 理智不二 (*richi funi*) that is used in the post-Kūkai Shingon school to characterize their doctrine is not actually found, the underlying assumption is that of their nonduality.[78]

These entries in Kūkai's *Shōrai mokuroku, Fuhōden,* and *Shingon fuhōden*, as well as those from the *Bizangji,* thus exhibit a phase in the Sinification of the Indian Esoteric Buddhist teachings characterized by the pairing of the two transmissions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and their mandalas under the rubric of "dual categories."

The author and date of the *Shewuai yigui* and the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* are difficult to determine, but the content of these two ritual manuals would seem to belong to a phase of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings that were influenced by Huiguo's transmission, as described in the works of Kūkai, in that of Huiguo's Chinese disciple WuYin, and in the *Bizangji*, rather than by that of Amoghavajra. Evidence for this statement will be given in the chapter that follows.

Faquan and the Rites of the Matrix and Accomplishment of Special Powers

The conflation of the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha,* the "dual categories," with the themes of yet another text, the *Susiddhikara sūtra* (Scripture on Effectuating the Accomplishment of Special Powers) marks a further stage in the Chinese interpretation of Indian Esoteric Buddhist doctrines.[79] This development is characteristic of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings of the late Tang period (836–907). The Buddhologist Osabe Kazuo 長部和雄 states that there was in Esoteric Buddhism of the late Tang a revival of the popularity of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and a rediscovery of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*.[80] The *Susiddhikara sūtra* is a collection of ritual practices that the Shingon school regards as ancillary to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, but which Tendai esoteric lineages sees as much more significant. In fact, in the late Tang the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, after undergoing differing interpretations and classifications, assumed a prominent status. Representative of this phase of Esoteric Buddhism in the late Tang is, for example, the teachings of the ninth-century master Faquan, which centered on the rites of the matrix and the accomplishment of special powers (*susiddhi*).

The basic theme of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* is how to bring about the success of Esoteric Buddhist rites. In particular, this text explains the rules for rituals that center on the figures of the Buddha, Padma, and Vajra Families. It gives instructions about all the possible components of these rituals, and the rules are set forth in elaborate detail so as to ensure the success (*siddhi*) of the rites. The rites and accomplishments (*siddhi*) presented in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* are divided into the three grades of high, middle and low. Central to Faquan's teachings was the concept of the mantras of threefold accomplishments 三種成就眞言. This concept of the mantras of threefold accomplishments has been taken from the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. The mantras, however, are not from the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, as we shall see.[81] Moreover, at some point during the late Tang Dynasty, this scripture came to transcend the distinctions between the teachings and practices of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.[82]

The significance of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* in Faquan's transmission and in Chinese Esoteric Buddhism of the mid-ninth century shows how the categorization of the major Esoteric Buddhist texts has changed since Huiguo and Kūkai. The Chinese monk Haiyun 海雲, a contemporary of Faquan, states in the *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* 兩部大法相承師資付法記 (Account of the Transmission from Teacher to Disciple of the Great Methods of the Two Categories), his synopsis of the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist system: the Korean Master Hyonch'o [C. Xuanchao] 玄越 transmitted the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and the *Susiddhikara sūtras* to Huiguo, and Master Huiguo in turn passed on these teachings to a number of disciples, including the Japanese monk Kūkai.[83] On the other hand, Kūkai places the *Susiddhikara sūtra* in a lower category, as a work of Discipline (*vinaya*), in his *Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku* 眞言宗所學經律論目錄 (Catalogue of Scriptures, Rules of Disciple and Philosophical Treatises for Those Who Study the Mantra Doctrine), listings of essential works that were required reading for Shingon monks.[84] The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* thus formed the two major categories in the transmission that Kūkai said he received from Huiguo and the *Susiddhikara sūtra* was only a subordinate text.

However, the ranking of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* became higher after Huiguo's death in 805. In the *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji,* Haiyun puts the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-*

saṃgraha and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras* on the same level as "the great teachings in three categories" 三部大教.[85] The *Susiddhikara sūtra* was central to the Esoteric Buddhist systems that the Tendai monks Ennin 圓仁 (794–864) and Enchin formulated upon their return from Tang China and to subsequent Tendai esoteric lineages. Medieval Shingon treatises record that it also formed an important component of Shūei's transmission.

CONCLUSION

Research thus reveals that the iconographic changes evident in the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* are not contemporary with Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* but reflect instead the interpretations of later Chinese masters. The systematized ideology of the nonduality of the two transmissions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and their accompanying mandalas postdates Amoghavajra.

Further, *Liqushi* explanations and mandala prescriptions shed little light on the pronounced role given to the Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*) that characterizes the iconography of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo*. The tendency to interpret a text that belongs to the extended corpus of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown in the context of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* suggests influence from another master. Considering that the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* enjoyed a revival and the *Susiddhikara sūtra* underwent reinterpretations in the late Tang, that the rites of the matrix and accomplishment categories were important to Faquan, and that Faquan transmitted these rites to his Japanese disciples Ennin, Enchin and Shūei, I think we are justified in taking a closer look at Faquan's transmission, and also examining the iconographic materials brought back by these Japanese monks. Such examinations will be undertaken in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

In the next chapter, Chapter Four, I will argue that despite the presence of elements from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras*, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and other works in the corpus of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown form the backbone of Amoghavajra's writings. There is no indication that Amoghavajra saw the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* as texts of equal importance. In this respect, Huiguo and later masters differed from him markedly, and it is their interpretation that has been passed down to the present day.

CHAPTER FOUR: AMOGHAVAJRA'S TRANSMISSION

INTRODUCTION

Comparison between text and image makes it plain that the *Liqushi*'s exposition and mandala prescriptions do not explain those iconographic features of the Daigoji exemplar that derive from the Chinese version of the matrix mandala (the Shingon school's *Genzu taizōkai mandara)*. On the contrary, as we saw in Chapter One, these sections of the *Liqushi* show clear influence from the Amoghavajra's translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865). Moreover, as the analysis in Chapter Three reveals, the Daigoji exemplar's iconography draws on both the Shingon school's Mandalas of the Adamantine and Matrix Realms (*Genzu kongōkai mandara* and *Genzu taizōkai mandara*).

Any link between the mandalas that Amoghavajra describes in the *Liqushi* and the Shingon concept of the nonduality of the realities and mandalas of the adamantine realm and matrix 金胎不二 (J. *kontai funi*) is tenuous at best. Nevertheless, Shingon monks and scholars have insisted on just such a connection when analyzing the *Liqujing* and the *Liqushi*. In Chapter Two, I discussed several interpretations of the *Liqujing mantuluo* along these lines that were made by the Shingon monks Ningai (995–1046), Shinkaku (1117–1180), Kōzen (1120–1203) and Dōhō (1214–1281).

Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 (1868–1927), one of the first to study the transmissions of the Shingon patriarchs, labelled certain ritual manuals by Amoghavajra as works that combine the rites of the matrix and the adamantine realm 合法 (J. *gōhō*).[1] Contemporary scholars following in Ōmura's footsteps — Osabe Kazuo, Onozuka Ikusumi and Ishida Hisatōyō, for example — also contend that Amoghavajra deliberately amalgamated the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* traditions. In proof, they cite ritual manuals that display this intermingling of elements.[2] Recently, in his study of the *Liqujing***,** Ian Astley-Kristensen has presented the interpretations of modern Shingon exegetes who also regard the teachings of the *Liqujing* and the *Liqushi* as embodying this amalgamation.[3]

In this chapter, I further examine Amoghavajra's transmission of the *Liqujing* and its related works. First, I take up the sources for the *Liqushi*'s mandala prescriptions. Amoghavajra was doctrinally consistent, and his sources *confirm his use* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865) teachings and mandalas. Nevertheless, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* was not Amoghavajra's sole source of inspiration. According to his own account, he consulted works belonging to a larger corpus he called the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui* 金剛頂瑜伽十八會 (hereafter, Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown).

Second, I present Amoghavajra's concerns as a practitioner, teacher and translator. Throughout his religious career he championed a distinct path that he described in memorials to the Chinese emperors he served. I briefly examine these memorials and this path, whose contents he recorded in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* 金剛頂瑜伽十八會指帰 (Guide to the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown).[4] The *Liqujing* and its related materials belonged to this path of teachings. Moreover, I establish that Amoghavajra's *Liqujing*-related translations and compositions cannot be regarded as examples of combinatory practice. Amoghavajra's ritual manuals do indeed exhibit features drawn from differing Esoteric Buddhist systems, but their aim in so doing is to maintain the coherence of the ritual procedure and not to

consolidate the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* into a single tradition.

Third, I note the significant changes that his disciples made in their biographies to their master's transmission after his death. The result is a new iconography that would influence the ninth-century prototype of the Daigoji examplar of the *Liqujing mandara*.

COMMENTARIES ON THE *LIQUJING* AND THE SOURCES FOR THE ICONOGRAPHY OF MANDALAS

An examination of the *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* discloses that Amoghavajra furnishes information that allows us to identify the reference system for the iconography of the mandalas. As I have demonstrated in Chapter One, the first chapter of his *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865), as well as other chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, constitute the reference system for the iconography of the mandalas prescribed in *Liqushi* 1, 2, 3 and 7.[5] Other mandalas, whose iconography is based on the four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, can be added to this list.[6]

Additionally, Amoghavajra furnishes in his *Liqujing*-related commentaries information about mandalas in other ways. For instance, he names some of his sources in the *Liqushi* and the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*, his commentary on the mandala of the seventeen deities, who symbolize the seventeen epithets of purity 清淨句 that are presented in *Liqujing* 1.[7] Further, in the *Liqushi* he refers the practitioner to "extended" scriptures 廣經 and yogas 廣瑜伽 for more detailed information. Amoghavajra also makes in the *Liqushi* a number of references to forms of deities in ritual manuals that he does not name.[8] Below we will examine examples from Amoghavajra's three methods of referencing his sources.

References to Specific Sources

Amoghavajra refers in his *Liqushi*[9] and the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* to specific works that belong to the corpus of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, which he outlined in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, as well as to the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* itself. There are five references in all.[10] Here we will focus on the iconography of the mandalas described in *Liqushi* 1, 16 and 17. I will discuss the references given in *Liqushi* 1, 16 and 17, and in the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*.[11]

In the opening of the *Liqujing* seventeen epithets of purity present a state of blissful enlightenment and they do so from seventeen different aspects. In *Liqushi* 1 Amoghavajra not only equates the *Liqujing*'s seventeen epithets of purity to seventeen bodhisattvas, whose meditative concentrations (*samādhis*) illustrate this state of enlightenment,[12] but he allocates to each bodhisattva a seed letter. The result, when the seed letters are put together, is a seventeen-letter mantra addressed to Vajrasattva:

> *oṃ mahāsukha vajrasattva jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ suratastvaṃ*
> oṃ Great Bliss! Vajrasattva! jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ You are exquisite joy![13]

Amoghavajra declares that this mantra forms the basis of the four kinds of mandalic configurations by which the seventeen figures, and so this state of enlightenment, can be depicted.[14] Following this explanation in *Liqushi* 1 are prescriptions for installing these seventeen

bodhisattvas into a mandala[15] and a brief description of ritual steps for a yogic practice 本尊瑜伽 that centers on the deities in this mandala.[16]

The Buddhologist Fukuda Ryōsei 福田亮成 claims the originality of Amoghavajra's thought in the construction of this seventeen-figure mandala which derives from the seventeen-letter mantra *oṃ mahāsukha vajrasattva jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ suratastvaṃ*.[17] However, in his *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* Amoghavajra concludes a discussion of the mandala that is composed of these seventeen figures, embodiments of the *Liqujing*'s seventeen epithets of purity, by citing his source. He records that the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* presents the gist of the teachings of the Thirteenth of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of Adamantine Crown. This assembly is called the *Dasanmeiye zhenshi yuqie* 大三昧耶眞實瑜伽 (Yoga of the Reality of the Great Pledge).[18]

Amoghavajra provides in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* information on the themes of this Thirteenth Assembly:

> The Thirteenth Assembly is called *Dasanmeiye zhenshi yuqie*. It is expounded in the sacred site of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. [There] all the Buddhas of the ten directions join voices and entreat Vajrasattva [as follows]. "We beg you to explain the method and teaching of the Reality of the Pledge 三昧耶眞實教法. We ourselves have already received this [teaching], and only wish that you, Vajrasattva, explain [this teaching] for the sake of the many bodhisattvas." And so, accepting the entreaties [of all the Buddhas, Vajrasattva] explains Bodhisattva Samantabhadra's seventeen-letter mantra,[19] as well as the mandala of rapture and infallibility 適悅不空曼荼羅 that has seventeen [figures]. He also explains the four types of mandalas and the one hundred and eight pledges of the path. [Moreover,] he explains the mundane and supramundane attainments that are to be sought after. After each of the bodhisattvas and the gods of the Outer Vajra Family have explained their fundamental mandalas, fundamental mantras and fundamental hand gestures, Bodhisattva Samantabhadra [further] explains, among the secrets, [this] mandala and its arrangement of seventeen Venerables and [how] each [deity] enters the body of the fundamental Venerable again, collectively forming the five Venerables who dwell on a single lotus dais... [20]

Vajrasattva thus explains in the Thirteenth Assembly of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown a seventeen-letter mantra and a seventeen-figure mandala of rapture and infallibility and, further, as Samantabhadra, elucidates the conflation of the seventeen figures of this mandala into a pentad seated upon a single lotus. These themes and their mandalic configurations are identical to those presented in *Liqushi* 1 (the seventeen-letter mantra and its allocation to the deities in a seventeen-figure mandala) and 17 (the Five Mysteries mandala).[21]

We can reconstruct the iconography of the seventeen-figure mandala that Bodhisattva Samantabhadra explains in the Thirteen Assembly by looking at Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* and *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*. In *Liqushi* 1 Amoghavajra correlates the first of the *Liqujing*'s seventeen epithets of purity, "the purity of exquisite bliss is the stage of a bodhisattva," with a deity: "Exquisite Bliss is ... Vajrasattva." He correlates the second epithet, "the purity of the arrow of desire," with Desire, the third, "the purity of touching," with Touch, and so on.[22] Amoghavajra's assignments result in a mandala with seventeen figures who personify the

seventeen epithets of purity expounded in *Liqujing* 1. Further, in *Liqushi* 1 he instructs the practitioner as to the correct positioning of the deities in this seventeen-figure mandala, providing a specified order of installation and expressly designated positions.[23] The five figures of the Five Mysteries pentad are this mandala's focus.[24]

In his *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* Amoghavajra furnishes the attributes and attitudes 相 of the seventeen figures of this mandala. For example, Desire holds an arrow in his hand 手持是箭, and Touch resides in the attitude of embracing 住抱持相.[25]

Despite the brevity of the description of the themes of the Thirteenth Assembly in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, there are correspondences between this passage in this guide and the contents of a Song Dynasty work called the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing* 祕密三昧大教王經 (Scripture of the King of Great Teachings on the Secret Pledge) which scholars consider to be a translation of the Thirteenth Assembly of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown.[26] The focus of the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing* is "the method of the great bliss of Vajrasattva" 金剛薩埵大樂法, whose special mantra, mandala and ritual steps are explained.[27] The mantra for this rite is the seventeen-letter mantra *oṃ mahā sukha vajrasattva joḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ suratas tvaṃ*.[28] This same mantra is presented in *Liqushi* 1.[29] In the Song text this mantra is called "the great mantra [that expresses] the reality of the great pledge" 大三昧耶眞實大明.[30] This mantra's importance is reflected in the in-text title of this Song Dynasty work: the *Zuishang bimi dasanmei zhenshi yigui* 最上祕密大三昧耶眞實議軌 (Ritual Manual about the Reality of the Great Pledge that is Secret and Sublime).[31] There is clearly a resemblance between the title of this ritual manual and that of the Thirteenth Assembly (*Dasanmeiye zhenshi yuqie* 大三昧耶眞實瑜伽) given in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. The mandala prescribed in the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing* for this rite of Vajrasattva's great bliss is a mandala with seventeen figures, called the "mandala of adamantine, wondrous bliss" 金剛妙樂曼荼羅.[32] The Five Mysteries pentad is in the center of this mandala.[33]

In short, the main contents of the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing* — a seventeen-letter mantra and a seventeen-figure mandala of adamantine, wondrous bliss, whose focus is the Five Mysteries pentad — match the main themes of the Thirteenth Assembly as recorded in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, and they are the themes of *Liqushi* 1 and 17.[34]

Reference to a different text in the corpus of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of Adamantine Crown is given in *Liqushi* 16. This is another example of Amoghavajra's reference to a specific text that enables us to reconstruct the iconography of this chapter's mandala.[35] In this chapter Amoghavajra allocates each line of the *Liqujing*'s teachings to the mandalas of the families of the Vajra, Ratna (Gem), Padma (Lotus) and Karma (Action).[36] For example, the line — "Because the perfection of wisdom is unquantifiable, all the Tathāgatas are unquantifiable"[37] — represents the five families in the mandala of the Vajra Family. Each of the four families of the Vajra, Ratna, Padma and Karma has a mandala that consists of five families.[38] Amoghavajra continues his description of this mandala of the five families as follows:

> The mandala [of these families] is vast, and is identical to what is explained in the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie jing* 一切教集瑜伽經 (Scripture on the Yoga of the Collection of All Teachings). This is the Master of Jianfu[si] 薦福[寺]'s mandala [for the practice of] yoga [that is composed] of gold-on-[purple]-mud 金泥瑜伽曼荼羅. The reason I will not explain the heart mantras is because in that [master's]

> teaching each one of the sacred assembly has his own heart mantra of one letter. I cannot record them in detail. Now, I will abbreviate [this], and I will refer to a corner [of this large mandala].[39]

In this chapter of the *Liqushi,* Amoghavajra directs the practitioner's attention to an extant, large-scale mandala that his master Vajrabodhi 金剛智 (671–741) had drawn on the wall of Jianfusi in the Chinese capital Chang'an. He does not furnish a description of the iconography of this mandala, but he does gives its textual source. This is the third example of a named source that we are investigating. It is the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie jing* and, according to his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, it is the Third Assembly of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of Adamantine Crown.

Amoghavajra provides in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* the following brief description of this Third Assembly:

> Next, the Third Assembly is explained. It is called the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie* 一切教集瑜伽 (Yoga on the Collection of All Teachings)[40] and it is expounded in the Palace of the Dharma Realm 法界宮殿. All the Tathāgatas in unison question Bodhisattva Vajrasattva[, asking him] one hundred and eight questions. Bodhisattva Vajrasattva answers each question, one by one. [Also,] in this scripture a great mandala 大曼荼羅 (*mahāmaṇḍala*) is explained. [This mandala] has five families, and each family has five mandalas with thirty-seven [figures]. All [the families] together form one large great mandala. [Moreover,] each Venerable explains his/her four seals; namely, the great seal 大印, symbolic seal 三昧耶印, seed letter seal 法印 and action seal 羯磨印. [Also,] each explains his/her rite of accomplishment 成就法. [Further,] in this scripture one hundred and twenty-five kinds of hearths for *homa* [rites] are explained, and what [the practitioner] seeks [in the rite] at [each] hearth differs accordingly.[41]

The large mandala of the five families that is described in the Third Assembly developed after the mandalas in the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*).[42] Mandalas for four families are separately prescribed in the four chapters of the First Assembly: the Chapter of the Adamantine Realm and the Tathāgata Family, the Chapter on the Conqueror of the Three Worlds and the Vajra Family, the Chapter on Universal Submission and the Lotus Family, the Chapter on the Accomplishment of All Objectives and the Gem Family. The Third Assembly's single large mandala is composed of the anthropomorphic forms of the members of five families, namely, the four families from the four chapters of the First Assembly and the Action Family, present in the mandalas delineated in the First Assembly but not doctrinally nor iconographically regarded as an independent family in this text.

The Japanese scholar Sakai Shinten has identified a text in the Tibetan canon that is a translation of a lost Sanskrit original called the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* (Tantra on the Extensive Secret Yoga of the Adamantine Crown).[43] Its contents can be divided into two parts, and the first part is titled *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* (Collection of All Kalpas [Ritual Manuals]).[44] The main themes of the Third Assembly that Amoghavajra briefly presents in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, that is the questions and answers between All the Tathāgatas and

Vajrasattva and the large mandala of the five families, can be found in the first part, the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya*, of the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*.[45] Chapter 2 of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* furnishes instructions for the creation of this large mandala of five families. This mandala has a square outer court with gateways and a large circular inner court 一大圓輪, or central palace 內宮, within which are five large circles 大五輪壇. Inside these five large circles are five medium-sized circles 中五輪壇, and within these five circles the five tathāgatas and four attendant bodhisattvas of each family sit inside their own small circles 小輪壇.[46]

The Daigoji set of the *Liqujing mantuluo* contains a mandala entitled *Wubu juhui* 五部具會 (Assembly of the Five Families, fig. 6, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 792, No. 17).[47] The composition of this mandala is incomplete, and the figures of the deities are not depicted. The formula of a series of circles inside circles placed in the four cardinal directions within a great circle is based on the composition of the First Assembly's (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*) Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. This Mandala of the Adamantine Realm represents *only* the five families of the Tathāgata Family; inside one large circle are five medium-sized circles and within these circles the members of each family sit inside their own individual circles.[48] In the Daigoji's Assembly of the Five Families, there is a great circle inside of which are five medium-sized circles. The members of the Tathāgata Family's five families sit inside individual circles within the central, medium-sized circle, the Vajra Family with its five families is in the medium-sized circle in the east, the Ratna Family with its five families is in the southern medium-sized circle, and so on.

The above passage from *Liqushi* 16 — according to the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie jing*, each of the four families of the Vajra, Ratna, Padma and Karma has a mandala that consists of five families — indicates that Amoghavajra, like his master Vajrabodhi, was well aware of a system of five families, and of textual and ritual traditions that belonged to a larger corpus they called the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown.[49]

Liqushi 16 closes with Amoghavajra's declaration that he will look at a corner of the mandala that is described in the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie jing*.[50] This is the Five Mysteries Mandala of the Vajra Family, which he describes in *Liqushi* 17. Amoghavajra states in this chapter of the *Liqushi*:

> Now I will explain the figures of the practice mandala. [They are] seated on a common lotus flower and are within a common circle of light. In the center draw Bodhisattva Vajrasattva. At his right side draw his two consorts, each in her fundamental form, and at his left side, too, draw two [consorts]. In detail [they] resemble the figures of the south-east corner of the gold-on-[purple]-mud mandala.[51]

The theme of *Liqujing* 17 is the bodhisattva-practitioner who incarnates the seventeen epithets of purity given in *Liqujing* 1.[52] The position of perfection described in *Liqujing* 17 is the culmination of the text's teachings and practices. It is symbolized by the Five Mysteries Mandala that Amoghavajra prescribes in *Liqushi* 17.[53] Amoghavajra does not furnish in this chapter such details as the colors, mudrās and attributes of the figures of this mandala. For that sort of information he refers the practitioner to a pictorial source: the southeast corner of the Jianfusi's Mandala of the Five Families.[54]

The Tibetan version of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* instructs that each family has a Five Mysteries Mandala. These mandalas are located in the four intermediate corners of the large circular inner court of the Mandala of the Five Families, and that of the Vajra Family is located in the southeast corner.[55] In the Daigoji's Assembly of the Five Families (fig. 6), for instance, there are inside the great circle four empty circles in the four intermediate directions. These circles are for the Five Mysteries pentad that belongs to each family. The iconography for the Vajra Family's Five Mysteries Mandala given in the Tibetan translation of the Third Assembly corresponds with that prescribed in *Liqushi* 17: five figures sit on a single lotus flower within a single lunar disc; two consorts sit at Vajrasattva's right side and two at his left side.[56]

In sum, an examination of Amoghavajra's references to specific sources in his two commentaries on the *Liqujing* provide concrete evidence that *Liqushi* 1's seventeen-figure mandala, whose focus is the Five Mysteries pentad, and the Five Mysteries Mandala prescribed in *Liqushi* 17 are also taught in a number of assemblies of a corpus he calls in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. A seventeen-figure mandala centered upon the Five Mysteries, as described in both *Liqushi* 1 and the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*, appears in the Thirteenth Assembly, along with the deities' seventeen-letter mantra. The Song Dynasty *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing* corroborates Amoghavajra's description of this Thirteenth Assembly in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. This seventeen-figure mandala also features in Amoghavajra's ritual manuals for the rites of Bodhisattva Samamtabhadra/Vajrasattva. The titles of these manuals confirm that the materials have been extracted from yogas belonging to the system of the Adamantine Crown.[57]

Further, Amoghavajra records in *Liqushi* 16 that the Five Mysteries pentad is a component part of the large Mandala of the Five Families described in the Third Assembly of his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and painted on the wall of Jianfusi. The Tibetan version of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya*, whose content corresponds to the Third Assembly that Amoghavajra outlines in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, confirms the existence of such a comprehensive Mandala of the Five Families. Moreover, the title of Amoghavajra's manual for the Five Mysteries rite, the *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui*, also verifies that the ritual practice for the Five Mysteries, as well as the iconography for the mandala, derives from the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown.[58]

References to Extended Scriptures and Yogas

The Eight Great Bodhisattvas and the subjugated Hindu gods, who symbolize the practitioner's conquered inner demons, and their mandalas are the themes of *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* 3 to 10[59] and 11 to 15, respectively. In a number of these sections in the *Liqushi* Amoghavajra refers to extended scriptures and yogas.[60] He uses such terms as "extended yoga scripture" 廣瑜伽經, "extended yoga" 廣瑜伽, "extended scripture" 廣經, "extended book" 廣本 and "extended chapter of the yoga" 瑜伽廣品.[61] He states that in these extended works the practitioner can obtain more detailed information about such topics as rites of subjugation by wrathful means, ritual prescriptions and benefits, the secret meaning of a visualization, the powers of a seed letter, the meaning of the term "fist", as well as the iconography of figures in mandalas.

Instances where Amoghavajra refers the practitioner to extended works occur, for example, in the *Liqushi*'s sections on Trailokyavijaya,[62] Avalokiteśvara,[63] and Vajramuṣṭi,[64] three of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas. The group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas, which is enumerated in the

opening of the *Liqujing* and which forms the opening Mandala of Mahāvairocana and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas that is given in *Liqushi* 1, is a distinctive theme in other assemblies of this Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. For example, according to Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, this group of Bodhisattvas figures in the Fourth Assembly of this corpus. In his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* Amoghavajra describes the theme of the Fourth Assembly as follows:

> Next, the Fourth Assembly is explained. [This Assembly] is called the *Jiangsanshi jingang yuqie* 降三世金剛瑜伽 (Adamantine Yoga of the Conqueror of the Three Worlds) and it is expounded on the summit of Sumeru. [There] Vajragarbha [Ākāśagarbha][65] and the other Eight Great Bodhisattvas each explain respectively four kinds of mandalas. The First Assembly [has already] explained the subjugation of Maheśvara, as well as the entry of the many gods into the mandala where they were granted positions and duties and given names. The four kinds of mandalas [explained in this Fourth Assembly] are, namely, the great mandala, the symbol mandala, the seed letter mandala and the action mandala. Further, each Venerable explains ritual [prescriptions] for drawing disciples into [the mandalas] and rites of accomplishments. Lastly, procedures for forming the seals (*mudrās*) of the pledges of the Venerables, as well as secret prohibitory precepts and secret practices are all explained.[66]

Further corroborating evidence for the Fourth Assembly's theme of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas and their expounding of their fundamental mantras and fourfold mandalas is found in both the Chinese and Tibetan Canons. The Chinese works are the *Jingangding Jiangsanshi dayigui fawang jiao zhong Guanzizai pusa xinzhenyan yiqie rulai lianhua damantuluo pin* 金剛頂降三世大儀軌法王教中觀自在菩薩心眞言一切如來蓮花大曼荼羅品 (Chapter on the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's Heart Mantra and Great Mandala [representing] All the Tathāgata's Lotus [Family] excerpted from the Teachings on the King of Methods [in] the Extensive Kalpa for the Conqueror of the Three Worlds (Trailokyavijaya) [in the Yoga of] the Adamantine Crown, hereafter *Jingangding Jiangsanshi dayigui fawang jiao*) and the *Jingangding yuqie Wenshushili pusa jing* 金剛頂瑜伽文殊師利菩薩經 (Scripture on Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī [from] the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown). The former is attributed to Amoghavajra and is listed in Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, evidence that his disciples continued to translate texts related to the lineage of the Yoga of the Adamatine Crown that their master championed. The latter appears in Amoghavajra's list of translations and compositions he submitted to the Chinese emperor in 771.[67]

These manuals focus on the mantras and four types of mandalas for the rites of Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, two of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas.[68] A text in the Tibetan Canon, whose Sanskrit title can be reconstructed as *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* (King of [the Teachings in] the Extensive Kalpa for the Conqueror of the Three Worlds), also contains a chapter on each of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas.[69] The themes of the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja*'s chapters 3 to 10 are the explanations of the mantras and the fourfold mandalas that each of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas gives in turn.[70] *Liqujing* 3 to 10 also relate the Eight Great Bodhisattvas' specific teachings, attainments and mantras. And, as we have noted, the *Liqushi* elaborates on these figures in its corresponding chapters, expounding on the meaning of these Bodhisattvas'

seed letters, prescribing their mandalas and rites that focus on these mandalas, as well as enumerating resultant boons (*siddhi*).

We cannot specify the "extended" works that Amoghavajra refers to in his *Liqushi*, nor can we pinpoint a single source for these references. For instance, information about Trailokyavijaya's subjugation of the Hindu gods is found not only in the Fourth Assembly,[71] but also in the First[72] and Second[73] Assemblies. Moreover, scholars cannot identify a single reference for "the secret meaning" of a visualization on Avalokiteśvara stipulated in *Liqushi* 4,[74] nor for the meditative concentration of Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi in *Liqushi* 6.[75] We can, however, specify the source of the iconography of the mandala for Trailokyavijaya in *Liqushi* 3, for example.

The iconography Amoghavajra stipulates in *Liqushi* 3 for the Mandala of Trailokyavijaya corresponds to the iconography for the Mandala of Vajrahūṃkāra/Trailokyavijaya, which is a part of the comprehensive Mandala of the Five Families that was painted on the walls of Jianfusi in Chang'an in accordance with instructions given in the Third Assembly, that is, the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie jing*.[76] The Tibetan copy of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* describes the figure of Vajrahūṃkāra as eight-armed and four-faced, whose faces have slightly protruding fangs and angry scowls, and who treads with his left foot on Maheśvara and with his right on Umā's breasts. Further, he is surrounded by four wrathful Bodhisattvas: Krodhasattva, Krodhavajra, Krodharāga and Krodhasādu. In fact, in the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* all members of the Vajra Family are wrathful, including its parent-Buddha, Akṣobhya.[77] This wrathful appearance, along with their wrathful seed letter *hūṃ*,[78] symbolizes this Family's power to vanquish the practitioner's inner and outer demons by means of rites of wrathful subjugation.[79]

The iconography of the Mandala of the Vajra Family that is given in the Third Assembly, although based upon that of the Great Mandala prescribed in the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*)'s second Chapter on Trailokyavijaya, exhibits changes indicative of later religious developments, as we have mentioned above. Amoghavajra clearly knew of these changes because he also prescribes the same iconography — a wrathful, four-faced, eight-armed figure who tramples on Maheśvara and Umā — for Trailokyavijaya in a number of his ritual manuals.[80] Further, he records that these manuals are based on the *Jingangding yuqie jing* 依金剛頂瑜伽經 (Scripture on the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown)[81] and on the *Jingangding yuqie* 金剛頂瑜伽 (Yoga of the Adamantine Crown).[82]

Directives to Unnamed Ritual Manuals

Amoghavajra states in the *Liqushi* that some of the deities are to be depicted according to their "fundamental ritual forms" 本儀形 or "fundamental forms" 本形.[83] This occurs, for example, in mandala prescriptions for the central figures of Avalokiteśvara[84] and Ākāśagarbha in *Liqushi* 4 and 5.[85] Further, he instructs that Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha are encircled by the four main bodhisattvas of the Lotus and Gem Families, whose names are prefixed with the epithet "Adamantine" (*Vajra*). This information provides a clue to his source.

As we have noted, prescriptions for the Mandala of Trailokyavijaya in *Liqushi* 3 (*T*.1003:611b27-c3) require that all the figure's names are prefixed with "Wrathful" (*Krodha*). This is because Amoghavajra refers to directives given in the First Assembly's second Chapter on Trailokyavijaya, whose focus is the wrathful Vajra Family. The Lotus and Gem Families govern the First Assembly's third Chapter on Universal Submission and fourth Chapter of the Accomplishment of All Objectives, respectively. Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha

play central roles in all the mandalas in these two chapters, because the figures of these mandalas are transformations of these two bodhisattvas. The names of the figures in these chapters' mandalas are prefixed with "Lotus" (*Padma*) and "Gem" (*Ratna*).[86] However, Amoghavajra's instructions in *Liqushi* 4 and 5 direct the mandala-maker, not to the First Assembly's third and fourth chapters, but to the First Assembly's first Chapter of the Adamantine Realm and its Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.

Amoghavajra stipulates the iconography for Avalokiteśvara in the mandala delineated in *Liqushi* 2, as we have seen.[87] This figure holds a lotus in his left hand and with his right hand forms the action of opening its petals. In *Liqushi* 4 Amoghavajra allocates this chapter of the *Liqujing*'s teachings to the family of Tathāgata Avalokiteśvara-rāja/Amitāyus in the west of his *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha's* Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[88] And, as we have also noted earlier, in his *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the figure of Avalokiteśvara, a manifestation from Mahāvairocana's heart mantra *vajradharma*, holds a lotus as if to unfold its petals.[89] This is, in fact, the iconography that Amoghavajra prescribes in a number of his rituals manuals for Avalokiteśvara that belong to the lineage of the Adamantine Realm. All instruct that Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara hold a lotus in his left hand and form with his right hand the hand gesture of opening its petals.[90]

In *Liqushi* 2 Amoghavajra directs that Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba hold an adamantine gem in his right hand and form with his left hand the gesture of granting wishes.[91] In *Liqushi* 5 Amoghavajra allocates the *Liqujing*'s teachings on charity to the practices of meditative concentration on the four bodhisattvas of Tathāgata Ratnasaṃbhava's family, who appear in the south of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865)'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[92] Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba is known as Bodhisattva Vajraratna (Adamantine Gem) in this Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[93]

Moreover, according to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the fundament of Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba is the matrix of empty space from which arises a great adamantine gem.[94] Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba/Vajraratna's role (*T*.865:220b28, 221b6-7, 221c2, 222a29-b1) is to sacralize, using the gem, the practitioner's entry into the realm of the Buddhas. This role of granting consecration into the realm of the Buddhas through the use of the gem is also described in Amoghavajra's commentry on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. The *Jingangding yuqie sanshiqi fenbie shengwei famen* 金剛頂瑜伽三十七尊分別聖位法門 states (*T*.870:289a15-18) that Mahāvairocana, having inwardly obtained the knowledge of the *samādhi* of the consecration of Vajraratna, emits from this knowledge a light composed of adamantine gems, and this light, illuminating everywhere the worlds in the ten directions, sprinkles the top of the heads of all living beings, causing them to attain the bodhisattva rank of non-retrogression.

Further, because of empowerment with Bodhisattva Vajraratna (*T*.870:291a28-29), the practitioner realizes wisdom without stain 無染智, vast and perfect like empty space. In the mandala system delineated in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the gem is the emblematic form of this Bodhisattva in the symbolic (*samaya*) mandala.[95]

Amoghavajra's *Daxukongzang pusa niansong fa* 大虛空藏菩薩念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on Great Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha), which is based upon the *Yuqie Jingangding jing* 瑜伽金剛頂經 (Scripture of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown),[96] further substantiates that Ākāśagarbha would hold an adamantine gem in one hand and form with his other hand the gesture of granting wishes as seen in the *Liqushi* 5 mandala. Although Amoghavajra does not provide a description of the physical features of Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba

in this ritual manual, directions given in this text for the action and pledge mudrās performed in the rite of union with Ākāśagharba show that this bodhsiattva is clearly associated with the gem and its wish-fulfilling property. For example, this manual directs the practitioner to form the action mudrā wherein his left hand makes the shape of a gem, and his right hand that of the attitude of granting wishes.[97] The pledge mudrā is also based on the shape of a gem.[98] In short, the ritual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* stipulates that Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba hold a gem, not a sword, as seen in the Daigoji exemplar (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 781, No. 6). The sword is the attribute of Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba in the mandalas prescribed in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[99]

To sum up, in this section, I have shown that the form and content of the mandalas described in Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* derive exclusively from the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. For instance, Amoghavajra specifically cites the mandalas in the four chapters of the First Assembly and the mandalas in *Liqushi* 1 to 11,[100] 16 and 17 clearly derive their themes from the Third, the Fourth and the Thirteenth Assemblies. The "extended yoga scripture" and the "extended scripture" that Amoghavajra refers to throughout the *Liqushi*, and especially in the Stages of Trailokyavijaya (3) and Avalokiteśvara (4), probably indicates Sanskrit works in this corpus of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, summaries of which he would have made during his trip to India.[101] And, although it is only speculation at this point because the iconographical source has not been established, the directive to an unnamed text for the iconography of Maheśvara in *Liqushi* 12,[102] and to the "extended scripture" referenced in *Liqushi* 13, 14 and 15 for iconography of the Mandalas of the Seven Mothers, the Three Brothers and the Four Sisters could also refer to this Sanskrit corpus of works.[103] Amoghavajra's numerous references to the teachings and mandalas in the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown in the *Liqushi* and the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* indicate that he clearly considered the system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown more authoritative as an iconographical and iconological source than that of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

THE METHODS OF YOGA OF THE ADAMANTINE CROWN

Amoghavajra spent his religious career practicing and elucidating doctrines that he referred to as "gateway to the methods of yoga" 瑜伽法門. Connected with this, he knew of a larger cycle of rituals and deities associated with an Indian Esoteric Buddhist corpus in eighteen assemblies that he referred to in a number of different ways in his translations, compositions and letters.

In this section, I will first examine what he himself records about these yoga methods in his memorials to the Chinese emperors, focusing especially upon the memorial he sent to Emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762-779) in 771.[104] There is ample evidence that Amoghavajra consciously practiced and propagated a distinct path of yoga teachings and its practices. He did not, however, found a new, independent school, that is a sectarian denomination with a particular lineage, doctrine and practice.[105] Second, I will investigate the contents of the yoga methods summarized in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. My purpose is to demonstrate that the system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown constituted the core of Amoghavajra's transmission, and that the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* was not an essential element in his religious legacy. He provides no evidence that he specifically promoted the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* or a system that merged this text and his translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. There is a difference too great

to ignore between what Amoghavajra records was the focus of his religious career and what his disciples claim as their master's transmission.

Memorial to the Chinese Emperor Dated 771

In a memorial to Emperor Daizong, dated the twelfth day of the tenth month of the sixth year of Dali 大曆六年十月十二日 (771), Amoghavajra specifies this yoga path as "the gateway to the methods of Yoga of the Vajroṣṇīṣa (Adamantine Crown)" 金剛頂瑜伽法門.[106] He also calls it "the methods and teachings of the Yoga of the Adamantine Vehicle" 瑜伽金剛乘教法 in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and *Liqushi*.[107]

In this memorial that dates to three years before his death, which took place in the ninth year of Dali 大曆九年 (774), Amoghavajra summarizes the activities he carried out under the patronage of the Tang Emperors Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756), Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762) and Daizong (r. 762–779), beginning in the fifth year of Tianbao 天寶五年 (746) after his return from India, and continuing until the date of this memorial.

This memorial is significant for a number of reasons. First, its autobiographical content not only reminds Emperor Daizong of Amoghavajra's long service to three Tang emperors, it also discloses that throughout his career, he focused on the teachings of the methods Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. The translations, construction of ritual arenas, and ritual performances that he carried out under imperial patronage were done to practice and propagate this path.[108]

A second reason for the significance of this document is that it describes for the Emperor the doctrines that Amoghavajra felt he had championed, as well as a list of scriptures he had translated and works that he had composed, requesting to have them entered into the Imperial canon.[109] He categorizes the translations he has presented to the Emperor as scriptures on mantras and the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna) 眞言及大乘經典[110] and specifies two categories of mantras: those of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and those from other sources. The first category is most important because, he writes:

> [T]he Gateway to the Methods of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown 金剛頂瑜伽法門 that I have translated is the fast path to becoming a buddha 成佛速疾之路. Its practitioners can without fail suddenly transcend the state of the unenlightened and reach the other shore. The mantras of the other categories are the expedient means of the Buddhas 余部眞言佛方便, and their followers are not united [in their doctrines or practices]. As for the various scriptures of the Great Vehicle that I have translated, all those [listed] above will aid the state [by] averting calamities and [ensuring that] the heavenly bodies do not disturb the regular course of the winds and rains.[111]

The fast path Amoghavajra proclaims here is the ritualized yogic method of attaining enlightenment that is revealed in his translation of first part of the first chapter of the *Sarvtathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, which is the first text in the yoga system of the Adamantine Crown.[112] This yoga method was thus a distinct tradition: it alone offered a quick path to buddhahood, the result of sudden transcendence from the unenlightened to the enlightened state.[113] Such mantra techniques are also described in two earlier memorials, wherein Amoghavajra

petitioned the Chinese emperors to erect sites to practice and propagate them. Its main characteristics were said to be that it is accessed by means of consecration 灌頂 (*abhiṣeka*) and it is the path of the bodhisattvas, who received this consecration.[114]

Thus, in Amoghavajra's order of rank, such scriptures as the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* belonged with "the mantras of the other categories" which he regarded as skillful strategies the buddhas and bodhisattvas provisionally employ to compassionately and appropriately guide beings who are unable to comprehend the fundamental truth of the teachings along paths that will lead eventually to enlightenment.[115] He implies here, then, that his fast path is the best route to buddhahood, one that is followed only by practitioners with the spiritual capabilities of bodhisattvas. Amoghavajra extolls the methods of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown as the fast lane to salvation, and its works constitute a major portion of the translations and compositions listed in this memorial.

A final reason for examining this memorial is because the included list of works enables us to reconstruct the contents of this yoga path that Amoghavajra championed. First, I will briefly discuss the significance of his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, which documents Esoteric Buddhist doctrine, praxis and iconography of mid-eighth-century India. Then, I will demonstrate that Amoghavjra's translation, editorial and compositional activities centered on two of the eighteen assemblies in this work, although he drew on materials from a number of other assemblies as well. We will see that the *Liqujing* and its related materials had a significant place within this system Yoga of the Adamantine Crown.

Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui

Although the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* itself is among the seventy-one translations listed in this memorial, this work is not a translation but one of Amoghavajra's own compositions.[116] It is a digest of an extensive Indian Esoteric Buddhist yoga system current during his sojourn in India from 741 to 746.[117] Sakai Shinten, using the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* as his guide, has identified works in the later Tibetan and Chinese canons whose contents, albeit in much more developed forms because they belong to a much later dispensation of Esoteric Buddhism, correspond to some of the assemblies Amoghavajra outlined.

Sakai worked out the method of textual development from assembly to assembly. There is a root, or foundational text (*mūla-tantra*), for example, the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*). This is supplemented by an appendix on the root text (*uttara-tantra*), a supplement to the appendix (*uttarottara-tantra*), an explanatory tantra (*vyākhyātantra*), commentaries (*upadeśas*) and ritual works (*kalpas*, lengthy ritual manuals, and *vidhis*, more focused ritual manuals) that describe in greater detail the performance of consecration rites (*abhiṣeka-vidhis*), meditational generation and identification with the deities and the resultant supernatural powers (*sādhanas*), and the making of mandalas (*maṇḍala-vidhis*). These became the contents of the Second and Third Assemblies.[118] Tanaka Kimiaki has substantiated correspondences between Amoghavajra's description of the Ninth Assembly, the *Yiqiefo jihui Najini jiewang yuqie* 一切佛集會拏吉尼戒網瑜伽 (Yoga of the Net of Ḍākinī Precepts of the Assembly of All the Buddhas), and the contents of works related to the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra*, extant in the Tibetan canon and in the collection of tantras of the Tibetan Ancient School (Rnying ma pa). Clearly, there existed during Amoghavajra's sojourn in India some early form of the contents of the

Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra, matrix of the later mother (*yoginī*, or wisdom, *prajñā*) tantras in the present Tibetan canon.[119]

Correspondences between other assemblies in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and extant works in the Tibetan and Chinese canons have also been established.[120] These provide evidence that this yoga path summarized in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* was not a figment of the imagination, but rather a record of contemporaneous Esoteric Buddhist activity in eighth-century India that was systematized according to the teachings of masters he encountered there and/or according to his own understanding of a contemporary Indian system of textual and ritual development.[121] Thus, scholars point to Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* as an excellent example of an early Esoteric Buddhist canon.[122]

The list of seventy-one translations and compositions in the 771 memorial begins with Amoghavajra placing his translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Liqujing* first and second, respectively.[123] This arrangement testifies to the importance of these two scriptures to the yoga outlined in the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. The *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* became the First Assembly of these eighteen.[124] The *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* have been extracted from a text called *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmoye jing* 大樂金剛不空眞實三麽耶經 (Scripture on the Pledge of Reality of [He who is] Infallible, Adamantine [and generates] Great Bliss).[125] Amoghavajra gives this very same title for the Sixth Assembly in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*.[126]

In this 771 memorial, then, the two foundation scriptures and their commentaries are listed, as well as manuals for the performance of rites related to the practices, deities and mandalas expounded in these scriptures. An arrangement of these works into a table is as follows.[127]

Group 1: First Assembly

- *Jingangding yuqie zhenshi dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂瑜伽眞實大教王經 (Scripture on the King of the Great Teachings of the Reality of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown) (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* = first part of first chapter of foundation text)
- *Jingangding yuqie sanshiqi fenbie shengwei famen* 金剛頂瑜伽三十七尊分別聖位法門 (Gateway to the Methods for Differentiating the Sacred Positions of the Thirty-Seven Venerables in the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown)
- *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on the Essence of the Lotus Family of the Adamantine Crown)[128]
- *Yuqie nianzhu jing* 瑜伽念珠經 (Scripture on [the Merit of Telling] Beads [for Recitation] of the Yoga [of the Adamantine Crown])[129]
- *Jingangding yuqie sanshiqizun li* 金剛頂瑜伽三十七尊禮 (Revering the Thirty-Seven Venerables of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown)

Group 2: Sixth–Eighth Assemblies

- *Jingangding yuqie banruoliqu jing* 金剛頂瑜伽般若理趣經 (Scripture on the Guiding Principle to Insight[130] [from] the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown) (Sixth Assembly = foundation text, *Liqujing*)

- *Liqu banruo shi* 理趣般若釋 (Explanation on the Insight of the Guiding Principle)
- *Damantuluo shiqizun shi* 大曼荼羅十七尊釋[131] (Explanation on the Great Mandala of the Seventeen Venerables (Thirteenth Assembly)
- *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on Bodhisattva Samantabhadra [taken from the] Supreme First Yoga of the Adamantine Crown)[132] (Eighth Assembly)
- *Jingangwang pusa niansong fa* 金剛王菩薩念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on Bodhisattva Vajrarājā)[133]
- *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* 普賢金剛薩埵念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva)[134]
- *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽五祕密修行儀軌 (Manual for the Practice of the Five Mysteries of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown)[135]

This table discloses that Amoghavajra gives the greatest emphasis to works on either the First or Sixth through Eighth Assemblies.

There are doctrinal, thematic and iconographic connections between these assemblies. Examples are the *Liqujing*'s seventeen epithets of purity and the Thirteenth Assembly and the *Liqushi*'s Five Mysteries and the Third Assembly.[136] Further, just as Sakai clarified a systematic development in the teachings and practices from the First to the Third Assemblies, Tanaka has demonstrated such a development from the Sixth to the Ninth Assemblies.[137]

Evidence of this evolution is the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa*. The title of this ritual manual indicates that it is an excerpt from the Eighth Assembly, called the *Shengchu yuqie* 勝初瑜伽 (*Paramādya yoga*) in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*.[138] Its content, that is the mantras and seventeen-figured mandala of Vajrasattva and his family retinue, whose focal members are the Five Mysteries pentad, is based upon an early Indian tantra called the *Paramādya tantra* 勝初瑜伽經. The contents of this root tantra survive only in the works of Amoghavajra and the later Tibetan and Chinese translators of the extended versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā-naya sūtra* (*Liqujing*), thus providing evidence of the spread and importance of this early tantra in India. Content fundamental to the *Prajñāpāramitā-naya sūtra* (*Liqujing*), that is, its seventeen epithets of purity, and that of the lost *Paramādya tantra*, for example its prescriptions for a seventeen-deity mandala that centered on the Five Mysteries and its rite, constituted the teachings of the Sixth (*Prajñāpāramitā-naya sūtra*/*Liqujing*), Seventh and Eighth (*Paramādya*) Assemblies, respectively, of the system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown.[139] And, as Tanaka has shown, this content influenced that of the Ninth Assembly, wherein Vajrasattva and his retinue have acquired the status of a separate family in this assembly's mandalas of six families.

The *Liqujing* was, then, a crucial text within a grouping of assemblies of this system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown.

Template for the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo*

Historical evidence shows that the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Renwang jing* 仁王經 (Scripture for Humane Kings) were the foundation for Amoghavajra's proselytizing aims and political activities.[140] While there is no corroborating written documentation of Amoghavajra's

actual use of the *Liqujing* materials, we do have important visual evidence from the Tang Dynasty that confirms that these works were critical to his proselytizing. These are the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo* 金剛界九會曼荼羅 (Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm, known also in the Shingon school as the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*), an icon that Kūkai records in his *Shōrai mokuroku*,[141] and the Ishiyamadera exemplar of the *Liqujing mantuluo*, whose inscription tallies with the travels of the pilgrim-monk Shūei. We have linked Amoghavajra's commentaries and translations to the iconographic program of the Ishiyamadera exemplar of the *Liqujing mantuluo*.[142] The iconographic program of the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo* can be reconstructed from the works Amoghavajra lists in his 771 memorial for the First and Sixth through Eighth Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. This type of mandala of the adamantine realm consists of the six mandalas expounded in the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*)'s first Chapter on the Adamantine Realm,[143] the *Liquhui* 理趣會 (Guiding Principle Assembly),[144] which is based on works in the *Liqujing* lineage, and two mandalas from the First Assembly's second Chapter on Trailokyavijaya.[145]

Incorporated into the program of the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo* is the mandala called the *Liquhui*, which presents the doctrine fundamental to the *Liqujing*, that of the purity of all elements of existence. This doctrine is again expressed and reaffirmed in the Seventh through Eighth Assemblies, as well as in the Thirteenth Assembly of the Eighteen in the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, as summarized in Amoghavajra's *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*.

There are a number of reasons to support the contention that Amoghavajra's *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* could have served as one of the sources for the iconography of the *Liquhui*'s seventeen-figure mandala whose focus is the Five Mysteries.[146] First, prescriptions for the iconography of the Five Mysteries pentad in these manuals correspond to these figures in the *Liquhui*.[147] Second, common to both manuals are the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas who hold the attributes of flower, censer, lamp and unguent,[148] and the names and attributes of the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas. In these manuals, the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas hold the attributes of the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas in the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*)'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm[149] and the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas correspond to the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas depicted in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[150] This reversal of the positions of the groups of Inner and Outer Offering Bodhisattvas seen in these manuals also characterizes the iconography of the *Liquhui*.[151]

Discrepancies between text and image have been "tweaked" in the *Liquhui* to make it better conform to the mandala prescriptions for the First Assembly's Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The positions of the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas Flower and Incense that are given the manuals have been changed in the *Liquhui*, with Incense in the southeast corner and Flower in the south-west corner of this mandala's inner court. The Outer Offering Bodhisattva Smile, who in these two manuals makes a mudrā appropriate to her name, has been replaced in the *Liquhui* with Bodhisattva Garland who holds a lotus garland.

Amoghavajra's disciples continued to translate manuals belonging to the *Liqujing*'s ritual lineage after their master's death.[152] For instance, the ritual outlined in *Jingangding yuqie Tahuazizaitian liquhui puxian xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽他化自在天理趣會 普賢 修行念誦儀軌 (Ritual Manual for Contemplation and Recitation in the Universal Practice on the Guiding Principle Assembly in the Paranirmita-vaśavartin of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown) furnishes evidence that Amoghavajra's disciples practiced the teachings of the *Liqujing* lineage in

tandem with those of the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. This rite is closely modeled on Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*, his translation of, or composition for, the performance of the rite of the adamantine realm. It contains far more ritual acts from this source than Amoghavajra's *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa*,[153] and its focus is a mandala of seventeen figures whose names and attributes match those given in the *Liqushi* and *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*.[154]

The *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo* transmitted today, a copy with which Kūkai returned in 806, is dated to the latter half of the eighth century. I contend that Amoghavajra's manuals provided a blueprint for the thematic program of this mandala,[155] and that his disciples were instrumental in finalizing its iconography.

Methods of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and Esoteric Buddhism in Eighth-Century India

Amoghavajra's translations of the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra* and *Liqujing* and their related materials presented his Chinese practitioners with the most recent of ritualized yogic technologies from India for the new, fast path to buddhahood. We can surmise that for his most advanced disciples, both monastic and lay, Amoghavajra must have taught both the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Mahāyānic doctrine of the nonduality of conditioned existence (*samsāra*) and its transcendence (*nirvāṇa*), embodied by means of the manipulation of mantras and symbols in the quick five-stepped method of attaining enlightenment, as well as the path to great bliss 大樂 (*mahāsukha*) that is expounded in the *Liqujing* and its related commentaries, ritual manuals and mandalas. This path, whose yogic practices and mantras centered on Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva of the Five Mysteries, effects a transformation of the practitioner's faculty of insight, leading to the understanding that, from the perspective of nonduality, the base, impure elements of one's personality (the four consorts Desire, Touch, Love and Pride) are in fact an expression of pure, blissful enlightenment (Vajrasattva).[156]

These translations and compositions reveal a knowledge of Esoteric Buddhist materials current in eighth-century India, which Amoghavajra visited from 741–746 to further his study of these Buddhist yoga teachings.[157] His concerns as a translator and teacher can be compared, for example, to those of the Indian monk Buddhaguhya, an exegete and teacher who was active from the middle to the late years of the eighth century.[158]

Buddhaguhya presents in his *Tantrārthāvatāra,* a commentary on the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra* that survives only in the Tibetan canon, prescriptions for three types of ritual accomplishments 三種の悉地議軌 geared to practitioners who are categorized as superior, middling and inferior. Yoga practitioners with superior capabilities and knowledge 上根上智の瑜伽行者 are to concentrate on rites with internal, meditative visualizations 勸想 (*bhāvanā*) of self-transformation by means of the four seals 四印, for attaining the [buddha] body in five steps 五相成身勸 and for a union with Vajrasattva 金剛薩埵瑜伽. These yogic practices are taught in Amoghavajra's translation of the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra* and in his *Liqushi*. The activities of the practitioners with middling capabilities and knowledge 中根中智の瑜伽行者 focus on contemplation and recitation 念誦. They do such acts as recite mantras, form mudrās and contemplate the deities with aspects 有相念誦 and without aspects 無相念誦. The practitioners with inferior capabilities and knowledge 下根下智の瑜伽行者 are given instructions for

performing rites of fire oblations 護摩作法 and for drawing a symbolic 三摩耶 mandala for the fire (*homa*) hearth.[159]

Buddhaguhya records the use of specific texts for these three types of practitioners and their ritual activities. He cites material that came to be incorporated into the later Tibetan *Śrīparamādya tantra* most frequently but *only* for the superior practitioners. This work expounds the repetition of a ritual act without suffering 非勤苦性, an act that is linked to the concepts of the quick path to enlightenment that is devoid of strenuous efforts, as expounded in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, and to the path of great bliss, the fundamental theme of the *Prajñāpāramitā-naya sūtra/Liqujing* and the *Paramādya tantra*. Amoghavajra knew of teachings and practices belonging to early versions of these works.[160]

The most frequently cited sources for the three categories of practitioners in the *Tantrārthāvatāra* are, first, the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*, an explanatory tantra on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha,* and, second, the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja*, a work whose contents correspond to Amoghavjra's description of the Fourth Assembly in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and considered in the Tibetan Canon to be the explanatory tantra on the *Sarvatathāga-tatattva-saṃgraha*'s Chapter of Trailokyavijaya. Buddhaguhya's *Tantrārthāvatāra* thus reveals the importance of the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* and the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* for his own commentarial work.[161] We have noted that works that would later be amalgamated into these two texts, in whatever form during Amoghavajra's journey to India in the mid-eighth century, were also important in his *Liqushi*.[162]

Buddhaguhya thus presents in his *Tantrārthāvatāra* a system of ritual practice that correlates with his classification of the Indian Buddhist tantras. The superior practitioner performs techniques of internal yoga; that is, the practitioner's body is the site for the ritual performance. In contrast, the inferior practitioner engages in external methods of ritual performance and worship, while the middling practitioners perform a bit of both these methods of internal and external practice and worship. This system is in keeping with Buddhaguhya's classification of the tantras into two categories, the inward Yoga tantras and the outward Kriyā (action) tantras that he put forth in his commentary on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi tantra*. The *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and its related Yoga tantras, for example, the *Śrīparamādya tantra*, wherein ritual practice was internalized and the practitioner envisioned himself as the deity, were contrasted with the Kriyā tantras, for instance the *Susiddhikāra tantra*, wherein the deities were worshipped as external objects in shrines or as visualizations. Buddhaguhya considered the practices expounded in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi tantra* to be those of both categories (*ubhayā*).[163]

Buddhaguhya set up a classification of the current tantras of his time, and his criteria were the types of ritual practice, their accomplishments, and the capabilities of the practitioners. We have no evidence that Buddhaguhya viewed the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* as having complementary or associated systems, an interpretation that defines the Japanese Shingon school and an assumption they employed in their understanding and construction of Amoghavajra's transmission. As mentioned above, in his 771 memorial Amoghavajra specified two categories of mantras: those of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and those from other sources. His order of ranking, like that of Buddhaguhya, gave the highest position to a system of Yoga, which he qualified with the descriptive "Adamantine Crown," that was geared to practitioners with bodhisattva-like capabilities.

The translations, redactions and compositions enumerated in Amoghavajra's memorial of 771 are scriptures and manuals that focus on ritual practice for deities in the new system of the

Yoga of the Adamantine Crown,[164] and for the contemporaneous *Uṣṇīṣa* and *dhāraṇī* cults.[165] Following the interpretations of earlier Shingon scholar-monks, Japanese scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have claimed that Amoghavajra's scriptures and ritual handbooks exhibit an express intent to amalgamate the traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.[166]

An examination of the *Liqujing*-related works that are listed in this 771 memorial, as well as some other manuals whose rites these scholars also label "combinatory practices" 合行議軌, discloses that his materials do contain elements from differing sources.[167] Despite this, both the structure and the content of the rites of Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva and the Five Mysteries are based on the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*, his manual for the rite of the adamantine realm.[168] On the other hand, the ritual procedure prescribed in such works as his *Achu rulai niansong fa*, as well as his ritual manuals for Ekākṣarabuddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-rāja, and the Renwang, for example, while employing elements and ritual acts from the rites of the adamantine realm and the matrix, present a structure and content derived from a rite for offering outlined in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*.[169]

Analysis establishes that Amoghavajra's aim was to create a coherent blueprint of the ritual procedure that his disciples could follow easily, and not the fusion of separate esoteric traditions that defines the identity and doctrine of the post-Kūkai Shingon school.

To sum up, Amoghavajra championed the teachings on the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown in his 771 memorial and in other memorials to the Chinese emperors, as well as in his last testament and his farewell letter to Emperor Daizong. It was these teachings that he had received from his master Vajrabodhi,[170] whose scriptures and practices he studied and collected while traveling in India[171] and propagated among the elite and populace of the Chinese capital and provinces.[172] Further, the methods of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown constituted a significant portion of the works he translated and composed, as I have demonstrated, and the transmission that he bequeathed to his most advanced disciples.[173] Finally, these teachings were the legacy he left in the Chinese Court and to his disciples to continue to practice and propagate.[174]

How did the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* fit into Amoghavajra's transmission? There is among the works enumerated in the 771 memorial, for instance, a manual for a rite for Avalokiteśvara that belongs to the yoga system of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[175] The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* is discussed in the *Zhubu tuoluoni mu* 諸部陀羅尼目 (Entries on Dhāraṇī of Various Categories), a problematical work that is also included in this memorial.[176] Further, a statement in his last testament — "To those who have not fully mastered the Five Families, if they study and focus on one deity, this will be sufficient for attaining buddhahood" — suggests that Amoghavajra did not limit his teachings to those of the methods of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown but, providing what his disciples needed in accordance with their capabilities, taught ritual practices from other scriptural traditions, including the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[177]

Yuanzhao attributes to his master two ritual manuals for the matrix rite in his *Datang zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄 and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄.[178] Nevertheless, Amoghavajra does not mention the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* or its matrix mandala in the transmission he granted his most prominent disciples, nor does he discuss this scripture in any of the memorials or documents that Yuanzhao collected in the *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji*.[179]

The memorials and letters that I have investigated, as well as his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, attest to the importance of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown for Amoghavajra.

CONCERNS OF AMOGHAVAJRA'S DISCIPLES: CONSTRUCTION OF A SPIRITUAL LINEAGE AND THE REFORMULATION OF THEIR MASTER'S TRANSMISSION

Two significant changes can be seen in the documentation of Amoghavajra's transmission by his disciples after his death.[180] These changes reflect the disciples' responses to pressures from other Buddhist circles in the Chinese capitals.

The first is the presentation of an Esoteric Buddhist lineage. There is no documentation of such a lineage in Amoghavajra's own writings. A lineage appears in three of his disciples' works. Its earliest appearance is in Yan Ying's eulogy and preface to accompany Amoghavajra's portrait, the *Datang Daguangzhi sanzang heshang yingzan bing xu*, an undated composition that heads the funerary eulogies in Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji*.[181] This lineage also appears in Yan Ying's stele biography, the *Tang Daxingshansi gudade Dabianzeng Guangzhi sanzang heshang beiming bing xu*, which is dated to the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Jianzhong 建中二年十一月十五日 (December 4, 781),[182] and it is described again in Zhao Qian's *Datang gudade zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Bukong sanzang xingzhuang*, an undated work that scholars assign to the late eighth century.[183]

These three works present a lineage of six patriarchs that begins with Mahāvairocana, and includes Vajrasattva, Nāgārjuna, Nāgajñāna, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra.[184] There is general agreement on the details of this transmission, which Yan Ying's eulogy records as "the Teachings of Yoga of the Supreme, Secret and Greatest Vehicle."[185] Yan Ying also relates the transmission that Amoghavajra received from Ācārya Nāgajñāna, whom he studied under during his travels westward from 741–746.[186] These teachings center on "the methods of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga and the secret repository of the Five Families of the Adamantine Realm."[187] Yan Ying's stele biography states that "the import of the Superlative Vehicle of Yoga" was transmitted to each of the six patriarchs.[188] This "Superlative Vehicle of Yoga" can be identified as that of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Adamantine Crown because Yan Ying reports in this passage of his stele biography that "Our Teacher again travelled westward to countries such as India and Sri Lanka (Siṃhala) and [during his travels] he visited Ācārya Nāgajñāna. [There] he recorded a summary of the methods of the Eighteen Assemblies. [In this way,] the transmission [of the Superlative Vehicle of Yoga] was handed down from master to disciple. [Thus,] from Tathāgata [Mahā]vairocana to our Teacher there were in all six petals [generations]."[189] In Zhao Qian's biography the transmission of the six patriarchs consists of "the seals [mudrās], methods and mantras in the King of the Secret Teachings on the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown."[190]

Yan Ying's account of the contents and character of Amoghavajra's transmission matches Amoghavajra's own description of his teachings. The Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and the Five Families of the Adamantine Realm figure solely in these sources, constituting the fast path to buddhahood.[191] The documentation of the contents of their master's transmission differs in Feixi's biography, a composition that was to be inscribed on a stele and is dated to the sixth day of the seventh month of the ninth year of Dali 大曆九年七月六日 (August 18, 774), a month after Amoghavajra's death,[192] as well as in Zhao Qian's work. This is the second

change evident in the biographies. They record specific scriptures that Amoghavajra did not single out in his accounts of his activities or list in his 771 memorial.

Feixi's biography cites the Yoga of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Adamantine Crown and the mandala of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* as the prominent components of the transmission that Amoghavajra received from his Sri Lankan master Samantabhadra.[193]

Zhao Qian, using information taken from the earlier biographies of Feixi and Yan Ying,[194] presents the most extensive version of Amoghavajra's transmission. Further, his recording reveals a discrepancy between the transmissions of Mahāvairocana and Amoghavajra, one that is somewhat tempered in another work that dates to his time of activity, as we shall discuss below.[195] Zhao Qian describes the transmission of this lineage of patriarchs as that of the "Secret Teachings of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown," but for the transmissions of Vajrabodhi and the Sri Lankan Ācārya Samantabhadra he cites elements from three major Indian Esoteric Buddhist works that had been translated into Chinese by Śubhākarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi. Vajrabodhi's transmission contained, in addition to "the methods of the Five Families of the Adamantine Realm, teachings for a master (*ācārya*) on consecration and fire oblation (*homa*), the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, manuals on *susiddhi* (accomplishments) and many mantra practices for the Family of Buddhoṣṇīṣas."[196] In Sri Lanka, according to Zhao Qian, Amoghavajra requested that Ācārya Samantabhadra instruct him on "the teachings of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown in Eighteen Assemblies, Vairocana's Matrix Repository of Great Compassion and methods for constructing [mandalic] altars."[197] He closes his biography with a summary of the contents of Amoghavajra's teachings: it contained "the category of various mantras and the scriptures of the *Vajroṣṇīṣa*, *Vairocana* and *Susiddhi*."[198]

In these biographies, then, Amoghavajra's disciples purposely construct a spiritual lineage and clearly stipulate and so redefine the contents of their master's teachings. These alterations indicate a first step in his disciples' attempt to distinguish themselves from other Buddhist groups in the Chinese capitals by proclaiming religious expertise in specific scriptures, practices and iconography.[199] Their purpose was to advertise the uniqueness of their group's origins and practices in order to secure religious authority and patronage.

That Amoghavajra's disciples sought recognition and imperial financial support is substantiated by the activities they undertook after his death. Orzech has clarified the political propaganda motives underlying Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji*, *Datang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu* and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*. The first work displays an attempt to seek the patronage of Emperor Tezong 德宗 (r. 780–805) by suggesting that the Emperor establish with Huilang the ruler-preceptor relationship that Amoghavajra had had with Emperors Suzong and Daizong. The organization of his materials implies that Amoghavajra's vision of esoteric polity, which centered on protection of the imperial family and the nation, was successful during those reigns.[200] Yan Ying's eulogy and preface to accompany Amoghavajra's portrait and his stele inscription, recording a lineage of patriarchs beginning with Mahāvairocana, and Feixi's biography, describing the contents of a transmission that differed from Amoghavajra's accounts, were also foregrounded in this collection of documents.

Yuanzhao's *Datang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu* and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, commissioned by Emperor Daizong, document the translation activities of the most recent scholar-monks from India. Both compilations give the greatest focus to the career and translations of Amoghavajra, in particular to his new recension of the *Renwang jing* and its reception by Emperor

Daizong and his Court.[201] Competition for recognition and patronage, especially imperial, also dominated the activities of Chan circles during the eighth and early ninth centuries. They too sought to define a spiritual genealogy with a special transmission as a strategy of legitimation.[202] We can view in this light Feixi's and Zhao Qian's alteration of Amoghavajra's transmission, whereby they claimed fields of specialities that their master himself did not acknowledge.[203]

Kūkai's *Shōrai mokuroku*, which was presented to the court of Emperor Heisei and the Nara Buddhist establishment (Sōgō 僧綱 Office of PriestlyAffairs) in 806, includes examples of texts and icons that attest to the efforts of Amoghavajra's Chinese disciples to further particularize a unique lineage and transmission.

The first example is the *Jingangding yuqie bimi xindi famen yijue* (Arcana [concerning] the Gateway to the Methods on the Secret Mental Ground of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown) 金剛頂瑜伽祕密心地法門義訣, a work listed in Kūkai's *Shōrai mokuroku* under the rubric of "treatises, commentaries, documents, etcetera" 論疏章等.[204] This is the earliest work that relates the story of the origins of the Esoteric Buddhist transmission in an iron tower in South India. The narrative focuses on the drama of a great worthy who enters this iron stūpa and receives instructions from buddhas and bodhisattvas on the methods that come to be contained in the extensive version of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in one hundred thousand verses.[205] The narrative then moves into a more recent historical realm when Vajrabodhi himself recounts how, to save his ship during a terrific storm that came up while on route to China, the extensive version was thrown overboard. He saved the abbreviated version, translating it in the seventh year of Kaiyuan (721) into Chinese with the help of Iśvara. The meditation master Yixing and others did the transcription.[206]

There are two interesting points in this account. First, the great worthy, whose spiritual expertise (which may or may not be linked to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* ritual lineage) allowed him to enter the iron stupa and acquire the teachings that are the focus of this special transmission, is unnamed. Yan Ying and Zhao Qian have names for all the patriarchs in their biographies and Kūkai calls this great worthy Nāgārjuna in his later histories of the patriarchs of Esoteric Buddhism, which were composed by means of his skillful manipulation of the *Jingangding yuqie bimi xindi famen yijue*, as well as Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji* and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, to name but a few of his sources.[207] The second significant point is that Yixing, Śubhākarasiṃha's disciple and collaborator in the translation of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its commentary,[208] *is* named and so figures prominently in the story of the Chinese translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the scripture fundamental to this transmission.[209] We see here the express intent to stress the spiritual link between Vajrabodhi and Yixing, representatives of the traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, respectively.

Icons enumerated under the heading of "buddha images, etcetera" 佛像等 in the *Shōrai mokuroku* further confirm the intent of Amoghavajra's Chinese disciples to incorporate the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* lineage of practices and iconography into their master's transmission.[210] Five portraits are listed under this rubric.[211] The inclusion of the portraits of Śubhākarasiṃha and Yixing acknowledge the significance of their work as transmitter (Śubhākarasiṃha) and interpreter (Yixing) of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* tradition. They have become as important as Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, who hold these positions for the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. The key figure is Huiguo who, according to his disciples' accounts, propagated a transmission consisting of both traditions.[212]

The listing of the Great Mandalas of the Matrix Realm and the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm (*Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo*) also under the rubric "buddha images, etcetera" constitute another example of the Chinese reconfiguration of Amoghavajra's transmission. The materials and sizes that Kūkai notes for these two mandalas imply that the two paintings could have either been hung side by side or faced each other within the same ritual arena.[213] We have noted that Amoghavajra and his disciples record only his use of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. Kūkai's descriptions of the consecrations he received from Huiguo, as well as Wuyin's account of his master illustrating these two mandalas on the walls of a Consecration Hall and Stūpa of the Buddha in Qinglongsi verify Huiguo's use of both mandalas in his religious activities.[214]

Finally, the *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqie yuqi jing* 金剛峰樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經, listed in Kūkai's *Shōrai mokuroku* under the rubric "[new] translations not yet included in [Yuanzhao's] *Zhenyuan* [*xinding shijiao*] *mulu*" 已下未載貞元目録,[215] is an example of a scripture wherein rituals and iconography from differing Esoteric Buddhist traditions have been mixed. The system underlying this scripture is the Adamantine Realm, although it differs markedly from that in Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Present in this scripture are deities and ritual practices whose Indian origins have not been identified, and whose cults in China remain as yet undiscovered, but whose sources belong to the lineage of the Adamantine Realm.[216] Elements from the earlier *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* tradition, as well as those from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Liqujing* have been incorporated into this system.[217] The *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqie yuqi jing,* which I will discuss in Chapter Six of this dissertation, represents another phase, one that postdates Amoghavajra, in the translation and creation of works for Chinese Esoteric Buddhist practitioners.

CONCLUSION

Amoghavajra received from his masters the transmissions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras*, as well as many other transmissions that constituted the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna vehicles of his time. Evidence of his knowledge of these Indian Esoteric Buddhist scriptures is seen in his translations and compositions, especially, for example, in the *Zhubu tuoluoni mu* and the ritual manuals whose structure and contents are based upon his translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, as well as the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras*. My investigation confirms, however, that Amoghavajra's description of his transmission focused on the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, which he received from Vajrabodhi and Indian masters, and outlined in the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. The *Liqujing* and its materials belonged to this esoteric system. Corroborating evidence is, for example, the iconography of the mandalas prescribed in the *Liqushi*, diagramed in the Ishiyamadera exemplar of the *Liqujing mantuluo*, as well as the iconographic program of the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo*.

In Feixi's and Zhao Qian's biographies the textual and ritual traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras* are accorded equal footing with the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, in contrast to Yan Ying's documentation of his master's focus on the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, which accords with the privilege given this new and latest yoga in Amoghavajra's memorials, translations, writings and iconographic materials. Yan Ying, however, records a lineage in which Amoghavajra was the sixth patriarch of the Esoteric Buddhist transmission. The changes documented in Amoghavajra's biographies reveal the new concerns of

his disciples to establish a lineage of patriarchs with a unique transmission and to specify their master's field of expertise as including the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras*, a specification that Amoghavajra himself did not make. Further, Kūkai's *Shōrai mokuroku* contains texts and icons whose themes further evince the disciples' efforts to purposely link together the traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. These efforts took place during Huiguo's religious career.

This reformulation of Amoghavajra's transmission also resulted in new iconography. One example was the pairing of the mandalic realities introduced in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. As I have demonstrated in Chapter Three of this dissertation, it is the iconography of such a set of mandalas (an example of which was recorded in Kūkai's *Shōrai mokuroku*) that influenced the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing mantuluo*.

In the following chapters I will address two problems. First, I will examine the reliability of the historical sources that record the importation of the iconography of the *Liqujing mantuluo* from China to Japan. Second, I will investigate works by Chinese and Japanese scholar-monks wherein an eclectic co-mingling of the traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras* is evident. I will demonstrate that the prototype of the iconography of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* dates to the time of Faquan, said to be expert in these three Esoteric Buddhist traditions.

CHAPTER FIVE: PROBLEM OF THE ASCRIPTION OF THE DAIGOJI *LIQUJING MANTULUO*

INTRODUCTION

The Tendai monk Annen (841–915?) was the first to record that the Tendai monk Ennin and the Shingon monk Shūei returned from their travels in China with a set of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. The *locus classicus* is his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* (General Inventory of the Categories of the Masters' Secret Teachings on Mantras), which he composed between 885 and 902.[1] However, an examination of the pilgrim-monks' inventories would seem to suggest that Annen's recording that Ennin and Shūei returned with copies of sets of eighteen *Liqujing mantuluo* is questionable. Shūei records a number of Amoghavajra's works on the *Liqujing* in the inventory of items that he brought back from China.[2] He does not mention the *Liqujing mantuluo*. There is also a discrepancy between Annen's recording and the items that Ennin listed in his inventories. Thus, I examine Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, the inventories of the pilgrim-monks, as well as such later Japanese historical sources on ritual and iconography as the *Zuzōshō*, *Besson zakki*, *Kakuzenshō* and *Asabashō*, which also link the pilgrim-monks to specific iconography, in order to determine the credibility of Annen's ascription of the introduction of a set of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* to Ennin and Shūei.

AN EXAMINATION OF ANNEN'S *SHOAJARI SHINGON MIKKYŌ BURUI SŌROKU* AND THE INVENTORIES OF THE PILGRIM-MONKS WHO WENT TO TANG CHINA

Annen states in the two introductory prefaces of his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* that he recapitulates the contents of the inventories composed by the eight Heian pilgrim-monks who went to Tang China 入唐八家 (*nittō hakke*). In the first prefatory inscription, which is dated to the ninth year of Genkei 元慶九年 (885), he says that:

> I have composed sixteen records by relying on the eight inventories [of the pilgrim-monks who went to China]. The eight inventories are: (1) the inventory of [Sai]chō 最澄 of Hieizan, (2) the inventory of [Kū]kai 空海 of Kōyasan, (3) the inventory of [En]nin 圓仁 of Hieizan, (4) the inventory of [En]gyō 圓行 of Reigan[ji], (5) the inventory of [E]un 慧運 of Anjō[ji], (6) the inventory of [Jō]gyō 常暁 of Oguri 小栗, (7) the inventory of [En]chin 圓珍 of Hieizan and (8) the inventory of [Shū]ei 宗睿 of Engaku[ji].[3]

The monks and the dates of their pilgrimage to China are: Saichō (804–805), Kūkai (804–806), Jōgyō (818–839), Engyō (838–839), Ennin (838–847), Eun (842–847), Enchin (853–858) and Shūei (862–865).[4] The inventories of these early Heian pilgrim-monks, which are listings of the texts, images and ritual implements these pilgrims collected during their sojourn in China, serve as invaluable sources for reconstructing Buddhism in Tang China and for understanding the type and source of Buddhist teachings the monks introduced to Japan. Because Annen relied not only on the inventories of these eight monks but also consulted their personal records, as well as

temple catalogues,[5] his work provides evidence of the development and changes that had occurred in the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist teachings after Saichō and Kūkai. Moreover, Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* functions as a guidebook for the study of these pilgrims' inventories. He classifes the texts, images and religious implements that these pilgrims listed in their inventories under specific rubrics. Annen gives sixteen divisions in his first colophon:

> The sixteen records [are as follows]: (1) record of the methods of consecration; (2) discursive record of the V*airocanābhisaṃbodhi*; (3) record of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*; (4) record of the *Susiddhikara*; (5) record of the Tathāgatas; (6) record of the Uṣṇīṣas 佛頂; (7) record of the Buddhalocanās 佛母; (8) record of scriptures and [ritual] methods; (9) record of Avalokiteśvara; (10) record of the Bodhisattvas; (11) record of Vajra Holders; (12) record of the wordly gods; (13) record of the offerings for the fire rite 護摩 (*homa*); (14) record of venerations, repentances and praises; (15) record of the Sanskrit commentaries (*śāstras*); (16) record of stele [inscriptions], transmissions and [ritual] implements.
> I have [further] divided each of these sixteen records into various groups, and within these groupings I have listed the titles of scriptures and ritual [manuals]. Beneath these titles I have additionally noted the names of the [translators and/or composers of the texts]. However, fearing a cumbersome composition, I have made bold to select a single [character of a] posthumous name. The reader must permit this.
>
> Written by the monk Annen, Imperially Consecrated Transmitter of the Teachings, in Gangyōji 元慶寺 on the twenty-eighth day of the first month of the ninth year of Gangyō (885).[6]

In the second prefatory inscription, which is dated to the second year of Engi 延喜二年 (902), Annen classifies the contents of the pilgrims' inventories into twenty categories. These twenty are as follows:

> (1) category of the three consecrations; (2) category of the Matrix Repository Realm; (3) category of the Adamantine Realm; (4) category of the Accomplishment of Special Powers (*susiddhi*); (5) category of Tathāgatas; (6) category of Uṣṇīṣas; (7) category of Buddhalocanās; (8) category of scriptures and [ritual] methods; (9) category of Avalokiteśvara; (10) category of Bodhisattvas; (11) category of Vajras; (12) category of Wrathful Ones; (13) category of worldly gods; (14) category of offering to the deities; (15) category of fire offerings; (16) category of venerations and repentances; (17) category of praises; (18) category of *siddhaṃ* 悉曇; (19) category of stele inscriptions and transmissions; (20) category of icons 諸圖像部.[7]

Annen thus reorganized his classification of the contents of the eight pilgrim-monks' inventories in 902, and added four new categories. One of the new categories, the twentieth, that of icons, is our immediate concern because it is under this heading that Annen lists the visual

materials that these pilgrim-monks brought back from China. Annen further subdivides the category of icons into the following ten rubrics:

> (1) illustrations of the four kinds of mandalas of the Matrix Repository Realm 胎藏界四種曼荼羅圖; (2) illustations of the four kinds of mandalas of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界四種曼荼羅圖; (3) secret mandalas [listed] outside of the inventories 錄外祕密曼荼羅; (4) illustrations of mandalas of various Venerables 諸尊曼荼羅圖; (5) stupas and shrines 塔龕; (6) portraits of Masters of the Tripiṭaka of Mantras 眞言諸三藏影; (7) portraits of Saintly Monks 諸聖僧影; (8) portraits of the Great Teachers of Tendai 天台諸大師影; (9) extraordinary portraits of Meditation Teachers who chant the *Lotus* [*Scripture*] 誦法花諸禪師靈異影; (10) miscellaneous illustrations 雜事圖.[8]

Under the third rubric, that of the "secret mandalas [listed] outside of the inventories," Annen records the eighteen *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* 理趣經十八會曼荼羅十八幀 and ascribes to Ennin and Shūei their introduction.[9] The eighteen *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* are not, however, found among the items that Ennin and Shūei list in their inventories.

First, we shall take a look at three inventories that catalogue the religious paraphernalia that Ennin brought back to Japan. These are the *Nipponkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本國承和五年入唐求法目錄,[10] the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* 慈覺大師在唐送進錄,[11] and the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄.[12]

Ennin compiled the *Nipponkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* on the twentieth day of the fourth month of the fourth year of Kaicheng 開成 (839).[13] This inventory lists the texts, commentaries, mandalas, portraits 影 and ritual objects that he had obtained in the temples of the city of Yangzhou 揚州 from such masters as Preceptor (Heshang) Zongrui 宗叡和尚 of Zhongnanshan 終南山 and the Esoteric Buddhist Master (Ācārya) Quanya 全雅阿闍梨, who was a disciple of Huiquo's foremost disciple Bianhong 辯弘.[14]

The Enryakuji monks Ninzen 仁全, Jitetsu 治哲 and Eidō 叡道 compiled the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* on the nineteenth day of the first month of the seventh year of Jōwa 承和 (840).[15] Ennin, who had gone to China as a member of an official Japanese embassy to the Tang court, sent back the works that he had collected in the temples of Yangzhou with the embassy's returning ships. These works had safely arrived at the Enryakuji when the majority of the embassy's ships reached Japan during the eighth month of the sixth year of Jōwa (839). However, the catalogue of this shipment of works had been entrusted to Recorder (Rokuji) Kurida 栗田錄事, who rode on the second ship,[16] and this ship was not to reach Japan until the sixth month of the seventh year of Jōwa. In the meantime, the clerical authorities of Enryakuji had a new catalogue drawn up. Although there are a few additions and omissions, this second inventory compares, on the whole, to that of the *Nipponkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku*.[17]

Ennin compiled the third inventory, the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku*, upon his return from China in 847 (Jōwa 14) and presented it to the Japanese court.[18] This catalogue is a complete record of the texts, commentaries, mandalas, images of Esoteric and Exoteric Buddhist deities, portraits and religious implements that Ennin gathered during his nine years in China and it

consists of three parts: the articles that he assembled in Daxingshansi 大興善寺, Qinglongsi 青龍寺 and other temples of the capital Chang'an;[19] those that he collected in Dahuayansi 大華嚴寺 on Wutaishan 五台山;[20] and those that he gathered during his visits to the various temples of Yangzhou.[21] The third part contains, in fact, the works that are recorded in his earlier *Nipponkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku*.[22]

Ennin records in his *Nipponkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* and *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* that he has collected such Esoteric Buddhist iconographic materials as the great mandalas of the dual categories of the matrix and the adamantine realm 胎藏金剛界兩部大曼荼羅 and images of the altars (mandalas) for the Venerables 諸尊壇像.[23] Nevertheless, despite the number of mandalas that Ennin returned with, the eighteen *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* are not listed in any of his catalogues. Ennin did bring back the *Liqujing* and its commentaries and related ritual manuals that are recorded in Amoghavajra's list of translations and in Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*.[24] Moreover, the iconography of the scroll of the *Shiqi tan yang* 十七壇様 一卷 (Configuration of the Altar for the Seventeen Venerables) that is recorded in the *Nipponkoku jōwa gonen guhō mokuroku* and *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* suggests a depiction of the seventeen figures of the *Liquhui* 理趣會 (Guiding Principle Assembly), the seventh mandala in the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo* 金剛界九會曼荼羅 (Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm) whose focus is the Five Mysteries pentad. However, Annen does not record that Ennin returned with this scroll.

The Shingon pilgrim-monk Shūei composed his inventory, the *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* 新書寫請來法門等目錄 (Inventory of Newly Copied and Imported [Works on the] Gateway to the Teachings and other [Topics]), while residing in Fashiyuan 法師院 of Ximingsi 西明寺 in the Chinese capital of Chang'an in 865.[25] Shūei divided his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* into four parts: that of texts; line drawings; ritual implements and sacred relics; and books that are not included in the Buddhist teachings. During his sojourn in China Shūei particularily sought out religious materials that were not yet included among the treasures of Tōji. He states his purpose for collecting the religious texts that he brought back in a colophon at end of the first part of his inventory:

> Even though the above scriptures on mantras, ritual manuals and [texts] of miscellaneous teachings [are collected] in other places, [having been brought back by others who] returned earlier, [these works] have not yet reached Tōji. For this reason, in accordance with my duty, I have collected and copied them and, exerting [all] my strength, have carried them back [to Japan]….[26]

Included in this part of Shūei's inventory are such *Liqujing*-related materials as Amoghavajra's *Puxian pusa Jingangsaduo yuqie niansong yigui* 普賢菩薩金剛薩埵瑜伽念誦儀軌 and *Yishiqisheng damantuluo yishu*, as well as a *Puxian pusa shiqizun lueshi* 普賢菩薩十七尊略釋 (Abbreviated Explanation on Bodhisattva Samantabhadra and the Seventeen Venerables), which he attributed to Amoghavajra,[27] a *Shi dale Jingangsaduo wubimi koujue* 釋大樂金剛薩埵五祕密口訣 (Oral Transmission on the [*Liqu*]*shi*'s Five Mysteries of the Great Blissful Vajrasattva), which he attrbuted to Vajrabodhi, and a *Liqujue* 理趣決 (Transmission on the Guiding Principle [Scripture]) by an unidentified author.[28]

In a second colophon, which closes the category on religious images, Shūei once again records that he brought back to Tōji examples of as yet unknown iconography:

> The above icons 圖像 are that which [my] Master possessed. Perhaps there are among them some that have not yet been introduced [to Tōji]. [They are] requirements for those who devote themselves to the path [of the Buddhas].[29]

Of the twenty-seven Esoteric Buddhsit works that Shūei lists in this section of his inventory, the mandalas and iconographic materials relevant now are:

- *Airan mingwang* (Rāgavidyārāja) one mounted painting one width 愛染明王禎[30]子一副
- *Jingangjie damantuluo* (Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm) one line drawing on paper 金剛界大曼荼羅苗子一張
- *Taizang tanmian* ([Mandala for spreading on] the Altar of the Matrix Repository) one line drawing on paper 胎藏壇面苗子一張
- *Jingangjie tanmian yuelun xiangdeng* (Figures within Lunar Discs of the [Mandala for spreading on the] Altar of the Adamantine Realm) 金剛界壇面月輪像等
- *Jingangwang* (Vajrarāja) one line drawing on paper 金剛王苗子一張
- *Foyan mantuluo* (Mandala of Buddhalocanā) line drawing one book 佛眼曼荼羅苗子一本
- *Jiangsanshi hui xiangyang* (Drawings of Images in the Trailokyavijaya Assembly) one book 降三世會像樣一本[31]

Shūei identifies the origin and lineage of some of these works that were new to the monks of Tōji in small notes beneath his entries. He records that the line drawing of the *Jingangjie damantuluo* belonged to the transmission of Preceptor Tianzhu 天竺和尚. Scholars suggest that the iconography of this mandala can be linked to the mandala prescribed in the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie* 一切教集瑜伽, the Third of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, which Amoghavajra's outlines in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and refers to its depiction on the wall of Chang'an's Jianfusi in his *Liqushi*.[32] Shūei acquired the line drawing of a *Taizang tanmian* in Wuwei sanzang yuan 無畏三藏院, that is Dashengshansi 大聖善寺 where Śubhākarasiṃha once resided, in the eastern capital of Louyang, and he notes that the seed letters of its figures were written with both Sanskrit and Chinese characters.[33] Further, he records that age had damaged this work, and so we learn that the place and date of production differ from the drawing of the *Jingangjie damantuluo*. This means that the two mandalas did not form a pair. Shūei received from the monk Zaoxuan 造玄 of Ciensi 慈恩寺 in Chang'an the drawing of *Jingangjie tanmian yuelun xiangdeng*, as well as a line drawing of *Jingangwang*.[34]

Nevertheless, despite the number of Esoteric Buddhist works that Shūei collected and despite the fact that he sought out works whose iconography was not yet known to the monks of Tōji, he makes no mention in this category of his inventory of a *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. In a second inventory, the *Zenrinji Shūei Sōjō mokuroku* 禪林寺宗叡僧正目錄, the only *Liqujing-*

related material listed is a *Liqu banruo jue* 理趣般若決 (Transmission of the Wisdom of the Guiding Principle [Scripture]).[35]

In addition to the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* whose introduction he ascribes to Ennin and Shuei, Annen also records under the rubric "secret mandalas [listed] outside the inventories" the other works that these two pilgrim-monks brought back, as well as those that Kūkai, Eun and Enchin returned with. He lists the following materials:

- *Jianfusi Jingang sanzang shouhui jinni mantuluo* (Mandala [depicted in] gold-on -[purple]-mud drawn by Tripiṭaka Vajra[bodhi] of Jianfusi) one line drawing mounted on paper [En]nin 薦福寺金剛三藏手繪金泥曼荼羅苗一幀 仁
- *Jingang sanzang shouhui Jingangjie damantuluo* (Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm Drawn by Tripiṭaka Vajra[bodhi] one [painting] [En]nin 金剛三藏手繪金剛界大曼荼羅一鋪 仁[36]
- *Jiangsanshi shibabian mantuluo* (Mandala of the Eighteen Transformations of Trailokyavijaya) eighteen images mounted on paper [Shū]ei 降三世十八變曼荼羅十八 幀 叡
- *Foyan Fomu mantuluo* (Mandala of Buddhalocanā) one picture mounted on paper [Kū]kai [En]chin 佛眼佛母曼荼羅一幀 海 珍
- *Airan mantuluo* (Mandala of Rāgarāja) one picture mounted on paper [Kū]kai 愛染王曼荼羅一幀 海
- *Budongzun mantuluo* (Mandala of the Venerable Acala) one picture mounted on paper [E]un [whose Venerable has a black topknot] 不動尊曼荼羅一幀 運 尊有黒髻
- *Budongzun mantuluo* (Mandala of the Venerable Acala) one picture mounted on paper [En]chin 不動尊曼荼羅一幀 珍[37]

Obviously, none of the works that Annen lists under the rubric "secret mandalas outside of the inventories" are recorded in the inventories of these monks. Although Shūei includes in his *Shosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* a book that depicts the *Jiangsanshi hui xiangyang*, it is unlikely that this work would have corresponded to the eighteen images of the *Jiangsanshi shibabian mantuluo* that Annen lists in his catalogue.[38] The title of the first work signifies a single mandala whose iconography was most likely similar to that of the *Jiangsanshi hui* 降三世會 (Assembly of Trailokyavijaya), one of the mandalas in the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo*. The iconography of the second mandala may have derived from either the First Assembly of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s second Chapter on Trailokyavijaya 降三世品, or from the *Jiangsanshi Jingang yuqiexiangyang* 降三世金剛瑜伽 (Adamantine Yoga of the Conqueror of the Three Worlds), which is the Fourth Assembly in the corpus of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown that Amoghavajra briefly described in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, but there are no existant works in the Japanese tradition to which it can be compared.[39]

The very title of Annen's heading — "secret mandalas [listed] outside of the inventories" — indicates, however, that Annen has made a distinction between the official and the private religious paraphernalia that the pilgrim-monks returned with. In other words, Annen records under this rubric the iconographic materials that the pilgrim-monks had not included in their official inventories that they presented to the Court or to the temple authorities. In fact, there is evidence substantiating that these pilgrim-monks brought back personal objects of worship. One example of

such evidence is the Ishiyamadera exemplar of the *Liqujing mantuluo*, which I have discussed in Chapter One of this dissertation. As I have demonstrated, it was Shūei who most likely returned with this exemplar of *Liqujing mantuluo,* despite the fact that this work is not listed in his inventories.[40]

Another example of a pilgrim-monk's personal souvenir is the *Jianfusi Jingang sanzang shouhui jinni mantuluo*. Annen records in a note below this entry in his catalogue what appears to be a quote from Ennin's travel account: "on a day during the Huichang 會昌 destruction of the Buddha's Law, the Preceptor [Faquan] kindly transmitted a copy [of this work] that he had had an artisan draw, [saying] that country does not yet have this rare version."[41] Ennin does not record this work in his inventories.

Enchin, however, discusses this mandala in a number of his writings. In his *Sanbu manda* 三部曼荼 (Manda[la] of the Three Families), for instance, which contains entries that date to the ninth (855), tenth (856) and twelfth (858) years of Dazhong 大中, he questions his Chinese master about the textual source and iconography of this mandala.[42] Enchin also inquires about this mandala in his *Gimon* 疑問 (Questions) and *Sasagimon* 些些疑文 (Letter of Humble Questions), the former thought to be a draft and the latter a more polished version of a list of questions chiefly concerned with such topics as Esoteric Buddhist doctrine, practice, history, iconography and *siddhaṃ* that he sent in 882 (Gangyō 6 元慶 六年) to the master Zhihuilun 上智慧輪三藏 of Guanding yuan 灌頂院 in Chang'an's Daxingshansi.[43] In the *Gimon*'s section of questions about chapters of the *Liqushi*, Enchin writes that he has not yet seen the "Mandala for Yoga [depicted] in Gold-on-[purple]-Mud the Great Preceptor of Jianfu[si] had Drawn" and he requests a version of this work, as well as the names of each of the Venerables in it.[44] By the time the *Sasagimon* has been copied out, however, he asks in its section on the *Liqushi* the following question about this mandala:

> A line drawing of the *Jinni mantuluo* 金泥曼荼羅苗本 was first brought to this land in the Dazhong 大中 (847-860) reign period, but it did not have the titles 題著 of the Venerables. It is just as though one faces a wall [and so prevented from understanding this mandala]. Please provide [some] instructions. Moreover, there is a yoga [practice for this mandala]. Kindly include it.[45]

The expression "gold-on-[purple]-mud mandala" occurs, as we have seen, in *Liqushi* 16 and signifies the mandala that Amoghavajra's master, Vajrabodhi of Jianfusi, had depicted in gold-on-purple-mud on this temple's wall and whose iconography was based upon the Third Assembly in the corpus of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. Enchin's passage in the *Sasagimon* implies that a copy of this mandala, whose introduction Annen ascribes to Ennin, could indeed have been brought back by Ennin, who returned from his sojourn in China in 847.

It is difficult to know from Enchin's entries about the *Liqushi* in these three works whether this mandala in gold-on-purple-mud was introduced as part of the larger iconographic program of the *Liqujing mantuluo* in eighteen assemblies or as an independent image.[46] Support for the fact that this mandala may have had an independent tradition of its own is documentation given in *Shangzhihuilun sanzang shu* 上智慧輪三藏書, the cover letter included with the scroll of questions 疑集 一卷 (*Gishū*) that Enchin sent to this Chinese master in 882.[47] Enchin requests two

works, which he records as separate items on separate lines: "illustrations of the Assemblies of the *Liqujing*" 理趣經會會圖 and "writing of titles [of the Venerables] in the *Jinni mantuluo*" 金泥曼荼羅題著. A note appended to the latter entry states: "A line drawing version exists here, and titles were written on the garments of the Venerables in the original [work]" 苗本存此而元諸尊衣題著.[48]

A final example of an article that one of the eight early Heian pilgrim-monks brought back from China as a personal souvenir is the *Liduosengnieluo wubu xinguan*.[49] This scroll is not listed in any of Enchin's inventories, but it bears his own inscriptions. The first inscription comes directly under the title at the beginning of the scroll and states:

> This work is the work from the possession of the Preceptor of Quinglong[si]. He gave it to Enchin.[50]

We thus learn from this inscription that Enchin did not make a copy of this work but was actually given his Chinese master's own personal copy. The colophon at the end of the scroll reiterates the information given in the first inscription:

> An important possession from the possessions of Zhuanjiao Daasheli 傳教大阿闍梨 (Great Master who Transmits the Teachings).[51] He gave it especially to his disciple Zhihui jingang 智慧金剛 (Jñānavajra) [a note in smaller letters states: This is Enchin's Buddhist title. The six mandalas are complete. Dazhong 9 (855).][52]

In short, Annen could very well have had access to records that documented the personal souvenirs of the eight early Heian pilgrim-monks, or to the actual objects themselves. Nevertheless, an examination of Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* and the official inventories of these pilgrim-monks reveals that Annen records selectively, at times carelessly, or that perhaps he consulted inventories that are no longer existent.[53] There are numerous discrepancies between Annen's recording and the items that the pilgrim-monks list in their inventories.

In the twentieth category of icons and under the two rubics "illustrations of the four kinds of Mandalas of the Matrix" and "illustrations of the four kinds of Mandalas of the Adamantine Realm," for instance, Annen attributes to Kūkai two mandalas that are not listed in his *Shōrai mokuroku*. These are a line drawing of the *Dabei taizang mantuluo* whose figures' names are given in Sanskrit 大悲胎藏梵号曼荼羅 一鋪 五副苗 and a line drawing of the *Jingangjie damantuluo* 金剛界大曼荼羅 一鋪三副苗.[54] Moreover, both Kūkai and Ennin list a *Dabei taizang famantuluo* 大悲胎藏法曼荼羅 (Seed Letter Mandala of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion) in their inventories, but Annen ascribes the introduction of this mandala only to Kūkai.[55] Further, although Annen records the mandalas that Kūkai, Ennin and Enchin included in their inventories, it is strange that he does not list the versions of the matrix and adamantine realm mandalas that Shūei listed in his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku*.

Another instance of inconsistancy between Annen's work and those of the pilgrim-monks is found under the rubic "portraits of Masters of the Tripiṭaka of Mantras." Here Annen lists the portraits of Yixing and Huiguo that Kūkai recorded in his *Shōrai mokuroku* but not those of

Vajrabodhi, Śubhākarasiṃha and Amoghavajra, which Kūkai also listed in his inventory.[56] Annen does list the pictures of these three Esoteric Buddhist masters but he ascribes their introduction to Ennin alone.[57] And, once again, Annen does not list the portraits of the Esoteric Buddhist masters Yixing and Faquan that Shūei recorded in his inventory.[58] In fact, despite the numerous iconographic materials that Shūei recorded in his *Shosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku*, Annen ascribes to Shūei the introduction of only two works in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyo burui somoku*: these are the eighteen *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* and the *Jiangsanshi shibabian mantuluo* mentioned above.

Numerous disparities are also seen between the texts that Annen includes in his catalogue and those that the pilgrim-monks list in theirs. One example is Amoghavajra's *Puxian pusa Jingangsaduo yuqie niansong yigui*. Annen ascribes its introduction to Kūkai, Saichō and Ennin but he makes no mention of Shūei, who also returned with this ritual manual.[59] There are other works important to our topic that Annen does not record but which Shūei lists in his inventory. I mention them in the following section. In short, we cannot categorically rely on Annen's work and must corroborate his claim that both Ennin and Shūei introduced the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* with other historical sources.

AN EXAMINATION OF LATE HEIAN AND KAMAKURA RITUAL COMPENDIA

Late Heian and Kamakura period Shingon and Tendai monks composed ritual compendia in order to study, record and so preserve the rituals traditions of their lineages and, equally important, to garner Imperial and aristocratic patronage for their lineages. These works document the iconographic materials that the early Heian pilgrim-monks returned with.[60] The compendia to be investigated are:

- the *Zuzōshō* 圖像鈔 (Compendium of Icons), which Shingon scholars, past and present, have attributed to the Shingon monk Ejū 慧什 (ac. 1129–after 1144)[61]
- the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記 (Miscellaneous Accounts of Specific Venerables), which was compiled by the Shingon monk Shinkaku 心覺 (1117–1180)[62]
- the *Mandarashū* 曼荼羅集 (Collection of Mandalas), compiled by the Shingon monk Kōzen 興然 (1120–1203)[63]
- the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪抄 (Kakuzen's Compendium), which was composed by Kakuzen 覺禪 (1143–after 1213), Kōzen's disciple[64]
- and the *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄 (Compendium of [the Seed Letters] A [of the Matrix Mandala's Buddha Family] Sa [of the Padma Family and] Va [of the Vajra Family]), which was compiled by the Tendai esoteric master Shōchō 承澄 (1205–1282).[65]

An investigation of the scrolls on the deities and gods whose mandalas are prescribed in the *Liqushi* in the sources cited above reveals that three of the eight early Heian pilgrim-monks did introduce iconography from the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*.[66] These monks are Ennin, Enchin and Shūei.

According to the ritual compilations examined, Ennin seems to have introduced two of the mandalas that belong to the larger iconographic program of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. I begin with Kakuzen's scroll on the Five Mysteries because he gives historical information about

these images.[67] We must note that Kakuzen is not the only author to give historical information about the Five Mysteries but, because he consulted the works of his predecessors, we do see a greater number of historical details in his scroll. For instance, Kōzen also records that Shūei introduced a set of *Liqujing mantuluo*, which I present in the text. While the compilers of the *Zuzōshō* and *Besson zakki* do not give historical information about the image of the Five Mysteries, they do supply historical information about other images. Later I will provide an example from Shinkaku's *Besson zakki*.

In Kakuzen's *Kakuzenshō*, we learn that there are two different iconographic types in the Tang Dynasty transmission of the Five Mysteries' image. He records under the heading "Facts about the [Five Mysteries] Mandala" in the *Kakuzenshō*'s scroll on the Five Mysteries that Ennin introduced a copy of the *Jianfusi Jingang shouhui jinni mantuluo* (Mandala of Gold-on-Purple-Mud that Vajrabodhi of Jianfusi had Drawn) and a copy of the Five Mysteries that formed a part of the eighteen *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. His source is Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, in particular the category titled "secret mandalas [listed] outside of the inventories." Kakuzen abbreviates this entry heading to "Secret Record" 祕錄 (*Hiroku*).[68]

Further, Kakuzen notes in this entry that a copy of the *Jianfusi Jingang shouhui jinni mantuluo* was collected in a work called *Ejūshō* 慧什抄 (Ejū's Compendium), that this illustration was based on the copy that Ennin had brought back, and that his Teacher said that *Ejūshō* was stored in the Scripture Repository at Ninnaji.[69] Unfortunately he does not provide a drawing of this mandala. Nor does Kakuzen provide a drawing of the Five Mysteries included in the set of eighteen *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* that Ennin also returned with, which he goes on to discuss in this entry. First, he records the source for the iconography of the Five Mysteries under discussion: it was *Liqushi* 16 where Amoghavajra refers to an extant, large-scale mandala in Jianfusi. Then, he wonders whether this illustration of the Five Mysteries is the mandala in the southeast corner of that temple's wall painting, and in what way the illustration in *Ejūshō* differed. Here Kakuzen seems to be referencing information that Kōzen recorded in his *Mandarashū*. Kōzen included in his entry on the Five Mysteries Mandala a citation about the Five Mysteries in Master Ejū's Compendium of Icons 慧叶闍梨五祕密圖像抄 (*Ejū jari gohimtsu zuzōshō*), which states that "a configuration [of the Five Mysteries] in the gold-on-[purple]-mud mandala is in the south-east corner."[70]

Although there is an illustration of a Five Mysteries Mandala in the presentday *Zuzōshō*, whose iconography does not agree with that of the Daigoji exemplar's Assembly of the Five Mysteries, we do not know if the *Zuzōshō* is the said *Ejūshō* that Kakuzen refers to.[71] The single illustration of the Five Mysteries Mandala in Shōchō's *Asabashō* belongs to the same iconographic lineage that is illustrated in the *Zuzōshō*. Shōchō records that the source of this illustration was *Sōgenbon* 雙嚴本 (Sōgen's Book*)*.[72] A small note in the *Asabashō* manuscript published in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* states that this illustration is the same as that in *Ninnaji Yōgen sōzu shō* 仁和寺永嚴僧都抄 (Compendium of Yōgen Sōzu of Ninnaji).[73] Shōchō's scroll on the Five Mysteries contains other references to Yōgen's compendium. One concerns differing explanations about the Five Mysteries mandala and its source is *Tōji Yōgen sōzu shō* 東寺永嚴僧都抄 (Compendium of Yōgen Sōzu of Tōji). This information is identical to a note in the *Zuzōshō*.[74]

Although the earliest examples of documentation assign a ritual compendium to Yōgen and to Ejū, and although Edo period documentation purports that at first the two monks jointly

complied a work but, due to a doctrinal dispute, each composed separate ritual compilations, and although contemporary scholars regard Ejū as the compiler of this work, further research is required in order to determine the identity of the compiler of the *Sōgenbon*, and whether the *Ninnaji Yōgensōzu shō*, *Ejūshō* and *Zuzōshō* are in fact the same work.[75]

In any case, the image of the Five Mysteries recorded in *Ejūshō* is one of the two Tang Dynasty iconographic types of the Five Mysteries.

Kakuzen also records in another entry in his Five Mysteries' scroll titled "Facts [concerning] Variant Explanations about the [Five Mysteries] Mandala" that Enchin had introduced an illustration of the Five Mysteries whose iconography was the same as that which the Zenrinji monk had brought back.[76] I will return to this mandala because it is the second of the Tang Dynasty iconographic type of the Five Mysteries.

Although Kakuzen repeats Annen's ascription to Ennin of the introduction of a *Jianfusi Jingang shouhui jinni mantuluo* and of the eighteen *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*, to which the Five Mysteries belonged, the other ritual collections examined provide no further evidence to verify that Ennin, or Enchin, for that matter, returned with a complete set of the eighteen *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. Apparently, then, the iconography of the Five Mysteries Mandala was represented within the larger programs of the *Jianfusi Jingang shouhui jinni mantuluo* and the eighteen *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. Moreover, it would seem that the Five Mysteries Mandala, like that of the *Jianfusi Jingang shouhui jinni mantuluo*, could be singled out from the eighteen *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* and depicted independently.

These ritual collections do, however, contain evidence that links Shūei to the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. The Assembly of the Five Mysteries (fig. 7, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, p. 793, No. 18), the figure of Mahākāla from the Assembly of the Guiding Principle of the Seven Mother Goddesses (ibid, p. 789, No. 14) and three of the four mandala that are appended to the Daigiji exemplar (figs. 8, 9 and 10, ibid, pp. 795, 796, 797, Nos. 20, 21 and 22) constitute this evidence.

Kakuzen notes in his entry "Facts [concerning] Variant Explanations about the [Five Mysteries] Mandala" that the monk of Zenrinji 禪林寺 had also returned with an illustration of the Five Mysteries which belonged to the eighteen *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*.[77] Annen records in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* that Shūei returned with such a mandala, but Annen refers to Shūei as a monk from Engakuji in his catalogue whereas Kakuzen identifies him as the monk from Zenrinji. As I will demonstrate shortly, Kakuzen is most likely following in the footsteps of his master Kōzen who records in his *Mandarashū* the iconography of the image of the Five Mysteries that the Zenrinji monk returned with. Shūei was also known as the Zenrinji *Sōjō* 禪林寺僧正 because he resided in Zenrinji during the last years of his life.[78]

Further, in this entry Kakuzen states that the Five Mysteries that Ennin introduced differed from the Zenrinji monk's illustration, and that Ennin's mandala was included in *Ejūshō*.[79] The illustration Kakuzen pairs with this statement about the illustration of the Five Mysteries that Shūei introduced is iconographically identical to the Assembly of the Five Mysteries in the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*.[80]And it is immediately following this illustration that Kakuzen comments on the iconographic correspondence between the illustration of the Five Mysteries that Shūei and Enchin brought back.

This very same Five Mysteries Mandala is illustrated in Shinkaku's *Besson zakki* and in Kōzen's *Mandarashū*.[81] Shinkaku does not give any information about this representation of the Five Mysteries Mandala, but Kōzen does. He introduces this mandala with the statement that it

appears among the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* that the Zenrinji monk returned with.[82] This is then the second of the two Tang Dynasty iconographic types of the Five Mysteries that the early pilgrims introduced.

At the close of "Facts [concerning] Variant Explanations about the [Five Mysteries] Mandala" Kakuzen presents an illustration under the heading "Old Picture" 古圖. He does not supply any information about this image or its source. The iconography is identical to the drawing illustrated in the presentday *Zuzōshō*.[83]

It seems that, according to Kakuzen and his master Kōzen, the *Ejūshō* contained a copy of the *Jianfusi Jingang shouhui jinni mantuluo* that Ennin introduced, and also that Ennin, Enchin and Shūei returned with copies of the Five Mysteries that belonged to the set of eighteen *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. The monk-compilers were careful to record in their ritual collections the orthodox iconographic image of the Five Mysteries that was given in Amoghavajra's texts. And yet, the iconography of the two Tang prototypes of the Five Mysteries differed from these prescriptions. Perhaps the monk-compilers' silence regarding the iconographic changes apparent in the images brought back by the early Heian pilgrims was because their aim was to record the "sacred" Tang Chinese prototypes of this image.[84] In any case, Kakuzen acknowledges that the early pilgrims introduced two different iconographic types of the Tang Dynasty Five Mysteries, and that Shūei was associated with the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar of the Assembly of the Five Mysteries.

The second piece of evidence that links Shūei to the iconography of the Daigoji *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* is the six-armed, three-headed figure of Mahākāla who forms the focus of the Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses that is prescribed in *Liqushi* 13. In the *Kakuzenshō*'s scroll on Mahākāla 大黒天 Kakuzen quotes the *Liqushi*'s instructions for the Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses. He then provides an illustration of this mandala and its iconography is identical to that of the Daigoji's Assembly of the Guiding Principle of the Seven Mother Goddesses (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, p. 789, No. 14). A note states that "the form of the Venerable [in this mandala] is [as in] the version that the Zenrin[ji monk] brought back" 尊形禪林請來本也.[85]

Shūei is the only one of the eight pilgrim-monks who does in fact list a drawing of Rāgarāja in his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku*, but Annen ascribes the introduction of a Rāgarāja Mandala to Kūkai alone under his entry "secret mandalas [listed] outside the inventories" in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*.[86] Kakuzen, on the other hand, records in the scroll on the rite of Rāgarāja 愛染法 in his *Kakuzenshō* that Kūkai, Shūei, Enchin and Eun returned with images of Rāgarāja.[87] A figure of Rāgarāja that Kakuzen illustrates in the *Kakuzenshō* has the characters 禪林 (Zenrin) added to it, as well as the following information:

> The form of the Venerable on the right is that which was brought back by the last [monk] to go to Tang [China] 後入唐請來. [small characters: It is found in the *Liqujing mantuluo*.] Moreover, the figure [of Rāgarāja] that [Kōbō] daishi drew is the same as this, but his head is [upright]. This is the difference [between the figures of Rāgarāja that were brought back by Kūkai and Shūei].[88]

Shūei, in addition to being known as the monk from Zenrinji, was also referred to as the *Sōjō* [who was] the last [of the eight monks] who went to China 後入唐僧正.[89] Thus, Shūei can be

linked to the figure of Rāgarāja that Kakuzen depicts in his *Kakuzenshō*, and the iconography of this figure of Rāgarāja is the same as that of the Rāgarāja that is appended to the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing mantuluo* (fig. 10, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, p. 797, No. 22). The heads of both figures are titled slightly to the left, as opposed to the upright position of the head of the figure of Rāgarāja that Kūkai is said to have returned with.[90]

A second point of difference between the figures of Rāgarāja that Shūei and Kūkai returned with is that Shūei's figure holds a round object in his third hand on the left whereas Kūkai's figure forms a clenched fist. The figure of Rāgarāja in the mandala that is appended to the Daigoji exemplar also holds a round disc in this hand. The *Yuqijing*'s iconographic prescriptions for this figure specify that he holds "that" in his third left hand. Ritual masters had the freedom to fill Rāgarāja's third hand on the left with an attribute that was deemed ritually appropriate. For example, the Shingon masters Genkai and Jichiun, as well as the Tendai master Shōchō, record in their compendia that for the rite of pacification 息災法 one inserts a sun disk into this hand.[91]

The Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa Mandala 大佛頂曼荼羅 (fig. 9, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, p. 796, No. 21), which is also appended to the Daigoji's *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*, serves as the fourth piece of evidence that establishes a connection between Shūei and the Daigoji exemplar.[92]

A small note placed next to an illustration of the Vikīrṇa Mandala 尊勝曼荼羅 that is collected in Shinkaku's *Besson zakki* states that: "This [Vikīrṇa Mandala] is at the back of the *Liqujing mantuluo*" 理趣經曼荼羅奥有之. And next to a second illustration, whose iconographic lineage differs from the illustration mentioned above, a note says that: "[This is] the Vikīrṇa Mandala that Chishō daishi [Enchin] returned with. I have included it. [Copied the image by] Mii[dera]'s Kakuyū Sōjō."[93] The iconography of the Vikīrṇa Mandala that Shinkaku records as belonging to the *Liqujing mantuluo* corresponds to that of the Daigoji exemplar's appended Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa Mandala.

Although Kakuzen also identifies one of the Vikīrṇa Mandalas that he illustrates in the *Kakuzenshō*'s scroll on the rite of Vikīrṇa 尊勝法 as the Mii[dera] version 三井[寺]本, that is, the mandala that Enchin introduced, and the iconography of this mandala is identical to Enchin's image in Shinakaku's *Besson zakki*, he does not link any of the other Vikīrṇa Mandalas that he includes in his work to Shūei.[94]

However, both Shinkaku and Kakuzen record some facts about Shūei's transmission of the Vikīrṇa Mandala and its rite. For instance, both monks record that the Zenrinji Transmission regarded Vairocana's Wisdom Fist Mudrā as the ultimate of secrets. The source of the monks' statements is the transmission of Shingon monk Jichiun.[95] Kakuzen also states that there were iconographic variations of a certain figure in the versions of this mandala that the monks Eun, Engyō and Shūei introduced, thus verifying that Shūei did in fact return with a Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa Mandala.[96] Further, he records that the rite for Vikīrṇa that was most commonly practiced was based upon the ritual manual that "the last monk who went to China" brought back.[97] Shūei does in fact list in his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* a ritual manual in two scrolls called the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa yigui* 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽儀軌一部二卷, and this manual is the iconographic source of the Daigoji's appended Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa Mandala.[98] Annen includes a work with this title in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, but notes that it was a text that Ennin, Engyō and Eun returned with.[99]

Finally, it is the rite of Buddhalocanā 佛眼法 and its accompanying Buddhalocanā Mandala 佛眼曼荼羅 that serves to link Shūei, albeit indirectly, to the iconography of the Daigoji

exemplar. Shūei does in fact record a Buddhalocanā Mandala in his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku*, but the iconography of this Buddhalocanā Mandala that he returned with is not known.[100] Shūei also lists a work in one scroll, the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu fa* 金剛吉祥大成就法 一巻 (Method of the Great Accomplishments of Vajraśrī), which corresponds to chapter 9 of the *Yuqijing*, the source for the elements of Buddhalocanā's mandala and rite.[101] Although Annen does not acknowledge that Shūei introduced a Buddhalocanā Mandala, or its ritual procedure, and instead ascribes the introduction of this mandala to Kūkai and Enchin,[102] Kakuzen documents in the scroll on Buddhalocanā in his *Kakuzenshō* the transmission of the symbolic (*samaya*) form of Buddhalocanā that was handed down by the last monk who went to Tang China.[103] There is no certain evidence linking Shūei to the Daigoji's appended Buddhalocanā Mandala (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, p. 795, No. 20), but Kakuzen's notation nevertheless confirms Shūei's connection with the content of the Buddhalocanā rite, and a Buddhalocanā Mandala would have served as the focus of this rite.

CONCLUSION

Despite the discrepancies and omissions that we have found in Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, it served as a reference source for such later compilers of Esoteric Buddhist ritual compendia as Kakuzen. Moreover, an examination of these late Heian and Kamakura ritual collections discloses that, although Ennin and Enchin are said to have returned with certain mandalas that belong to the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*, only Shūei can be associated with the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar.

Kakuzen does record in his *Kakuzenshō* that Ennin introduced the iconography of the Five Mysteries Mandara, which was illustrated, he says, in *Ejūshō*. We do not know the iconographic features of the Five Mysteries Mandala that Ennin returned with. However, if *Ejūshō* is indeed the present day *Zuzōshō*, the iconography of the Five Mysteries Mandala that is depicted in this work does not match that of the Daigoji's Assembly of the Five Mysteries. Furthermore, although Enchin states in his *Sasagimon* that the *Jianfusi Jingang shouhui jinni mantuluo* had been in Japan since 847, thus suggesting a connection with Ennin, who had returned from his mainland travels in 847, the iconography of this work can only be surmised from Enchin's written description because a copy of this mandala does not exist. Thus, despite Annen's claim that Ennin returned with the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*, there is no evidence in the historical sources examined that indicates that Ennin returned with a complete set of mandalas, nor that links Ennin to the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar. Although Kakuzen notes that Enchin returned with the iconography of a Five Mysteries Mandala whose iconography was identical to that of the Five Mysteries Mandala that Shūei returned with, he does not connect — nor do the other scholar-monks — Enchin with the iconography of any of the other mandalas of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. We must construe this to mean that the Five Mysteries Mandala Enchin brought back was not part of the larger program of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*, but was depicted independently.

On the other hand, there is evidence in the examined ritual compendia that substantiates Annen's claim that Shūei, too, returned with a set of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*, and that especially links Shūei to the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar. This is, as we have seen, the iconography of the Assembly of the Five Mysteries, the figure of Mahākāla in the Assembly of the Guiding Principle of the Seven Mother Goddess and three of the four mandalas appended to the Daigoji exemplar — the Mandalas of Rāgavidyārāja, Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa and Buddhalocanā.

CHAPTER SIX: CHARACTERISTICS OF NINTH-CENTURY CHINESE ESOTERIC BUDDHIST WORKS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I present some of the unique features of ninth-century Chinese Esoteric Buddhist ritual manuals and their icons. In particular, I focus on those rituals and icons that were recorded for the first time in the inventories of the mid-ninth-century Japanese pilgrim-monks. Clearly, their interest was to collect the paraphanalia of the new Esoteric Buddhist cults popular in China at that time. My aim in this chapter is to elucidate the religious background that also produced the prototype of the iconography of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo*.

First, as representative of ninth-century Chinese Esoteric Buddhist ritual manuals, I examine the sources for the Mandalas of Buddhalocanā and Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa (figs. 8 and 9), which are appended to the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. These are the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin* 金剛吉祥大成就品 (Chapter of the Great Accomplishments of Vajraśrī), the ninth chapter of the *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqia yuqi jing* (hereafter, *Yuqijing*), and the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* 尊勝佛頂脩瑜伽法軌儀 (Ritual Manual of Methods for the Practice of the Yoga of Vikīrṇoṣṇīsa). Then, I discuss two ritual manuals that are attributed to the ninth-century Esoteric Buddhist master Faquan, the *Gongyang hushi batian fa* 供養護世八天法 (Offering Rite for the Eight World-Protecting Gods) and the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* 建立曼荼羅護摩議軌 (Ritual Manual for Construction of the Mandala for [the Performance] of Fire Oblation).

These works are characterized by a mixing of variant Esoteric Buddhist systems and a negation of scriptural boundaries in order to make correlations between these disparate systems. A third feature is the referencing of a specific corpus of earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist texts.[1] The first two features are pronounced in the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin* and *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*. The last feature, reliance on earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist texts, although seen in both the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin* and *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, best illustrates the contents of the manuals attributed to Faquan.

SOURCES OF THE MANDALAS APPENDED TO THE DAIGOJI *LIQUJING MANTULUO*

The textual sources of the Daigoji exemplar's four appended mandalas are the late eighth-century *Yuqijing* and the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, a work that can be dated to the early ninth century. Chapter five of the *Yuqijing* provides instructions for the depiction of the mandala of Rāgarāja and its ninth chapter, the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin,* prescribes the mandalas of the Five Great Ākāśagarbhas and Buddhalocanā. The *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* is the source for the iconography of the mandala of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa.[2]

Written and visual materials related to the Daigoji exemplar's appended mandalas are listed for the first time in the inventories of the Japanese pilgrim-monks who traveled to China during the mid-ninth century. The Shingon pilgrim-monk Eun 慧運, in China from 842-847, recorded the *Yuqijing* in his inventory,[3] but the other mid-ninth-century Japanese pilgrim-monks did not. The Shingon pilgrim Engyō 圓行, in China from 838-839, was the first to record in his inventory a scroll called the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiupin jing* 金剛吉祥大成就品經 一卷

(Scripture on the Chapter of the Great Accomplishments of Vajraśrī).[4] That is, Engyō recorded a work that contained information on *only* the ninth chapter of the *Yuqijing*. Ennin and Shūei, in China from 838-847 and 862-865, respectively, also listed in their inventories entries that correspond to this chapter of the *Yuqijing*.[5] Clearly there was something special about this chapter of the *Yuqijing* to merit its listing as a separate item in the inventories of these mid-ninth-century pilgrims.

The *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* first appears in Engyō's inventory and then again in the inventories of Eun and Shūei. The pilgrim-monks recorded it as a translation by Śubhākarasiṃha, but the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, like the *Yuqijing*, is an apocryphal composition. My analysis of the contents of this manual in this chapter will be further proof that it postdates Śubhākarasiṃha, and can be dated to the first quarter of the ninth century.[6]

The mid-ninth-century pilgrim-monks also returned with visual materials relevant to the cults of Buddhalocanā, Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa and Rāgarāja, which they itemized in their official inventories. For example, Ennin recorded a drawing of Buddhalocanā's Stūpa and its History in one scroll 佛眼塔樣并記一卷 and a drawing of the Altar of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa 佛頂尊勝壇像一鋪二幅苗; Enchin listed an image of a Mandala of Mahāvairocana [in the form of the] Nine Buddhoṣṇīṣa-cakra-rājas 大毘盧尾遮那九佛頂輪王曼荼羅一鋪六副; and Shūei reported a picture of Rāgarāja and a book of line drawings of a Buddhalocanā Mandala.[7]

The Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* and its appended mandalas thus do not represent a single iconographic program from one particular scripture or from a related group of works that are concerned with a particular scripture, as are Amoghavajra's *Liqujing* and its commentaries and ritual manuals, for example. The set of the eighteen *Liqujing mantuluo* and its four appended mandalas instead furnishes evidence of a Japanese pilgrim-monk (Shūei)'s study of a number of separate cults that were popular in mid-ninth-century China: those of the *Liqujing*, the Five Great Ākāśgarbhas, Buddhalocanā and Rāgarāja, which are documented in the *Yuqijing*, and Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa who is the focus of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuquifa yigui*.

Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin

The themes of the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin* are Vajraśrī's (Buddhalocanā) powers, mandala, mantras and boons, both mundane (*laukika siddhi*) and supermundane (*lokottara siddhi*), that she bestows on the practitioner.

Vajrasattva, the instructor in this chapter, explained before All the Tathāgatas "the essence of the Mother of All the Buddhas, the Great Adamantine Auspicious One, the Buddha-Eye (Buddhalocanā) of All the Buddhas" 一切佛眼大金剛吉祥一切佛母心. We learn that the essence, that is the mind of the Mother of All the Buddhas gives rise to all elements of reality (*dharmas*), and can bring about such mundane boons as the accomplishment of all spells, the fulfillment of all desires, the dispelling of all misfortunes, the eradication of all sins, as well as such supermundane boons as the attainment of an enlightenment equal to that of the Five Families of the Adamantine Realm.[8] Vajrasattva then manifested the body of the Mother of All the Buddhas 一切佛母身 and this form emited a multitude of buddha figures who transformed into Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rājas 一字頂輪王 (Kings [who turn] the Wheel, [Buddha-]Crowns [generated] in One Letter).[9] The prescriptions for drawing the Great Adamantine Auspicious Mother's 大金剛吉祥母 mandala stipulate that she sit in the center of three layers of lotus petals and that a single

figure of Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja 一字頂輪王 sit directly in front of her on a lotus seat in the first layer of lotus petals.[10] The Seven Luminaries 七曜, the Sun 太陽, Moon 太陰 and five planets, Mars 火星, Mercury 水星, Jupiter 木星, Venus 金星, and Saturn 土星,[11] sit on the seven remaining lotus seats in the first layer of petals. The Eight Great Bodhisattvas sit on lotus seats in the second layer of petals and the Eight Great Vidyārājas (Spell-Kings) are on the lotus seats in the third layer. The Eight Offering and Four Gathering Bodhisattvas are in the mandala's outer court. The iconography of the Daigoji Buddhalocanā Mandala (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 795, No. 20) concurs, on the whole, with the chapter's prescriptions.[12]

An interlinear note specifies that certain deities are to be depicted according to directives in *other* scriptures:

> Master Dharma-General 法將阿闍梨 says that the Eight Great Bodhisattvas are like those in the *Liqujing* and the Eight Great Adamantine [Ones, Spell Kings] 八大金剛 are like those explained in the *She yiqiefoding lunwang jing* 攝一切佛頂輪王經 (Scripture on the King of the Wheel who Gathers Together All Buddha-Crowns). Further, the symbols 幖幟 of the Eight Offering and Four Gathering Bodhisattvas are like those in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and the forms of the Seven Luminaries 七曜形 are to be granted separately.[13]

Master Dharma-General's instructions are somewhat helpful for the mandala-maker because he now knows *which set* of Eight Great Bodhisattvas to draw. The source for the Eight Great Vidyārājas, the *Damiao jingang daganlu Junnali yanman Chicheng Foding jing* 大妙金剛大甘露軍拏利焰鬘熾盛佛頂經, also has a set of Eight Great Bodhisattvas but they are not the same as those who appear in the *Liqujing*.[14] Amoghavajra's *Liqujing* is included in the corpus of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and the *Damiao jingang daganlu Junnali yanman Chicheng Foding jing* is an Esoteric Buddhist work in the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* (Buddha Crown) lineage, which focuses on the Buddhoṣṇīṣas, deities who symbolize the protuberance on the crown of Buddha Śākyamuni's head. The deities in this chapter's mandala of Buddhalocanā thus derive from a pastiche of Esoteric Buddhist systems.

The placement of the seven stellar gods in the first tier of lotus petals surrounding Buddhaoloanā serves as a clue to the theme of this mandala, which is that of the Buddhist concept of the Five Eyes 五眼.[15] Buddhalocanā, the one who possesses the Buddha Eye, incorporates within herself the powers of the Five Eyes, or Visions of those with material bodies (human beings), of heavenly beings (*devas*), of *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*, of bodhisattvas, and of buddhas.[16] The mantras that Buddhalocanā teaches in this chapter emphasize her authority over the figural groupings in this icon, and so affirm her role of mother, the origin of special abilities and powers.[17] She also instructs the practitioner to visualize, while chanting her fundamental mantra and wiping his eyes and brows with her fundamental mudrā, his acquisition of the powers of the Five Eyes.[18] Masters' transmissions recorded in Japanese ritual compendia further elucidate this meaning of her mandala.[19] For example, the Seven Luminaries, who represent all astral bodies, are born from Buddhalocanā's Deva-eye 天眼. Those with this divine vision see, for example, the smallest details of the past, present and future affairs of sentient beings in the worlds in the ten directions and so they influence their fortunes and misfortunes.[20] In short, the ritual objective of the cult of Buddhalocanā, the acquisition of the powers of the Five Eyes, was likely one reason

why this ninth chapter of the *Yuqijing* became an independent work, as seen in the ninth-century pilgrim-monks' inventories.

The compiler of the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin* has selected materials from a number of differing Indian Esoteric Buddhist works with the aim of correlating their systems, especially those of the Adamantine Realm and the Matrix.[21]

The main system underlying the *Yuqijing* is that of the Adamantine Realm. The Preface presents the thirty-seven deities of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[22]

However, the number of Families in the *Yuqijing*'s Adamantine Realm is not consistent: in most chapters, including chapters nine and eleven, for instance, there are Five Families, but in chapter two there are Six Families, with the inclusion of the Family of Buddhoṣṇīṣas to which Buddhalocanā originally belonged.[23] Vajrasattva, representative of the Adamantine Realm, plays a prominent role throughout the *Yuqijing*. In some chapters, for instance chapter nine, he instructs,[24] in other chapters, as the Tathāgata's interlocutor, he learns new mantras and rites,[25] and in many chapters, including this chapter, the special rites and mantras that are expounded focus especially on the powers of Vajrasattva.[26] In the *Yuqijing*'s system of the Adamantine Realm, Vajrasattva manifests Buddhalocanā but the relationship between these two deities is not developed nor explained. For instance, in chapter five of this text we learn from Vajrapāṇi that "the meditative concentration 定 (*samādhi*) of Vajrasattva is the Mother of All the Buddhas."[27]

Buddhalocanā and Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja figure in Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works that predate those of the Adamantine Realm introduced by the eighth-century masters Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. These are the scriptures of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* and of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[28] The mandala prescribed in this chapter re-presents from Buddhalocanā's position the history of her relationship with the deity Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja, one of the most important of the Buddhoṣṇīṣas. This relationship can be traced to such scriptures as the *Tuoluoniji jing* (Collection of the *Dhāraṇī* Teachings) and *Yizi foding lunwang jing*, works with early Esoteric Buddhist coloring that predate the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

These works are the origins of the deification of the Buddha-Eye (*buddha cakṣus*) as Bodhisattva Buddhalocanā 佛眼菩薩, she who possesses the powers of Buddha vision, or omniscience, and of her pairing with Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja, whose mantra produces ritual success and accompanying boons once it has been effectuated by chanting in a specified order his mantra and that of Bodhisattva Buddhalocanā.[29] This chapter of the *Yuqijing* and its mandala present a development in this relationship. The text describes Buddhalocanā's production of Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja and the mandala illustrates their relationship: this male deity sits directly in front of his female partner on a lotus seat in the mandala's first tier of lotus petals.

Amoghavajra too pairs these two deities in his translation of a manual for Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja's rite, the *Yizi fuding lunwang niansong yigui* 一字佛頂輪王念誦議軌. Here the practitioner is to visualize Buddhalocanā on the lotus petal directly in front of Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja and this deity's seven jewels on the other seven lotus petals. There is no further discussion of their relationship.[30] We have noted Amoghavajra's knowledge of tantric sexual practices in *Liqushi* 4, where he writes of the joining of the two roots.[31] However, there is no evidence of a presentation or interpretation that would correspond to the "power" or "divine energy" (*śakti*) in Hindu Tantrism, as some Japanese scholars have suggested.[32]

The iconographic directives for this Mother that are given in this chapter and depicted in the figure of the Daigoji Mandala of Buddhalocanā (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 795, No. 20) correspond to the figure of the Buddha-Eye Buddha-Mother 佛眼佛母 in the Shingon Mandala of

the Matrix Realm's (*Genzu taizōkai mandara)* Court of Universal Wisdom 遍智院 (Henchi in), who resides in *samādhi* with her hands in the Mudrā of Meditation. These are the prescriptions given for the figure of the Mother of the Buddhas 諸佛母 in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s Mandala Born of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion.[33] This iconographic correspondence is significant, evidence that the mandala-maker consulted a mandala belonging to the ritual lineage of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* in order to depict this mother figure, and that the iconography of the prototype of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* was still in use during the pilgrim-monk Shūei's period of study in Chang'an.

A final example of the mixing of the Esoteric Buddhist systems is seen in the mantras expounded in this chapter. The *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin* contains well-known mantras from the ritual traditions of the adamantine realm and the matrix, which the compiler resignifies by placing them in a new ritual context. For instance, the Mantra of One Hundred and Eight Names that the Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rājas chant in praise of Buddhalocanā is based upon the names of the figures in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. This mantra thus connects Buddhalocanā, a figure from earlier Esoteric Buddhist systems, to the system of the Adamantine Realm.[34] Further, Buddhalocanā herself teaches mantras that attest her ability to effect both the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm. One mantra is the "King of Mantras consisting of the Eight Letters that successfully Accomplish the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion" 成就大悲胎藏八字眞言王. The first five letters of this mantra, *āḥ vī ra hūṃ khaṃ,* have been taken from the powerful mantra that Mahāvairocana expounds in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s sixth chapter, Manifesting Accomplishments. Here, Buddhalocanā, she who brings about such supermundane boons as "an enlightenment like that of the Five Families in the Adamantine Realm," states that, "if the practitioner chants this mantra ten million times, he will be able to quickly accomplish all the rites of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion."[35] Because of this mantra's efficacy, the Tendai scholar-monk Annen attached great importance to this chapter and this eight-letter mantra in his treatise on the *Yuqijing,* the *Kongōbu rōkaku issai yugayugikyō shugyōhō* 金剛峯楼閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經修行法 (Methods of Ritual Practice [contained in the] *Jingangfeng louke yiqie yuqie yuqi jing*).[36]

In sum, we can conclude that the cult of Buddhalocanā became popular in ninth-century Chinese Esoteric Buddhist circles precisely because of a re-interpretation of the powers of this deity, who could now effectuate mantras from both the Adamantine Realm and the Matrix and so bring about material and spiritual boons. Throughout the *Yuqijing,* and especially in the *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin*, newly introduced Esoteric Buddhist materials (deities and their relationships, for example, Vajrasattva and Vajraśri/Buddhalocanā and their ritual practices) have been combined with already known materials (Buddhalocanā and her relationship with Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja; her iconography from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*) from Chinese translations of earlier Indian Esoteric Buddhist works. The mixing of contents from variant esoteric systems and their re-interpretation, which characterizes this chapter of the *Yuqijing*, a work that dates to the late eighth century, is seen in other Chinese Esoteric Buddhist ritual handbooks produced throughout the ninth century, which I present in the following sections.

Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi

The early ninth-century *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* is a ritual manual for a deity of the earlier *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* tradition that presents the steps of the rites of offering and identification,

consecration, fire oblations and rain-making wherein Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa functions as the main object of veneration.[37] The rites and mandalas prescribed are, like those in the *Yuqijing*'s *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin*, an assemblage of materials drawn from a number of Esoteric Buddhist systems. The compiler of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* has borrowed material especially, but not exclusively, from the systems of the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras*, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, and the earlier *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* system. Also, he has included elements from indigenous Chinese iconographic traditions.

I present here two examples of the author's method of combining different esoteric ritual traditions in his rite of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa. The first is the performance within a *single* rite of the special yogic practices intrinsic to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and enacted in the rites of the matrix and adamantine realm. These are the visualization of the body adorned with five letters 五字嚴觀 and the attainment of the buddha body in five steps 五相成佛觀.

The act of visualizing the body adorned with five letters is prescribed in the fourth chapter of the seventh fascicle of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. In this yogic practice the practitioner manifests the ineffable body of the absolute Buddhist truth (Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana) within his own body. The practitioner applies in ascending order on his lower body, navel, heart, crown of his head and between his brows the seed letters and the shapes of the five Buddhist elements earth, water, fire, wind and space, forming first a stūpa, the symbol of the Dharmakāya, and then an anthropomorphic body. He is to see himself as being identical with the body of Mahāvairocana in the matrix mandala.[38] This visualization occurs in the opening phase of the Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite, and it is performed as a preliminary act of purification and sanctification of practitioner and setting, as well as an act of empowerment of the practitioner.[39] This is also its function in the Chinese ritual manuals for the matrix rite, although it is not performed in the rite's opening phase.[40]

The practitioner also performs in this Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite a variation of the act of the attainment of the buddha body in five steps, a ritualized formula for rapid enlightenment that is expounded in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and is central to the rite of the adamantine realm.[41] In the scripture, All the Tathāgatas guide Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi (Śākyamuni prior to attaining enlightenment) through a series of five steps wherein his manipulation of special sounds and symbols results in his complete enlightenment. Like the visualization of the body adorned with five letters in the matrix rite, this act in the rite of the adamantine realm and in this Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite involves a preparatory transformation of the practitioner. He performs this act in the rite of the adamantine realm in order to consecrate himself, transforming into a divine being who is qualified to construct the mandala, wherein he will unite with the deities he summons into this sacred space. In the rite of the adamantine realm this act precedes the ritual phases of the construction of the sacred site and the subsequent ritual offerings. In the Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite this act is performed after the offering phase and prior to the ritual phase of identification with Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa given in chapter six.[42]

The second example of the composer's method of combining elements from the two ritual traditions of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm in this Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite is seen in his reworking of the component parts of the ritual act of attaining the buddha body in five steps and the re-signification of its fifth step. He has altered the five-stepped formula for enlightenment from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in a number of singular ways, breaking up and changing the order of the original five steps,[43] attaching new associations to these ritual steps,[44] substituting

mantras from different sources for certain steps of this ritual act,[45] and creating a new climatic act for this method of attaining the buddha body in five steps.[46]

This last alteration requires our attention. The author has changed the formula's final, climatic step in two significant ways.

First, he has given this climatic step a new title, that of the step of acquiring "the wisdom [that employs] skillful means as the final aim" 方便究竟智. The title of this fifth wisdom in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s ritual act has been taken from the third phrase of the axiom fundamental to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. In the opening chapter of this scripture Vajrapāṇi questions Mahāvairocana about the characteristics of omniscience 一切智智. Mahāvairocana responds, presenting his explanation in the form of "three phrases" 三句: "the cause is the mind seeking for enlightenment 菩提心為因; the root is compassion 悲為根本; and the final aim is means (practically employed for the benefit of others) 方便為究竟."[47] This scripture's method of attaining enlightenment requires that the practitioner, over uncountable eons of time, cultivate wisdom and accumulate merits by performing compassionate deeds for others. The author of the Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite now stresses this altruistic goal of personal endeavor for others by making it the climatic fifth step.

The second remarkable change is the author's allocation of the transformation body 化身義 (*nirmāṇakāya*) to this fifth wisdom. This is the physical form, for example the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, in which the formless body of absolute Buddhist truth (Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana) transforms itself to guide and save the unenlightened in the six states of conditioned existence. These alterations now emphasize that the practitioner, in taking the form of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, re-enacts this Buddha's mission of helping others. This is in keeping with the theme of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* and the earlier scriptures of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* tradition upon which this manual is based. The manual's preface states that the rite of the *dhāraṇī* of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa removes all hindrances and eradicates *karma* that would lead to rebirth in the evil paths of animals and hells. The early Tang Dynasty scriptures propagate Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa's formidable *dhāraṇī*. Tathāgata Śākyamuni teaches this *dhāraṇī* in order to eliminate the transgressions of Supratiṣṭhitā 善住天子 (Shanzhu tianzu) that would have led to his rebirth in these lower paths.[48]

The extent and manner of combining Esoteric Buddhist ritual traditions in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s rite for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa differs greatly from Amoghavajra's methods of mixing these traditions in his rites for the Buddhoṣṇīṣas. Amoghavajra's manuals offer the practitioner ways whereby he can carry out effectively certain ritual acts. He does appropriate and so combine elements from differing Esoteric Buddhist systems but he does not manipulate or reinterpret parts of special ritual methods that belong to these systems.[49] Moreover, as seen in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, the performance within a single rite of acts crucial to the ritual systems of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the changes made to re-signify the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s climatic act of the five-stepped formula for enlightenment by substituting the practice of expedient means, one of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s three components for enlightenment, and assigning the transformation body to this step, negates the boundaries of the parent traditions.

The compiler's reason for combining ritual elements from variant esoteric systems and for re-signifying these ritual elements was to set out a number of correlations between the systems of

the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm. The *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa yigui*'s preface contains a number of these correlations.

One example is the statement that "the Five Circles 五輪 are, namely, the Circles of the Five Wisdoms 五智輪."[50] The five circles of the five cosmic Buddhist elements that compose the universal body (*dharmankāya*) of the Absolute Tathāgata Mahāvairocana in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* are equated with the five wisdoms in the five circles of liberation 五解脱輪 from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.[51] The five wisdoms constitute the main principle of organization of this scripture's Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[52]

A second example of correlation in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa yigui*'s preface is the statement:

> If you comprehend [the concept of] non-arising in a single instant of thought, and if you rotate the Five Wisdoms, becoming the *dharmakāya* (Mahāvairocana) in Five Parts 五分法身, and if you understand the mysteries of the Three Bodies [of the *dharmakāya*, *saṃbhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*], then when you first give rise to the thought of enlightenment, you will transcend the One Hundred and Sixty Minds 百六十種心, will traverse [through] the practices of the three incalculable eons (*kalpas*) 三無数劫行, and will realize the pledge of the Body of Form that Manifests Everywhere 普現色身三昧耶.[53]

Here we see an equation made between the concepts of the Five Wisdoms and their acquisition from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the method of enlightenment involving the One Hundred and Sixty Minds and the three stages of yogic practices that is expounded in the first chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[54]

The Daigoji's Mandala of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa (fig. 9, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 796, No. 21) consists of the nine figures of Mahāvairocana and eight Buddhoṣṇīṣas arranged in a circular format. There is a discrepancy between the iconography of this mandala and its textual prescriptions. Important iconographical elements, for example, the figures of Trailokyavijaya and Acala on the left and right, respectively, in the lower part of the mandala, have been omitted.[55] Moreover, while the iconography of the eight Buddhoṣṇīṣas correspond, on the whole, with the manual's directives, that of central Mahāvairocana definitely does not.[56] In the Daigoji mandala this deity forms the Mudrā of Contemplation on the Dharma Realm 法界定印, that is, the mudrā of Mahāvairocana in the Chinese matrix mandalas.[57] However, prescriptions for the mandala in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* focus on Mahāvairocana of the Adamantine Realm. The text stipulates that Mahāvairocana forms the Mudrā of the Dharma Realm 法界印 and includes a description of the method for forming this mudrā. This is the Mudrā of the Wisdom Fist 智拳印, the hand gesture of Mahāvairocana in the Chinese mandalas of the adamantine realm.[58]

Because a master's ritual objective allows for the freedom of iconographic interpretation, placing the Daigoji Mandala of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa in the context of ritual performance can explain the most apparent of the mandala's iconographic alterations, that of Mahāvairocana's mudrā. The intent of the author was to combine the two systems of the Adamantine Realm and the Matrix in ritual performance. We have no documentation of the Chinese ritual tradition, except that recorded in the Japanese ritual compendia. Relevant here is information that Shinkaku and Kakuzen recorded in their ritual compendia, which I presented in Chapter Five as evidence for Shūei's

connection with this mandala and its rite. There I drew attention to the monks' documention of the Zenrinji (Shūei) transmission, which regarded the Wisdom Fist Mudrā as the ultimate of secrets.[59] Although conjectural, one explanation for Mahāvairocana's mudrā in the Daigoji exemplar's Mandala of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa could be that there was in ritual performance the pairing of painted and performed mudrās. For instance, when the practitioner formed the manual's prescribed Mudrā of the Wisdom Fist *before* this mandala's figure of Mahāvairocana, who forms the Mudrā of Contemplation on the Dharma Realm, the two aspects of the *dharmakāya*, that of Wisdom embodied in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and Principle in the Matrix Mandala, would become united within his own body, resulting in his acquisition of buddha-like abilities.[60]

Shūei considered the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* to be a manual of particularly powerful rites, because he specifically documented in his inventory that this work "explains the ways to eliminate obstacles of defilement, pacify calamities, extinguish sins, protect the country, benefit the beings and realize enlightenment."[61]

A cursory examination of Shinkaku's and Kakuzen's scrolls on Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa in the *Besson zakki* and *Kakuzenshō*, respectively, discloses that the personal interpretations of Shinkaku's and Kakuzen's earlier masters determined the many variations that appear in this deity's mandalas and ritual performances.[62] Most importantly, we find in Shinkaku's and Kakuzen's scrolls evidence of the combining and so the correlating of the two ritual traditions of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm in the performance of this rite. The rites for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa include, for example, homage to the deities in both the Mandalas of the Matrix and Adamantine Realm.[63] Kakuzen also records performances of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa's rite wherein Mahāvairocana of the Matrix Mandala functioned as the main deity, as well as statements of his earlier masters who understood the rite of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa as embodying the concept of the combinatory practice of the dual categories 兩部合行 (*ryōbu gōgyō hō*) of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm and the figures of this mandala as a combination of the Adamantine Realm and Matrix Mandalas.[64] And, despite the fact that in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* there are prescriptions for Mahāvairocana of the Adamantine Realm, Shinkaku's and Kakuzen's earlier masters transmitted seed letter mandalas wherein the figure of Mahāvairocana is represented either by the seed letter *vaṃ*, symbolizing Mahāvairocana in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, or the seed letter *a* for Mahāvairocana in the Matrix Mandala.[65]

The rite of offering and identification, which spans chapters two through seven of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, contains numerous examples of the combining of elements from the ritual traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Of course, the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* tradition was also an important source of ritual material.[66] One example of this material from the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* system occurs in chapter six, the longest chapter in this manual, whose theme is the efficacy of the *dhāraṇī* of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa. There is inserted into the text a detailed presentation of thirty-four methods of accomplishments 成就法. The focus of these methods is the acquisition of the mundane boons that are brought about by the correct recitation of this *dhāraṇī*.[67]

Other chapters of this manual also exhibit the redacting of content that has been taken from such sources as the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras*.[68] The prescriptions for constructing the mandala for consecration serves as an example. In the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s eighth chapter, the *Daguanding mantuluo pin* 大灌頂曼荼羅品, the compiler lists the texts that he consulted for the contents of the consecration mandala and its method of depiction. Included are the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the

Dapiluzhena chengfojing shiyi in ten scrolls, the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra*, ritual manuals for Cintāmaṇi-Avalokiteśvara and for the Seven Bhṛkuṭi, the *Guhya tantra*, and the *Amoghapāśa-Avalokiteśvara sūtra* 今略大金剛頂大毘盧遮那經。并釋義十卷。蘇悉地。蘇摩呼。如意輪。七俱胝。瞿醯且[旦]怛羅。不空羂索等經.[69] The iconography of the mandala reflects this medley of sources, some of which I can identify. These are the mandalic traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its commentary, the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*.

The central court of the mandala is based on the template for the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm with its system of a large central circle containing five smaller circles, which are further subdivided into nine small circles, wherein Mahāvairocana, Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa, three other Buddhoṣṇīṣas and the four Prajñāpāramita Bodhisattvas are seated. Also drawn are the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm's Four Inner and Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas. New elements are the four figures of Yamāntaka 六足尊 inside four half-circles outside the central court and within four half-circles inside the central court are Four Mahoṣṇīṣa-cakra-rājas 大頂輪王, Buddhoṣṇīṣas who figure in both the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s Buddha Family and in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s Matrix Mandala.[70]

The arrangement of figures in the two square outer courts of this mandala has been taken from instructions for the Great Consecration Mandala in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. Their positions are determined according to their membership in the Three Families of this scripture. The members of the Buddha Family fill the eastern side of the second court, the Padma Family members sit in the north and those of the Vajra Family sit in the south.[71] However, the identities of the members of the Three Families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra correspond more closely to those that are listed in the *Asheli suochuan mantuluo*, which is described in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*, than to those in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*.[72] Amidst this mixing of esoteric systems are the figures of Indra and Supratiṣṭhā, who sit to the left and right of Śākyamuni, head of the Buddha Family in the east. The compiler inserts narration from the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* in his instructions for the eastern side of the second court of this mandala.[73] The third, outermost court is filled with figures of the protective gods of the directions and their family retinues, which is a feature common to all mandalas.[74]

What the compiler has not mentioned in the citation of sources given above is that he has consulted indigenous Chinese iconographic traditions as well for the composition of this mandala of consecration. Included in the outermost court are the five marchmounts 五岳, the four mighty rivers 四瀆, rulers and their armies 君王軍兵衆, as well as the gods of heaven and earth 地界國内神祇. These elements are drawn from Daoist and State-sponsored pantheons.[75] Further, his instructions state that, if insurrections should arise, a fourth court can be added to this mandala, wherein rebels are to be drawn in a state of chaotic confusion.[76] The compiler of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* has reworked ritual materials (mantras, ritual acts, iconography) from a number of earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works, as well as included indigenous Chinese motifs in its consecration mandala.[77]

In sum, unlike the author of the *Yuqijing*, who has combined new Esoteric Buddhist elements (deities and ritual acts in chapters. 2,[78] 5,[79] 8[80], for instance), whether Indian or apocryphal, with re-interpretations of earlier Buddhist elements (Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja and Buddhalocanā in ch. 9), the compiler of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* has consulted a corpus of earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works. His singular manner of

mixing elements from these earlier systems produced correlations that eschewed the boundaries of the teachings of the parent texts.

RITUAL MANUALS ATTRIBUTED TO FAQUAN

Gongyang hushi batian fa

Shūei records the *Gongyang hushi batian fa* in his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku*, noting that Faquan composed this ritual manual[81] and, in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, Annen reiterates Faquan's authorship and Shūei's introduction of the manual.[82] This ritual manual specifies the procedure of the offering rite to the directional gods. The directional gods, who appear in groups of eight, ten and twelve, are of paramount importance in Esoteric Buddhism because their function is to protect the ritual arena from evil influences when such rites as mandala construction, consecration and fire oblations, for example, take place. Moreover, as protectors these directional gods always appear in the outermost courts of mandalas.[83]

Shūei documents in a note in his inventory that the *Gongyang hushi batian fa* explains the ritual procedure for the directional gods in detail 具説次第 (*tsubusa ni shidai wo toku*).[84] The contents of this offering rite can be parsed into the following sections: first the practitioner is to summon the directional gods, installing them in their respective positions in the mandala;[85] the mudrās and mantras for summoning the gods are then explained;[86] next the acts of offering are described;[87] then, a rite of giving food to demons and spirits 施一切鬼神食 that will bring the practitioner fulfillment of his wishes (*siddhi*) is detailed;[88] finally, the construction of the mandala of the directional gods is delinated.[89]

Annen recorded in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* the texts that he believed to be the sources for the contents of this rite.

> My personal opinion is as follows: [the content of this manual] has been taken from the offering rite to the gods of the four gates [in the mandala for the] consecration [ceremony] into the womb matrix 胎藏灌頂四門神供法 [that was] extracted from the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shiyi*'s Chapter on [Mantras] Necessary [for Entering the Mandala] 大日經具緣品義釋; the offering rite to the one hundred and twelve gods of the womb matrix 胎藏一百一十二天供法 taken from the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shiyi*'s Chapter on the Secret Mandala 大日經祕密曼荼羅品義釋; the offering rite to the eight directional gods [who protect the site of] consecration into the adamantine realm 金剛界灌頂八方神供法 extracted from the (*Jingangding yuqiezhong*) *luchu niantong jing* [金剛頂瑜伽中]略出念誦經; the offering rite to the twelve gods of the adamantine realm 金剛界二十天供法 extracted from the [*Jingangding yuqie*] *humo yigui* [金剛頂瑜伽]護摩儀軌; the offering rite to the gods and spirits [who effect] ritual accomplishments 蘇悉地天倶神供法 extracted from the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra* and the *Guanding jing* (Consecration Scripture) 蘇婆呼[童子請問經]及灌頂經; the offering rite to the gods of the ten directions in the *Bukongjuance jing* (Scripture on Amoghapāśa) 不空羂策經十方天神供法 extracted from [lacuna].[90]

According to Annen, Faquan compiled this rite by extracting material from the offering rites to the directional gods that are prescribed in the above seven works. I have not been able to corroborate all of Annen's claims but he is correct in noting that Faquan has consulted a variety of sources. My examination of the contents of the *Gongyang hushi batian fa* reveals that Faquan has taken ritual information from Śubhākarasiṃha's translation of the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra*, Amoghavajra's handbook for the rite of fire oblations (hereafter, *homa*), the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*, and his own matrix manuals, in particular the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti chuangbiaozhi putong zhenyanzang guangda chengjiu yujia* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標幟普通眞言藏廣大成就瑜伽 (hereafter, *Qinglongsi yigui*). Faquan has drawn materials for this rite from sources that belong to differing Esoteric Buddhist systems, especially those of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm.

Faquan opens this manual with a statement about the reason for performing offerings to the directional gods that he has paraphased from the tenth chapter of the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra*.[91] Next, come brief directions for setting up a site for these gods outside of the sacred practice arena, for food offerings and for the manner in which these food offerings are to be made. This information has been taken from an offering rite to the directional gods that is appended to Amogavajra's *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*.[92] Once the offerings have been placed before the seat of each god, the practitioner then summons ten directional gods to descend into the sacred site, and these invocations are from the tenth chapter of the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra*.[93] These steps constitute the first section of summoning the ten directional gods.

The section wherein the practitioner performs the mudrās and mantras of the gods contains acts for twelve guardian gods of directions because of the addition of the Sun God 日天 (Āditya) and Moon God 月天 (Candra), masters of the Seven Luminaries 七曜 and the Twenty-Eight Constellations 二十八宿, respectively.[94]

We must pause here and explain the inconsistency in the number of guardian gods. There are ten directional gods in the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra* and twelve in Amoghavajra's *homa* handbook, with the addition of the Seven Luminaries and the Twenty-Eight Constellations.[95] The directional gods appear in a number of Esoteric Buddhist texts prior to Amoghavajra's time but their number is not fixed. Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* was the first manual to specify the number, positions and attributes of twelve directional gods.[96] Faquan delineates here an offering rite to the twelve guardian gods, despite the title of this ritual manual — *Gongyang hushi batian fa* (Offering Rite for the Eight World-Protecting Gods) — and his focus on the ten directional gods from the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra* at the beginning of this manual. He does not include in his manual Amoghavajra's prescriptions for these twelve gods, although common to both works are the gods' positions. Instead, he only takes from Amoghavajra's handbook sections of practical instructions for the performance of this offering rite, for example, how to offer fragrant unguent and how to place an offering of rice gruel on a leaf.[97] When he explains such important ritual elements as the mudrās, attributes and mantras of the twelve gods, as well as the mudrās and mantras for the ritual phase of offering unguent, garlands of flowers, incense, food and drink, lights, and the universal offering of Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha, Faquan refers to his own matrix manual, the *Qinglongsi yigui*.

Moreover, because this matrix manual is carefully crafted upon Śubāhakarasiṃha's translation of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its ritual tradition, as I demonstrate in Chapter Seven, the mudrās and mantras of the twelve gods and the offerings are found in the

Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra's Chapters on Secret Seals and Offering Rite, and in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*.[98]

Faquan again borrows passages directly from the tenth chapter of the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra* for the fourth section of this manual. These passages describe a rite of offering to the devas, asuras, nāgas, yakṣas, pretas, demons, and so forth, beings, who are found throughout the Buddhist universe, that is, the three spheres (*tridhātu*) and six states (*ṣaḍgati*) of transmigratory existence, as well as to those beings inhabiting the sky, mountains, lakes, rivers, groves, roads, villages, and monasteries, to name but a few sites in our natural and man-made worlds.[99]

One set of directives for installing Brahmā and Pṛthivī in the mandala that is described in this manual's section on constructing the mandala for these gods can be traced to Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*. However, the origins of the iconography of a four-armed Acalanātha 不動忿怒王, who is the focal figure of the *Gongyang hushi batian fa*'s mandala, requires more research.[100] Such a figure, whose iconography matches that of Acalanātha in the *Gongyang hushi batian fa*'s mandala, is described in an expanded version of Amoghavajra's *homa* rite. This work is thought to postdate Amoghavajra.[101] In any case, this is a final example of Faquan consulting an earlier Chinese translation of a scripture in his manual.

Although Annen records that there is content in the *Gongyang hushi batian fa* that derives from such works as Yixing's *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shiyi*, Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding yuqiezhong luchu niantong jing*, the *Guanding jing* and the *Bukongjuance jing*, for example, I have not yet been able to identify corresponding passages in these works. There are examples of correspondance of content.[102] Nevertheless, the above examples that I have identifed verify that Faquan has composed this ritual manual for the offerings to the directional gods by directly citing passages from scriptures that the eighth-century masters Śubhākarasiṃha and Amoghavajra had translated into Chinese.

Jianli mantuluo humo yigui

According to Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku,* Faquan composed the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* and Ennin returned with it from China.[103] Annen, however, does not acknowledge that this work is listed in Shūei's *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku*. Shūei records in his inventory that the author of this manual is unknown and that it resembles the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* 無人名如大日經.[104] Shūei's analysis is indeed true, as an examination of this manual discloses. In contrast to Amoghavajra's *homa* rite, the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*, which is structured on the rite of the Adamantine Realm as prescribed in his *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*, the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* underpin the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui*.

The contents of the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* can be divided into four major sections: a seven-day rite for the construction of a mandala platform in the ritual arena;[105] a discussion of internal and external *homa* 内外護摩;[106] prescriptions for the performance of the four rites of pacification 息災 (*śāntika*), increasing worldly benefits 增益 (*pauṣṭika*), emotional subjugation (bewitching) 敬愛 (*vaśīkaraṇa*), and wrathful subjugation (exorcism) 降伏 (*ābhicāruka*);[107] a final section that covers such topics as the characteristics of successful and unsuccessful performances of the *homa* rite, mudrās and mantras that will nullify inauspicious signs, and spiritual and material boons for the practitioner of the *homa* rite.[108]

The contents of this manual derive from a number of textual sources, but most prominent are ritual acts from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. The *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* begins with a description of the seven-day rite for the construction of a mandala platform for a matrix mandala, which is undertaken before the performance of *homa* rites.[109] A rite for the construction of a mandala platform is expounded in the second chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and elaborated upon in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*. The scripture describes the activities that are to be performed for the construction of this platform during a seven-day period and the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* further specifies the day, order and method of performing these ritual activities, as well as their religious significance.[110] The order of ritual activities in the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* differ from those given in the scripture and its commentary.[111] However, despite this difference in order, the information provided for this rite of construction of a mandala platform corresponds to that given in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*. For example, reiterated are the scripture's directives that on an auspicious day the practitioner is to select a site for the rite, to remove all impurities from the ground, to pay homage to the Tathāgatas and to arouse the gods of the earth who protect this spot. The *gāthā* (verse) for arousing the gods of the earth derives from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[112] Further, the explicit instructions for the erection of the mandala platform in this handbook paraphrases the contents of these two works. Examples are the method and significance of arousing the earth gods,[113] the visualization of the appearance of Mahāvairocana in the center of this matrix mandala,[114] and the visualization whereby the body of Mahāvairocana and the practitioner become one and the same.[115]

The *homa* rites for pacification, increasing benefits, emotional subjugation and wrathful sujugation are to be performed in a separate, purified room adjacent to the ritual arena with its completed mandala platform. Before describing these rituals, the author of the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* first presents the theme of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s twenty-seventh chapter on *homa* rites, entitled Mundane and Supramundane *Homa* Rites 世出世護摩法品. This is the teaching of the internal and external *homa*.[116] In this handbook, however, the author reverses the order of the teachings given in this chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, and this he does to emphasize the importance of the internally performed inner *homa* over that of the externally performed outer *homa*.[117] Our author then provides the scripture's exposition of the external *homa*'s twelve fires, here called the twelve fires of wisdom 十二種智火. Once again, his text paraphrases Mahāvairocana's cryptic statements in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*'s more elaborate explications.[118]

Included in this handbook are a number of ritual acts intrinsic to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. Three examples are the visualizations of the king of the great mantra 大眞言王, of the gate of the seed letter *a* 阿字門, and of the accomplishment of the Buddha body by means of the letters of the five circles [of the five Buddhist elements] 五輪字成佛身. The first visualization, also called king of the twelve mantras, is based on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s Chapter on the Secret Mandala. In the scripture Vajrapāṇi expounds the great king of mantras but he does not describe its practice.[119] This the manual does, explaining that the king of the twelve mantras is performed by visualizing twelve seed letters on twelve parts of the body: the letters *āṃ* on the crown of the head, *khaṃ* and *aṃ* on the left and right ears, *aḥ* on the forehead, *saṃ* and *saḥ* on the two shoulders, *haṃ* and *haḥ* on the throat and heart, *raṃ* and *raḥ* on the navel and loins, and *vaṃ* and *vaḥ* on the thighs and feet.[120] The scripture states that Mahāvairocana's performance of this visualization brought about the defeat of the four

demons of physical and mental constituents (*skandha*), of defilements, of death and of heaven, as well as the acquisition of the equalities of body, speech and mind as vast as empty space and an unlimited wisdom.[121] This manual stipulates that the practitioner perform this ritual act prior to the commencement of the seven-day rite for the construction of a mandala platform. It is a ritual act that both purifies and empowers the practitioner, thus preparing him physically and mentally for the task of constructing the mandala.

In the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui*, the practitioner performs the visualizations of the gate of the seed letter *a* and the attainment of the Buddha body by means of the letters of the five Buddhist elements in order to further understand the significance of the internal *homa*. According to the manual's instructions, visualization of the letter *a,* which symbolizes the element earth and constitutes the first step in the practitioner's formation of the body of Mahāvairocana by visualizing the letters of the five cosmic elements upon his own body, brings about the realization of the significance of the phrase of "the originally unborn." This realization reveals the mind of enlightenment which, in turn, produces the wisdom necessary to dispell all delusions and overcome all hindrances.[122] The teaching of the letter *a* and the original non-arising of all things, as well as the method of visualization of this letter are found in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[123] A number of chapters of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, including that of the Chapter on the Secret Mandala, prescribe the visualization of the attainment of the Buddha body by means of the letters of the five Buddhist elements.[124]

Ritual acts from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* are central to this *homa* rite, but this scripture and its commentary are not the only texts that the author consulted for the rite. This manual contains information from Śubhākarasiṃha's *Susiddhikara* and *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtras* and Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*. For instance, in the performance of the *homa* rite of pacification, which is given the most coverage in this manual, the author followed prescriptions delineated in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s chapter on *homa*, although he has changed the order of the material and has paraphrased much of the wording.[125] From the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra* the author has borrowed a description of the auspicious signs that will appear in the dreams of the practitioner should he perform the *homa* rites successfully.[126]

Although *homa* rites are found in a number of texts,[127] Amoghavajra wrote the first comprehensive ritual handbook for these rites. Our author has definitely referred to Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* in order to compose his *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui*. Common are the fundamental prescriptions for the four rites of pacification, increasing benefits, emotional subjugation, and wrathful subjugation.[128] In particular, directives for the rites of increasing benefits and wrathful subjugation correspond more closely with those given in the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* than those in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. Moreover, a number of the mudrās and mantras[129] and the content of certain passages of text for these rites[130] are similar in both ritual manuals, evidence that our author consulted Amoghavajra's handbook.

Nevertheless, despite the correspondences between the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* and the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*, the dissimilarities of content[131] and literary sources disclose the differing intentions of the two authors. Amoghavajra's *homa* rite is embedded within the rite of the adamantine realm, which is based upon his *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*. Further, the mandalas that are to be used in each of the five types of the *homa* rites in the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* are variations of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[132] On the other hand, as I have demonstrated, key liturgical, iconographical and doctrinal elements in the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* are ritual acts, prescriptions and teachings inherent to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

CONCLUSION

The works examined above reveal ninth-century Chinese masters' differing methods of appropriating and re-interpreting concepts and elements in order to create new Esoteric Buddhist rituals and iconography.

The *Yuqijing* displays a combining of elements from new or apocrphyal Indian Esoteric Buddhist works, as well as from earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works that have then been re-interpreted in order to correlate these systems. The *Jingang jixiang dachengjiu pin*, chapter nine of the *Yuqijing*, is representative of the contents of the *Yuqijing* as a whole. The underlying system is that of a version of the Adamantine Realm that postdates that of Amoghavajra's translation. The focal deity Buddhalocanā is from *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* system, which predates that of the Adamantine Realm. Buddhalocanā exerts agency over groups of deities from disparate esoteric traditions and she especially effectuates mantras from the systems of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm.

The compiler of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, on the other hand, confined his borrowing and mixing of elements to a specific group of earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works. Novel to this author's re-interpretation of these elements is the performance of major ritual acts inherent to the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm systems within a single rite and also the manipulation and re-signification of parts of these ritual acts. The result is a disregard for the boundaries of the parent texts in order to set up correlations between the systems of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. This method of appropriation and correlation of acts from the ritual traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* contrasts with such ninth-century works as the *Bizangji* 祕藏記, a compendium representative of the ritual lineage of Huiguo that we presented in Chapter Three of this dissertation. In this work, scriptural borders are respected. There is the pairing of the differing esoteric realities of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in a two-part unit, each with its separate significance.

Faquan in his *Gongyang hushi batian fa* and the author (either Faquan or someone in his immediate circle) of the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* re-present the rites for the directional gods and the *homa* rite by consulting and re-structuring earlier ritual materials from different Esoteric Buddhist systems that were translated by such eighth-century masters as Śubhākarasiṃha and Amoghavajra. Despite the fact that the four-armed figure of Acalanātha represents a new iconographic feature in the *Gongyang hushi batian fa*, both works exhibit a revivial of earlier esoteric materials, especially those that were introduced by Śubhākarasiṃha.

In short, the variety seen in the Chinese authors' methods of appropriating and mixing of materials from disparate systems, assigning correlations between these variant systems, as well as sourcing from new or apocryphal Indian Esoteric Buddhist materials and harkening back to earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works, features that characterizes the ninth-century ritual manuals examined above, highlights the fact that among Chinese Esoteric Buddhist circles of the time there was a number of lineages of interpretation of these materials.

In the following, final chapter I continue my focus on the unique features of Faquan's transmission of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings because he played a major role in their

Sinification and dissemination. I will demonstrate that the Daigoji *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* was a product of this further Sinification of Indian Esoteric Buddhism.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FAQUAN'S TRANSMISSION

INTRODUCTION

In this final chapter I reconstruct the contents of Faquan's transmission by examining his compositions, as well as the writings and inventories of his Chinese contemporaries and his Japanese disciples. Such an investigation elucidates Faquan's religious concerns that stand in marked contrast to those of the earlier Tang Dynasty Esoteric Buddhist masters Amoghavajra and Huiguo.

Faquan considered the Esoteric Buddhist teachings to be tripartite and it was this system of three interrelated categories 三部 that he transmitted to his Japanese disciples. The *Susiddhikara sūtra* had a prominent role in certain lineages of Japanese Esoteric schools that postdate Saichō and Kūkai. Misaki Ryōshū's studies of late Tang Dynasty Esoteric Buddhism and the early Tendai Esoteric Buddhist system reveal the components of this special category of teachings and Jinhua Chen's work documents the patterns of the Esoteric Buddhist transmissions from the time of Śubhākarsiṃha and Vajrabodhi onwards.[1] In this chapter, first I examine the content, function and significance of the accomplishment 蘇悉地 (*susiddhi*) category of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings that Faquan transmitted. I begin by investigating the writings of Faquan's contemporary, Haiyun 海雲, and his Japanese disciples to determine the form in which he transmitted the Esoteric Buddhist teachings. In addition, I consider the content and function of the accomplishment category of teachings within the tripartite system of the late Tang Dynasty Esoteric Buddhism.

Second, it is my contention that, because the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* was important to Faquan, he gave it a special role within the Esoteric Buddhist system of three interrelated categories that he transmitted. Here I present the unique features of his manuals for the matrix rite. In so doing, I uncover a direct relationship between the iconography of the mandala that served as the focus of his matrix rite and the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing mantuluo*.

EVIDENCE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE *SUSIDDHI* CATEGORY IN FAQUAN'S TRANSMISSION

Before examining the content and function of the accomplishment category of the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist teachings, it is necessary to establish the importance of this category by ascertaining the emphasis that Faquan placed upon it in his teachings. Faquan left no writings on the accomplishment category, but there is evidence that testifies to his transmission of this category. Concrete evidence of Faquan's transmission of the three categories of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings, within which the *susiddhi* was a separate category, is recorded in the works of his Chinese contemporaries and Japanese disciples. I examine four sources of confirmation: Haiyun, Ennin, Enchin, and disciples' inventories.

We learn from the Chinese monk Haiyun that Faquan propagated the system of three interrelated categories of the scriptural and ritual traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras*. Haiyun's *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* is a dated work that documents the transmission of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings from Śubhākarasiṃha's (637-735) time on downwards to his own time.[2] His *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* consists of two parts. The second scroll, composed on the eighth day of the tenth month of the eighth year of Yonghe 永和 (834), recounts the transmission of the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, which Haiyun calls the *Dapiluzhena dajiaowang jing* 大毘盧遮那

大教王經 (Scripture of the King of the Great Teachings of Mahāvairocana). It is in this second scroll on the transmission of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* that Haiyun elaborates on the fundamental components of the system that all Esoteric Buddhist masters transmitted to their disciples. These are the teachings of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras*, which he designates as "the great teachings in three categories" 三部大教. Haiyun interrupts his profile of Amoghavajra to discuss the significance of these texts and their teachings:

> The Preceptor [Amoghavajra], Tripiṭaka of Daixingshansi, received the methods of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界法 from the Great Preceptor, Tripiṭaka Vajrabodhi. Having obtained them, he feared [however] that the great teachings were not complete [and so] he himself went to southern India and personally worshipped the elderly Ācārya Samantabhadra (Puxian Asheli). He questioned him repeatedly and received again the methods of the Five Families of the Adamantine Realm in one hundred thousand stanzas 金剛界五部百千頌法. He also acquired the [*Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*] *sūtra*[3] in one hundred thousand stanzas.
>
> Accordingly, these two books of the King of the Great Teachings are secret and extremely profound, and a competent transmitter [of them] is rare. After the passing of some hundreds of years, [these two books were] transmitted by one person and it is close to one thousand odd years since the Buddhas' teachings flowed eastward to China. The dissemination of the teachings of the secret mind-ground [that is, the power of mind or faculty of thought required for the performance] of *dhāraṇī* 持念 that we [monks of China now] possess does not extend beyond these two books of the King of the Great Teachings (note in small letters: these are the King of the Great Teachings of Mahāvairocana and the King of the Great Teachings of the Adamantine Realm), which synthesize all of the teachings of *dhāraṇī*.
>
> Then there is the teaching on the accomplishment (*susiddhi*) of special powers 蘇悉地教 (note in small characters: this one calls wondrous perfection 妙成就) that broadly clarifies [the ritual practices of] the Three Families [of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra]. Moreover, [this teaching of the *susiddhi*] includes and explains the methods of *dhāraṇī*, and among these [methods], only [those of the *susiddhi*] clarify the successful accomplishment of [ritual] acts 明事成就. The significance and flavor [of the *susiddhi* teaching] are connected with [those of the] Adamantine Realm and [those of the King of the Great Teachings of] Mahāvairocana. Furthermore, [the *susiddhi*] is an exceedingly essential and wondrous method. [Thus], as for that which Tripiṭaka Śubhākarasiṃha translated, the great teachings of the previous[ly mentioned] two categories [of the King of the Great Teachings of Mahāvairocana and the King of the Great Teachings of the Adamantine Realm] and the *Susiddhi*[*kara sūtra*] collectively form the great teachings in three categories 三部大教.[4]

In this passage Haiyun emphasizes the special function and position that the teaching of the *susiddhi* have within the Esoteric Buddhist system he is documenting. He states that the teaching of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* rank equally with those of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Moreover, according to Haiyun, the teachings of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* span those of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, resulting in a common significance, although he does not explain just what this significance is.

We also learn from Haiyun's work that the Esoteric Buddhist master (*ācārya*) concurrently bestowed upon his disciple the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras*. He describes in this scroll on the transmission of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* the transmission of the two scriptures as follows:

> Then the [Korean] monk, Master Hyonch'o [C. Xuanchao] 沙門玄超阿闍梨, transmitted the King of the Great Teachings of Mahāvairocana and the teaching of the *susidhhi* to Master Huiguo of Qinglongsi's Dongtayuan 青龍寺東塔院慧果阿闍梨. Master [Huiguo] [then] transmitted them to the monk Weishang of Chengdufu 城都府僧惟尚 (note: we also call him Weiming 惟明), to Bianhong of Bianzhou 汴州辨弘, to the Korean monks Hyeil [C. Huiri] 新羅國僧慧日 and Ojin [C. Wuzhen] 悟眞, to Kūkai of Japan 日本國空海, to the monks Yiman 義滿, Yiming 義明, Yizheng 義證, Yizhao 義照, Yicao 義操, Yimin 義愍 and Farun 法潤 of the same hall [of Qinglongsi]. (Note in small characters: Those to whom he transmitted the teachings and the position of master who transmits the teachings 伝法阿闍梨位 numbered twelve people.) Some resided in the capital and transmitted and maintained [the transmission] and some were in the vast teaching's remote regions. All have passed away. Then Master Yicao of Dongtayuan [of Qinglongsi] 東塔院義操阿闍梨 transmitted [these teachings] to the monk Yizhen 義眞 of the same doctrine [and the same hall], to Shenda of Jinggongsi 景公寺深達, to his disciple Haiyun of Jingzhusi 淨住寺弟子海雲, to the monk Dayou of Chongfusi 崇福寺僧大遇 and to the monk Wenyuan of Lichuansi 醴泉寺僧文苑. (Note in small characters: The above five all transmitted the teachings.) He then transmitted [to them] the position of master [who transmits the teachings]. Then Master Farun of Dongtayuan 東塔院法潤阿闍梨 transmitted [the teachings] to the monk Daosheng of Jingzhusi 淨法寺僧道昇 and to Faquan and Weijin of Xuanfasi 玄法寺法全惟謹.[5]

Further, Haiyun restates at the end of this scroll on the transmission of the *Vaicanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* that this scripture and the *Susiddhikara sūtra* were handed down together.

> The above clarifies in detail the meaning of the teaching of the matrix repository. I have respectfully followed the underlying principles of the two teachings of the revealed and secret and have briefly described their purport. The meaning of the teachings is profound and vast and it is difficult to probe its bottom. However, I,

> Haiyun, have gratefully received the Buddha's favor and succeeded in encountering these sacred teachings. Having personally received the eye of the *dharma* [whereby I can clearly discern the truth], I have made known the transmission of [the scriptures of] *Mahāvairocana* and the *Susiddhi*[*kara*] from above on down to the present seven petals [generations], and I have roughly described the essence [of these scriptures]. And, according to what I have seen and heard, I have briefly recorded this procedure [of transmission] and its wise ones.[6]

From the time of Śubhākarasiṃha's and Vajrabodhi's introduction of Esoteric Buddhist doctrine to China the teaching of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* would have formed one of the many components of this doctrine, but it was during the life time of Haiyun and Faquan that this teaching assumed a prominent status.

Haiyun documents in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* the Esoteric Buddhist system of his time.[7] The most notable feature of this system that he describes was the new and crucial standing given to the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. Although Haiyun classifies the transmission of this scripture together with that of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji*, the position, significance and function of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* equalled that of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, forming a system of three categories which were interrelated by means of ritual practices and mantras, as I shall explain more fully later.

Ennin uses the phrase "the great methods in three categories" 三部大法 to describe Faquan's transmission in his travel diary, the *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 (Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Teachings). In fact Ennin mentions twice in his *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* that Faquan was the monk who profoundly understood the great methods in three categories.[8]

Ennin received the Esoteric Buddhist transmission from a number of Chinese masters in Chang'an. He documents in his *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* that he received the transmission of the Adamantine Realm from Yuanzheng of Daxingshansi 大興善寺元政. He studied under Yuanzheng from the twenty-ninth day of the tenth month of the fifth year of Kaicheng 開成 (840) until the thirteenth day of the second month of the first year of Huichang 會昌 (841), receiving the Great Method of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界大法 and the consecration as a transmitter of the [Esoteric Buddhist] teachings 傳法灌頂.[9] In a letter sent to Yizhen of Qinglongsi, dated to the twenty-eighth day of the fourth month of the first year of Huichang, Ennin writes that he seeks to study with this master the Great Method of the Matrix Repository 胎藏大法. On the third day of the fifth month of that year Ennin received from Yizhen an introductory consecration. He then cast a flower into the matrix mandala, and began his study of the Great Methods of the Scripture of Vairocana's Matrix Repository 胎藏毘盧遮那經大法 and of the *susiddhi* 蘇悉地大法.[10]

The fact that Ennin studied the teachings of the matrix and the *susiddhi* concurrently corroborates Haiyun's description of these transmissions in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji*. In fact, in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufaji* Haiyun records that Huiguo transmitted the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras* to Yicao and Farun, and that Yicao then transmitted these teachings to Yizhen and to Haiyun himself, while Farun transmitted them to Faquan.[11] Yizhen was known, as Ennin himself records, as a specialist in the dual

transmission 兩部 of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.[12] It seems that the teaching of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* was, nevertheless, a part of Yizhen's expertise.

On the twenty-ninth day of the second month of the second year of Huichang (842), in Xuanfasi Ennin began for a second time instructions on the Great Method of the Matrix Repository. This time his teacher was Faquan.[13] He records in an entry in his travel dairy dated to the twelfth day of the third month of that year that Faquan gave him "for propagation abroad a *Taizang dayigui* 胎藏大儀軌 (Extensive Ritual Manual on the Matrix Repository) in three scrolls, *Biezun fa* 別尊法 (Separate Rites for the Venerables) in three scrolls, and the *Taizang shouxie* 胎藏手契 (Mudrās of the [Venerables in the Mandala of the] Matrix Repository)."[14] Despite the fact that Faquan was highly qualified in the three categories of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings, Ennin makes no mention in his travel diary of having studied with him the teaching of the *susiddhi*.

In summary, Ennin's description of Faquan's transmission is identical to that of Haiyun: Faquan was a master of the great teachings in three categories. Moreover, Ennin documents his initiation into the Esoteric Buddhist transmission in three categories, albeit from a number of different masters, during his sojourn in China, and it was this transmission in three categories that he propagated on Hieizan upon his return to Japan.[15]

Although Enchin does not, as Haiyun and Ennin did, label Faquan's transmission as "the great teachings in three categories," his documentation of the teachings that he received from his Chinese master affirms that the primary components of Faquan's tranmission were the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Susiddhikara sūtra*. Faquan himself actually describes the transmission he bestowed upon Enchin in a colophon on Enchin's *Shōryūji guhō mokuroku* 青龍寺求法目錄 (Catalogue of [Items Collected during a] Search for the Teachings in Qinglong Temple), the inventory that Enchin compiled on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the ninth year of Daizhong 太中 (855) when he was residing in Chang'an and studying under Faquan.[16] Faquan states in this inscription that:

> On the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the ninth year of Dazhong[17] [Enchin] entered [the Matrix Mandala and received] the Consecration (*abhiṣeka*) of the Five Jars [for] the Matrix [Mandala] of Great Compassion 大悲胎藏五瓶灌頂 and attained [the position of] Bodhisattva Prajñāpāramitā. I then taught him the Great Teachings of the Matrix Repository 胎藏大教. Further, on the third day of the tenth month [Enchin] entered [the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and received] the Consecration of the Five Families of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界五部灌頂 and attained [the position of] Bodhisattva Vajrapāramitā. Then I taught him the [Methods] of the Adamantine [Realm] and of the *susiddhi*, as well as the yoga of the Venerables 金剛界蘇悉地并諸尊瑜伽. [There were] close to one hundred odd books. Furthermore, on the fifth day of the eleventh month [Enchin] entered the practice hall [and received] the Consecration for the Position of Great Master who Transmits the Great Teachings of the Five Families 傳五部大教大阿闍梨位 and he attained [the position of] Bodhisattva Maṇḍala.[18]

Faquan's administering of the Esoteric Buddhist consecrations to his Japanese disciple involved a three-fold process: first he bestowed upon Enchin consecration into the matrix mandala and then he instructed him on the teachings and rites of this mandala; he then granted him

consecration into the mandala of the adamantine realm, which was followed by instructions on the rites of this mandala, as well as on those of the *susiddhi* and other deity practices; finally he gave Enchin the master's consecration which authorized him to initiate and teach others. Faquan thus emunerates in an ascending order of importance the consecration ceremonies that he granted Enchin: first the matrix, then the adamantine realm and lastly instructions on the rites of the *susiddhi* and other deity yogic practices. It is interesting to note that Ennin did not receive his initiations in this order, perhaps because he did not study under one master. First Ennin had received the transmission of the mandala of the adamantine realm and then that of the matrix mandala concurently with the teaching of the s*usiddhi*.

Enchin describes the consecrations that Faquan granted him in greater detail in another document. In the *Seikōden shingon shikan ryōshūkan* 請弘傳眞言止觀兩宗官 (Official Petition Requesting the Universal Transmission of the Two Doctrines of the Mantra and the Zhiguan [*Samatha-Vipasyana*]), which dates to the seventh day of the third month of the fifth year of Jōgan 貞觀 (863), Enchin records his receiving Faquan's instructions on the teaching of the *susiddhi*.

> On the first third day of the sixth month [of the ninth year of Daizhong] I had the honor of meeting the fifth generation *Dharma* Transmitting disciple of the former Master Śubhākarasiṃha, the Tripiṭaka from Nalanda Temple in central India, Master Faquan, Director of Monks (*Bhadanta*), former *Dhāraṇī* Chanter and Offering Chaplain in the Hall of Long Life 前長生殿持念供奉大德僧, the Preceptor 和尚 (Heshang) who Transmits the Teachings in Qinglongsi in [Chang'an's] streets on the left, who granted me permission to receive the purport of the yoga doctrine. He is, namely, the Preceptor from whom the Great Dharma Teacher, Master Ennin, the transmitter of the teachings in Enryakuji, received the teachings. (Note in small characters: The writing that has been struck out on the back beneath the character 矣 states that: the Preceptor repeatedly spoke of Master Ennin's extremely detailed understanding of the teachings and that the Master [Ennin] and he discussed the teachings in detail and to an extreme. The refined content [of these discussions] was particularly marvelous.)...
>
> On the fifteenth day of the seventh month I entered together with Ensai 圓載 the Altar [Mandala] of the Matrix Respository of Great Compassion 大悲胎藏壇 and was given the Consecration of this Great Method 大法灌頂. Then I was granted the Great Yoga of the Matrix Repository 胎藏大瑜伽. Next I entered the practice hall of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies 金剛界九會大曼荼羅道場. Sprinkling water of the Consecration of the Five Wisdoms, I received such teachings as those of the Supreme Vehicle of Great Offerings 大供養最上乘教, the Yoga of the Venerables of the Two Categories 兩部諸尊瑜伽 and the Great Method of the *Susiddhi* 蘇悉地大法. And also I summoned the offering artisans Diaoqing 勺慶 and the others and I had images of the great mandalas drawn in Longxingsi. The Preceptor of [Qinglongsi] checked and corrected [their work] from start to finish... On the first third day of the eleventh month I visited Preceptor [Faquan's] place and consulted him about (Note: beneath the character 請 there are the three characters "the Master's

> permission" 和上許) the matter of my consecration into the teachings. The Preceptor (Note in small characters: beneath 尚 there are the four characters "[with] great compassion [he] then" 大慈悲便) answered as follows: "I have already authorized you. It is not that you have to peform it at all, [but] if it is essential for you to enter the mandala, I leave it up to you. For four days, then, arrange incense and flowers and make offerings to the wise ones and sages." That day I entered meditation and received the *samaya* precepts.
>
> On the fifth watch of the fifth day [Preceptor Faquan] conferred on me the Consecration for the Position (note in small characters: beneath [the character] 位 there is the character 之) of Master [who] Transmits the Great Teachings of the Two Categories 傳兩部大教阿闍梨位灌頂. I then attained [the positions of] Bodhisattvas Prajñā, Mahākāśagarbha and Mahābodhisattva Dharmacakrapravartin. The Preceptor's certificate [of the prophecy of my future enlightenment] states as follows: "You have received the empowerment of the Wisdom Mother of Mahāvairocana and [so you] should course through the great emptiness whose underlying nature is the letter *a,* and should transmit the teachings of the Supreme Vehicle of All the Tathagatas."[19]

Here Enchin confirms that Faquan's instructions on the *susiddhi* followed his consecrations into the mandalas of the matrix and admantine realm.

There is also other documentary evidence that verifies that Enchin did indeed study Faquan's transmission of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. The first piece of evidence is a dated colophon that Enchin wrote on his personal copy of the *Soshitsujikatsura kuyōhō hiki* 蘇悉地羯羅供養法批記 (Note of Commentary on the Offering Rite of the *Susiddhikara* [*sūtra*]). The colophon on the first scroll of this manuscript states that:

> [This is] the book which I, having requested the Preceptor [Fa]quan's book, copied and [then] collated in the quarters of the Preceptor Yunji of Jingtuyuan of Longxingsi 龍興寺淨土院雲居, [which is in] the city of Chang'an's streets on the right, on the twenty-third day of the seventh month of the ninth year of Dazhong.[20]

The second piece of evidence that confirms Enchin did indeed obtain the *susiddhi* rite from Faquan is the *Soshitsuji kishōjō* 蘇悉地起請状 (Written Pledge [concerning] the *Susiddhi*). Enchin describes in this document, which he composed in 874, the significance of the method of the *susiddhi* as follows:

> Concerning the fact that after receiving the Position of Master (*ācārya*) one can be given the Great Method of the *Susiddhi*.
>
> The Great Method [mentioned] above forms the two wings of the Great Methods of the Two Categories of the Matrix Repository and the Adamantine Realm. For this reason [my] great teacher in Tang [China] and others, as well as our Jikaku Daishi [Ennin], secretly treasured it in particular. It is not the same as the other categories. Therefore, from now on the one who transmits the teachings

> must instruct his disciples [in this method] and, after having them ascend [to the Position of] Master, he must confer on them this said method. If this is not [carried out] so, you will most probably harm the great way. Consequently, it has been established as a precedent.
> The eleventh day of the eleventh month of the sixteenth year of Jōgan[21]

In neither Faquan's colophon on the *Shōryūji guhō mokuroku* nor in Enchin's *Seikōden shingon shikan ryōshū chōkanjō* do the authors document that the method of the *susiddhi* was granted after the disciple's consecration as a Master of the Transmission of the Teachings. Although both Faquan and Enchin do note that instruction on the *susiddhi* was conferred after the disciple's consecration into the mandalas of the matrix and adamantine realm, respectively, thus suggesting that the method of the *susiddhi* stood above those of the matrix and adamantine realm, Enchin explicitly states in his *Soshitsuji kishōjō* that the *susiddhi* is supreme in status.[22]

In short, there is ample evidence demonstrating that Enchin received from Faquan the teachings and methods of the matrix, adamantine realm and *susiddhi*. Moreover, Enchin himself tells us something about the transmission that he received from Faquan. He writes in his *Soshitsuji kishōjō*, for example, that the method of the *susiddhi* was considered to be the most crucial of the three categories.

The inventories of Faquan's Japanese disciples and Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, which recapitulates the contents of both the official and unofficial inventories of the eight Heian pilgrim-monks who went to Tang China, further attest to Faquan's involvement with the *susiddhi* category of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings. An examination of the texts and religious articles that Faquan's disciples Ennin, Enchin and Shūei brought back from their travels indicates that they received a transmission of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings in the three major categories of the matrix, adamantine realm and *susiddhi*.[23]

Ennin, for instance, records in his *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* the religious articles that he collected while residing in Chang'an, and he includes the following works of the *susiddhi* category: Sanskrit books of the *Susiddhikara* and *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtras* 蘇悉地并蘇摩呼經 梵本, each in one scroll, and the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang zhenyan ji* 蘇悉地羯羅供養眞言集 (Collection of Mantras for Offering from the *Susiddhikara* [*sūtra*]) in one scroll.[24] Annen records these works in his inventory, and adds the *Suxidi gongyang fa* in two scrolls 蘇悉地供養法二卷 (Rite of Offering for the *Susiddhi*), noting that Ennin did not include this work in his official inventories.[25] Annen also records as listed outside of Enchin's official inventory a copy of Śubhākarasiṃha's *Suxidi gongyang fa* 蘇悉地供養法二卷 無畏. He notes that this is an abbreviated version, whereas Ennin's copy of this manual is slightly more detailed.[26]

Shūei records in his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku*, a copy in two scrolls of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* 蘇悉地羯羅供養法, a ritual manual for the performance of the *susiddhi* rite of offering that he attributes to Śubhākarasiṃha,[27] and a copy of the *Suxidi yigui qiyin* (Mudrās in the Ritual Manual for the [Rite] of *Susiddhi*), a scroll that his Chinese master Faquan possessed illustrating the mudrās performed in this rite.[28] Because the *Suxidi yigui qiyin* bears an inscription which states that the scroll was copied in Chang'an's Eastern Market by a certain Zhaozong in the fifth year of Xiantong (864), we can surmise that Shūei had at that time received, or was about to receive, instructions in the *susiddhi* rite from Faquan.[29]

However, Annen does not document in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* that Shūei brought back copies of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* or the *Suxidi yigui qiyin*. He records in

his inventory four versions of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* in two scrolls, and he notes under the fourth version that this ritual manual was introduced, not by Shūei, but by Eun (798-869) who was in China 842-847. Most interestingly, Annen adds in this note that the copy Ennin returned with was the first version of this work and that the other three copies brought back by Eun, Engyō (799-852) and Enchin were works that Faquan had collated.[30] Annen's notation provides further evidence of Faquan's involvement in the transmission of the *susiddhi* teaching.[31]

INTERPRETATION AND REINTERPRETATION OF THE *SUSIDDHIKARA SŪTRA*

There were changes in the interpretation of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* during the Tang Dynasty from the time of Śubhākarasiṃha's translation of this text in 726 to the time of Faquan. Here I will present the fundamental teachings of this scripture, in particular those of the special mantras and methods of the threefold accomplishments 三種悉地. It is the mantras and methods of the threefold accomplishments that undergo significant reinterpretations.

The *Susiddhikara sūtra* always held a place of importance in the Chinese Esoteric Buddhism of the Tang Dynasty. The *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa*, a ritual manual whose translation is attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, as well as the *Suxidi yigui qiyin*, provide evidence of the practice of its ritual procedures after Śubhākarasiṃha's translation of the scripture.[32] Further, Amoghavajra used the liturgical instructions provided in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* to compose his own versions of rites to such deities as Akṣobhya, Cintāmaṇicakra, and Amṛtakuṇḍalin, for example.[33] The biographies of Amoghavajra and Huiguo record the transmission of its teachings within the circles of the early Chinese Esoteric Buddhists.[34] Moreover, the Tang Dynasty catalogues, the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* and the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, dated to 730 and 800 respectively, categorized this scripture, together with the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra,* as the disciplinary rules of the teachings of spells 呪毘奈耶.[35] Most importantly, these Tang Dynasty Buddhist catalogues include a note under the *Susiddhikara sūtra* entry prohibiting those who have not been initiated into the mandala from reading this text.[36] Clearly, in Chinese Esoteric Buddhist circles of the seventh century this text was profoundly significant.

The contents of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* include such items as (a) a special mantra, (b) rites of threefold accomplishments, (c) consecration and offering rites, and (d) deities and mandalas. In short, the scripture contains all the elements necessary for the performance of the category of the *susiddhi*. In addition, there is a separate ritual manual for an offering rite (*Suxidi jielou gongyang fa*).[37] However, it seems that the contents of the *susiddhi* category are not to be found in these works alone.

The title of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* emphasizes its focus: the scripture effectuating (*karaṇa*) the accomplishment of special powers 蘇悉地 (*susiddhi*). In the first chapter of this text, Kuṇḍalī asks Vajrapāṇi a number of questions concerning esoteric praxis, in particular the rules for reciting mantras so that one can attain one's aims quickly and successfully, and the answers constitute the contents of the text's subsequent chapters.[38] Vajrapāni explains that this scripture teaches five types of rites[39] but it is the fifth rite of the effectuating of all mantras that is supreme. He extolls the efficaciousness of this scripture in the following way:

> As for this *Susiddhikara sūtra*, if you hold [in your mind] other mantra practices but cannot bring about their success, you can concurrently hold [in your mind] the fundamental mantra of this scripture and you will immediately be successful.

> This scripture is the King among the Three Families. Moreover, it can bring about the success of all [ritual] acts such as the so-called practices of protection of body, binding the [sacred] arena, inviting [the Venerables to enter the mandala], as well as those acts of offering, of assisting others, determining punishments and instructions, and it can bring about the successful accomplishment of all mantras.[40]

Haiyun has also described the powers of the *susiddhi* category in similar terms in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji*, as we have seen. Interestingly, Vajrapāṇi lauds the effectiveness of the text's fundamental mantra but he does not reveal the contents of this mantra. The contents of this fundamental mantra became an issue in later lineages of the Japanese Tendai Esoteric school.[41]

The *Susiddhikara sūtra* does not concern itself with matters of doctrine. Instead, this text elaborates on the rules conducive to the successful performance of esoteric rites and the attainment of special powers (*siddhi*). Kuṇḍalī poses over forty questions, asking about the characterisitcs of, for example, mantra recitation, the master (*acārya*), the practitioner and his companions, the site of the ritual performance, the offerings, the successful accomplishment of superior, middling and inferior rites, and the mandalas. Further, he inquires about the characteristics of, instructions for and the results of the rites of pacification (*śāntika*), increasing benefits (*pauṣṭika*), wrathful subjugation (*ābhicāruka*), consecration (*abhiṣeka*) and fire oblation (*homa*).

Vajrapāṇi's exposition centers on the three families of Buddha, Padma and Vajra, and the answers he provides are categorized respectively into the ranks of supreme, middling and inferior. For example, the mantras of the Buddha Family quickly perfect the rite of pacification, the mantras of the Padma Family quickly accomplish the rite of increasing benefits, and those of the Vajra Family quickly and successfully effectuate the rite of wrathful subjugation.[42] Further, the mantras of the Buddha Family produce supreme accomplishments (*siddhis*), those of the Lotus Family bring about middling accomplishments, and those of the Vajra Family lower accomplishments.[43] And yet, Vajrapāṇi also states that, in fact, there are no distinctions when following this scripture's rules.

> This scripture's profoundity and wondrousness are like the heavenly beings (*devas*) among the heavenly, and also its mantras are the sublime among the sublime. If you rely on its [ritual] methods 法, then there will be no [ritual] acts 事 that you cannot successfully accomplish. Although this scripture belongs to the the inferior family of the Vajra, because reverence for the ordinances of the Buddha's teachings permeates and accomplishes [all], this scripture can also perfect the rites of the upper two families [of the Buddha and Padma].[44]

The *Susiddhikara sūtra* specifies, then, the significance (rules for ritual "success") and function (efficacious mantra practice) of the category of the *susiddhi*, and its accompanying ritual manual provides the prescriptions for an offering rite. The purport of Vajrapāṇi's statements in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* is reiterated in Haiyun's emphasis on this teaching's special function (clarification of the success of ritual practices).

However, in the Esoteric Buddhist system of Haiyun's time the signification of this text had changed. According to Haiyun's statement in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji*, its

significance spanned the two categories of the matrix and admantine realm. But, as we have seen, the *Susiddhikara sūtra* centers upon the three families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra, and classifies the mantras, rites and accomplishments of these families as supreme, middling and inferior, respectively.[45] This focus upon the accomplishment of the three grades of supreme, middling and inferior accomplishments can be linked to the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* textual tradition that predated the composition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgrha*.[46] Haiyun's statement, however, implies that the teachings of this text successfully effectuated not only the ritual practices of the three families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra of the matrix mandala but also those of the five families (Buddha, Padma, Vajra, Gem and Action) of the mandala of the adamantine realm.

Thus, at some point during the Tang Dynasty, either before or during the lifetime of Haiyun, the efficacy of the practices of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* was extended to include both those of the systems of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgrha*.

Further corroboration of a late Tang Dynasty reinterpretation of the concept of the threefold accomplishments 三種悉地 are Faquan's oral teachings as documented in Enchin's *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* 決示三種悉地法 (Transmission concerning the Methods of the Threefold Accomplishments). This new concept of the threefold accomplishments also requires investigation because Enchin records that there was a cult of the threefold accomplishments during his visit to China.

The *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* contains explanations of the three mantras of accomplishments that Enchin passed on to his disciple Henjō 遍照 (817–890) in 871 or 873.[47] Here, Enchin records Faquan's teachings on the significance of the five-letter mantra of the grade of supreme accomplishment.

> Master [Fa]quan of Qinglongsi bequeathed to Enchin miscellaneous mantras, saying as follows. "[When] Brahmācari Prabhutaratna selected the essential subtleties among the thirty thousand characters of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, its highest and finest merit-field [turned out to] be nothing but this five-letter mantra. If one retains [this mantra], one's meritorious virtue is incomparable. [Further], [this merit] cannot be calculated, nor can it be explained.
>
> The five-letter mantra is *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ*. If you [chant] it once, you will have held in your mind the scripture repository (note: scripture means all the scriptures) one million times. [The letters of this mantra] then become the seed letters of the Buddhas in the east, west, south, north and center. Heaven and earth, the mountains and oceans, the rivers, streams and ten thousand currents, the sun, moon, stars and constellations, gold, silver and precious gems, flaming jewels and brilliant lights, the five fruits and the five grains, the opening and scattering of many kinds of flowers, classical features, wealth and honor, knowledge, insight, merit and virtue, prowess and purity, all are governed by this five-letter mantra.
>
> The Great Preceptor [Fa]quan's Personal Transmission 全大和尚面決 states that "This is the mantra of the Body of the Absolute Principle of Truth 法身 (*dharmakāya*). As for those two Buddhas [in the mandalas of the matrix and adamantine realm], their complete bodies dwell in the scriptures of the two categories [of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-*

saṃgraha]. Therefore, I do not speak [about them]. [This is something] you yourself ought to know."

The above is what Enchin saw and heard.[48]

The concept of a mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment, derived from the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, has been superimposed upon the already amalgamated teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. According to Faquan's oral teachings, then, this single mantra is the essence of the two major Esoteric Buddhist scriptures and it governs the universe: all social and physical phenomena issue from its letters.

Although the rites of supreme, middling and lower accomplishments and their mantras are presented in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, the mantras are not the same as the mantras of the threefold accomplishments that Enchin received from Faquan and documented in his *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō*.[49] Enchin identifies in this document the textual sources of the three mantras of the threefold accomplishments that he had inherited.[50] He first records that Saichō received the mantras of the threefold accomplishments from the Chinese monk Shunxiao 順暁 in 804 (貞元末年).[51] Next he states that he himself saw these mantras, which were allocated to the Three Bodies of the Buddha, affixed to the gate turret of Suinan's Tiangongsi 水南天宮寺 in the eastern capital of Luoyang.[52] Then, after providing the textual sources of the mantras, Enchin documents the oral teachings of the mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment that his Chinese master Faquan transmitted to him.[53]

Enchin's documentation seems to suggest that there was in the eastern Chinese capital that he visited a special cult that centered on these three mantras, which were allocated to the Three Buddha Bodies, that of the *dharmakāya*, the *sambhogakāya* and the *nirmāṇakāya*, respectively. Further, his documentation suggests that Faquan, too, knew of this cult, whose mantras were also associated with the threefold accomplishments of supreme, middling and lower grades. The mantra of the lower grade was the focus of the cult of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, which had a long and prestigious history in China. Nevertheless, questions arise: how did Mañjuśrī's mantra become connected to the three Buddha bodies and the threefold accomplishments? Further, why are two of the threefold accomplishment mantras drawn from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*? A brief investigation of the function and significance of these mantras in the textual sources that Enchin has provided seems relevant at this point.

Enchin documents that the source of the mantra of the middling grade of accomplishment is the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra'*s sixth chapter, the *Xidi chuxian pin* 悉地出現品 (Manifestation of Accomplishments). Further, he notes under the mantra of the middling grade that "[this] is called the phrase of adamantine letters 金剛字句 whereby one subjugates the four demons (*māra*) 降伏四魔,[54] liberates [those in] the six paths of existence 解脱六趣 and perfects the wisdom of all wisdoms 一切智智."[55] Enchin's description of the significance of the mantra of the middling grade comes directly from Vairocana's pronouncement in the *Xidi chuxian pin*.[56] This mantra is formidable: the vast assembly of Vajra Holders and Bodhisattvas disclose that the buddhas, bodhisattvas, world saviours, *pratyekabuddhas* and *śrāvakas* use this mantra to destroy the afflictions of passions and delusions; further, pervading everywhere where ritual acts are performed, it brings about various supernatural powers and the acquisition of supreme wisdom and supreme, perfect enlightenment.[57]

After revealing the mantra *āḥ vi ra hūṃ khaṃ* and its soteriological powers to the assembly of Vajra Holders and Bodhisattvas, Vairocana then expounds in the rest of this chapter the practice

and the wondrous accomplishments that the practitioner obtains by applying these five letters to his body. This discourse focuses on the letters *a va ra ha kha* of the five elements earth, water, fire, wind and space, respectively, and their rotation into the syllables *aṃ vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ*.[58]

The letter *a* is equated with the great adamantine earth and, when visualized upon the lower body, it transforms this part of the practitioner's body into an adamantine mandala that is called the seat of yoga. Contemplation upon the letter *a* enables the practitioner to smash the citadels of ignorance, making him firm and immobile, and impervious to the attacks of heavenly beings and *asuras*. Further, the practitioner can accomplish such wondrous deeds as cure sicknesses generated from actions done in his previous lives, abandon the defiling influences of desires, anger and delusion and transcend all transgressions.

A second example is the letter *va*, which is placed upon the navel and forms the pure white, circular, nine-layered mandala of the element water, and symbolizes the water of compassion. Contemplation upon the letter *va* enables the practitioner to erradicate all fevered mental sufferings and leave behind the poisons of passions that hinder the attainment of enlightenment, and to acquire such boons as longevity, a special body, the reverence of people and heavenly beings, purity and erudition, as well as the immediate fruit of all accomplishments.[59]

Vairocana's instructions for the five letters of this mantra serve to eluciate the theme of this chapter, which is that of making apparent the marvellous accomplishments (*siddhi*) of mantra practice. The key theme of the *Xidi chuxian pin* is, then, mantra efficacy which is possible because of the threefold empowerment 三種加持 that Vairocana presents earlier in this chapter: that of the merits of the practitioner, of the empowerment of the Tathāgata and of the *dhamadhātu*.[60]

Enchin cites the source of the mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment as the *Chitong faze pin* 持誦法則品 (Rules for Recitation), which is the fourth chapter of the seventh fascile of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, and under this mantra he adds that "the explanation of the meaning of the letters [of this mantra] is identical to [that given in] that [scripture's] chapter."[61] This chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* provides the prescriptions for the ritual phase of recitation and identification with the deity. In this ritual phase of identification, the practitioner performs the visualization practice of the body adorned with five letters 五字嚴身觀 whereby his body becomes identical to that of Mahāvairocana. He visualizes the five letters *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ* and *khaṃ* on specific parts of his body and contemplates that these areas of his body assume the shapes of the five elements of earth, water, fire, wind and space and thus that of the body of Mahāvairocana.[62] This theory of the five cosmic elements, which compose both the forms of the universe and the body of Mahāvairocana of the matrix mandala, and its visualization practice are found in several chapters of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, for instance in the *Xidi chuxian pin* mentioned above, as well as in the scripture's commentary, the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏.[63]

This visualization practice also appears in the Chinese ritual manuals for the matrix rite. The *Shedapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing rulianhua taizang haihui beisheng mantuluo guangda niansong yigui gongyang fangbian hui*,[64] for example, contains a short visualization practice of the five cosmic elements that is based upon that given in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s eleventh chapter, *Bimi mantuluo pin* 祕密曼荼羅品 (Secret Mandala). The mantra *āḥ vi ra hūṃ khaṃ* associated with this practice is, however, from the *Xidi chuxian pin*.[65] There is also a mixing of ritual components from different chapters of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* in the *Dapiluzhena jing guangda yigui*'s version of this visualization practice.[66] The *Guangda yigui* details this visualization practice of the *dharmakāya* composed of five cosmic elements in the

ritual phase of purification, which precedes the phase of the construction of the sacred sanctuary. The characterisitics of the five elements and their syllables *a vi raṃ haṃ khaṃ* are a fusion that has been taken from the *Chitong faze pin* and the *Xidi chuxian pin*.[67]

Faquan's manuals are the only ones among the Chinese ritual manuals that quote this visualization practice directly from the *Chitong faze pin*.[68] In his *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuluo guangda chengjiu yigui gongyang fangbian hui* and *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti chuangbiaozhi putong zhenyanzang guangda chengjiu yuqie*,[69] this visualization practice opens the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body which precedes the ritual phase of the visualization of the sacred sanctuary. The performance of this ritual phase of the Tathāgata's body transforms the practitioner's body into that of Vairocana/Śākyamuni, purifying and empowering him so that he can construct mentally the sacred sanctuary where the mandala will be laid out and the deities will assemble. Moreover, this visualization practice of the body adorned with five letters also appears in the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* 建立曼荼羅護摩儀軌, a manual attributed to Faquan wherein ideas and practices from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* predominate, as we have demonstrated in Chapter Six.[70] Clearly, this was a practice to which Faquan attached great importance because it appears in three of the four rites for which he composed handbooks.

In his *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* Enchin notes a number of sources for the mantra of the inferior grade of accomplishment, and all are ritual manuals for Mañjuśrī that belong to the textual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgrha*.[71] Mañjuśrī, the bodhisattva of wisdom, is associated with the teachings of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*. There is an iconographic type of this bodhisattva who holds this scripture as his emblem and has inscribed around the lunar disc in which he sits the five letters of his special mantra *a ra pa ca na*.[72] The five syllables *a ra pa ca na* are, in fact, the first five in the doctrine of the forty-two *siddhaṃ* letters 悉曇四十二字門 whose practice is expounded in Kumārajīva's translation of the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, as well as in other texts of the *Prajñapāramitā* lineage.[73] Meditative recitation on these forty-two letters leads to the understanding of the emptiness 空 (*śūnyatā*) of all elements of existence. Enchin records in this document the significance of Mañjuśrī's special five-letter mantra, as well as the wondrous results that are obtained through its recitation. These passages have been extracted from a work that was translated by Vajrabodhi.

> The *Jingangding Wenshushili wuzi tuoluoni pin* 金剛頂文殊師利五字陀羅尼品 states that *a* means without birth, *ra* means purity, without stains and transcending the defilements [of the passions], *pa* means [because] also devoid of supreme reality 無第一義諦, all [elements of reality] (*dharmas*) are equal, *ca* means the *dharmas* are without phenomenal changes 諸行, and *na* means the *dharmas* do not possess [a real, unchanging] nature nor [external] form 性相, and that all [the meanings of these] letters are unattainable...[74]

In Vajrabodhi's manual Mañjuśrī continues and states that the one who contemplates and understands the significance of these five letters resides in the *samādhi* wherein one's mind possesses the characteristics of an original purity that is without taints or attachments and transcends the discrimination of self and that related to the self.[75]

Enchin's description of the special boons that the reciter of this mantra will acquire is also from Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding Wenshushili pusa wuzi tuoluoni pin*.

> If a person recites [this five-letter mantra] once, he will eliminate all sufferings and difficulties. If recited twice, he can eradicate the serious trangressions of countless *kalpas* of births and deaths, if recited three times, the emblem 三昧 (*samaya*) [of Mañjuśrī] will manifest before him, if recited four times, he will remember and maintain [all] without forgetting, and if recited five times, he will quickly attain supreme enlightenment. If recited for one month, Mañjuśrī will appear before him and expound the teachings on his behalf. As for that which he seeks in his heart, [Mañjuśrī] will fulfill all his fundamental vows.[76]

Further, Mañjuśrī adds that the practitioner will obtain such rewards as knowledge of previous lives 宿命智, facility of unhindered discourse 辯才無礙, sovereignty and miraculous powers 自在神足, and will quickly realize the Tathāgata's Adamantine Body of the Absolute Principle of Truth (*dharmakāya*) 速證如來金剛法身.[77]

Mañjuśrī was, then, the custodian of an extremely powerful mantra, a fact that played a significant role in the spread of the Tang Dynasty cult of Mañjuśrī.[78] Amoghavajra also promoted the cult of Mañjuśrī and translated scriptures and ritual manuals devoted to this bodhisattva.[79] For example, Mañjuśrī states in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie Wenshushili pusa jing* 金剛頂瑜伽文殊師利菩薩經 (Scripture on Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown) that the teachings of All the Tathāgatas are subsumed into this five-letter mantra (*dhāraṇī*), and that this mantra benefits sentient beings by causing them to bring to perfection the highest wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*), and by fulfilling all vows, especially the vow to realize the stages of the Tathāgata and the Holder of the Vajra (Vajrapāṇi).[80]

An investigation of the original sources does not clarify the mantras and their associations with the cult of Mañjuśrī, the doctrine of the Three Bodies of the Buddha, or the concept of the threefold accomplishments. It does, however, disclose that all three were powerful mantras by means of which the practitioner could bring about both mundane and supramundane accomplishments, as well as identification with Mahāvairocana. Clearly, monks who had been initiated into the teachings of the major Esoteric Buddhist scriptures and ritual manuals would have been familiar with these awesome mantras revealed by Mahāvairocana and Mañjuśrī. Given the fact that Enchin saw these mantras affixed to temple gates in Luoyang (Enchin's statements in *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō*, *Gimon* and *Sasagimon*), that these three mantras were allocated to the Three Bodies of the Buddha (*Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō*), and that Faquan orally transmitted to Enchin the mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment, which corresponded to the Body of the Absolute Principle of Truth 法身 (*dharmakāya*) (Faquan's teachings as documented in Enchin's *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō*),[81] we can surmise that there was in China at the time of Faquan a cult that centered upon these three mantras.[82]

As noted above, Vajrapāṇi does not reveal the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s fundamental mantra. Further, the special mantra, called the mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment, in Faquan's teachings simultaneously signified the main visualization practice of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the Five Buddhas of the Five Families of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Adamantine Realm. Moreover, because this mantra of the supreme grade of

accomplishment conflated into its five letters concepts belonging to the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, it brought about auspicious results for all esoteric rites, regardless of their textual lineage. Perhaps the concept of threefold accomplishments and their mantras was the common property of Chinese masters of Esoteric Buddhism in the late Tang Dynasty.

I contend that at some point, most likely during the time of Haiyun and Faquan, the special characteristics of this third category of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings were set down in manuals and practices of some form. Substantiation for this claim is the fact that the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, the source of the Mandala of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa that is appended to the Daigoji exemplar, contains a chapter on the threefold accomplishments. The yogic practice of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa's mantra brings about two types of threefold accomplishments, one with aspects and one without aspects. Influences are clearly from the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras*.[83] The threefold accomplishments was thus an crucial concept in Esoteric Buddhist circles of the late Tang Dynasty.

In sum, the *Susiddhikara sūtra* was important in the Tang Chinese Esoteric Buddhist teachings because it detailed the Esoteric Buddhist precepts and provided precise directives for the threefold rites of the families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra that were respectively categorized as supreme, middling and inferior and for the performance of the rites of consecration and fire oblation, as well as for the effectuation of the mantras and articles used in these rites and for the construction of their mandalas. Further, Vajrapāṇi states in the first chapter of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* that the function of this scripture was to bring about the success of all ritual practices and this it does through the power of its fundamental mantra. Thus, this scripture taught a special mantra, which, strangely, Vajrapāṇi does not reveal. Moreover, according to chapter 16 of this scripture, Distinguishing the Methods of Accomplishment, the special powers of the mantras of each of the three families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra can effectuate all mantras regardless of family. Clearly, it was not *what* the *Susiddhikara sūtra* did or did not contain, but *how* its teachings were interpreted by Tang Dynasty masters that resulted in the ideological and ritual re-assessemnt of the scripture's teachings and rites.

Haiyun's reference in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* to a common significance between the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* must be interpreted as the singular power that the *susiddhi* category possesses to effectuate, perhaps via the performance of special *dhāraṇī*, although he is not specific about this, the feliticious outcome of all ritual practices, regardless of their textual tradition. The potency of the *susiddhi* category lies, then, in its transcendent nature, that is its ability to transcend textual and ritual distinctions, thus making it, as Haiyun records, "an exceedingly essential and wondrous [esoteric] method" 亦是至極要妙法.[84]

Enchin, on the other hand, precisely explicates in his *Kyōji ryōbu hiyō gi* 教示兩部祕要義 (The Meaning of the Secret Essence Set Forth in the Dual Categories) how the threefold mantras of accomplishment constitute the essence of the two categories of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. He equates the phrases of two passages from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and a text that belongs to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* to the letters of the threefold mantras of accomplishment, especially the mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment, and by extending this process of correlation, he concludes that because of these mantras there is a functional and qualitative correspondence between the two texts and their mandalas. Enchin's argument goes as follows:

The gateway [to understanding] these three [mantras of] five letters *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ / āḥ vi ra hūṃ khaṃ / a ra pa sa*[85] *na* is the essence of the two categories. The Body of the Absolute Principle of Truth (*dharmakāya*) in the Realm of Absolute Truth (*dharmadhātu*) is the real substance 眞實體 of the Tathāgata. Therefore, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* states as follows: "I understand [the principle of] originally non-arising and have transcended the way of words and phrases. I attained liberation from various transgressions and am far removed from primary and secondary causes. I know that emptiness 空 (*śūnyatā*) is equivalent to empty space 虛空 (*ākāśa*)."[86] The *Tattvasaṃgraha*[87] states that "The elements of reality (*dharmas*) are originally non-arising and their self-nature is removed from words and explanations, and they are pure and untainted. The operation of primary causes is equivalent to empty space." An Explanation[88] states that "The meaning of the sentences 'I understand [the principle of] originally non-arising' and 'the elements of reality are originally non-arising' is identical; that is to say, they elucidate the meaning of the above three groups of letters. *A* is the seed letter of the adamantine circle [of the element earth, which is] the *Dharmakāya* of Mahāvairocana. The significance of the words "and I have transcended the way of words and phrases" and "their self-nature is removed from words and explanations," when aligned side by side, is the same. That is to say, they translate the [letters] *vaṃ*, *vi*, and so on. [The letter] *vi* is, namely, the seed letter of the perfection of the circle of the water element [which signifies] the ocean of knowledge of Tathāgata Mahāvairocana. The purport of [the phrases] "I attained liberation from various transgressions" and "[the elements of reality] are pure and untainted" are one and the same; namely, they make known the significance of the above letter *raṃ*. [The letter] *raṃ* is, namely, the seed letter of the fire element [which signifies] the mental ground of Tathāgata Mahāvairocana. [The phrases] "[I] am far removed from the primary and secondary causes" and "the primary cause is equivalent to empty space" are to be explained as the significance of the above letter *hūṃ*. [The letter] *haṃ* is, namely, the seed letter of the wind element [which signifies] the life span of the eternally residing Tathāgata Mahāvairocana and it is the circle of the letter *hūṃ*. The meaning of the sentences "[I] know that emptiness is equivalent to empty space" and "the operation [of primary causes] is equivalent to empty space" is, from the outset, one; that is to say, they elucidate the significance of the above letter *khaṃ*. [The letter] *khaṃ* is, namely, the mark (*lakṣaṇa*) of the invisible crown of Tathāgata Mahāvairocana; [that is, it is] the place where the Five Buddhas have realized the wisdom of great emptiness. This is, then, in outline the reciprocal correlation 相対 of the two texts. If one were to explain it in a broader manner, then there would be numerous meanings.

The Commentary states...[89] Now, it is said that these three [mantras of] five letters are in fact the fifteen adamantine *samādhis*. One letter [of the three mantras] is in fact the fifteen letters [of the three mantras] and the fifteen letters are then the one letter. One letter [of one mantra] is in fact the five letters [of this mantra] and the five letters are then the one letter. Reversing the order and

> rotating them, they are, from first to last, nondual. Truly, they are the substance that [Mahāvairo]cana possesses, his *Dharmakāya*, and [they are] the origin of the reality of the five families [of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm] and of the three families [of the Matrix Mandala].[90]

Correlation between the five syllables (*a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ*), the five fundamental elements of the Buddhist universe (earth, water, fire, wind and space) and the special properties of Mahāvairocana thus integrates the dual mandalic realities of the Matrix and Adamantine Realm.

In short, Faquan's teachings, which Enchin documents in the *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō*, and Enchin's argument in the *Kyōji ryōbu hiyīgi* express another aspect of the late Tang reinterpretation of the ideology of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*: there is a mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment that positively affects all rites. The source of this mantra, which distills in its letters the essence of the two major Esoteric Buddhist scriptures, derives from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This text was important to Faquan, as I demonstrate in the following section.

FAQUAN'S MANUALS FOR THE MATRIX RITE

Faquan composed two manuals for the Esoteric Buddhist matrix rite. He wrote the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuluo guangda chengjiu yigui gongyang fangbian hui* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏悲生曼荼羅廣大成就儀軌供養方便會 (hereafter, the *Xuanfasi yigui*) during the Huichang era (841–847) while residing in Xuanfasi in the Tang capital of Chang'an. Later his composed a second manual for the same rite entitled the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti chuangbiaozhi putong zhenyanzang guangda chengjiu yuqie* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標幟普通眞言藏廣大成就瑜伽 (hereafter, the *Qinglongsi yigui*) sometime during the Daizhong era (847–860) while he was residing in Qinglongsi.[91] According to Faquan's disciple Enchin, the *Qinglongsi yigui* is "the final, collated" version of the two matrix ritual manuals that his Chinese master composed.[92] While some scholars doubt that Faquan composed the *Xuanfasi yigui*, I accept these ritual manuals as Faquan's compositions because his Japanese disciples relied upon them for their own versions of the matrix rite.[93]

A closer study of Faquan's handbooks discloses a number of unique features. Two innovations are of singular interest. First, Faquan's strict adherence to the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* is the most conspicuous feature in his manuals. As I shall demonstrate, the structural and ritual features of the matrix rite attributed to Huiguo and his Japanese disciple Kūkai are patterned after those of the rite of the adamantine realm, and thus are evidence of the priority that Huiguo and Kūkai gave to the teachings of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* over that of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. On the other hand, Faquan, a second-generation disciple of Huiguo, composed his two manuals with an intimate knowledge of the contents of the matrix ritual manuals attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha. While there are differences between Faquan's ritual handbooks and those of Śubhākarasiṃha, the similarities suggest that Faquan intentionally rejected the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*-dominated rite that was transmitted by Huiguo and Kūkai and returned to the structure and content of a rite based upon the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its ritual tradition. This is Faquan's first significant innovation.

The second significant feature seen in Faquan's handbooks is that he actually recorded the iconography of the mandala to be used in his rite. There is, as we shall see, a correspondence between the iconography of his focal mandala and that of the Shingon school's *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (figs. 33, 34), as well as that of the mandala appended to the *Bizangji*, the earliest compilation among Chinese Esoteric Buddhist circles on the Mandalas of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realms (*Genzu mandara*). The original copies of the Mandalas of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realms (*Genzu mandara*) dated back to the time of Huiguo, and clearly it was still very much in use during Faquan's lifetime.[94] This match between text and image is not seen in earlier manuals for the matrix rite that are attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha. This match does not even characterize the matrix rite that is attributed to the Huiguo-Kūkai lineage of transmission. There is no mention in this rite of the type of mandala that is to function as the focal image. Thus, despite the fact that Kūkai records three types of matrix mandalas in his *Shōrai mokuroku*, we have no firm idea of the iconography of the mandala that he and his master Huiguo would have paired with their matrix rite.[95] Faquan, on the other hand, has been very careful to elucidate for the practitioner the iconography of his rite's focal mandala.

Faquan's matrix handbooks became far more popular than those of Śubhākarasiṃha and Kūkai in both the Japanese Shingon and Tendai Esoteric Buddhist schools. For instance, the fourteenth-century Shingon scholar-monk Gōhō 果寶 (1306-1362) records in his commentary on the matrix rite, the *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki* 胎藏界念誦次第要集記 (Account of Essentials Gathered on the Ritual Procedure for Visualization and Recitation on Realm of the Matrix Repository), that monks of both the Ono and Hirosawa branches of the Shingon school used Faquan's manuals to perform their matrix rite.[96] Many monks composed their own, often shorter, versions of the matrix rite on the basis of Faquan's handbooks.[97] Further, Faquan's matrix manuals have been a subject of study by medieval scholar-monks. In addition to Gōhō, the Tendai monks Annen and Kakuchō 覺超 (955-1037) and the Shingon monks Shingō 眞興 (934-1004), Gengō 元果 (914-995) and Raiyū 賴瑜 (1226-1304), to mention a few, also wrote commentaries on these manuals.[98]

A Comparison of the *Xuanfasi yigui* and the *Qinglongsi yigui*

Faquan's two handbooks for the matrix rite are included in a collection of manuals for this rite known in the Japanese Shingon school as the "four ritual manuals" 四部儀軌 (*shibu giki*). The other two manuals, which are attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, are the *Shedapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing rulianhua taizang haihui beisheng mantuluo guangda niansong yigui gongyang fangbian hui* (hereafter, the *Sheda yigui*) and *Dapiluzhena jing guangda yigui* (hereafter, the *Guangda yigui*).[99] According to Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, wherein he recapitulates the contents of the inventories of the eight Heian pilgrim-monks who went to Tang China, Ennin, Enchin and Shūei introduced to Japan the *Sheda yigui*, Shūei introduced the *Guangda yigui*, Ennin introduced the *Xuanfasi yigui*, and both Enchin and Shūei brought back copies of the *Qinglongsi yigui*.[100]

A comparison of Faquan's two ritual manuals reveals variations which Enchin verifies in his inscriptions on his personal copies.[101] While there are differences in the title, order of ritual subphases, and notational information, to name a few, these variations do not signify a change in the fundamental meaning of this rite. On the contrary, Faquan's variations and additions in the *Qinglongsi yigui* can be interpreted as an updating of the *Xuanfasi yigui*. The information that he

has included in the *Qinglongsi yigui* elucidates for the practitioner important aspects of this esoteric rite such as the meanings of the figures of the mandala, their positions in the mandala, and their mantras and mudrās. This appended information seems to reflect Faquan's experiences as a teacher for it evinces his concern to make this rite more accessible to the practitioner.

The first, and most obvious, difference between Faquan's two handbooks is that of title. The title of Faquan's first manual can be translated as "The Offerings, Expedient Means and Assemblies [contained] in the Extensive and Perfected Ritual Manual [for the] Mandala Born from the Compassion of the Matrix Repository of the Lotus [as expounded] in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*." His second manual is titled "The Extensive and Perfected Yoga of the Repository of Universal Mantras and Symbols and Banners of Enlightenment [for the] Matrix Repository of the Lotus [as expounded] in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*." Both manuals contain an identical rite that can be parsed, according to Japanese Buddhist scholars, into the ritual phases of preliminary expedients 前方便法, establishing the altar 作壇法, the assembly of the Tathāgata's body 如來身會, visualization of the sacred sanctuary 道場觀, offerings 供養法, the assemblies of the mandala 諸院會, recitation and identification 正念誦法, and the deconstruction rites of the latter offerings 後供養法, which include the phases of the dispatching of the deities and the dissolution of the seat of enlightenment.[102]

Thus, the ritual phases of offerings, expedient means and assemblies mentioned in the title of the *Xuanfasi yigui* are found in both manuals. Further, the iconography of the figures installed in the mandala that is the focus of this rite, their placement, meanings, mantras and mudrās are, as I shall demonstrate below, identical. Hence, the deities' mantras and their symbols and banners of enlightenment which serve to identify them, and which are referred to in the title of the *Qinglongsi yigui*, are common to both handbooks, despite their different titles.

A second difference seen in the two manuals is the rearrangement of a subphase of the rite of the mandala's assemblies. Faquan changes the order of installation of the deities in the courts of the mandala. In the *Xuanfasi yigui* he places the subphase of the installation of the nine figures of the Court of the Eight-Petaled Central Dais *last* in the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala, after the deities of all the other courts of the mandala have been installed. In the *Qinglongsi yigui*, however, Faquan has the practitioner first install the nine figures of this central court in the mandala and then install the deities of the other courts. This reordering in his *Qinglongsi yigui* results in a change in the ritual procedure whereby the practitioner begins the installation of the deities of the mandala in the center and moves outward to its peripheries. The late tenth-century Shingon monk Shingō does not mention this reordering in his commentary on Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui*, the *Renge taizōkai giki kaishaku* 蓮華胎藏界儀軌解釋.[103] Gōhō, however, does discuss in detail this reordering in his *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*. We learn from Gōhō that the personal interpretation of the master determined the method of installing the deities into the mandala and that this method of installation was correlated with the disciple's ability to understand the Buddhist teachings.[104]

A third difference is the information Faquan provides for the steps of the ritual phases. He appends notes to the text wherein he elaborates on, for instance, the mudrā that accompanies a mantra, instructions for forming a hand gesture and the Sanskrit names of the deities who appear in the rite's focal mandala.[105] The *Qinglongsi yigui* is far more detailed and extensive than the *Xuanfasi yigui*, and only the *Qinglongsi yigui* includes glosses on the meanings of the mantras and information that elucidates the significance of the rite's mudrā-mantra pairs and the mandala's deities. In fact, Gōhō records in his *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshū* that Shingon monks began using

Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui* for this rite rather than Kūkai's handbook because the mantras were not written in *siddhaṃ* and because the rite was far more detailed.[106]

An example that reveals Faquan's greater concern to elucidate for the practitioner the steps of this matrix rite in the *Qinglongsi yigui* than in the *Xuanfasi yigui* is found in the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body 如來身會. In this ritual phase the practitioner performs a series of mudrās and mantras that represent the supernatural physical and spiritual qualities of the Tathāgata and thus signify the three mysteries of body, speech and mind of Mahāvairocana. The mudrā-mantra pairs include those that symbolize Mahāvairocana's special attributes, physical characteristics of body, speech and mind, and functions: examples are his sword of great insight 大慧刀, his *uṣṇīṣa* 頂相 and universal light 普光, his bestowal of fearlessness 施無畏 and his unparalleled teaching ability 辯說. The main text of both manuals, which is based on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s ninth chapter, entitled *Miyin pin* 密印品 (Secret Seals), is identical. Here each of the mudrās that the practitioner is to form in this ritual phase are enumerated, but both texts are equally cryptic.

> At that time the World Honored One, observing the great assembly, announced to the Master of Mysteries, saying:
>
> These [syllables *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ*] are symbols of the Dharma realm. Because you adorn your body [with them], you will course through *saṃsāra*. In the Great Assembly of the Tathāgata are the symbols of the banner of enlightenment. The many *devas*, *nagas* and *yakṣas* respect [them] and [so] are granted the teachings. First make the [hand] seals of the *samādhi* of the Buddhas, the *dharmadhātu* and the *dharmacakra*. Form for the *khaḍga*[107] [the handclasp of] refuge 帰命合掌, and bending the wind fingers, add them to the sides of the backs of the circles of emptiness. Form for the [conch] shell of the Dharma 法螺 [the handclasp of] the empty mind 虛心合掌 and join the winds to the top of the circles of emptiness. The vow of good fortune 吉祥願 is the lotus, the *vajra* is the [hand] seal of great insight, greatness (*mahā*) is the *uṣṇīṣa* of the Tathāgata, the fist of insight 慧拳 is the repository of his *ūrṇa*, *yoga* is the characteristic of holding the begging-bowl 持鉢相. Raising the hand of insight upwards is called the granting of fearlessness 無畏施者. Lowering [this hand] downward and turning the palm outward is called fulfilled wishes 滿願. If you extend the fist of insight and press emptiness on fire and water, wisdom forms the eye of the Buddha 佛眼. [Forming the] inner bonds 內縛 and making the circle of wind into a rope is the mind seal 心印. Extending the circle of fire [and then] extending water is the navel of the Tathāgata 如來臍, and forming the previous [hand] seal and entering wind into moon is called the loins of the Tathāgata 如來腰.[108]

Despite the abstruseness of the text, however, the *Xuanfasi yigui* does not have a single note in this section. The *Qinglongsi yigui*, on the other hand, has extensive notes to guide the practitioner through the text. Faquan explains in these notes the method of forming the required mudrās, as well as their meanings and accrued benefits. The note under the mantra for the Tathāgata's function of bestowal of fearlessness, for example, states that

> The left hand, like the previous mudrā [of the Great Begging Bowl], holds the two corners of the robe. This gesture enables [one] to remove the various fears and afflictions of all sentient beings. That is to say, all [sentient beings] will attain tranquility. Moreover, [this mudrā] removes [sentient beings'] rivers of fears for the future.[109]

The contents of the many notes in the *Qinglongsi yigui* thus indicate Faquan's intent to instruct the practitioner in the particulars of this rite. Other informative notes wherein Faquan augments the contents of the main text and so clarifies the significance of the ritual phases are, for example, the sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs for the visualization of the sacred sanctuary, the offering rite and the ritual phase of the mandala's assemblies.[110]

The two handbooks also contain differences in the mandala that functions as the focus of this rite. For example, Faquan enumerates in the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala the figures that are to be visualized in each of the halls of this mandala. The *Qinglongsi yigui* lists figures who are not present in the *Xuanfasi yigui*'s mandala.[111] Further, the *Qinglongsi yigui* is better organized in its presentation of the mandala's figures than the *Xuanfasi yigui*. Faquan uses far more directional indicators in his instructions in the *Qinglongsi yigui*. In addition to the phrases "place [in the] first [row] [and in the] westernmost [position]"[112] or "next the first arrangement in the east,"[113] or "[in the] second [row]", which are also given in the *Xuanfasi yigui*,[114] he demarcates the positions of the figures in the other rows of the mandala with such directional phrases as "third [row]",[115] and "in the southern gate",[116] which are not specified in the *Xuanfasi yigui*.

However, despite these differences,[117] the contents of Faquan's two ritual manuals for the matrix rite are, for the most part, identical. Common to both manuals are the phases of the rite, with only slight variations in the order of installation of the figures into the mandala, the main text, the configuration of the focal mandala and its deities, and the mudrā-mantra pairs of the deities who appear in the mandala, as well as their iconographic descriptions. Faquan did not alter the praxis or the meaning of this rite in his *Qinglongsi yigui* but rather clarified it, furnishing his disciples with a detailed roadmap so that they could access and follow the Esoteric Buddhist path correctly.

Faquan's Indebtedness to Earlier Manuals for the Matrix Rite

Faquan has, in fact, modelled his rite upon that of the ritual lineage of Śubhākarasiṃha. There are similarities between Faquan's manuals and the *Sheda yigui* which, of the two manuals attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, is the one that most closely follows specific chapters of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. Faquan has also consulted the *Guangda yigui*, the second matrix ritual manual that the Shingon school attributes to Śubhākarasiṃha.[118] He has used these earlier manuals as guides for the composition of his own works. By composing ritual manuals that closely follow those of Śubhākarsiṃha, Faquan highlights his intent to remain within the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This concern does not characterize the ritual manual for the matrix rite that is attributed to Huiguo and Kūkai.

Therefore, Faquan's manuals and those of Śubhākarasiṃha correspond in content: the series of mudrā-mantra pairs that compose certain ritual phases are identical in these manuals. In this respect a greater similarity of content is seen, however, between the *Sheda yigui* and Faquan's

manuals. Agreement of content is seen, for example, in the introductory passages,[119] and in the ritual phases of preliminary expedients[120] and the visualization of the sacred sanctuary.[121]

The similarity of content seen in the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala most clearly verifies that Faquan had consulted these earlier ritual handbooks as a guide for the composition of his own manuals. The contents of all the mantras in this ritual phase, as well as the iconographic descriptions of the figures of the mandala, concur, on the whole, with those given in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*. The textual source is the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. In the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala, the authors of the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* synthesized and coordinated information on the figures of the mandala and their mudrās and mantras from a number of the scripture's chapters. For example, the iconographic prescriptions of the deities in the *Sheda yigui* are closely patterned after the material in the *Ru mantuluo juyuan zhenyan pin* 入漫荼羅具緣眞言品 (second chapter on Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala) in the scripture's first fascicle and the *Miyin pin* (ninth chapter on Secret Seals) in fascicle four. Both the *Guangda yigui* and Faquan's manuals include descriptive passages from these two chapters, as well as passages from the *Bimi mantuluo pin* (eleventh chapter on the Secret Mandala) in fascicle five of the scripture.[122] Faquan's passages, although based upon the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guandga yigui*, are more often than not closer to the passages given in the *Sheda yigui*.

Finally, there are a number of other common features in the content of the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandalas of the two early handbooks and those of Faquan, which further demonstrates that Faquan used these manuals as his models. For instance, the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* include figures and mantras that are also present in Faquan's manuals but not in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[123] Occasionally the *Guangda yigui* includes figures and their mantras that are not in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* or in the *Sheda yigui* but are in Faquan's manuals.[124] Faquan's manuals, too, contain figures and their mantras that appear only in his works.[125] There are, to be sure, discrepancies between these manuals' texts of the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala that must be discussed. Nevertheless, although these discrepancies preclude an absolute correspondence, it does not negate the claim that Faquan used these earlier handbooks as a model. Faquan has obviously followed the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* in his selection of mantras for this ritual phase of the mandala's assemblies.

A second major correspondence between Faquan's manuals and the *Sheda yigui* is the order of installation of the deities into the focal mandala. Faquan has replicated the order of installation presented in the *Sheda yigui* in his *Xuanfasi yigui*, but he has altered this order in the *Qinglongsi yigui*, as we have seen, by installing the nine deities of the central court first. The installation of the figures into the halls of the mandala in the *Sheda yigui* begins with the figures in the Hall of Universal Wisdom, continues with the figures in the halls of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhī, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha, Vajrapāṇi, the Vidyādharas, Śākyamuni, the protective gods and ends with the figures of the central court.[126] These concurrences between Faquan's manuals and the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* are evidence that Faquan did indeed consult these earlier ritual handbooks. Clearly, his intent was to compose a rite that adhered to the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* by closely following the content of the *Sheda yigui*[127] and, to a lesser extent, that of the *Guangda yigui*.

The Unique Features of Faquan's Matrix Manuals

Three major differences are evident between the earlier *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* and Faquan's handbooks: these are the order of the ritual phases, the presence of elements from the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm and the iconography of the rite's focal mandala. These differences reflect a later stage in the development of Chinese Esoteric Buddhist practices.

The first difference is that of the order of the ritual phases. Faquan has reordered the ritual phases of his matrix rite and has placed the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body before the visualization of the sacred sanctuary.[128] He has expressly composed a rite whose ritual order differs from that given in the *Sheda yigui* and, as we shall see, this is because he adapted his rite to a new focal mandala configuration. The ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body is not an independent ritual phase in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* or in the *Sheda yigui*, whose ritual phases are preliminary expedients, establishing the altar, visualization of the sacred sanctuary, offerings, assemblies of the mandala, recitation and identification and, lastly, dissociation.[129] Rather, the thirty-three mudrā-mantra pairs of this ritual phase in the *Sheda yigui* are performed to install the symbols of the special qualities of the Tathāgata's body, speech, mind and function into the mandala's Hall of Universal Wisdom.[130] The ritual phases of the *Guangda yigui* follow those of the *Sheda yigui* but for one major alteration: this manual includes the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body.[131] Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui*, emulating the *Guangda yigui*, also contain the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body.

From these distinctions, it appears that the performance of this ritual phase of the Tathāgata's body was extremely flexible. Gōhō, having examined a number of matrix ritual manuals, records in his *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki* the various placements of this ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body. He notes that

> ...There are in general three explanations concerning the performance of the [ritual phase of the] assembly of the Tathāgata's body. One is [that it is done] before the [ritual phase of the] mandala's assemblies. The second is [that it is practiced] within the [ritual phase of the] mandala's assemblies. The third is [that it is performed] after the [ritual phase of the] mandala's assemblies.[132]

What, we may then ask, is the significance of performing this ritual phase? Shingō states in his *Renge taizōkai giki kaishaku* that the mudrā-mantra pairs of this ritual phase manifest "the virtues [which are] the result of enlightenment of the transformation body" 化身成道果徳 (*keshin jōdō katoku*).[133] The transformation body (*nirmāṇakāya*) is the human form that the Absolute Principle of Buddhist Truth (*dharmakāya*) assumes on earth in order to propagate the Buddhist teachings to sentient beings. In Shingon teachings the historical Buddha Śākyamuni appeared as a transformation body. The practitioner thus assumes in this ritual phase the qualities of Śākyamuni, a temporal manifestation of the Absolute. Gōhō, citing the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*'s exegesis on the scripture's chapter on the Secret Seals, which is the source of the mudrā-mantra pairs for the assembly of the Tathāgata's body, provides the following explanation in his *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*:

> Because all the Buddhas use these [mudrās] to adorn themselves, they attain the body of the Tathāgata's Dharma realm 如來法界之身. If there is a being who performs this rite, because he employs these mudrās to unite [with the Tathāgata], then [his body] becomes the same as the body of the Tathāgata's Dharma realm. These mudrās are the symbols of the Dharma realm. Because one uses these mudrās, one manifests the body of the Dharma realm, and so [they] are called the banner of the Dharma realm.[134]

In this ritual phase, then, the practitioner realizes the virtues of Mahāvairocana/Śākyamuni by visualizing that his own body possesses the many special characteristics of these Buddhas, thereby preparing himself for the subsequent ritual act. The next ritual act is the installation of the deities into the mandala in the *Guangda yigui* and into the mandala's other halls in the *Sheda yigui*, and it is the visualization of the sacred sanctuary in Faquan's manuals.[135] Thus, the order of this ritual phase may change but its underlying meaning does not.[136] Faquan has reordered his rite in order to make it conform to the iconography of a mandala that postdates the composition of the *Sheda yigu* because his focal mandala does not contain the numerous symbolic figures of the Tathāgata's body, as we shall see.

Unlike the *Sheda yigui*, which is closely modelled after the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and comprises only mudrā-mantra pairs that are expounded in this scripture, Faquan's manuals contain mudrā-mantra pairs that are not found in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This constitutes a second difference between the *Sheda yigui* and Faquan's two ritual handbooks. Elements that have been taken from other ritual traditions, in particular that of the adamantine realm, are present in Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui*. A mixing of elements from both the ritual traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* is not unusual in Chinese Esoteric Buddhist manuals that date to the late eighth and ninth centuries, as I have demonstrated.[137] However, this intent is absent in Faquan's manuals, and there is also no sense of a random intermingling of elements from these ritual traditions in his manuals. Rather, a conformity to the ritual practices expounded in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* characterizes Faquan's matrix rite, despite the inclusion of these few mudrā-mantra pairs from other traditions. This provides further validation of Faquan's choosing the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* over the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

Examples of these elements from other ritual traditions that are common to both Faquan's works are the mudrā-mantra pairs of the procedure of holding the earth deities 地神持次第, the great ocean 大海 and the seeing off of the deities 奉送. The first of these mudrā-mantra pairs, the procedure of holding the earth deities, is performed in the ritual phase of establishing the altar. Faquan records its purpose in a note beneath this mantra in the *Qinglongsi yigui*: the mantra *oṃ bhūḥ* (great earth) *khaṃ* (the seed letter for space, *ākāśa*) and the movements of the ritual hand gesture make the ground firm.[138] The practitioner thus establishes and stabilizes with this mudrā-mantra pair the ritual site, which is actually constructed in his mind.[139] This mantra opens the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui*, a manual attributed to Faquan, whose reference source is the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, and appears in manuals both authored by and attributed to Amoghavajra.[140] In Amoghavajra's *Wuliangshou rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* (Ritual Manual for the Offerings and Visualization Practice of Tathāgata Amitāyus), for example, a manual whose majority of mudrā-mantra pairs are drawn from the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, this mantra transforms the universe into a pure land.[141] It operates in the *Wuliangshou rulai guanxinggongyang yigui* and in

Faquan's matrix rite as the mantra of the ground, which is the actual, psychological and metaphysical base upon which the ritual takes place.

The mudrā-mantra pair of the great ocean derives from the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm and it is a part of the ritual phase of the visualization of the sacred sanctuary. In Faquan's matrix rite, the ritual phase of the visualization of the sacred sanctuary consists of the visualization of attaining the Buddha body by means of the five circles 五輪成身觀, the visualization of the container world 器界觀, the visualization of the mandala's central palace and the visualization of the individual halls of the mandala.[142] With the mudrā-mantra pair of the great ocean, which belongs to the visualization of the container world, the practitioner begins to transform the ritual site into a mandala setting into which he will invite the deities.[143]

This ritual act of the creation of the great ocean is performed as a part of the container world visualization that Amoghavajra prescribes in his handbook for the rite of the adamantine realm, the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui*.[144] This mudrā-mantra pair is also performed in the *Guangda yigui*, along with the mudrā-mantra pair of Mount Meru, which is the subsequent ritual step in the visualization of the container world detailed in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui*.[145] Faquan appropriates only the mudrā-mantra pair of the great ocean from the rite of the admantine realm's visualization of the container world but returns to the ritual prescription given in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, instructing the practitioner to perform next the mudrā-mantra pair of the lotus held by Vajrapāṇi 金剛手持華.[146]

Shingō states in his *Renge taizōkai giki kaishaku* that this mudrā-mantra pair results in the creation of the realm of the flower [adorned] respository 花藏世界.[147] Faquan then has the practitioner perform the visualization of the central palace, and this too has been taken directly from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This visualization is found in the Mysterious Mandala chapter in fascicle five and in fascicle seven's chapter of the Offering Ceremony.[148]

The third mudrā-mantra pair, that of seeing off the deities, is the last mudrā-mantra pair in Faquan's rite and it is performed to send the deities back to their transcendental abode. It, too, belongs to the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm and occurs in a number of its major texts.[149]

Thus, Faquan's ritual manuals do include mudrā-mantra pairs from the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm, a feature that is not seen in the *Sheda yigui*. However, these elements are not numerous, nor are they incongruous with the structure and contents of the matrix rite. Most importantly, each of the elements from the adamantine realm presented above are preceded and followed by ritual acts intrinsic to the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[150]

A final, and major, difference between Faquan's manuals and the *Sheda yigui* and *Guangda yigui* is the iconography of the rite's focal mandala. Gōhō states in his *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki* under the rubric "similarities and differences [between] the mandalas explained in the four ritual manuals" 四部儀軌所説曼荼羅同異事 that, according to Annen, the deities of the mandala and their mantras in the *Sheda yigui* are based upon the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* but that Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui* include deities from the Indian mandala 天竺曼荼羅 (*tenjiku mandara*) and that these deities do not have mantras. Further, Gōhō cites in this same entry the *Kita'in goshō* 北院御鈔 (Northern Hall Compendium) which records that, whereas the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* base their mandalas on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, the mandalas in Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui* are based upon the Shingon school's *Genzu mandara*.[151]

Faquan has made a significant addition to the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala because he also provides in his manuals lists of figures who appear in the halls of his rite's focal mandala (figs. 33, 34). Whereas each figure that appears in the mandalas in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* is accompanied by a short iconographic description and a mantra and mudrā, this one-to-one correspondence does not occur in Faquan's manuals. Faquan has composed this ritual phase from two disparate elements: he reproduces the selection of mantras and iconographic descriptions for the figures that are found in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* but then he also provides a separate listing of figures who appear in each of the halls of the mandala. This second element, the listing of the figures of the focal mandala, is particular to Faquan's manuals.

The figures that are given a mantra and an iconographic prescription in the *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui* match those that appear in the *Sheda yigui*'s and in the *Guangda yigui*'s mandalas, and these figures are, on the whole, found in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[152] On the other hand, the figures that are included in Faquan's separate lists have neither mantras nor iconographic descriptions, and many of them do not appear in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[153] An example of the dissimilarity between the earlier handbooks' and Faquan's mandala is the Hall of Avalokiteśvara. In this hall in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*, there are eight figures, but Faquan records the names of the twenty-one deities who appear in this hall of the mandala (fig. 33).[154] He also mentions in the *Qinglongsi yigui* the many attendant figures that accompany these deities.[155] Present, in addition to the deities who are in the *Sheda yigui*'s mandala and whose textual source is the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, are such figures as Mahāpratisarā, Cintāmaṇicakra, Padmakuladbhava, Palāśāmbarī and Amoghapāśa, to name but a few, and their textual source is not the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[156]

A second example of disparity between the mandalas delineated in these ritual handbooks is the Hall of Ākāśagarbha (fig. 34). As opposed to the nine figures in the *Sheda yigui*'s and the *Guangda yigui*'s hall, there are thirty figures in Faquan's hall.[157] Nine of these deities are the same as those in the two earlier handbooks, of which six are described in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. The remaining figures include such deities as Aṣṭottaraśatabhujavajradhara, Ekādaśamukha, Mahāmayūrī, Sahasrabhujā-Avalokiteśvara, Mahācakra, Vajrakuṇḍalī and the ten Pāramitā Bodhisattvas and, once again, their textual source is not the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[158]

There are, then, many more figures included in Faquan's mandala than in the mandalas described in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*. The uniqueness of Faquan's matrix ritual manuals is seen in the match between text and image: the configuration of figures recorded in the lists in the *Xuanfasi yigui* and the *Qinglongsi yigui* is identical to the figures depicted in the halls of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* and enumerated in the mandala appended to the *Bizangji*, whose iconography concurs with that of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*.[159] This correspondence between text and image suggests that Faquan intentionally composed manuals for a matrix rite wherein a mandala belonging to the iconographic lineage of the Shingon school's *Genzu taizōkai mandara* functioned as its main icon. The names, placement and number of figures in Faquan's mandala are, on the whole, identical with the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* and the *Bizangji*. Further, Faquan's intent to match text and image can clearly be seen in the directional indicators that he provides in his instructions for the creation of his rite's focal mandala. There are minor variations between Faquan's manuals and the iconography of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*, but they are few in number.[160]

Moreover, the intention to match text and image would explain Faquan's creation of an independent ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body for the numerous symbolic forms

of the Tathāgata's virtues. These personified virtues of the Tathāgata are not present in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s Hall of Universal Wisdom. This match between text and image also clarifies the presence in this matrix mandala of numerous figures whose textual source is not the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[161]

In short, there is a correspondence between the iconography of the mandala described in Faquan's ritual manuals and that of the Shingon school's *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. Such an accord between text and image is not found among the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*, ritual handbooks attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, and the earlier versions of the Chinese matrix mandalas, the *Taizang tuxiang* 胎藏圖像 (Icons from the Matrix Repository [Mandala]) and the *Taizang jiutuyang* 胎藏舊圖樣 (Old Style Drawings from the Matrix Repository [Mandala]).[162] Faquan, on the other hand, considered it helpful for the practitioner to know the iconography of the mandala that functioned as the focal image in his rite and so he carefully listed all its figures in his manuals. The prototype of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* was composed during Huiguo's lifetime because Kūkai returned from China with a mandala whose iconography corresponded to the present day *Genzu taizōkai mandara*.[163] Further, although the date of the *Bizangji* is problematic, it can be linked to Huiguo's transmission of Esoteric Buddhist teachings.[164] The iconography of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* thus existed long before Faquan's time, but it was not until he wrote the *Xuanfasi yigui* that a ritual text could be paired with this form of the matrix mandala.

A Comparison of Faquan's and Kūkai's Matrix Rites

It seems that Faquan expressly adapted his rite to the iconographic changes that the matrix mandala underwent after its introduction to China in the early eighth century by pairing his rite with a version of the matrix mandala whose iconography includes deities from works that belong to textual and ritual traditions other than that of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. However, a mixing of textual and ritual traditions does not characterize the rite itself. Faquan's rite is singularly based on the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. As I have demonstrated above, Faquan has based much of the content of his manuals on that of the ritual handbooks attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, in particular that of the *Sheda yigui*, a handbook that most closely conforms to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. Another noteworthy point about Faquan's matrix rite is the primacy given to the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This focus is in accordance with the ritual lineage of Śubhākarasiṃha, and in contrast to the prominence of elements from a number of ritual traditions, in particular those from the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm, apparent in the matrix rite of the Huiguo-Kūkai lineage.

A comparison of Faquan's manual for the matrix rite and the matrix manual attributed to Kūkai discloses that there are four main differences which occur in structure, ritual phase, order of visualization and installation of the deities into the mandala, and the iconography of the rite's focal mandala.[165]

First, there is a mixing of disparate ritual traditions in Kūkai's rite and this results in a structure that differs from that of Faquan's rite. According to Gōhō, the ritual phases described in the chapters of the seventh fascicle of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* serve as the model for the structure of the matrix rites attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha and those of Faquan.[166] Kūkai, however, has composed a matrix rite following the structure of his rite of the adamantine realm. He has patterned the ritual phases of purification, construction, encounter, identification and dissociation of his adamantine realm rite after the adamantine realm rite that Amoghavajra delineates in his

Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui.[167] Further, as we shall see, he has inserted into this adamantine realm-based structure a number of mudrā-mantra pairs from the ritual phases that characterize the rite of accomplishment (*susiddhi*).[168]

Second, there is a difference in the placement of the ritual phase of the assemblies of the matrix mandala in Kūkai's and Faquan's rites. Kūkai has included the assemblies of his matrix mandala within the rite of the adamantine realm's phase of encounter with the deities. This placement stands in marked contrast to the *Sheda yigui*, the *Guangda yigui*, and Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui,* wherein the assemblies of the mandala form a separate ritual phase that is performed before the ritual phase of offering. In his rite of the adamantine realm, Kūkai specifies the processes for visualizing the thirty-seven principal figures of the mandala of the adamantine realm and for the offering rites to be performed for these figures in the ritual phase of encounter with the deities. The practitioner commences the processes for visualizing the figures of the mandala of the adamantine realm and their offering rites with the mudrā-mantra pair for ringing the bell.[169] The practitioner performs these very same ritual acts of ringing the bell and visualization of the figures of the mandala in Kūkai's matrix rite but he substitutes the mudrā-mantra pairs of the figures of the mandala of the adamantine realm with those of the figures of the matrix mandala.[170] Once the visualization and installation of the deities into the matrix mandala have been completed, the practitioner of Kūkai's matrix rite then forms the mudrā-mantra pairs of the four gathering deities 四攝 (*samgraha*), Hook, Rope, Chain and Bell.[171] These deities belong to the thirty-seven principal deities of the mandala of the adamantine realm and function both to draw sentient beings to the Buddha's way and to guard the four gateways of the mandala's innermost court. The mudrā-mantra pairs of these deities are also performed in the rite of the adamantine realm to protect the deities who have entered the sacred site created within the practitioner's mind.[172]

Third, Kūkai's order of performing the mudrā-mantra pairs of the deities and so visualizing and installing them into the focal mandala of his matrix rite also differs markedly from the order given in the *Sheda yigui*, the *Guangda yigui*, and Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui*. The nine figures of the central court are first installed in Kūkai's rite. They are followed by the mudrā-mantra pairs of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body. Next come the mudrā-mantra pairs of Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Ākāśagarbha and Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhī. The figures of the other courts of the mandala are then installed, beginning with those in the Hall of Avalokiteśvara, continuing with the figures in the Halls of Mañjuśrī, Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhī, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśgarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Śākyamuni, including the figures of Acala and Trailokyavijaya, and ending with the figures of the protective gods. This order is closer to that given in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, except that the figures of the central court are installed first rather than last, as in the scripture.

Finally, Kūkai has taken the mudrās and mantras for the mandala's deities from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s chapters of the Secret Eight Seals and the Secret Seals. He has in fact included for his rite's focal mandala only those figures whose mudrā-mantra pairs are expounded in these two chapters of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This constitutes the fourth difference and stands in marked contrast to the mandalas in the *Sheda yigui*, the *Guangda yigui*, and Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* and *Qinglongsi yigui* which, as we have seen, contain figures that are not mentioned in the scripture.

Kūkai has, then, set into this adamantine realm-based ritual structure the mudrā-mantra pairs characteristic of the matrix rite and these mudrā-mantra pairs all derive from the

Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra.[173] Examples are the mudrā-mantra pairs of the nine expedient means, the series of the entering of the pledge, the birth of the Dharma Realm and the turning of the wheel of the teaching, the visualization of the five circles, the King of one hundred lights 百光王, the five offerings, the King of the twelve mantras 十二眞言王, and the mudrā-mantra pairs of the figures of his focal mandala, to name but a few.[174] Despite the fact that Kūkai's matrix mandala comprises only those deities who appear in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, his matrix rite nonetheless has many mudrā-mantra pairs that have been taken from Amoghavjra's rite for the adamantine realm. His matrix rite's phase of ritual purification, for example, contains the rite of the adamantine realm's mudrā-mantra pair for the purification of the three karmic actions 淨三業.[175] Its rite of construction contains the mudrā-mantra pair of universal vision 遍視, whereby the practitioner, having visualized the seed letters *ma* and *ṭ* in his eyes, purifies his sight and so sees all buddhas.[176] Further, there is in this ritual phase the sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the great ocean, the golden tortoise and Mount Sumeru, which is from the visualization of the container world given in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui*.[177]

However, a number of mudrā-mantra pairs in Kūkai's matrix rite that are performed in his rite of the adamantine realm are not found in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui*. One example is the mudrā-mantra pair of union with Buddhalocanā which is performed in the ritual phase of identification.[178] And, as I have mentioned above, present in Kūkai's rite of the adamantine realm are a number of mudrā-mantra pairs from the ritual phases of the accomplishment rite, and these mudrā-mantra pairs also appear in his matrix rite. The mudrā-mantra pair of the adamantine stake, the adamantine wall, the adamantine net and the adamantine fire, for instance, are performed in the accomplishment rite.[179] The mudrā-mantra pairs of the adamantine stake and the adamantine wall open the ritual phase of construction in Kūkai's rite of the adamantine realm and those of the adamantine net and adamantine fire close the section on inviting the deities and binding and protecting the sacred site, which is a part of his rite of the adamantine realm's ritual phase of encounter.[180] The ritual phase of construction in Kūkai's matrix rite begins with the mudrā-mantra pairs of binding the earth and binding the four directions and concludes with the mudrā-mantra pairs of the space net and the wall of fire.[181]

Thus, we see that Kūkai, a direct disciple of Huiguo, has composed a rite whose structure and many of its elements are identical to his rite of the adamantine realm, which is itself a composite rite that draws on a number of ritual traditions, especially that of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. On the other hand, Faquan, a second-generation disciple of Huiguo, has written a rite whose structure and ritual components do not greatly deviate from those expounded in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*. The mudrā-mantra pairs from the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm that Faquan has included in his rite are few in number, and are not, as I have shown, discordant with the structure and content of the matrix rite. In short, Faquan's manuals do not continue the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*-dominated rite that was transmitted by Huiguo and his disciple Kūkai but are instead a return to the structure and content of a rite based upon the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its ritual tradition.

In sum, Faquan's manuals are clearly indebted to the earlier ritual handbooks for the matrix rite that are attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha. As I have demonstrated, the content of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the ritual phases of Faquan's rite and the order of the installation of the deities into the focal mandala rely on those expounded in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*. Thus, in contrast to the matrix rite attributed to the Huiguo-Kūkai line of transmission, wherein disparate

ritual traditions are mixed and that of the adamantine realm overrides, Faquan has based his rite upon the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

Despite their indebtedness to earlier manuals, however, Faquan's handbooks contain a number of innovative features which make a marked contribution to the development and elucidation of Esoteric Buddhist practices. One of these is the appending of extensive notes and glosses to the text of the *Qinglongsi yigui*, thus making the ritual elements of his matrix rite more accessible to the practitioner. Further, Faquan expressly records the iconography of the mandala that was to function as the focal image of his rite. This is another unique feature of his handbooks and, as we have seen, the iconography of this mandala matches that of the present day Shingon Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*). Once again, we may interpret Faquan's delineation of the iconography of this rite's focal image as yet another attempt to elucidate the details of this rite for the practitioner. In essence his purpose was not to alter the earlier blueprint for this rite that Śubhākarasiṃha had provided but to clarify it so that his disciples could follow the correct path properly.

Precisely because an image can be linked to his text, Faquan's handbooks exhibit a feature common to the ritual handbooks of the Chinese Esoteric Buddhism of the ninth century. There is a mixing of iconographic traditions from disparate sources, despite Faquan's attempt in his ritual handbooks to remain within the ritual lineage of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This is because he pairs his rite with a matrix mandala that has many figures from the textual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Thus, on the one hand, Faquan strives to *purify* his rite of this mixture of textual and ritual traditions by privileging the contents and ritual methods of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* over those of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Yet, on the other hand, he combines his rite with a mandala that is not exclusively of the iconographic tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This mixing of originally independent textual and ritual traditions was a very pronounced characterisitc in Chinese Esoteric Buddhist ritual manuals that were popular during Faquan's time, as I have demonstrated in Chapter Six. For instance, the manuals for the rite of fire oblations and the offering rite to the directional gods that are attributed to Faquan display this mixing of diverse esoteric systems because he also consulted earlier Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works, although he did give preference to Śubhākarasiṃha's lineage of translations.

CONCLUSION: INTERPRETATIVE STRATEGY OF RECIPROCAL CORRELATIONS

I have demonstrated in this chapter that the origin of the tripartite interpretation of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings and of the special function and significance given the accomplishment (*susiddhi*) category was in Late Tang China. An investigation of the writings of Faquan's Chinese contemporary Haiyun and his Japanese disciples wherein descriptions of Faquan's teachings have been recorded reveals that he propagated a system of three interrelated categories of the accomplishment, matrix and adamantine realm. Moreover, during the time of Haiyun and Faquan there were differing interpretations of the accomplishment category of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings. Although, according to Haiyun, the accomplishment category spanned those of the categories of the matrix and adamantine realm, he ranked them equally. According to Faquan, however, the accomplishment category was seen as a third, intregating principle that united the two categories of the matrix and adamantine realm by means of a special mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment, whose source was the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[182]

j Furthermore, it was Faquan's teachings and writings that contributed to a renewed emphasis on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* in the late Tang period and to the important role given this text in the transmissions of his disciples Ennin, Enchin and Shūei.[183] Most crucial for my research is the fact that Faquan's handbooks for the matrix rite provide indisputable evidence of his use of a mandala that belonged to the iconographic lineage of the present day Shingon school's Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*). Enchin documented in his *Seikōden shingon shikan ryōshūkan* that he received consecrations from Faquan into both the Mandala of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion and the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies (*Genzu kongōkai mandara*). We learn that, despite the fact that the origins of these mandalas dated to the late eighth century, their continued use in ninth-century Chinese Esoteric Buddhism attested the sacredness of their models.

The Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies contains in its iconographic program the *Liquhui* 理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle). This is the seventh mandala in this set of nine mandalas whose focus is the Five Mysteries pentad. The iconography of the Assembly of the Guiding Principle in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies serves as the iconographic source for the Daigoji exemplar's Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vajrasattva 金剛薩埵理趣會 (fig. 2, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, p. 777, No. 2).[184] Faquan, a master of the category of the adamantine realm, would have instructed his Japanese disciples in the teachings of the *Liqujing*, its commentaries and ritual prescriptions. His Japanese disicples recorded in their inventories copies of materials that were required for the study of the *Liqujing* and its mandalas and ritual performances.[185]

It cannot be unequivocally asserted that Faquan prescribed the iconographical changes apparent in the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. There is no direct evidence linking him to the iconography of the Daigoji *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. However, we learned from Enchin's *Ketsu sanshu shijji hō* that Faquan considered the accomplishment category as a third, integrating principle that united the two categories of the matrix and the adamantine realm by means of the special mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment. Furthermore, Enchin applied in his *Kyōji ryōbu hiyō gi* the hermeneutical strategy of correlations 相対, or reciprocal interpretations, in order to elucidate how the three mantras of the Chinese cult of the threefold accomplishments 三種悉地, a cult that Faquan propagated, revealed the secret essence of the two categories of the matrix and the adamantine realm. Enchin did not explicitly link this strategy of reciprocal interpretations to his Chinese master Faquan. Nevertheless, the redefinition of the boundaries and powers of the accomplishment category and its three mantras, in particular its special mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment, thus would have allowed all manner of correlations among works in the systems of the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

We can see the employment of this interpretative strategy of reciprocal correlations in the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar. For example, we noted in Chapter Three and Appendix A, Figures in the Daigoji Exemplar, intentional juxtaposition of the iconographies of the Mandalas of the Adamantine Realm (*Genzu kongōkai mandara*) and the Matrix Realm (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*) within sets of mandalas and within individual mandalas.

Intentional juxtaposition of iconographies between a set of mandalas is evident in the central figures of Mahāvairocana in the first (fig. 1, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, p. 776, No. 1) and third (fig. 3, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, p.778, No. 3) mandalas of the Daigoji exemplar. The figure of Mahāvairocana in the first mandala forms the Mudrā of Meditation, the mudrā of the central

figure of Mahāvairocana in the Mandala of the Matrix Realm. Mahāvairocana forms the Mudrā of the Wisdom Fist, the mudrā of Mahāvairocana in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, in the second mandala. Amoghavajra stipulates in the *Liqushi* that Mahāvairocana form the Mudrā of the Wisdom Fist in this second mandala, but he did not prescribe that Mahāvairocana form the Mudrā of Meditation in the opening scene of the *Liqujing*. Despite the *Liqushi*'s directives for the mandala of this opening scene, wherein Mahāvairocana is surrounded by the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, the Eight Offering Bodhisattvas and the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas from the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, the mandala-maker and his master-advisor present Mahāvairocana of the Mandala of the Matrix Realm in the Daigoji opening mandala with the obvious intent of connecting the systems of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

Intentional juxtaposition within an individual mandala can be seen in the Mandalas of Trailokyavijaya (fig. 4), Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, pp. 779, 780, 781, Nos. 4, 5 and 6), for example. We have noted that these mandalas exhibit a pattern whereby a central figure whose iconographic source is the Matrix Realm Mandala is surrounded by a retinue of four figures based on the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. Amoghavajra's directions for these mandalas in the *Liqushi* make it clear that the iconography of *all* the figures of these mandalas accords with prescriptions in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

The figures of Trailokyavijaya's retinue, for instance, are to have wrathful forms.[186] The central figure itself, for example that of Trailokyavijaya in the Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Trailokyavijaya (fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, p. 779, No. 4), illustrates the linking of the two scripture's systems because of the interchangeability of figures from the Mandalas of the Matrix and Adamantine Realms. Amoghavajra prescribes in the *Liqujing* and the *Liqushi* that of a standing figure of Trailokyavijaya, trampling on the prostrate figures of the Maheśvara and his consort Umā, the Hindu deities Śiva and Pārvatī. This is also the iconography for the figure of Trailokyavijaya in the Trailokyavijaya Assembly 降三世會, the eighth mandala in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies, whose iconographic program Amoghavajra had a hand in composing. Trailokyavijaya is a deity whose role is crucial in the *Liqujing*'s and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Chapters on Trailokyavijaya, as we have learned. Subjugation by wrathful means is performed by ferocious manifestations (*vidyārājas*) of the Tathāgatas on those beings who are difficult to discipline because they cannot be guided by the gentle methods of benign deities (bodhisattvas). The story of Trailokyavijaya's trampling of Maheśvara and his consort alludes to the internal struggle of the practitioner. His uncontrolled passions are like those Hindu gods and goddesses who must be forced into submission before they can enter the Buddha's path.[187]

In contrast, the wrathful figure of Trailokyavijaya in the Daigoji mandala sits on a lotus blossom and the figures of Maheśvara and Umā are absent. Trailokyavijaya is only mentioned briefly in the *Vairocanābhiambodhi sūtra*, where Mahāvairocana describes his placement and appearance in its mandalas but does not elaborate on his story.[188] The story of Trailokyavijaya's subjugation of the arrogant Maheśvara would have been well known to esoteric practitioners. We can only surmise that, because correlations could be made between the figures in the Mandalas of the Matrix and Adamantine Realms, distinctions between the systems of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and their deities would no longer be relevant. A number of other examples, the central figures of Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha in their respective mandalas, for instance, also reveal that the iconography of the

Daigoji *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* has been carefully selected to reflect the integration of the mandalic realities of the systems of the Matrix and Adamantine Realms.

In sum, I contend that the presence of iconography from the Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*) in the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*, whose textual sources belong to the corpus of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, can best be explained by Faquan's religious contributions. These were the reinterpretation of the function of the accomplishment category as a third, integrating principle, which thus allowed all manner of correlations between differing Esoteric Buddhist systems, and the renewed focus on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its ritual elements (mantras and iconography).

CONCLUSION

This study's contribution to the field of Esoteric Buddhism of the eighth and ninth centuries in China and Japan is threefold. One, it has been the first to focus on the type of mandala known as the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* and its ritual tradition in the Japanese Shingon school, and in particular on the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*, whose iconography the Shingon tradition claims is based on Amoghavajra's (705–774) commentary on his translation of the *Liqujing*, the *Liqushi*. Two, this study has reconsidered Amoghavajra's transmission, demonstrating that his religious priority was to propagate the Esoteric Buddhist system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, which he outlined in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. Three, this study is the first to present in some detail the transmission of the ninth-century Chinese master Faquan (ca. 800–870). I have argued that the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar was a product of the concerns of ninth-century Chinese Esoteric Buddhists and, in particular, I have assigned to Faquan the responsibility for the iconographical and iconological changes seen in the Daigoji exemplar.

A mixing of Esoteric Buddhist systems of iconography characterizes the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. As I have demonstrated in Chapters One and Four of this dissertation, the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar does not match the content of the teachings that Amoghavajra presents in his *Liqujing*, nor the exposition and mandala prescriptions in his *Liqushi* and *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*. Instead, as Chapters One and Three show, the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar derives from a model whose iconography was identical to the Shingon school's Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*) and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm (*Genzu kongōkai mandara*, also known as the *Jingangjie jiuhui damantuluo* [Great Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm]). The Chinese prototypes of these Shingon mandalas postdate Amoghavajra, although I have argued in Chapter Four that his translation activity produced the template for the *Jingangjie jiuhui damantuluo*.

My documentation in Chapter Four of Amoghavajra's numerous references to the teachings and mandalas in the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown in his *Liqushi* and *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* clearly indicate that the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* belongs to this Esoteric Buddhist system. Amoghavajra's translation activities focused on specific assemblies of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, in particular those of the First (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*) through Fourth, the Sixth through Eighth, and Thirteenth Assemblies. Teachings and practices from these assemblies constitute the contents of the *Liqujing* and its related materials.

These findings corroborate those of such previous scholars as Sakai Shinten and Tanaka Kimiaki, who championed the importance of Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* as a source for recreating aspects of the Esoteric Buddhism of his time in India. Moreover, comparing the contents of Amoghavajra's translations and compositions related to the *Liqujing* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* to contemporary Indian works and later Tibetan translations that these scholars introduced has enabled me to redefine his transmission, one that highlights the importance of the *Liqujing*, its commentaries and their mandalas.

Two works that attest the significance of the *Liqujing*'s doctrine and practices and their dissemination beyond the Chinese capital of Chang'an after Amoghavajra's death are the Ishiyamadera exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* and the *Jingangjie jiuhui damantuluo*. The seventh mandala of the *Jingangjie jiuhui damantuluo*'s nine-mandala iconographic program is

that of the *Liquhui* (Assembly of the Guiding Principle). Both the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* and the *Jingangjie jiuhui damantuluo*'s *Liquhui* are guides for the practice of the teachings of the *Liqujing*, that is to attain in this body entry into the realm of great bliss because of one's understanding of the purity of all factors of existence. These doctrines are fundamental to a number of assemblies (Sixth through Eighth Assemblies and Thirteenth Assembly) in the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown.

In this study, I have also demonstrated that, even when Amoghavajra mixed elements from differing Esoteric Buddhist traditions in his ritual manuals, his intent was not to re-present the teachings and practices of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, independent Esoteric Buddhist scriptures in India, as a paired unit. This was an interpretative strategy undertaken by the post-Kūkai Shingon school in Japan to construct their doctrine and identity and a method of critical analysis employed by past and present Shingon scholars to shape their view of Amoghavajra's transmission. The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its mandala were elements of his transmission, but they did not perform the role they do in the Shingon school's articulation of his transmission.

The Sinification of Indian Esoteric Buddhist teachings continued in the late eighth among Amoghavajra's disciples and accelerated throughout the ninth century of the Tang Dynasty (618–907). Several strategies were used in this process of adapting Indian teachings to Chinese understanding and needs. Amoghavajra's disciples purposely constructed a spiritual lineage and specified the contents of his transmission, including elements that their master did not focus on. Kūkai (774–835), whom the Japanese Shingon school regards as its founder, introduced to Japan a dual form of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings that he said he inherited from his Chinese master Huiguo (746–805), one of Amoghavajra's eight disicples who headed the circle of Esoteric Buddhist masters in Chang'an in 804–806. As I have demonstrated in Chapter Three, these teachings present a pairing of the scriptural and ritual traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in a two-part unit, each with its separate significance as is reflected in the dual Mandalas of the Matrix Realm and the Adamantine Realm. Kūkai's *Shōrai mokuroku* provides the earliest documentation of these mandalas as a set.

The Mandalas of Buddhalocanā (fig. 8) and Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa (fig. 9) that are appended to the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* are the products of Esoteric Buddhist practices in ninth-century China, and their sources, the *Jingangjixiang dachengjiu pin* and the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, respectively, were first recorded in the inventories of the ninth-century pilgrim-monks Engyō (in China 838–839), Eun (in China 842–847), Ennin (in China 838–847) and Shūei (in China 862–865). I have shown in Chapter Six how the deliberate mixing of disparate Esoteric Buddhist systems in the late eighth-century *Jingangjixiang dachengjiu pin* and the early ninth-century *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* exhibit express correlations between the variant systems of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, and the earlier *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* scriptures. This is another unique feature in the ninth-century Sinification of Indian Esoteric Buddhism. Buddhalocanā, a deity originally from the earlier esoteric systems of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa*, for example, the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, was incorporated into the *Yuqijing*'s system of the Adamantine Realm, a system that differed from that which Amoghavajra presented in his translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, and given the power to effectuate the rites and mantras from both the Matrix and the Admantine Realm.

The correlations between the Esoteric Buddhist systems of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm that were made in the preface of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, also a ritual manual

for a deity of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* system, are illustrated in the Daigoji Mandala of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa. There Mahāvairocana forms the Mudrā of Contemplation on the Dharma Realm, which is the mudrā made by this deity in the Chinese matrix mandalas. And yet, the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s instructs that Mahāvairocana is to make the Mudrā of the Dharma Realm, that is the Mudrā of the Wisdom Fist, which is the mudrā made by Mahāvairocana in the Chinese mandalas of the adamantine realm. Documentation in the Shingon ritual compendia that harkens back to Tang China provides additional evidence of the correlations made between of the two ritual traditions of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm in the performance of the rite of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa.

As I have presented in Chapters Three and Seven, there was in the early decades of the ninth century the reclassification of the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist doctrine as "the great teachings in three categories" with a special significance and function given to the accomplishment (*susiddhi*) category of teachings. This development represents another aspect of the Sinification of the Indian Esoteric Buddhist teachings in the ninth century. The concept of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings in three categories does not appear in the *Bizangji*, an oral record most likely transmitted by one of Huiguo's second-generation Chinese disciples. Thus, concomitant with the oral transmission recorded in the *Bizangji*, which focuses on the tenet of the nonduality of Principle and Wisdom 理智不二 and its visual manifestation in the dual Mandalas of the Matrix Realm and the Adamantine Realm respectively, and also contains numerous entries describing these two scriptures and their mandalas as a single unit composed of two interrelated categories 兩部不二, a new, tripartite interpretation of the Esoteric Buddhist doctrine was being propagated. It was this system of interpretation that Haiyun, a contempory of Faquan, recorded in 834 in his *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji*. Although Tang Esoteric Buddhist masters promoted particular systems of interpretation of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings, it seems that they were free to interpret the Esoteric Buddhist doctrine as they saw fit: one master might emphasize a text, a tenet or a rite which another master might not consider important at all.

I have demonstrated in Chapter Seven that Faquan considered the Esoteric Buddhist teachings to be tripartite and that he gave a special significance to the accomplishment category and its mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment. I have presented the writings of Faquan's Japanese disciples Ennin and Enchin and Shūei wherein they document their Chinese master's propagation of this tripartite system and their recordings of the relevant scriptures, ritual manuals and religious paraphernalia of this category in their inventories, as well as brief accounts in their own transmissions wherein this category is mentioned.

Within the tripartite Esoteric Buddhist system that he promoted, Faquan gave priority in his own writings to Śubhākarasiṃha's (637–735) lineage of translations, that is the *Subāhuparipṛcchā, Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras*. Our analysis of Faquan's matrix manuals discloses his endeavor to produce a more accessible handbook for practitioners, clarifying this rite by carefully elucidating its method as stipulated in Śubhākarasiṃha's translation of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and in the matrix manuals attributed to him. We can speak of Faquan's use of a specific canon of scriptures that were translated into Chinese by this early eighth-century Indian master. It is this reliance on Śubhākarasiṃha's *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its ritual lineage as presented in Faquan's manuals that his Japanese disciples Ennin, Enchin and Shūei faithfully transmitted in their own ritual manuals. Moreover, according to tradition, Faquan authored new manuals for the fire rite and the rite of offerings to the directional gods. As I have demonstrated in Chapter Six, these works exhibit a mixing of variant Esoteric Buddhist

systems mainly from the contents of the eighth-century translations of Śubhākarasiṃha and, to a lesser extent, those of Amoghavajra. Despite the fact that Amoghavajra had translated a rite for fire oblations, Faquan (or a close disciple) felt the need to produce a new fire rite. This was because Amoghavajra's earlier rite followed the instructions given in his *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*. In contrast, the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* adheres to ritual prescriptions stipulated in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

Faquan also referenced a specific "canon of icons." He employed for the consecrations of his disciples and their instruction mandalas whose iconography matches that of the Shingon school's Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*) and Mandala of the Adamantine Realm (*Genzu kongōkai mandara*), whose iconographic program contains the *Liquhui*, the mandala most representative of the teachings of the *Liqujing*, as I have mentioned above. The late Tang Dynasty was characterized by such religious upheavals as the persecution of Buddhism during the years 841–845 and its subsequent restoration during the reign of Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 846–859). The loss of iconographic materials during the persecution of Buddhism may have contributed to the iconography of these mandalas becoming the most authoritative iconography in Chang'an's Esoteric Buddhist circles during Faquan's time. His Japanese disciples recorded in their inventories copies of these mandalas and the materials required for their study, as well as copies of the *Liqujing* and its accompanying commentaries, ritual manuals and oral transmissions.

In sum, I have demonstrated that Faquan's propagation of the tripartite system of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings with its accomplishment category reinterpreted as a third, integrating principle that united the categories of the matrix and the adamantine realm, his preference for referencing the eighth-century Chinese translations of Śubhākarasiṃha, especially his translation of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, and his use of mandalas whose iconography matched that of the Shingon school's Matrix Realm Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*) and Mandala of the Adamantine Realm (*Genzu kongōkai mandara*) attest to a ninth-century date for the production of the Chinese prototype of the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. I have argued in this chapter that Faquan's religious contributions — that is his reinterpretation of the accomplishment category as a third, integrating principle and the power of its mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment to conflate within its syllables the essence of the esoteric systems of the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* — would allow for the dissolution of distinctions between the scriptures and mandalas in the three categories of the matrix, the adamantine realm and accomplishment. The deities from one system (*Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*) could appear in another system (the Sixth Assembly, that is the *Liqujing*, of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown), a feature that is seen in the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*.

My focus upon Esoteric Buddhism in ninth-century China demonstrates that it did not stagnate, becoming a dormant or frozen tradition after Amoghavajra, as claimed by Shingon scholars, but continued to evolve and to contribute to the developing Japanese Esoteric Buddhist schools. In particular, my analysis of Faquan's transmission calls into question the received view of the Japanese Shingon school that there was *only* a Chinese Esoteric Buddhist system of two categories. I have supplied evidence that Esoteric Buddhism during Huiguo's time was not as sanitized as Kūkai, who used the concept of the "dual categories" of the Adamantine and Matrix Realms to define the transmission he received from his Chinese master, and the post-Kūkai

Shingon school, who uses this concept to describe its identity and doctrine, would have us believe.[1] I have demonstrated that the origin of the tripartite interpretation of the Esoteric Buddhist system was in Tang China. However, for documentation that elucidates the practices and icons of this tripartite pattern of the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist system, we must investigate the ritual lineages of Ennin, Enchin and Shūei, for example, who introduced Faquan's transmission to Japan.

Moreover, in this study I have presented the Shingon school's official account concerning the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. I have dealt with the problems of ascripton to Shūei in Chapter One and the reliabiity of Annen's attribution in Chapter Five. In Chapter Two I have examined the revisions and reinterpretations that the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* underwent, demonstrating that, despite changes due to "correction" of the iconography of the set that Shūei introduced (Daigoji exemplar) and to Shingon doctrinal interpretations, there has been a continuous transmission of the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar in the Shingon school from the late twelfth to the eighteenth centuries.

However, contemporary scholarship has shown that works long been considered Chinese are in fact Japanese compositions made to legitimatize sectarian claims.[2] The iconography of the Daigoji exemplar could have been produced in Japan. There is much more material on the topic of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* to investigate. I have not been able to find in the Shingon and Tendai sources that I examined a reference to this set that dates after the time of Annen's recording in 902 of its introduction by Shūei and Ennin until the Shingon master Ningai 仁海 (951-1046) recorded in his *Atsuzōshi* 敦造紙 his interpretation of the iconography of this set of mandalas that he used as a ritual focus.[3] Thus, there is lacuna of perhaps some ninety years or so in the Shingon historical sources that needs to be filled.

Another problem requiring investigation is the history of the *Liqujing*, its related commentaries and ritual manuals and the iconography of the mandalas in the Japanese Tendai Esoteric school. The Tendai pilgrim-monk Enchin provides evidence that this set of mandalas originated in China. He records in his *Sasagimon*, for example, questions for his Chinese master Zhihuilun concerning the iconography of these mandalas.[4] However, I have not examined in any depth Tendai materials after Enchin and Annen to ascertain whether the doctrine and practice of the *Liqujing* became important in the Tendai Esoteric school.

Further examination of Shingon and Tendai materials, both published and unpublished, concerning the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* would confirm and expand the conclusion of this study — that the prototype of the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar was made in ninth-century China.

Appendix A

DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE DERIVATION OF THE FIGURES IN THE DAIGOJI EXEMPLAR

The figure of Mahāvairocana, who forms the Meditation Mudrā in the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 776, No. 1), is the Mahāvairocana of the *Chūdai hachiyō in* 中台八葉院 (Hall of the Central Eight-Petaled Lotus Dais) of the *Genzu taizokai mandara*. In the Mahāvairocana Mandala (fig. 3, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 778, No. 3), Mahāvairocana, who forms the Wisdom Fist Mudrā as prescribed in *Liqushi* 2, appears as the Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne* 成身會 (Perfected Body Assembly).[1]

Vajrasattva appears with three distinct figure types in the Daigoji exemplar. However, only two can be traced to the *Genzu mandara*. The two that appear are Type (1), a figure with a *vajra* in his right hand and a bell in his left, and Type (3), with a *vajra* in his right hand and his left hand forming a fist. Type (2), with a *vajra* in his left hand and his right forming a fist, is absent from the *Genzu mandara*.

Let us discuss these types according to their order of importance within the Daigoji exemplar.[2] The Vajrasattva Type (1), who holds a *vajra* in his right hand and a bell in his left hand, is the central figure in the mandalas that are doctrinally most significant: the Vajrasattva Mandala (fig. 2, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 777, No. 2) and the final Five Mysteries Mandala (fig. 18, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 793, No. 18).[3] It is clearly the iconographic type found in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne, Misai e* 微細會 (Subtle Assembly), *Shiin'ne* 四印會 (Four Seals Assembly), and *Rishu e*.[4] Amoghavajra stipulates this type of Vajrasattva for the mandala that he expounds in *Liqushi* 2 but he does not prescribe it in *Liqushi* 1 or 17, which are the scriptural sources for the Vajrasattva Mandala (No. 2) and the final Five Mysteries Mandala (No. 18).

However, the Vajrasattva in the Daigoji's Mahāvairocana Mandala (fig. 3, No. 3), the most common type in the Daigoji exemplar,[5] does not follow *Liqushi* 2. He holds a *vajra* horizontally in his slightly raised *left* hand and forms a fist with his *right* hand. Shingon and Tendai textual sources do not record a Vajrasattva type who holds the *vajra* in his left hand, which suggests that the iconography of this figure has been influenced by that of one or more deities.[6]

The third iconographic type of Vajrasattva, who holds a *vajra* in his right hand and forms a fist with his left hand, is seen only in the Daigoji Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1). This type corresponds to the Vajrasattva who heads the Vajra Family in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kongōshu in* (Hall of the Vajrapāṇi).[7] This Vajrasattva type is, according to Ishida, the oldest in the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist tradition, where it makes its first appearance in the *Wubu xingua* 五部心觀.[8] Amoghavajra prescribes this type of Vajrasattva for the mandala expounded in *Liqujing* 1,[9] but, as noted above, he is not in the Daigoji Vajrasattva Mandala (fig. 2, No. 2).

Thus, even though the composer of the Daigoji exemplar has included three different types of the figure of Vajrasattva derived from three different sources, the most important, Type (1), the focal figure of the Vajrasattva and Five Mysteries Mandala (Nos. 2 and 18), is from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Moreover, Type (3), appearing in Mahāvairocana's retinue in the Daigoji Opening Mandala (No. 1), is from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*.

Turning now to the figure of Avalokiteśavra in the Daigoji exemplar, we find two distinct types. Type (1) holds a lotus flower in his left hand while forming with his right the gesture of

opening the lotus. Type (2) holds a long-stemmed lotus in his left hand and raises his right hand, palm outward, to his chest. Type (1) appears in the *Genzu mandara,* but Type (2) does not.

The iconography of Avalokiteśvara in the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1) is Type (1). It is identical to that of the figure of Vajradharma in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne* and to that of Avalokiteśvara in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kannon in* 觀音院 (Hall of Avalokiteśvara). The figures of Vajradharma and Avalokiteśvara, who heads the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kannon in*, are of the same type as those in the *Genzu mandara*.[10] Amoghavajra stipulates this iconography for the figure of Avalokiteśvara in the Mahāvairocana Mandala in *Liqushi* 2.[11]

This, however, is not the only iconographic type of Avalokiteśvara found in the Daigoji exemplar. In the Mahāvairocana Mandala (fig. 3, No. 3) and in the Avalokiteśvara Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 780, No. 5) the figure raises his right hand, palm outward, to his chest and holds a long-stemmed lotus in his left hand, the Type (2) noted above. This figure seems at first glance to resemble that of Avalokiteśvara in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s *Chūdai hachiyō in*. His hand gesture and attribute are reversed, however, and he holds the lotus in his left hand.[12] In the oldest Chinese version of the matrix mandala, the *Taizang tuxiang* 胎藏圖像 (Icons of the Matrix Mandala), for example, there is a figure of Avalokiteśvara who holds a lotus in his left hand.[13] Neither the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* nor its commentary, nor the ritual manuals that Śubhākarasiṃha is said to have provided with his translation specify the details of the iconography of the *Taizang tuxiang* Avalokiteśvara.[14] However, in his study of the *Taizang tuxiang,* Ishida Hisatōyō has identified the *Yizifuding lunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經, translated by the seventh-century Indian monk Bodhiruci, as containing an iconographic description corresponding to the figure of Avalokiteśvara in the *Taizang tuxiang* and the Daigoji exemplar.[15]

The composer of the Daigoji exemplar has thus used two iconographic types to depict the figure of Avalokiteśvara. Type (1) is based on an Avalokiteśvara figure common to both the *Genzu kongōkai* and *Genzu taizōkai mandara,* but Type (2) draws on iconography that predates that of the *Genzu mandara*.[16]

Ākāśagarbha, like Vajrasattva, is represented by three figure types in the Daigoji exemplar. Type (1) is a figure who holds a flaming jewel in his left hand, forming with his right hand the hand gesture of the granting of wishes; Type (2), one who holds in his left hand a long-stemmed lotus topped with three flaming jewels, holding a flaming sword in his right hand; and Type (3), one who holds a long-stemmed lotus topped with the jewels in his left hand, forming with his right hand the hand gesture of the granting of wishes. Types (1) and (2) are found in the *Genzu kongōkai* and *Genzu taizōkai mandara,* but Type (3) is not.

The iconography of the Ākāśagarbha Type (1), who appears as a retinue figure in the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1), the Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9) and the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 787, No. 12), is identical to that of the figure of Vajraratna in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Misai e* and *Shiin'ne*.[17] Moreover, although Amoghavajra prescribes the iconography for the figure of Ākāśagarbha in the Mahāvairocana Mandala in *Liqushi* 2, this figure-type does not appear in the Daigoji exemplar.[18] The retinue figure of Ākāśagarbha in the Mahāvairocana Mandala (fig. 3, No. 3) and the central figure of Ākāśagarbha in the Ākāśagarbha Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 781, No. 6) is instead Ākāśagarbha Type (2), corresponding to that of the Ākāśagarbha who heads the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s *Kokūzō in* 虛空藏院 (Ākāśagarbha Hall).[19]

On the other hand, the iconography of the Type (3) Ākāśagarbha figure, who holds a long-stemmed lotus topped with the jewels in his left hand, forming with his right hand the hand gesture of the granting of wishes, and is a member of the retinue in the Ākāśagarbha Mandala (No. 6), is not derived from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* or *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Shinjaku does not describe this type in his *Shosetsu fudōki*, but the twelfth-century Shingon work *Zuzōshō* 圖像鈔 (Compendium of Icons) does illustrate it.[20] After a description of a visualization practice in which this figure of Ākāśagarbha is brought forth, a note in small characters states that this practice appears in the *Qiuwenchi fa*'s 求聞持法 "rite for seeking, hearing, and retaining."[21] This form of Ākāśagarbha was well known within the Shingon school of the Heian period. Nevertheless, Type (3) appears only once in the Daigoji exemplar, while Types (1) and (2), from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* and *Genzu taizōkai mandara,* appear frequently.

In contrast to Vajrasattva, Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha, the rest of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas are represented in an iconographic type that is based directly upon either the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* or the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. The three-faced figure of Trailokyavijaya in the Trailokyavijaya Mandala (fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779, No. 4) is depicted as Vajrahūṃkara of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Jimyō in* 持明王院 (Hall of the Vidyārājas, the Holders of Spells*)*.[22] Vajramuṣṭi appears in the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1) and in the Vajramuṣṭi Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 782, No. 7) in the form of Vajramuṣṭi of the *Genzu kongokai mandara Jōjin'ne*.[23] In the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1) and in the Mañjuśrī Mandala (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783, No. 8) Mañjuśrī has the form of the crowned Mañjuśrī from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Chūdai hachiyō in*.[24] Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin appears in the form of two figure types that are found in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. In the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1) he takes the form of the figure of Bodhisattva Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin 共発意転輪菩薩 from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kokūzō in,*[25] and in the Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9) he appears as Bodhisattva Mahācakra 曼荼羅菩薩, also found in the *Kokūzō in*.[26] Gaganagañja appears in the Gaganagañja Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 785, No. 10,) as the figure of Vajrakarma from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne*,[27] but in the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1) his figure type is a variation on that of Vajrakarma from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Shiin'ne*.[28] Amoghavajra does not provide a description of Sarvamāra-pramardin in the *Liqushi*, but in both the *Liqushi* and the *Liqujing* he equates this Bodhisattva with the figure of Vajrayakṣa, whose emblem is the fang.[29] However, the iconography of the figure of Sarvamāra-pramardin in the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1) and in the Sarvamāra-pramardin Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 786, No. 11)[30] does not resemble that of Vajrayakṣa in the assemblies of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Instead, the mandala-maker has represented Sarvamāra-pramardin in his benign form of Vajradaṃṣṭra 金剛牙 (Adamantine Fang), who holds a lotus topped with a fang.[31]

The iconography of the youths in the Mañjuśrī Mandala (fig. 8, No. 8), Mahākāla in the Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5,3044, p. 789, No. 14), Brahmā in the Mandalas of the Seven Mother Goddesses and in The Three Brothers (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 791, No. 16), Nārāyaṇa in the Three Brothers Mandala (No. 16), the guardian figures in the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (No. 12) and Maheśvara and the guardian figures in the Maheśvara Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 788, No. 13) are also based upon that of the corresponding figures in the *Genzu taizōkai* and *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Mañjuśrī's retinue is composed of the four youths Jālinīprabhra, Ratnakūṭa, Candraprabha and Vimalaprabha, who also belong to Mañjuśrī's retinue

in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Monju in* 文殊院 *(*Hall of Mañjuśrī).[32] Mahākāla and Brahmā are seen in the *Saigai in* 最外院 (Outermost Hall*)* of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*,[33] and the figure of Nārāyaṇa in the Three Brothers Mandala (No. 16) and the guardians of the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (No. 12) appear in the *Gekongō bu* 外金剛部 (Outer Vajra Family) of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne*.[34] However, the iconography of the guardian figures of the Maheśvara Mandala (No. 13) is composite, combining elements from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* and *Genzu kongōkai mandara*.[35] The iconography of the figures of Agni, Varuṇa and Vāyu matches that of the figures in the outer section of the assemblies of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*;[36] the iconography of Yamarāja is a reversal of that of the figure of Yamarāja who sits on a buffalo in the southern gate of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s *Saigai in*;[37] the iconography of Indra and Nirṛti combines features from the same figures in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* and *Genzu taizōkai mandara*;[38] and the iconography of Vaiśravaṇa is the same in both the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* and *Genzu kongōkai mandara*.[39]

One figure remains to pose a problem as yet unresolved. This is Īśāna in the Maheśvara Mandala (No. 13). The three-headed, two-armed Īśāna, who holds a trident in his left hand and makes a fist with his right hand, is not found in the *Genzu mandara*, nor does he appear in any other surviving mandala of the esoteric traditions.

In short, the *Genzu mandara* provides the model for the iconography of all figures in the Daigoji exemplar except Vajrasattva Type (2), Avalokiteśvara Type (2), Ākāśagarbha Type (3), and Īśāna. The borrowing of iconographies from a variety of visual sources is not unique to the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo*. In the Chinese tradition of the mandala, the early eighth-century *Taizang tuxiang*, the *Taizang jiutuyang* 胎藏旧圖様, which dates to the first half of the eighth century,[40] and the *Genzu mandara*, which dates to the latter half of the eighth century, exhibit the same characteristics.[41] What is new is the clearly intentional juxtaposition of the iconographies of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* and *Genzu taizōkai mandara, both* within individual mandalas and within sets of mandala.

Juxtaposition within an individual mandala can be seen in all three of the Mandalas of Trailokyavijaya, Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha (Nos. 4, 5 and 6). Each of these follows a pattern whereby a central figure whose iconographic source is the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* is surrounded by a retinue of four figures based on the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*.[42] This pattern is seen again in the Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra Mandala (No. 9), where the figure of Mahācakra, from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kokūzō in*, is surrounded by the Offering and Gathering Bodhisattvas who are standard to the assemblies of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*.[43] On the other hand, mandalas Nos. 1 (fig. 1) and 3 (fig. 2) and mandalas Nos. 12 and 13 show juxtaposition within a set rather than within a single image. Mahāvairocana of the Opening Assembly Mandala (No. 1), whose iconography is that of Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara,* contrasts with the Mahāvairocana of the Mahāvairocana Mandala (No. 3), whose iconography is that of Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. The guardian figures of the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (No. 12), the five types of gods of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Gekongō bu* (Family of the Outer Vajras), contrast with the guardians of the Maheśvara Mandala (No. 13), who occupy the four cardinal and four intermediate positions of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Saigai in* (Outermost Hall).

Appendix B

EXAMINATION OF SHINGON SCHOLARS' METHOD OF CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF AMOGHAVAJRA'S TRANSMISSION

INTRODUCTION

Because Kukai records in his *Shōrai mokuroku* and in his *Fuhōden* that Huiguo had transmitted to him the great twofold teachings that Huiguo himself had received from his Master Amoghavajra,[1] the identity and doctrine of the post-Kūkai Shingon school were founded upon the amalgamation of the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Hence, any analysis of Amoghavajra's transmission must necessarily begin with the essential question: did Amoghavajra expressly combine into one the two originally independent Esoteric Buddhist traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*?

The method of critical analysis employed by Shingon scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries seeks to identify instances of this combining of textual and ritual traditions. However, the opinions of these scholars are contradictory. Ōmura Seigai stated that Amoghavajra esteemed the adamantine realm category, focusing his efforts on the translation and transmission of the teachings and rites of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.[2] The Shingon monk Gonda Raifu 権田雷斧 (1846-1927), on the other hand, claimed exactly the opposite.[3]

Contemporary scholars are as divided.

Osabe Kazuo argues that Amoghavajra was the composer of the pure esoteric teachings of the Dual Categories 純粋兩部密教 (*junsui ryōbu mikkyō*) because he combined the two originally independent traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* into one tradition which is composed of two interrelated parts. Osabe characterizes the ritual manuals that Amoghavajra translated as manuals that display the combined practice of the rites of the adamantine realm and the matrix. By identifying elements that derive from these two rites,[4] he defines two types of ritual manuals of combinatory practice. The first is a ritual manual whose structure is clearly divided into two parts; the source of the parts is either that of the matrix rite or that of the rite of the adamantine realm. One of the two traditions forms the dominant theme of the rite. In the second type of manual we find rites of combined practice in which elements from the two traditions are intermingled.[5] Osabe states that this union of the two traditions characterizes the Esoteric Buddhist teachings of Amoghavajra's time. He cites the works of Yixing 一行 (683-729), a disciple of Śubhākarasiṃha and of Vajrabodhi, as another example wherein the two traditions are combined. Osabe has noted, for example, the number of times (22 in all) that Yixing cited the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in his commentary on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[6] In short, according to Osabe, Tang Dynasty Esoteric Buddhist teachings, of which Amoghavajra's were representative, have as their unique characteristic the combinatory practice of the ritual traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

Onozuka Ikusumi 小野塚幾澄, following in Osabe's footsteps, also defines Amoghavajra's transmission as the precursor of the Shingon doctrine of the amalgamated traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and he classifies a number of Amoghavajra's texts as combinatory practice.[7]

As mentioned, the art historian Ishida Hisatōyō, too, cites Amoghavajra as the originator of the mixing of the iconographies of the matrix and adamantine realm mandalas.[8] Matsunaga Yūkei

and Mukai Ryūshō, on the other hand, date the express combining of the two traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the concept of the non-duality of their mandalic realities after Amoghavajra's lifetime. They argue that Huiquo initiated this interpretation.[9]

In order to make authenticity less of a problem, I have limited the materials that I will examine to the list of translations and compositions that Amoghavajra himself presented to the Chinese emperor in 771. This is a list of the works that Amoghavajra translated and composed between the years 746 and 771. An investigation of all the ritual manuals that Amoghavajra listed in the memorial of 771 will not be possible here. Instead, I will focus on the *Liqujing*-related materials and ten works categorized as "combinatory practice."[10]

THE *LIQUJING*-RELATED MATERIALS

Included in Amoghavajra's list of translations and compositions are the *Liqujing*, *Liqushi* and ritual manuals for the performance of the rites that focus on Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva, the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on Bodhisattva Samatabhadra from the Supreme Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle), the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* 普賢金剛薩埵念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva) and the *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽五祕密修行儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Practice of the Five Mysteries from the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle, hereafter *Wubimi xiuxing yigui*).[11] Kūkai includes the *Liqujing*, the *Liqushi* and the above three ritual manuals under the rubric of the textual lineage of the Adamantine Crown 金剛頂宗經 (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*) in his *Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku* 眞言宗所學經律論目錄, which was a list of texts that monks of his lineage had to study.[12]

Nevertheless, Shingon scholars, for example Ōmura, Osabe and Onozuka, classify these *Liqujing*-related materials under different headings. Ōmura categorized the *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* as works belonging to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.[13] Osabe, on the other hand, classifies the *Liqushi* and related ritual manuals as works wherein the practices of the ritual traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* are combined.[14] Onozuka, like Kūkai and Ōmura before him, classifies the *Liqujing*, *Liqushi* and its three ritual manuals as belonging to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.[15]

In the following discussion I will address the Shingon scholars' analysis of Amoghavajra's works.

The *Liqushi*

Ōmura does not analyze the *Liqushi* in terms of the mixing of elements from the rites of the matrix and adamantine realm. His position is that this work belongs to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. For example, he states that this text's visualization rite for the Five Mysteries mandala is based upon the rite of the adamantine realm. Further, he cites the *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqia yuqi jing* (*Yuqijing*), a work included in the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, as the origin of the concept of the Five Mysteries.[16]

Osabe, on the other hand, states that there are numerous instances of the mixing of elements from the rites of the matrix and adamantine realm throughout the *Liqushi*.[17] The *Liqushi*

thus belongs to his second type of manual, describing a rite of combined practice wherein elements from the two traditions are scattered throughout the text. Osabe gives but three examples of combined practice. The first is:

> [The letter *hrīḥ*] becomes an eight-petaled lotus flower. In the calyx [of the lotus] imagine Vajradharma 金剛法.[18]

Osabe does not specify what parts of this passage derive from which rite. I assume it is the eight-petaled lotus that signifies the matrix rite because Vajradharma is the main Bodhisattva attendant of Amitāyus, the Buddha who heads the Padma (Lotus) Family in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. If this is Osabe's point, it is not very well taken. True, the Shingon school associates the eight-petaled lotus with the central assembly of its Matrix Mandala.[19] However, the eight-petaled lotus flower is a common motif in the construction of Buddhist mandalas and in Buddhist visualization practices, because the structure of the eight-petaled flower provided an easy manner whereby the practitioner could order and record the mandala's composition and his visionary experience. An example of its first use occurs in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* for construction of the Great Mandala for Consecration.[20] In the Indian Tantric Buddhist tradition the eight-petaled lotus is found in many of the visualization practices that are collected in the *Sādhanamālā*, and is an example of its second use. Although the latest date for this work is 1163 AD, the visualizations were composed by various authors and were collected over many centuries.[21] The eight-petaled lotus also occurs in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, a collection of twenty-six mandalas compiled by Mahāpaṇḍita Abhāyakaragupta at the end of the eleventh century or early twelfth century.[22] It occurs, moreover, in other ritual manuals of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* lineage that Amoghavajra translated.[23]

When Osabe's example is placed in context, it is difficult to see an explicit reference to the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its rite in this quotation from the *Liqushi*. This passage that Osabe quotes is taken from the *Liqushi*'s Guiding Assembly of the Wisdom of Avalokiteśvara. Here Amoghavajra explains the significance of each of the central lines of the corresponding section in the *Liqujing* wherein Amitāyus, who takes the form of Avalokiteśvara, expounds four methods of experiencing the purity of all the passions through the very same passions. Amoghavajra gives the prescriptions for the mandala that symbolizes the teachings of this chapter. In this mandala Avalokiteśvara sits in the center and the four bodhisattvas who attend Amitāyus of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, Vajradharma, Vajratīkṣṇa, Vajrahetu and Vajrabhāṣa are placed in the four cardinal directions. Amoghavajra then describes the practices of visualization and recitation that center on this mandala and the results that the practitioner will attain. One visualization focuses on the lotus and Vajradharma and another focuses on the adamantine staff (vajra) and the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The passage that Osabe cites comes from the first visualization. I quote from the *Liqushi*:

> When you succeed in entering this mandala, you will attain supreme enlightenment and the passions (*kleśā*) will not be able to defile [this enlightenment]. On the occasion when you yourself reside in the mandala and perform union with the main Venerable, in your mind you should position the sacred crowd around you, summoning [the deities] with the mantra of the four letters [*jaḥ*, *hūṃ*, *baṃ*, *hoḥ*] and recite their heart mantras. [Then], reciting the

> guiding principle of wisdom of the fourfold purity [that the *Liqujing* expounds in its corresponding chapter], enter into each one of the gates [of this fourfold teaching of purity] and [thereby] pervade throughout the Dharma Realm (*dharmadhātu*), and then having gone around, begin again and create the one Dharma Realm [wherein] self and others are equal. One time imagine that [on] your own body [is] the letter *hrīḥ* and that [this] turns into an eight-petaled lotus flower and in the calyx [of that lotus] imagine Vajradharma and on the eight petals imagine eight Buddhas. Another time imagine [on] the body of another the letter *huṃ* [which then] becomes a five-pronged adamantine staff and in its center, where you grasp [this staff], imagine the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas. Taking this adamantine staff and lotus flower, unite the two bodies [which then] become Meditation (*dhyāna*) and Insight (*prajñā*). Consequently, the secret meaning in the Extended Chapter of Yoga 瑜伽廣品中 explains that the two roots [male and female] join [in sexual intercourse] and the five tainted objects [of the five sense-fields of body, speech, smell, taste and touch] become great buddha deeds.[24]

The primary purpose of these visualizations is to eliminate defilements and attain the purity of one's original nature. From the very outset of Buddhism the lotus flower came to signify the purity of the Buddha and his teachings.[25] Avalokiteśvara, who holds the lotus as his emblem, symbolizes this purity in the *Liqushi*. Amoghavajra states that:

> When you worship the Tathāgatas using this meditative concentration (*samādhi*), you will also be able to immediately dispel the various taints that arise from your deluded mind and will be able to quickly realize the gate of the teachings of the purity of one's fundamental nature. For this reason, Avalokiteśvara holds in his hand a lotus flower and contemplates that the light of the purity of self-essence of the essence of the repository of the tathāgatas within the bodies of all sentient beings cannot be stained by the taints of delusion. Because of your union with Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, you succeed in purifying yourself, having detached yourself from defilements, and in becoming one with the Holy One.[26]

Amoghavajra concludes this section of his commentary with a brief description of the Paradise of Amitābha to which the practitioner attains through the practice of the mantra *hrīḥ*, thus drawing on the popular Mahāyāna theme of paradises:

> Because of empowerment with this letter [*hrīḥ*], the water, birds and forests, all utter the sounds of the teaching in the world of utmost joy 極樂世界. Just like the extended scripture explains 如廣經中所説, if you maintain [and protect] this single-letter mantra, you can eliminate all misfortunes and illnesses, and after this life is over you will certainly be born in [Amitābha's] land of peace and joy 安樂國土, attaining the upper birth of the upper grade上品上生. This one chapter, [when] understood by the practitioner who practices Avalokiteśvara's heart mantra 心眞言, can also help those practicing the yogas of the other Families [in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm].[27]

Nevertheless, his numerous references to the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and to the secret meaning in the extended chapter of *Yoga* and an extended scripture leave no doubt that the teachings of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* underpin this assembly of his commentary.[28]

Osabe's second example of the mixing of the rites of the adamantine realm and matrix in the *Liqushi* is:

> Because of the letter *a* 阿字, all the elements (*dharmas*) are originally unborn.[29]

In the passage Osabe here refers to, Amoghavajra analyses the mantra *hūṃ*, which summarizes the teachings of the first section of the *Liqujing,* into its four component parts. This passage in the *Liqushi* is as follows:

> The [heart mantra] *hūṃ* has the meaning of cause... This single letter [*hūṃ*] possesses the meanings of four letters. Namely, the letter *ha* 賀字 forms the main body [of the grapheme] and from the letter *ha* arises the letter *a* 阿字. Because of the letter *a*, all the elements are originally unborn and the cause of all the elements is unattainable. Within this letter [*hūṃ*] there is the voiced *u* 汚聲. The voiced *u* is the unattainability of the transience of all elements. On the top of this letter [*hūṃ*] there is a dot and a half moon, which is in fact the letter *m* [マ]字, the *anusvāra,*[30] and this] is the unattainability of the meaning of self in all the elements...[31]

In Sanskrit the vowel *a* is the primary sound. It is inherent in all consonants and the other vowels are modifications of this primary sound. The system of doctrine and practice in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* is indeed condensed into the single grapheme *a* 阿字.[32] However, in addition to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra,* the doctrine of the letter *a* is found in earlier exoteric and esoteric texts. The *Mahāprajñapāramitā sūtra*, for instance, was the first to propagate the letter *a* as that which reveals the original non-generation of the elements of existence (*dharmas*).[33] This tenet is also found in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* 大方廣佛華厳經入法界品[34] and the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* 不空羂索神變眞言經.[35] Moreover, in Indian grammar the vowel *a* is a negative prefix. In Chinese translations of certain exoteric texts, in keeping with its use as a negative prefix, the syllable *a* signifies such concepts as impermanence 無常,[36] indestructibility 不破壞,[37] limitlessness 無遍, nondiscrimination 無分別, without self-nature 無自性 and the inexplicable 不可思議.[38] Thus, the letter *a* and its voiced phoneme, which came to symbolize Buddhist tenets in both exoteric and esoteric teachings, cannot be restricted to the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

Osabe gives as his third example of combined practice Amoghavajra's explanation of the rites of offerings 供養法 that belong to the rites of the adamantine realm and the matrix.[39] This passage occurs in the Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Gaganagañja. I quote the *Liqushi*:

> This bodhisattva presides over all the gates of offering. As to offerings, there are numerous kinds. According to the *Susiddhi*[*kara*] *sūtra* there are five kinds of offerings and there are also twenty kinds of offerings. In the teachings of the

> Yoga Scripture 瑜伽經教 there are four kinds of offerings [which are] the so-called offering of the mind of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), offering of merits, offering of truth (*dharma*) and offering of actions (*karma*). These are identical to the teaching of the fourfold guiding principle [that I have explained] earlier. There are, moreover, the fivefold secret offerings, the eightfold offerings, the sixteen great offerings, as well as the seventeen miscellaneous offerings and on up to the all-encompassing offering (*sarvapūjā*). All of them are collected together in the Ritual Manual of the Offerings of Bodhisattva Gaganagañja.[40]

In this passage Amoghavajra does not make a distinction between the offerings rites of the adamantine realm and the matrix that Osabe claims he does. Amoghavajra simply lists in this passage the many kinds of Buddhist offering rites that in the esoteric tradition are presided over by Bodhisattva Gaganagañja. And he mentions the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and Yoga Scritpure as textual sources. Amoghavajra expressly states, however, that the offering rite performed in this assembly of the *Liqushi* is based upon the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, which he refers to as the Yoga Scripture. And, indeed, the four kinds of offerings that are given in the corresponding section of the *Liqujing* are personified in the *Liqushi* by the Four Inner Offering Bodhisattvas of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[41]

To conclude, Osabe's three examples of combined practice do not even begin to indicate elements that are found solely in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. The doctrine of the letter *a* is found in both the Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhist traditions. The eight-petaled lotus is a standard motif in the visualizations and mandalas of the Indian Esoteric Buddhist tradition. We know that Amoghavajra was familiar with the Exoteric and the contemporaneous Indian Esoteric Buddhist traditions. He specifically sought out new Esoteric Buddhist texts and practices and he received instructions in the current Esoteric Buddhist methods during his trip to India in 741–746.

Further, it is Osabe who makes a distinction between the offerings in the rites of the adamantine realm and the matrix because Amoghavajra mentions the different rites expounded in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and the Yoga Scripture. The Shingon school regards the *Susiddhikara sūtra* as a text belonging to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* lineage and thus one whose contents have influenced the structure of the Shingon matrix rite.[42] The five offerings of smearing unguents, flowers, stick incense, food and drink and lamps that Osabe consistently designates as elements of the rite are indeed found in the present Shingon rite.[43] And the same five types of offerings are also listed in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*.[44] However, we do not know whether Amoghavajra regarded the *Susiddhikara sūtra* as ancillary to that of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This is not to say that Amoghavajra did not include the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* in his commentary. The most obvious example is the famous "three phrases" 三句 in the introductory section of the *Liqushi*.[45] Osabe's three examples of combined practice, however, do not support his contention that Amoghavajra purposefully combined the two ritual traditions in his commentary.

Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva Ritual Manuals

Ōmura labels the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa*, the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* and the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* combined rites wherein elements from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Yugikyō* are evident.[46] Osabe, however, categorizes the

rites given in these manuals as combined rites, but as belonging to the *kenmitsu* lineage 顯密系 wherein there is a combining of Exoteric 顯 and Esoteric 密 Buddhist doctrine.[47] Onozuka, as I have stated, classifies them under the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.[48]

According to Osabe, evidence of the matrix rite in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* is the following passage:

> Or in a room in your home construct a practice site and face to the east...[49]

and the fact that the practitioner must make five kinds of offerings to the buddhas.[50] The entire passage is as follows:

> In a mountain forest, or in a purified room, or in a monastery, or in a room in your own home construct the practice site and face to the east or to the west. Accordingly, choose somewhere peaceful. Your body straight and erect, sit in the half lotus pose, or in the full lotus pose, or Samantabhadra's pose, or sit as you please, and imagine your connection with the worlds of sentient beings everywhere, [thus] causing sentient beings to purify their three acts of body, speech and thought. Say the secret words:
>
> *oṃ svabhāva śuddho'haṃ* I am pure of self-nature
>
> Next you should visualize the perfect possession of the major [thirty-two] and minor [eighty] marks of the tathāgatas. Imagine offerings, divinely wondrous smearing ointments, flower garlands, burning incense, lamps, food and drink and all sorts of praises.[51]

Although the practitioner does face east when he performs the rite, he also faces east when he performs the rite for prosperity (*pauṣṭika*) or specific rites that focus on the Vajra Family of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[52] Thus, once Osabe's extracted quote is placed back into context we see that Amoghavajra is not referring to a specific practice but is describing the possible situations within which the practitioner can practice this rite.

Similarily, Osabe's second example of the rite — the five kinds of offerings to the buddhas — is not convincing. In the text there are in fact several kinds of offerings listed. Amoghavajra does not, however, provide specific mudrās and mantras (mudrā-mantra pairs) for these offerings, though such mudrā-mantra pairs are the only way for us to identify his sources. For instance, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* gives the mantras for the five kinds of offerings of unguent, flowers, stick incense, lamps and food but does not explain the mudrās.[53] The mudrās are provided in the ritual manuals attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha.[54] Given the context, then, Amoghavajra is simply enumerating offerings in general, and such offerings of unguent, flowers, incense, lamps and food are traditional Buddhist offerings that are placed before every Buddhist image, whether exoteric or esoteric.

Osabe also claims that the mudrās and mantras of the four Gathering Bodhisattvas and the eight Inner and Outer Offering Bodhisattvas in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* serve as indications of the rite of the adamantine realm.[55] He is correct: the four Gathering Bodhisattvas and the eight Inner and Outer Offering Bodhisattvas belong to the thirty-seven deities who compose the focus of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, thus these figures do indeed figure in the rite of the adamantine realm. Moreover, the ritual mudrās and accompanying mantras of these

bodhisattvas are given in detail in this manual. As I will demonstrate in the following pages, the rite delineated in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* is in fact based upon Amoghavajra's translation of a rite for the adamantine realm.

Finally, Osabe does not cite specific examples from the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* or the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* that are indicative of combined practice. Instead he notes the elements that belong to Esoteric and Exoteric Buddhist teachings in the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui*; for example, the famous "three phrases" from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*,[56] the theory of the buddha bodies (*busshin ron*),[57] the teachings of the school of the Consciousness Only (*yuishiki*)[58] and of Wisdom (*prajñā*).[59]

My research reveals that these three ritual manuals are not examples of combined practice but belong to the ritual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. The first thing to note is that the titles of these three ritual handbooks contain the name of their textual source. There are differences in the titles: the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* has the title Yoga of the Adamantine Crown 金剛頂瑜伽[60] whereas the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* has that of the Supreme First Yoga of the Adamantine Crown 金剛頂勝初瑜伽.[61] Although Amoghavajra announces the sources of the rites in many of his translations, Ōmura often states that his declarations are unreliable.[62] However, we have discussed the research of Fukuda Ryōsei who, in researching the extended versions of the *Liqujing* in both the Chinese and Tibetan Canons, has discovered that the term *paramādi* 勝初 (*shengchu*) in the full title of the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* refers to a text in the Tibetan Canon called in Sanskrit the *Śrīparamādi tantra*.[63] The focus of the *Śrīparamādi tantra*, which corresponds, on the whole, to the second section of the Chinese extended version of the *Liqujing*, the *Foshuo zuishang genben dale jingang bukong sanmei dajiaowang jing* that was translated by the Song Dynasty monk Faxian in 999, is the doctrine of the Five Mysteries.[64] Fukuda has, moreover, divided the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals that Amoghavajra translated into groups and his criterion was the main textual source upon which each group is based. According to Fukuda's investigation, the ritual procedure of the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* derives from the *Śrīparamādi tantra*, and that of the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* and the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* stems from the *Liqujing* and its commentary, the *Liqushi*.[65] The textual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* constitutes, then, the origin of these ritual handbooks.

A final point to note concerning the textual sources of these Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva handbooks is that Amoghavajra also specifies the ritual tradition of these handbooks at the opening of each manual. The *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* begins with a reference to the hundred thousand verses and eighteen assemblies, that is the corpus of texts belonging to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.[66] Further, he declares in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* that:

> Having once entered the Great Mandala (*mahāmaṇḍala*) of the Adamantine Realm, you will receive the precepts of the mind of enlightenment.[67]

Thus, according to the basic rules of the Indian Esoteric Buddhist tradition founded upon the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the practitioner must first enter the mandala that is fundamental to the teachings of this text, and then he can receive the Esoteric Buddhist precepts.

Next, as further proof, I will compare the ritual phases in the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals with those given in a manual that Amoghavajra recorded as the ritual procedure for

the adamantine realm, the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on the Essence of the Lotus Family of the Adamantine Crown).[68] This manual is also included in his 771 list of translations and compositions.[69] Such a comparison will reveal that these three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals belong to the ritual lineage of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.

The Esoteric Buddhist rite is patterned upon the ancient Indian custom of receiving and entertaining a guest. The rite in general can be divided into five major phases.[70] These are the phases of purification, construction, encounter, identification and dissociation. In the first phase of purification the practitioner prepares himself for the arrival of the deity and his accompanying retinue. He purifies his body, speech and thought. Observance of this ritual phase of purification qualifies the practitioner to invoke and unite with the deity he will worship. In the second phase of construction the practitioner prepares the location in which the rite will take place. He creates in this phase the psychic location of the rite. First he purifies and demarcates the boundaries of the sacred realm 結界法 and then he visualizes the sacred center where he will receive his guests. This is the ritual phase of adorning the sacred site 莊厳道場法. Having requested the deities who reside in their own transcendental lands outside the boundaries of the practice site to enter the sacred site that he has created within his mind, the practitioner then presents offerings and praises. This is the phase of the practitioner's encounter with the deities. In the fourth phase of identification, mergence with the principle deity 入我我入 (Skt. *ahaṃkāra*) occurs. In this stage the practitioner unites with the invited deity by correlating the activities of his body, speech and mind with those of the deity. The phase of dissociation is divided into three parts: the dissolution of the sacred site, the sending off of the deity and his retinue and the practitioner's departure of the practice site.

Within the five major phases that characterize the esoteric rite there are a number of subdivisions that may vary according to the ritual objective or the ritual lineage of the rite. For instance, the objectives and thus the ritual phases of the rites of the adamantine realm, matrix and fire offerings (*homa*) differ. Further, differences result due to the interpretations of the ritual masters. In order to compare and contrast the ritual manuals under discussion, I have relied on the categorization of the contents of the rite of the adamantine realm that was composed by the Shingon monk Gengō 元果 (914-995) of Daigoji's Enmyōin 醍醐寺延命院. In Gengō's arrangement, which is given in his *Kongōkai nenju shiki* 金剛界念誦私記, the rite is divided into the following eight sections:[71]

- Purification
  Section on going to the hall and performing vows 上堂行願分 (*jōdō gyōgan bun*)
- Construction
  Section of the pledge (*samaya*) precepts 三昧耶戒分 (*sanmayakai bun*)
  Section on attaining the [buddha] body and empowerment 成身加持分 (*jōjin kaji bun*)
  Section on the adornment of the practice site 道場荘厳分 (*dōjō sōgon bun*)
- Encounter
  Section on inviting [the deities] and binding and protecting [the sacred site] 奉講結護分 (*hōshō ketsugo bun*)
  Section on offerings and praises 供養賛嘆分 (*kuyō santan bun*)
- Identification
  Section of the practice of contemplation and recitation 念誦修習分 (*nenju shujū bun*)

- Dissociation
  Section of the later offerings and expedient devices 後供養方便分 (*gokuyō hoben bun*)

Although Gengō's rite of the adamantine realm differs slightly from that of Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* because of the addition of a number of sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs from other rituals, the contents of the two rites are, on the whole, comparable. Moreover, despite the accretions Gengō made to this rite, his eightfold classification scheme furnishes a method of analysis that can be applied to the contents of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals.

Comparison reveals that the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* provides the structural model for Amoghavajra's three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals. The *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* closely replicate the ritual phases of Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm. The *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* consists of the sections of going to the hall and performing vows, the pledge precepts, the attaining the buddha body and empowerment, offerings and praises, contemplation and recitation, and the later offerings and expedient devices. The *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* contains the sections of going to the hall and performing vows, the pledge precepts, the attaining the buddha body and empowerment, the adornment of the practice site, requesting the deities and binding and protecting the site, offerings and praises and contemplation and recitation.

There are, then, omissions in the ritual procedure outlined in the two Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals. The *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa*, for example, does not have the ritual phases of the adornment of the sacred site and the inviting of the deities and protecting the sacred site. The ritual phase of the later offerings and expedient devices is not given in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa*. Further, often the ritual phases of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* are reduced in the two Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals to a few mudrā-mantra pairs for each ritual phase.

Moreover, although the procedure for the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva rite outlined in both the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* is based upon that of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa,* the two Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals do not contain exactly the same mudrā-mantra pairs for each ritual phase. The *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa*, for instance, includes the mudrā-mantra pairs of the Conquerer of the Three Worlds 降三世 (*Trailokyavijaya*) and the contemplation practice unique to the rite of the adamantine realm, that of the visualization of the attainment of the buddha body through the five steps, but the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* does not. Nonetheless, the mudrā-mantra pairs of the shared ritual phases in these two Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals do, despite minor exceptions, correlate with those of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.[72]

There is, moreover, a core of ritual phases common to the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva rites, and the mudrā-mantra pairs of these phases are found in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*. The *Wubimi xiuxing yigui*, which is the most abbreviated of the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva rites, also contains this core of ritual phases. Common to the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and the three ritual manuals are three ritual phases: that of the pledge precepts, the attaining the buddha body and visualization of the mandala. The mudrā-mantra pairs of the first two of the shared ritual phases correspond to those of the *Jingangding*

lianhuabuxin niansong fa. The features particular to the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva rites are found in the ritual phase of mandala visualization.

The mudrā-mantra pairs in the phase of the pledge precepts are actually an extensive purification rite wherein the practitioner is made a worthy vessel for the main part of the ritual.[73] The meanings of the word *samaya* that appears in the title of this ritual phase are that of equality 平等 and pledge 本誓; the practitioner strives for the knowledge of transcendent equality and pledges to guide all being to enlightenment.[74] David Snellgrove translates the term *samaya* as "the coming together of the transcendent being and the immanent being" and "the coming together of the object offered and the divine element that pervades it."[75] Thus, in this ritual phase the practitioner realizes a union with Vajrasattva, who symbolizes perfect wisdom.[76]

The common mudrā-mantra pairs and their significance are: adamantine homage 金剛合掌 (*vajrāñjali*) which opens this ritual phase; adamantine bonds 金剛縛 (*vajrabandha*) whereby the practitioner attains liberation from the shackles of the passions and the perfection of the ten transcendental wisdoms; the striking of the heart with the adamantine bonds mudrā whereby the practitioner's mind is opened 開心; adamantine universal penetration 金剛遍入 whereby wisdom enters the practitioner's mind; the pledge of the adamantine fist 金剛拳三昧耶 whereby there is a union with Vajrasattva; the pledge of Vajrasattva 金剛薩埵三昧耶 whereby the practitioner resides in the meditative trance of universal goodness (*samantabhadra samādhi*); and the truth of the great pledge of bliss 素羅多大誓眞實 whereby the practitioner experiences great bliss.[77] There are minor variations in the last two items of this sequence. In the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* the last two mudrā-mantra pairs are combined: the mudrā of the pledge of Vajrasattva is formed and a portion of the mantra of the following mudrā-mantra of bliss is intoned.[78] In the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* the last two mantras differ slightly from those given in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* because of the addition of the word *vajra* (adamantine).[79] These variations do not, however, change the meaning of the mudrā-mantra pairs.

In the phase that immediately follows that of the pledge precepts, the practitioner first visualizes becoming the body of form 色身 (*rūpakāya*) and then the wisdom body 智身 (*jñānakāya*). This is the ritual phase of the attainment of the buddha body.[80] The shared sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs in the four ritual manuals and their significance are: the crown of the Five Buddhas 五佛冠 whereby the practitioner receives consecration from the buddhas; the tying of the adamantine wig 金剛鬘 which is proof of the practitioner's consecration; and the donning of the armour 被甲 whereby the practitioner puts on the armour of the Tathāgata's great compassion in order to subdue those demons of passion who stand in the way of enlightenment.[81] Once again, variations are evident. Although the mudrās of the consecration of the five Buddhas and the tying of the wig in the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals match those of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*, their mantras have been simplified.[82] Nevertheless, these mantras can be traced to the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and their fundamental meaning remains unaltered.

A significant difference between the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals occurs in the ritual phases wherein mandala is to be visualized and the rite of identification is to be performed. Where the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* delineates the processes for visualizing the thirty-seven figures of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and for the offering rites to be performed for these figures, Amoghavajra

substitutes in the three ritual manuals the mudrā-mantra pairs for the figures of a mandala that centers on Vajrasattva. It is this phase of the rite that contains the mudrā-mantra pairs that are unique to the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva rituals.[83] Consequently, in the rites of the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* the practitioner visualizes and identifies with the seventeen figures of the Vajrasattva Mandala and in the rite of the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* these processes center on the five figures of the Five Mysteries Mandala, who are in fact the focal pentad of the seventeen-figure Vajrasattva Mandala.

The order of visualization and identification in the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals is, moreover, identical to the practices that center on the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The process begins in the center and proceeds in order to the east, south, west and north.[84] Furthermore, in the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* Amoghavajra equates the five figures of the Five Mysteries Mandala to the thirty-seven figures of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. This is also symbolized by the fact that each figure of the Five Mysteries pentad wears a Five-Buddha crown. Thus, each figure embodies one of the Five Buddha Knowledges. For example, when Vajrasattva takes on the aspect of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm's eastern Buddha, Akṣobhya, his four bodhisattvas become Akṣobhya's four attendant Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrakāmā and Vajrasādhu, and on through the five families of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.

In short, an analysis of the structure, the sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs in the ritual phases and the method of mandala visualization in the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals discloses that there is no evidence of the combined practice of the rites of the matrix and adamantine realm. The ritual procedure of these three manuals is patterned after that of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*. Moreover, although Amoghavajra does at times discuss elements from the teachings of other Buddhist traditions, both esoteric and exoteric, in order to make his point, and although this method of clarification is especially conspicuous in the opening and final sections of the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui*, nonetheless, the correspondences of structure, mudrā-mantra pairs and method of visualization of the mandala in these three manuals with those in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* demonstrates their affiliation with the ritual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

TEN RITUAL MANUALS OF COMBINATORY PRACTICE

If, as I have tried to prove in the foregoing section that the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa*, the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* and the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* cannot be regarded as examples of combinatory practice, we have to ask ourselves the question whether there are any other manuals that do qualify. The following are the ten ritual manuals that Onozuka classifies as combined practice:[85]

1. *Jingangding yuqie qianshou qianyan Guanzizai niansong fa* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在念誦法 (Method for the Contemplation and Recitation of Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara [from] the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, hereafter the *Guanzizai niansong fa*)[86]
2. *Achu rulai niansong fa* 阿閦如来念誦法 (Method for Contemplation and Recitation on Tathāgata Akṣobhya)[87]
3. *Foding zunsheng niansong fa* 佛頂尊勝念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa)[88]

4. *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* 一字佛頂輪王念誦儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Contemplation and Recitation of Ekākṣarabuddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-rāja)[89]
5. *Jenwang niansong yigui* 仁王念誦儀軌 (Ritual Manual for Contemplation and Recitation on the Humane Kings)[90]
6. *Jenwang banruo niansong fa* 仁王般若念誦法 (Method for Contemplation and Recitation on the Wisdom of the Humane Kings)[91]
7. *Ruyilun niansong fa* 如意輪念誦法 (Method for the Contemplation and Recitation of Cintamanicakra)[92]
8. *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* 觀自在菩薩眞言觀行儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Visualization Practice on the Mantra of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara)[93]
9. *Ganlu Junchali yuqie niansong fa* 甘露軍荼利瑜伽念誦法 (Method for Contemplation, Recitation and Yoga on Amṛtakuṇḍalin)[94]
10. *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Homa [from] the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown).[95]

Japanese Shingon scholars do not agree in their analysis of those of Amoghavajra's ritual manuals that they designate as works of combinatory practice. Osabe labels the *Ruyilun niansong fa* as a work wherein elements from the matrix rite form the structural axis and so the major theme 胎金合行 (*taikon gōgyō*): elements from the matrix rite are more dominant than those from the rite of the adamantine realm.[96] Onozuka, on the other hand, classifies this work as one whose principal theme is the rite of the adamantine realm, and consequently labels it as a work wherein elements from this rite prevail over those of the matrix rite 金胎合行 (*kontai gōgyō*).[97] And whereas Onozuka designates the rite of the adamantine realm as the primary and the matrix rite as the secondary theme of the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* and the *Achu rulai niansong fa,* the *Mikkyō daijiten* classifies these works in exactly the opposite manner.[98]

It is interesting to note that Kūkai lists a number of these ritual handbooks in his *Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku*. He includes under the texts that belong to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* the *Guanzizai niansong fa*, the *Achu rulai niansong fa*, the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* and the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*. He places the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* under the lineage of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* 胎藏宗經 (*taizōshū kyō*) and the *Jenwang niansong yigui* under the texts of the miscellaneous division 雜部眞言經 (*zōbu shingon kyō*).[99]

The only way to clarify the matter is to establish how, in fact, these ten rites are constructed. Is there an expressed mixing of the ritual traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*? And, if so, how is this done? Or does one ritual tradition override the other?

In order to answer these questions, I have compared the structure and sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs of these rites with those of the rite of the adamantine realm that is recorded in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and to the manuals for the matrix rite that are attributed to Amoghavajra and Śubhākarasiṃha. The manuals for the matrix rite that were examined are the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachijing lue shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經略示七支念誦隨行法 (hereafter the *Shiqizhi niansong suixing fa*), the *Darijing lue sheniansong suixing fa* 大日經略攝念誦隨行法,[100] the *Shedapiluzhena chengfo*

shenbian jiachi jing rulianhua taizang haihui beisheng mantuluo guangda niansong yigui gongyang fangbian hui 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經入蓮華胎藏海會悲生曼荼羅廣大念誦儀軌供養方便會 (hereafter, the *Sheda yigui*) and the *Dapiluzhenajing guangda yigui* 大毘盧遮那經廣大儀軌 (hereafter the *Guangda yigui*).[101] Further, I consulted the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, a scripture whose emphasis is on ritual practice that was translated by Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735) in 726, and the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* 蘇悉地羯羅供養法, a manual attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha that elaborates on the ritual acts expounded in this scripture.[102]

Analysis discloses that Amoghavajra's ten ritual manuals categorized as combined practice can be divided into four groups: two are based upon the rite of the adamantine realm that is given in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*; one is based upon the matrix rite that is attributed to Amoghavajra; six exhibit ritual acts that are prescribed in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*; and one manual, though closest in structure to the six works of the third group, contains elements that are unique to itself.

The two rites that display the structure of Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm are the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* and the *Guanzizai niansong fa*. However, Ōmura, Onozuka and Osabe classify these as rites of combined practice wherein the main theme is that of the rite of the adamantine realm and the secondary theme is that of the matrix rite.[103]

According to Osabe, for example, the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* is divided into two parts: the first half is a rite of the adamantine realm and the second half is a matrix rite.[104] I agree that the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* can be divided into two parts but, while the first part is based upon the rite of the adamantine realm, the second definitely is not a matrix rite. Thus, an analysis of the contents of this ritual handbook is mandatory.

The *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* begins with a description of the characteristics of the five kinds of rites of burnt offerings 護摩 (*homa*). These are the rites of pacification災息 (*śāntika*), of increasing benefits 增益 (*pauṣṭika*), of wrathful subjugation 降伏 (*abhicāruka*), of emotional subjugation 敬愛 (*vaśīkaraṇa*), and of attraction 鉤召 (*ākarṣaṇa*). Such information as the shapes of the hearths, the times of the performances, the directions the practitioner faces when performing each rite, the specific mudrā for each ritual, the symbols the practitioner draws on the inside of the hearths, the types of wood to be burnt, the sizes of the hearths and the construction of five mandalas is given.[105] The figural groupings of the mandalas that are to be set up for these rites accord with an explanation in the Yoga Scripture 瑜伽經所説 and are variations of the thirty-seven deities in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.[106] Each type of burnt offering rite has a specific mandala and the common features are: emblematic (*samaya*) forms in the central court; the four attendant Bodhisattvas of one of the four directional Buddhas in the second court; the guardian gods of the eight directions and the four Gathering Bodhisattvas in the third court. Common to all the mandalas are also the four Inner and four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas. The family of Trailokyavijaya in the mandala for the rite of wrathful subjugation (*abhicāruka*), as well as the Inner, Outer and Gathering Bodhisattvas, are angry in appearance.[107]

After further delineating the features of the five rites of fire offerings,[108] Amoghavajra places this rite within the context of the rite of the adamantine realm. This he does by first explicating ritual steps that are unique to this rite.[109] For instance, the practitioner is to perform the ritual act of the visualization of the attainment of the buddha body in five phases, or steps 五相成身. Once this is completed and the deities have been summoned, greeted and their praises chanted, they are installed into the mandala and so surrounding the *homa* platform 盧壇, they are offered

water. Amoghavajra then explains the steps of the rite of burnt offerings. This rite consists of three sections: that of Agni 火天段, the main deities (buddhas and bodhisattvas) 本尊段, and the worldly gods of the ten directions 十方世天段.[110] Amoghavajra explicates for each section the method of inviting, offering and sending off the deities, and he details for each burnt offering rite the mantras, the practitioner's petitions 所求, 所願, visualizations and offering practices, as well as the benefits that the practitioner will obtain. Having specified the variations of mantras, petitions, visualizations, offerings and benefits, he guides the practitioner through the rite of the adamantine realm's final phase of dissociation.[111] Amoghavajra thus inserts the rite of fire offerings into that of the rite of the adamantine realm.

Having completed his instructions for the final phase of the rite of the adamantine realm, Amoghavajra then explains a separate rite for the gods of the ten directions.[112] This offering rite takes place outside of the practice hall.[113] The practitioner sets up a circular mandala 圓壇 that has ten positions for the guardian gods of the eight directions 八方天 (*aṣṭadikpāla*) and for Brahmā 梵天 and Pṛthivī 地天, who represent the zenith and nadir spheres.[114] Amoghavajra supplies the mantras for each of these ten gods and a collective mantra for the Seven Luminaries 七曜 (*saptagraha*; the sun, moon and the five visible planets) and for the Twenty-Eight Constellations 二十八宿 (*nakṣatra*).[115] The question is whether the guardian gods of the ten directions, the Seven Luminaries and Twenty-Eight Constellations do necessarily call to mind the matrix rite. Both Omura and Osabe say so,[116] and indeed these figures are found in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, in the ritual manuals for the rite that are attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, as well as in the outer section of the Chinese tradition of the matrix mandala — the *Taizang tuxiang*, the *Taizang jiutuyang* and the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. There is, moreover, no mention of guardian gods in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.

However, the guardian gods of the directions, the planets and the phases of the moon have long had a protective function in Indian Buddhism, as well as in Hinduism and Jainism.[117] Exoteric Buddhist examples of these guardian gods that date to the seventh and eighth centuries are the depictions of the twenty-eight phases of the moon on the ceilings of caves that lie along the silk route in central Asia.[118] And in the Indian Esoteric Buddhist tradition these gods of protection are always found in the outermost court of the mandala, which is called the circle of defense (*rākṣacakra*).[119] Directional guardians, the planets and the lunar mansions are depicted in the third of the four courts that compose the mandala described in one of the earliest Indian Esoteric Buddhist works, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.[120] Symbolic objects such as lotuses, *vajras*, tridents, lances, wheels, jars, banners, etcetera, which are the symbolic attributes of the gods, fill the fourth court of this mandala. And the eight directional guardians, the planets and the lunar mansions are also found in the outermost courts of, for example, the *Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara Mañjuśrī Maṇḍala* and of the *Kālacakra Maṇḍala* that are collected in the late eleventh-early twelfth-century *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.[121]

Thus, the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* can be divided into two rites: a rite of the adamantine realm into which the rite of burnt offerings has been embedded and which is performed inside the practice hall, and a second offering rite to those of the lower realms that takes place outside of the practice hall. That the second rite serves to appease those reborn in the lower realms and that the figures in its mandala function as protectors of the sacred site wherein the rite of burnt offerings occurs seems to be a more convincing explanation then designating this section of the ritual an element from the matrix rite.

Let us now turn to the second manual of group one, the *Guanzizai niansong fa*. Amoghavajra states in the opening sentence of the *Guanzizai niansong fa* that the source of this rite for Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara is the Scripture of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown 瑜伽金剛頂經.[122] And indeed, a comparison of the ritual structure and the mudrā-mantra sequences of the rite for Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara with those of the rite of the adamantine realm detailed in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* reveals many one-to-one correspondences.

Common to both is Amoghavajra's emphasis on the ritual phase of construction: in particular the sections of the pledge precepts, the attaining of the buddha body and empowerment, and the construction of the practice site. The *Guanzizai niansong fa* has, for instance, nine of the eighteen mudrā-mantra pairs that are given in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*'s section of the pledge precepts and seven of the twelve mudrā-mantra pairs in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa'*s section of attaining the buddha body and empowerment. Moreover, the sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs for the visualization of the attainment of the buddha body in five steps, which is unique to the rite of the adamantine realm and which Amoghavajra relates in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa,* also appear in the *Guanzizai niansong fa*.[123] Further, Amoghavajra describes the visualizations of the container world 器界觀 and the mandala in detail in the *Guanzizai niansong fa* and the method of construction matches the procedure that he explains in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*: the practitioner imagines the circles of the wind (*haṃ*) and water (*vaṃ*), then a golden tortoise (*pra*) and upon its back Mount Meru, which is composed of four jewels, and lastly a jeweled, multistoried pavilion within which he visualizes the mandala.[124] Finally, the eight Offering Bodhisattvas of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm are present in the mandala that the practitioner is to visualize in the *Guanzizai niansong fa*.[125]

Amoghavajra adapts elements in the ritual procedure of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* to make it conform to the different focus of the *Guanzizai niansong fa*'s rite. He accomplishes this adaptation in three ways.

First, he changes the mantras in the ritual sequences of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa'*s visualization of the attainment of the buddha body in five steps, empowerment 加持, consecration 灌頂 and tying of the wig 繫鬘. Because the *Guanzizai niansong fa'*s rite centers on Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara who is a transformation of Avalokiteśvara/Vajradharma and so a member of the Lotus Family, the word *padma* (lotus) replaces that of *vajra* (adamantine or thunderbolt) in the mantra for the third phase of the visualization of the attainment of the buddha body through the five aspects.[126] And whereas he furnishes mantras for each of the Families in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*'s ritual sequences of empowerment, consecration and tying of the wig, he only gives the mantra of the Lotus Family in the *Guanzizai niansong fa*.[127]

Secondly, Amoghavajra substitutes in the *Guanzizai niansong fa* the sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs for Hayagrīva 馬頭明王, Amoghapāśa 不空羂索, Padmasphoṭa 蓮華鎖 and Padmakumāra 蓮華俱摩羅 for that of the four Gathering Bodhisattvas in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*'s ritual phase of encounter.[128] Hayagrīva and his companions, who are transformations of Avalokiteśvara and so members of the Lotus Family, take over the roles of the four Gathering Bodhisattvas Vajrāṇkuśa 金剛鉤, Vajrapāśa 金剛索, Vajrasphoṭa 金剛鎖 and Vajraghaṇṭa 金剛鈴 who at this point in the ritual summon and draw the deities into the mandala.

Thirdly, the names of the eight Offering Bodhisattvas are also prefixed with the word *padma* instead of *vajra*; examples are Padmalāsyī 蓮華喜戲, Padmamālā 蓮華鬘 and Padmagīta 蓮華歌.[129]

Thus, a structural analysis of the *Guanzizai niansong fa* does not reveal elements from the matrix rite. Nevertheless, Japanese scholars have provided examples that, they say, are indicative of influence from this rite. Ōmura, for instance, says that, although the procedure of this rite is based upon the rite of the adamantine realm, there are mudrā-mantra pairs from the matrix rite. He gives the mudrā-mantra pairs of the Ten Pāramitās 十波羅蜜, Tārā 多羅 and Bhṛkuṭī 毘俱胝 as examples.[130] The mudrā-mantra pairs of the Ten Pāramitā Bodhisattvas are indeed found in Faquan's *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuoluo guangda chengjiu yigui gongyang fangbian hui* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏悲生曼荼羅廣大成就儀軌供養方便會 and the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti zhuibiaozhi putong chuangyanzang guangda chengjiu yuqia* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標幟普通眞言藏廣大成就瑜伽 and thereafter in the Shingon school's matrix rite, as well as in its Matrix Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*).[131] Because these ritual manuals postdate Amoghavajra's translation of the *Guanzizai niansong fa*, however, it is difficult to accept these figures of the Ten Pāramitā Bodhisattvas as evincing the presence of motifs from the matrix rite. Furthermore, in the mandala that is described in the second chapter of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* which contains, as I have mentioned, some of the earliest of tantric passages, the figures of Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī, Pāṇḍaravāsinī, Locanā, Uṣṇīṣarāja and Prajñāpāramitā surround Avalokiteśvara.[132] Pāṇḍaravāsinī, Mahāpāṇḍaravāsinī, Tārā and Bhṛkuṭi appear in Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara's retinue in the mandala delineated in the *Guanzizai niansong fa*.[133] Clearly, sources other than the matrix rite serve as the origin of the iconography of the *Guanzizai niansong fa*'s mandala.

Osabe cites two examples that he thinks demonstrate the presence of motifs from the matrix rite in the *Guanzizai niansong fa*.[134] The first is that of the visualization of the eight-petaled lotus and the letter *hrīḥ*. This visualization, which occurs in the ritual phase of the visualization of the attainment of the buddha body in five steps and which is also found in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*, does not, we have seen, unequivocally indicate the matrix rite.[135] Osabe's second example is the concept of the threefold accomplishments (*siddhi*) 三種悉地 which, because it stems from the *susiddhi* rite 蘇悉地法, is indicative of, he says, the lineage of the matrix.

However, Amoghavajra does not mention the threefold *siddhi* in the rite of Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara itself. It appears in a long discussion of the fourfold rites of *siddhi* 四種成就法, which Amoghavajra defines as the rites for averting misfortune, increasing benefits, wrathful subjugation and emotional subjugation, and which are appended to the rite for Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara.[136] Amoghavajra first explains the special rules for each of these four rites,[137] then the benefits that the practitioner will obtain,[138] the method whereby the practitioner can acquire supramundane *siddhi* 出世間成就,[139] what he must do should obstacles arise that may hinder his attainment of this *siddhi*,[140] and finally more benefits, one of which will be to go, upon one's death, to *Sukhāvatī* 極楽世界 inside a lotus blossom where one will attain the upper birth of the upper level 上品上生, realization of the rank of bodhisattva and the mark of supreme enlightenment.[141] In other words, although Amoghavajra does mention the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and the categories of high, middle and low *siddhi* in this appended discussion, neither the

context nor the content suggests even indirectly the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its matrix rite.

The single ritual handbook that belongs to group two because it is based upon a rite that is attributed to Amoghavajra is the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui*. This handbook is classified by Ōmura, Onozuka and Osabe as a combined practice wherein the matrix rite forms the dominant theme 胎金合行 (*taikon gōgyō*).[142] A note under the title of this text states that the contents are found in the *Dapiluzhena chengfo jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛經.[143] This is the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, whose Chinese translation is fully titled the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經.

Collation of the sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs in this rite to those given in the ritual manuals for the matrix rites that are attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha and Amoghavajra show that a sequence of three mudrā-mantra pairs is common to all the ritual manuals. This is the sequence of the pledge 三昧耶, the birth of the Dharma Realm 法界生 and the turning of the wheel of the teaching 轉法輪.[144] However, although this sequence of mudrās and mantras appears in the long rites outlined in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*, it forms, together with four other mudrā-mantra pairs, the body of the simplified rite that is given in the *Shiqizhi niansong suixing fa*. Moreover, in the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* Amoghavajra emphasizes the importance of this sequence of mudrās and mantras by repeating it twice. Here he says that the practitioner's performance of the pair of the pledge mudrā-mantra results in his ascent through the ten bodhisattva stages and his attainment of the stage of the tathāgata;[145] that the second pair of the birth of the Dharma Realm brings about purity and identification with the Dharma Realm;[146] and that the practitioner becomes Vajrasattva after having carried out the third mudrā-mantra pair of the turning the wheel of the teachings.[147] This sequence of mudrās and mantras is also found in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[148]

The *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* also contains other elements from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, such as the visualization of the letter *a* and contemplation of its significance and its special mantra *āḥ vī ra hūṃ khaṃ*. These elements are important themes of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[149]

In the case of the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui*, I am not able to identify what motifs belong to the rite of the adamantine realm, and Osabe and Onozuka do not elucidate this matter. Osabe merely quotes Ōmura, who states that although Amoghavajra uses in this rite many mudrā-mantra pairs from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, he employs for Āryāvalokiteśvara's fundamental mudrā-mantra pair 觀音心印明 that of the essence of the Lotus Family of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界蓮華部心.[150] In the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* Aryavalokiteśvara's fundamental mudrā is formed by locking the hands in the inner adamantine (*vajra*) bonds and erecting the right thumb. His fundamental mantra is *oṃ ālolik svāhā* (Gentle one!).[151] Āryāvalokiteśvara's mudrā and mantra are thus not the same as those of Amitāyus and Vajradharma, which are given in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.[152] Further, Āryāvalokiteśvara's mudrā and mantra are not found in Amoghavajra's rite for the Lotus Family, the *Yuqiebu lianhua niansong fa* 瑜伽蓮華部念誦法, whose structure is patterned after that of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.[153] There is a mudrā-mantra pair in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* that is called the pledge mudrā and mantra of the Lotus Family 蓮華部三昧耶印明 (*rengebu sanmaya inmyō*) but it is completely different from that in the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui*.[154] Nor does Āryāvalokiteśvara's fundamental mudrā-

mantra pair appear in the rites in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*.[155] However, the core of this mantra — *ārolik* — does appear in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, where it is called the three-and-a-half-syllable heart mantra of the Lotus Family.[156]

In any case, even if Amoghavajra had taken Āryāvalokiteśvara's fundamental mudrā and mantra from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, this would seem to have been the only element in this rite that could be traced to this text. The structure of the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui*, the stress given to the sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the pledge, the birth of the Dharma Realm and the turning of the wheel of the teachings, Mahāvairocana's special mantra *āḥ vi ra hūṃ khaṃ* and the visualization and significance of the letter *a* indicate that the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* served as the textual source of this Āryāvalokiteśvara rite.

Although variations are evident in the six manuals of group three, these handbooks still form a set. The works of this third group are the *Ruyilun niansong fa*, the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, the *Achu rulai niansong fa*, the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa*, the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa*. The common denominator of this third group is the shared sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs that are performed in a fixed order for specific results. The structure of these rituals can be parsed into six ritual phases: that of purification of the practitioner, establishment of the boundaries of the ritual site, visualization of the innermost sanctuary, invitation of the deities, establishment of protections and ritual offerings. These rituals also contain the two phases of invocation and identification and final offerings and dissociation, but the sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs of these ritual phases are not shared. The mudrā-mantra pair that is unique to the deity upon which each rite focuses constitutes the phase of invocation and identification and the last phase of final offerings and dissociation is an abbreviated section wherein the practitioner simply repeats in a reverse order the sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs performed earlier in the rite.

The names and import of the shared sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs are as follows.[157]

- The sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs for the first ritual phase of purification of the practitioner are the purification of the [practitioner's] three actions 淨三業, the pledges of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra Families 佛部三昧耶 蓮華部三昧耶 金剛三昧耶 which bring about, in turn, further purification of the practitioner's body, speech and thought, and the protection of the body by donning armour 被甲護身 whereby the practitioner dons an impenetrable suit of armour that will safeguard him from inner and outer defilements and hindrances.
- The phase of establishing the boundaries of the ritual site consists of the sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the adamantine stake 金剛橛 and the adamantine fence 金剛牆. The practitioner defines and protects the ritual premises by putting adamantine poles in the ground in the four directions and constructing an adamantine fence.
- The mudrā-mantra pair called the visualization of the sacred sanctuary 道場觀 creates the innermost sanctuary where the deity and his retinue will sojourn and that of the universal offerings of the great treasury of empty space大虛空藏普通供養 further embellishes this sacred space with all sorts of offerings.
- The phase of inviting the deities consists of the sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of [sending] the jeweled carriage 寶車輅, requesting [the deity to enter] the jeweled carriage 請車輅, and inviting the symbolic form (*samaya*) of the Venerable to descend into the sacred site 請本尊三昧耶降道場.

- The sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs for the establishment of further protections is that of the adamantine net 金剛網 and the adamantine enclosure of flames 金剛火院. At this point in the rite the sacred area is protectively sealed off from the outside world by spanning an adamantine net above and an adamantine wall of fire around the sacred site.[158]
- The sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of water 阿加, the lotus seat 蓮華坐 and the fivefold 五供養 or universal offerings 普供養 composes the phase of ritual offerings.

The fixed order and the specific import of these shared sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs results in a structural pattern that is common to the six manuals of group three. The structure of these rituals is simpler than that of Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm and that of the matrix rites attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha which, although they, too, have the above mentioned ritual phases, also contain other ritual phases that are particular to the focuses and purposes of those rites.[159]

In fact, the major ritual acts shared by the manuals of group three are detailed in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s eighteenth chapter of the Methods for Offering Procedures 供養次第法品. This chapter of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* provides directives and mantras that vary according to the family the deity belongs to, the ritual acts to be performed, for example, removing pollutions and purifying, protecting, offering and worshipping, and the practitioner's objective (pacification, increasing benefits or wrathful subjugation).[160] Amoghavajra has greatly simplified the ritual prescriptions from this chapter of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, using key mantras provided in this scripture to demarcate the six ritual phases described above. The result is a general template for a rite that can be expanded or condensed as required. The rite given in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* serves as the standard blueprint for this type of esoteric rite of worship and identification. Examples of expansion and condensation of this template are the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* and the *Jenwang niansong yigui*.[161]

The rites of group three do exhibit two conspicuous differences among themselves that are to be construed as ritual modifications rather than as changes of meaning. First, although the names, order and significance of mudrā-mantra pairs correspond, the actual content of the mudrās and mantras may differ. Two examples are the mantras of the purification of the practitioner's three actions and of the pledges of the three Families. Whereas the mantra of the purification of the practitioner's three actions in the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa*, the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa* is *oṃ svabhāva-śuddhāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ svabhāva-śuddo'haṃ* (All factors of existence are pure of self-nature. I [too] am pure of self-nature),[162] it is *oṃ svabhāva-śuddho'haṃ* (I am pure of self-nature) in the *Ruyilun niansong fa*.[163] The mantras of the pledges of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra Families are *namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṃ oṃ tathāgatodbhavāya svāhā* (Homage to the Universal Buddhas! To the Tathāgata-born!), *namah samanta-padmānāṃ oṃ padmodbhavāya svāhā* (Homage to the Universal Lotuses! To the Lotus-born!) and *namah samanta-vajrānāṃ om vajrodbhavāya svāhā* (Homage to the Universal *Vajras*! To the *Vajra*-born!) in the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa,* but they are abbreviated in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* and the *Achu rulai niansong fa* to *oṃ tathāgatodbhavāya svāhā* (To the Tathāgata-born!), *oṃ padmodbhavāya svāhā* (To the Lotus-born!) and *oṃ vajrodbhavāya svāhā* (To the *Vajra*-born!).[164] The mantras given in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* and the *Achu rulai niansong fa* are those specified for the deities of the three families in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s chapter on the offering procedure.[165] In the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui,* the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa* the pledge mantras of the three families in the ritual phase of

purification are *oṃ Jinajik svāhā* (Victorious vanquisher!), *oṃ Ālolik* (Gentle one!) and *oṃ Vajradhṛk svāhā* (Vajra protecter!) which, as explained in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, are the heart-mantras of this scripture's three families.[166] The *Ruyilun niansong fa* employs the heart-mantra of the Lotus Family to invite the deities into the sacred site rather than to purify the practitioner's three actions of body, speech and thought.[167] Nevertheless, despite the fact that Amoghavajra varies the content of the mudrā-mantra pairs, the name, order and import of these pairs correspond in the six handbooks of group three.[168]

The second point of divergence is that Amoghavajra has substituted in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* and in the *Achu rulai niansong fa* parts of the sequence of the nine expedient devices 九方便 for those of the sequence of purification of the practitioner's three actions.[169] The sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the nine expedient devices still serves, however, a purification function.[170] The *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa*, the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa*, which contain the mudrā-mantra pair of the purification of the practitioner's three actions, also mention some of the nine expedient devices. The textual source of the nine expedient devices is the seventh fascicle of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sheda yigui* and *Guangda yigui*, attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, open with this sequence of mudrās and mantras.[171]

Thus, we see that elements from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* are present in the manuals of group three. However, although below we will document some elements from the rites of the matrix and adamantine realm and their textual sources, in the rites of group three the key mantras that compose the ritual phases of purification, establishing ritual boundaries, inviting the deities and establishing protections can be traced to the *Susiddhikara sūtra*.[172] Identification of textual and ritual sources is easier to make in some of the rites of this group than in others. What is difficult to verify, as I will demonstrate, is the Japanese scholars' classification of these works.

I begin with the *Ruyilun niansong fa*. There are elements in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* that have been quoted from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and that are also found in the *Sheda yigui* and *Guangda yigui*. Apart from the nine expedient devises mentioned above, these are the stanza of the three powers 三力 and the ritual acts and mantras for the water offering and the universal offerings.[173]

Elements from the rite of the adamantine realm are harder to discern in this manual. One possible correspondence is the opening sequence of the purification of the practitioner's three actions, although the mantra in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* is a simplified version of that which is found in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.[174] Collation of the mudrā-mantra pairs in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* with those in the matrix rites and Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm yield in fact only the above two matches and the third near-match. Amoghavajra opens the *Ruyilun niansong fa* with the statement that this rite is based upon a text called the *Guanding daochang jing* 灌頂道場經, but it is not known what text he is referring to.[175]

The Japanese scholars' categorization of this ritual manual is, once again, conflicting. Ōmura states that Amoghavajra mixes elements from the rites of the matrix and adamantine realm.[176] Whereas Osabe labels the *Ruyilun niansong fa* a rite of combined practice wherein the matrix rite is predominant 胎金合軌 (*taikon gyōki*), Onozuka classifies this rite as a combined practice wherein the rite of the adamantine realm is the main motif 金胎合行 (*kontai gōgyō*).[177] Osabe enumerates the eastward-facing position of the practitioner and the sequence of the pledge mudrā-mantra pairs of the three families of the Buddha, Lotus and Vajra as indicative of the matrix rite.

This, however, is no proof. The *Susiddhikara sūtra* (ch. 14) instructs the practitioner to face east when performing the rite of increasing worldly benefits (*pauṣṭika*), whose focus is the deities of the Lotus Family,[178] and the pledge mudrā-mantra pairs of the three families are not found in the matrix rites attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha. Furthermore, in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* the practitioner performs the pledge mudrā-mantra pairs not to symbolize the three families of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its related rituals but for the express ritual purpose of purifying his three actions of body, speech and thought. The sequence of the pledge mudrā-mantra pairs of the three families is found in the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* and their function is to purify and remove pollutants.[179]

Thus, despite the claims of the Japanese scholars, there is in this manual no dominance of the one tradition over the other and this is, as we shall see, the crucial characteristic of the manuals of group three.

The next text, the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, Osabe classifies as a rite of combined practice whose main motif is that of the matrix rite, but both Ōmura and Onozuka state that the primary motif is that of the rite of the adamantine realm.[180] Amoghavajra states at the beginning of the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* that he will relate the procedure for the rite of Ekākṣarabuddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-rāja according to what Tathāgata Śākyamuni explained to the assembly in the palace of the Trāyastriṃśa 忉利天, the Heaven of the Thirty-Three Gods located on top of Mount Meru.[181] Shingon scholars identify the scene of this preaching as that given in the *Yizi qite foding jing* 一字奇特佛頂經.[182] The *Mikkyō daijiten* labels this a text of the miscellaneous esoteric teachings (*zōmitsu*), but Kūkai lists it under the textual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in his *Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku*.[183]

Elements from both the ritual traditions of the matrix and adamantine realm can definitely be identified in this manual. The abbreviated nine expedient devices, which open this rite instead of the purification of the practitioner's three actions that is standard to the group three manuals, and the mudrā-mantra pair of the consort who transforms the treasury of empty space 虛空藏転明妃, which is called in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* the empowerment of the jeweled multi-storied pavilion 加持宝樓閣印, are found in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[184] These mudrā-mantra pairs are also in the matrix rites attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha.[185] As discussed above, the actual contents of the mudrā-mantra pairs constitute one of the ways whereby the rites of group three may vary from one another. For example, the mantra of the empowerment of the consort who transforms the treasury of empty space differs from that of the universal offerings of the great treasury of empty space, which is common to the other manuals of group three. Nevertheless, its purpose of adorning the sacred site remains unchanged, and that is why I consider these handbooks as constituting a single group.[186]

In the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* Amoghavajra expounds techniques from both the rite of the adamantine realm and the matrix rite in his instructions for the ritual phase of invocation and identification. Here he prescribes three techniques that the practitioner can employ in order to identify with the deity: that of becoming the main deity by means of placing letters on the five parts of the body 五支成本尊; union with the main deity that occurs in five phases 或五相成本尊瑜伽; empowerment of the three sites of the crown of the head, the tongue and the heart 或三処頂舌心.[187] The first of these three methods derives from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* [188] and the second is unique to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Thus, Amoghavajra sets forth different

techniques from different sources in this ritual phase,[189] but the point he stresses is that the practitioner is to merge with the deity by whatever method works for him.

There are a number of versions of the visualization of the container world, a part of the construction of the sacred sanctuary for the deities, that vary according to ritual tradition, but it is difficult to determine the textual origin of this visualization in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* because only segments of this visualization are given.[190] The visualization of the container world can be classified according to the number of circles of elements that compose the cosmos.[191] The version given in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sheda yigui* relate a visualization of the container world that is composed of three circles and this visualization differs from that given in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and its ritual manuals, which also has three circles. The version in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* consists of the three circles of the wind, water and earth (or *vajra*) and their letters are *haṃ, vaṃ* and *a*, respectively.[192]

In the tradition of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, which is related in Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding yuqiazhong luchu niansong jing*, as well as in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and his *Guanzizai niansong fa*, for example, the water circle is replaced by the great ocean, the earth or *vajra* circle is replaced by the golden tortoise and their letters are *haṃ*, *vaṃ* and *pra*.[193] The *Guangda yigui*, however, details a visualization of the container world that is composed of five circles.[194] And this visualization of the container world also uses the same mudrā-mantra pairs of the great ocean 大海 and Mount Meru 須彌盧 that appear in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*.[195] Thus, Amoghavajra does not furnish enough information in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* to identify the source of this container world visualization. The ritual traditions of the matrix and the adamantine realm, as well as earlier ritual practices, could have been the textual origin of this sequence because it is found in the *Guangda yigui* and the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.[196]

In short, there is a mixing of elements from the ritual traditions of the matrix and adamantine realm in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, but one tradition does not prevail over the other.

The Japanese scholars' classification of the *Achu rulai niansong fa* and the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa,* which also belong to my group three, is complicated and conflicting. Ōmura states that the former is based on the rite of the adamantine realm with a few ritual acts from the matrix rite and that, although much of the latter rite is based on the rite of the adamantine realm, the matrix theme is prominent.[197] Onozuka categorizes both as combined rites whose main theme is based on the rite of the adamantine realm.[198] Osabe emunerates elements from the *susiddhi* rite in the two manuals, grouping them with the *Ruyilun niansong fa* as the forerunners of the later Shingon eighteenfold practice. He is correct in doing this.[199] But then he labels the *Achu rulai niansong fa* a rite of combined practice wherein the adamantine realm rite is dominent and the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* as belonging to the ritual lineage of the matrix.[200] The authors of the *Mikkyō daijiten* on the other hand consider the matrix rite to be the predominant theme in these works.[201] Research shows, however, that although there is a mixing of elements from ritual traditions in these handbooks, there is no sense that one tradition overrides the other. Instead, the mudrā-mantra pairs and the structure of both ritual handbooks correspond, with minor deviations, to those in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* and the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, whose ritual acts and phases are based on the offering rite outlined in chapter eighteen of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*.

Amoghavajra details at the start of the *Achu rulai niansong fa* the sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the nine expedient devices and this sequence, which functions to purify the

practitioner's actions, derives, as noted above, from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.[202] Further, the mudrās of the fivefold offerings in this manual are explained in the *Sheda yigui* and *Guangda yigui*.[203] Its series of mudrā-mantra pairs for the great ocean and Mount Meru that form the visualization of the container world are identical to those given in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*.[204] And, as we have seen, the origin of these mudrā-mantra pairs is uncertain because they are found in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and the *Guangda yigui*, as well as the *susiddhi* rite. Thus, although motifs from the ritual traditions of the matrix and adamantine realm are discernible in this rite whose focus is the Eastern Buddha of the mandala of the adamantine realm, as in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* and the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui,* they do not specifically refer to the parent rite but serve a particular function within the context of this rite.

The mixing of motifs from the two texts and their ritual traditions is more obvious in the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* than in the *Achu rulai niansong fa*. Amoghavajra in fact mentions in the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* the Scripture of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and its Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. He cites a verse from this scripture that extolls the purification of the practitioner[205] and he refers to the mandala of the adamantine realm twice in the text. In both instances the practitioner's performance of the mudrā-mantra pairs of Bodhisattvas Vajracakra and Vajrahetu causes the beings in the six paths (*gati*) to enter this mandala.[206] This additional sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs is unique to this manual[207] but its presence does not alter the overall structure of this rite, which contains the shared sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs characteristic of group three. The visualization of the container world is more elaborate in the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* and, because the mudrā-mantra pair of the golden tortoise is given, the origin is the visualization tradition of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.[208] Nonetheless, elements from the ritual tradition of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* do not dominate the contents of this manual. Elements from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* are the nine expedient devices, the stanza of the three powers and the mudrā-mantra pair of the universal offering.[209] Moreover, although the names of the fivefold offerings are prefixed with the word *vajra*, as in the *Achu rulai niansong fa* the mudrās that the practitioner is to make are described in the *Sheda yigui* and *Guangda yigui*.[210]

The single handbook of group four, the *Foding zunsheng niansong fa*, also displays a noticeable mixing of elements from the ritual traditions of the matrix and adamantine realm. This handbook forms a group of its own because it lacks the shared sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs and the resultant ritual phases that distinguish the manuals of group three. Nevertheless, the basic structure of this rite is closer to that of the manuals of group three than to those of group one and two. Ōmura records that the iconography of the prescribed mandala and many acts in the first part of this rite are based upon the matrix rite, while the second part of the rite uses acts from the rite of the adamantine realm.[211] Osabe, Onozuka and the authors of the *Mikkyō daijiten* unanimously label this a rite of combinatory practice whose primary theme is the matrix rite.[212] And indeed the sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs for the purification phase — that of the pledge, the birth of the Dharma Realm, Vajrasattva's turning the wheel of the teachings and the adamantine armour — and of the offering phase — the fivefold offerings, the stanza of the three powers and the consort of the treasury of empty space 虛空藏明妃 — are found in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and in the *Sheda yigui* and *Guangda yigui*.[213]

However, immediately following the offering phase is the sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs of Vajrapāramitā 金剛波羅蜜, the tying of the wig 繫鬘 and the donning of the armour 被甲.[214] In

this phase of the rite the practitioner's formation of the mudrā of Vajrapāramitā signifies the consecration 灌頂 that he receives from the buddhas.[215] The mudrā-mantra pair of tying the wig confirms his consecration and that of donning the armour symbolizes the buddhas' compassion which the practitioner now wears and with which he shields himself and all sentient beings from both inner and outer evil that may impede the quest for enlightenment.[216] Although the ritual act of consecration is found in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, the ritual sequence of consecration does not appear in the two matrix manuals attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha. The sequence of tying the wig and donning the armour do occur, however, as we have seen, in Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm. In the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* the practitioner, having performing the ritual act of the attainment of the buddha body in five phases, then enacts the sequence of empowerment with and consecration by the buddhas of the adamantine realm.[217]

Amoghavajra has thus created a simple rite that contains mudrā-mantra pairs from the matrix rite, as well as a sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs that belong to the rite of the adamantine realm.[218] This sequence from the rite of the adamantine realm does not, however, disrupt the pattern of the rite. The practitioner proceeds from this phase of consecration on to the phase of identification with the deity.

In summary, analysis reveals that a mixing of elements from both the ritual traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* does occur in the handbooks of group three and four and that this mixing is more evident in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, the *Achu rulai niansong fa*, the *Kanro kudari nenju hō* and the *Foding zunsheng niansong fa* than in the *Ruyilun niansong fa*, the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa*.

Despite this mixing, however, there is in these manuals of group three and four no sense of a random intermingling of elements from these ritual traditions, nor does one of these ritual traditions prevail over the other.

Further, Amoghavajra does not combine elements *in order to* amalgamate the two traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* into one. The deliberate combining of elements from of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* that characterizes the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingshifa jing* and the *Shewuai yigui*, for example, is absent in these ritual manuals.[219] Instead, the common structural pattern of the handbooks of group three, and to a lesser extent that of the single handbook of group four, discloses that Amoghavajra has translated, or redacted, ritual manuals for a type of rite that possesses a structure and sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs different from those of the rites of the adamantine realm and the matrix because it is based more closely on the rite prescribed in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. He presents in these manuals a coherent rite for the practitioner's invocation of, offering to and identification with a particular deity. Although mudrā-mantra pairs from the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, as well as from other tantric texts, may be employed and although they may call to mind the parent texts and their rites, they nonetheless serve a specific function — for example, that of purification, visualization of the sanctuary or consecration of the practitioner — and thus do not distract from the fundamental coherence of the rite.

CONCLUSION

My investigation of a portion of Amoghavajra's transmission results in an interpretation that differs from that of the post-Kūkai Shingon school and its scholars. First of all, my reading of the

Liqushi and the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals that Shingon scholars cites as examples of the combined practice of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sutra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* does not result in the same conclusion. Such motifs as the eight-petaled lotus and the fivefold offerings are standard to the Indian Buddhist tradition, both Exoteric and Esoteric. Second, I have found that seven of the ten ritual manuals that the Japanese scholars label as combined practice do indeed exhibit a mixing of elements from the ritual traditions of the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. However, the aim in combining these ritual elements is the coherency of the ritual pattern and thus the effectiveness of the rite itself and not the amalgamation of the differing ritual traditions of these texts.

The Shingon school and its scholars have tended to view Amoghavajra's transmission through their own sectarian bias. I think, however, that a distinction must be made between the standard ritual motifs of the Esoteric Buddhist tradition and doctrinal interpretations. The combining of ritual motifs from separate sets of rites is not to be equated with the Shingon doctrinal concept of the non-duality of the adamantine and matrix realms, which represents the purposeful consolidation of the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sutra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* into one tradition and which the Shingon school utilizes to construct its identity.

Amoghavajra in fact rarely discusses doctrinal interpretations in the ritual manuals that Shingon scholars have labeled combined practice. These handbooks are basic guides for the ritual and yogic processes whereby the practitioner can identify with and thus acquire the powers of the deities he evokes and unites with. The practitioner's concern is the correct performance of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the rite in order to ensure attainment of the promised results (*siddhi*). Amoghavajra's focus in these manuals is, then, the explication of these mudrā-mantra pairs and their rewards. The *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* is the exception, and yet the doctrinal themes that Amoghavajra does give in this manual are based upon the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and other Mahāyāna teachings.

Appendix C

REFERENCES IN THE *LIQUSHI*

- Amoghavajra names five references:
  1. *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003: 610b1-2)
  2. *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (*T*.1004:618b2-4)
  3. *Liqushi* 8 (*T*.1003: 614a2-11)
  4. *Liqushi* 16 (*T*.1003: 616c8-11)
  5. *Liqushi* 17 (*T*.1003: 617a1-4).

- Amoghavajra's nine references to "extended" scriptures and yogas
  1. *Liqushi* 3 Trailokyavijaya (*T*.1003:611c10-11):
     The wrathful letter *hūṃ* controls the Vajra Family and, because of its ferocious power, the practitioner can quickly and successfully perform rites of subjugation, like those the Extended Yoga Scripture explains 如廣瑜伽經所説.
  2. *Liqushi* 3 Trailokyavijaya (*T*.1003:612a3-9):
     The practitioner, having performed the visualization in the yoga for the main deity Trailokyavijaya, resides in the center of the mandala, and mentally surrounds himself front, right, back and left with the Four Wrathful [Bodhisattvas], the Eight Offering [Bodhisattvas] and the Four Gate [Bodhisattvas]. Just as the scripture [*Liqujing*] teaches, [while] chanting the "fivefold wisdoms of the absence of vain discourse" 五無戲論般若理趣, he has his mind pervade throughout the Dharma Realm, and then he begins [this process] again. Due to this practice, he masters numberless meditative concentrations (*samādhi*), rapidly accumulating merit and wisdom, and so creates the stocks [of merit and wisdom] for buddhahood 成佛資糧. This one Stage, [when] properly understood by the practicing yogin who performs [this rite] of Trailokyavijaya, thereby becomes the manual for this rite. As for the rest [of the details for this rite], all are provided in the various Extended Books 餘皆備諸廣本.
  3. *Liqushi* 4 Avalokiteśvara (*T*.1003:612b10-15).
  4. *Liqushi* 4 Avalokiteśvara (*T*.1003:612b27-c2).
  5. *Liqushi* 6 Vajramuṣṭi (*T*.1003:613a24-29).
  6. *Liqushi* 13 Seven Mother Goddesses (*T*.1003:616a24-25):
     These goddesses also have a mandala. In the center draw Mahākāla. He is surrounded by the seven Mother Goddesses. The details are just as the Extended Scripture explains 具如廣經所説.
  7. *Liqushi* 14 Three Brothers (*T*.1003:616b3-6):
     These gods also have a mandala. Draw the mandala in the shape of a bow and draw the three gods in order [of importance] 三天次第而畫. The iconographic prescriptions [for this mandala] are like those explained in the Extended Scripture 儀軌法則如廣經所説. But, because this text's sentences are complicated, now I will not cite it in detail.
  8. *Liqushi* 15 Four Sisters (*T*.1003:616b12-14):
     These four goddesses also have a mandala. In the center draw Tumburu *deva*. This god is the brother of the four sisters. In each of the four directions draw one goddess. Their

[iconographic] prescriptions are like those the *Extended Scripture* explains 其軌則如廣經所説.

9. *Liqushi* 17 Five Mysteries (*T*.1003:617a5-6).

- Amoghavajra's reference to forms of deities in unnamed [yoga] ritual manuals. There are four such examples in the *Liqushi*:
  1. *Liqushi* 2 (*T*.1003:611a4-5) Mandala of Vairocana:
     In the four inner corners install the four Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas]. Each is like her fundamental form 本形. In the outer four corners place the Outer Four Offering [Bodhisattvas]. Each one holds her fundamental utensil of offering 本供養具. In the four gates place [Bodhisattvas] Hook, Rope, Chain and Bell. Each resides in his fundamental majestic pose 本威儀.
  2. *Liqushi* 4 (*T*.1003:612a28-b5) Mandala of Avalokiteśvara.
  3. *Liqushi* 5 (*T*.1003:612c17-23) Mandala of Ākāśagarbha.
  4. *Liqushi* 12 (*T*.1003:616a3-7) Mandala of the Outer Thunderbolt Assembly.

Appendix D

A COMPARISON OF AMOGHAVAJRA'S *LIQUJING* AND *LIQUSHI* AND THE EXTENDED TIBETAN (*P*. 119, 120) AND CHINESE (*T*.244) VERSIONS

Here I briefly outline the differences between Amoghavajra's description of the Sixth Assembly and the *Liqujing*, *Liqushi* and Parts 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions. I also compare content in Amoghavajra's materials to the ideological and iconographical development of this content that appears in the Tibetan and Chinese extended versions. The key point is that Amoghavajra's works and the extended Tibetan and Chinese texts belong to an Indian Esoteric Buddhist system of the *Sarvatathāgata-tatttva-saṃgraha* and its later evolutions.

As I have demonstrated in Chapter One of this dissertation, Amoghavajra's version of the *Liqujing* reinterprets the earlier *Prajñāpāramitā* teachings within the ideological and iconological framework of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. And, as I have mentioned earlier, scholars (see Introduction, endnote 4, Chapter Four, endnote 126) conjecture that a Sanskrit text similar to Amoghavajra's version of the *Liqujing* existed in seventh-century India, making it the earliest of the yoga tantras in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* lineage. Further, Tanaka Kimiaki ("Kongōkai mandara no seiritsu ni tsuite (1) and (3)," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū,* vol. 30 (1981) pp. 134-135, vol. 31 (1983), pp. 615-616) argues that this early version of the *Prajñāpāramitā-naya sūtra* influenced the iconography of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.

This does not alter the fact that by Amoghavajra's time the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* had gained such prominence that the version of the *Prajñāpāramitā-naya sūtra* that he translated was produced using the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* as its reference system.

There are a number of differences between Amoghavajra's description of the Sixth Assembly, his *Liqujing* and Part 1 of the Tibetan and Chinese Extended versions of the *Liqujing*. One difference is that mandalas are prescribed in his commentary, the *Liqushi*, not his translation of the *Liqujing*, whereas the Tibetan and Chinese Extended versions do prescribe mandalas. A second difference is that Amoghavajra includes doctrinal interpretations and iconographic material in two chapters of his *Liqushi* (Assembly of Five Families in *T*.1003:616b23-c11 and one of its Five Mysteries Mandalas in *T*.1003:616c12-617a6) that are not explicitly expounded in the *Liqujing* itself (that is, in Amoghavjra's *Liqujing* or in Part 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions), nor recorded in the above description of the Sixth Assembly in the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. According to Amoghavajra, this material derives from the Thirteenth and Third (see Chapter Four) of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. Parts 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions do not contain material on these two mandalas and their rites. Commentaries on Part 1 of the extended Tibetan version allocate the teachings to the four families of the Vajra, Gem, Lotus and Action but do not record, as Amoghavajra does (*T*.1003:616b26-c6), that each of the five families has a mandala with five families. (See Toganoo, ibid, pp. 360-363, 368-369). The Five Mysteries appear in Parts 2 and 3 of the extended Tibetan version and in the second section (= Part 3) of the extended Chinese version.

A third difference is that variations are seen in the iconography of most of the mandalas prescribed in the *Liqushi* and in Part 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions. Some examples are the mandalas in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:610a15-23; Toganoo, ibid, pp. 130-133; *T*.244:787a29-b27), *Liqushi* 2 (*T*.1003:610c24-611a6; Toganoo, ibid, pp. 155-6; *T*.244:789c9-17),

Liqushi 4 (*T*.1003:612a29-b5; Toganoo, ibid, pp. 196-197; *T*.244:791c28-792a16), *Liqushi* 5 (*T*.1003:612c17-23; Toganoo, ibid, pp. 215-217; *T*.244:792c1-8) and *Liqushi* 7 (*T*.1003:613c1-7; Toganoo, ibid, pp. 252-253; *T*.244:794a9-16). Clearly, the source texts and oral traditions for Amoghavajra's mandalas and those for the extended Tibetan and Song Chinese works were not the same. Tanaka Kimiaki demonstrates (unpublished manuscript, 2013) that an earlier iconography is apparent in Part 1 of the Tibetan and Chinese versions. For example, in these texts there are not always the one-to-one correspondences between the text's doctrinal propositions and the deities of the mandalas that are seen consistently throughout Amoghavajra's *Liqujing* and *Liqushi*. He concludes that the mandalas and ritual material appended to the root text (Part 1) of the Tibetan and Chinese versions derive from an early strand of Indian Esoteric Buddhist practice that had not yet been systematized.

Despite these disparities, Part 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions, like Amoghavajra's *Liqujing*, exhibit definite links to the family ideology and ritual system of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Examples are ch. 2 where Vairocana forms the Wisdom Fist Mudrā (*T*.244:789c27-29; 790a3-4); ch. 3 and the story of the subjugation of Maheśvara and the gods of the Three Worlds, who are installed into mandala as the Outer Vajra Family (*T*.244:790b21-c3, c4-11); ch. 8 and its prescriptions for the placement in the mandala of the four Great Bodhisattvas from the four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.244:794b28-c1, cf. *T*.1003:614a18-25); and ch. 12 wherein mandalas for the Outer Vajra Family are described (*T*.244:796a14-797a28).

Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*, discussed above in this study's Chapter Four, situates his *Liqujing*'s teachings and ritual practices within the system of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown that is summarized in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. The contents of Parts 2 and 3 of the extended Tibetan and the second part (= Part 3) of the extended Chinese version are also clearly linked to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Examples in these works are the mandalas and ritual practices prescribed for deities who belong to this lineage. See Fukuda, "*Kisshō saishō honsho* toshite no *Rishukyō,*" *Rishukyō no kenkyū*: *sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 91-93 for a chart of sources for contents in Tibetan Parts 2 and 3 and the extended Chinese text (*T*.8.244) on Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, Tathāgatas, Vajrajvālānalārka 金剛火焔日輪 (that is Trailokyavijaya), Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha, and their General Assemblies. Fukuda does not record which chapter in the Tibetan Part 2 contains materials on the Five Mysteries. According to Tanaka Kimiaki (personal communication 2013/5/29), the final chapter of Tibetan Part 2 contains a description of the Five Mysteries and its secret mandala centered on Vajrasattva and material exists in Tibetan Part 3, chapter 8 (Fukuda, ibid, p. 93) and Chinese chapter 21 (*T*.244:811b26-814a19).

Fukuda ("*Kisshō saishō honsho* toshite no *Rishukyō*," pp. 83-86, 91-92) has identified the sources of the two collections of ritual manuals (Part 2 and 3) that are appended to Part 1 of the extended Tibetan version. Part 2 is based upon the *Mahāsukha-vajraguhya-mahākalpa-rāja* 大樂金剛祕密の大議軌王 and the source text for Part 3 is the *Śrīparamādya-mahākalpa-rāja* 吉祥最勝本初大議軌王. The character compounds "superlative" and "fundamental" 最上根本 in the title of the extended Chinese text refer to the source text of its second collection of ritual manuals, that is, the *Śrīparamādya* 吉祥最勝本初. The contents of the *Mahāsukha-vajraguhya-mahākalpa-rāja* and the *Śrīparamādya-mahākalpa-rāja* survive only in the extended Tibetan scripture, and that of the *Śrīparamādya* is also found in Faxian's extended Chinese version. Amoghavajra knew of early versions of these works because their contents appear in his *Liqushi* and related ritual

manuals, as well as in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. The contents are that of the Seventh and Eighth Assemblies in the system of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. I discuss these Assemblies and Amoghavajra's ritual manuals in Chapter Four.

The mandalas prescribed in the second section (*Śrīparamādya* section = Part 3) of the extended Song Chinese version, for instance, focus on the figures of Vajrapāṇi, Tathāgatas, Vajrajvālānalārka/Trailokyavijaya, Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha, and they exhibit both an affiliation with the families of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and a development towards a completely new five-family system that is a composite of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s four family ideology and the families of the *Mahāsukha-vajraguhya- mahākalpa-rāja* and *Śrīparamādya-mahākalpa-rāja*. For example, the iconography of the Mandala of the Tathāgatas (*T*.244:804b20-c15, cf. *T*.1003:610c24-611a4) presents the Tathāgata Family of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. It is a seventeen-figured mandala composed of Buddha (Mahāvairocana) surrounded by the four Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Vajraratna, Vajradharma and Vajrakarma, who head the families of the Vajra, Gem, Lotus and Action in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. On the other hand, the General Assembly Mandala (*T*.244:810c8-811b3) depicts a different five-family system. Vajrāpaṇi and members of his Vajra Family (the Bodhisattvas Desire 大樂, Touch 枳哩枳羅, Love 念金剛 and Pride 欲自在, and so on, as given in *T*.244:799b3-c17) are surrounded by Nārāyaṇa 那羅延 (that is, Vairocana), Caṇḍīśvara 賛尼設羅 (who is actually a form of Vajrajvālānalārka/Trailokyavijaya), Vajrapadmodbhava 金剛蓮華 (Avalokiteśvara) and Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏 in the four cardinal directions. Their consorts Adamantine Śrī 金剛吉祥, Adamantine Gaurī 金剛禺梨, Adamantine Tārā 金剛多羅 and Khavajriṇī 虛空金剛 are in the four intermediate directions.

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_____ (Attributed). *Shewuai dabeixin datuoluoni jing jiyifa zhongchu wuliang yi nanfang*

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Collection of Daigoji, Kyoto.
Published in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō* (hereafter, *T. Zuzō*), vol. 5, 3044.

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Published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239.

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Published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046.

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Housed in the Tatchūgura collection 塔中蔵 at Ninnaji.
Reference number in the Nara Bunkazai kenkyūjo catalogue is box 33, number 145 of this collection.

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Published in *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經, vol. 9,
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Published in the *Toganoo Korekushon Kenmitsu Tenseki Monjo Shūsei*, vol 12
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Published in Toganoo Shōun, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*
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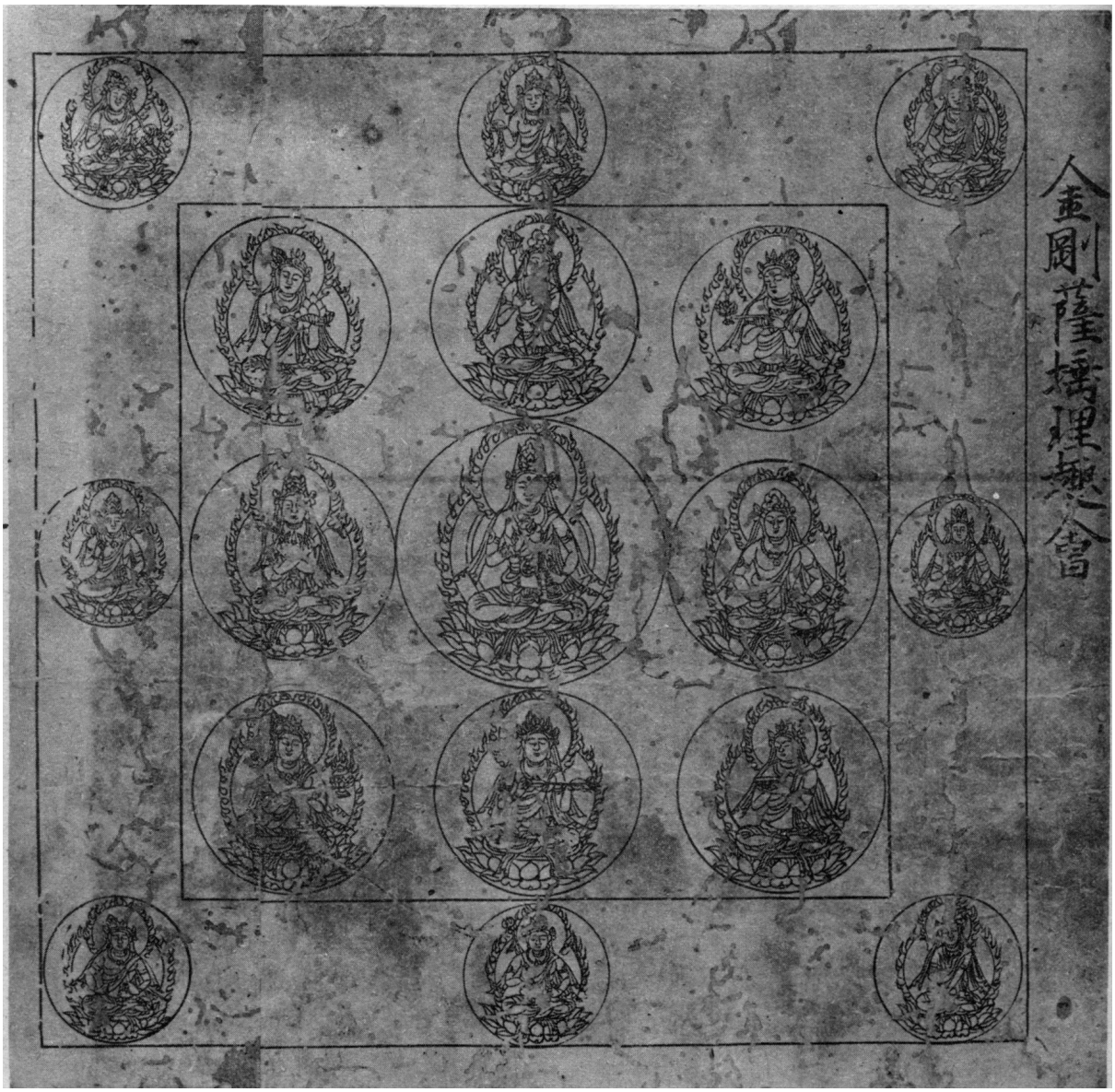


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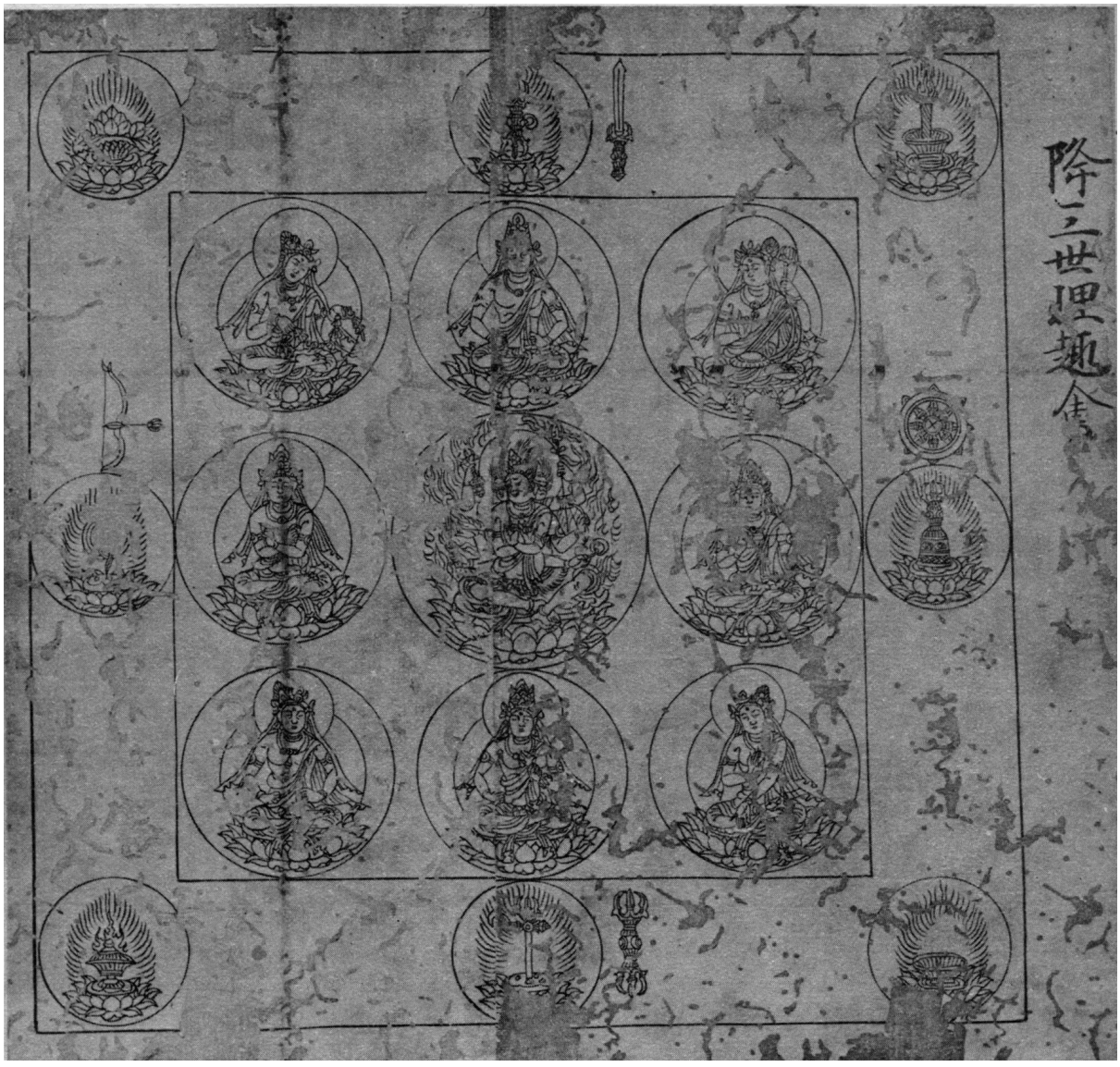


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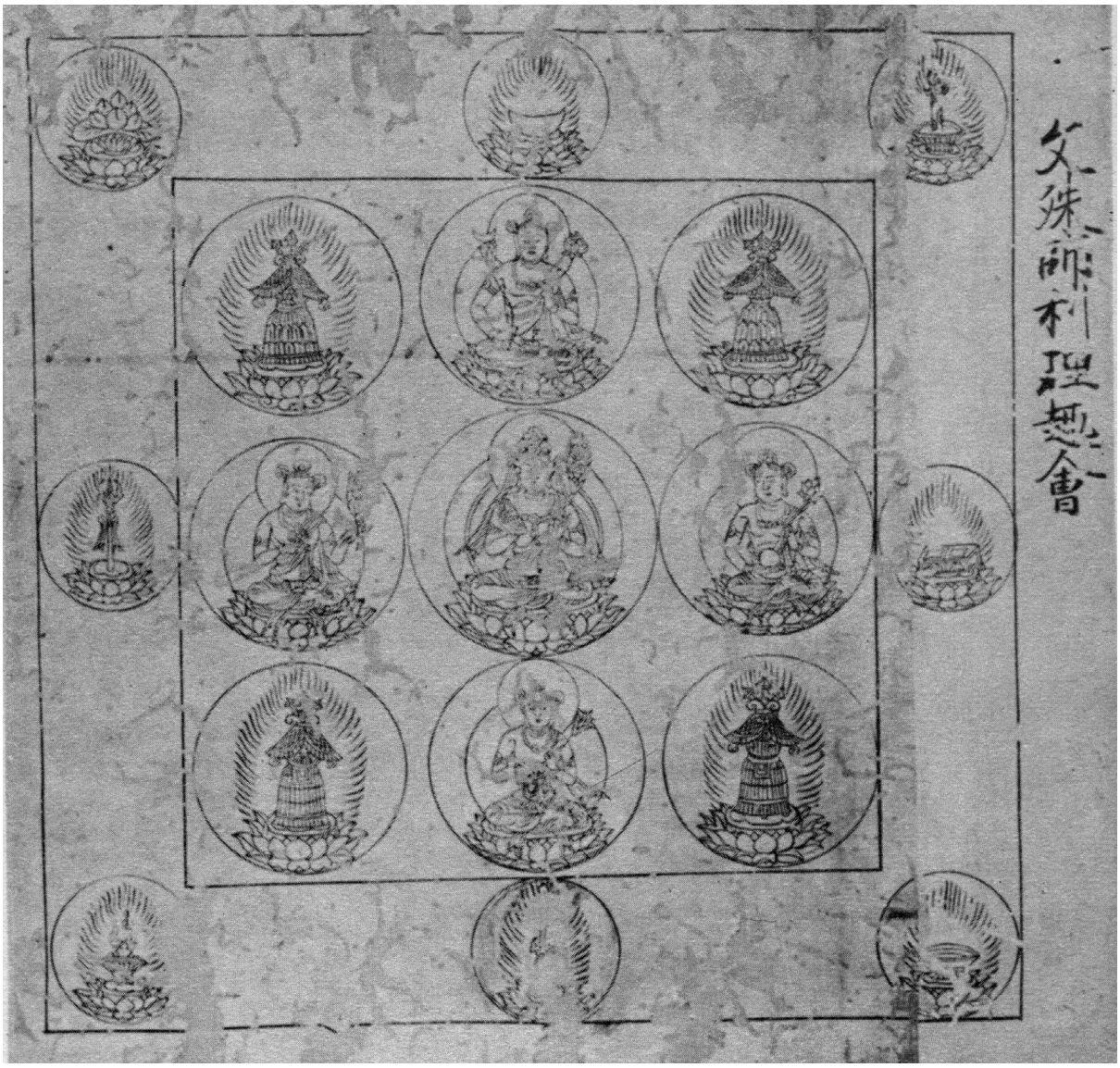


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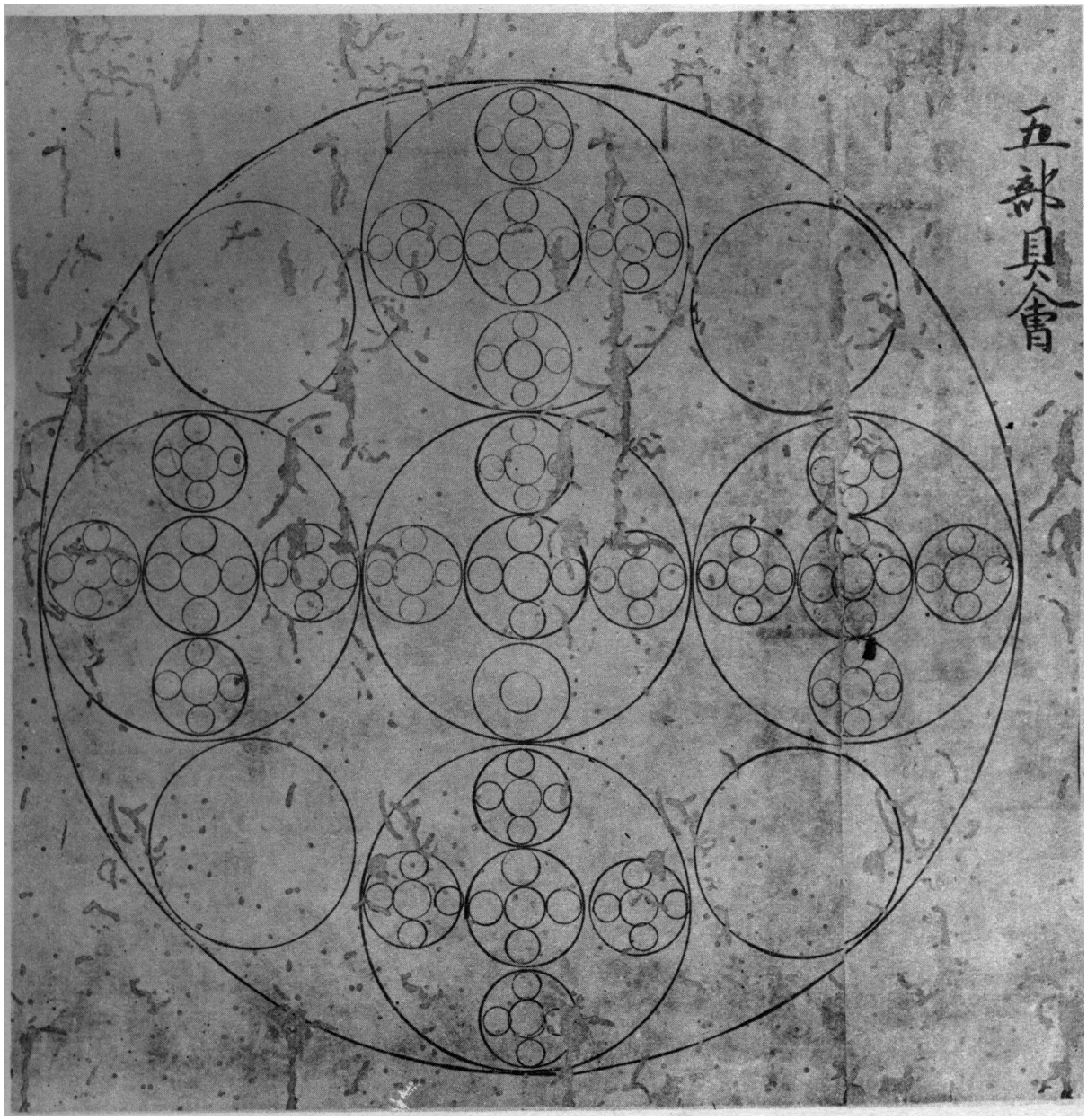


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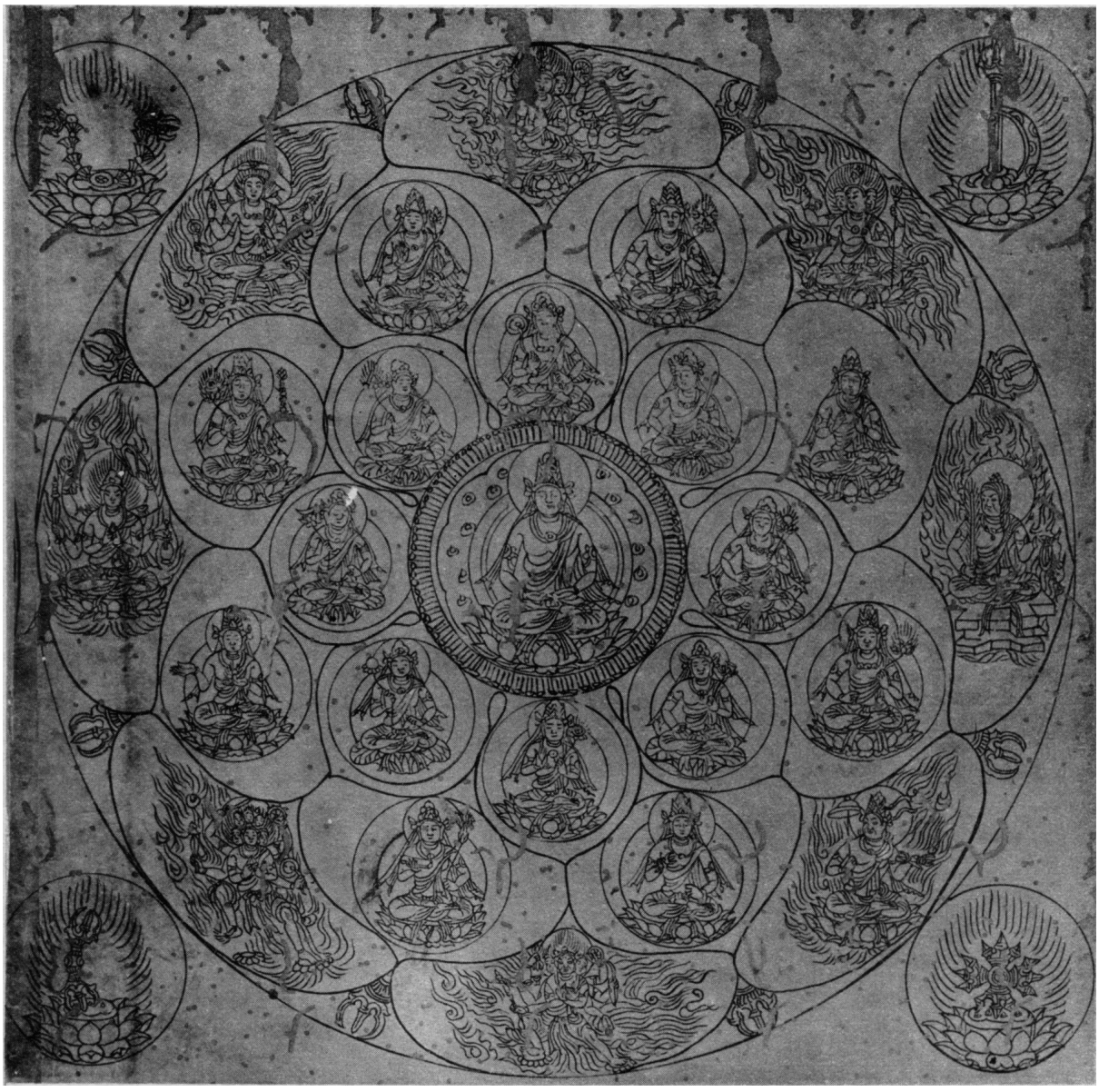


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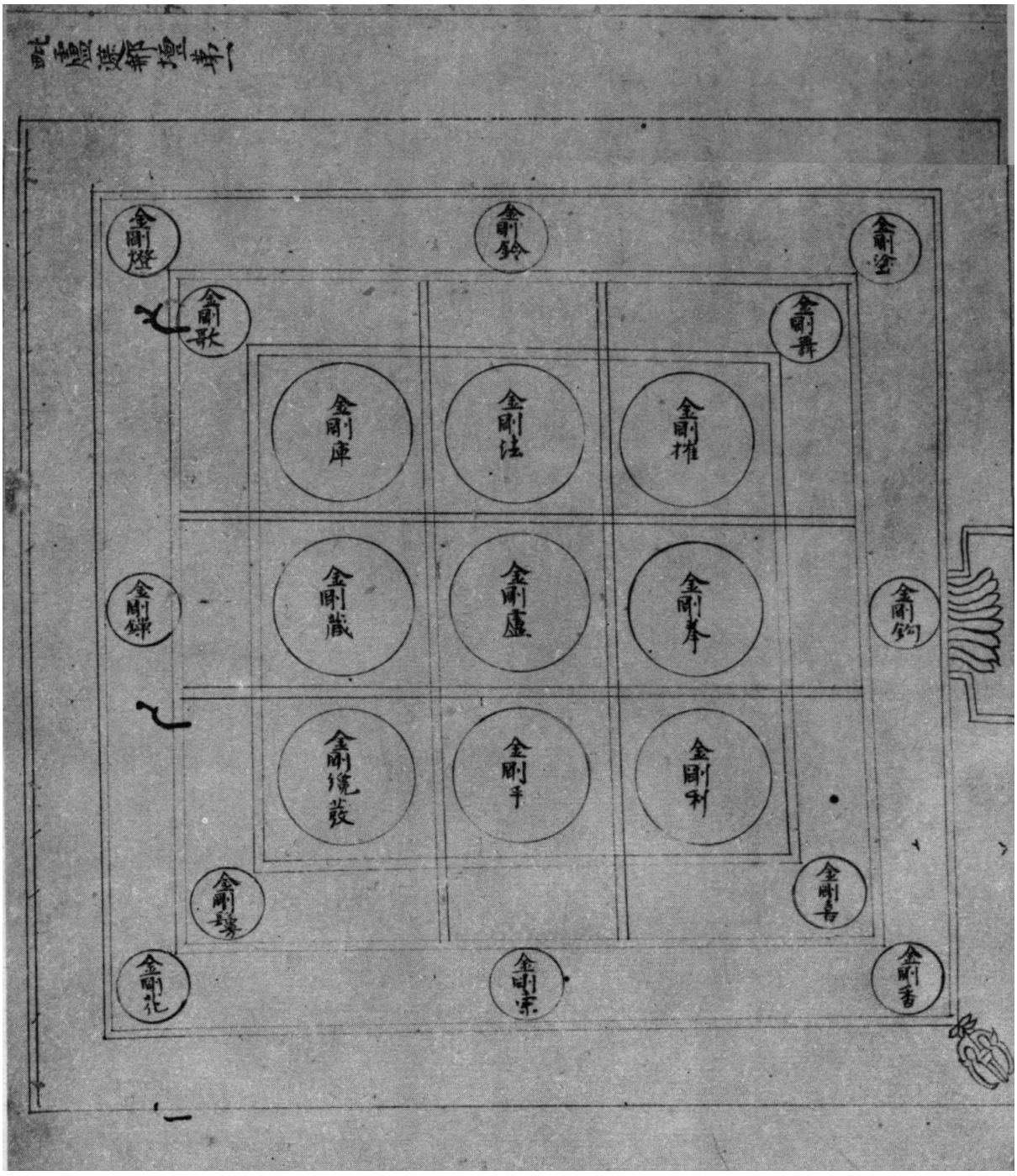


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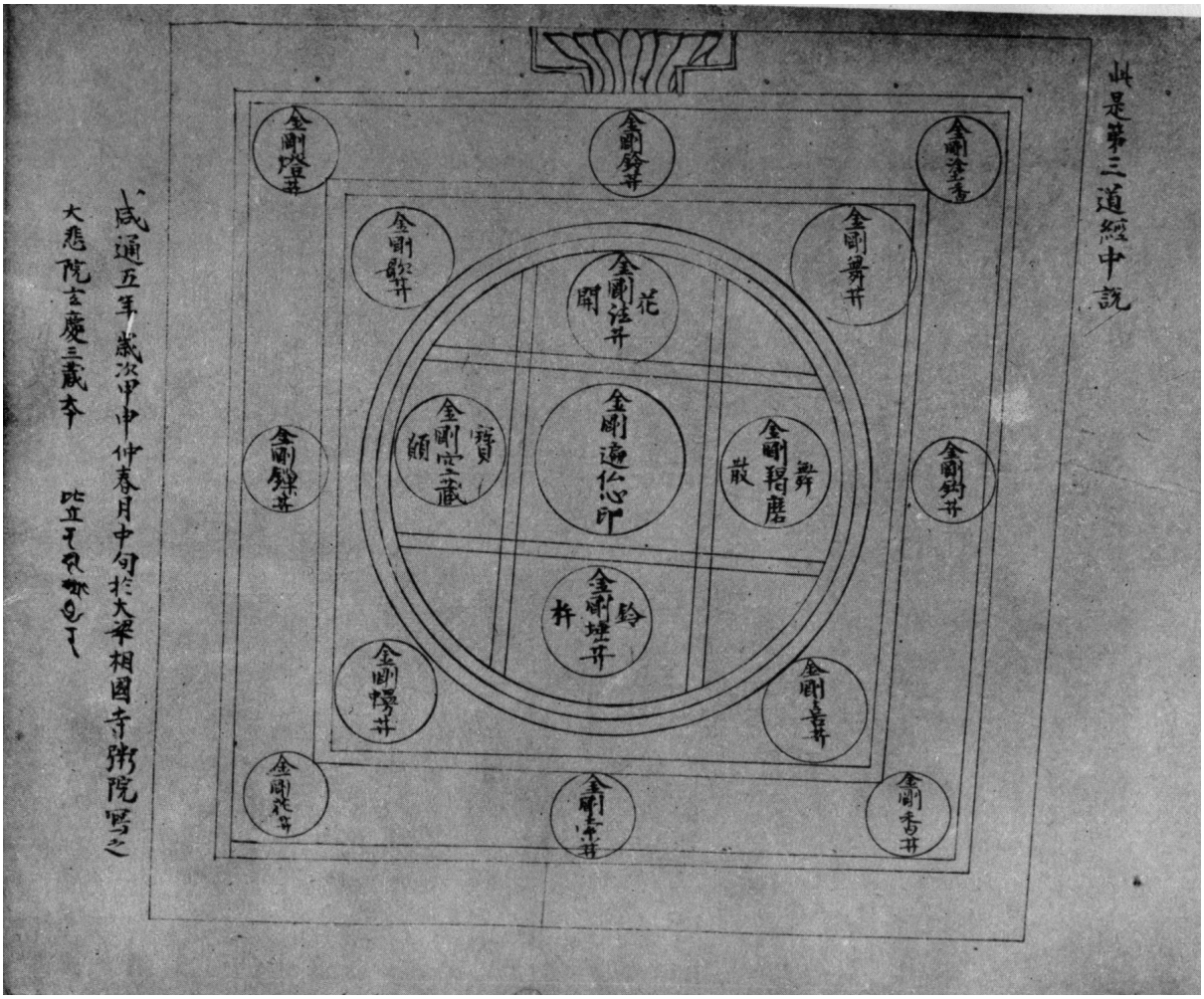


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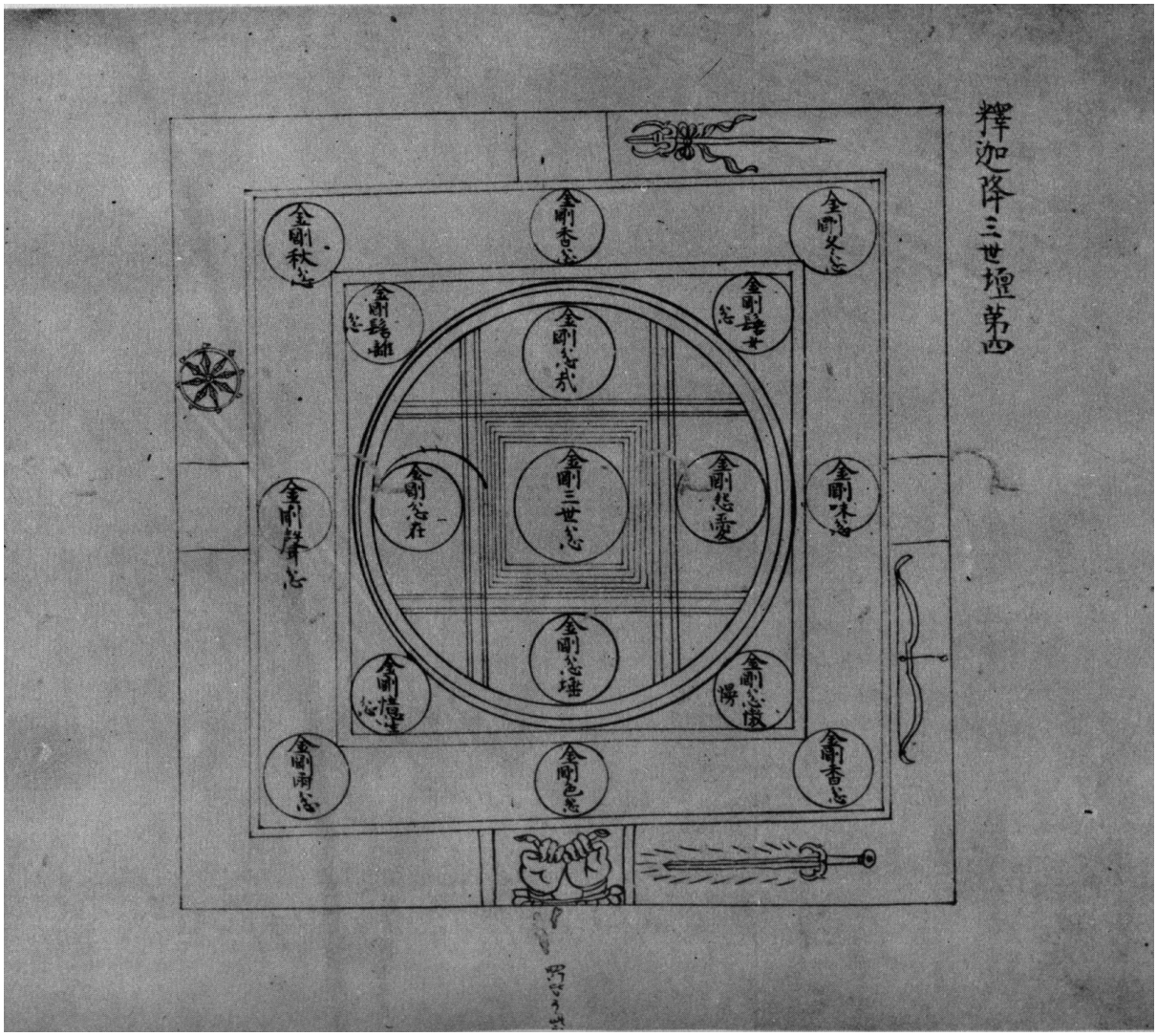


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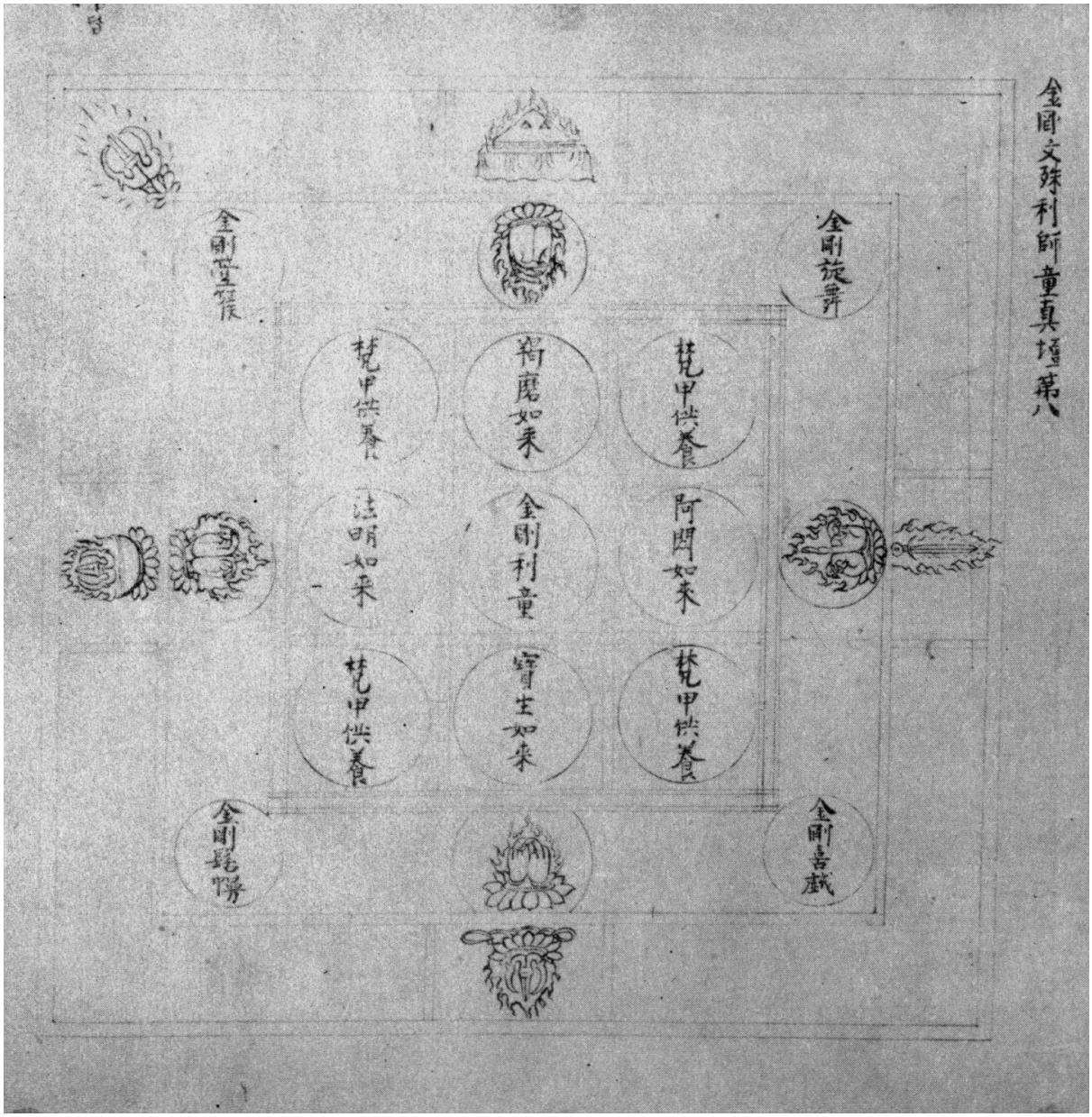


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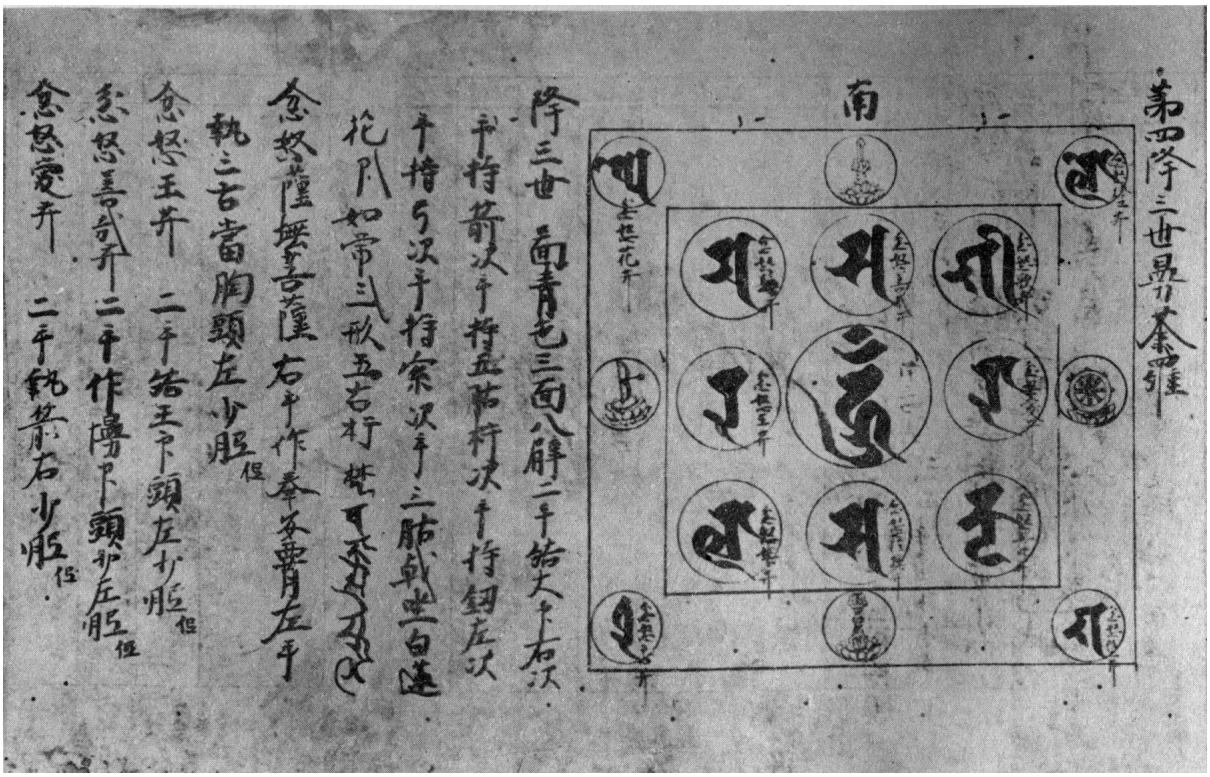


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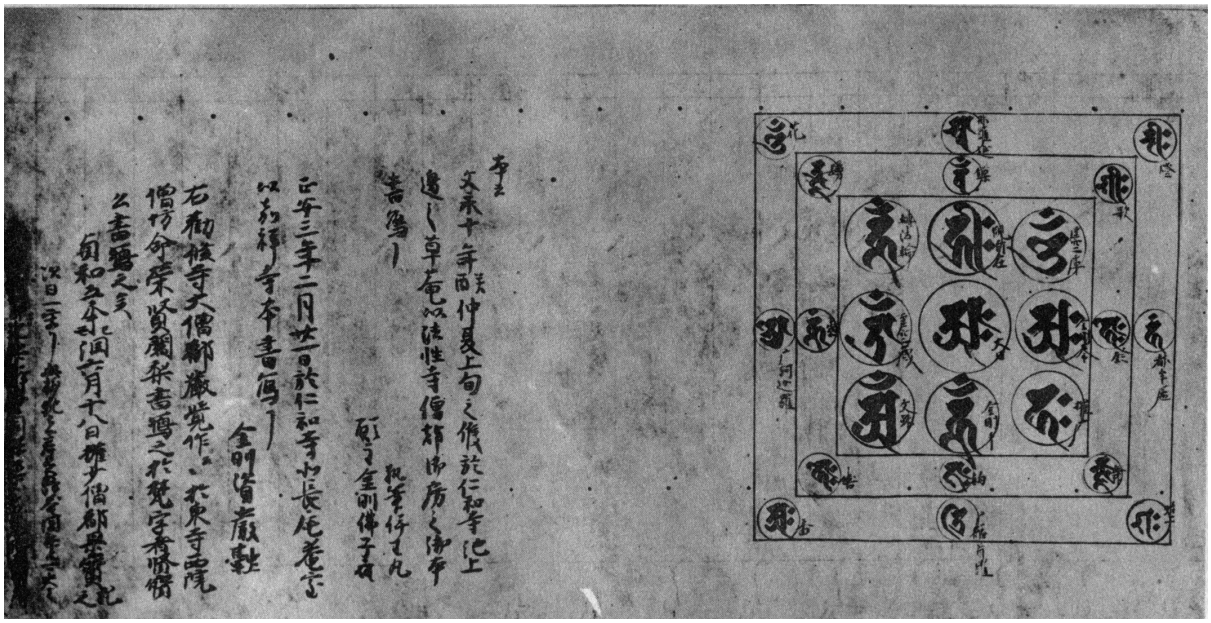


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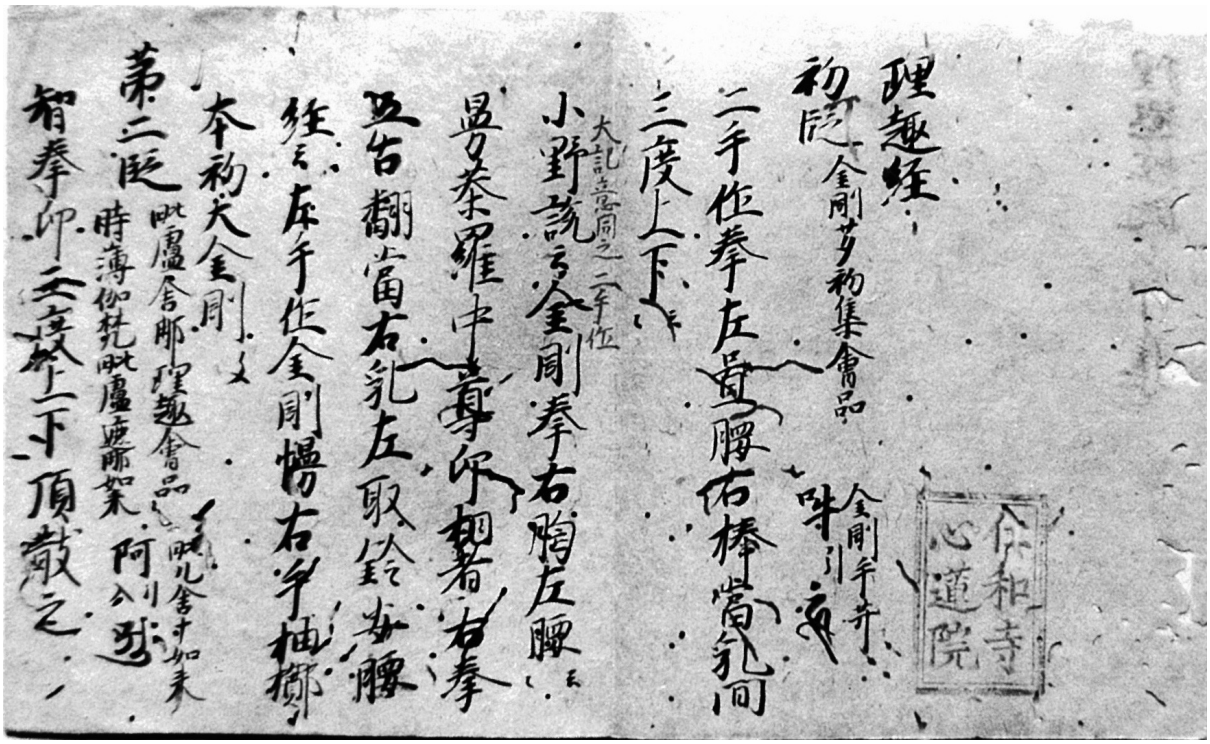


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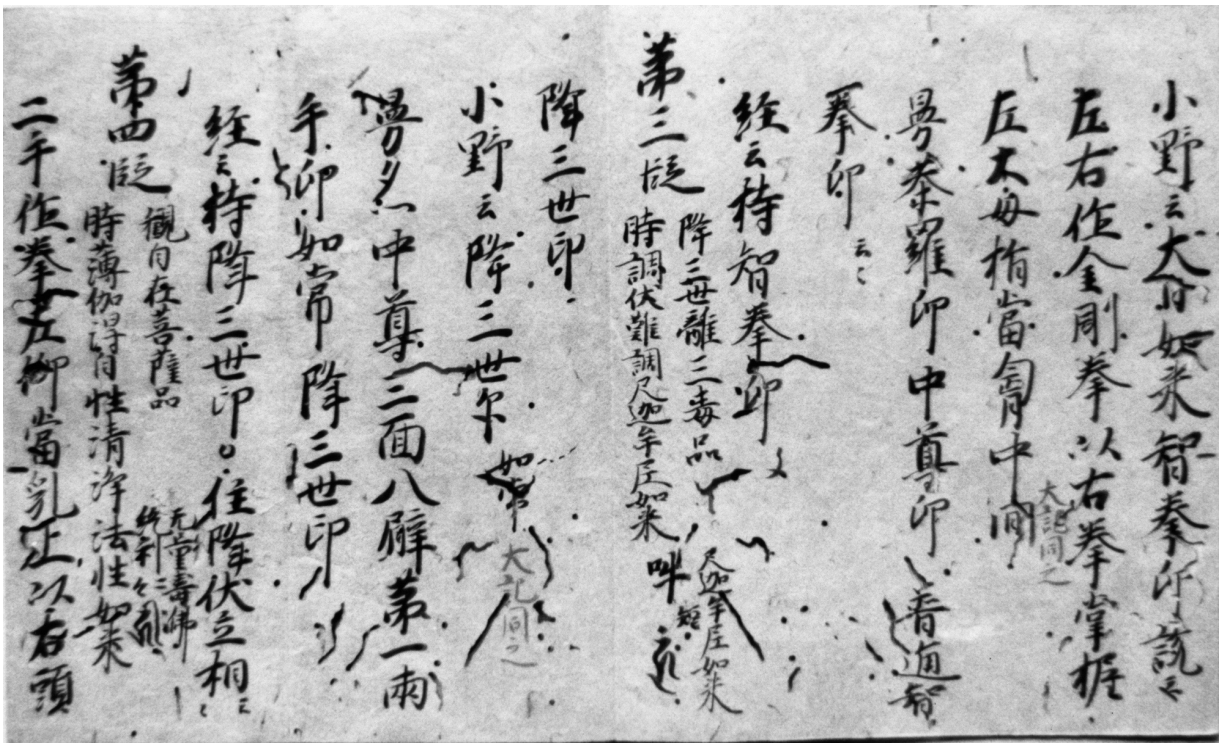


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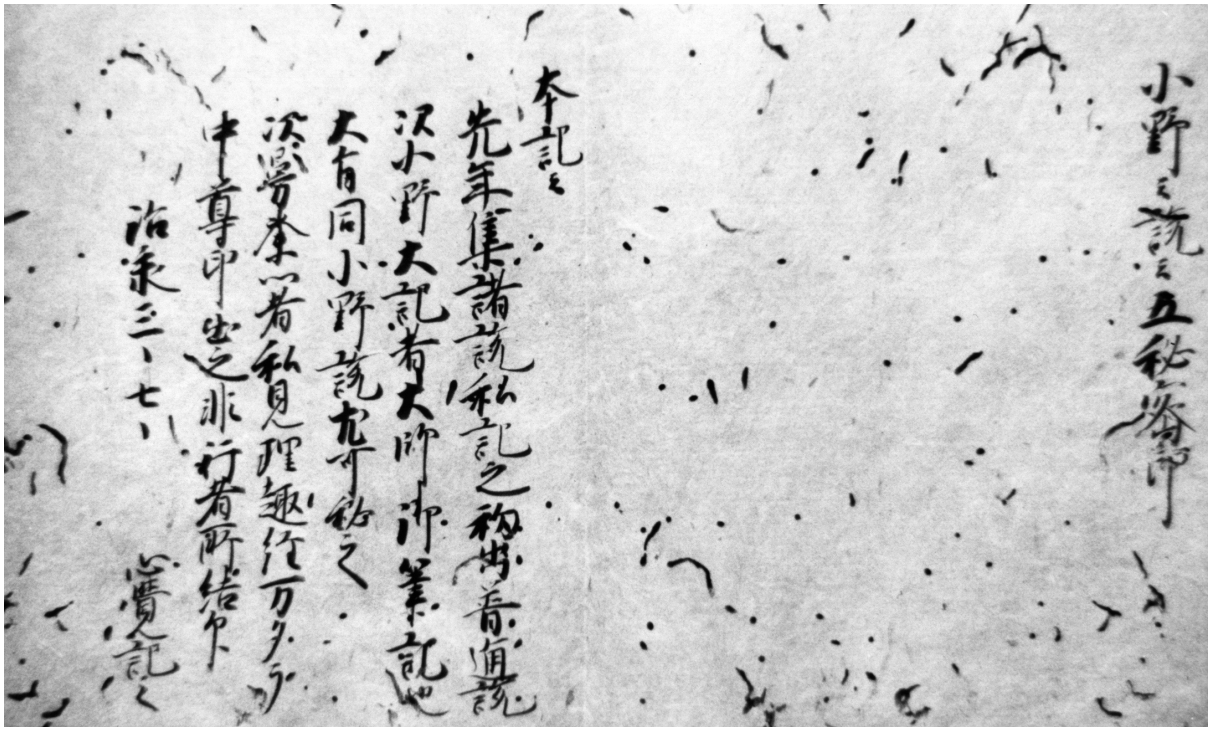


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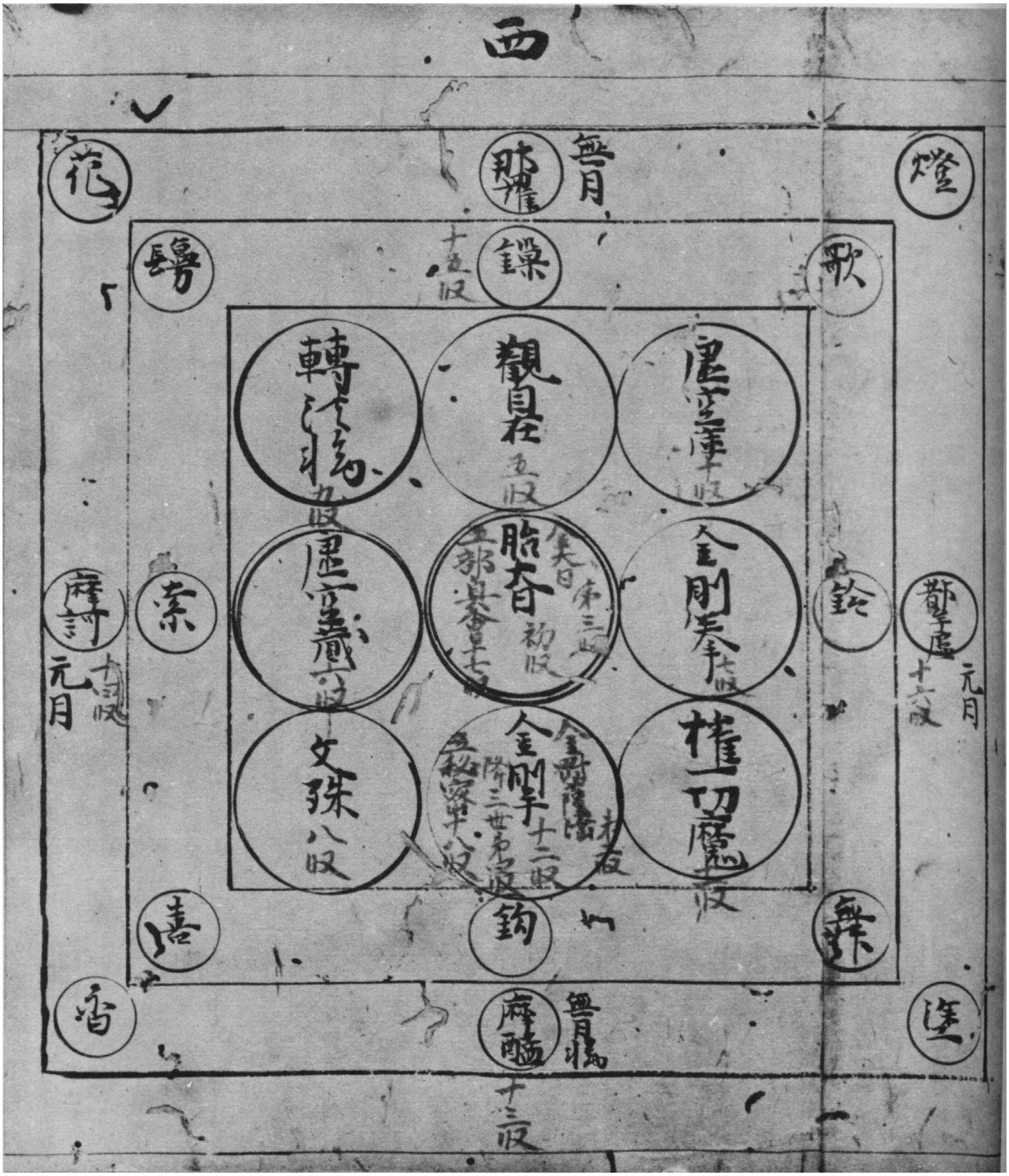


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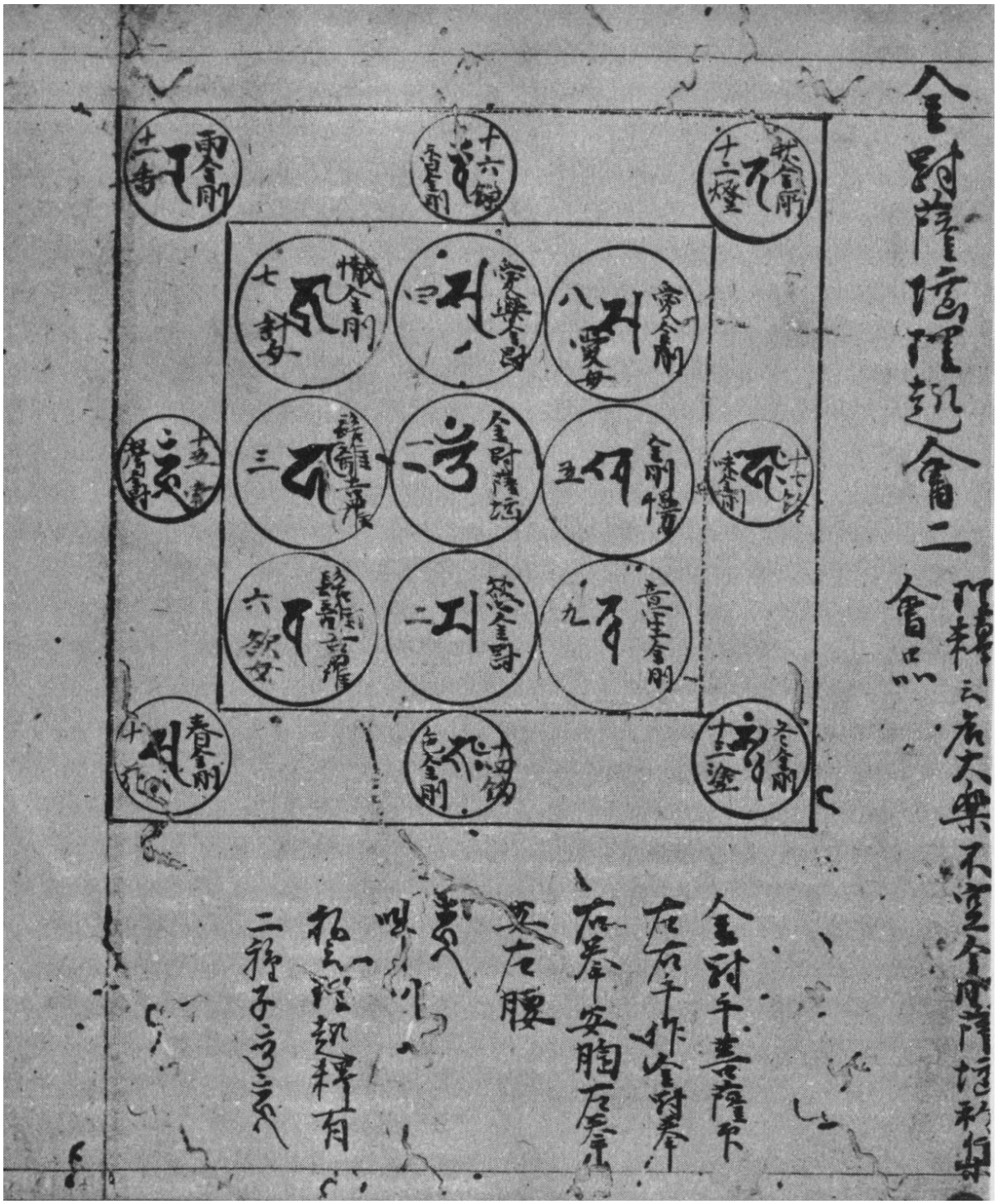


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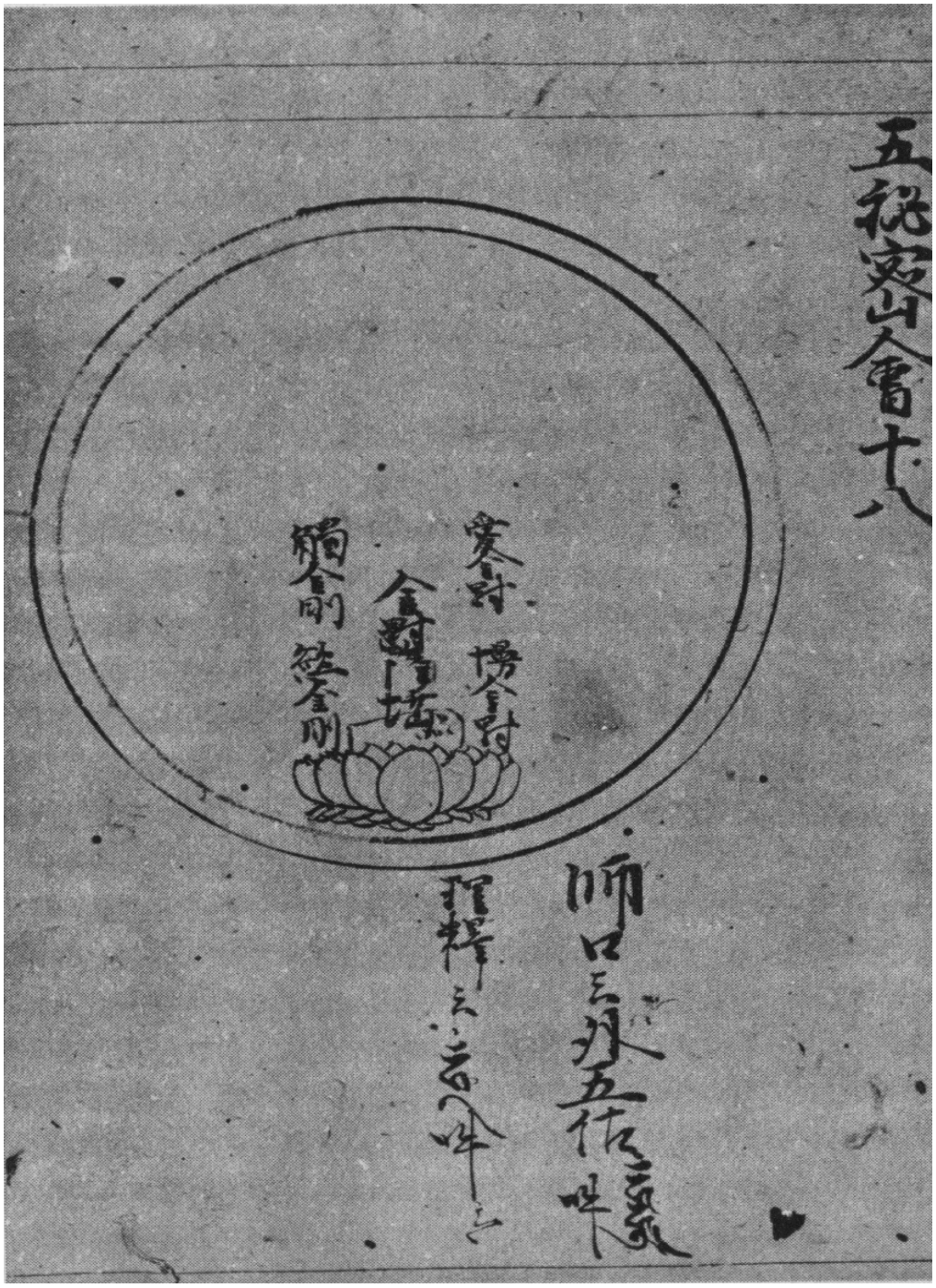


Fig. 25: *Gohimitsu e* 五祕密會 (Assembly of the Five Mysteries, 18)

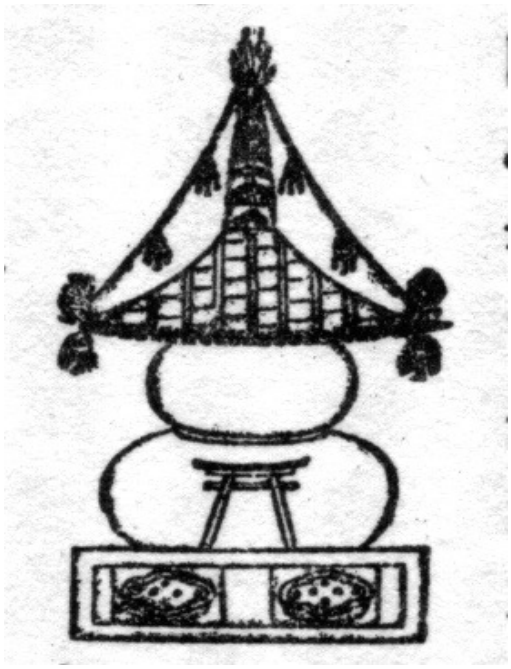


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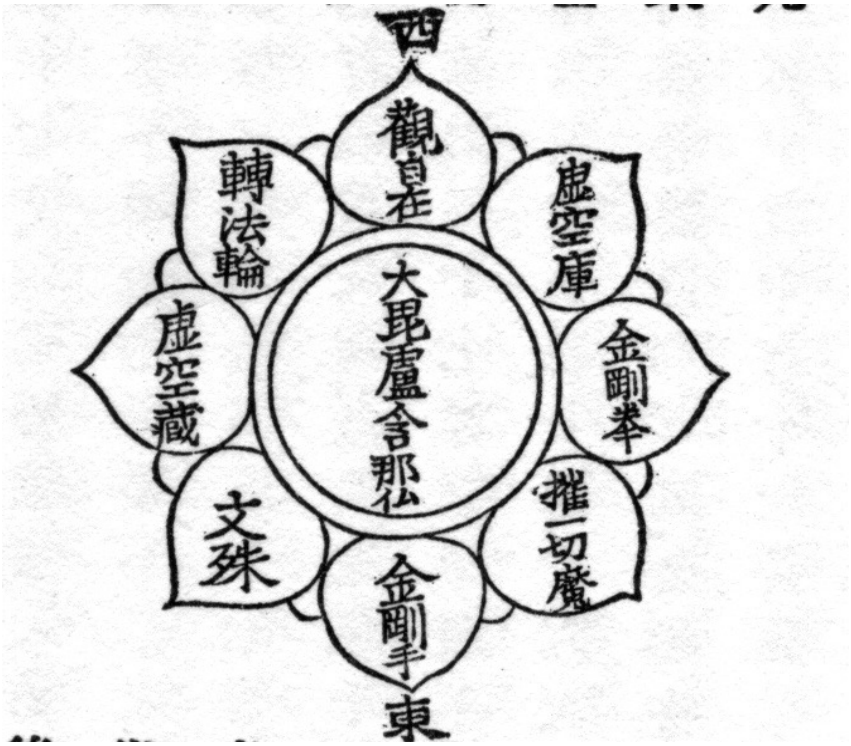


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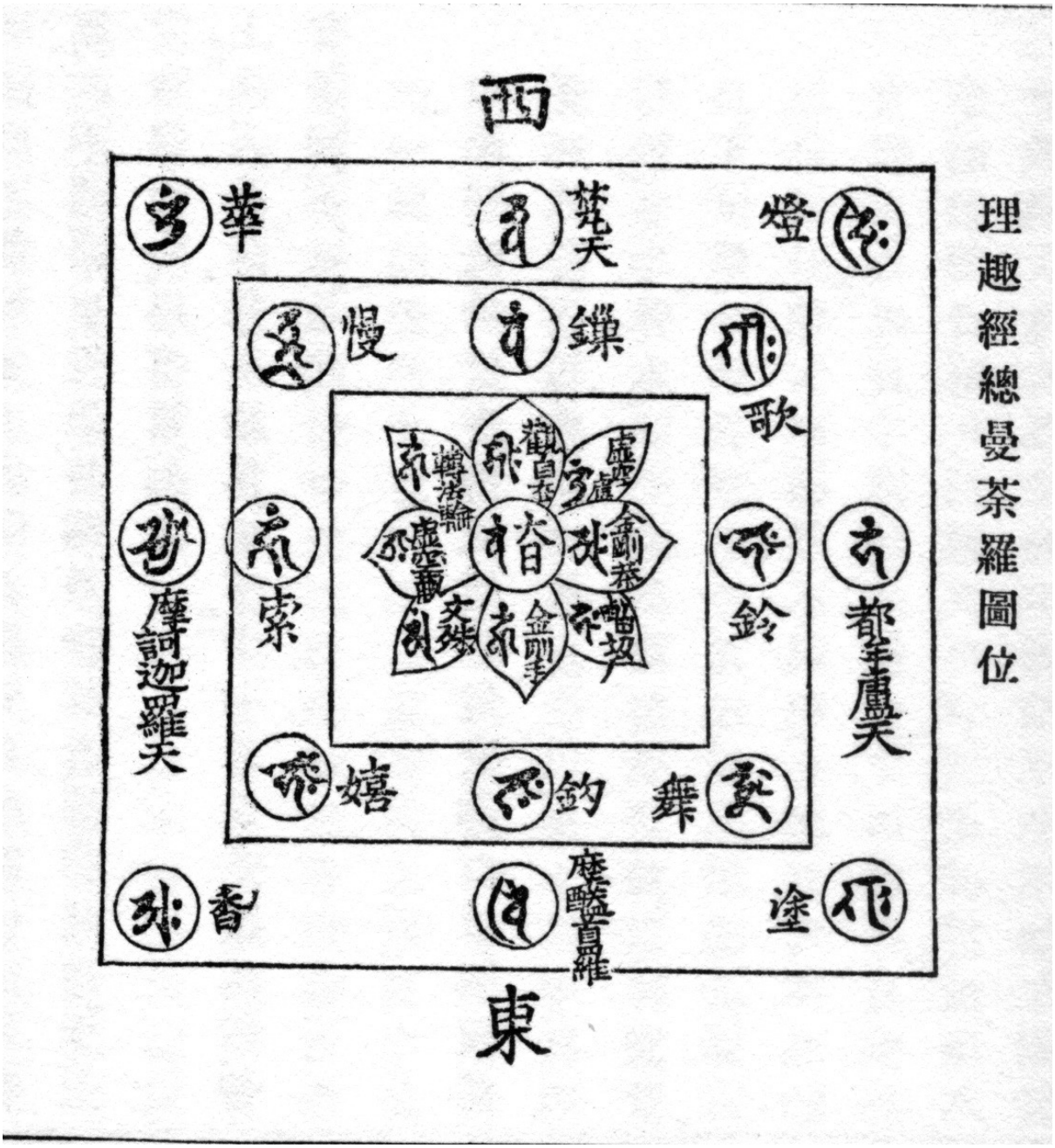


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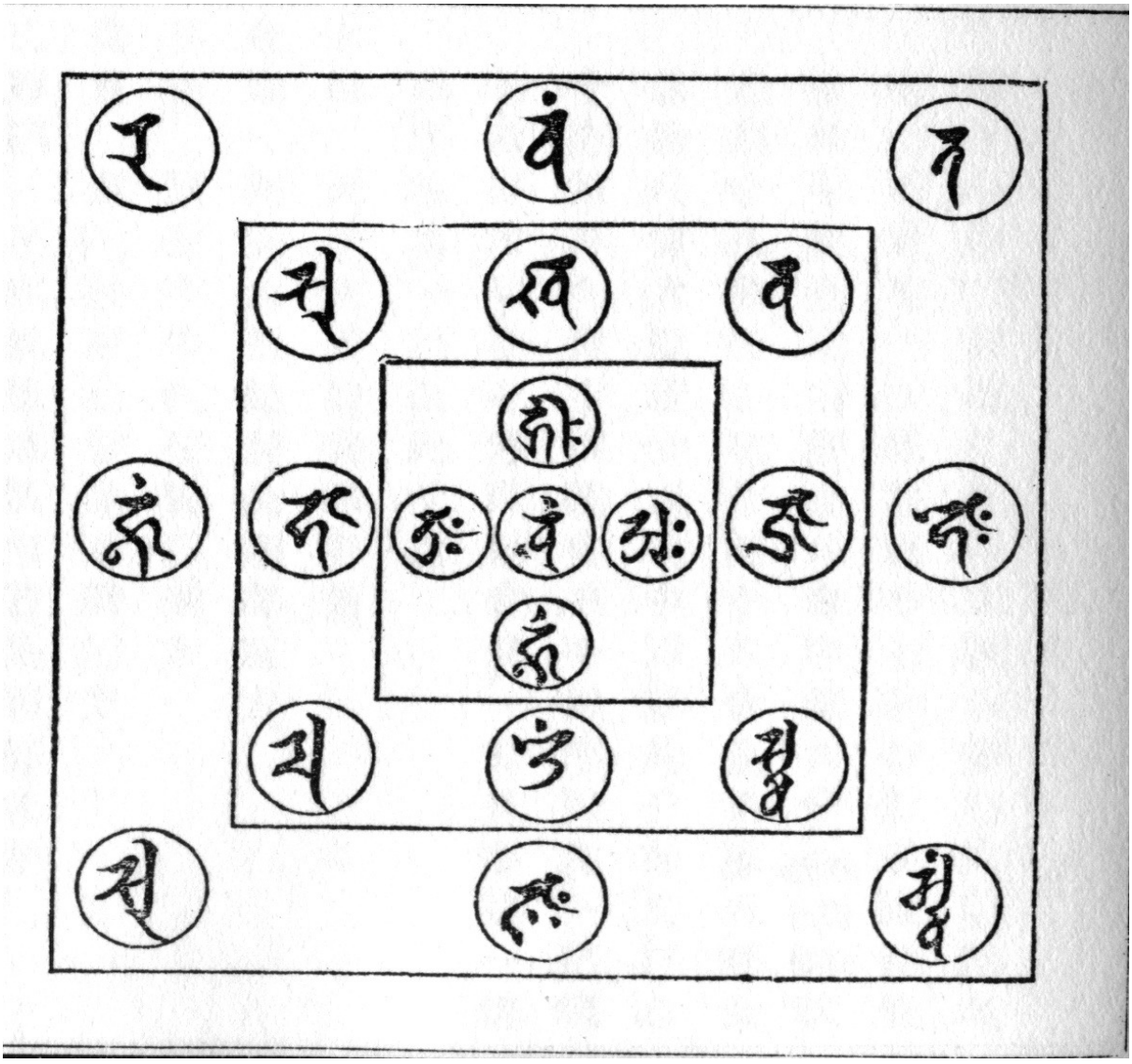


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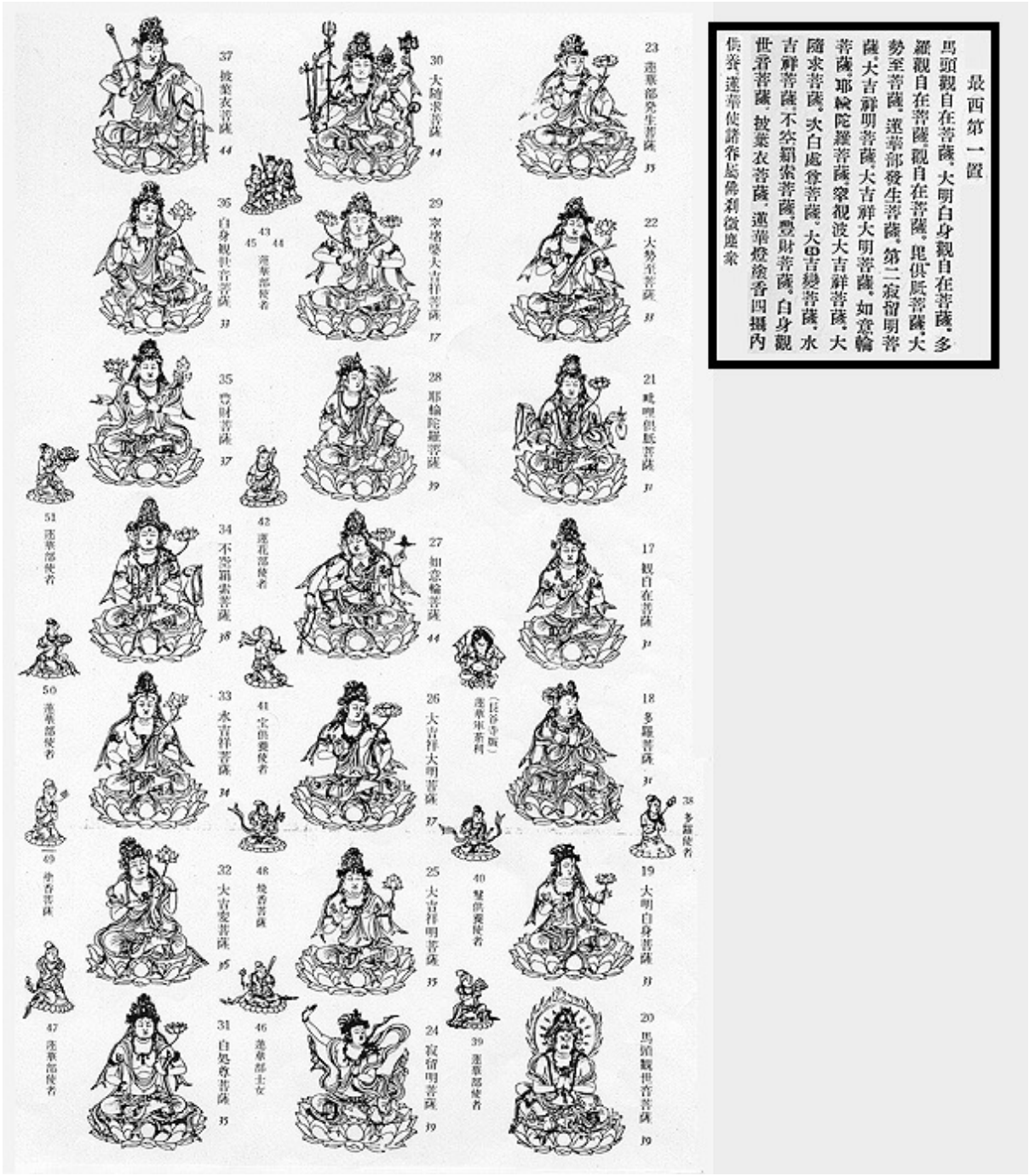


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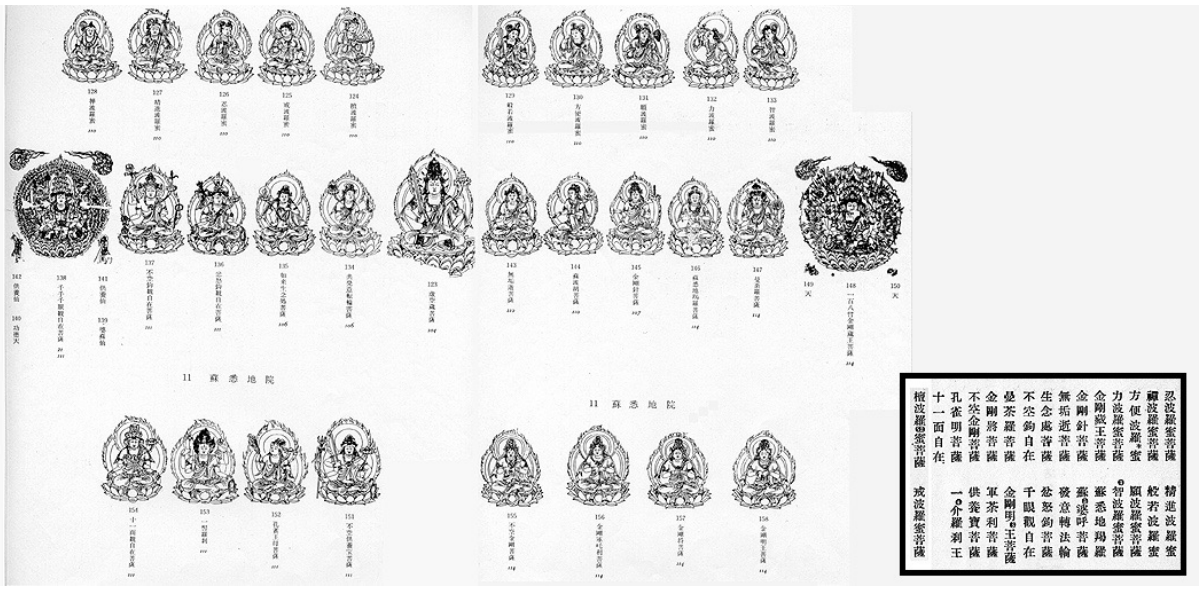


Fig. 34: Hall of Ākāśagarbha

ENDNOTES

Introduction

[1] The full title of the scripture is *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmoye jing* 大樂金剛不空眞實三麼耶經 and it is published in *T*.8.243:784a-786b. Hereafter I refer to it as the *Liqujing*.

[2] The full title of this commentary is *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmoye jing banro boluomiduo liqu chu* 大樂金剛不空眞實三昧耶經般若波羅密多理趣釋 and it is published in *T*.19.1003:607a-617b. Hereafter I refer to it as the *Liqushi*.

[3] See *T*.52.2120:839a29, 840a1, a2, 839c12-15. Amoghavajra's second commentary is the *Banro boluomiduo liqu jing dale bukong sanmei tianshi Jingangsaduo pusadeng shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* 般若波羅蜜多理趣經大樂不空三昧眞實金剛薩埵菩薩等十七聖大曼荼羅義述 (hereafter, the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*) and is published in *T*.19.1004.

[4] Amoghavajra's Indian source text has been dated to the seventh century and is regarded as one of the earliest of the yoga tantras. See Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō: The Sino-Japanese Tantric Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses (Amoghavajra's Version)*, Buddhica Britannica Series Continua III (Tring, UK: Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1991), p. 11.

[5] Also called the four seals 四印, this method of identification with deities is seen in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.18.865), Amoghavajra's reference source for his *Liqujing* and *Liqushi*. See Chapter Four.

[6] I have used the English translation "Adamantine Crown" for the Sanskrit term Vajroṣṇīṣa. See Ronald M. Davidson ("Sources and Inspirations: Esoteric Buddhism in South Asia," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 19-24, esp. p. 24) and Giebel ("The Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui cih-kuei: An Annotated Translation," *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō* [Naritasan: Shinshōji, 1995], vol. 18, pp. 107-210, esp. p. 109) who suggest that the term has been mis-rendered in Japanese literature as Vajraśekhara/śikhara 金剛頂. Giebel refers us to Kūkai's *Kongōchōkyō kaidai* 金剛頂經開題 (*T*.61.2221:2b11-15), where he records the work's title in the *siddhaṃ* script as *vajra-uṣṇīṣa*, and to Haiyun's 海雲 *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* 兩部大法相承師資付法記 (*T*.51.2081:784b23), wherein he equates this work to the head of the human body and so its teachings are supreme among all the methods of the Great Vehicle.

[7] See Amoghavajra's translation of a part of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.18.865), which is the First Assembly of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. This system is documented in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* 金剛頂瑜伽十八會指帰 (Guide to the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown), which is published as the *Jingangding jing yuqie shibahui zhigui* 金剛頂經瑜伽十八會指帰 (*T*.18.869). Both works are recorded in the list of translations and compositions (*T*.2120:839a28, b14) that Amoghavajra presented to the Chinese emperor in 771. I discuss Amoghavajra's memorial, his translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* in Chapter Four.

[8] Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* and a manual for the rite of the Five Mysteries (*T*.20.1125) were fundamental to Kūkai's construction of the doctrine of "becoming a buddha in this very body" 即身成仏 (*sokushin jōbutsu*), which he promotes in his *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* 即身成仏義 (Meaning of Becoming a Buddha in This Very Body). See this work in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 514-515 and compare *T*.19.1003:609a18-20 (four wisdom seals), 610a9-14 (four types of mandalas) and *T*.20.1125:535b26-c16 (empowerment of Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva and the Five Mysteries).

[9] The *Liqujing* and its commentaries and ritual manuals are listed in Kūkai's *Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku* 眞言宗所學經律論目録 (Catalogue of Scriptures, Precepts and Treatises for Those Who Study the

Shingon Doctrine), a reading list for monks of his lineage. See *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 105-123, esp. pp. 106, 107, 110.

[10] The Chinese original of the mandalas from which Shūei's copy derived does not survive.

[11] Japanese scholarship is vast. I present the views and works of these scholars in the chapters of this study, as well as in Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission.

[12] See Chapter Three of this dissertation.

[13] See Osabe Kazuo, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō* (Kobe: Kobe Shōkadaigaku keizai kenkyūjo, 1971) and Ishida Hisatōyō, *Mandara no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu, 1975), for example.

[14] Examples are the Ishiyamadera exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* and the template of the *Jingangding jiuhui mantuluo* 金剛頂九會曼荼羅 (Mandala of Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm, also known in the Shingon school as the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* 現圖金剛界曼荼羅), which includes the *Liquhui*.

[15] See Orzech, "Seeing Chen-yen Buddhism: Traditional Scholarship and the Vajrayāna in China," *History of Religions*, vol. 29, No. 2 (1989), pp. 87-114, and *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*: *The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of National Protection Buddhism* (State College, Pennsylvania: the Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Sharf, Appendix 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), pp. 264-278, esp. pp. 277-278.

[16] See Orzech, The "Great Teaching of Yoga," the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism, *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, pp. 29-78.

[17] See Chapter Four.

[18] See Chapter Four.

[19] See Misaki, *Taimitsu no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988), which contains his studies on this topic from 1962 onwards; Orzech, "Seeing Chen-yen Buddhism," *History of Religions*, vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 87-101; Jinhua Chen, *Crossfire*: *Shingon-Tendai Strife as Seen in Two Twelfth-century Polemics, with Special References to Their Background in Tang China*. Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series XXV (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2010).

[20] Kōda Yūun, "Keikawajō igo no mikkyō sōtachi," *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyōbunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 15 (2002), pp, 29-62, esp. pp. 38-39 reckons Faquan's dates as 800–870. I presented an initial study of Faquan's transmission in "Faquan's Transmission of the *Susiddhi* Category of the Esoteric Buddhist Teachings," *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies*, vol. 8 (2004), pp. 280-232.

[21] *Rishukyō no kenkyū* 理趣經の研究 (Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku shuppanbu, 1930, 1959.

[22] *Himitsu kyoten*: *Rishukyō* (Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1982), p. 13.

[23] Hatta, op. cit., pp. 336-352 presents the contents of the scripture and its commentary (teachings and mandalas) in chart form. See especially p. 345 for the reference system he uses for his explanations of the charts. These are a variation of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界マンダラの変形, the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*) 初会金剛頂経 (Dānapāla's Song Dynasty translation, *T*.18.882), and a completed form of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界大マンダラの完成.

[24] See endnote 4. Hereafter, *The Rishukyō*.

[25] In Chapter One, I document Amoghavajra's use of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s system in his *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* and in Chapter Four, I demonstrate that he consulted other assemblies of this new yoga system.

[26] *T*.243:784b15-19, 786b1-3, *T*.1003:609b6-9, 611a19-21, 617a26-28.

[27] See Chapter One.

[28] *T*.55.2176.

[29] These works are published in *T*.18.867 and *T*.19.973.

[30] See Rolf W. Giebel's statement (*Two Esoteric Sutras* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research (2001), p. 7, which is also in his "The Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui cih-kuei: An Annotated Translation" *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 18, (1995), pp. 112-113) that Amoghavajra's translation conforms closely with the corresponding portion of the Sanskrit text, as well as the later Tibetan and Chinese translations of the complete text.

[31] I thank Iyanaga Nobumi for the idea of a chart, and for creating an empty chart for me to fill.

[32] See, for example, Horiuchi Kanjin, "*Shoe Kongōchō* shosetsu no kyōshu ni tsuite," *Katsumata Shunkō hakushi koki kinen ronshū — Daijō bukkyō kara mikkyō e* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1981), pp. 301-315 and Yoritomi Motohiro, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), pp. 188-189.

Chapter One: The *Liqushi* and the *Liqujing Mantuluo*

[1]For a description of Shūei's travel route in China, see his biographies in *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳, 7 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書, vol. 102. p. 131; *Shingonden* 眞言傳, 3 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 160; and Ōmura Seigai, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi* (Tokyo, 1918), pp. 868-869. For more sources on Shūei's biography, see Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 2213b and *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 852a.

[2] Called the *Tangben Liqujing mantuluo* 唐本理趣經曼荼羅 (The Tang Version of the Mandalas of the Guiding Principle Scripture), the work is illustrated in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō* 大正新修大藏經圖藏 (hereafter, *T. Zuzō*), vol. 12, no. 3239, pp. 954-971.

[3] The Daigoji version, which is titled *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* 理趣經十八會曼荼羅 (Mandalas of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Guiding Principle Scripture) is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, pp. 776-798. For the date of this copy, see Ono Genmyō, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* (Tokyo, 1968-1978), vol. 11, p. 187a.

[4] I have examined such late Heian and Kamakura period ritual compilations as the *Zuzōshō* 圖像抄 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006), *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007), *Mandarashū* 曼荼羅集 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3018), *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 (*T. Zuzō*, vols. 4 and 5 no. 3022) and the *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄 (*T. Zuzō*, vols. 8 and 9, no. 3190).

[5] For details of this discovery, see Ono Genmyō, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, (Tokyo, 1937), p. 73, wherein he reports that this discovery took place in January of 1934 昭和九年 (Shōwa 9). This explains why this important document was totally ignored from the time of its introduction in 865 until the 1930s. The Ishiyamadera set was published for the first time in 1934 in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, no. 3239. Other examples of the *Liqujing* set of mandalas were published in 1933 in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5.

[6] Toganoo Shōun, *Rishukyō no kenkyū* (Kōyasan, 1930/1959) would not have known of the Ishiyamadera exemplar. See Hatta Yukio, *Himitsu kyōten: Rishukyō* (Tokyo, 1982), pp. 13-17, who did not include the Ishiyamadera exemplar in the list of *Liqujing mantuluo* that he examined. Ono Genmyō, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, pp. 729-730, who did not publish in any detail his examination of these mandalas, conjectured that a master after Amoghavajra translated a Sanskrit work and paired these images with this as yet unknown text. Fukuda Ryōsei examined only two mandalas. He records in "Rishukyō mandara ni tsuite—toku ni Gohimitsu mandara wo chūshin ni" 理趣經曼荼羅について——特

に五秘密曼荼羅を中心に, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai* (Tokyo, 1987), pp. 425-430, esp. p. 428, that there is no correspondence between the Five Mysteries Mandala and the prescriptions in the *Liqushi*. However, in another article in his book, titled "Ishiyamadera zō Tōhon *Rishukyō mandara* no kentō" 石山寺藏唐本理趣經曼荼羅の検討, pp. 431-439, he compares the iconography of mandala No. 3 with the relevant section of the *Liqushi* and states that there is a close correlation between text and image. Clearly, a thorough examination of the iconography of this set is necessary.

[7] See Introduction, State of the Field, pp. 2-3.

[8] See his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 諸阿闍梨眞言密經部類總錄 which is published in *T*.55.2176:1131b25.

Shūei's inventories are published in *T*.55.2174A, B. Japanese scholars regard the *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* as Shūei's own work. The second catalogue is the work of his disciples because of the appearance of Shūei's name in the title. See Yoritomi Motohiro, "Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō," *Naritasan Bukkyō Kenkyūjo Kiyō* (Bulletin of the Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies), vol. 15 (1992), pp. 495-539, esp. 499-500. Ennin's inventories are published in *T*.55.2165, 2166 and 2167. I discuss these inventories in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

[9] This evidence is contained in the inscriptions on a scroll entitled the *Suxidi yigui qiyin* 蘇悉地儀軌契印 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 8, no. 3146) and the Ishiyamadera set of the *Liqujing mantuluo*, which date both works to 864.

The inscription on the Ishiyamadera set states that (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, p. 971) during the middle ten days of the second spring month of the fifth year of Xiantong 咸通, in Yuyuan 粥院 of Xiangguosi 相國寺 in Bianliang 汴梁, a certain monk (his name is given in *siddhaṃ* characters but his Chinese name is not known) copied the illustrations of Xuanqing 玄慶, the master of Dabeiyuan 大悲院. The original inscription is transcribed by Ono Genmyō, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, p. 726 as: "唐咸通五年歳次甲申仲春月中旬於大梁相國寺粥院寫之／大悲院玄慶三藏本　比丘 नदीस्माध्यर." The values of the *siddhaṃ* letters are based on the reading by Fukuda, "Ishiyamadera zō Tōhon *Rishukyō mandara* no kentō," in *Rishukyō no kenkyū*: *sono seiritsu to tenkai*, p. 439, note 9: nadīsmādhyara. Although the exact date is not recorded in his biographies, during his visit to Bianliang, Shūei did indeed obtain initiation into the adamantine realm 金剛界灌頂 (*Kongōkai kanjō*) from this esoteric master, Xuanqing. See *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳, 7 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, p. 131, *Shingonden* 眞言傳, 3 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 160.

The inscription on the *Suxidi yigui qiyin* states that (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 8, no. 3146, p. 26) during the middle ten days of the first summer month of that same year (Xiantong 5) Zhaocong 趙琮 copied the scroll in Changan's Eastern Market. The original inscription is transcribed by Ono Genmyō, *op. cit.,* p. 726 as: "唐咸通五年歳次甲申孟夏中旬有八天水郡趙琮録記／上都東市." The timing fits Shūei's itinerary. Shūei records the *Suxidi yigui qiyin* in his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* (*T*.2174A:1111b5), but he does not mention the Ishiyamadera set of the *Liqujing mantuluo*.

For discussions of the two inscriptions, see Ono Genmyō, *op. cit*., pp. 725-731. Manabe Shunshō discusses the inscription on the *Suxidi yigui qiyin* in "*Soshitsuji giki keiin zu* no kōsatsu 1: Tōji Kanchiin zō to Ishiyamadera zō hon," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 62 (1963), pp. 77-94, especially 80-83. I present these scholars' research in "The *Rishukyō Mandara* Said to Have Been Introduced by Shūei," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, Mémorial Anna Seidel, vol. 8 (1995), pp. 371-388, esp. p. 372.

[10] *T*.8.243:784b11-12.

[11] The four mandalas are illustrated in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, pp. 794-797, Nos. 19-22. A set of mandalas in the private collection of Sorimachi Natsuko 反町夏子藏 (housed in the Tokyo National Museum) also contains these four additional mandalas. The colophon on this set dates this copy to Jōan 1 承安元年 (1171). Professor Yoritomi Motohiro kindly photographed this set for me. On the other hand, a set in Entsuji 圓通寺 on Kōyasan 高野山 has only sixteen mandalas. This set (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3045) does not include the important Five Mysteries Mandala 五祕密曼荼羅, which is, according to Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*, the culmination of the *Liqujing*'s teachings.

[12] Vajrapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha, Vajramuṣṭi, Mañjuśrī, Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, Gaganagañja and Sarvamāra-pramardin.

[13] 金剛頂一切如來眞實攝大乘現證大教王經 (*The Adamantine Pinnacle*: *Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas and the Realization of the Great Vehicle, Being the Scripture of the Great King of Teachings*), published in *T*.18.865:207a10-24. See Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 77 and Horiuchi Kanjin, "Kongōchōkyō no sessō," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 11 (1976), pp. 67-122), esp. pp. 71-72. For an English translation of Amoghavajra's text, see Rolf W. Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2001, pp. 5-107,) esp. 19-20.

I give Giebel's English translation for the title of this work.

[14] Amoghavajra places the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Liqujing* first and second, respectively, in a list of translations and compositions that he presented in a memorial to the Chinese Emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762-779) in 771 (*T*.52.2120:839a28-29). This indicates the importance of these two texts in his transmission, and emphasizes their close doctrinal relationship. This memorial is part of a larger collection of memorials, the *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji* 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集 (T.52.2120), which date from the years 757 to 781 and which Amoghavajra presented to three successive Chinese emperors. Amoghavajra's disciple, the monk Yuanzhao 圓照 (719-800) was the compiler of this collection. The list of translations and compositions is found on *T*.52.2120:839a28-840a11 and a translation of the memorial is found in Orlando Raffaello, *A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra (A.D. 705-774)* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1981), pp. 67-71.

[15] The teachings of the *Liqujing* belong to the earlier *Prajñāpāramitā* tradition, but influences from Indian Esoteric Buddhism can be seen in a Chinese translation of this text made by Bodhiruci sometime between 693-727. For the "esoterizing" of this text, see discussions throughout Toganoo's *Rishukyō no kenkyū* and Fukuda, *Rishukō no kenkyū*: *sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 21-27. In Chapter Four of this dissertation, I discuss Amoghavajra's *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* and their relationship with the textual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

[16] Amoghavajra presents the contents of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown in the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* 金剛頂瑜伽十八會指歸 (*T*.18.869). This work is recorded in the list of translations and compositions (*T*.2120:839b14) that Amoghavajra presented to the Chinese Emperor in 771. See the *Jingangding jing yuqie shibahui zhigui* and Rolf W. Giebel, "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chic-kuei*: An Annotated Translation," *Naritasan Bukkyō Kenkyūjo Kiyō* (Journal of the Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies), vol. 18 (1995), pp. 107-202.

[17] Chapter of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界品. See *T*.869:284c18-285a14.

[18] In this heaven, where form has become so rarefied that it is almost imperceptible and its inhabitants have no desires, Mahāvairocana's appearance has yet to be actualized so that it can be perceived by practitioners. According to Tsuda Shinichi's discussion of the significance of the setting and the theme of this text ("A Critical Tantrism," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 36 (1978), pp. 176-231, esp. pp. 197-208), in this heaven Mahāvairocana has an incorporeal form that will become concretized in our world of Jambūdvīpa through Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi's practice of a new, quick and easy method of attaining enlightenment. That is, Sarvārthasiddhi attains enlightenment in five quick steps 五相成身觀 and, as Tathāgata Vajradhātu (Mahāvairocana) displays to sentient beings an absolute reality in the form of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The text provides rites and rules that enable the practitioner to access this ultimate reality.

The Akaniṣṭha Heaven is the eighteenth heaven of the realm of form, beyond which lies the four heavens of the realm of formlessness. The Buddhist cosmological system of the realms of desire, form and formlessness is actually the stages of contemplation that the practitioner passes through until all desire, perception and thought cease. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 1742 (*shikikukyōten* 色究竟天) and vol. 3, pp. 3467-8 (*takejizaiten* 他化自在天), W. Randolph Kloetzli, *Buddhist Cosmology*. *The Science and Theology in the Images of Motion and Light* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers PVT. LTD, 1989), especially pp. 23-50.

[19] The practitioner's five kinds of desires 五欲 undergo changes as he progresses through the six heavens that constitute the realm of desire. The Paranirmita-vaśavartin Heaven is the sixth of this realm's six heavens, and here bodhisattvas, who have attained the sixth of the ten stages required in their progress to buddhahood, reside in the contemplation of the perfection of wisdom, which they teach to the inhabitants of this heaven. See *T*.1003:607c3-6. For a thorough discussion of the significance of the setting, see Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 89-91 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyo*, pp. 56-63.

[20] In the Paranirmita-vaśavartin Heaven (*T*.1003:607c6-9) Buddha Mahāvairocana becomes Vajrasattva and expounds "the guiding principle on the yoga of empowerment and manifestation of great bliss and great taints of passions" 大樂大貪染加持現證瑜伽理趣 that will enable the practitioner to transcend the realm of Māra 魔羅之境. The king, or ruler, of this heaven is Māra, who presides over the realm of desire.

[21] This group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas appears in all the Chinese translations of the texts that constitute the lineage of the *Liqujing*, beginning with that of the monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664), which was done some time between 660 and 663 (see *Toganoo, Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 28) and which forms a part of his larger translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* (*T*.7.220:986a26-991b8). Moreover, according to Amoghavajra (*T*.869:286b9-16), this group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas and their mandalas and rites are the theme of the Fourth Assembly of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown (see Iyanaga Nobumi's French translation in his "Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya," M. Strickmann ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, III, [Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, XXII] Bruxelles, 1985, p. 663-664). I discuss the contents of the Fourth Assembly in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

[22] There are other groups of Eight Great Bodhisattvas who form the focus of mandalas. See, for example, Amoghavajra's ritual manual *Ba dapusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼荼羅經 (*T*.20.1167). For secondary studies on the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, see *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, pp. 4218-9, Yoritomi Motohiro, "Hachidai bosatsu zō ni tsuite" in Sawa Ryūken, ed., *Mikkyō bijutsu no genzō: Indo Orissa chihō no bukkyō iseki* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982), pp. 114-127, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), pp. 607-622 ("Indo no hachi daibosatsu" インドの八大菩薩) and pp. 622-632 ("Chibetto no hachi daibosatsu" チベットの八大菩薩), "Kongō kanjō tantora no shibutsu hachibosatsu setsu " in *Nakao Shunpaku Sensei koki kinen: Bukkyō to shakai* (Tokyo: Nagata bunshoōdō, 1990), pp. 161-180, "Mandara to hachidai bosatsu" マンダラと八大菩薩, *Nihon bukkyō gakkai nenpō*, vol. 57 (1992), pp. 251-267, and Tanaka Kimiaki, "Kongōkai mandara no seiritsu ni tsuite (1)," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 30, pp. 134-5, "Taizō Dainichi hachi daibosatsu to hachi daibosatsu mandara no seiritsu to tenkai," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 20 (December 2001), pp. 1-15 (L) and *Ryōkai mandara no tanjō* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2004), pp. 66-89 and 150-164.

[23] The *Liqushi* states that (*T*.1003:607c9-14):

> This palace [in the Heaven of Paranirmita-vaśavartin] is the great mandala (*mahā-maṇḍala*) of Vajrasattva[, who represents] great bliss and effectiveness, and all issues from the [source of the] good fortune and merits of Buddha [Mahā]vairocana. It is a jeweled multistoried pavilion [with] an adamantine pinnacle composed of five adamantine gems of great magnificence. This mandala is four-sided and [has] eight pillars [that are linked to] the eight positions [of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas], and [there are] four gates. In the central position is [Mahā]vairocana, the Tathāgata who is the universally illuminating one. [He] is the liberator [possessing] the wisdom of inner realization. As for the eight positions, I shall explain them after [the following quotation from the text].

My translation differs slightly from Ian Astley's, which is in "An Annotated Translation of Amoghavajra's Commentary on the *Liqu jing* (*Rishukyō*) — Part I," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, vol. 7 (1994), pp. 27-53, esp. p. 35.

[24] *T*.865:217a3-8, 215a7, 216a6-7, a17-18, a29-b1.

[25] These four "wheels" are the titles of the four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

[26] See *Liqushi* 1, *T*.1003:607c20-608a29. Compare Astley's translation of this section of the text in his "An Annotated Translation of Amoghavajra's Commentary on the *Liqu jing* (*Rishukyō*) — Part I," pp. 35-7.

[27] For example, Mañjuśrī symbolizes the sword of the perfect wisdom of the Tathāgatas and so perhaps he would hold a sword. Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, the "One Who Turns the Wheel of Dharma as Soon as He Has Produced the Mind of *Bodhi*," as the meaning of his name implies, sets the wheel of the teaching in motion and so perhaps he would hold a wheel in his hands. In order to frighten and subdue those beings who are difficult to convert to the Buddha's path, Sarvamāra-pramardin, "the Destroyer of All Māras," would most likely be wrathful in appearance. But what clue might the mandala-maker follow to depict Gaganagañja Bodhisattva, who symbolizes the vast offerings of all the Tathāgatas, for instance?

[28] There is in the *Liqujing* the same principle of manifestation from Mahāvairocana that is seen in the first chapter of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. The buddhas and bodhisattvas have no concrete reality outside of Mahāvairocana's *samādhi*, from which they are produced. Rather, they represent the contents of Mahāvairocana's wisdom. See Horiuchi, "Sanjūshichi son shutsudan no shishu kanjō ni tsuite," *Okuda Jiō Sensei kiju kinen. Bukkyō shisō ronshū* (Tokyo: Heirakuji shoten, 1976) pp. 1017-1030, as well as his "Shoe Kongōchōkyō shosetsu no shoson ni tsuite (3). Shi-haramitsu," *Nasu Seiryū Hakushi beiji kinen. Bukkyō shisō ronshū* (Narita: Narita-san Shinshō-ji, 1984), pp. 160-177, Kambayashi Ryūjō, "*Ryakujutsu Kongōchō yuga bunbetsu shōi shūshō hōmon* kaidai," *Kokuyaku issaikyō*, *Mikkyō-bu*, vol. 3, pp. 29-30 and Yoritomo Motohiro, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, pp. 188-205, especially pp. 188-190.

See also the passage in the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:609b28-c2, *T*.865:208b13-c24, esp. c17-21) where Amoghavajra refers to this method of generation of the deities of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. Here he explains Vajrapāṇi (in fact Bodhisattva Samantabhadra) who, upon receiving from Tathtāgata Mahāvairocana the esoteric unction (*abhiṣeka*) and the *vajra* in both his hands (*T*.1003:609c1), was given the name Vajrapāṇi.

[29] The details given in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* on how the Buddha Mahāvairocana's states of meditative concentrations generate the deities of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, examples of which I give in endnotes 30 and 31 below, demonstrate both that the *Liqushi* does indeed refer to the figures in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, and that the information in the latter text is still insufficient to allow the iconographic depiction of the figures in the mandalas in question.

[30] This transformation is the result of Mahāvairocana's entering a meditative concentration (*samādhi*) wherein there emerges from his heart the mantra *vajradharma*. Mahāvairocana then transforms himself into a multitude of lotus flowers that condense into a single adamantine lotus flower. From this flower emerge myriads of bodies of tathāgatas who combine to form the anthropomorphic figure of Avalokiteśvara. In a second meditative concentration Mahāvairocana confers upon Avalokiteśvara this lotus flower, a symbol of the inherent purity and equality of all elements of reality. As Mahāvairocana places this flower in both of the Bodhisattva's hands, All the Tathāgatas consecrate him with the adamantine name of Vajranetra (Adamantine Eye). Avalokiteśvara then holds this lotus as though to open its petals. See *T*.865:211a9-b6 and Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*, The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra, pp. 39-40. This process of meditative concentration, generating first the mantra or the seed syllable, then the symbolic (*samaya*) form, then finally the image of the Venerable, serves as the foundation of the esoteric visualization practice, whereby the practitioner is assimilated into Buddha Mahāvairocana.

[31] The sequence of transformations from mantra to symbolic and finally to anthropomorphic form remains unchanged. The process begins with Mahāvairocana's heart mantra *vajratīkṣṇa* 金剛利 (adamantine acuity), progresses through Mahāvairocana's manifesting himself as numerous swords that consolidate into one adamantine sword from which appear innumerable tathāgatas who merge into the figure of Mañjuśrī. Mahāvairocana then confers upon Mañjuśrī this adamantine sword as a symbol of the perfect wisdom of All the Tathāgatas, placing it in both his hands, as he is consecrated by All the Tathāgatas with the adamantine name of Vajrabuddhi 金剛慧 (Adamantine Sapience). See *T*.865:211b10-c5 and Giebel, *ibid*, pp. 40-42.

[32] An examination of Amoghavajra's reference system, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, shows us that a mandala-maker would be confronted with the same problem there: there is a lack of precise instructions for the anthropomorphic depictions of the figures of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The mandala-maker might

find some information concerning the figures' hand gestures and attributes in the text's section on the four kinds of knowledge-seals 四智印. These seals represent the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas from the four modalities of body, mind, speech and activities and are expressed in four specific types of mandalas. For example, according to *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:610a9-15), the deities in their anthropomorphic forms 本形 constitute a great 大 (*mahā*) mandala, their attributes 標幟, which symbolize their vows, form a symbolic (*samaya*) mandala, their special letters 種子 (*bīja*) compose a seed letter (*dharma*) mandala and their casted forms an action (*karma*) mandala. Although the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* specifies for most of the deities their symbolic forms (for example, an arrow, a banner, a sword, a suit of armor), its instructions are cryptic and cannot be used as a manual that stipulates the physical characteristics of the deities. Moreover, Amoghavajra further explicates Mahāvairocana's manifestation of the thirty-six figures in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in his *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuizheng famen* 略述金剛頂瑜伽分別聖位修證法門 (Gateway to Methods for Realization and Practice of the Sacred Positions Differentiated in [the mandala] Abridged from the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, *T*.18.870), a work that he included in the list of translations and compositions (*T*.2120:839b15) that he presented to the Chinese Emperor in 771. Again, we learn from this work (*T*.18.870:288c19-290a1), a short commentary on the significance of the figures in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, the concepts that the figures embody, their symbolic forms, and their positions in this mandalic reality. But, as was the case with the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, there is not enough information provided in this text to accurately draw the figures of this mandala.

[33] *T. Zuzō,* vol. 12, 3239, p. 956. The order of the Ishiyamadera mandalas has not been published correctly in the *Taishō Zuzōbu*. See my chart in the Introduction's Conventions. The Five Mysteries Mandala is represented first but it should be placed last in the series. The opening mandala is presented as the third in this set. See the discussion and the correction of the order in the articles by Fukuda Ryōsei, "Ishiyamadera zō Tōhon *Rishukyō mandara* no kentō," *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 431-439 and by Yoritomi Motohiro, "Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō," *Bukkyō bunka shiron shū* 1, p. 20.

[34] For example, Gaganagañja is referred to as Adamantine Storehouse 金剛庫 and Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin as Adamantine Mere Generation 金剛纔發.

[35] The rotation of the positions of the Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī, Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, Gaganagañja and Sarvamāra-pramardin, and of the Offering and Gate Bodhisattvas points to a copyist's error. A rotation of positions occurs systematically in all the mandalas of the Ishiyamadera set.

[36] *T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, 3044, p. 776, No. 1.

[37] Visual traditions that date after Amoghavajra's time, in particular the set of mandalas known in the Shingon school as the *Genzu mandara* 現圖曼荼羅, rather than the *Liqushi* and its references, serve as the iconographic sources for the figures in the Daigoji's opening mandala, as I will demonstrate in Chapter Three.

[38] See *T*.243:784b11-19, *T*.1003:609a16-b9 and *T*. 243:784b26-c1 and *T*.1003:610b6-21. For a discussion of the teachings and practice presented in *Liqujing* 2, see Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 146-154, Hatta, *Himitsu kyōten*, pp. 92-101 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 122 (translation)-131, esp. pp. 124-125 for a discussion of the term *abhisaṃbodhi* 現等覺.

[39] The four yogic practices are those of the great perfect mirror of wisdom 大圓鏡智 (*adarśa-jñāna*), the wisdom of equality 平等性智 (*samatā-jñāna*), the wisdom of wondrous perception 妙觀察智 (*pratyavekṣaña-jñāna*) and the wisdom of accomplishing actions 成所作智 (*kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna*). Amoghavajra assigns to each yogic meditation one of the Yogacāra school's level of consciousness. See *T*.1003:610b6-21 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 122, 126-128. The practice of these yogas of wisdom purifies a particular level of consciousness; that of the great perfect mirror of wisdom purifies the eighth level, the storehouse consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*), the underlying substratum of mind; that of the wisdom of equality the seventh consciousness (*manas*), which contains the false idea of self and other; that of the wisdom of wondrous perception the sixth level, the consciousness of coordinating mental functions (*mano-vijñāna*), and that of the wisdom of accomplishing action the fifth level, the consciousness of the five senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch (*pañca-vijñāna*). For discussions on the Yogacāra school's theory of

consciousness, see *Mikkyō dijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 907b-908c (識 シキ), Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1735c-1736c (識 シキ), Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, pp. 94-109, and Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, pp. 215-216.

[40] *T*.1003:611a6-9 and 610c19-23. These Bodhisattvas are four of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. In this text Mahāvairocana generates from his special meditative concentrations (*samādhi*) these sixteen figures in four groups of four (*T*.865:208b9-209c15; 209c16-211a8; 211a9-212b1; 212b14-213c14). They represent from sixteen different aspects the wisdoms, virtues and activities of Mahāvairocana, and the Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Vajraratna, Vajradharma and Vajrakarma are the four most important of the sixteen. See Horiuchi, "Shoe *Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no shoson ni tsuite (3) ― Shi-haramitsu," *Nasu Seiryū Hakushi beiju kinen. ═ Bukkyō shisō ronshū*, pp. 160-177, esp. pp. 164-5, 171 and his "Sanjūshichi son shusshōdan no shishu kanjō ni tsuite," *Okuda Jiō Sensei kiju kinen. ═Bukkyō shisō ronshū*, pp. 1017-1030, esp. p. 1017, as well as his "*Kongōchōkyō* no sessō," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 11, pp. 67-122, esp. pp. 71-79. For instance, the text states that Tathāgata Mahāvairocana possessed the firm mind of Samantabhadra (Vajrasattva), had been consecrated with the great gem of Ākāśagarbha (Vajraratna), had acquired Avalokiteśvara (Vajradharma)'s knowledge of all elements of reality, and had fulfilled all the salvific activities of Viśvakarma (Vajrakarma). See *T*.865:208a28-b2, 208b9-13 and Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, pp. 196-198. The importance of these four Bodhisattvas in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm is further emphasized by their positions. According to the *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuizheng famen* (*T*.870:288c23-4, 289a19-20, b14-15, c11), these Bodhisattvas sit in the lunar discs in front of their parent Buddhas, and symbolize the qualities and functions of their parent Buddhas, who incarnate, in turn, one of Mahāvairocana's four wisdoms. Mahāvairocana's four wisdoms are the four wisdoms of the Yogacāra school discussed above (*T*.870:288a20-24). This is the first Chinese work to give a concrete explanation of the four wisdoms. For a discussion of the Buddhas and their wisdoms see Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, pp. 212-228.

[41] This mudrā is prescribed in Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding yuqiazhong luchu niansong jing* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (*T*.18.866:242c28-29) and in Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.18.865:222a9-10) and his manual for the rite of the adamantine realm, the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦儀軌 (*T*.18.873:305b15-16). See also Toganoo, *Himitsu no jisō no kenkyū* (Kōyasan, 1982 [original edition 1935]), p. 363, No. 83.

[42] *T*.1003:610c24-611a6.

[43] *T*.865:208a28-b8 and *T*.870:288b9-24.

[44] See *T*.869:284c21-24 and 285a7-14.

[45] See *T*.1003:607c20-23, 865:208b9-209c15 and 870:288c19-289a14.

[46] See *T*.1003:607c23-27, 865:211a9-212b1 and 870:289b9-c5.

[47] See *T*.1003:607c27-608a2, 865:209c16-211a8 and 870:289a15-b8.

[48] See *T*.1003:608a26, 865:212b14-213c14 and 870:289c6-290a1.

[49] See *T*.243:784c15-18, 784c28-785a2, 785a7-10, 785a20-23 and *T*.1003:611b27-c1, 612a16-23 and a28-b2, 612c8-13 and c17-21, 613a14-27 and b4-7.

[50] See Fukuda's discussion in "*Rishukyō* no jōbutsuron ― tokuni jūroku daibosatsushō wo megutte" 『理趣経』の成仏論――特に十六大菩薩生をめぐって, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 357-402, esp. pp. 368-70. Fukuda provides an illustration of the contents in this stage in the form of a chart (p. 369) and a mandala (p. 370).

[51] *T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, 3044, p. 778, No. 3.

[52] *T*.243:784c5-6.

[53] *T*. *Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 971, No. 18. There is a notation on the right side and the dated colophon (for contents, see above endnote 9) on the left side of this mandala. The notation states: "This is the third [mandala] expounded in the Scripture of the path [of guiding principles]" 此是第三道經中説. For this interpretation, see Fukuda Ryōsei, "Ishiyamadera zō *Tōhon Rishukyō mandara* no kentō," *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 436-437, who has re-ordered this set of mandalas. This is No. 3 in the set, not No. 18.

[54] *T*.1003:610b4.

[55] A number of minor variations may be due to scribal error and carelessness: for instance, Ākāśagarbha's attribute and mudrā are correct, but reversed, and Vajrakarma's Turn-Dance 旋舞 Mudrā is mistakenly written as scatter-dance 散舞.

[56] See *T*. 243:784c8-18 and *T*.1003:611b9-612a9. For a discussion of the contents of this third stage, see Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 165-75 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 135-44.

[57] Beings difficult to "discipline" or "convert" is a technical term that is used constantly to especially designate Maheśvara and his followers, who cannot be converted to the Buddha's path by peaceful means. See Nobumi Iyanaga, "Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya — d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises (Notes autour de Maheśvara-Śiva dans le bouddhisme I)," ed. Michel Strickmann, *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honor of R. A. Stein*, vol. 3, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, vol XXII (Brussels: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1985), p. 660 and note 7.

[58] In *Liqujing* 1 (*T*.243:784b19-21 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 82) Vajrapāṇi is presented as "the victorious thunderbolt-bearing being who subjugates the three realms." In the *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuizheng famen* (*T*.870:288c19-24) Vajrasattva is associated with the knowledge of the valorous mind of enlightenment 勇猛菩提心智. Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva thus has two specific functions. *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:607c20-2 3) states that, because Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva embodies the mind of enlightenment of All the Tathāgatas, his empowerment of the practitioner brings about the practitioner's first awakening of this mind of enlightenment. This Bodhisattva's first function is, then, to generate within the practitioner the desire to seek enlightenment. His second function is that of transformation through subjugation. Subjugation is a form of skillful means (*upāya*) that is used on those difficult to discipline, and it is carried out by wrathful manifestations of the Tathāgatas.

[59] Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 160-164; Xuanzang's version, *T*.7.220:987c7-28; Amoghavajra's version, *T*.243:784c8-15.

[60] Amoghavajra's version, *T*.243:784c15-18.

[61] Because the original Sanskrit text of the *Liqujing* dates earlier than the redaction of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, this text's impressive doctrine according to which a bodhisattva can "kill all the beings of the three realms" without falling into the bad destinies must have greatly influenced the teaching of the subjugation of the three realms that is presented in the second chapter of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. In turn, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s second chapter shaped later versions of this Stage (and of other subsequent Stages) of the *Liqujing*. Amoghavajra certainly knew of an early version of the second chapter of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, and based his interpretation of this Stage of the *Liqujing* upon it.

[62] See *T*.18.869:285a15-c8, part of the second chapter devoted to the myth of the subjugation of Maheśvara that has been taken from a synopsis of the entire First Assembly (*T*.869:284c19-286a25).

[63] The text has 悲怒, literally "compassionate wrath," but it is very probably a scribal mistake for 忿怒, a variant reading recorded in *T*.869:285, note 14.

[64] *T*.869:285a15-27. See also Iyanaga's translation and notes in his "Récits de la Soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya," pp. 660-663; and Giebel, "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation," *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 18, pp. 141-146.

[65] Note that while *Liqujing* 3 begins with a list of "five absences of vain discourse," which constitutes the main doctrinal message of this Stage, Amoghavajra mentions the doctrinal message in the middle of his commentary on this Stage. Here he only states (*Liqushi* 3, *T*.1003: 611b22-27) that the knowledge of these five absences of vain discourse produces Tailokyavijaya's mandala. After this short passage, the remainder of the commentary is devoted mainly to the description of this mandala.

[66] Amoghavara states in the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:611b9-21; a translation given on p. 25) that all the teachings contained in the four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* can be condensed into the system of the bodies of the two wheels: the wheel of correct teaching 正法輪 (*sadharmacakra*) or 法輪 and that of instruction and command 教令輪 (**ādeśanacakra*, see *ādeśana*, commanding, instructing in Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 137c and in *Bonwa daijiten* 梵和大辞典 (Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, ed., Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001/1986), p. 193. See also Orzech, The "Great Yoga Teachings," *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, pp. 62-63, esp. footnote 152, concerning the sources for this Sanskrit term). In this system, Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva, representing the wheel of the correct teaching, takes the benign form of Samantabhadra and employs gentle methods in order to help beings understand and practice the teachings. For instance, a gentle figure of Vajrasattva/Samantabhadra is the focus of such ritual manuals as the *Jingangding sheng chu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法 (*T*.20.1123), *Puxian jingang saduo lue yuqie niansong yigui* 普賢金剛薩埵略瑜伽念誦儀軌 (*T*.201124) and *Jingangding yuqie jingang saduo wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五祕密修行念誦儀軌 (*T*.20.1125), three works that Amoghavajra included in the list of translations and compositions (*T*.2120:839c12, 14, 15) he presented to the Chinese Emperor in 771.

On the contrary, Trailokyavijaya represents the wheel of instruction and command, the Tathāgata's angry transformation which disciplines by wrathful methods those resistant to the teachings. Amoghavajra describes more precisely this system of the wheel bodies 輪身 (**cakrakāya*) in the *Xinyi Renwang banruo jing tuoluoni niansong yigui xu* 新譯仁王般若經陀羅尼念誦儀軌序 (*T*.19.994:514a24-b5), also a work included in Amoghavajra's list of translations and compositions (*T*.2120:840a10). See Iyanaga, "Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya," pp. 671-2, footnote 54 and Orzech Charles, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), pp. 156-157, and footnote 65, and his The "Great Teaching of Yoga," the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism, *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 3, (2000), pp. 29-78, esp. pp. 57-68.

Trailokyavijaya's wrath arises from a great compassion. He is described in *Liqushi* 3 (*T*.1003:611c24-25) as being wrathful on the outside 外示 but possessing an inner-heart 内心 full of compassion like that of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

[67] *T*.1003:611b9-21.

[68] See Toganoo, *Mandara no kenkyū* (Kōyasan: Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1958), pp. 335-7 and Iyanaga Nobumi, "Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya," pp. 633-745, especially pp. 668, note 44, 723, 737 and note 24.

[69] Iyanaga, *ibid*., pp. 728-31.

[70] See Toganoo, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 337 and Ronald M. Davidson, "Reflections on the Maheśvara Subjugation Myth: Indic Materials, Sa-skya-pa Apologetics, and the Birth of Heruka," *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 14/2 (1991), pp. 197-235, especially pp. 214-18. Snellgrove states that (*Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, pp. 140-1) the purpose of this drama, from the point of view of Esoteric Buddhists, was to bring non-Buddhist deities into the Buddhist path, as well as to give them new names, attributes and roles within the Buddhist context.

[71] See *T*.39.1796:678c8-679b4, esp. 679a28-b1; see Iyanaga, "Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya," pp. 682-708; *ibid*., p. 710-711 and note 154 quoting another passage in Yixing's *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* (*T*.1796:685b18-19) wherein the three realms are equated with the three poisons. Amoghavajra quotes this passage from the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* in a ritual manual for Acala that he compiled, a work included in his list of translations and compositions (*T*.21.1201:13c4-14b5 and Iyanaga, *ibid*., p. 683, note 87; see *T*.52.2120:839b11).

[72] *T*.1003:611c15-18.

[73] Despite the moralizing bent that characterizes the doctrine, in practice subjugation rituals were conducted to destroy real enemies of the ritual's sponsors or officiants. Such an interpretation served as doctrinal justification for subjugation practices that were used as political or military weapons. In Chapter Two of this study (endnote 51), I mention an example of a performance in late Heian Japan that resulted in the sudden death of a monarch. This subject is a study of its own, beyond the scope of this dissertation.

[74] *T*.1003:611c5-11 and 611c29-612a3.

[75] *T*.1003:611c9-11.

[76] *T*.1796:632a11-15.

[77] *T*.18.903:898c9-13. This work, although included in Amoghavajra's list (*T*.2120:840a4, which he records as *Zhubu tuoluoni mu* 諸部陀羅尼目), is not a translation but a collection of notes on concepts and practices contained in a number of Esoteric Buddhist texts. Yoritomi Motohiro suggests (*Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, p. 208) that this was a notebook of teachings and ideas that Amoghavajra brought back with him from his trip to India in 746.

Vajrasattva and the other Bodhisattvas, who form the family of Buddha Akṣobhya, are not specifically named the Vajra Family in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* or in the *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuizheng famen*, but Amoghavajra uses the terms Vajra Family, as well as Gem Family, Lotus Family and Action Family throughout the *Liqushi*.

For a discussion of the fundamental characteristics of the families in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, see Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū* pp. 188-228. Concerning the families in the Sanskrit and Chinese (*T*.18.882) versions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha nāma mahāyānasūtra*, see Horiuchi Kanjin, "Sanjūshichi son shusshōdan no shishu kanjō ni tsuite," *Okuda Jiō Sensei kiju kinen. Bukkyō shisō ronbunshū*, pp. 1017-1030 and Inui Hitoshi, "*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite," *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 9 (December, 1995), pp. 158/1-133/26 and "*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no mandara" (2), *Koyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 10 (January 1997), pp. 260/1-233/28, and for a discussion on the development of the families in Chinese Esoteric Buddhist texts, see Yoritomi Motohiro,"Mikkyō ni okeru buzoku (*kula*) no tenkai — tokuni sanbu no keisei ni tsuite," *Katsumata Shunkyō Hakushi koki kinen ronshū. Daijō bukkyō kara mikkyō e*, pp. 415-429 and his *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, pp. 200-215.

[78] The characters are 書契. The character 契 is an abbreviation for 契印. This term signifies both the symbolic (*samaya*) form, which is the emblem held by the Buddhist figure, as well as the hand gesture (mudrā) made by the figure. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 429a and also 印契 (*ingei*, ibid, vol. 1. p. 105a), which is synonymous with 契印.

[79] *T*.1003:611b27-c3.

[80] See endnote 58 above.

[81] *T*.865:208c25-209a20, *T*.870:288c25-289a1.

[82] These are four methods that all bodhisattvas use to lead sentient beings to the Buddhist path and emancipation. See *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 524b-c.

[83] Originally an entity signifying such concepts as death, evil desires and passions, the Buddhist Māra became identified with Kāmadeva, the Brahmanical god of love, and in time came to be depicted holding Kāmadeva's attributes of bow and sheaf of arrows and/or the *makara*-banner, a monster-like fish whose appetite is insatiable. See Prithivi K. Agrawala, "The depiction of Māra in early Buddhist art," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1995), pp. 125-134.

[84] *T*.865:209a21-b16, *T*.870:289a2-7, Giebel, The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra, pp. 30-31. His inspired verses (*udānas*) reveal his aim is to subdue the passions.

[85] *T*.865:209b17-c12, *T*.870:289a8-14.

[86] *T*.1003:611c27-29. This pose is specified in the *Liqujing* (*T*.243:784c17).

[87] This is the iconography of Trailokyavijaya that is represented in, for example, the Shingon school's *Genzu kongōkai Gōzanze e* 金剛界降三世會 (Trailokyavijaya Assembly of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm), and the story of the battle between Vajrapāṇi, who transforms himself into the wrathful form of Trailokyavijaya in order to subjugate Maheśvara and his followers, is described in the Chapter on Trailokyavijaya 降三世品 in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Subjugation is also the theme of this chapter of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, and it is the function of the members of Akṣobhya's family, upon whom this chapter focuses, to bring about conversion through submission. For this purpose, the members of this family appear in their wrathful forms (see *T*.882:376c17-377c16), and the rites and mandalas explained in this chapter are for subjugation (see *T*.869:285b7-8, 12-13).

[88] *T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, 3044, p. 779, No. 4.

[89] The works examined were the *Jingangding lianhuabu-xin niansong yigui* (*T*.873:301a3-8), *Jingangding jing yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T*.869:285a25 where "Vajradhara[, that is, Vajrasattva/Vajrapāṇi] pinned [Maheśvara] down with his leg"), the *Puxian jingang saduo lue yuqie niansong yigui* (*T*.20.1124:532a16-18), as well as the *Jingangding yujia qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經 (*T*.20.1056:73c18-20).

[90] The figures of the Vajra Family appear in their wrathful forms in the mandala prescribed in the Sanskrit *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha-nāma -mahāyāna sūtra* and its Song Dynasty Chinese translation (*T*.18.882:376c17-377c16; for the Sanskrit version, see the reference in Inui, "*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite" (1), p. 145). See also Toganoo, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 338-44 and Inui, *ibid*., (1), pp. 146-138 and "*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no mandara" (2), pp. 260-252.

[91] *T. Zuzō,* vol. 12, 3239, p. 958, No. 5 but correctly labelled as No. 4 in the title on the upper right side of the mandala.

[92] See above, pp. 25-26.

[93] For example, in the southern gate next to the sword there is a drawing of two hands forming the Mudrā of Trailokyavijaya. See endnote 78.

[94] The names recorded are those that Amoghavajra explicates in *Liqushi* 1. For example, Manojavajra (the Chinese characters 金剛憶生 are inscribed in the Ishiyamadera mandala instead of the correct 金剛意生) and Kelikilāvajra 金剛髻離 replace the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas Vajralāsī 金剛嬉 and Vajramālā 金剛鬘; Vajramegha 金剛雲 (mistakenly inscribed in the Ishiyamadera mandala as 金剛雨) replaces the Outer Offering Bodhisattva Vajrapuṣpā 金剛華 and Vajraśarad 金剛秋 replaces the Outer Offering Bodhisattva Vajrālokā 金剛燈. There has been a rotation in the order of the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas, which is evident when comparing the positions and names of these deities to the other figures in the mandala. Moreover, this mandala orients to the south with its sword. Because a consistent rotation occurs in the order of these figures in many of the Ishiyamadera mandalas, for example in the re-ordered mandalas No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16 and 17, this is very probably due to a copyist's error, and not an intentional re-orientation as the one which is seen in the Daigoji Trailokyavijaya Mandala.

[95] See the discussion under Mahāvairocana Mandala (*Liqushi* Stage 2) above, pp. 21-24.

[96] These practices and their mandalas are those of Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva as Trailokyavijaya, Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha and Vajramuṣṭi. Vajrasattva and his family members strive to conquer the practitioner's inner hindrances and awaken his desire for enlightenment (see *T*.1003:607c20-23, 611b9-21 for Vajrasattva and Trailokyavijaya, *T*.865:209a21-b16, 870:289a2-7 for Vajrarāga, for example); Avalokiteśvara and his family develop within the practitioner the knowledge that enables him to see absolute reality and to communicate this reality to others (*T*.1003:607c23-27, 865:211a9-b9 for Avalokiteśvara, *T*. 865:212a3-26, 870:289b28-c5 for Vajrabhāṣa, for example); Ākāśagarbha and his family teach the practices of charity that result in mundane and supramundane benefits for the practitioner and others (*T*.1003:607c27-608a2, 865:209c16-210a17 for Ākāśagarabha, *T*.865:210b14-c10, 870:289a27-b2 for Vajraketu, for example); and Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi and his family bring about the successful accomplishment of all the practitioner's actions (*T*.1003: 608a2-6 and *T*.865:213b13-c11, 870:289c24-290a1for Vajramuṣṭi and *T*.865:212b14-c19, 870:289c6-11for Vajrakarma, for example). See also endnotes 45-48 above.

[97] In *Liqujing* 7 (*T*.243:785a24-b2) Mahāvairocana manifests himself as Tathāgata Sarvadharmāprapañca 一切無戲論如來, the Tathāgata without any vain discourse about the *dharmas*, and expounds the guiding principle of wisdom concerning the wheel of revolving letters 轉字輪. This Tathāgata is, according to the corresponding stage of the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:613b21-c27), none other than the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and the wheel of revolving letters is the *samādhi* of the wheel of five letters 五字輪三摩地. Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī's special mantra consists of five syllables, as we shall see.

[98] *T*.1003:613c12-21. On the four wisdoms of enlightenment that convert the four types of consciousnesses, see Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1886b-1887b.

[99] *T*.1003:613c18-21.

[100] *T*.243:785a25-28, *T*.1003:613b24-c1 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 148. These manifestations appear in the four great mandalas that are expounded in the four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Each of these four chapters focuses upon one of four families. The Tathāgata/Buddha Family is the center of the first Chapter of the Adamantine Realm, the Vajra Family has this role in the second Chapter on Trailokyavijaya, the Padma/Dharma Family in the third Chapter on Universal Submission 遍調伏品 (*Sakalajagad-vinaya*) and the Ratna Family in the fourth Chapter of the Accomplishment of All Objectives 一切義成就品 (*Sarvārthsiddhi*).

The names of the mandalas and the manifestations of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī are as follows (*T*.1003:613b23-c1): Vajradhātu maṇḍala and Vajratīkṣṇa; Trailokyavijaya maṇḍala and Krodhavajratīkṣṇa; Sakalajagad-vinaya maṇḍala and Padmatīkṣṇa; Sarvārthsiddhi maṇḍala and Ratnatīkṣṇa.

As we have seen above (p. 20 and endnote 31), Vajratīkṣṇa is the esoteric form of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī who was generated by Tathāgata Mahāvairocana as a member of Tathāgata Avalokiteśvararāja's Family in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. He holds a sword, a symbol of All the Tathāgatas' transcendent wisdom. In the mandalas expounded in the other three chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.882:377a22-b5, 400b22-c11, 413b10-20), this Bodhisattva takes on the qualities of each family that govern these chapters; for example, he has an angry (*krodha*) appearance in the great mandala in the Chapter on Trailokyavijaya, he holds a lotus (*padma*) in the great mandala in the Chapter of Universal Submission and a gem (*ratna*) in the great mandala in the Chapter of the Accomplishment of of All Objectives. (See Inui, "*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite" (1), pp. 1-26, "*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no mandara" (2), pp. 1-28 and his "*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* no yondaibon to mandara no tokushoku," *Kōyasan daigaku ronbunshū*: Kōyasan daigaku sōritsu hyakujū shūnen kinen (Kōyasan daigaku: Kōyasan daigaku sōritsu hyakujū shūnenn kinenn ronbunshau henshau iinkaihen, 1996), pp. 81-100.) But in each of these mandalas he retains his fundamental nature: he is the Bodhisattva who possesses acute (*tīkṣṇa*) insight.

[101] This doctrine teaches meditations whereby the practitioner realizes the non-substantiality of existence, that phenomena, being non-substantial, are formless and undifferentiated, and that, because of this unreality of all phenomena, there is nothing to be desired. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1498b-1499a; Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 248-9.

[102] In many Mahāyāna texts Mañjuśrī is the Bodhisattva of wondrous wisdom and he is associated with subtle and profound teachings, especially those of the *Prajñāpāramitā* lineage. (See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, pp. 4875c-4876c.) *Liqushi* 1 states (see pp. 18-19 above) that Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī teaches the meditative practices of the three gateways to liberation. The doctrine of the non-substantiality of all factors of existence is expounded in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrīkā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, for example (*T*.8.223:256a6-b15), and is made accessible to the practitioner by means of forty-two *siddhaṃ* letters 悉曇四十二字門, each of which embodies a special spiritual concept that is independent of its use among the alphabetic signs. See *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 10, pp. 270-272, Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1945-6, *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 999-1001, and *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 310-11. Recitation of the forty-two letters provides, like that of the three gateways to liberation over which Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī presides, a contemplation that reveals the illusory character of reality. The first five letters of the forty-two *siddhaṃ* letters, the syllables *a ra pa ca na*, also constitute the five letters of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī's special mantra, which is called, according to the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:613b22-23), the wheel of five letters.

In *Liqujing* 7, then, Tathāgata Sarvadharmāprapañca/Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī teaches the wisdom that is attained by intense contemplation upon the wheel of five letters. The meanings of each of the syllables *a ra pa ca na* and the significance of this mantra as a whole are explicated in a manual that Amoghavajra translated for a rite that centers on Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, the *Jingangding yuqie Wenshushili pusa jing* 金剛頂瑜伽文殊師利菩薩經 (Scripture on Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī [from] the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown) (recorded in his list of translations and compositions [*T*.2120:839b5] and published in *T*.20.1171:705b3-9, 705a17-18). The truth to be learned in the *Jingangding yuqie Wenshushili pusa jing*, as well as in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrīkā-prajñā-pāramitā sūtra*'s doctrine of forty-two *siddhaṃ* letters, is identical to that which is expounded in *Liqujing* 7: an understanding of the non-substantiality of all elements of reality. This marks the beginning in the practitioner's quest for the acquisition of transcendent wisdom, which is the ability to discern the true nature of reality.

[103] *T*.243:785a28-29 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 148. Bodhisattva Vajratīkṣṇa performs the same action in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865:211c2-3; see also *T*.866:231c6-7; *T*.882:346c4-5).

[104] *T*.1003:613c19-21.

[105] The Song Dynasty translation (*T*.8.244:794a11) and the Tibetan version both prescribe an eight-spoked wheel format. For a description of this mandala in these two texts, see Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 252-53.

[106] The *Taishō* text has the character 印 which is, according to *Mikkyō daijiten* (vol. 1, p. 103a) and to Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* (vol. 1, p. 68b), an abbreviation for 印契 or 契印, the emblem held by the figure, as well as the hand gesture. The *Taishō* (*T*.1003:613c5, n. 9), gives the variant "甲" for this "印." According to Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 254, who refers to the commentary by Gōhō 杲寶 (*T*.61.2241:720a3-15), "甲," which may mean a suit of armour 甲冑, is a variant form of "匣," which is itself a variant form of "篋," meaning "book" (literally a rectangular box). See also the following endnote 107.

[107] *T*.1003:613c1-7. A note in the *Taishō* (*T*.1003:613c7, n. 10) gives a variant reading of 夾 and 筴 for 甲. *Mikkyō daijiten* (vol. 5, p. 2063a-b) states that 梵夾 is synonymous with 梵篋 and refers to the sūtras that are written on *pattra* leaves. Bodhisattvas Prajñāpāramitā and Mañjuśrī, for example, hold such sūtras as emblems.

[108] *T*.1003:613c10-12. These rewards are also included among the many boons enumerated in the *Jingangdingjing yujia Wenshushili pusa fa yipin* (*T*.1171:705b23-c2).

[109] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783, No. 8.

[110] *T*.243:785a29 and *T*.1003:608a6-9, 613c12-21. In the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* the emblem of Bodhisattva Vajratīkṣṇa is also the sword. See endnote 31 above.

[111] See endnote 106 above.

[112] The youths, who belong to Mañjuśrī's retinue in the Shingon school's *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s (Mandala of the Matrix Realm) Hall of Mañjuśrī 文殊院 (Monju in), are Jālinīprabha in the east, Ratnakūṭa in the south, Candraprabha in the west and Vimalaprabha in the north. See Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 254. I discuss the relationship between the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar and the Shingon school's *Genzu mandara* in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

[113] The *Liqujing* states (*T*.243:785a24-b1) that Tathāgata Sarvadharmāprapañca, to further elucidate the teaching of the wheel of revolving letters, manifested himself as the young prince Mañjuśrī 文殊師利童眞 who brandishes his sword. Amoghavajra also declares in his commentary (*T*.1003:613b21-22) that this Buddha is none other than Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Moreover, he identifies the wheel of revolving letters (613b22-23) as that of the five letters. Further, in the mandala (*T*.1003:613c3) Mañjuśrī is described as having the form of a youth. There is a particular iconographic type of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī associated with the five-syllable mantra *a ra pa ca na*. For example, Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie Wenshushili pusa jing* prescribes (*T*.1171:705a21-25, 707a22-25) a youth with his hair done up in five topknots 五髻童子形狀, who holds an adamantine sword in his right hand and a Sanskrit sūtra 梵夾, that is the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, in his left. Inscribed around the lunar disc in which he sits are the five letters *a ra pa ca na*.

For studies on the iconography of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, see Raoul Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī: A Group of East asian Maṇḍalas and their Traditional Symbolism*, Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, Monograph No. 2, 1983, Inoue Akemi, "Kyōten to zuzō — Monju Bosatsu ni kanshite" (Iconography in Texts and Objects — the case of Mañjuśrī), *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3 (1984), pp. 41-58, Yoritomi Motohiro, "Bunkenshiryō ni miru Monju Bosatsu no zuzō hyōgen," Kumoi Shōzen Hakushi koki kinen — bukkyō to ishūkyō (Heirakuji shoten: 1985), pp. 321-338, and Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Étude iconographique sur Mañjuśrī* (Paris:École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1964).

[114] *T. Zuzō,* vol. 12, 3239, p. 962, No. 9 [reordered No. 8, which is recorded in the mandala's title on the right].

[115] Tathāgata of Dharma Clarity 法明如來 inscribed in the circle in the west signifies the Dharma/Padma Family.

[116] Compare *T*.1003:614c2-4, where the text stipulates that this Bodhisattva must hold in his right hand a *karma-vajra* (a crossed double *vajra*) and form with his left hand a Vajra Fist that he places on on his left thigh, with *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 785, No. 10, where he is depicted with his two hands in a mudrā that he raises to his crown. This is the iconography of Bodhisattva Vajrakarma in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*'s central assembly.

[117] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9; *T*.243:785b3-10 and *T*.1003:614a19-20.

[118] *T*.1003:608a21-25.

[119] Compare *T*.243:785b21-29, *T*.1003:614c19-615b5, especially 615a21-27 with *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 786, No. 11.

[120] See *T*.1003:612b1, 612c19.

[121] See *T*.1003:612a9, 616a25, 616b5; *T*.1003:616b27-c11, 617a1-6.

[122] For more on mandalas in the Daigoji exemplar not touched on here, for example, No. 2, 17 and 18, see Hunter, "Five Secrets Maṇḍala," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, Gonda Indological Studies III (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1995), pp. 111-124 and for the Daigoji mandala No. 10, as well as an overview of the iconographical problems in the remaining mandalas of the Daigoji exemplar, see Hunter, "The *Rishukyō Mandara* Said to Have Been Introduced by Shūei," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 8, pp. 371-388.

[123] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 957, No. 4 [reordered as No. 2], p. 971, No. 18 [reordered as No. 3] and pages 10-14 above.

[124] See *T*.243:784b19-24.

[125] See *T*.1003:610a15-23, 608c4-609a15, 609c20-610a8 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 957.

[126] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 955, No. 2, whose iconography and source are still unsolved problems.

[127] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 956, No. 3 [reordered as No. 1], p. 958, No. 5 [reordered as No. 4] and p. 962, No. 9 [reordered as No.8].

[128] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, pp. 959, No. 6 [reordered as No. 5]; 960, No. 7 [reordered as No. 6]; 961, No. 8 [reordered as No. 7].

[129] *T.*1003:612a10-14, b1; see also *T.*865:211a9-b9 and *T.*870:289b9-15.

[130] *T.*1003:612c4-5, c19; see also *T.*865:209c16-210a17 and *T.*870:289a15-20.

[131] *T.*1003:613a11-12, b6; see also *T.*865:213b13-c11 and *T.*870:289c6-11.

[132] See *T.*1003:615a19-27.

[133] See *T.*243:785b21-26, 27-29 and *T.*1003:614c19-615a4.

[134] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 965, No. 12 [reordered No.11].

[135] The mandala-maker has included the names of these figures in the four directions of the mandala's second square court (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 965). See *T.*1003:614c19-615a1, wherein Amoghavajra attributes each line of the scripture's teachings to the *samādhi* of the Buddha Families' wrathful manifestations. See also Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 153-154.

[136] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 970, No. 17 [reordered No. 16].

[137] See *Liqujing T.*243:785c10-25 and *Liqushi T.*1003:615c10-616b22. *Liqushi* 13 prescribes for Stage 13 of the *Liqujing* a mandala of Maheśvara and twenty-five *deva*s; a mandala of Mahākāla and seven Mother Goddesses for Stage 14; a mandala of "three brothers" for Stage 15, who are identified as the Brahmanic deities Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) and Maheśvara (Śiva) (see *T.*1003:616a29-b2; see also the commentary by Ānandagarbha, translated in Toganoo, *Liqujing no kenkyū*, pp. 344-345); a mandala of Tumburu (a Tantric form of Śiva) and four sister goddesses for Stage 16.

[138] See *T.*1003:616a7-10, a25-27.

[139] See *T.*1003:616b10-12, 14-16.

[140] See Ishiyamadera mandala No. 17 [reordered No. 16], *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 970. For Tumburu's information, see *T.*1003:616b12-13, 16-17. The numbering of the sisters in the mandala is not correct. Further, the mandala maker omitted to mention the kind of "perfection" attributed to this fourth sister, but it can easily be deduced.

[141] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 963, No. 10 [reordered No. 9], p. 964, No. 11 [reordered No. 10], and p. 966, No. 13 [reordered No. 12].

[142] See *T.*20.1167:675a-676a in *T.*2120:839c1.

[143] See *T.*20.1167:675b14-c16. Although different Chinese characters are used, for example, in the case of Mañjuśrī's name, the order of inscription in the three mandalas follows this scripture.

[144] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 954, No. 1 [reordered No. 18].

[145] This is *T.*20.1123 and it is included in Amoghavajra's list of translations and compositions in *T.*2120:839c12.

[146] *T*.20.1119. See the Canon catalogues by Yuahzhao in *T*.55.2156:753b20, 768a22-23, *T*.55.2157:880b12-13.

[147] Compare *T*.1123: 529a23-530a12, 1119:510b7-c28 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 954. See I discuss the correspondence with *T*.1119 and image in Hunter, "Five Secrets Maṇḍala," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 113-115.

[148] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 967, No. 14 [reordered No. 13], p. 968, No. 15 [reordered No. 14], and p. 969, No. 16 [reordered No. 15].

[149] See *T*.1003:616a3-7 and 616a24-25.

[150] See *T*.1003616a29-b2 and b3-5.

[151] Instead, inscribed in the right circle is "Three Brothers" 三兄弟 and the left circle has "the Second One" 第二者.

Chapter Two: Revisions and Reinterpretations of the *Liqujing mantuluo*

[1] Shingon scholars such as Toganoo Shōun (*Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 44-48), Ōmura Chōkaku and the other compilers of the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 2263b-2264a), Mochizuki Shinkō (Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 4963b-4964a) and Hatta Yukio (*Himitsu kyōten*: *Rishukyō*, pp. 14-15) have stated that the Shingon monks Kōzen 興然 (1120-1203) and Shinkai 眞海 (? -1770) corrected the inconsistencies in the mandalas brought back by Shūei in order to make them better conform to the information given in the *Liqushi*.

[2] This set of mandalas is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3046, pp. 818-837. The colophon that is recorded after mandala No. 20 (fig. 18, *T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, 3046, p. 837; see also Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 46 and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 4963c), was written by the monk Gōhō 杲寶 (1306-1362). It states:

> To the right is the work of Genkaku, the *Daisōzu* of Kajūji 勸修寺大僧都嚴覺. In the monks' quarters of the Western Hall of Tōji 東寺西院僧坊, I had Master Eigen 榮賢 copy this. Genpō 賢寶, acting in his official capacity, wrote the Sanskrit inscription.
>
> On the eighteenth day of the intercalary sixth month of the fifth year of Jōwa (the year of the ox) Gōhō, the *Gonshō sōzu* 権少僧都杲寶, recorded this.
>
> As for the one who recorded this collection, it may perhaps be Master Seiyo 靜誉闍梨; we should decide this [matter].

Gōhō was the founder of Kanchi'in 觀智院 (*Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 530c-531b; *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 188). For information on Genpō, see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 484b-c and *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 175.

Thus, the fourteenth-century monk Gōhō, at the time serving as *Gonshō sōzu* of Tōji, had Master Eigen copy this set of mandalas. Genpō (1333-1398), a disciple of Gōhō, wrote the *siddhaṃ* letters of the mandalas. The late Heian period monk Genkaku or Gonkaku 嚴覺 (1056-1121) is usually credited with the actual drawing, and there is both graphic and written evidence for this attribution. (According to the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 463c-464a, the *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 165, and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 4254 (*Hanjun*), the Kajūji branch of the Ono subschool pronounces the characters of his name as Genkaku and the Daigoji branch as Gonkaku.)

As Gōhō suggests in his final line, Genkaku may have had the drawing done by his disciple Seiyo 靜誉 (ca. 1105). Seiyo founded the Shingon Kōmyōzan branch of ritual lineage 光明山流. (For more information on Seiyo, see *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 428-429.) Toganoo states in his *Rishukyō no kenkyū* (p. 46) that, despite differing opinions on the attribution of the set of mandalas, it was generally accepted as Genkaku's composition by the Nanbokuchō period (1336-1392).

An Edo period work (the final colophon by Zenshō 禪證 contains the date 1797 [Kansei 寬政 9]), the *Mandara shū* 曼荼羅集 (Collection of Mandalas), presently in the possession of Ninnaji 仁和寺 (edited in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3023, pp. 693-743), records a copy of Genkaku's *Liqujing mantuluo* as part of a larger collection of seed letter mandalas. Another inscription at the side of the final mandala of the *Liqujing mantuluo* in the *Mandara shū* (*T.*

Zuzō, vol. 5, 3023, p. 713, No. 20) states that the set was composed by Genkaku 嚴覺作. The iconography, the content of the notes and the ordering of the *Mandara shu* copy of the *Liqujing mantuluo* correspond exactly to those of the Kanchi'in set.

In his *Rishukyō jūshichidan jūhachishu hōmandara shosetsu fudōki* 理趣經十七段十八種法曼陀羅諸説不同記 (A Record of the Dissimilarities of the Various Explanations [concerning] the Eighteen Seed Syllable Mandalas of the Seventeen [Ritual] Stages of the Liqujing), dated 1724 (Kyōhō 享保 9) (photographic reproduction in *Toganoo Korekushon Kenmitsu Tenseki Monjo Shūsei*, 12, (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1981), p. 232), the monk Ihō 維宝 (1687-1747) refers to a set of the *Liqujing mantuluo* in the possession of Nan'in on Kōyasan 南山南院 as the "ancient book" 古本. Although Ihō does not record the attribution to Genkaku, the iconography of the illustrations he copies from this Nan'in version generally matches that of the Kanchi'in and Ninnaji sets. Ihō makes a few changes, adding to or correcting the Nan'in iconography, and he occasionally makes mistakes in copying, but his numerous citations of the text of the Nan'in version invariably match the text of the Kanchi'in set.

Finally, Shingon monks of the late Heian and Kamakura periods include Genkaku's transmission as represented by the Kanchi'in set in their iconographic compilations. For example, the ritual mudrās and mantras that Kakuzen 覺禪 (1143-after 1213) records in his *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 are identical to those that Genkaku gives in the notes on the Kanchi'in set of mandalas (for references, see pp. 49-50 of this chapter and the accompanying endnotes). Kakuzen identifies this transmission as the Secret Transmission of the Ono 小野祕傳. A note in small characters states that this is the explanation of Master Shinkaku 心覺. Indeed, as we will see below, the content of this transmission matches that of the Ono Transmission that Shinkaku (1117-1180) records in his *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū* 理趣經段段印明集, which is in the Tatchūgura collection 塔中蔵 at Ninnaji. See endnote 61 below for details of this work's reference code.

[3] Toganoo, *Mikkyō kenkyū* 密教研究, vol. 28 (1928), p. 5. See also his discussion in *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 46.

[4] The contents of the Kanchi'in notes are inscribed inside the mandalas that are copied in the *Mandara shū* and are included in the text of Ihō's *Liqujing jūshichidan jūhachishu hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, two later Edo copies of Genkaku's version mentioned in endnote 2 above. This testifies to the fact that the mandala and notes are a unit, despite the fact that most of the notes of the Kanchi'in set are written either at the sides or below the mandalas.

[5] This description matches, with slight changes, Shunnyū's 淳祐 (890-953) entry for Trailokyavijaya in his *Taizōkai shichishū* 胎藏界七集 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2924, p. 140b26-29). I discuss this work in Chapter Three.

[6] See Chapter One, text, p. 32.

[7] A third example is the Kanchi'in set's Mandala of Seven Mother Goddesses. Once again, Amoghavajra furnishes no iconographical information in *Liqushi* 13. Instead, he directs the mandala-maker to the "extended scripture" for the details needed. The content of the Kanchi'in note (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 832, No. 14) is as follows:

> Mahākāla [In] the mandala his body is blue-black in color; his hair of flames stands upright and his appearance is extremely ferocious. He has three faces and [each has] three eyes and his open mouth has two fangs that protrude upwards. He has six arms. Skulls form his crown and necklaces, and snakes form his topknot, ear ornaments and arm bands. His right hand is pendant. It is turned inwards and holds a sword horizontally across his knees. His next [right] hand grasps the hair of a man, [who] is [almost] naked, and who forms the gesture of homage [while] kneeling deeply. His next [right] hand is raised, turned to the front and holds the hide of an elephant. His left hand is pendant, is turned to the front and grasps the edge of the sword. His next [left] hand grasps the horn of a sheep, [as if] presenting it. His next [left] hand is raised and holds the elephant hide. At his waist there is a human head turned upwards…
>
> Seven Mother Goddesses all hold in their right hand a hook, and the left hand is turned upwards, forming a fist [held at the] waist. They resemble the Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattvas.

These are the figures that are depicted in the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of the Seven Mother Goddesses (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 789), although the Seven Mother Goddesses hold a trident rather than a hook. The description of Mahākāla is from Shinjaku's 眞寂 (886-927) *Daihi taizō futsū daimandara chū shoson shuji hyōshi*

gyōsō shōi shosetsu fudōki 大悲胎蔵普通大曼荼羅中諸尊種子標幟形相聖位諸説不同記 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2922, p. 127b6-22). I discuss the significance of this quotation in Chapter Three.

Moreover, the Kanchi'in note records the canonical sources that list the names of the Mothers. These sources are the *Māyūrī*[*-vidyārājñī*] *sūtra* (Peacock Spell Sūtra) and the *Darijing yishi* 大日經義釋 (Commentary on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*). The enumeration is given in this commentary (*Zoku tendaishū zensho*, *Mikkyō* 1 (Tendai shūten hensanjo, Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1987.1993?), p. 738b15-17) as follows:

> The *Commentary*'s fourth chapter, Storehouse of Common Mantras [note in small letters: *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* (7)], [gives] seven elder and younger sisters: the first is called Cāmuṇḍī 左悶拏, the second Kauberī 矯吠哩, the third Vaiṣṇavī 吠瑟拏微, the fourth Kaumārī 嬌麼哩, the fifth Indrī 印捺哩, the sixth Raudrī **嘮**捺哩, and the seventh Brāhmī 末羅囉呬弭.

In the Kanchi'in Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses these names from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s commentary are written in small Chinese characters next to the seed letters (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 832, No. 14). Seven mothers in the Kanchi'in mandala are given the seed letter *mā*. Brāhmī in the lower right corner is represented by the letter *ma*. Surprisingly, Brahmā is represented in this mandala by the letter *bra*, which is directly below the central letter *bhyo*. Brahmā also appears in the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 789, No. 14). In the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:616a27-28), however, Amoghavajra adds Brāhmī 梵天母 to the group of Seven Mother Goddesses 七母天, whom he does not name. They now form a group of eight deities, who represent the Eight Offering Bodhisattvas in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.

A fourth example is the Kanchi'in's Gaganagañja Mandala. The note that accompanies the Gaganagañja Mandala also shows that Genkaku composed his set of mandalas after having consulted the Daigoji exemplar. In this note Genkaku records Amoghavajra's prescriptions from *Liqushi* 9 (*T*. 1003:614c3-4), as well as an account of Gaganagañja's mudrā, which is to be performed in the ritual, and a description of the figure's iconography from "a certain mandala" 或図 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 828, No. 10):

> Gaganagañja [his] right hand holds the action (*karma*) pounder and his left hand forms a Vajra Fist and is placed on his left thigh. He [sits] in a half-lotus pose [within] a moon circle.
> Mudrā: The left and right thumbs pinch the nails of both the two small fingers and the ring fingers; the middle and index fingers are straight upright. [Pass] [the mudrā] in front [of you] and the [right] hand, facing upwards, touches the bottom of the left hand, your right side and your chest. [Make] one turn and place [the mudra] on your head.
> [In] a certain illustration Bodhisattva Gaganagañja's two hands form the [Mudrā of] Homage of Emptiness and are placed on his head.

Gaganagañja's mudrā in "a certain illustration" is identical to that of the figure of Gaganagañja in the Daigoji exemplar (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 785, No. 10), whose iconography matches that of the figure of Vajrakarma 金剛業 in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. See the *Bizangji* 祕藏記 (Record of the Secret Treasury, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2921, p. 12b2-3), the earliest of the Esoteric Buddhist compilations concerning the Shingon school's *Genzu mandara*, which I discuss in Chapter Three, and Hunter, "The *Rishukyō Mandara* Said to Have Been Introduced by Shūei," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 8, pp.382-383. Genkaku's comment about "a certain mandala" requires further investigation, which I carry out in Chapter Three.

This is not the only instance of exact matches: in thirteen of the Kanchi'in notes (4-16) we find iconographic information that corresponds exactly with the iconography of the figures of the Daigoji exemplar.

[8] These are the notes on the Mandalas of Mahāvairocana of the First Stage (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 818, No. 1), Mahāvairocana (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 821, No. 3) and Vajrasattva (fig. 15, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 820, No. 2). The notes on the Mandalas of Mahāvairocana of the First Stage (No. 1) and Mahāvairocana (No. 3) reproduce passages that detail the meaning and iconography of the figures in these mandalas, taken from the corresponding chapters of the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:607c22-608a25; 610c24-611a4). The note on the Vajrasattva Mandala (2) describes the mudrās and attributes of six of the figures. The information is from the *Liqujing* and two ritual manuals, the *Dale Jingangsaduo xiuxing chengjiu yigui* 大樂金剛薩埵修行成就儀軌 (*T*.20.1119), a manual for the rite of Vajrasattva whose translation a disciple attributed to Amoghavajra (see *T*.55.2157:880b12-13), and the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦儀軌 (*T*.20.1123), a ritual manual Amoghavajra included in his list of translations and compositions that he sent to the Chinese emperor in 771 (*T*.52.2120:839c12), although a few phrases are also found in the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:608b27, c11-15) and the *Jingangding yuqie*

Jingangsaduo wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五秘密修行念誦儀軌 (*T*.20.1125, also in *T*.2120:839c15). Information, somewhat simplified, has been taken in the following order from *T*.20.1125:536c7-8, 1119:509a23-24, 510b8-9,1123:529a23-25, *T*.8.243:784b2 for Vajrasattva; 1123:529a27-28 for Iṣṭavajra (Desire); 1123:529a29-b1 for Kelikilāvajra (Touch); 1123:529b2-4, *T*.243:784b3-4 for Kāma (Rāga)vajra (Love-Bliss); 1123:529b4-5, *T*.243:784b4-5 for Mānavajra (Pride); 1119:510b28, *T*.243:784b5 for Kelikilāvajriṇī.

[9] First, common to both, for example, are the compositions of the mandalas: the majority of the mandalas consist of two, and occasionally of three (9, 10, 12), square enclosures (Daigoji mandalas: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 784, 785 and 787; Kanchi'in set: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, pp. 827, 828 and 830); the Seven Mothers and the Four Sisters consist of a single enclosure (Daigoji mandalas: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 789 and 790; Kanchi'in set: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, pp. 832 and 835; the Mandalas of the Three Brothers are semi-circular in shape and the Five Mysteries Mandalas are circular (Daigoji mandalas: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 791 and 793; Kanchi'in set: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, pp. 833 and 836). Second, the orientation of the Daigoji mandalas of Trailokyavijaya, Ākāśagarbha, Vajrapāṇi and Maheśvara (4, 6, 12 and 13), which do not accord with Amoghavajra's directions, are repeated in the Kanchi'in set (Daigoji mandalas: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 778, 781, 787 and 788; Kanchi'in set: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, pp. 822, 824, 830 and 831). The only anomaly is that the Gaganagañja Mandala has been reoriented to the east (Daigoji mandala: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 785; Kanchi'in set: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 828). Third, the same discrepancies noted between the *Liqushi* and the iconography of the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of the Mañjuśrī appear in the Kanchi'in's Mañjuśrī Mandala: the missing eight-spoked wheel, the replacement of the four Buddhas with four youths and the sets of armor instead of the sūtra boxes that contain the Sanskrit *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* (Daigoji mandala: fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783; Kanchi'in set: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 826).

[10] Biographical information on Genkaku is found in the *Shingonden* 眞言傳 7 (compiled by Yōkai (1278-1347) of Kajūji's Jisonin 勸修寺慈尊院僧正榮海 around 1325 (Shōchū 正中 2), see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 2213 and *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 6, pp. 193d-194a) in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 244a, p. 267b for a colophon; the *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 4 血脈類集記 (which is of unknown authorship but which bears a repair stamp dated to 1482 文明 14) in *Shingonshū zensho,* vol. 39, p. 101b; the *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōrokukō* 2 金剛頂無上正宗傳燈廣錄後 (hereafter, the *Dentō kōrokukō*, compiled by Yūhō 祐寶 of Daigosan 醍醐山 perhaps sometime between 1688-1710 (Genroku 元禄-Hōei 寶永 period, see *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 513) in *Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 492a-493a; and the *Honchō kōsōden* 51 本朝高僧傳, compiled by Shiban 師蠻 (1626-1710, see *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 10, p. 197c), in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 103, p. 214a.

We learn from these sources that Genkaku's brothers were Kakui (1052-1107) of Ninnaji 仁和寺覺意僧都 and Gyōson (1057-1135) of Miidera三井寺行尊僧正. The storehouse of Miidera had been renowned for its treasures since the time of Enchin 圓珍 (814-891), the early Heian pilgrim-monk. Genkaku studied under his older brother Kakui, thus inheriting rituals from the Ninnaji lineage. See endnote 52. Genkaku, under the patronage of his master Hanjun 範俊 (1038-1112) of Mandaraji at Ono 小野曼荼羅寺, served as custodian of a collection of temple paraphernalia called the Toba no Hōzō 鳥羽寶藏, which was part of a retirement palace, called the Tobadono 鳥羽殿, begun by Emperor Shirakawa 白河 (1053-1129; r. 1072-1086; *In* 1086-1129) in 1086. The collection in the Toba no Hōzō was considered unparalleled, and it included Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhist texts, ritual objects, paintings and sculptures.

According to Hanjun's biographies in the *Shingonden* 6 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, pp. 233a-234b), *Dentō kōroku kō* 1 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 488a-489b) and *Honchō kōsōden* 50 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol.103, p. 212a-b), because of the rivalry between Gihan 義範 (1023-1088) and Hanjun for the inheritance of their master Seison's 成尊 (1012-1074) transmission, Hanjun appealed to the monarch Shirakawa in 1078 (Jōryaku 承暦 2) to have Seison's lineage and its main temple Mandaraji (presentday Zuishinin 隨心院) at Ono put under his control. Having been successful in his petition, Hanjun then presented to Shirakawa the sacred collection of texts and ritual implements that had been stored in Mandararji since this temple's founding by Ningai 仁海 (951-1046). Shirakawa transferred the Ono collection, which contained works from Kūkai onwards, to the Toba no Hōzō 鳥羽寶藏. For generations thereafter the *Chōri* 長吏 (abbot) of Kajūji 勸修寺, a position that Genkaku held, was assigned to the post of management of the Toba Hōzō collection and Imperial permission was needed to view its works.

[11] For example, *Liqujing* 2 (*T*. 8.243:784c5-7); Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 122) ends in the following manner:

> Thereupon, having thus given his explanation, the Lord, being about to elucidate this meaning further, relaxed his mien and gave a subtle smile: forming the Seal of the Wisdom Clasp, he explained the essence of the sameness of the self-nature of all dharmas: *āḥ*.

And *Liqujing* 3 (*T*. 8.243:784c15-18; Astley-Kristensen, ibid, p. 173) closes as follows:

> Then Vajrapāṇi, the Great Bodhisattva, being about to elucidate this meaning further, formed the Seal of Conquering the Three Worlds and like a lotus blossom his face broke into a smile. Then knitting his eyebrows and gazing ferociously he bared his sword-like fangs, adopted the stance of conquest and explained the essence of this adamantine syllable: *huṃ*.

The seed letter *āḥ*, then, epitomizes the Stage of Mahāvairocana in *Liqujing* 2 and *huṃ* that of Trailokyavijaya in *Liqujing* 3. These seed letters are the focus of the corresponding Kanchi'in mandalas (*T*. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, pp. 821, No. 3 and 822, No. 4, fig. 16). Astley-Kristensen gives the seed letter *hūṃ,* but in the *Taishō* publication of the *Liqujing* the seed letter is *huṃ* 吽（短). Kūkai records the single seed letter *huṃ* for this stage in his *Shinjitsukyō mongu* 眞実経文句 (*T*. 61.2237:614a8), his commentary on Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*.

[12] As I have mentioned in Chapter One of this dissertation (p. 16), the *Liqujing* has sixteen seed letters. Fifteen close Stages of the teachings and a final seed letter sums up the teachings of the text as a whole. Nevertheless, Amoghavajra clearly divides the *Liqushi* into seventeen Stages. Moreover, although Amoghavajra assigns a seed letter to each of the seventeen figures that compose the Mandala of the Seventeen Epithets of Purity in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*. 1003:609c20-610a9), he does not allocate seed letters to the figures that appear in the mandalas he describes in the other Stages of the *Liqushi*.

[13] The seed letters from the *Liqujing* form the focal points of fifteen of the twenty mandalas in the Kanchi'in set.

[14] Despite the fact that the note accompanying the Kanchi'in Vajrasattva Mandala (No. 2, see endnote 8 above) cites passages from the *Liqujing* and the ritual manuals *T*.1119 and 1123, and that the seed letters are those that Amoghavajra assigned to the seventeen figures who represent the Seventeen Epithets of Purity in *Liqushi* 1, Vajrasattva's seed letter agrees neither with *Liqushi* 1 nor with the *Liqujing*. Vajrasattva's seed letter in the Kanchi'in mandala is *huṃ* (fig. 15, *T*. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 820), but in *Liqushi* 1 it is *oṃ* (*T*.1003:609c20) and in *Liqujing* 1 his seed letter is *hūṃ* (*T*.243:784b24). Further, the arrangement of the seed letters does not agree with Amoghavajra's allocation of seed letters in *Liqushi* 1. The series *jaḥ*, *hūṃ*, *baṃ*, *hoḥ*, which Amoghavajra assigns to Bodhisattvas Spring, Summer, Fall and Winter (*T*.1003:610a1-4), are given to Bodhisattvas Form, Sound, Smell and Taste, who are assigned to the gates of the mandala. *Jaḥ*, *hūṃ*, *baṃ* and *hoḥ* are, in fact, the seed letters of the Gathering Bodhisattvas 四摂菩薩 in the gates of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* 現図金剛界曼荼羅.

These are not the only puzzles. Although the *Jingangfeng louge yiqie yuqie yuqi jing* 金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 (hereafter the *Yuqijing*, *T*.18.867) is the source for the seed letters of the retinue Bodhisattvas in the Mandalas of Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha and Vajramuṣṭi (*T*. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 823, No. 5, p. 824, No. 6 and p. 825, No. 7; *T*.867:254b29-c18, 254b10-28, 254c19-255a9), the seed letters for these Bodhisattvas in the Trailokyavijaya Mandala (fig. 16, *T*. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 822, No. 4), which forms a doctrinal group with the above three mandalas because, according to the *Liqujing*, the Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha and Vajramuṣṭi represent the outer workings of Vairocana's four wisdoms (*T*.243:784b26-c1, *T*.1003:610c19-23, and Chapter One, p. 22 and endnote 40), are not based on the *Yuqijing*. In this mandala the first syllables of the names of the figures form the seed letters. For example, *sa*, *ra*, *sa* and *rā* are the seed letters of Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrasādhu and Vajrarāga, respectively, instead of *hūṃ*, *traḥ*, *aḥ* and *hrīḥ* that are given to these Bodhisattvas of the East in the *Yuqijing* Preface (*T*.867:254a22-b9).

[15] See for example entries for each deity in the *Mikkyō daijiten*: Incense 金剛香, vol. 2, p. 682a; Flower 金剛華, vol. 2, pp. 675c-676a; Lamp 金剛灯, vol. 2, p. 716b; Unguent 金剛塗香, vol. 2, p. 701c; and Hook 金剛鉤, vol. 2, p. 682b-c; Rope 金剛索, vol. 2, p. 686b; Chain 金剛鏁, vol. 2, p. 689b; Bell 金剛鈴, vol. 2, p. 734a.

Moreover, in the Mahāvairocana Mandala (*T*. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 821, No. 3) Mahāvairocana's seed letter *āḥ* is from the *Liqujing* (*T*.243:784c7) but those of his four retinue Bodhisattvas – Vajrasattva, Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha and Vajrakarma – are the seed letters of the four Buddhas of the four Families in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*: Akṣobhya (*hūṃ*), Amitāyus (*hrīḥ*), Ratnasaṃbhava (*trāḥ*) and Amoghasiddhi (*aḥ*) (*Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 25a; vol. 5, p. 2017c; vol. 1, pp. 38c-39a; vol. 4, p. 1906a). The *Liqujing*, however, specifically states that the seed

letters for Vajrasattva, Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha and Vajrakarma are *hūṃ*, *hrīḥ*, *trāṃ* and *aḥ* respectively (*T.* 243:784b24; 785a2; 785a10; 785a23). Further, the *Liqushi* provides precise information about the positions, mudrās and attributes of the Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Ākāśagarbha, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrakarma, who form Mahāvairocana's immediate retinue (*T.*1003:610c24-611a4, and Chapter One, p. 22).

By replacing Ākāśagarbha's seed letter *trāṃ* with the seed letter *trāḥ*, which is that of Buddha Ratnasaṃbhava of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*'s Gem Family, the seed letters *hūṃ*, *hrīḥ* and *aḥ* equate, in turn, to those of the Buddhas Akṣobhya, Amitāyus and Amoghasiddhi. This equation of the four Bodhisattvas with the four Buddhas who head their respective families is in keeping with Amoghavajra's commentarial references and explanations in the *Liqushi* (*T.*1003:610b6-21, c19-23, 611a6-9), where Amoghavajra elucidates the contents of Mahāvairocana's enlightenment which are symbolized by these four Bodhisattvas. The accompanying note (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 821) on the Kanchi'in Mahāvairocana Mandala states that the seed letters of the Inner, Outer [and Gathering] Bodhisattvas are from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* 十二供養菩薩如金剛界.

[16] The seed letters of Mañjuśrī's attendants are: *ca* for Candraprabha 月光菩薩, *ka* for Ratnakūṭa 宝冠菩薩, *tra* for Vimalaprabha 無垢光菩薩, and *jaṃ* for Jālinīprabha 光網菩薩. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 373a-b, vol. 5, p. 1998c, vol. 5, p. 2133a and vol. 2, p. 546a.

[17] The exception is Brāhmī's seed letter *ma*. Brahmā is represented by the seed letter *bra*.

[18] *T.*18.867. For an overview of the Japanese Shingon school's discussion of the translators of this text, see Pol Vanden Broucke, "On the Title and Translator of the *Yuqijing* (T.XVIII no. 867)," *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Esoteric Buddhist Culture*, vol. 7 (March 1994), pp. 212-184. Present day Japanese scholars, for example, Misaki Ryōshū ("Butchōkei no mikkyō" 佛頂系の密教, *Taimitsu no kenkyū* (Sōbunsha, 1988), pp. 137-140) regard the *Yuqijing* is an apocryphal text that was written after the death of Amoghavajra in 774 and before Kūkai's arrival in China in 804.

[19] *T.*867:254c3-18. Vajradharma, Vajratīkṣṇa, Vajrahetu and Vajrabhāṣa are the Esoteric Buddhist names givens to the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin and Vajrabhāṣa once they have received consecration into the Adamantine Realm. See Chapter One, p. 20 and endnotes 30 and 31.

[20] *T.*867:255a22-b1. The four sisters of the Four Sisters Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 834, No. 16) have the seed letter *oṃ*, which is the seed syllables of the four Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattvas in the *Yuqijing* Preface (*T.*867:255a18-21).

[21] See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1273a-1274b, see p. 1273b; *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 628c, vol. 5 (*Rishukyō dandan no inmyō*), pp. 2260a-2262a, esp. 2262a; *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 222-223. This explanation for the double *hūṃ* seed letter is found in such works as the Ninnaji master Saisen's 済暹 (1025-1115) *Dairakukyō kengishō* 大樂經顯義抄 (*T.* 61.2239:0640a27-b11), the Ono master Raiyu's 賴瑜 (1226-1304) *Hishō mondō* 祕鈔問答 (*T.* 79.2536:441c4-11), wherein he records, almost verbatim, Genkaku's note, the Tōji monk Chōen's 澄圓 (1218-after 1278) *Byakuhōshō* 白寶抄 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 10, no. 3191, p. 745b20-c4), and Ryōson's 亮尊 (1258-1341) record of the teachings of his master Ryōzen 亮禅 (1258-1341) of Tōji's Hōbodai'in 寶菩提院, the *Byakuhokkushō* 白寶口抄 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 6, no. 3119, pp. 581a24-587b5: entry on ritual practice of the Mudrās and Mantras of the Seventeen Stages 段段印明事 (*dandan inmyō no koto*) of the scripture, esp. pp. 586c27-587b5), but the origin of the explanation is difficult to trace from the information that is given in these compilations. In his *Byakuhōshō*, for example, Chōen cites this explanation under an entry titled *Yaketsu* 野決 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 10, p. 745b20-c10), which could possibly refer to the Ono subschool transmission that the Ninnaji 仁和寺 Dharma Prince Shukaku 守覺法親王 (1150-1202) received from Shōken 勝賢 (1138-1196) of Daigoji 醍醐寺. Shukaku recorded Shōken's transmission in the *Yaketsushō* 野決鈔, a work I have not been able to consult, and the *Hishō* 祕鈔 (*T.*78.2489), a work I can access. See the *Hishō*'s entry (*T.*78.2489:514a15-515a6) on the Mudrās and Mantras of the Stages 段段印明 (*dandan inmyō*) which has a *siddhaṃ hhūṃ* for the Stage of the Five Mysteries. Shukaku records in his *Takushō* 澤鈔 (*T.*78.2488:436a14-437a9) the transmission of this ritual phase of the Stages of the *Liqujing* that he received from Kakusei 覺成 (1126-1198) of the Hojuin branch 保壽院流 of the Hirosawa subschool 廣澤流. Here he provides individual mudrās for each figure of

the Five Mysteries pentad, and states that the double *hūṃ* is used to represent the five figures. According to the above records, then, both the Ono and Hirosawa subschools used the double *hūṃ* for the final of the seventeen Stages of the *Liqujing*.

[22] See *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, p. 710c27-28; *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 4963a: 理趣經法 (*Rishukyō hō*); *Byakuhokku shō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 6, p. 587a4-7; and *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 744 (also *Nihon daizōkyō*, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, vol. 9, p. 12b5-6).

[23] For instance, Kanjin's 寛信 (1084-1153) *Denjushū* 傳受集 (*T*.78.2484, see endnote 52) does not record that his master Genkaku received a transmission of the *Liqujing* rite from his Daigoji and Ninnaji masters. Jichiun 實運 (1105-1160) records Kanjin's transmission of the *Rishukyō dandan in* (Mudrās of the Stages of the *Rishukyō*) in his *Hizō konpōshō* 祕藏金寶鈔 (*T*.78.2485:369c5-370a2), a recording of the transmission he received from Genkaku's disciple Kanjin (*Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 9, pp. 106c-107a), but this ritual performance does not have seventeen Stages. Kakuzen records a secret Ono tradition in his *Kakuzenshō* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 709b710c, esp. p.710c23) that corresponds to that recorded in Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō*, and here there are seventeen Stages and the final Stage of the Five Mysteries has, again according to an Ono transmission, a *siddhaṃ hhūṃ* seed letter. After Genkaku's time we see numerous examples of the double *hūṃ* for the seventeenth Stage of the Five Mysteries. See Shinkaku's *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū* (housed in the Tachūgura collection in Ninnaji, see endnote 61 below) and Ryōe's 亮慧 (1098-after 1131) transmission to Kōzen 興然 (1121-1203) that Kakuzen inherited (*Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, pp. 712c-724, esp. p. 724, no. 107), as well as the Ono and Hirosawa transmissions that Shukaku inherited, as I noted above.

[24] This mantra, called the Heart Spell (*vidyā*) in One Letter 一字心明, is given in Sanskrit letters 梵字 (*siddhaṃ*) as *hhūṃ ṭakki hūṃ jjaḥ* (*T*.867:257a20-22). The Chinese characters read as *hūṃ ṭakki hūṃ jjaḥ* 吽引 咤 枳 吽引 惹入聲. The double "*h*" of the seed syllable *hhūṃ* can be read only when written in the *siddhaṃ* script. I thank Iyanaga Nobumi for alerting me to a notation in the *Taishō* (*T*.867:254a25, n. 9: 原本有漢字而無梵字, 甲本有梵字而無漢字, 今梵字依甲本載之, 乙本有梵漢兩字, 下同" (253c14, n. 54:＜原＞明本, ＜甲＞三十帖策子第五, ＜乙＞縮册大藏經). The Chinese Ming edition did not have *siddhaṃ* letters, suggesting that research would have to be carried out to trace this mantra back to a Chinese original. However, the *siddhaṃ* letters are given in Kūkai's *Sanjūjō sakushi* (5) 三十帖策子第五. This work is a compilation of masters' transmissions, scriptures and ritual manuals that were copied for Kūkai's return to Japan. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 798c-800b. From Kūkai's time, then, Rāgarāja's mantra contained a double *huṃ* when written in *siddhaṃ* script.

There are commentaries and ritual compilations that suggest the *Yuqijing* as the source of the double *hūṃ* seed letter for the Five Mysteries. For example, Saisen 済暹 states in his *Dairakukyō kengishō* (*T*.2239:640b10-11) that the *Yuqijing* be investigated concerning the double *hūṃ* for Vajrasattva. The transmission of the Ono master Kenjin 憲深 (1192-1263) that his disciple Shinkai 新快 (1215-1276) records in the *Kōshinshō*'s 幸心鈔 (*T*.78.2498:720a8-11) is another example. The entry on the "Matter of the Five Mysteries" 五祕密事 presents the principle of conflation of the deities from the thirty-seven of the *Kongōkai mandara* (Mandala of the Adamantine Realm) into the seventeen of the *Rishue* 理趣會, then into the five of the Five Mysteries and finally into one body of Rāgarāja (Aizen myōō). Ryōson too documents in the *Byakuhokkushō*'s entry on the Mudrās and Mantras of the Seventeen Stages of the *Rishukyō* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 6, p. 587b21-b1) the close relationship between the Five Mysteries and Rāgarāja. He provides such explicit examples as the principle of conflation of the deities as is given in the *Kōshinshō*; the indivisible relationship 不二 between the *Liqujing* and the *Yuqijing*; and the fact that Five Mysteries and Rāgarāja are one body and that Rāgarāja's double *hūṃ* represents the single body of the Five Mysteries.

[25] *T*.867:256b25-257b15, esp. 265c10-11, 12, 14.

[26] In the Ono subschool, Rāgarāja is considered to be a transformation of Vajrasattva, and a transformation of the four Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Vajrarāga, Vajrarāja and Vajrasadhu 金剛喜 of the retinue of Buddha Akṣobhya, head of the Vajra Family in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, as well as a transformation of an unusual four-armed Vajrarāja 金剛王 whom I present in this discussion. These identifications are based on interpretations given to elements in Rāgarāja's ritual performance, scriptural and commentarial citations, as well as the deity's attributes.

[27] The vajra is Vajrasattva's attribute in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, *Liqujing* 1 and *Liqushi* 1 (see *T*.865:208c21-24, *T*.243:784b25, *T*.1003:609b28-c2, c7-8), and in *Liqushi* 2 his attributes are the vajra and bell (see *T*.1003:610c26-28, *T*.1004:617b26-27).

[28] *T*.78.2483:272a25-27 and compare *T*.867: 257b2-3, *T*.2483:272a25-27.

[29] See Chapter One, p. 28 for this deity in Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865:209a21-b16, *T*.870:289a2-7, Giebel, The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra, pp. 30-31).

[30] *T*.78.2482:229b24-26. I discuss this work in endnote 52. For Rāgarāja's equation with Vajrarāga of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, see also Genkai's *Atsuzotshi* (*T*.2483:271b15-29, 25) and Jichiun's *Gempishō* 玄祕抄 (*T*.78.2486:390a4-9, 13-17), a work that records the transmission of his Daigoji master Genkai (*Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 200c-201b); for his equation with Vajrasattva, see Jichiun's *Gempishō* (*T*.2486:392b1-3) and his *Hizō konpōshō* (*T*.2485:356a28-b4); and for Rāgarāja's transformation of the Four Bodhisattvas of the East, see *Gempishō* (*T*.2486:392b1-c18), *Hizō konpōshō* (*T*.2485:355a10-16, 356c17-23) and *Shoson yōshō* 諸尊要抄 (*T*.78.2484:299c13-14), a recording of the transmissions Jichiun received from Kanjin and from Kanjin's contemporary, Genkai, which was produced either by Jichiun himself or by his disciple (see *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 272a-c).

[31] Jichiun's *Shoson yōshō* contains the following entry (*T*.2484:299c11-13): "[Concerning the fact that] Rāgarāja is, namely, the transformation of Bodhisattva Rāga 愛菩薩, and so on: [the Tendai monk] Annen's 安然 (841-915?) *Yugikyōki* 瑜祇經記 (Notation on the *Yuqijing*) clearly explains this [deity's] significance. The *Jinwang yugui* (*T*.1132) is the ritual procedure for Rāgarāja. [Therefore,] [this figure] is not the usual Vajrarāja 金剛王 [in the east of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm]." See also Jichiun's *Gempishō* (*T*.2486:392b3-6) and *Hizō konpōshō* (*T*.2485:355a10-16).

For this form of Vajrarāja, his connection to Rāgarāja and his becoming the distinct deity Ṭakki krodharāja in later Tantrism, see Iyanaga, kuden-ML posting of Sunday, 1 Jul 2007, Indian Origins of Aizen myōō, and Goepper, *Aizen Myōō. The Esoteric King of Lust. An Iconological Study* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae and Museum Rietberg, 1993), pp. 58-62.

[32] The mantra is *ṭakki huṃ jaḥ* 咤枳吽惹. See *T*.20.1132:572c16-18, 572c22 and *T*.2120:839c13. The deities in this rite's mandala are installed by visualization of the syllables of the mantra expounded in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:609c20-610a8 and 1132:573b22-c5): *oṃ mahāsukha vajrasattva jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ suratastvaṃ*. Thus, the four-armed Vajrarāja sits surrounded by the sixteen deities prescribed in the *Liqushi* 1, although the secondary figures in these two works are positioned differently.

[33] See *Atsuzōshi*, *T*.2483:272a1-2. There is in Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* (*T*.2485:353c26-29, see also *Gempishō, T*.2486:389a1-8, esp. 389a2) the statement that "The utmost secret Rāga[rāja] rite has three styles: the so-called *hoḥ* 斛 letter is the seed [letter] and the bow and arrow are the symbolic [form, and] this is one [style]; the double *hūṃ* 重吽 letter is the seed [letter] and the five pronged *vajra* is the symbolic emblem [and] this is [style] two." Style three uses the seed letter *hrīḥ*.

Kanjin's *Denjushū* contains two transmissions of Rāgarāja's double *hūṃ* seed letter that Genkaku received from Raishō 賴照. Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* (*T*.2485:353c24) confirms Raishō's transmission of the double *hūṃ*. Jichiun's *Shoson yōshō* (*T*.2484:298b23) also records a *siddhaṃ hhūṃ* for Rāgarāja's seed letter and a note in small characters states this is the secret explanation of the Kajūji's Hōmu, that is Genkaku's disciple Kanjin. See Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* (*T*.2485:356a18-19) for the transmission of Shōkaku.

[34] See the performance of the Great Wisdom Mudrā-Mantra of Vajrasattva: *T*.1125:536c6-19, 536c22-537a8; the Great Wisdom Mudrās-Mantras of the five deities: 537a29-b23; the Pledge Mudrās-Mantras of the five deities: 537b24-538a5; the attainments (*siddhi*) for residing in the *samādhis* and forming the Great Wisdom Mudrās of the five deities: 538a20-b19.

[35] See, for example, Genkaku's contemporary Kanjo 寛助 (1052-1125) of the Hirosawa subschool 廣澤流, who records verbatim in his *Betsugyō*'s 別行 (*T*.78.2476:152b23-153c17) entry on Rāgarāja the text of *Yuqijing* chs. 2 (152b23-c17), 5 (152c18-153b8) and 7 (153b9-c17). The contents of these chapters clearly emphasize the connection between Rāgarāja and Vajrasattva.

[36] See Goepper, *Aizen-Myōō*, p. 13-16, *T*.867:256c15, c22, 256c25-257a1, 257a20-28.

[37] See *T*.243:784c8-18, *T*.1003:611b9-612a9 and Chapter One, pp. 24-28 with relevant endnotes.

[38] *T*.867:258a3-258a18-28, 257c19-22 (mantra).

[39] Jichiun's source is scroll one of Kanjin's *Denjushū*. See *T*.2485:354c14-16 and *T*.867:256c14-15 (ch. 5) and Goepper, *Aizen-Myōō*, p. 14.

[40] *T*.2485:356a22-27 and *T*.867:258a18-19 and 257c21-22.

[41] Compare *T*.2484:299b and *T*.1003:609c20-610a8.

[42] See *T*.2483:270c14-15 and 270c16-26. Jichiun provides the same information about the transmissions of Hanjun and Shinzen in his *Gempishō* (*T*.2483:390c19-21, c26-391a3), his recording of Genkai's transmission. He includes in this work a diagram of the *Rishue* (ibid, 391a) that is similar to that drawn in the *Atsuzōshi*.

[43] *T*.2485:355a1-4, ibid, 353c22-355b2.

[44] *T*.2485:355b8-356a16, ibid, 355c26-27.

In addition to the mandala for the large altar in the Rāgarāja rite in Accordance with the Rules, as recorded in Genkai's *Atsuzōshi* and Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō*, the Ono subschool borrowed other ritual elements from Vajrasattva's rite for this Rāgarāja rite. One example is the use of *Liqushi* 1's (*T*.1003:609c20-610a8) mantra for Vajrasattva and his retinue of Sixteen Bodhisattvas during the ritual phase of visualization in the rite of burnt offerings 護摩法 that accompanies the Rāgarāja rite. The diagram in Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* (*T*.2485:355c) that precedes Kanjin's statement (ibid, 355c26-27) about the use of the *Rishue* for Rāgarāja's mandala is not that of the *Rishue*. This diagram presents the seating arrangement of the seventeen deities (*T*.2485:355c12-13) who are invited 勸請 into the sacred arena 道場 for the rite of burnt offerings 護摩諸尊段. The mantra is prescribed in *Liqushi* 1 (the central *oṃ* has not been written) and it is written in *siddhaṃ* script with the deities' names in Chinese characters beside the *siddhaṃ* letters. The arrangement of the syllables is, however, not according to *Liqushi* 1 or the *Jingangwang yigui* (*T*.1132). This configuration is identified in Jichiun's *Gempishō* (*T*.2486:391c) as the Ono Sōjō [nin] *zu daishidai* 小野僧正仁圖大次第 (Diagram in the Great Ritual Procedure of Ono Sōjō Nin[gai]). The figure of Rāgarāja replaces Vajrasattva as the main deity. For the difference between the mandalas prescribed in *Liqushi* 1, the *Jingangwang yigui* (*T*.1132) and Ningai's mandalic configuration, see Jichiun's diagrams in *Gempishō*, *T*.2486:391b, c.

[45] *T*.2483:271c18-24. The chapters in the scripture that focus on these two deities (ch. 2 for Zenaiō and ch. 5 for Aizenō) do not provide such an interpretation. For a translation of *Yuqijing* ch. 5 and a discussion of Rāgarāja's iconography, mantra and seed letter, see R. Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, pp. 13-16, 18-39, 120-123, 127. For a general discussion of this deity, see also Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 10a-c, *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, pp. 5a-7a and *"Aizen myōō," Hobogirin*, 1, pp. 15-17. See Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* (*T*.2485:355a17-25) on Zenaiō and Aizenō.

[46] One variation which is difficult to evaluate is that the Five Mysteries Mandala, number seventeen of the set, precedes the Mandala of the Assembly of the Five Families. This may be a copyist's error. In the Five Mysteries Mandala a small numeral "eight" 八 has been placed at the side of the number "seven" 七, and the reverse occurs in the Mandala of the Assembly of the Five Families. The *Taisho* editors have "corrected" the order. See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, pp. 835-836, where the Mandalas of the Assembly of the Five Families are numbered 17 and 18 and the Five Mysteries Mandala is 19.

Whereas the Edo period copy in the *Mandara shū* (see above endnote 2) follows the order of the Kanchi'in

set, the Edo monk Ihō copied the unusual numbering of the mandalas, but presented them in an order that is in keeping with that given in the *Liqushi*, so that the Five Mysteries Mandala is the final mandala of the set. For the copy in the *Mandara shū,* see *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3023, pp. 710-712, and for the diagrams in Ihō's manuscript, see the *Rishukyō jūshichidan jūhachishu hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, *Toganoo korekushon kenmitsu tensekimonjo shusei*, vol. 12 *Siddham Mandalas*, pp. 271-275.

[47] *Yuqijing, T.*867:254a22-255b20.

The Daigoji example of the Assembly of the Five Families (fig. 6, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 792, No. 17) depicts in its four intermediary directions four empty lunar discs. These are the discs of the Five Mysteries, as prescribed in the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie jing* 一切教集瑜伽經, the Third Assembly of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, which Amoghavajra briefly describes in his *Liqushi* (*T.*1003:616b23-c11, 617a1-4 and T.869:286b1-8). The two versions in the Kanchi'in set (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 835, No. 17, No. 18) do not have these lunar discs. The notes on the Kanchi'in mandalas record a certain explanation (No. 18) that refers to the seed letters of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界種子字 and to an illustration of mantras, mudrās and symbols of the Thirty-Seven Venerables of the Five Families 五部 三十七尊之三昧耶印言圖, respectively. These references suggest a connection between the Kanchi'in mandalas and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. But the Shingon school's *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (Mandala of the Adamantine Realm) is not the source of the seed letters. Instead, there are patterns seen in the use of the seed letters from the preface of the *Yuqijing*, a work whose system belongs to the Adamantine Realm. For example, in the first version (No. 17), the iconography of the central circle of the five large circles in the five directions is constant: the letter *vaṃ* is surrounded by the letter *oṃ*. The seed letters of the four bodhisattvas of the four families become the center in their respective mandalas in the east, south, west and north. In the second version (No. 18), the iconography of the central large circle is repeated again. This time, however, the seed letters of the four bodhisattvas of the four families surround the letter *vaṃ* in the center of each family's mandala in the east, south, west and north.

[48] For example, in the central court are Vairocana's seed letter *āḥ*, taken from *Liqujing* 2 (*T.* 243:784c5-7, No. 20), and the seed letters of the Eight Bodhisattvas, which close *Liqujing* 3 to 10 (*T.* 243:784c15-18; 784c28-785a2; a7-10; a20-23; a28-b2; b7-10; b18-20; b26-29). In the four gates of the outermost court are Maheśvara's seed letter *tri*, which closes *Liqujing* 12; Mahākāla's *bhyo* from 13; Nārāyaṇa's *svā* from 14; and Tumburu deva's *haṃ* from 15 (*T.* 243:785c15-17; c18-20; c21-23; c24-25). The remaining seed letters are those of the Inner and Outer Offering Bodhisattvas and the Gathering Bodhisattvas from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*.

[49] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, pp. 794-797. The iconographies described in the *Yuqijing* are Rāgarāja in ch. 5 (see above, endnote 25), Mandala of Buddhalocanā in ch. 9 (*T.* 867:263a16-27) and Mandala of the Five Great Ākāśagarbha, also in ch. 9 (*T.* 867:263b15-25). The *Yuqijing* and the *Liqujing* and its commentary are listed in the inventories of the early Heian pilgrim-monks, known as the Eight Monks Who Went to Tang China 入唐八家, reflecting the popularity of the two texts there in the first half of the ninth century. See my Chapters Five and Six.

The iconography of the third appended mandala, that of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa 尊勝佛頂 (Sonshō butchō) No. 21, which is labeled Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa Mandala 大佛頂曼陀羅, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 796, is based upon the *Zunsheng foding xiuyujiafa guiyi* 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽法儀軌, which is published in *T.*19.973. I discuss this text in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

[50] The work, titled *Yugi sanbonshō* 瑜祇三品鈔 (Selections from Three Chapters of the *Yuqijing*), is listed under Genkaku's name in the Edo period catalogue, the *Shoshū shōshoroku* 諸宗章疏錄 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, *Bukkyō shoseki mokuroku*, vol. 1, p. 180b6). In small characters beneath the title of the compilation is a note, "the matter of Rāgarāja" 愛染王事.

The *Shoshū shōshoroku* that I consulted, was published by Kenjun 謙順 in 1790 (Kansei 寛政 2), and it is a revision and enlargement of earlier inventories. For example, the Shingon section of this catalogue is based on the *Shingonshū shoshi seisakuroku* 眞言宗諸師製作錄 by Eihan 恵範 of Rokuharamitsuji 六波羅蜜寺. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1222b. However, the *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku* 日本古典籍総合目録, an online catalogue provided by the Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryō kan 国文学研究資料館 (<http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~tkoten/about.html>), records a manuscript of this work dated 1739 (元文 4) in Sanmitsuzō of Hōbodai'in 宝菩提院三密蔵.

[51] The Rāgarāja rite was an important secret rite of the Ono subschool, which further corroborates the relative date of execution of the Kanchi'in set, as well as its attribution, if not to Genkaku, at least to someone in his immediate circle.

Works that date after Genkaku's time provide evidence of this rite's significance for this school. One example are passages recorded in the Tendai monk Shōchō's 承澄 (1205-1282) *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄. Shōchō states in his scroll on Rāgarāja (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [ ], p. 1b6/1591b6) that, according to an old monk of Reizan 靈山老僧説, the Rāgarāja rite was performed exclusively by the monks of Daigoji and seldom by the monks of Ninnaji 此法醍醐専行也。仁和寺邊疎也. Shōchō continues in an entry titled "an early precedent" 先蹤 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [ ], p. 1b7/1591b7-2a11/1592a11) to stress the importance of this rite for the monks of Tōji because of its awe-inspiring results 憚尤多. His source is again the old monk of Reizan, who is here identified as a disciple of Jakuen (d. 1065 治暦 1) of the Ono subschool 小野流寂圓入道弟子. The old man of Reizan relates the Ono monk Seison Sōzu's (1012-1074) 小野成尊僧都 performance of this Rāgarāja rite for seven days, which resulted in the sudden death of the monarch Goreizei 後冷線天皇 (1025-1068, r. 1045-1068) and the enthronement of Gosanjō 後三条天皇 (1034-1073, r. 1068-1073). This ritual success 法験 (also 霊験) contributed to both Gosanjō's and his successor Shirakawa's 白河天皇 (1053-1129, r. 1072-1086, *In* 1086-1129) profound faith in Rāgarāja. See Kurimoto Noriko "Shirakawa'in to Ninnaji – shuhō kara miru Inseiki no seishin sekai," *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū*, vol. 286 (Kanagawa kenritsu Kanazawa bunko, 1991), pp. 12-30, esp. p. 13 and Kojima Yuko ("Inseiki ni okeru Aizenō mishuhō no tenkai – Ninnaji Shukaku hōshinnō sōden *Kurenainousuyō* wo kiten toshite," *Shukaku hōshinnō to Ninnaji gyoryū no bunkengakuteki kenkyū* - Ronbunhen, Abe Yasuo and Yamazaki Makoto, eds. (Benseisha, 1998), pp. 319-387, esp. p. 333.

A second example is found in Yōkai's (1278-1347) *Shingonden*. In an entry on the Rāgarāja rite 愛染王の法 appended to the biography of Gonsōzu Hanjun 権僧都範俊 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 234a15-b8), Yōkai records that this rite was transmitted and performed by Tōji monks 東寺一門コレヲ相承シテ行イ来ル, and that it was an especially secret rite in the Ono lineage 殊ニ小野流ノ祕法タリ. Further, this rite was particularly powerful during the time of the Latter Days of the Buddha's Teachings 末法, which began in 1051 (Eishō 永承 6) during the reign of Goreizei. Thus, Seison's performance of this secret rite brought about the enthronement of the monarch Gosanjō 延久ノ聖主踐祚アリ and Hanjun's performances contributed to the long life of the cloistered sovereign Shirakawa 白河院久ク帝運ヲ持チ給ヘリ.

[52] A colophon by the monk Kōzen 興然 (1121-1203) dated 1193 (Kenkyū 建久 3) at the end of the first scroll of the *Denjushū* (*T*.2482:232a4-18) identifies the transmissions as follows: scrolls one and two are from Rishubō Raishō 理趣房頼照, who lived in Kamidaigoji上醍醐寺 and was a disciple of Jakuen 寂円 (d. 1065); scroll three is from Ōtani Ajari Kakushun 大谷阿闍梨覺俊 (ca 1083), who lived in Daigoji's Ōtani Renge'in 大谷蓮華院; and scroll four is from Genkaku's older brother, Daikyōin Sōzu Kakui 大教院僧都覺意 (1052-1107), who lived in Ninnaji 仁和寺. See the *Shoshū shōshoroku* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, *Bukkyō shoseki mokuroku*, vol. 1, p. 180b11), which lists this work under Kanjin's name. There is a second theory that scroll one is the transmission of Jakuen (see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, p. 1631a and Toganno, *Himitsu jissō*, p. 606). A work with a similar title, the *Denjushō* 傳受鈔 (Selection of Transmissions), is listed (ibid, p. 180b6) under Genkaku's name. The latter constitutes the notes that Genkaku made on his masters' transmissions and the former is the version that Kanjin assembled.

Each of Genkaku's masters transmitted a Rāgarāja rite. In the transmission of the Rāgarāja rite in scroll one (*T*.2482:229b7-c12), Rāgarāja's seed letter is the double *hūṃ*, and the double *hūṃ* is also the focus of the mandala that is composed from Rāgarāja's longer mantra: *hhuṃ ṭaki hūṃ jaḥ*, which is a variation of the mantra given in the *Yuqijing* ch. 5 (*T*.867:257a21-22: *hhūṃ ṭakki hūṃ jjaḥ*). A second Rāgarāja rite is given in scroll two (ibid, 229b3-c11). There are differences: for instance, in this rite the mandala is formed from the mantra: *oṃ vajraraga ho*. However, common to both are the double *hūṃ* seed letter, the visualization practice based on *Yuqijing* ch. 5, and the mudrā. In Kakushun's Rāgarāja rite recorded in scroll three (ibid, 241a9-13), the mantra is *huṃ ṭakki huṃ jaḥ*, but here Rāgarāja's seed letter is *hraṃ*. Finally, scroll four opens with a passage giving the historical transmission of the *Yuqijing* 瑜祇經事 and a note on the Rāgarāja rite 此經傳受次第 (ibid, 248a26-b8), but a seed letter is not recorded. Further, a short entry on Rāgarāja in scroll four (ibid, 251c14-16) contains only information on the hearth and mandala with a twelve-armed Mahāvairocana. In *Yuqijing* ch. 8, Vairocana manifests a body with twelve arms. See Pol Vanden Broucke, "The Twelve-Armed Deity Daishō Kongō and his Scriptural Sources," *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, Richard K. Payne, ed. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006), pp. 147-277.

[53] Here (*T*.2482:233c26-234a15) the seed letter of the Five Mysteries pentad is *stvaṃ*, the final letter of the mantra in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*. 1003:610a8). This short entry also contains such information as the symbolic form of the pentad, Vajrasattva's mudrā, the complete mantra from *Liqushi* 1, recorded in Chinese characters, and a description of the pentad that opens a series of mantras and mudrās in a phase of a ritual that I cannot identify.

[54] The *Yuqijing* is discussed at the end of scroll 2 (*T*.2482:236b19-c1: "The three mantras in the *Yuqijing*" 瑜祇經三種眞言) and at the beginning of scroll 4 (ibid, 248a26-b8: "About the *Yuqijing*" 瑜祇經事).

That the Rāgarāja rite was more important in the Ono subschool than the rites of the Five Mysteries or the *Liqujing* is also seen in compilations composed by Kanjin's contemporaries. Examples are Genkai's *Atsuzōshi* and Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō*, *Gempishō* and *Shoson yōshō*. These works record detailed entries on Rāgarāja (*T*.2483:270c3-272c28, *T*.2485:353c22-357a2, *T*.2486:388c25-394b11, *T*.2484:298b22-300a16). In contrast, the Five Mysteries rite does not appear in these works. Instead, the *Atsuzōshi* (*T*.2483:278a16-20) and *Shoson yōshō* (*T*.2484:296a20-b2) contain very short entries on the *Liqujing* rite 理趣經法 and the *Hizō konpōshō* (*T*.2485:369c5-370a2) notes the mudrās and mantras of the scripture's 理趣經印 fifteen ritual phases.

[55] See these rites in scroll 1 (*T*.2482: Peacock Spell no. 8, p. 225b22-c1; Humane Kings, no. 9, p. 225c2-c17; Rain, no. 11, pp. 225c24-226c1; Northern Star, no. 30, p. 230b25-c12), scroll 2 (ibid, Humane Kings, no. 1, p. 232b10-c12; Northern Star, no. 11, pp. 234c2-235b27), scroll 3 (ibid, Peacock Spell, no. 8, p. 238a27-b2; Rain, no. 13, pp. 238c25-239a1) and scroll 4 (ibid, Peacock Spell, no. 6, p. 249a21-b10; Humane Kings, no. 9, p. 249c4-29; Rain, no. 10, p. 250a1-b16; Norther Star, no. 33, p. 254b9-28).

[56] Inscriptions on various copies attribute this work either to Ejū 慧什 (ca. 1129-after 1144) or to Yōgen 永厳 (1075-1151). It is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006, pp. 1-56. The *Zuzōshō* is generally recognized as a work by Ejū and I discuss this in more detail in Chapter Five, endnote 61. See Tamura Ryūshō, "*Zuzōshō* seiritsu to naiyō ni kansuru mondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 43-52; Sawa Ryūken "Mikkyō ni okeru hyakubyōzuzō no rekishi," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 1-23, esp. pp. 11-12 (reprinted in "Mikkyō zuzō no kenkyū – Mikkyō zuzō no tokushitsu oyobi sono bunrui," *Mikkyō bijutsu ron* (Kyoto: Seiridō, 1969), pp. 127-128 and in *Hyakubyōzuzō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982) pp. 19-20); Bernard Frank, *Dieux et Bouddhas au Japon*, (Paris: Editions Odile Jacob, 2000), pp. 222-225.

[57] As noted with the Rāgarāja rite, although they are repeated, the rites contain different information.

Genkaku's master and older brother Kakui lived in Ninnaji. I present examples of the importance of the Rāgarāja rite in the Hirosawa subschool in endnote 59 below.

[58] The importance of the *Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī sūtra* for the rain ritual explains the quotation from this text in the note on the Mandala of the Seven Mothers (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 832, No. 14 and endnote 7 above). Shingon sources record, for example, that in 1082 (Eihō 永保 2) Genkaku's master Shinkaku 信覚 (1011-1084) of Kajūji, twice performed the rite of *Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī* to induce rainfall – the first time in the Imperial pleasure garden, the Shinsen'en 神泉苑, and the second time at Tōji 東寺. In 1106 (Kajo 嘉承 1) Genkaku's master and older brother Kakui of Ninnaji 仁和寺覚意, carried out the same rite for rain in Tōji's Kanjō'in 東寺灌頂院. Genkaku assisted his masters on these occasions and was rewarded with the rank of Hōkyō 法橋 in 1082 and that of Hōgen 法眼 in 1106. In 1120 (Hōan 保安 1) Genkaku himself performed the *Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī* rite to induce rain in the Shinsen'en. See Genkaku's biography in *Shingonden* 7 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 244a), *Honchō kōsōden* 51 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 103, p. 214a) and *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 4 (*Shingon zenshū*, vol. 39, p. 101b); Shinkaku's and Kakui's in *Shingonden* 6 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, pp. 224b and 233a, respectively).

[59] Moriyama Shōshin's *Shingonshū nenpyō* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, reprint 1973, original 1931) records the ceremonies observed throughout the centuries by the Court, the major temples and their officiating masters and influential monks. In addition to biographical sources such as the *Shingonden, Honchō kōsōden* and the *Dentō kōroku*, Moriyama consulted such temple records as the *Tōji chōja honin* 東寺長者補仁, *Kōya shunjū hennen shūroku* 高野春秋編年輯録 and the *Tōbōki* 東寶記 and such ritual sources as the *Kujyakki* 孔雀記, the *Kiuki* 祈雨記, to name but a few. For the performance of the Rāgarāja rite during the time of Shirakawa and Genkaku, see the following listings: in

1070 the Dharma Prince Shōshin 性信法親王 (1005-1085) performed the Rāgarāja rite 愛染王法 in Ninnaji's Kita'in 仁和寺北院 (p. 126); in 1081 Shōshin performed this rite (p. 132); in 1110 Kakuhō 覺法 (1091-1153) performed this rite in the Tobadono no Kaya gosho 鳥羽殿萱御所 (p. 154); in the fifth month of 1121(Hōan 保安 2) the Tendai Zashu Ninryō 天台座主仁豪 performed this rite in the Imperial Inner Palace 内裏 (Dairi) (p. 163), also in the same month the Daigoji monk Shōkaku 勝覺 (1057-1129) performed this rite in the Anpuku den 安福殿 (Court Physician's Waiting Room) of the Inner Palace, and in the tenth month of 1121 Shōkaku again performed this rite in the Anpuku den (p. 163); in 1123 the Dharma Prince Kakuhō 覺法法親王 performed this rite in the Shirakawa dono 白河殿 (p. 165); in 1126 one hundred and eighty figures of Rāgarāja 愛染王像百八十軀 were enshrined in Hōshōji's Kondō 法勝寺金堂 (p. 167); in the fifth month of 1128 Kakuhō performed the rite of Rāgarāja in Accordance with the Rules 如法愛染法 in the Sanjō bōmon danjo 三条坊門壇所 (p. 169), and in the eleventh month of the same year Kakuhō performed the rite of Rāgarāja in Accordance with the Rules in the Muromachi danjo 室町壇所) (p. 169).

There is evidence that there were exchanges between the Daigoji and Ninnaji ritual lineages concerning Rāgarāja rite in such works as Genkai's *Atsuzōshi* (*T*.2483:271c13-15) and Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* (*T*.2485:356a6-7, 356c27-28) and his *Gempishō* (*T*.2486:389b5-6). Kurimoto, "Shirakawain to Ninnaji – shuhō kara miru Inseiki no seishin sekai," *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū*, vol. 286, pp. 12-30, presenting documentation from the Kanazawa bunko, demonstrates that the Dharma Princes 法親王 (*hōshinnō*) of Ninnaji, for instance, Shōshin (1005-1085), Kakugyō 覺行 (1075-1105), and Kakuhō 覺法 (1091-1153), frequently performed the secret Ono rite of Rāgarāja. Shōshin received direct transmissions of the rites of Rāgarāja (Kurimoto, ibid, pp. 15-16) from Ningai 仁海 (951-1046) and Seison (1012-1074). There is also documentation on Hanjun's transmission to Kakuhō: in the tenth month of 1110 Kakuhō performed this rite for the cloistered sovereign Shirakawa in the Tobadono [Kaya]gosho 鳥羽殿萱御所.

Entries on Hanjun in the Shingon biographies (*Shingonden* 6, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 234a10-13 and *Dentō kōrokukō*, *Zoku Shingonshū zenshū*, vol. 33, p. 489b5-7) record Hanjun's giving consecration to Kakuhō, and thus instruction in the Ono ritual lineage. See also Moriyama, *Shingonshū nenpyō*, p. 153, according to *Shiryō sōran* 2, 史料綜覧二, on the seventh day of the tenth month of 1109 (Tennin 天仁 2) Kakuhō 法皇の皇子行眞 received the teachings 受法 from Hanjun in his Toba meditation chamber 鳥羽禪室; ibid, p. 154, according to *Sanbō'in denpō kechimyaku ki* 三寶院傳法血脈 and *Kechimyaku ruishū ki* 4 血脈類集記四, on the ninth day of the the twelfth month of 1110 (Tenei 天永 1) Hanjun granted Kakuhō consecration as master of the [Esoteric Buddhist] transmission 傳法灌頂 in Ninnaji's Kannon'in. See also Kurimoto, "Shirakawa'in to Ninnaji – shuhō kara miru Inseiki no seishin sekai," pp. 19, 29 chart in the tenth month of 1109 (Tennin 天仁 2), whose sources are *Omuro sōshō ki* 4 御室相承記 四 and *Kōya omuro* 高野御室.

Kojima ("Inseiki ni okeru Aizenō mishuhō no tenkai – Ninnaji Shukaku hōshinnō sōden *Kurenainousuyō* wo kiten toshite," *Shukaku hōshinnō to Ninnaji gyoryū no bunkengakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 319-387), consulting documents in Ninnaji's Scripture Repository 仁和寺御経蔵, presents the transmissions of the Rāgarāja rites that the Ninnaji Dharma Prince Shukaku (1150-1202) received from his masters, the Dharma Prince Kakushō 覺性法親王 (1129-1169) of the Hirosawa subschool's Ninnaji gyoryū ritual lineage 仁和寺御流, and Shōgen 勝賢 (1138-1196), the sixteenth Abbot of Daigoji, who belonged to the Ono subschool's Sanbō'in ritual lineage 三宝院流. Kojima reproduces Shukaku's careful studies of and compilations on the rites he inherited from these masters and, by focusing on Kakushō's performance of the Rāgarāja rite 愛染王法 for the prayers of the sovereign 天皇御祈 in the Inner Palace 内裏 in 1162 (Ōhō 應保 2) and Shukaku's performance of the rite of Rāgarāja in Accordance with the Rules 如法愛染王法 in 1195 (Kenkyū 建久 6) for monarch Gotoba's 後鳥羽展皇 consort's safe delivery of a child 中宮御産御祈, she retraces the origins, development and significance of these two secret rites from the time of Seison (1012-1074) and his disciples Gihan 義範 (1038-1088) and Hanjun 範俊 (1038-1112). Kojima (ibid, pp. 362-362) also provides circumstantial evidence that links Genkaku to the transmission of the Rāgarāja rite. This is Shukaku's *Nyohō Aizenō ruiju shō* 如法愛染王類聚抄 (Excerpts from Collected Works on Nyohō Aizenō), a copy in the Ninnaji Scripture Repository 仁和寺御経蔵 that the Sōjō Kenyo 顕誉僧正 made in 1320 (Genō 元応 2). Shukaku records in the colophon, which dates to 1195 (Kenkyū 建久 6), that, although he had received a secret transmission from his master Shōgen 勝賢, he compiled and collated into one work what various masters before him had recorded about this rite. The works that Shukaku has cited are those of such masters of the Ono ritual lineage as Genkaku 嚴覺, his disciple Kanjin 寬信 (1084-1153), Shōkaku 勝覺 (1057-1129), Jichiun 實運 (1105-1160) and Shōgen, and these masters cite in their collections the explanation of this rite that Toba Sōjō Hanjun 鳥羽僧正範俊 (1038-1112)

presented to the cloistered sovereign Shirakawa.

See also Goepper, *Aizen Myōō* (pp. 132, 134) who cites the performances that are recorded in such Shingon iconographical compilations as the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記, *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪抄 and *Byakuhō kushō* 百寶口鈔.

[60] The importance of the *Yuqijing* in the Shingon school begins with Kūkai (774-835), who records this text in his *Shōrai mokuroku* 請來目録 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 82), an inventory of religious articles that he collected in China. Most importantly, Kūkai included the text in his *Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku* 眞言宗所學經律論目録 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 106), a list of works that his disciples were required to study. Moreover, the name and program of the main temple complex that Kūkai begun on Kōyasan, Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺, was also based on the *Yuqijing*. The transmission of Kakushun in the *Denjushū* (*T.*2482:246c) includes a description of the program of the Hondō of Kōyasan's Kongōbuji. The enshrined group of images are Samantabhadra as Life Extender 延命普賢, Acala 不動, Vajrasattva, Akṣobhya, Vajrarāja, Trailokyavijaya and Rāgarāja.

Ningai 仁海 (951-1046), a patriarch of the Ono subschool, wrote the first manual for the ritual of Rāgarāja. The *Shoshū shōshoroku* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, *Bukkyō shoseki mokuroku*, vol. 1, pp. 174b-175a) lists under Ningai's name such manuals for rites of Rāgarāja as the *Aizenō daishidai* 愛染王大次第 (Great Procedure [for the Rite] of Rāgarāja), *Ai[zen]hō* 愛水[=染]法 (Method for Rāgarāja) and the *Raga hihō* 羅誐祕法 (Secret Method of Rāga[rāja]), as well as the *Aizenō shō* 愛染王鈔 (Selection on Rāgarāja). As mentioned above, Seison 成尊 (1012-1074), Ningai's disciple, performed a Rāgarāja rite in order to help his patron, the then Higashi-no-miya 東宮 (heir prince), ascend to the throne, becoming the monarch Gosanjō 後三条天皇 (r. 1068-1073). This was a rite of wrathful subjugation 調伏法 (*ābhicāruka*) in which Seison prayed for the death of the monarch Goreizei 後冷泉天皇. Shōchō reports in his *Asabashō's* entry on Seison's performance (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [ ], p. 2/1592a9-11) that this rite had never yet been performed to fulfill the prayers of the nobility but had been performed solely by the practitioner for his own spiritual and material needs 昔打任テハ公家御[祈]ナトニ不修之。只自行ナトニソ修ケル. Seison's performance of this powerful rite marked the start of numerous performances that the monarchs Gosanjō and Shirakawa ordered for their own welfare. See also *Shingonden* 6 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 223b4-13, *Dentō kōrokukō* in *Zoku Shingonshū zenshū*, vol. 33, p. 381a3-8, Genkai's *Atsuzōshi* (*T.*78.2483:272a22-23), Kojima, "Inseiki ni okeru Aizenō mishuhō no tenkai" *Shukaku hōshinnō to Ninnaji gyoryū no bunkengakuteki kenkyū,* pp. 336-337 and Iyanaga Nobumi, "Shinwa/Girei/Ōken," *Kōza Tetsugaku*, No. 13: *Shūkyō/Chōestsu tetsugaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shotenyō, 2000), pp. 1-27. The *Shoshū shōshoroku* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, *Bukkyo shoseki mokuroku*, vol. 1, p. 175b) lists under Seison's name the *Aizen daishidai kuketsu* 愛染大次第口決 (Oral Transmission of the Great Procedure of Rāgarāja).

The Rāgarāja rite was also important to Seison's disciples, Gihan 義範 (1023-1088) and Hanjun 範俊 (1038-1112), who was Genkaku's master. Both monks, and the successors of their lineages, used ritual expertise, especially the secret Rāgarāja rite, to vie for Imperial patronage. The Shingon biographies present a rivalry between Gihan and Hanjun and the result is what Kojima ("Inseiki ni okeru Aizenō mishuhō no tenkai," *Shukaku hōshinnō to Ninnaji gyoryū no bunken gakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 338-345) aptly terms the "construction of monks' histories" by "constructing ritual traditions of deities." For instance, no mention is made of Gihan's performance and transmission of the Rāgarāja rite in the short entry given in Yōkai's *Shingonden* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 227b2-9). Instead, he presents Gihan as the winner of the rain-making rite. Yōkai belonged to the Kajūji lineage, which was established by Genkaku's disciple Kanjin.

In contrast, Hanjun is given extensive coverage in Yōkai's *Shingonden* 6 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, pp. 233a-234b) and much is made of his performances of the Rāgarāja rite. Having secluded himself in Kumano's Mount Nachi in 1075 (Jōhō 承保 2) and made offerings to Rāgarāja for one thousand days, Hanjun carried out a Rāgarāja rite the following year for the ailing monarch Shirakawa 白河天皇 (1053-1129, r.1072-1086, *In* 1086-1129). Credited with curing the monarch, he gained Shirakawa's patronage, becoming his personal "protective monk" 護持僧. He received such favors as control of the Ono lineage and its main temple, Mandaraji 曼荼羅寺, as well as supervision of the Toba no Hōzō, to which he appointed Genkaku as caretaker. Hanjun's motive in presenting the sacred collection of Ono Mandaraji to Shirakawa (see endnote 10 above) can be seen as a political one. He sought to establish a connection between the might of the Buddha's teachings 仏法 and that of monarchs 王法. During the Insei period the Toba no Hōzō functioned as a symbol of the political authority of the cloistered sovereigns (Dharma Emperor 法皇) from the time of Shirakawa onwards, just as the Treasure Repository at Uji 宇治寶藏 had functioned

as a symbol of the power of the Sekkanke 摂関家 (House of the Regents and Chancellors to the Throne) during their period of political dominancy. See Kojima, "Inseiki ni okeru Aizenō mishuhō no tenkai," *Shukaku hōshinnō to Ninnaji gyoryū no bunkengakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 341-343, 374-383.

Hanjun performed the Rāgarāja rite 愛染王法 a number of times for Shirakawa. See, in addition to Yōkai's *Shingonden* 6 given above, Hanjun's biographies in the *Honchō kōsōden* 50 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 103, p. 212a-b; note the mistake in the date – Eihō 永保 2 should be Jōhō 承保 2) and *Dentō kōrokukō* 1 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 488a-489b). The *Shoshū shōshoroku* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, *Bukkyo shoseki mokuroku*, vol. 1, p. 90b) lists under Hanjun's name a ritual manual for a Rāgarāja rite called *Nyohō Aizen shidai* 如法愛染次第 (Procedure for Rāgarāja According to the Rules). The Shingon biographies given above especially record Hanjun's performances of this particular Rāgarāja rite for Shirakawa. For the procedures of the performances of the Rāgarāja rite 愛染王法 and this rite of Rāgarāja According to the Rules, see Goepper, *Aizen-Myōō*, pp. 135-151, and for their political and social significance, see Kojima, "Inseiki ni okeru Aizenō mishuhō no tenkai," *Shukaku hōshinnō to Ninnaji gyoryū no bunkengakuteki kenkyū*, esp. pp. 319-333, 372-384.

[61] I am grateful to Professor Yoritomi Motohiro, who kindly photographed the manuscript in the Shinren'in 心蓮院 collection at Ninnaji and sent the negatives to me. This work is in the Tatchūgura collection 塔中蔵 at Ninnaji and its reference number in the Nara Bunkazai kenkyūjo catalogue, the standard catalogue for Ninnaji, is box 33, number 145 of this collection 塔中蔵33箱145号. I thank Professor Brian Ruppert (email April 21, 2017) for the reference code of this work in the Ninnaji library.

According to his biographies in the *Honchō kōsōden* and the *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōrokukō*, Shinkaku took the tonsure and received the Buddhist precepts in Onjōji 園城寺 (or Miidera 三井寺), the center of the Esoteric Buddhist Jimon branch 寺門派 of the Tendai school. He lived for a time in a subtemple of Onjōji called Jōki'in 常喜院. He abandoned the Tendai school because he lost a round of theoretical discussions to Chinkai 珍海 (1092-1152) of Kōfukuji in Nara.

Having left the Tendai School early in his career, Shinkaku immersed himself in Shingon studies, first in Daigoji and then for years on Kōyasan. He was known as the Jōki'in Master 常喜院阿闍梨 and his transmission lineage came to be called either the Jōki'in branch 常喜院流 or the Ōjō'in branch 往生院流 of the Hirosawa subschool (his first residence on Kōyasan was also called Jōki'in). The inscription on a seed letter version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* that is in the possession of Kōyasan's Kongōsanmai'in 高野山金剛三昧院 states "I copied the above from the version by Shinkaku of Joki'in 常喜院." (This work is illustrated in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3047, separate sheet 19 after p. 840.)

Biographical details on Shinkaku will be found in the *Honchō kōsō den* 12, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, p. 202a and the *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōrokukō* 6, *Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 288b-289a. The *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1123a-c (Jōki'in ryū 常喜院流) and vol. 1, p. 180a (Ōjōin ryū 往生院流) discusses his transmission, which is also called the Ōjōin ryū 往生院流. For secondary studies on his career and works, see Ono Gemmyō, "*Zuzōshō* to *Besson zakki*, Part 1," *Bussho kenkyū*, vol. 19 (1916), pp. 4-7; Part 2 in No. 20 (1917), pp. 5-10; Ōmura Seigai, "*Besson zakki* oyobi sakusha Shinkaku ajari nitsuite, "*Bukkyōgaku zasshi* (1921), pp. 185-187; Manabe Shunshō, "Shinkaku to *Besson zakki* ni tsuite – Denki oyobi zuzō "watakushi kore wo kuwafu" no shomondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 67-100; Nishigori Ryōsuke, "*Besson zakki* no kenkyū – sono seiritsu mondai o chūshin to shite," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 82 (October 1971), pp. 47-67 and Bernard Frank, *Dieux et Bouddhas au Japon* (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, April 2000), pp. 221-267, esp. pp. 233-241.

[62] The *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 佛教語大辞典, vol. 1, p. 69b defines *inmyō* 印明 as being an abbreviation of *insō* 印相 and mantra *myō ju* 明呪. *Insō* are the outer manifestations, such as mudrās and attributes, that reveal the attainment of enlightenment by buddhas and bodhisattvas and their fundamental pledges to assist sentient beings. See also the explanation under the title of Shinkaku's work in the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 2260.

[63] Manabe Shunshō presents ("Shinkaku to *Bessonzakki* ni tsuite," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 80-82) documentation from the Ninnaji collection that verifies the *Rishukō dandan inmyō shū* as a work by Shinkaku. In 1218 (Kenpō 6 建保六年) in Ōjōin'an 往生院菴 of Kongōbuji, Shungen, the Hōin of Ninnaji's Shinren'in 仁和寺心蓮院俊玄法印, copied the contents of the Jōki'in inventory 常喜院自草目錄 (*Jōki'in jisō mokuroku*), which records Shinkaku's writings.

The *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū* is listed under Shinkaku's name in such Edo period catalogues as the *Shoshū shōshoroku* 諸宗章疏録, the *Shoshi seisaku mokuroku* 諸師製作目錄, and the *Sōjō sonhōtō mokuroku* 相承尊法等目錄 or *Honchō daiso senjutsu mitsubu mokuroku* 本朝台祖撰述密部目錄. For example, under the entry in the *Shoshū shōshoroku* 諸宗章疏錄 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol.1, p. 169b) is a note in small letters that states that this appears in the *Hyakkan shō* 百卷鈔 (Collection in One Hundred Scrolls), that is the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔.

[64] In this section on Shinkaku's work, I identify the Common and Ono Explanations. My choice of the translation "common" for Shinkaku's word 普通 should be understood as "common among the inheritors of the lineage of his master Kenni 兼意 (1072-1151)," that is ritual information that would have been shared by those who received Kenni's transmission. I thank Iyanaga Nobumi (personal communication, March 22, 2017) for explaining the use of this word in Buddhist texts, especially Esoteric Buddhist texts and rituals, as one that suggests something shared by or common to categories. The modern Japanese equivalent is *kyōtsū* 共通.

I have not been able to identify the Great Record (Great Teacher's Augustly Penned Record 大師御筆記). See Chapter Two, pp. 40-41 (and endnote 22 above) for Kakuzen's recording in his *Kakuzenshō* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 710c27-28) of a certain transmission that documents such a source. This is Hannya Sōjō's 般若僧正 (Kangen 觀賢, 853-925) transmission of mudrās and mantras for the stages of the scripture from a source that he called *Daishi gohitsu no hon* 大師御筆之本 (Book that the Great Teacher Augustly Penned). Possibly Kūkai did compose a ritual text for the *Liqujing* that Shinkaku could access.

[65] This discrepancy is not an issue for Shinkaku. He simply notes the information, offering neither comment nor correction.

[66] *T.*243:784b22-24; *T.*1003:609b12-13; Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vajrasattva, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p.777, No. 2.

[67]
Fifth Stage
The mudrā in the mandala: his right [hand] holds a sword and his left holds a lotus on top of which is placed a jewel.
The scripture states: he fastens the vajra jeweled wig to his own head. [Shinkaku no. 3; *T.*243:785a9; 1003:613a5; Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Ākāśagarbha, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 781, No. 6.]
Seventh Stage
The mudrā in the mandala: [in] his right [hand he] holds a Sanskrit text and [in] his left [hand he] holds a lotus on top of which is a [vajra] staff.
The scripture says: with his own sword he brandished and conquered all the Tathāgatas. [Shinkaku no. 4; *T.*243:785a29; 1003:613c13; Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Mañjuśrī, fig. 5, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783, No. 8.]

[68] There is no disparity between the received text and image in three of Shinkaku's entries, those for the second, fourth, and sixth Stages. He also records the hand gestures of the central figures in the Daigoji Assemblies of the Guiding Principle of Mahāvairocana, Avalokiteśvara and Vajramuṣṭi, and these agree with scriptural prescriptions. The second Stage reads as follows:

Second Stage
The mudrā of the Venerable in the mandala [is] the usual Mudrā of the Wisdom Fist.
The scripture says: he formed the Mudrā of the Wisdom Fist [fig. 20, Shinkaku no. 2; *T.*243:784c6; 1003:610c25; fig. 3, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 778, No. 3].

Two other examples are the fourth and the sixth Stages:

Fourth Stage
The aspects of the mudrā [of the Venerable] in the mandala is as follows: his left holds a lotus flower, the small finger of his right fist is extended; imagine [that he performs] the attitude of opening the flower in the left [hand].
The scripture states: he formed the attitude of Opening and Spreading the Lotus Flower [Shinkaku no. 3; *T.*243:784c29; 1003:611a2; *T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, 3044, p. 780, No. 5].
Sixth Stage

The mudra in the mandala is his left fist is placed on his thigh and on top he places his right fist.
The scripture says: he maintained the Great Symbol of the Vajra Fist 金剛拳大三麼耶印 [Shinkaku no. 4; *T*.243:785a21; *T*.1003:613b16-17; *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 782, No. 7].

[69] The *Liqujing* does not give a mudrā for the Bodhisattva Gaganagañja but Amoghavajra was specific in the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:614c2-4). Compare *T*.243:785b18-19 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 785, No. 10.

[70] Examples are the stages of Sarvamāra-pramardin, Mahśevara and the Four Sisters and the Daigoji Assemblies of the Guiding Principle of Sarvamāra-pramardin, Maheśvara, and the Four Sisters.

Tenth Stage of Sarvamāra-pramardin
The mudrā in the mandala: his left [hand] holds a lotus on top of which is placed a fang; his right [hand is placed on] his thigh. [Shinkaku no. 6; *T*.243:785b27-28; 1003:615a5-6; *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 786, No. 11.]

Here, despite the fact that the *Liqujing* gives directions, stating that Sarvamāra-pramardin assumes the form of Vajrayakṣa and holds an adamantine fang (*T*. 243:785b27), Shinkaku does not record them.

Shinkaku does not describe the mudrā of the figure in the mandala for the eleventh Stage (Shinkaku no. 6), most likely because neither the *Liqujing* nor the *Liqushi* provide directions (*T*.243:785c6-8; 1003:615b219-21; *T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, 3044, p. 787, No. 12).

For the following two mandalas, neither the *Liqujing* nor the *Liqushi* give instructions for the mudrā to be formed, while Shinkaku describes the corresponding mudrā in the Daigoji mandalas:

Twelfth Stage of the Chapter on the Outer Vajra Family 外金剛部品
The mudrā in the mandala: the [Mudrā] of Homage 金[剛合]掌 and placed at his heart. Mudrā of Maheśvara [Shinkaku no.7; *T*.243:785c14-16; 1003:615c25-27; *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 788, No. 13].

Fifteenth Stage of the Chapter on the Four Sisters Goddesses 四姉妹女品
The mudrā in the mandala: the Venerable in the center [forms] the Mudrā of Meditation on the Buddhist Realm 法界定印 [fig. 21, Shinkaku no. 8; *T*.243:785c24; 1003:616b10, 12-14; *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 790, No. 15].

[71] See Chapter One endnote 11.

[72] See fig. 20, Shinkaku no. 2; *T*.243:784c16-17; 1003:611c20-21; and compare fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779, No. 4.

[73] Other examples are as follows:

Eighth Stage
The mudrā [of the Venerable in] the mandala: [he has] six arms and his first three [error for "two"] hands form the Mudrā of the Small Adamantine Circle (*vajracakra*) 小金剛輪印 and [the mudrā] is raised above his head.
The scripture says: [he] turned the [Mudrā] of the Vajracakra 金剛輪印 [Shinkaku no. 5; *T*.243:785b8; 1003:614a15-16; compare *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9].

Thirteenth Stage
The mudrā in the mandala: Mahākāla, who is in the center, has three faces and six arms as always.

The *Liqujing* does not give directions for a mudrā (Shinkaku no. 7; *T*.243:785c18-19). In the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:616a25) reference is made to the details given in the *Extended Scripture* 如廣經所説 (compare *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 789, No. 14).

Fourteenth Stage
The mudrā in the mandala: Nārāyaṇa holds a wheel in his left hand and his right [hand] is on his thigh; Maheśvara [forms] the Mudrā of Homage and it is placed at his heart; Brahmā has four faces and four arms.

The *Liqujing* does not furnish instructions for a mudrā (Shinkaku no. 7 and 8; *T*.243:785c21-19) and the *Liqushi* refers the practitioner to the *Extended Scripture* (*T*.1003:616b5; compare *T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, 3044, p. 791, No. 16).

[74] One unusual feature is that although Shinkaku gives the seed letter and mudrā that are to be ritually performed for the sixteenth and seventeenth Stages, he does not provide any information about the iconography of the mandalas that he consulted, which would have been the *Gobu gue* (Assemblies of the Five Families) and the Five Mysteries (see figs. 21, 22, Shinkaku no. 8 and 9).

[75] We learn from official biographies and lineage records that Shinkaku spent his career mastering certain liturgical branches of the Ono and Hirosawa subschools. For example, the *Honchō kōsō den* 12 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, p. 202a) relates that after Shinkaku abandoned the Tendai school, he turned to the Shingon school and received the teachings of the Ono subschool 小野法流 from Preceptors Genkaku (1080-1156) and Jichiun (1105-1160) of Daigo[ji] 醍醐之賢覺實運二師. Then, after years of religious austerities on Mount Kōmyō in Yamato 和州光明山, he went to Kōyasan, and there under Master Kenni (1072-1145) 阿闍梨兼意 he mastered "the innermost mysteries of the three [a mistake for two] categories 三部奥玄 and received consecration into the dual world [mandalas] 兩界灌頂." The *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōrokukō* 6 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, p. 289a) records that Shinkaku began to study in the Hirosawa subschool, becoming Kenni's disciple and attaining mastery of esoteric studies 密府 and *siddhaṃ* 悉曇, and that he also received the oral transmission of Shōken (1138-1196) of Daigosan 醍醐山勝賢之面決.

Information on Shinkaku appears in the *Kechimyaku ruijū ki* 6 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 161a) under his own name, the Great Dharma Preceptor Shinkaku 大法師心覺, as well as under the *Kechimyaku ruijū ki*'s entries for Genkaku 大法師賢覺, Kenni 大法師兼意 and Kakuin (1097-1164) 覺印阿闍梨. Shinkaku is listed (in a note on the back 裏書 in *Kechimyaku ruijū ki* 4 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 111b) as a disciple of Genkaku 賢覺, whose transmission established the Ono subschool's Rishō'in branch 理性院流. But here a note in small letters beneath Shinkaku's name records that Master Jōki'in received another consecration 重受 in Odawara 小田原 on Kōyasan on the thirteenth day of the six month of the second year of Eiryaku (1161) 永暦二年六月十三日於高野山小田原別所. Shinkaku is also listed (in a note on the back 裏書 in *Kechimyaku ruijū ki* 5 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 125a) as a disciple of Kenni and here the date (the nineteenth day of the fourth month of the first year of Hōgen 保元元年四月十九日 (1156) and the participants in the consecration that Shinkaku received from Kenni are recorded. Shinkaku is also listed (*Kechimyaku ruijū ki* 6 in *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 145a) as a disciple of Kakuin, who received consecration from his brother Yōgen (1075-1151) 保壽院法師永嚴灌頂資, patriarch of the Hirosawa subschool's Hoju'in branch, to which Kakuin belonged. Here it records that Shinkaku received consecration on the seventeenth day of the sixth month of the second year of Ōhō 應保二年六月十七日 (1162). A note on the back repeats the circumstances of the consecration he received from Kenni and records again his second consecration by Kakuin. Repeated in a note on the back of the entry for Shinkaku himself in *Kechimyaku ruijū ki* 6 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 161a) is the data concerning the consecrations that he received from Kenni and Kakuin.

[76] The absence of a description of the mudrās of the figures of the Five Mysteries in Shinkaku's *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū* is all the more puzzling because the *Liqujing mantuluo* in the possession of Ms. Sorimachi contains the Assembly of the Five Mysteries, and because Shinkaku included a copy of the Five Mysteries Mandala whose iconography matches that of the Daigoji exemplar's Five Mysteries in his entry on the Five Mysteries in his iconographic compilation, the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記.

The *Besson zakki*, which consists of 57 scrolls, is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, 3007 and the Five Mysteries Mandala is illustrated on p. 292. I consult this work in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

[77] Thus, Shinkaku does not include information about the mandala of the opening assembly that begins the Daigoji set and which Amoghavajra detailed in *Liqushi* 1. Shinkaku's document begins with what Amoghavajra titled in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:610b2) the Stage of the First Assembly of Vajrasattva Who Is Infallible and [generates] Great Bliss. In this Stage of the *Liqujing,* Vairocana expounds the Seventeen Epithets of Purity, and the epithets compose the second of the eighteen mandalas that Amoghavajra prescribes in *Liqushi* 1.

[78] *T*.243:785c26-786a4; *T*.1003:616b23-c11, especially c10-11. Amoghavajra describes in this section of the *Liqushi* a mandala that Vajrabodhi had drawn on the wall of Jianfusi in Chang'an (*T*.1003:616c9-10: *Jianfu Daheshang jinni yuqie mantuluo* 薦福大和上金泥瑜伽曼荼羅).

[79] The mantra for the seventeenth ritual stage of the Five Mysteries is the double *huṃ* (fig. 21, Shinkaku no. 8), and we have already learned that this seed letter composes the Five Mysteries Mandala of the Kanchi'in set (fig. 17). Shinkaku, like Genkaku before him, offers no explanation for this difference between Amoghavajra's transmission of the rite and the execution of this rite by Japanese Shingon monks of the Heian period.

[80] Shōgutei'in is the name of the temple where Jichiun lived, and so he was called Shōgutei'in *sōzu* 勝倶胝院僧都. The *Shōgutei'in shō* 勝倶胝院抄, or the Shōgutei'in Extract as it is referred to here, is another name for Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* 祕蔵金寶鈔. This is published in *T*.78.2485. See endnote 23 above.

[81] The line reads as follows: 勝倶胝院抄之私云無終一印真言 [*siddhaṃ*] *hūṃ*. See *T*.2485:370a2.

[82] *T*. *Zuzō*, vol. 3. See endnote 61 above for secondary studies on the *Besson zakki*.

[83] Kenni was a master of Shingon ritual traditions, having studied under Kani 寛意 (1054-1101) of Ninnaji and later, after Kani's death, on Kōyasan. Shinkaku inherited Kenni's lineage (*Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōrokukō* 6 in *Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, p. 288a-b for Kenni and for Shinkaku, pp. 288b-289a, and Bernard Frank, *Dieux et Bouddhas au Japon*, p. 236 for more on Kenni). Kanjo was an influential master within the Ninnaji ritual lineage, whose ritual transmission is called the Jōju'in branch 成就院流. He was famous for his collection of rituals, the *Betsugyō* 別行 (Separate Practices, *T*.78.2476). Information on Ejū, known for his iconographic collection in ten scrolls, the *Jikkanshō* 十巻抄, better known as the *Zuzōshō* 圖像抄, shows that he too was active in branches of both the Ono and Hirosawa subschools. See Chapter Five, endnote 61. Early in his career, Jichiun had been a disciple of Kanjin 寛信 (1084-1153), patriarch of the Ono subschool's Kajūji branch. Later, he received consecration from Genkai 元海 (1094-1157) of the Ono subschool's Sanbō'in branch. Jichiun authored works (which I mention in endnotes 23 and 30 above and 86 below) that were based on the ritual transmissions he received from these two masters.

[84] *T*. *Zuzō*, vol. 3, pp. 164b21-167a5.

[85] This work in twenty scrolls included Sanskrit names, symbolic (*samaya*) forms, mudrās and mantras, visualization practices, and illustrations of the Venerables. I have not been able to consult it, even though parts remain in Ninnaji (dated 1219) and Kōyasan's Kongōsanmai'in (dated 1229). See the entry in *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1216b-c (*Jōrenshō*) for the table of contents.

[86] This entry is published in *T*.2485:369c5-370a2, in particular, 369c18, 27, 29. The transmission that Jichiun received from Kanjin of Kajūji constitutes the contents of his *Hizō konpōshō*. See endnote 23 above. The transmission that he received from Genkai of Sanbōin form his *Gempishō* 玄祕抄 and *Shoson yōshō* 諸尊要抄. Shinkaku consulted all three works to compose Jichiun's entry, 勝倶胝院, in his *Besson zakki*. See Manabe, "Shinkaku to *Besson zakki* ni tsuite," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 73-76.

[87] For example, under the *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū*'s entry for the eighth stage (Shinkaku no. 5) Shinkaku notes the slight difference between the Ono Explanation and that recorded in the Shōgutei'in Extract.

> Eighth Stage:
> The two hands form fists and [placing] the two fists side by side rotate them three times.
> The Ono Explanation is as follows: [form] two vajra fists and join the two index fingers. [This is], namely, the Mudrā of the Mandala of [Sahacittotpādita-dharma-]cakra[-pravartin] 輪壇印. [note in small characters:] Index fingers extend and join 頭指舒合.
> The Great Recording is similar to this, but it does not have the four characters of the note[, that is the four characters 頭指舒合]. The Shōgutei'in Extract says: the two winds [index fingers] hook together [*T*.2485:369c18].

[88] For instance, the Kanchi'in set has the following explanation for the eighth Stage:

> Kanchi'in's Mandala of Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin (*T*. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 827, No. 9):
> *Mudrā*: left and right hands form vajra fists and the index fingers of both fists hook together, that

is, [they form] the Mudrā of the Mandala of the Wheel

A second example from both documents is:

Kanchi'in's Mandala of Sarvamāra-pramardin (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 829, No. 11):

Mudrā: the fingers of the right and left hand bend and are placed at the sides of the mouth; that is, they form fangs. Go back and forth in front of your mouth three times.

Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū's Tenth Stage (Shinkaku no. 6):

The two hands form fists and place the left fist on top of the right fist, and then at your crown disperse [the mudrā].

The Ono Explanation is as follows: the fingers of the left and right hands are bent and are placed at the sides of your mouth; that is, they form fangs. Go back and forth in front of your mouth three times.

[89] This is according to Shinkaku's biography recorded in the *Honchō kōsō den* 12 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, p. 202a). Manabe critically examines ("Shinkaku to *Besson zakki* ni tsuite," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 67-100) the biographical data that is given in official sources on Shinkaku, including the *Honchō kōsō den* and *Kechimyaku ruijūki* which I have consulted, and he corroborates the facts with those recorded in other historical sources, as well as inscriptions that Shinkaku recorded in his own works. The result is a clearer picture of Shinkaku's studies of the Shingon ritual lineages.

According to Manabe, (ibid, p. 71), Shinkaku's name is not recorded under Genkaku's 賢覺 name in the lineage record of the Rishō'in branch but it is recorded under Hōshin's 寶心 (1092-1174) name, Genkaku's oldest disciple who inherited the Rishō'in branch (see also *Kechimyaku ruijū ki* 4, *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 111b). This explains the listing of Shinkaku as one of Genkaku's disciples (see endnote 52 and 53 above) in the *Kechimyaku ruijū ki* 4 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 111b). There a note in small letters states that Master Jōki'in received consecration 重受 in Odawara 小田原 on Kōyasan on the thirteenth day of the sixth month of the second year of Eiryaku (1161) 永暦二年六月十三日於高野山小田原別所. Genkaku had died in 1156 and that same year (see endnote 53) Shinkaku received initiation from Kenni on Kōyasan. Manabe (ibid, pp. 71-72) provides evidence, an inscription on Shinkaku's *Besson yōki* 別尊要記 in the Ninnaji collection, that corroborates the *Kechimyaku ruijū ki* entry: in 1161 Shinkaku received consecration to transmit the esoteric doctrine 傳法灌頂 from Hōshin 理性院阿闍梨御房 in Odawara on Kōyasan. His consecration from Hōshin gave Shinkaku access to the ritual lineages of the Ono subschool. Further, Manabe (ibid, pp. 72-76) furnishes documentation concerning Shinkaku's study of Jichiun's compilations, which was the result of his initiation into the liturgical tradition of the Rishō'in branch.

We have documented the importance of the *Hizō konpōshō*, Jichiun's recording of the ritual tradition that he received from Kanjin of Kajūji, in Shinkaku's *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū*. Kanjin was Genkaku's 嚴覺 disciple and Jichiun would have introduced Shinkaku to Genkaku's work on the *Liqujing* rite and mandala, which is the Ono Explanation in Shinkaku's *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū*.

Nishigori Ryōsuke ("*Besson zakki* no kenkyū," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 82, pp. 60 and 65, endnote 18) shows that Shinkaku consulted Jichiun's works while he studied under Jichiun's disciple Shōken 勝賢 (1138-1196) on Kōyasan. Shinkaku's relationship with Shōken is recorded in the *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōrokukō* 6 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, p. 289a). Shōken fled to Kōyasan due to internal factional fighting in Daigoji over the succession of the temple's chief abbot 座主. It is from Shōken that Shinkaku received the transmission of Jichiun's three works, the *Hizō konpōshō*, *Gempishō* and *Shoson yōshō*. Jichiun had compiled the *Hizō konpōshō* sometime between 1145-1151. The other two works, dated around 1156-1159 and 1158-1160, respectively, were compiled when Shinkaku had left Daigoji for Kōyasan. Shinkaku left Miidera and went to Daigoji, where he studied under Jichiun, but by the time Jichiun had completed his collections, Shinkaku had left Daigoji. It was not until Shinkaku went to Kōyasan and met Shoken that he obtained access to the complete transmission of Jichiun.

[90] Shinkaku does not, as we have seen, record the names of Kenni or Genkaku. (And I have not been able to identify the master who authored the Great Record.) Shinkaku's silence can only mean that these masters' transmissions of the *Liqujing* rite were by Shinkaku's time the most influential in the Shingon's Hirosawa and Ono subschools.

[91] The transmission is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 712c-725c and *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 46, pp. 757-779. Under Kōzen's name in the *Shoshū shōshoroku* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 1, p. 91) is the title *Rishukyō hizōshō* 理趣經祕藏鈔. A note beneath states that this work appears in the *Hyakkan shō* 百巻鈔, that is, the

Kakuzenshō.

[92] The entry on Ryōe in the *Dentō kōroku* 7 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, p. 146) only states that his characters 字 were Shinjō 眞乘, and that he was well known for his great virtue. Then it lists the names of his disciples, and Kōzen's name is not among them. *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 6 血脈類聚記 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, pp. 152a-b) adds that Ryōe was the disciple of Master Shōken 聖賢 (1038-1149) of Daigosan's Kongōō'in 金剛王院 and that he was called Uchiyama Shinjōbō Ajari 内山眞乘房阿闍梨. The *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 2273 gives Ryōe's dates as 1097 - after 1131.

[93] The first colophon reads (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 725b26-28):

> On the twenty-second day of the fifth month of the second year of Ōhō (1162) I humbly received the transmission of this from the Master of Shinjōbō. However, on a later day I wrote it out and added to it [using] the Recording of the Administrator 法務. Kō[zen]

The second colophon states (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 725b29-c1):

> Around the first month of the third year of Shōji (1201) I humbly received [my master's] transmission of this. During the few days that I resided [in the Kajūji] he [Kōzen] bestowed this as a gift. Busshi Kakuzen.

The sources for information on Kōzen are *Dentō kōroku* 2 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, p. 242a-b), *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 7 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 169a-b), and *Shoshū shōshoroku* (see endnote 91 above). The entries on Kōzen in the *Dentō kōroku* 2 and the *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 7 state that Kōzen met Uchiyama Shinjōbō Ajari (Ryōe) and received an initiation 具支灌頂 from him in Ōhō 2 (1162).

Although Kakuzen is not listed among Kōzen's disciples in the entry on Kōzen in the *Dentō kōroku* 2 or in the entry on Kakuzen in *Dentō kōroku* 5 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, p. 123a), he is listed under Kōzen's entry in the *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 7 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 169a), and the entry on Kakuzen in the *Shoshū shōshoroku* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 1, p. 91) states that he was a disciple of Kōzen. For biographical information on Kakuzen see the following secondary studies: Sawa Ryūken, "Kontaibō Kakuzen zakkō," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 82 (1942), pp. 32-46; Nakano Genzō, "Kakuzen nenpyō," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 150-161; "Kakuzen-den no shomondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 162-171; "*Kakuzenshō* no mikōkan zuzō," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 140-149; and Shimizu Zenzō, "*Kakuzenshō* ni okeru kakukan no kōsei to sono seiritsu katei," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 101-139. See also the discussion of the above colophons in Sawa Ryūken, "Kontaibō Kakuzen zakkō," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 82, pp. 32-46, inscription on 41; Nakano Genzō, "Kakuzenden no shomondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 162-171; Shimizu Zenzō, "*Kakuzenshō* ni okeru kakukan no kōsei to sono seiritsu katei," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 108-109 and Bernard Frank, *op. cit.*, p. 247-251.

[94] The *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 5 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 119a) records that Kanjin was called the *Hōmu* 法務 of Kajūji. Kanjin's biography in the *Dentō kōroku* 2 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 248a-249b) states that he also served as the *Hōmu* of Tōji.

[95] Information on Kanjin is found in the *Shoshū shōshoroku* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 1, p. 90); *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 5 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, pp. 118b-119a); *Shingonden* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 160); *Honchō kōsōden* 12 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, p. 199); and *Dentō kōroku* 2 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, p. 248a-b).

Kōzen's early discipleship under Kanjin is recorded in the entry on Kōzen in *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 7 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 169a) and in Kanjin's entry in *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 5, (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 119a).

[96] *Dentō kōroku* 2 in *Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, p. 242b.

[97] See the discussion of this collection on page 44 above and endnote 52.

[98] In the *Taishō Zuzō* this image, No. 90 (see fig. 23), is labelled as *Rishukyō mandara* 理趣經曼荼羅.

[99] The seed letter *āḥ* is the focus of the Kanchi'in mandala (fig. 18), and although this is the seed letter for

Mahāvairocana in the Shingon school's *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (see *T*.39:788b4-6; *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol 3, p. 1524a), it is also Mahāvairocana's seed letter in *Liqujing* 2 (see *T*.243:784c5-7).

Notes in smaller, lighter characters record the Stages in which Mahāvairocana is the focus of mandalas. The version published in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 46, p. 270a does not have these notations.

[100] Genkaku has also documented this same identification between the figure of Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* and Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* and he, too, does this in his opening mandala, titled the Mandala of Mahāvairocana of the First Stage 初段大日 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 818, No. 1). The central seed letter in the Kanchi'in's opening mandala is *vaṃ*, which is the seed letter of Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1523b). Nevertheless, Genkaku records in the note appended to this mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 819a) that Mahāvairocana forms the Meditation Mudrā on the Buddhist Realm 法界定印, which is the mudrā of Mahāvairocana in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1523c-1524a) and, although Amoghavajra does not stipulate this mudrā in the *Liqushi*, it is, as we have seen (Chapter One, pp. 18-20), the hand gesture that Mahāvairocana of the Daigoji's Opening Mandala forms (fig. 1, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 776, No. 1). It would seem that Kōzen, like Genkaku before him, was well aware of the interpretative traditions that preceded him. One tradition, exemplified by the Daigoji's Opening Mandala, presents Mahāvairocana of the *Liqujing*'s opening Stage as Mahāvairocana of the *Vairocanābdhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. Another tradition is a mandala that has eighteen assemblies in a single composition 十八會曼荼羅. The First Assembly in the center is represented by Mahāvairocana from the matrix mandala 大日胎一 and Mahāvairocana from the mandala of the adamantine realm 大日金一. Kakuzen illustrates this work twice in his *Liqujing* scroll (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 724, No. 109, ibid, p. 708, No. 88), and records that the source of this iconography is the August Book of Ono 小野御本 (ibid, p. 725b17-20, p. 706a12-20) and that this diagram is in the *Atsuzōshi* 敦造紙. The *Atsuzōshi* was a collection of ritual materials that Ningai 仁海 (951-1046) compiled (see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 28c). This information and an identical diagram also appear in Kōzen's *Shikan* 四卷 (*T*.78.2500, pp. 792c26-793a). In a note Kōzen, a disciple of Kanjin 寬信 (1084-1153), links this iconography to his master.

[101] Kōzen's Mahāvairocana Mandala (3) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 715, No. 92) is a mixture of *siddhaṃ* seed letters and Chinese characters. The seed letters of the central pentad are based on the Kanchi'in's Mahāvairocana Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3046, p. 821, No. 3). However, Kōzen replaced the seed letters of the Offering and Gathering Bodhisattvas in the Kanchi'in version with their names in Chinese characters.

[102] In Kōzen's version of the Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses (14) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 721, No. 103) Chinese characters once again replace the seed letters of the Kanchi'in version (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 832, No. 14). Nevertheless, the iconography of Kōzen's Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses corresponds exactly to that of the Kanchi'in mandala. Brahmā, who is not mentioned in the *Liqushi*, is present in both versions, and the names of the goddesses are those that are given next to the *siddhaṃ* letters inside the mandala and in the note below the Kanchi'in mandala (see the translation of the Kanchi'in note in endnote 7 above).

[103] The seed letters are taken from mandala No. 18 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 835, No. 17 and 18) of the two versions that Genkaku depicts. There are a few exceptions that may be the result of errors at the time of copying. For discussions about the source and meaning of the Assembly of the Five Families, see endnote 47 above, Chapter Four, pp. 75-77 and Hunter, "Five Secrets Mandala" in *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 76a-76b.

[104] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 710a16; *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 46, p. 263a9.

[105] Thus, the iconography and orientation of the Mandalas of Ākāśagarbha (6), Vajramuṣṭi (7) and Gaganagañja (10) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 717, No. 95 and No. 96, p. 719, No. 99) now conform to the *Liqushi* (*T*. 1003:612c19-23; 613b5-10; 614c2-7). The *Liqushi* stipulates the "three-pronged vajra of wrath" recorded in the eastern gate of the Sarvamāra-pramardin Mandala (11) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 719, No. 100, *T*.1003:615a24-25) and the arrangement of the five figures of the Five Mysteries Mandala (18) (fig. 25, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 724, No. 107, *T*.1003:610a15-20; 616c15-29).

[106] See endnote 14 above, as well as Appendix A, Detailed Discussion of the Derivation of the Figures in the Daigoji

Exemplar for a discussion of this influence.

Another example is the Trailokyavijaya Mandala (4) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 716, No. 93). In accordance with the *Liqushi*'s directions (*T.*1003:611b27-c3) all the figures of this mandala are angry in aspect. Moreover, as specified in the *Liqushi*, and in contrast to the Daigoji mandala (fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779, No. 4), the Trailokyavijaya Mandala orients towards the east. And yet, there are two sets of gate symbols in the outermost court and this feature is also found in the Daigoji exemplar of this mandala.

One last example is provided by the Mañjuśrī Mandala (8) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 718, No. 97). In this mandala the four Buddhas that Amoghavajra gives in the *Liqushi* (*T.*1003:613c2-5) are represented, however, contrary to the *Liqushi*'s directives but in accord with the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Mañjuśrī (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783, No. 8), the prescribed eight-spoked wheel is missing, and the "suit of armor" 甲 of Wisdom, rather than the sūtra box, is depicted in the four inner corners.

[107] See Chapter One, p. 32 for a summary.

[108] The iconographic features of the addition of the four Gathering Bodhisattvas in the Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin Mandala (9, *T.* Zuzō, vol. 4, 3022, p. 718, No. 98), the eight gods of the Maheśvara Mandala (13, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 721, No. 102), the presence of Brahmā in the Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses (14, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 721, No. 103) and the arrangement of the figures of the Mandala of the Three Brothers (15, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 722, No. 104) are also common to the corresponding mandalas of the Daigoji and the Kanchi'in set of mandalas, which, as demonstrated, are based upon the Daigoji exemplar. See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 784, compare vol. 5, p. 827; vol. 5, p. 788, compare vol. 5, p. 831; vol. 5, p. 789, compare vol. 5, p. 832; vol. 5, p. 791, compare vol. 5, p. 833.

[109] Amoghavajra's mandala instructions in the *Liqushi* are not the iconographic source of these mandalas. Kōzen's opening mandala (1) has no source in the *Liqushi*; for the Mahāvairocana Mandala (3), see *T.* 1003:610c24-611a6; for the Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses (14), *T.* 1003:616a24-25; for the Assembly of the Five Families (17), *T.* 1003:616c8-11. Amoghavajra provides a minimal of iconographic instructions for mandalas 5 and 16 in the *Liqushi* and, as we have seen, the iconography of Kōzen's Avalokiteśvara Mandala (5) and the Mandala of the Four Sisters (16) correspond to these directives.

[110] The influence of the Daigoji exemplar is also seen throughout in the format of Kōzen's mandalas, as well as in the exact reproduction of the iconography of mandalas 9, 12, 13, 14 and 15 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 718, 720, 721, 722; compare *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 784, 787, 788, 789, 791). Amoghavajra details the iconography of mandala 9 and 12, but he provides no information for mandalas 13, 14 or 15 (*T.*1003:614a19-25, 615b23-c3; 616a5-7, 616a24-25, 616b4-5). The influence of the Daigoji exemplar can be seen in Kōzen's transmission whether Amoghavajra supplies information or not.

[111] This work is listed under Dōhō's name in the *Shoshū shōshoroku* 3 (in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, *Bukkyō shoseki mokuroku*, vol. 1, p. 91) as *Rishukyō shō* 理趣經鈔 in 6 kan 卷. It is published in *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大蔵經, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho* 理趣經釋章疏, pp. 61-140. The colophon at the close of the work (p. 140a8-9) states:

> The Secret Transmission 祕決 on the right is the Oral [Transmission] of Dōhō, the Prior Great *Sōjō* 前大僧正 of Kajūji. It is not to be transmitted except to the single disciple to whom the master has transmitted everything.

[112] There are mistakes in some of the mandalas, which is perhaps the result of copying, and Dōhō uses different forms of the seed letters, as seen for example in the seed letter *u* in the Vajramuṣṭi Mandala (compare the mandala on p. 108b with *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 825, No. 7).

[113] Another example of modification is his Gaganagañja Mandala (p. 117a). In contrast to the emphasis given to the seed letter of Gaganagañja in the Kanchi'in's Gaganagañja Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 828, No. 10), Dōhō greatly enlarges the seed letters of the Offering Bodhisattvas in the outer court of his Gaganagañja Mandala. He also corrects the orientation of the Mandalas of Trailokyaviajaya, Ākāśagarbha and Samantabhadra/Trailokyavijaya (p. 95b, compare with *T. Zuzō*, vol 5, 3046, p. 822, No. 4; p. 104b, compare with *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 824, No. 6; p. 123b, compare with *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 830, No. 12) to conform with the *Liqushi* (*T.*1003:611b27-c3; 612c19-23;

615b23-c3).

[114] This change is strange because Dōhō was aware of the correct iconography. He states in a question-answer format the following (*Rishukō hiketsushō*, *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 121a3-6):

> Question: How are we to understand the placing in the inner four corners the emblems of the four fangs?
>
> Answer: Because the inner four offerings are the rites that the Venerable on the central dais offers to the Four Families, the [one on] the present central dais is Vajrayakṣa, namely, Bodhisattva Vajradaṃṣṭra. Therefore [the emblems of the four fangs] are the symbols of Vajradaṃṣṭra [who] takes the symbol of his Inner Realization and converts the crowds of the Four Families.

Moreover, the order of the twenty-five types of gods from the Outer Vajra Family in the Samantabhadra/Trailokyavijaya Mandala (p. 123b) agrees with the *Liqushi*, but Dōhō disregards the requirement for outwardly turned heads (*T*.1003:615c1-2). The Mandala of the Three Brothers (p. 128a) does not have the bow format specified in the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:616b4), and Dōhō places Brahmā in the center of the mandala, in contrast to the Kanchi'in version (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 833, No. 15), Kōzen's transmission (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 722, No. 104) and the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 791, No. 16), in which Nārāyaṇa is placed at the center.

[115] See figs. 26 and 27, *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, pp. 72b, 73b (opening mandalas) and figs. 28a and 28b and *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, pp. 139a and 139b (closing mandalas). The relationship between the teachings of *ryōbu funi* and the *Liqujing mandara* is admittedly problematic and will be investigated in greater depth in a later chapter of this dissertation.

[116] One example of the Shingon school's concept of *ryōbu funi* evident in the Daigoji mandala is the figures of Mahāvairocana in the Assemblies of the Guiding Principle of the Venerable Mahāvairocana (figs. 2 and 3, *T. Zuzō*, vol 5, 3044, pp. 776 and 778). Mahāvairocana forms the Meditation Mudrā (*jōin*) in the first mandala and the Wisdom Fist Mudrā (*chikenin*) in the second mandala. Although Amoghavajra does prescribe the Wisdom Fist Mudrā for Mahāvairocana in the mandala described in *Liqushi* 2 (*T*.1003:610c24-26), he does not specify the Meditation Mudrā in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:607c12-14). I discuss the iconography of these two mandalas in Chapter Three and give an iconographical analysis of them in Appendix A, Detailed discussion of the derivation of the figures in the Daigoji exemplar. See endnote 100 above for these two mandalas in the Kanchi'in set, whose notes record the mudrās of Mahāvairocana.

[117] Kakuzen illustrates Ningai's version twice in his *Kakuzenshō* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 724, No. 109, ibid, p. 708, No. 88). Shinkaku's scroll is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3047, separate sheet 19 after p. 840.

[118] The works of Ningai and Shinkaku depict a synopsis of the *Liqujing*'s stages of the ritual process in a single hanging scroll that functioned as the main icon in the *Liqujing* ritual. Kakuzen records (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 706a12-21) that Ningai's mandala was included in Ningai's own text, the *Atsuzōshi* 敦造紙. See endnote 100 above.

The *Taishō* editors have labeled Shinkaku's diagram "the mandala [depicted] in gold-on-[purple]-mud in the Jianfusi" 薦福寺金泥曼荼羅. This refers to the Assembly of the Five Families with the Five Mysteries pentad in this mandala's southeastern corner that Amoghavajra briefly describes in *Liqushi* 16 and 17 (*T*.1003:616c9, 617a3-4). This information has been written in the lower right corner of Shinkaku's diagram. See my Chapter Four for a discussion of *Liqushi* 16 and 17.

[119] He explains as follows (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 131a15-b5):

> [There are] two kinds of mandalas. In the First [Stage] there are already two kinds of mandalas: one with nine Venerables and one with seventeen Venerables. If we classify them, then they form two types: those of mundane and those of excellent meaning 世俗 勝義二種. The nine Venerables of the First Stage, as well as from the Second Stage to the Tenth Stage, are those of excellent meaning. The seventeen Venerables of the First Stage, as well as from the Eleventh Stage to the Fifteenth Stage, form those of the mundane [meaning]. The mundane is the Matrix [Mandala] and the excellent is the Adamantine [Realm Mandala]. However, the present Stage of the Five Mysteries is the mandala wherein the above two types of mandalas of the mundane and excellent meanings are nondual 上世俗勝義二種ノ曼荼羅不二曼荼羅也. The common lotus

dais [signifies] the Matrix [Mandala]. The common moon disc [signifies] the Adamantine [Realm Mandala]. Because of the common moon disc they always reside in emptiness and do not sink into *saṃsāra*. Because of the common lotus dais they always reside in mud and do not reside in *nirvāṇa*.

[120] See *T*.243:784a20-23 and *T*.1003:607c9-12.

[121] *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 72a4-8.

[122] *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 72b3. Dōhō continues (ibid, 72b5-6) to tell us that the stūpa and the body of the practitioner are one and the same.

Now, this stūpa is the practitioner's own Substance [or body] 行者ノ自體, that is the Eternal Substance 本有薩埵, which is the Real Aspect of the Original Nature 天然之實相. Although we could directly draw a human image 人形, because we follow the symbols of the Buddhist teaching 法門之幟幟, we represent this shape [of the stūpa].

[123] *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 74a2-4.

[124] Amoghavajra does not explicitly state in the *Liqushi* a relationship between the mandalas of the adamantine realm and the matrix in his description of the setting of the *Liqujing*, nor in his explanation of the eight Great Bodhisattvas. Nor does Kūkai indicate this relationship in his discussion of the first section in his commentary on the *Liqujing*, the *Shinjitsukyō mongu* (*T*.61.2237:612c-615c; especially the discussion about the setting on 612c17-613a16).

The Buddhist dictionaries also associate the symbolism of the jeweled pavilion with the concept of *ryōbu funi*. For example, the *Mikkyō daijiten* (vol. 5, p. 2038c 寶樓閣) states that there are two types of pavilions, and the five-peaked eight-pillared type is based on Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding yuqiezhong luchu niansong jing* (*T*.866:227a28-b6). Further, it states that the five peaks are the Five Wisdoms of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and the eight pillars represent the eight-petaled lotus of the Matrix Mandala. The pavilion thus represents the nonduality of the two realities of the mandalas of the adamantine realm and the matrix. The *Mikkyō daijiten* gives no other sources. The Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* (vol. 5, p. 4925a-b 瑜祇塔) notes that a five-peaked jeweled multi-storied pavilion 五峰寶樓閣 is described in the *Jingangding yuqiezhong luchu niansong jing* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Mochizuki cites the interpretation that Shōchō 承澄 (1205-1282) gives in his *Asabashō* 阿婆縛抄; namely, that the stūpa represents the nonduality of the Mandalas of the Adamantine Realm and the Matrix, and that the source of the term is from the title of the *Yuqijing*. See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, p. 857c2-6. Because both Dōhō's treatise and Shōchō's compilation date to the late Kamakura period, further research is needed in order to locate the earliest source for this interpretation of the jeweled pavilion in the Japanese esoteric tradition.

[125] The mantra has in fact seventeen letters but Dōhō has combined two letters (*sa* and *tva*) in order to adjust his new arrangement to the standard directional positions of the figures in a mandala.

[126] According to Dōhō's accompanying explanation (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyao shaku shōsho*, p. 130a17-b2), the Mandala of the Assemblies of the Five Families has a correct 順 (*anuloma*) and contrary 逆 (*patiloma*) form. The iconography of the two mandalas is still a puzzle.

[127] *T*.1123, 1124, 1125. See endnote 8 above.

[128] His full explanation runs as follows (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 137b9-15):

Question: The five Venerables of this Five Mysteries Mandala are surrounded on the outside by twelve Venerables. One does not see this in the said section of either the *Sūtra* or the *Rishushaku*. Why should one place these Venerables?

Answer: Although they are not seen in the said sections, the seventeen Epithets of Purity that are explained in the beginning of the *Sūtra* are these seventeen Venerables. The Five Mysteries of the said section are the first five Venerables of the seventeen Venerables. [If] we now take the five

> Venerables away, this does not mean that the remaining twelve Venerables go away. Therefore they surround them. Moreover, because Vajrasattva's mantra of seventeen letters [forms] one body, first we take the five syllables *oṃ ma hā su kha* and use these as the seed letters of the Five Mysteries. Then you still have at your disposal the twelve remaining [letters] of *va jra sa tva jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ su ra ta stvaṃ*. After all, together they form one mantra.

[129] Not only does he detail the positions, colors and attributes of the figures of Vajrasattva's retinue, for example, according to ritual manuals for the Five Mysteries that he does not name (*T*.20.1123:529a26-b5; *T*.1124:534b8-15) and the meaning of the figures as given in a specific ritual manual 儀軌 (*Jingangding yuqie Jingangsaduo wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五祕密修行念誦儀軌 (see *T*.20.1125:538b14-15 and 132a9-11; 538b10-11 and 132a15-16; 538b11-13 and 132b5-6; 538b16-17 and 132b10-11; 538c19-21 and 132b17-133a1; 538b17-19 and 133a6-8), but he continues as follows (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 133a10-12):

> Generally speaking, the present order of front, right, left and behind is the explanation [given in] the ritual manuals [see *T*.1123 and 1125 given in endnote 8 above]. The *Rishushaku* [states that (*T*. 1003:617a2-3)] there are two Venerables at the left side [of Vajrasattva] and two Venerables at his right side. However, it is not possible to differentiate the form[al characteristics] and attributes of the Venerables, but merely the difference of direction and corner.

[130] For example, in the chapter on Mañjuśrī, Dōhō states that Mañjuśrī's form is that of a youth, as seen in the illustration of the mandala. The *Liqushi* stipulates (*T*.1003:613c3) that Mañjuśrī must be depicted as a youth. The passage in the *Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 111a7-9) is as follows:

> Question: What about the meaning such that the form of this Bodhisattva is the form of a youth?
> Answer: High and low, everyone, during the time of youth performs many things and [yet] do not go pass their own existence. Consequently, the Insight into Great Emptiness of this Mañjuśrī is a sign that he exists freely without obstacles. Therefore, his form is that of a youth [as in] the illustration of the mandala.

Mañjuśrī in the Daigoji exemplar (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783) is, however, a crowned figure.

Another example is Dōhō's account of the members and positions of the Outer Vajra Family in, for example, the Mandalas of Samantabhadra/Trailokyavijaya and the Outer Vajra Family (*Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, pp. 123b and 125b, esp. p.125a16-b5). This account does not correlate entirely with the *Liqushi*'s prescriptions (*T*. 1003:615b26-29), nor with the iconography of the Daigoji mandalas (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 787 and 788):

> Question: What are the twenty-five types of gods?
> Answer: They are identical to [those] in the court of the Outer Vajra Family of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. In the east [are] Nārāyaṇa, Kumāra, Vajrachinna, Brahmā and Śakra [small characters: arranged from north southward], in the south [are] Āditya, Candra, Vajrabhakṣaṇa, Ketu and Piṅgala [small characters: arranged from the east southward], in the west [are] Rākṣasa, Vāyu, Vajravāsī, Agni and Vaiśravaṇa [small characters: arranged from south northward], and in the north [are] Vajramukha, Yama, Jayā, Vināyaka and Varuṇa [small characters: arranged from the west eastward]. In the northeast corner is Acalanātha, in the southeast corner is Trailokyavijaya, in the southwest corner is Kuṇḍalī and in the northwest corner is Yamāntaka.

The names and positions of the twenty-five gods accord with those enumerated in the *Bizangji*. (See the account given on *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b15-24 and the illustration No. 3 titled the *Jingangjie damantuluo*). However, the figures of Acalanātha, Trailokyavijaya, Kuṇḍalī and Yamāntaka are not included among these figures that are listed in the *Bizangji* and they are not depicted in the central assembly 成身會 (*Jōjin'ne*) of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* of the Shingon school. These figures appear instead in a type of mandala of the adamantine realm that is referred to as the Mandala of the Eighty-One Venerables 八十尊曼荼羅. Although this type of mandala of the adamantine realm is recorded in the inventories of religious paraphernalia brought back by the pilgrim-monks Kūkai, Ennin and Enchin, it is most commonly found in the Tendai school. See Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Kongōkai hachijūichi son dai mandara no ikkōsatsu," *Kokka*, vol. 674 (May, 1988), pp. 117-123, (also published in *Nihon kaigashi ronshū* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron bijutsu shuppan, 1970), pp. 89-99); Kinshiki Ryōnosuke, "Gubodaisan nyohōji kyūzō ryōkai mandarazu – *Kongōkai hachijūichi son mandara* no issakurei," *Seinan chiikishi kenkyū* (1975), vol. 4, pp. 113-160.

[131] In his discussion of the Mandala of the Seventeen Venerables, who compose the mandala described in *Liqushi* 1, Dōhō records the positions of the figures, noting that there are various arrangements (*Rishukyō hiketsushō, Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, pp. 85a17-86a2):

> As for these present seventeen Venerables, Vajrasattva becomes the central Venerable, Desire, Touch, Love and Pride become the Four Wisdoms of the four directions, and their consorts Desire, Touch, Love and Pride become the Inner Four Offering [Bodhisattvas], or they become the Outer Offering [Bodhisattvas]. In the four directions of the second court [are] the four Gathering [Bodhisattvas], and in the four corners are the Inner Four Offering [Bodhisattvas]. Generally speaking, among the Nine Assemblies [of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm] this mandala [corresponds to] the *Rishue* 理趣會. That assembly takes the Outer Offering [Bodhisattvas] and places them [in the position of] the Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas], and takes the Inner Four Offering [Bodhisattvas] and places them [in the position of] the Outer Offering [Bodhisattvas]. Generally speaking, there are about ten different explanations about the illustration of the *Rishue*.

Unfortunately, Dōhō does not record any explanations about the *Rishue* and so we do not learn the source of the iconography, but his description once again supports what we already knew, namely that the iconography of the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vajrasattva (fig. 2, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 777) is identical to that of the *Rishue*. See Hunter, "Five Secrets Mandala," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, p. 76b and, for the *Rishue* in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*, see for example Ishida Hisatōyō, *Mandara no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōkyō bijutsu, 1975), II [Plates], p. 113.

[132] The passage in the *Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 96b3-12) is as follows:

> Furthermore, the *Murōju giki* 無量壽儀軌 clarifies the mandala. Avalokiteśvara is on the central dais and the eight Buddhas on the eight petals are Amitāyus [see *Wuliang rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* 無量壽如來觀行供養儀軌, *T*.19.930:71a11-18 and *Liqushi, T*.1003:612b10-11]. This illustration is in the Great Teacher's Ritual Procedure on Buddha Amitāyus 大師阿弥陀佛次第. The explanation of Jichihan 實範 (?-1144) [whose work I cannot identify] is as follows:
> The eight Buddhas open the four Wisdoms and become eight Buddhas. The Great Teacher's picture [depicts] Tathāgatas in the form of [Buddhas] with spiral hair on the eight petals. All reside in the Meditation Mudrā and they face Avalokiteśvara who is on the central dais. Because Avalokiteśvara is, namely, the Great Compassion of all the Buddhas, the eight Buddhas on the petals take refuge in the Great Vow of Great Compassion on the central dais.
> Moreover, there is a mandala in which Amitāyus is in the center and eight Bodhisattvas are on the eight petals. The present mandala wherein Avalokiteśvara is on the central dais and the eight Buddhas are on the eight petals [represents that which] is directed from fruition towards cause 従果向因. The cause, which is the Great Compassion of Avalokiteśvara, accomplishes the perfection of the Wisdom of Wondrous Observation (*pratyavekṣaṇājñāna*) of Amitāyus. Because this Wisdom of fruition turns towards the compassion of cause, one calls it [that which goes] from fruition towards cause. Here truth 實 is cause and the lotus is the fruit. Because the producer is the cause and what is produced is the fruit, the mandala with Amitāyus on the central dais and the eight Bodhisattvas on the eight petals [represents that which] is directed from cause towards fruition. Here the lotus becomes the cause and truth is the fruit...

[133] The passage in the *Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, pp. 111b13-112a12) is as follows:

> Others use a cylinder as the fundamental Venerable. The ritual lineage of Genkaku 賢覺流 (1080-1156) (that is Rishō'in-ryū 理性院隆, a branch of the Ono subschool) regards this as extremely secret. In the Imperial reign years of Kōwa 康和 (1099-1103) [Emperor Horikawa] ordered Sōjō Hanjun 範俊僧正 (1038-1112) to perform this rite. He hung a mandala of Vajracakra 金輪ノ曼荼羅. Thus, the main Venerables seem to have such origins and Maitreya, Vajrasattva, Trailokyavijaya and so on, being all the same Buddha, one would be able to use them reciprocally. Shōkaku 勝覺 (1057-1129) [the master of Genkaku] said as follows: Consider the cylinder as central to this rite.

Question: How does one use this cylinder? Further, what is its appearance when made?
Answer: On the day of the senior rat of the second month construct [the cylinder] with gilt bronze. Or use *Melia azedarach* 苦練木 to make it. In length it is twelve fingers and in circumference it is eight fingers. [On] the circumference of the cylinder carve the sixteen Great Protectors, and carve each of their names in the same way. Above and below the cylinder carve eight-spoked wheels, and between the spokes also carve the ten-lettered mantra of Buddhoṣṇīṣa. But to that mantra you should add the [*siddhaṃ*] letter *bhruṃ*. Furthermore, in the navels of the [eight-spoked] wheels write the [*siddhaṃ*] letter *a*. [Note: the letter *a* is in the style of the old illustration. Moreover, you ought to inquire about the variations in the main text.] The top of the cylinder can be opened and closed. The bottom must be closed. During the time one has this made, as well as after it has been constructed, [magically] empower it, using the mantra of accomplishment 辨事明, that of Trailokyavijaya. You can use the ten-lettered mantra of Buddhoṣṇīṣa as well. The *Oral Tradition* says as follows:
Paste sheets of paper to make it as large as a human body, and draw the form of your enemy 怨家 (*śatru*). Between the breasts write the family name. That form need not be colored, but simply an ink drawing. Fold it up very minutely and place it inside the cylinder. Having done this, stand [the cylinder] behind the jar on the *homa* altar...
Question: What does it mean that one is to regard this cylinder as the fundamental Venerable?
Answer: This cylinder is the symbolic form of this Venerable. Consequently, it means that you bind the evil heart of your enemy, and [when] you enter into the *samādhi* of this Venerable, you cause his subjugation...

[134] The passage in the *Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyōshaku shōso*, p. 133a15-b6) is as follows:
The [ritual lineage of the] Daigo branch 醍醐流 states as follows:
In the center visualize the [*siddhaṃ*] letter *oṃ*. This letter changes and becomes a single-pronged vajra. This vajra changes and becomes the Great Bodhisattva Vajrasattva. The color of his body is like the color of a quartz moon. His right hand holds the five-pronged vajra and his left [hand] holds the vajra bell. [He is] the perfection of the Thirty-Seven Wisdoms. In front [of him] visualize the [*siddhaṃ*] letter *ma*, and change it into a single-pronged vajra. The vajra changes and becomes Adamantine Desire. The color of her body is red and she holds an adamantine bow and arrow. At her right is the [*siddhaṃ*] letter *hā*. The letter changes and becomes a single-pronged vajra. The vajra changes and becomes Adamantine Touch. Her body color is white and she hugs the *samaya* [form] 抱三昧耶 [as if hugging the waist of Vajrasattva]. Behind [Vajrasattva] is the [*siddhaṃ*] letter *su*. This letter changes and becomes a single-pronged vajra. The vajra changes and becomes Adamantine Love. Her body color is blue and she holds the *makara* banner. At her left is the [*siddhaṃ*] letter *kha*. This letter changes and becomes a single-pronged vajra. This vajra changes and becomes Adamantine Pride. Her body is yellow in color and she forms two Adamantine Fists.

[135] The passage in the *Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōso*, p. 111b8-12) is as follows:
This [Bodhisattva] Dharma-cakra-pravartin 轉法輪 (Sahacittopādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin) is blue in color and angry [in aspect]. He has three eyes and his sidelocks and hair rise upwards like flames. He sits in the half-lotus pose on a jeweled lotus. He has six arms. His main left and right hands form the Vajracakra Mudrā, and he places [the gesture] on his crown of his head. His second hand on the right holds a three-pronged [vajra], and the left hand clasps a single-pronged [vajra] and the tip pierces the top of his seat. His third hand on the right is stretched open and clasps a sword. His third hand on the left holds a wheel.
There is also an iconographic description of this figure in the note on the Kanchi'in Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 827, No. 9). Although the wording differs somewhat, the contents of the two portrayals concur. Both descriptions refer to the figure in the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9).

[136] Dōhō inherited the Ono ritual lineages of Kajūji 勸修寺流 and Anjōji 安祥寺流, having first received consecration

from Yōzen 榮然 (1172-1259) of Kajūji and later from Ryōyu 良瑜 (1206-1267) of Anjōji. He held high official ecclesiastical ranks and administrative positions, such as *Sōjō* of Anjōji, Kajūji and Tōji, as well as *Bettō* of the Nara temples of Daianji 大安寺 and Tōdaiji 東大寺, and so he would have had access to the storehouses of these temples at the very least. Moreover, he was an accomplished and successful ritual master, performing such rites as the Rāgarāja ritual to alleviate the Emperor's fever, and the rainmaking rite in the Shinsen-en.

Biographical information on Dōhō is given in *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 12 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 270a-b); *Dentō kōroku* 2 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 505b-506b); and *Honchō kōsōden* 55 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 103, p. 253a-b).

[137] The work is published in the *Toganoo korekushon kenmitsu tenseki monjo shūsei* (The Toganoo Collection: Compilation of Exoteric and Esoteric Documents and Books), vol 12 *Siddhaṃ Maṇḍalas* (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1981), pp. 222-276, esp. p. 276. The *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki* is in the possession of Jimyōin 持明院 on Kōyasan. There is a second inscription on it:

> On the tenth day of the fifth month the year of the boar of the fifteenth year of Kyōhō 享保 (1730) I copied this using Ihō's version. Kyōō Master of Jimyōin 持明院主恭翁, 60 years of age.

Biographical information on Ihō is given in *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, pp. 99b-100a and Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 30.

[138] *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 225.

[139] The colophon on Dōhō's work states that it is the oral teaching of Dōhō, the former *Daisōjō* 大僧正 of Kajūji. See *Rishukyō hiketsushō* in *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōso*, p. 140a. Ihō calls (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 226) Dōhō the former *Hōmu* of Kajūji. Dōhō served as both *Daisōjō* and *Hōmu*. Ihō refers to Dōhō's work as Dōhō's Oral Transmission 道寶口決.

[140] See above, endnote 2. The layout differs somewhat; for example, in Ihō's copy of the Nan'in mandala the notes are written directly on the mandala, whereas in the Kanchi'in version the notes are at their sides.

[141] For example, having quoted in detail the *Liqushi*'s explanation of the positions of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas (*T.* 1003:607c21-608a28 and *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 227-231), he states the following (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 232-233) concerning the Nan'in's First Stage of Mahāvairocana 大日初段:

> I think that the [*Rishu*]*kyō* only explains the Eight Bodhisattvas, and it does not explain the Bodhisattvas of the four gates. The [*Rishu*]*shaku* [*T.* 1003:608a28-29] explains the phrase [in the scripture, *T.* 243:784a29] "[they] respectfully surround [Mahāvairocana]," saying that [they signify] the Eight Offering and the Four Gate Bodhisattvas. Therefore, the old illustration places the seed letters of the Four Bodhisattvas Hook, Rope, Chains and Bell in the four gates.

Ihō comments as follows (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 234) concerning Dōhō's depiction of the Eight Bodhisattvas on the eight petals of a lotus:

> I think that Dōhō's Oral Transmission only gives the nine Venerables. He does not speak of the Bodhisattvas of the four gates. He writes the names of the Venerables, but there are no letters of the seed syllables. Also, he draws eight petals [of a lotus; see fig. 86, *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 73b and *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 227]. What was his original source like? The Explanation on the *Sūtra* [*Liqushi*, *T.* 1003:607c21] has already stated that, for instance, "Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi is in the moon disc in front of Vairocana." The Eight Venerables all sojourn in moon discs. His oral transmission probably expresses the profound significance of the nonduality of the lotus and the moon [disc]...

[142] In the entry on the Trailokyavijaya Mandala for example, he writes (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 240, fig. 108):

> The symbolic forms in the four gateways are the same as [in] Shūei's illustration [fig. 4, *T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, 3044, p. 779]. The order in the *Rishushaku* [*T.* 1003:611c3] differs from this. Dōhō's Oral Transmission [*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 95b] is the same as the *Rishushaku*: in the east the bow and arrow; in the south the sword [note: the three pronged [vajra] in Doho's illustration is a mistake]; in the west, a wheel; and in the north, a vajra.

Then, after citing the *Liqushi*'s directives (*T*. 1003:611b27-c3) for the figures of this mandala, he notes that (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 241):

> Trailokyavijaya who is in the center of Shūei's mandala is as always, but the Bodhisattvas in the four directions are not in their wrathful forms [fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779]. In the relevant section [of the *Liqushi*, *T*. 1003:611b29-c1] it says that all the Bodhisattvas are wrathful. The four Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas] in [Shūei's] illustration are not wrathful in form. The Outer Four Offering [Bodhisattvas] in his illustration are installed in their symbolic forms. In the said section [of the *Liqushi*] one is to install their wrathful forms. As for the symbolic forms of the Four [Bodhisattvas] in the four gates, in [Shūei's] illustration at the side of [Bodhisattva] Hook is the three-pronged [*vajra*], at the side of Rope are the bow and arrow, in the vicinity of Chains is the sword, and beside Bell is the wheel. Two symbolic [forms] are drawn side by side. The directions of the bow and arrow and the others in [Shūei's] illustration differ [from the Explanation 釋].

Ihō does not offer any explanation as to why the discrepancies occur but goes on to reproduce the contents of the notes on the Nan'in version of the Trailokyavijaya Mandala (fig. 16, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 822 and *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 242). As we have noted, the iconography of the figures that is detailed in these notes corresponds to that of those in the Daigoji exemplar of the Trailokyavijaya Mandala (see fig. 4). Furthermore, Ihō includes in this entry excerpts from Faxian's 法賢 Song Dynasty translation of the *Liqujing*, the *Foshuo zuishang genben dale jingang bukong sanmei dajiaowang jing* 佛説最上根本大樂金剛不空三昧大教王經, wherein a standing figure of Trailokyavijaya treads on Śiva and Uma. Ihō quotes Faxian's text as follows (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 242):

> The Large Version of the Sūtra 大本經, Chapter 2, says [*T*.8.244:790c 20-24]:
> In the center install the Wrathful Venerable. His body is like the color of the blue lotus and he possesses splendors of diverse sorts. He scowls his brows and manifests sharp fangs. He makes a frightful but subtle smile and he [stands] in the attitude as if pulling a long bow. [Although] these are the aspects of his subjugating the three realms, [they are] beneath both of his feet, [for] his left treads on Maheśavara and his right treads on the Celestial Queen [of Maheśvara].

This seven-volume translation dates to c. 999. For a discussion of Faxian's translation see Matsunaga, *Seiritsushi ron*, p. 218; Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 18-22. It is interesting to note that Ihō consults this Song translation, because the earlier authors we have studied did not.

Ihō does not, however, remark on the fact that the note on the Nan'in mandala describes a seated Trailokyavijaya, which is in marked contrast to Amoghavajra's prescriptions for this figure in the *Liqushi*.

[143] *T*.1003:610a15-23.

In Ihō's *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 234, Dōhō's illustration is titled the Mandala of Samantabhadra [containing in all] Seventeen Venerables (see *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 85a16) and the Nan'in's version is titled the Vajrasattva Mandala (No. 2) (see fig. 15, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 820).

[144] *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 235:

> The Explanation [on the scripture] says as follows [*T*.1003:610a15-23]: Next I will explain the order of installation and so allocate the positions in this mandala. In the center there are nine positions and add yet again one layer for an outer court. In the center install Vajrasattva. In front of Bodhisattva [Vajra]sattva place Desire Adamantine 欲金剛 (Iṣtavajra), at his right side install Kelikilā 髻離吉羅, behind place Love-Bliss Adamantine 愛樂金剛 (Rāgāvajra), and at his left side place Adamantine Pride 金剛慢 (Mānavajra). In the right front corner install Mind-Born Adamantine 意生金剛 (Manojavajra) and in the right back corner place Kelikilā 髻離吉羅. In the left back corner install Love Adamantine 愛金剛 and in left front corner place Pride Adamantine 傲金剛. Then, in the outer court, in the order as above, install in the four corners, first Spring Adamantine 春金剛 (Madhuvajra), next Cloud Adamantine 雲金剛 (Meghavajra), then Autumn Adamantine 秋金剛 (Śaradvajra) and then Winter Adamantine 冬金剛 (Śiśirīvajra). In the front of the outer court place Form Adamantine 色金剛 (Rūpavajra), on the right install Sound Adamantine 聲金剛 (Śabdavajra), at the back install Smell Adamantine 香金剛 (Gandhavajra) and on the left install Taste Adamantine 味金剛 (Rasavajra).

[145] The *Kongōo bosatsu giki* [*Jingangwang pusa yigui*] 金剛王菩薩儀軌 states (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 235-236 and *T*.20.1132:573b22-c4) as follows:

> Next, in the moon circle on the lion seat in the center of the altar imagine the letter *oṃ* and it [then] becomes the main Venerable [Vajrarāja]. In front of the main Venerable place the letter *ma*, and it becomes Mind-Born 意生金剛 (Manojavajra). On the right place *hā* and it becomes Keilikilāvajra 計理枳羅金剛. Behind place *su* and it becomes Love Bliss 愛樂金剛 (Rāgavajra). On the left place *ka* and it becomes Mind-force 意気金剛 (Mānavajra). In the northwest corner place *va* and it become Mind-born 意生金剛女 (Manojnāvajriṇī). In the northeast corner place *jra* and it becomes Keilikilāvajriṇī 計理枳羅金剛女. In the southeast corner place *sat* and it becomes Love Bliss 愛樂金剛女(Rāgavajriṇī). In the southwest corner place *tva* and it becomes Mind-breath 意気金剛女 (Mānavajriṇī). In the east gate place *jaḥ* and it becomes Bodhisattva Form 色菩薩; in the south gate place *hūṃ* and it becomes Bodhisattva Sound 聲菩薩; in the west gate place *baṃ* and it becomes Bodhisattva Smell 香菩薩; and in the north gate place *hoḥ* and it becomes Bodhisattva Taste 味菩薩. In the west corner of the outer hall place *su* and it becomes Bodhisattva Spring 春菩薩; in the northeast corner place *ra* and it becomes Bodhisattva Rain 雨菩薩; in the east corner place *ta* and it becomes the Bodhisattva Autumn 秋菩薩; in the southwest corner place *stvaṃ* and it becomes Bodhisattva Winter 冬菩薩.

In *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:609c25-610a8, 610a18-23) the position of *va* is in the southeast corner, *jra* is in the southwest corner, *sat* is in the northwest, *tva* is in the northeast. Moreover, the positions of the Bodhisattvas of the Four Seasons are reversed in the *Liqushi*; for example, Spring is installed in the southeast corner, Clouds is in the southwest, Autumn is in the northwest and Winter is in the northeast. The seed letters for this group are *jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ*. Further, in the *Liqushi* the figures in the four gates are the last group to be installed. The letters *su ra ta stvaṃ* are those of Form, Sound, Smell and Taste who are in the gates of the outer court. Ihō's diagram of this mandala (ibid, p. 234) follows that of Dōhō's *Rishukyō hiketsu shō*, p. 85b.

The names of the deities vary in the Chinese, Tibetan and Sanskrit texts, commentaries and ritual manuals; see, for example, the chart of the Seventeen Epithets of Purity in Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 117-118, as well as the charts for the deities in the ritual manuals for Vajrasattva (*T*.1123, 1124, 1125) on page 136, and in the *Liqushi* and the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (*T*.1003, 1004) on page 139, as well as Hatta, *Himitsu Kyōten*: *Rishukyō*, charts on pp. 355, 356, and 361. However, the fundamental concept they embody can be inferred from all names and variations.

[146] Ihō also states (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 236) that the installation of the figures of the mandala Shūei introduced are the same as the installation detailed in the *Jingangwang pusa yigui*. This statement is surprising for two reasons. First, the iconography of the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vajrasattva (fig. 2, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 777) does not compare to the placement of the Bodhisattvas that is given in the *Jingangwang pusa yigui*. For example, in the *Jingangwang pusa yigui* Spring is in the northwest corner of the second court, but in the Daigoji mandala Song is in that position. Secondly, Dōhō, as we have seen, notes in his *Rishukyō hiketsu* (pp. 85a17-86a2) that the iconography of the Daigoji mandala is identical to the *Rishue* of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*, and his observation is correct (see above endnote 131). Ihō does not seem to have read Dōhō's work.

The other sources that Ihō has explored (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 236-237) are the *Shengfoding yigui* 勝佛頂儀軌 (a source I have not identified yet), the *Shengchu gui* 勝初軌 (金剛頂勝初瑜伽経中略出大楽金剛薩埵念誦儀, *T*.20.1120A), the *Dale gui* 大樂軌 (大楽金剛薩埵修行成就儀軌, *T*.20.1119), Annen's *Bodai shingi* 菩提心義 (胎藏金剛菩提心義略問答抄, *T*.75.2397:556b29) and *Kyōji gi* 教時義 (眞言宗教時義, *T*.75.2396), the *Shengchu yuqiejing Puxian yigui* 勝初瑜伽經普賢儀軌 (金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法, *T*.20.1123), the *Yuqijing* (*T*.867:254b14-28; 255b2-4), as well as the *Saduo gui* 薩埵軌 (普賢金剛薩埵略瑜伽念誦儀軌, *T*.20.1124), *Wubimi gui*五秘密軌 (金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五秘密修行念誦儀軌, *T*. 20.1125), *Liquhui gui* 理趣會軌 (金剛頂瑜伽他化自在天理趣會普賢修行念誦儀軌, *T*.20.1122).

We have documented above the identification of Vajrasattva with Vajrarāja (*T*.1132) and Rāgarāja (*T*.867), these two deities' connection with the Sixteen Bodhisattvas who surround Vajrasattva, and the borrowing of such elements as mandala, mantra and liturgy from Amoghavaja's *Liqujing*-related materials (*Liqushi* 1 and *T*.1123, 1124, 1125) for the rites of Rāgarāja and Vajrarāja.

[147] *T*.244:794a15-16.

[148] *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 249-250. Ihō refers here to Amoghavajra's biography given in Kūkai's *Himitsu mandara kyōfuhō den* 祕密漫荼羅教付法傳 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 24).

[149] See *T*.1003:612c19-23 and *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 245-246.

[150] The lotus, bell, *vajra* and jewel have not been placed in the east, south, west and north, as he says, but in the exact opposite order of west, north, east and south.

[151] See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1393c.

[152] First, he describes (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 250-252) how the iconography of Dōhō's mandala (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 114b) and the Nan'in mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 827, No. 9) do not match the *Liqushi*'s directives (*T*.1003:614a19-25):

> It is difficult to understand why the Nan'in illustration does not have an eight-spoked wheel in the inner court.
>
> It is hard to understand why Dōhō's illustration, composed of a mandala with four courts, differs from the *Rishushaku*. Further, the four [Prajñā]pāramitā Bodhisattvas are illustrated in the second court, and the third court only has the Inner Four Offering [Bodhisattvas], and [again this] is difficult to understand. The illustration [I present] now is based on the Nan'in version. Furthermore, although I illustrate the form of the [eight-spoked] wheel, the rest is entirely copied from the Nan['in] version.

Then, after giving the *Liqushi*'s instructions (ibid, p. 251), he states:

> There are the variations of three or four layers in this mandala. As for the old version in the Nan'in (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 827, No. 9), [that of] Genpō of Tōji 東寺賢宝 [Tōji Genpō (1333-1398)] and [that of] Jōgon of Reiun[ji] 霊雲浄厳 [Reiun Jōgon (1639-1702)], they all give variations in the three-layered mandala. The text of the Explanation of the *Sūtra* is corrupt and not quite what we would want. Shūei's diagram [*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9; in fact, the Daigoji mandala, like the Nan'in version, has three courts] and Dōhō's diagram (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 114b) illustrate a four-layered mandala, but I do not know whether they have any reason for this 未知有其理. Moreover, neither the *Sūtra* nor the [*Rishu*]*shaku* have the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas. Why is it that the ancient illustrations [Shūei's and the Nan'in] have drawn the Four Gathering [Bodhisattvas]? Dōhō's illustration [also] differs from the scripture's commentary. It is difficult to [understand] what they meant.
>
> Now, I will give the meaning from the Teacher's Transmission. The nine Venerables, who are inside the eight-spoked wheel, are in the center. In the innermost four corners install the four Pāramitā [Bodhisattvas]. They are like the four Pāramitā [Bodhisattvas who surround] [Mahā]vairocana in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm [see the Assembly of Four Seals, 四印会, for example, in Ishida Hisatōyō, *Mandara no kenkyū*, vol. II, p. 113]. In the text [the directive to] "install in the four corners of the inner court the Four Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas] [*T*. 1003:614a22]" refers to the second court. "Inner" is the same as 'in the middle'. The second [court] is in the middle of the three layers. Therefore, here you install the Four Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas] Joy, Garland, Song and Dance. The [directive] that "you install in the four corners of the outer court the Outer Offering [Bodhisattvas] [*T*. 1003:614a22]" refers to the third layer, and this is the outermost court. Therefore, here you place the Outer Four Offering [Bodhisattvas] Incense, Flower, Lamp and Unguent. The [directive] that "in the four gates of the inner court install the Four Bodhisattvas [*T*. 1003:614a23]" explains, on the contrary, the second court. The Four Bodhisattvas, Bodhisattva Vajrasattva and the others, are, namely, the Bodhisattvas of the Four Wisdoms. They are not the four Gathering [Bodhisattvas] in the outermost four gates. Corresponding to the various stages of the [scripture], Vajrasattva and the others are the four Bodhisattvas of Adamantine Equality, and so forth, and so they are the four retinue Bodhisattvas [of the four Buddhas]. How can we call them the Four Gathering [Bodhisattvas] of the outermost four gates?

[153] Having recorded the seed letters of the gods of the Outer Vajra Family in Dōhō's version (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 123b) and the Nan'in version (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 830, No. 12) of the Mandala of the Command Wheel of Trailokyavijaya, Ihō comments (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 256) as follows:

> The two explanations that I have given above differ greatly from each other. I do not know which is correct and which is wrong. In the Nan'in illustration [the master] draws two layers [that is, courts] but [does] not [draw] the heavenly consorts. This differs from the [instructions in the] *Rishushaku*. The directions and the positions are also wrong. Dōhō's illustration is composed of three layers and he does install the consorts.

See Iho's illustration on *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 257. Once again, Ihō cites the *Liqushi* (*T.* 1003:615b23-c3), and then remarks (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 258) that:

> Explanations as to the arrangement and positions of the twenty gods are not the same. There are also differing theories as to their seed letters. The twenty gods who have been installed in their symbolic [forms] in the central assembly of the *Genzu* [*kongōkai mandara*] 現図根本會 [The *Bizangji* records two names for the central assembly of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*: the Fundamental Assembly 根本會 and *Jōjin'ne* 成身會; see diagram in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 1a16] also differ.

Ihō then records (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 258-262) information from the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b15-24), a work by the Tendai monk Annen (金剛界大法對受記, *T.*75.2391, p. 159b27-160c27; 142c17-26) and the thirty-volume *Kyōōkyō* 教王經 (the Song Dynasty complete translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, *T.*18.882:373a14-b24), which all give, he shows, different directions, positions, and names.

[154] In his entry on the Three Brothers Mandala Ihō notes the following (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 268) after citing the *Liqushi*'s directions (*T.* 1003:616b4-6):

> The Nan'in illustration [*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 833, No. 15] has three circles but does not have a square mandala. Dōhō's illustration [*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 128a] has a square mandala and inside he has drawn three circles. Both illustrations differ from the *Rishushaku*'s explanation. The text says that "the mandala is drawn like the shape of a bow." Why do they differ from this [explanation]?

See Iho's version, *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 267. The content of the notes inside the mandala are from the Nan'in version and the square format is based on Dōhō's version.

Because Amoghavajra refers the mandala-maker to the instructions in an Extended *Sūtra*, Ihō investigates (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 268) Faxian's translation of the *Liqujing*, whose instructions are as follows:

> You must draw the outer mandala, which has four gates in the four directions. In the center again draw a half-moon-shaped mandala [*T.*244:796c21-22].

Ihō adds the following queries:

> Is Dōhō's illustration of a square mandala based on this? Why is there no half-moon shaped mandala?

[155] Ihō also examines Faxian's *Liqujing* (*T.*244:797a17-24) in the entry on the Mandala of the Four Sisters because of Amoghavajra's directive (*T.*1003:616b12-14, *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 269-270) to look for the details of this mandala in the Extended Text. Unbeknown to Ihō, the extended text that Amoghavajra refers to in the *Liqushi* is not the translation of Faxian of the Song Dynasty. See my Chapter Four.

The problem that Ihō was wrestling with in this case concerned the seed letters for the gods in this mandala. Quoting the *Liqushi*'s explanation of the seed syllable *haṃ* (*T.* 1003:616b17-18, which states: "Place in the center of this mantra [that is, the syllable *ha*] the *anusvāra ṃ*"), he states (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 270):

> Therefore, place the letter *ma* in the center and place the letter *ha* in the four [directional] positions. They form the seed syllables of the four [Prañjā]pāramitā [Bodhisattvas]. [Ihō actually illustrates a mandala with this arrangement; see *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 269.] The old illustrations 古図 [for example, the Nan'in, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 834 and Dōhō's version, *Rishukyō hiketsu*, p. 128b, which is copied on *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 269] place the letter *oṃ* [for] these four seed syllables, and this is difficult to understand.

[156] *T.*20.1119:510b7-13 and 1125:527ba29-b23.

[157] *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 274-276, esp. p. 276.

[158] References to Shūei's illustrations occur in the sections on the Mandalas of Vajrasattva (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki,* pp. 236), Trailokyavijaya (ibid, pp. 240, 241), Avalokiteśvara (p. 244), Ākāśagarbha (p. 246), Mañjuśrī (pp. 249, 250) and Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin (pp. 251, 253). See my text, pp. 54-56 and endnotes 142, 146 and 152 above.

[159] This work has remained in the possession of Fudaraku'in 補陀洛院. Unfortunately, I was not able to study a copy of this set of mandalas. Instead, I have consulted the mandalas that are published in Toganoo Shōun, *Rishukyō no kenkyū* (Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku shuppan, 1930/1959). Toganoo did not publish the complete set, however. Because the Mandalas of Avalokiteśvara, Vajramuṣṭi, Maheśvara and the Seven Mother Goddesses are not illustrated, I have had to rely on Toganoo's statements concerning their iconography.

There is no biographical or lineage information on Shinkai in *Mikkyō daijiten* or Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*. However, there is evidence of Shinkai's scholarship. Shinkai of Kongōbuji's Fudaraku'in 金剛峰寺補陀洛院眞海 published the abbreviated version (one scroll) of the *Bizang ji* 祕藏記 in 1767 明和四年 (Meiwa 4). His publication served as the original text 底本 for the version in *Kōbō daishi zenshū* (see vol. 2, pp. 1-51, esp. pp. 50-51 for Shinkai's colophon). I thank W. J. Boot and H. van der Verre (personal communication, email dated February 17, 2011) for this information.

[160] Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 2.

[161] See Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 19 and pp. 157-158 and *Liqushi*, *T*.1003:610c24-611a6. Another example is the Ākāśagarbha Mandala (6, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 27 and pp. 217-218). Although the iconography of the figures of this mandala is identical to that of the figures in the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Ākāśagarbha (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 781, No. 6), Shinkai places the gate symbols in accordance with the *Liqushi'*s instructions, and so corrects its orientation. Elsewhere, Shinkai alters the iconography of the *S*ahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin Mandala (9, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 37 and p. 271) to match the *Liqushi'*s directives (*T*.1003:614a19-25) by omitting the four Gathering Bodhisattvas that are seen in the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9). Perhaps because Amoghavajra does not specify the iconography of Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin in the *Liqushi*, that of the central figure corresponds to that of the figure in the Daigoji mandala. One more example is Shinkai's Gaganagañja Mandala (10, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 41 and p. 286). In contrast to the figure in the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 785, No. 10), the iconography of the central figure of Gaganagañja in Shinkai's Gaganagañja Mandala agrees with instructions in *Liqushi* 10 (*T*.1003:614c2-7). He holds a lotus topped with the action (*karma*) pounder in his right hand and his left hand forms the Vajra Fist Mudrā and is placed on his left thigh. Finally, in the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (12, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 48 and p. 316), Shinkai installs the gods of the Outer Vajra Family in an order that follows Amoghavajra's directions (*T*.1003:615b26-c3), and he turns the heads of the figures outwards, unlike these figures in the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 787, No. 12).

[162] See Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 22 and p. 179.

Another example is the iconography of his Mañjuśrī Mandala. The replacement of the armor of the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Mañjuśrī (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783) with the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* is the only change that Shinkai makes here (8) (Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 34 and p. 254). Thus, in contrast with the *Liqushi'*s prescriptions (*T*.1003:613c2-7) but in agreement with the iconography of the Daigoji mandala, the crowned figure of Mañjuśrī and his retinue of the four youths, both iconographic features from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (see Chapter One, p. 31 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 642, fig. 7), remain unaltered and the eight-spoked wheel is still missing.

[163] *Liqushi*, *T*. 1003:607c10-608a29; Daigoji set: fig. 1, *T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, 3044, p. 776. Vajrapāni holds a *vajra* in his right hand and a bell in his left hand; Ākāśagarbha holds a sword in his right hand and jewels in his left hand; Vajramuṣṭi's two hands form fists and the right fist covers the left; Mañjuśrī holds a book in his right hand and a lotus topped with a *vajra* in his left hand.

[164] Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 8 and p. 102. An eight-spoked jeweled wheel hanging from Mahāvairocana's necklace is suspended just above his mudrā in the *Taizang jiutuyang* 胎藏旧圖樣 and *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. See Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, p. 16; *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2948, p. 633, No. 1 and T. *Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2981, p. 480, No. 1. The iconography of the other figures in the same mandala is drawn from a variety of sources. For example, that of Vajrapāṇi is described in *Liqushi* 3 (*T*.1003:610c26-28). Amoghavajra states in the mandala instructions of *Liqushi* 7 that Vajramuṣṭi is to be represented in the form of the Buddha Amoghasiddhi (*T*.1003: 613b6; the figure in the *Liqushi* is the Bodhisattva of the Fists of all the Tathagathas, which is another name for Amoghasiddhi). Vajramuṣṭi forms the hand gesture of Amoghasiddhi in the central assembly of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 897, fig. 21). The iconography of Ākāśagarbha resembles that of the figure of Ākāśagarbha in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s *Kokūzō in* (Hall of Ākāśagarbha, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 721, fig. 123) and that of Mañjuśrī is taken from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s central hall (*Hachichū dai in*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 642, fig. 7). The iconography of these figures in Shinkai's version differ from those in the Daigoji Opening Assembly (fig. 1, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 776), but because the identical figures are the focus of the Daigoji mandalas of Ākāśagarbha, Vajramuṣṭi and Mañjuśrī (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, pp. 781, 782, 783), Shinkai most likely adopted these iconographic features from the Daigoji exemplar.

[165] Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 15 and p. 138-139. Contrary to Amoghavajra's instructions in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*. 1003:610a17-18, which states that Love is to be placed behind Vajrasattava, and Pride at his left), Love, who holds the *makara* banner, now sits at Vajrasattva's left side and Pride, who holds a rope, is in the moon disc behind him. In Shinkai's version the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas of the Daigoji mandalas are now the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas and their order is altered: the Bodhisattva with an offering of flowers is in the southeast corner and the Bodhisattva who offers incense is in the southwest corner. The Daigoji mandala's Outer Offering Bodhisattvas become the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas in Shinkai's mandala, and the iconography of the four Inner Offering Bodhisattva is identical to that of the figures in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*'s *Jōjin'ne* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 898, figs. 26-29). The Outer Bodhisattvas' offerings (flowers, incense, a lamp and unguent) and the Gathering Bodhisattvas' attributes (hook, rope, chain and bell) correspond to those that Amoghavajra assigns to the figures of the Bodhisattvas of the Four Seasons and to the Bodhisattvas of the Four Aggregates of Form, Sound, Smell and Taste in his commentary on the Seventeen Epithets of Purity, the *Banro boluomiduo liqu jing Dale bukong sanmei zhenshi Jingangsaduo deng shiqi sheng damantuluo yishu* 般若波羅蜜多理趣經大樂不空三昧眞實金剛薩埵十七聖大曼荼羅義述 (*T*. 1004:618a2-29). Amoghavajra concludes this short commentary with the statement (*T*.1004:618b2-4) that he has given the gist of the teachings of the Thirteenth of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of Adamantine Crown. According to Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T*.869:287a7-20) the theme of the Thirteenth Assembly is the seventeen-syllable mantra which becomes the seventeen-figure mandala. Samantabhadra explains this seventeen-figure configuration, and its conflation into a pentad seated upon a common lotus within a common moon disc. See my discussion in Chapter Four, pp. 73-74.

The iconography and positions of the Bodhisattvas Love and Pride remain, however, a problem. In the same commentary Amoghavajra explicates the meaning of Love Bodhisattva as follows (*T*.1004:617c8-11):

> That is the fourth, the so-called Bodhisattva Compassion Vajra, who, because of compassion, uses a rope of loving thoughts and universally binds the sentient beings who have not yet reached enlightenment. When he has finished [binding them], he does not release or abandon them. Moreover, similar to the giant fish, the *makara*, which devours whatever it meets, when, once it has put the whole thing in its mouth, there is no escape at all, he holds this *makara* fish banner...

Thus, according to Amoghavajra, the rope and the *makara* banner are the attributes of the Bodhisattva Love, not those of Bodhisattva Pride. Nevertheless, in Shinkai's Five Mysteries Mandala (18, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 67 and p. 406) Love holds the *makara* banner and sits at Vajrasattva's left side and Pride, who holds a rope, is at his right side. Shinkai reproduces exactly the iconography of the Daigoji Assembly of the Five Mysteries (fig. 7, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 793) but for the single detail of the rope held by Pride.

[166] Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 60 and pp. 373-374. See also Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, vol. 2, p. 111. Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, p. 373 quotes a text by Enchin who says that the deities' positions in this mandala should be similar to the ones in the Central Assembly (*Jōjin'ne*) of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. I discuss Enchin's text and this mandala in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

[167] This replacement of the four Buddhas by the four main Bodhisattvas occurs also in the moon disc in the east of both the Kanchi'in version of the Assembly of the Five Families (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 835, No. 17 and 18) and

Kōzen's transmission (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 723, No. 106), which is based on the Kanchi'in mandala.

[168] See endnote 1 above for references in these scholars' works and mandalas 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 and 18 in Kōzen's transmission (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 724) and 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12 in Shinkai's set (Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plates 19, 22, 27, 34, 37, 41, 48).

[169] This is seen in mandalas 2 (fig. 24), 4 and 8 in Kōzen's transmission (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 715, 716, 718) and 4 (fig. 32) and 8 in Shinkai's set (Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plates 22, 34). *Liqushi* references for mandalas 2, 4 and 8 are: *T.* 1003:610a15-23; 611b27-c4; 613c2-7.

[170] Except for one mandala, the Ākāśagarbha Mandala (6) (Kōzen, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 717; Shinkai, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 27), the monks do not make the same iconographic changes. Moreover, although Shinkai alters the iconography of two mandalas that Kōzen did not change (9 and 12, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 718 and 720; Shinkai, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plates 37 and 48), Shinkai omits iconographic motifs in mandala 12 that Amoghavajra had stipulated (*T.*1003:615b23-c3).

[171] *T.*1004. See endnote 165 above.

[172] For example, the iconography of the Daigoji set is reproduced exactly in mandalas 9, 12, 13, and 15 of Kōzen's transmission (Daigoji set, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 784, 787, 788 and 790; Kōzen, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 718, 720, 721 and 722) and in 5, 7, 13 and 14 of Shinkai's version (Daigoji set, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 780, 782, 788 and 789; Shinkai, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū* does not have plates for these mandalas). Although Toganoo states (*Rishukyo no kenkyū,* pp. 199 and 239) that the iconography of the mandalas of Avalokiteśvara and Vajramuṣṭi (5 and 7) are identical to that of the mandalas in the Daigoji exemplar, he says nothing about the iconography of Mandalas of the Maheśvara and the Seven Mother Goddesses (13 and 14). I am assuming that the lack of information means that the iconography is identical to that of these Daigoji mandalas.

[173] Because Amoghavajra seldom furnishes specific directions for the anthropomorphic representation of the figures, Shinkai resorts to the Daigoji exemplar. The figures of Mahāvairocana in the Mandala of the Opening Assembly (1), Ākāśagarbha in the Mandala of Ākāśagarbha (6), Mañjuśrī and his retinue of youths in the Mañjuśrī Mandala (8), Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin in the Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin Mandala (9), Sarva-māra-pramardin in the Sarva-māra-pramardin Mandala (11), the three Brothers Maheśvara, Brahmā and Nārāyana in the Mandala of the Three Brothers (15), Tumburu and his four Sisters in the Mandala of the Four Sisters (16), the Five Mysteries pentad in the Five Mysteries Mandala (18) and the opening figure of Rāgarāja have their source in the Daigoji exemplar. See Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plates 8, 27, 34, 37, 44, 55, 58, 67 and 2 (fig. 30); Daigoji set, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 776 (fig. 1), 781, 783 (fig. 5), 784, 786, 791, 790, 793 (fig. 7) and 797 (fig. 10).

[174] For example, Dōhō states (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, pp. 85b17-86a1) that the iconography of the Mandala of the Seventeen Epithets of Purity is based on that of the *Rishue* in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Genkaku and Shinkaku show that the iconography and descriptions of Trailokyavijaya, Mañjuśrī and his retinue of four youths, Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, the gods of the Outer Vajra Family, Mahākāla and the Seven Mother Goddesses, to name but a few, match that of these figures in the Daigoji exemplar. See Kanchi'in set Nos. 4, 8, 9, 12, 14, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 822 (fig. 16), 826, 827, 830, 832; Shinkaku, no. 2, no. 4, no. 5, no. 7; Daigoji set, figs. 4, 8, 9, 12, 14, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779 (fig. 4), 783 (fig. 5), 784, 787, 789. Details of Daigoji exemplar's iconography, such as the orientation of the mandalas, the gate symbols, and the number of courts can be gleaned from Kōzen's version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* and Ihō's comparative treatment of the mandalas in his *Shuhōmandara shosetsu fudōki*.

[175] I use the phrase "motivated by tradition" to indicate the scholar-monks' attribution of texts to the earliest figure possible, perhaps more as a gesture of respect and a mark of trust than as a statement of objective truth. This is still a problem to be investigated.

Chapter Three: The Relationship Between the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* and the Mandalas of the Matrix and Adamantine Realms (*Genzu mandara*) of the Shingon School

[1] The proof rests on two main lines of argument: iconographic comparison between Amoghavajra's commentary, the *Liqushi,* and the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* that Shūei is said to have introduced, and examination of the revisions and reinterpretations made to this set of mandalas.

[2] As one of a number of possible examples, the notes on the Mandalas of Trailokyavijaya, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, the Seven Mother Goddesses and the Three Brothers contain (*T. Zuzō,* vol. 5, 3046, pp. 822, 823, 826, 827, 832, 833, No. 4 (fig. 16), 5, 8, 9, 14 and 15) the following descriptions:

> In the mandala Trailokyavijaya is blue in color... He sits on a white lotus.
> Avalokiteśvara is flesh colored...
> Vimalaprabha is yellow in color and holds in his left hand a blue lotus flower...
> In the mandala Mahācakra is blue-black in color...
> In the mandala Mahākāla's body is blue-black in color.
> Brahmā is light flesh-colored...

Further, the notes on the Kanchi'in Mañjuśrī Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 826, No. 8) provide two descriptions of the figures of Jālinīprabha 光網 and Ratnakūṭa 寶冠:

> Bodhisattva Jālinīprabha is yellow in color, holds a blue lotus in his left hand and he has the form of a youth.
> [In] a certain illustration 或圖 (*aruzu*) he has three topknots on his head. He turns the palm of his right hand upwards and, lowering his fingers, he turns them outwards. He slightly bends the tips of his fingers and spreads his thumb. His four fingers are bound with a rope. In his left hand he holds a blue lotus.
> Bodhisattva Ratnakūṭa is yellow in color, he holds a blue lotus topped with a jeweled crown in his left hand and has the form of a youth.
> [In] a certain illustration he turns the palm of his right hand upwards, places it at his heart and hold a jewel. He raises the elbow of his left arm, turns his palm upwards, slightly bends his four fingers and holds a blue lotus that has a jeweled crown on top.

[3] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2924, p. 162a12, 161c28-29. Information about the compiler Shunnyū and the date of compilation is given in an inscription on the *Taizōkai shichishū* at *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2924, p. 171c.

Shunnyū's work is known as the *Ishiyama shichishū* 石山七集, which includes the *Taizōkai shichishū* 胎藏界七集 and the *Kongōkai shichishū* 金剛界七集. See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2925, pp. 137-189 and pp. 191-203. Although the *Taizōkai shichishū* is accepted as Shunnyū's work, some doubt that the *Kongōkai shichishū* is his (see *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten,* vol. 1, p. 111).

For the reading of this monk's name, see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1108b-c and Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 370. His transmission founded the Shingon school's Ishiyama ritual tradition 石山流 (see Sawa, ibid, lineage chart in Appendix VI, p. 137).

[4] This is the part beginning with the phrase "in a certain illustration." Compare *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2922, p. 67c3-4 and 67c21-23. The *Taishō* publication (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2922, pp. 17-134) of Shinjaku's work is a copy that was made from the manuscript in Tōji's Kanchi'in. See Matsubara Chibi ("*Shosetsu fudōki* no aruzu to Taimitsu no Taizōzu," *Bijutsushi kenkyū*, vol. 28 (1990), pp. 25-43, especially footnote 2 on page 42) gives this copy a date of 1335 建武二年 (Kenmu 2) and Sawa Ryūken (*Mikkyō jiten*, p. 399) cites a colophon on the Kanchi'in manuscript with the date of 1367 貞治六年 (Jōji 6).

[5] See the *Ishiyama shichishū, T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2924, pp. 140b26-29 (Shunnyū's order of descrption differs but the content matches, cf. fig. 16, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 822, No. 4), 158c5-6 (content matches but not its order, cf. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 824, No. 6) and 168a17-18 (cf. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 833, No. 15); and the *Shosetsu fudōki, T.*

Zuzō, vol. 1, 2922, pp. 79c13-17 (cf. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 824, No. 9) and p. 127b8-22 (cf. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 832, No. 14).

[6] For example, the description of Avalokiteśvara have been simplified, but the *Ishiyama [taizōkai] shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2924, p. 138b25-26 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 823, No. 5) was the source.

Another example of Genkaku's use of these earlier sources occurs in his note for the Gaganagañja Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 828, No. 10, see Chapter Two, endnote 7). Here he describes Gaganagañja's mudrā in a certain illustration 或圖. Genkaku's use of the phrase "a certain illustration" does not point to Shinjaku's *Shosetsu fudōki*, wherein this phrase is common (I discuss this phrase in this work below), but to the figure of Bodhisattva Vajrakarma 業菩薩 in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Genkaku cites the description of this Bodhisattva's iconography from Shunnyū's *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2925, p. 194a13-14). Shunnyū has quoted the *Bizangji* 祕藏記 (Record of the Secret Treasury, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2921, p.12b2-3), an early compilation on the Shingon mandalas. See endnote 12 below.

[7] Genkaku's citations from the *Shosetsu fudōki* are taken from Shinjaku's descriptions of figures in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. See the examples in endnote 2 and 5 above.

[8] This is because Shinjaku states in the entry on the figure of Buddhlocanā in scroll 3 of his work that "In the *Hieizan* illustration her whole body is gold" (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho,* vol. 44, p. 39).

[9] Ono Genmyō in "Hieizan Chishō daishi to Engakuji Shūei Sōjō no shōraiseshi Daihi taizō daimandara no kenkyū," *Mikkyō*, vol. 3/3 (1913), pp. 77-87 and vol. 4/1 (1914), pp. 69-81 (reprinted in *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan kabu shiki gaisha, 1937) argues that the "certain illustration" was the Engakuji illustration that Shūei (809-884) brought back to Japan from China and that the "mountain illustration" was the Hieizan illustration that was introduced either by Ennin (794-864) or by Enchin (814-891). Ono links the Engakuji illustration to Shūei because of three main arguments:

1) Shūei, who was known as the *Sōjō* of Engakuji, returned from China in Jōgan 7 (865);
2) In Shūei's inventory, the contents of a note at the side of a matrix mandala corresponds to the note that is recorded under the Engakuji illustration in Shinjaku's *Shosetsu fudōki*;
3) Ono Genmyō correlated a *kōhon* 後本 that is described in Shunjū's *Ishiyama shichishū* with that of the "certain mandala," taking as evidence a note beside a *kōhon* in the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記, scroll 1, wherein the author Shinkaku states that this version of the mandala was brought back by the monk who was the last to go to China – which is the way Shūei was known within the Shingon school, as *Gonittō sōjō* 後入唐僧正.

Further, Ono stated that if Shūei was associated with the *kōhon*, it would be logical to link the *zenbon* 前本 to Kūkai. However, later scholars have questioned Ono's conclusions. For instance, Sasaki Susumu ("Ōmi - AshiuraKannonji no ryōkai mandarazu – Taimitsukei ryōkaimandara no issakurei toshite," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 163 (November 1985), pp. 77-78) is dubious about correlating the "certain mandala" with the "Engakuji mandala," because both are mentioned separately in the entry on Vairocana in scroll 2 of the *Shosetsu fudōki*. Moreover, the "Engakuji illustration" is colored. Because Shūei records in his inventory a line drawing of a mandala that is to be spread on the altar (*shiki mandara*), Sasaki doubts that Shinjaku would compare two different types of mandalas. Matsubara Chibi in "*Shosetsu fudōki* no aruzu to Taimitsu no Taizōzu" (*Bijutsushi kenkyū*, vol. 28 (1990), pp. 25-43), states that there is no evidence to support either Ono Genmyō's association of the *zenbon* with the version that Kūkai introduced, or a connection between the *kōhon*, which differs from the *zenbon*, and the "certain mandala," which belongs to the same lineage as the *kōhon*, with Shūei.

[10] See *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 44, pp. 19-20:

> As for the positions in the mandala that the Great Teacher Kūkai brought back, in its very center is a large red lotus flower with eight petals. Between the petals appear half vajras that are three-pronged. There are detailed fruit and bearded pistils. On the lotus flower calyx is Tathāgata Mahāvairocana and the lotus petals in the four [cardinal] directions are the [seating positions] of the four Buddhas. On the four petals in the four intermediate directions are the four Meditation Bodhisattvas. The positions of the two Venerables, Avalokiteśvara in the northwest direction and Maitreya in the northeast direction, differ from [the positions that] the main [text] expounds.

When I come to this below, I will clarify this in detail.

The placement of Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya in the mandala that Kūkai brought back differs from that given in the mandala that is described in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. In the text Avalokiteśvara is in the northeast and Maitreya is in the northwest, but in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* that Kūkai introduced their positions are reversed: Avalokiteśvara is in the northwest and Maitreya is in the northeast. The positions are given in the chapter titled *Ru bimi mantuluo fa pin* 入祕密漫荼羅法品 in *T*.18.848:36c11-12.

[11] In a memorial entitled the *Shōrai mokuroku* 請來目錄 (Catalogue of Imported Items, *Kōbō daishi zenshū,* vol. 2, pp. 69-104), which Kūkai presented to Emperor Heizei 平城 upon his return to Japan in 806, the mandala are listed as follows (*Kōbō daishi zenshū,* vol. 2, p. 94):

> 大毘盧遮那大悲胎藏大曼荼羅一鋪 七幅一丈六尺
> 金剛界九會曼荼羅一鋪 七幅一丈六尺
> *Dapiluzhena dabei taizang damantuluo* (Great Mandala [Born from] the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion of Mahāvairocana), one [painting]. In seven widths, 1 *jo* (3.03 m) 6 *shaku* (181.8 cm).
> *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo* (Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm), one [painting]. In seven widths, 1 *jo* (3.03 m) 6 *shaku* (181.8 cm).

The mandalas are not listed side by side in the *Shōrai mokuroku,* but are given according to topic. Three types of matrix mandalas are listed first. The figures of these mandalas are represented in their physical forms 大曼荼羅 (*mahāmaṇḍala)*, with seed letters 法曼荼羅 (*bīja-maṇḍala)* and by means of their symbolic forms 三昧耶曼荼羅 (*samaya-maṇḍala)*. Two types of mandalas of the adamantine realm then follow. One is composed of nine assemblies of figures that are depicted anthropomorphically 金剛界九會曼荼羅 and one is composed of a single assembly of eighty-one figures, who are also depicted anthropomorphically 金剛界八十一尊大曼荼羅. The anthropomorphic forms of the figures of the mandalas cited above, and their identical measurements, suggests they were a pair.

As we have seen (endnote 2 above), in the text of the note on the Kanchi'in's Mañjuśrī Mandala (fig. 46, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 826, No. 8) the term *aruzu* 或圖 ("a certain illustration") also appears. Genkaku uses this term to refer to the figure in the *Monju in* (Hall of Mañjuśrī*)* of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*, and Shinjaku uses it in the *Shosetsu fudōki* to indicate a specific, but as yet unidentified, example of the matrix mandala.

[12] Ishida Hisatōyō states in his *Mandara no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōkyō bijutsu, 1975, p. 8, footnote 1) that the correct name of this set is the mandala of the lineage of Huiguo-Kūkai 慧果空海系曼荼羅.

There is also no reference to any *Genzu mandara* in the *Bizangji*, a work that the Shingon school has traditionally attributed to Kūkai himself. Up to the Edo period, there were two theories concerning the authorship of the *Bizangji*. One maintains that it was the transmission of Amoghavajra that Huiguo passed on to Kūkai. Another considers it to be the notes that Kūkai took at the time he received Huiguo's transmission of the teachings on the two mandalas. The attribution to Kūkai was the most widely accepted. Contemporary scholars have questioned these theories and have suggested other possible authors. See the discussions by Katō Seishin, "*Hizōki* no chosha ni tsuite," *Mikkyō,* vol. 1/3 (1969), pp. 297-317; Mukai Ryūken, "*Hizōki* seiritsu kō," *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū,* vol. 15 (1983), pp. 53-67; and Yoneda Kōnin, "*Hizōki* no seiritsu nendai," *Mikkyō bunka,* vol. 186 (March 1994), pp. 67-93. The *Bizangji* is discussed on pp. 68-69 of this chapter.

[13] The orthodox lineage of the *Genzu mandara* begins with the set that Kūkai brought back from his trip to China, now in the possession of Tōji 東寺 in Kyoto. Copies of the original colored set, officially noted in temple records such as the *Tōji chōsha honin* 東寺長者補任 and the *Tōbōki* 東寶記, were made in Kōnin 弘仁 12 (821), Kenkyū 建久 2 (1191), Einin 永仁 2 (1294), and Genroku 元禄 6 (1693). Kūkai directed the reproduction of the colored set of mandalas that he had brought back from China in Kōnin 12 at Takaosanji 高尾山寺. See Takada Osamu, "Jingoji to Takao mandara," *Bukkyō bijutsushi ronkō* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijsutsu shuppan, 1969), pp. 346-368. See also the prayer for the ceremony that was held before the undertaking of this project in *Kōbō daishi zenshū,* vol. 3, pp. 476-477. I discuss this document in endnote 76 below.

The Kōnin set is now lost. For discussion of later copies of the *Genzu mandara,* see Tanaka Osamu, "Tōji seikei *Genzu mandara* no sōshō," *Bijutsu geijutsu,* vol. 24 (1955), pp. 3-18 and Ishida, "Genzu mandara saikō," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 78 (1970), pp. 18-33.

However, the *Genzu mandara* category also includes copies that are generally faithful to the type, though unmentioned in the direct line of transmission. Thus, the oldest extant example of the category is the *Takao mandara* 高尾曼荼羅, done in gold and silver paint on purple silk, dated to the latter part of the Tenchō 天長 reign period (829-833). This is in the possession of Jingoji 神護寺 in Kyoto. This set is as accurate a reproduction of the iconography of the version that Kūkai introduced as was the copy that was made in Kōnin 12 (see *Mikkyō jiten,* p. 489 and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten,* vol. 4, pp. 3459-3460). There are, however, some changes. For example, the originals were colored and were composed of seven widths of silk, but the Takao set is painted in gold and silver. Its *Taizōkai mandara* consists of eight widths of silk and its *Kongōkai mandara* has seven. See Takada, "Jingoji to Takao mandara," *Bukkyō bijutsushi ronkō*, p. 350.

The *Takao mandara* served as the source for a copy in line drawings in black ink on paper 百描本 (*hyakubyō hon)*. Remnants of this monochrome version are in Hasedera and Daigoji. The circumstances of this copy's creation and its author are unclear. See Ōmura in his *Sanpon ryōbu mandara shū* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1913/1973, p. 5), Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten,* vol. p. 3459, *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 1551-2, the *Mikkyo jiten,* p. 489, and Takada Osamu ("Tōji to seikei *Genzu mandara* no sōshō," *Bijutsu geijutsu,* vol. 24, footnote 2 on pp. 17-18).

This monochrome copy of the *Takao mandara* was the one that the monk Hōun 法雲 (1835-1889) used as the basis for a woodblock printed copy of the *Takao mandara* known as the Omuroban 御室版 in Meiji 2 (1869). See Ōmura, *Sanpon ryōbu mandara shū*, pp. 5-7. This set, which is in the possession of Ninnaji 仁和寺, is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2948, pp. 633-815, no. 2958, pp. 893-1004, respectively. It is also known as the Ninnaji printed version. Both the monochrome copy and Hōun's wood-block edition belong to the *Genzu* lineage because they are faithful reproductions of the *Takao mandara,* itself a copy of the colored version that Kūkai introduced from China.

[14] Takada Osamu, "Tōji seikei *Genzu mandara* no sōshō," *Bijutsu geijutsu,* vol. 24, pp. 12-13.

[15] The description of the figures of Jālinīprabha and Ratnakūṭa, which Genkaku quoted in his notes on the Mañjuśrī Mandala of the Kanchi'in set, may serve as an example.

[16] Matsubara Chibi, "*Shosetsu fudōki* no aruzu to Taimitsu no Taizōzu," *Bijutsushi kenkyū,* vol. 28, pp. 30-31.

[17] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 627-815, 887-1004.

[18] The descriptions are found on *T. Zuzō,* vol. 1, 2921, pp. 12-14 and the illustrations are Nos. 3 and 4.

[19] See endnote 6 above for one example.

[20] These mandalas are listed in Ennin's inventories, which are published in *T*.55.2165:1076a2-3, 2166:1077c26-27 and 2167:1084b29, and in Enchin's inventories, *T*.55.2171:1096c26-27, 2172:1098c16-18 and 2173:1104a16-18.

[21] See Kakuchō's 覺超 (955-1037) *Taizōsoni hei bonkan mitsugō shuji sanmaya gyōshiki shuintō ryakki* 胎藏尊位并梵漢密号種子三昧耶形色手印等略記 (hereafter, *Taizō mandara ryakki* 胎藏曼荼羅略記), Chūjin's 忠尋 (1065-1138) *Eizanbon kongōkai daimandara* 叡山本金剛界大曼荼羅 and *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* 叡山本大悲胎藏大曼荼羅, and a second tenth-century Taimitsu work entitled the *Jōtei mandara zu* 調定曼荼羅圖.

The *Taizō mandara ryakki,* in the possession of Tōji, is published in the *T. Zuzō,* vol. 2, no. 2998, pp. 953-977. Although an inscription at the end of the first scroll (*T. Zuzō,* vol. 2, 2998, p. 964), written when repairs were done in Enkyō 5 (1748), states that this work is either by Kenpō 賢寶 or by Kakuchō, scholars such as Matsubara Chibi ("*Shosetsufudōki* no *aruzu* to Taimitsu no Taizōzu," *Bijutsushi kenkyū,* vol. 28, pp. 35-36, 43, note 22) accept it as a text by Kakuchō. The entry on the *Taizō mandara ryakki* in the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten,* vol. 7, p. 186, concurs. See references to a *zenbon* and *kōhon* in Kakuchō's entries on Mañjuśrī 文殊師利菩薩 and Agni 火天 (*T. Zuzō,* vol. 2, 2998, pp. 954a4-6, 972a12-13), for example.

The *Eizanbon kongōkai daimandara* and *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* are in the possession of Daigoji. They have been published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2983, pp. 691-714 and no. 2982, 573-687, respectively. The *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* consists of an upper register of line drawings of figures and a lower register of text that describes the iconographical features of the figures. Originally the text and figures were transmitted separately. An inscription on the first scroll of the *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō,* vol. 2, 2982, p. 636) gives details about

the composition of this work. It states that the Tendai monk Chūjin 忠尋 (1065-1138) used oiled paper to copy the figures of the version that belonged to the Tendai master Kakukei 覺慶 (died 1138 [Matsubara, ibid, footnote 24, p. 43-44]) and the textual explanations from Master Inshō 院昭 (11th-early 12th century). See references to a *zenbon* and *kōhon* in entries on Īśāna 伊舍那天 and Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏菩[薩] (*T. Zuzō,* vol. 2, 2982, pp. 603b16-18, 650b3-5), for example.

The *Jōtei mandara zu* is published in *T. Zuzō,* vol. 2, no. 2992, pp. 777-796 and is in the possession of Kanchi'in of Tōji. The date of the composition of this work is not known. There is a theory that it was the work of a person called Jōtei'in 調定院, the disciple of the Tendai monk Sonni 尊意 (868-940). In any case, it is a Tendai compilation that dates to the 10th century. For a discussion of the compilers of these works see Matsubara Chibi, "*Shosetsu fudōki* no *aruzu* to Taimitsu no taizōzu," *Bijutsushi kenkyū,* vol. 28, pp. 35-40, and footnotes 22-24. See references to a *zenbon* and *kōhon* in entries on Hayagrīva 馬頭觀世音菩[薩] and Sahasrabhuja-Ārya-Avalokiteśvara 千手千眼觀自在菩薩 (*T. Zuzō,* vol. 2, 2992, pp. 783, 788), for example.

[22] Matsubara Chibi suggests that the terms *zenbon* and *kōhon* indicate the names of the Tendai temples where these mandalas were kept. In fact, a temple on Hieizan, where the paintings, texts and implements that Ennin returned with were stored, was called Zentō'in 前唐院, and a temple in the Onjōji complex, where the works brought back by Enchin were stored, was called Kōtō'in 後唐院. Because the *Taizō mandara ryakki, Eizanbon kongōkai daimandara, Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* and *Jōtei mandara zu* are Tendai works, Matsubara Chibi ("*Shosetsu fudōki* no *aruzu* to Taimitsu no Taizōzu," *Bijutsushi kenkyū,* vol. 28, p. 41) suggests that the *zenbon* and *kōhon* should be taken as the matrix mandala of the Tendai school. He questions Ono Genmyō's use of a note in Shinkaku's *Besson zakki* to link the *kōhon* to Shūei, and proposes instead an examination of the Tendai school. If this is so, *zenbon* and *kōhon* could indicate the Tendai monks who went to China in the 9th century. Ennin, who returned in Shōwa 4 (847), brought back a matrix mandala that is recorded in his inventory *Nihonkoku shōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* (*T.*55.2165:1076a2), and Enchin, who came back in Tenan 2 (858), also recorded a matrix mandala in his inventory, *Nihon biku Enchin nittō guhō mokuroku* (*T.*55.2172:109816-17). See also the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3. p. 1364, *Zentō'in* on Hieizan and vol. 2, p. 625, *Kōtō'in* in Onjōji.

The fact that the Shingon monk Shinnyū uses the terms *zenbon* and *kōhon* in his *Ishiyama shichishū* is a problem. See Matsubara, ibid, chart 1 and data chart 3 on p. 37. Moreover, in the entry on Bodhisattva Mahācakra 曼荼羅菩[薩] in the *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara*, a note in small characters relates that (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 648) the term *kōhon* refers to the mandala in Sannō'in 山王院. This was, and still is, a temple at the foot of Hieizan. The relationship between the Sannō'in and the *kōhon* requires further research.

[23] For example, Mañjuśrī has five topknots and he holds a Sanskrit sūtra box in the *Genzu* and *zenbon,* but in the *aruzu* and *kōhon* he has a transformation Buddha on his head and he holds a sword; Bodhisattva Mahācakra 曼荼羅菩薩 appears in the *Genzu* and the *zenbon,* but not in the *aruzu* and the *kōhon*. Matsubara, "*Shosetsu fudōki* no *aruzu* to Taimitsu no Taizōzu," *Bijutsushi kenkyū,* vol. 28, p. 39, Chart 2.

[24] For example, Dōhō 道法, whose version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* is examined in Chapter Two, cites the description of the iconography of Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin in his *Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyōshaku*, p. 111b8-12) from Kakuchō's entry on Bodhisattva Mandala (Mahācakra) 曼荼羅菩薩 in his *Taizō mandara ryakki* 胎藏曼荼羅略記 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, 2998, p. 969b17-19).

[25] See Hunter, "The Five Secrets Mandala," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 111-124, esp. p. 115.

[26] For more on this, see Appendix A, Detailed Discussion of the Derivation of the Figures in the Daigoji Exemplar.

[27] The seated figure of Trailokyavijaya in the Trailokyavijaya Mandala (fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779, No. 4), the figure of Ākāśagarbha who holds a flaming sword in the Mahāvairocana Mandala (fig. 3, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 778, No. 3) and the Ākāśagarbha Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 781, No. 6), and the crowned figure of Mañjuśrī in the Mañjuśrī Mandala (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783, No. 8) differ markedly from Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* prescriptions and are based upon the iconography of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. Although Amoghavajra provides no information on the iconography of the focal figures of the Mandalas of Mahācakra, Sarvamāra-pramardin and the

Seven Mother Goddesses (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 784, 786, 789, No. 9, 11 and 14), these are found in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. The *Genzu taizōkai mandara* is the iconographic source of the retinue figures in the Mañjuśrī Mandala (fig. 8, No. 8), the guardian figures of the Maheśvara Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 788, No. 13), and the figure of Brahmā in the Mandalas of Sarvamāra-pramardin, the Seven Mother Goddesses and the Three Brothers (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 786, 789, 791, Nos. 11, 14 and 16).

[28] For example, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* provides basic information about Avalokiteśvara, stating only that he wears a white robe and has a figure of Buddha Amitābha in his crown (*T*.848:6c29-7a2). See Appendix A, Detailed Discussion of the Daigoji Exemplar, endnote 14.

[29] See *T*.866:227b24-236c18 and *T*.865:208b9-216a11, respectively. Amoghavajra's work in the *Taishō* is titled *Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshishe dacheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來眞實攝大乘現證大教王經.

[30] See *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 244, 251; chart for *Jōjin'ne* on pp. 245-248; chart for *Genzu taizōkai mandara* on pp. 249-250 and "*Genzu mandara* saikō" *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 78 (1970), pp. 18-33, esp. p. 33; charts on pp. 20-23, 28, 32-33. The key feature of the mandalas described in the *Shewuai yigui* and the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* is the arrangement into a single composition of figures from mandalas depicting the teachings of texts from different lineages, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. These texts present the teachings and ritual practices of different lineages of Esoteric Buddhism that developed in different areas of India at different times. (For a discussion of this point, see Matsunaga Yūkei, *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsu shiron* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1981), pp. 164-198.) When these scriptures were first translated into Chinese, by Śubhākarasiṃha in 724-725 and by Vajrabodhi in 723 respectively, they were regarded as separate but equally important. Ishida attributes the conflation of the iconographies of these two traditions to Amoghavajra, stating that this feature was a unique characteristic of the Buddhism of his time (*Mandara no kenkyū*, p. 251, "*Genzu mandara saikō*," p. 33). This mixing is clearly visible, he says, in the iconography of Shingon's *Genzu mandara* (Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū,* pp. 244-251, "*Genzu mandara saikō*," pp. 33).

[31] Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten,* vol. 5, p. 4429b, *Fudaraku kaie ki*.

[32] *T*.2120:839-840.

[33] *T*.50.2157. This catalogue is dated to the sixteenth year of Zhenyuan (800). See *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten,* Bekkan, p. 612.

[34] Other Japanese scholars date the composition of these two ritual manuals after Amoghavajra's time. For instance, Osabe Kazuo, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō* (Kobe: Kobe Shōkadaigaku keizai kenkyūjo, 1971), pp. 70-7 and Kobayashi Taiichirō, "Tōdai no Daihi Kannon," *Kobayashi Taiichiro chosaku shū*, vol. 7 (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1974, pp. 83-186), p. 149 date the *Shewuai yigui* to the Song Dynasty. I thank Iyanaga Nobumi for recommending this article (May 21, 2006). Mukai Ryūken's reservations concerning the attribution of the *Shewuai yigui* are found in his "Fukū yaku *Shōmuge kyō w*o meguru mondai," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 30/2 (March 1982), pp. 801-804 and "Fukū yaku *Shōmugekyō* to *Bizangji* to no kankei ni tsuite," *Buzan kyōgaku daikai kiyō*, vol. 9 (Septemebr 1981), pp. 13-24, esp. pp. 13, 20. On the other hand, the attribution to Amoghavajra is accepted by both the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* (vol. 5, pp. 415c-416a) and the *Mikkyō daijiten* (vol. 3, pp. 1205a-b and 1356a-37b).

Osabe (*Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 192) suggests that the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* dates to the mid-late Tang Dynasty and Misaki ("*Jōju myōhokkekyō ō yuga kanchi giki* ni tsuite," *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū*, vol. 14/6 (1975, pp. 17-47), p. 45) argues that this work dates to long after Amoghavajra's time, because it is described as a newly imported text in Japanese ritual compilations such as the *Kakuzenshō* and the *Asabashō*. See also Lucia Dolce, Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren's Interpretation of the Lotus Sutra (PhD Dissertation, University of Leiden, 2002), ch. 6, pp. 245-246.

[35] These texts do not have the phases of the rite but only of a detailed description of the iconography of the figures of the mandala that is to be visualized during its performance. The *Shewuai yigui* and *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* both contain standardized formulas for the deities' iconographic prescriptions. These passages give information concerning the deities' crowns, colors, mudrās and attributes, jewelry, clothing, and seats. There are minor

differences, such as omissions and shortening of passages, which suggest copying errors. These standardized directives are not seen in Amoghavajra's ritual manuals. One good example for comparison is a ritual manual for the rite of Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara, the *Jingangding yuqie qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經 (*T*.20.1056), which is listed in Amoghavajra's memorial (*T*.2120:839c8 as *Jingangding yuqie qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa niansong fa*: I discuss this manual in Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission, pp. 185-187.)

The *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* gives the details of the figures of the mandala that is to be envisioned in a rite described in a separate text, the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyuqie guanzhi yigui* 成就妙法蓮華經王瑜伽觀智儀軌 (*T*.19.1000). The *Chengjiu miaofa lianhuajing wangyuqie guanzhi yigui* is listed in Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:880b8).

The *Shewuai yigui* can, on the other hand, be divided into two parts. The first is an introduction that discusses principle 理 (*li*) and wisdom 智 (*zhi*), rites for the Venerables of the Five Families 五部尊法, the Lords and Mothers of the Five Families 五母部室主, the angry forms of the Five Buddhas 五智忿怒相配 and the Thirty-Seven Venerables 三十七尊 of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The second, the main body of the manual, is about the construction of the Mandala for Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara 千手千眼觀音. The second part on the details of the mandala is given much greater emphasis.

The title of the *Shewuai yigui* makes it clear that this work has been extracted from a larger text. (See also Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 636.) Further, a note appended beneath the title of the manuscript version published in the *Taishō* states that "it is best to consult the larger ritual manual for the liturgical procedure and its *dhāraṇīs* and praises" (*T*.1067:129b13). The *Shewuai yigui* belongs to a group of ritual manuals (for example, *T*.20.1056, 1057,1058, 1060 and 1065) that were composed for the cult of the Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara. For a presentation of this cult in the Tang and early Song Dynasties, see Kobayashi Taiichirō, "Tōdai no Daihi Kannon," *Kobayashi Taiichiro chosaku shū*, vol. 7, pp. 83-186.

[36] The *Shewuai yigui* describes a Mandala of Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara. Included among the one hundred and twenty-one figures arranged in five courts are the Four Directional Buddhas, Four Pāramitā Bodhisattvas, Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas and the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. Ishida shows that the iconography of these figures corresponds, on the whole, to those in the Shingon school's *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (see Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, chart on pp. 245-248). Amoghapāśa, Bhṛkuṭī, Ekādaśamukha, Krodhāṇkuśa, Cintāmaṇicakra, Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Padmakulobhava, and Acalanātha are also present, to name but a few in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (Ishida, ibid, chart on pp. 249-250).

Ishida follows Ōmura Seigai, whose statement that various deities from the two major mandalas (*taikon ryōbu shoson*) have been arranged together (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 637, Ishida, ibid, pp. 224, 251), suggests some sort of systematic combination of the figures from the two *Genzu mandara*. (See also *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1205a.) In the *Shewuai yigui* mandala, there are groups composed of deities from the *Genzu mandara*. In the second court Bodhisattvas from the *Genzu taizōkai* and *Kongōkai mandara* attend on Buddhas from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. For example, Bodhisattva Vajrapāramitā from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* and Bodhisattva Tārā from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* attend on Akṣobhya, the Buddha of the east in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T*.1067:131b23-28, 132a9-18). In the mandala's third court, Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara (Kokūzō in*, Hall of Ākāśagarbha*)* is attended by Vajraratna, Vajrateja, Vajraketu and Vajrahāsa, the four attendant Bodhisattvas of Ratnasaṃbhava, the Buddha of the south in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T*.1067:132c14-133a4, 134a16-27).

All the same, there is no consistent pattern in the pairing of figures from the *Genzu mandara*. A combination of material from the two mandalas is evident in the second court, where the four Buddhas of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* sit in the four gateways in the four cardinal directions, the four major Bodhisattvas from the central court of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* are in the intermediate directions of the court, and the subgroups are composed of figures from these two mandalas who attend on one of the four Buddhas (*T*.1067:131b23-132b23). It is much more difficult to see any pattern in the third court (four figural groupings composed of four of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas who attend on multi-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara and Ucchuṣma), the fourth (configurations containing a form of Avalokiteśvara, a Vināyaka and a ṛṣi) and the fifth (the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas and thirty-two of the thirty-three transformation bodies of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara).

In the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing,* the Buddhas Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna are in the center of a mandala that is composed of forty-two figures arranged in three enclosures. According to Ishida (*Mandara no kenkyū*,

p. 251), in this mandala, figures from the *Genza mandara* are arranged in alternating courts. The innermost court (*T*.1001:603a25-b18, 604a4-11) contains figures from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra), the second court (*T*.1001:604a16-b14) has ones from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas and the Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas) and the third court (*T*.1001:604c16-605c25) draws on the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (Acalanātha, Trailokyavijaya as Vajrahūṃkara, Indra, to name but a few; see Ishida's charts, ibid, pp. 244-245, 247-248, 249-250). The result, concludes Ishida, is a combination of deities from the two mandala traditions (ibid, pp. 244, 251). Ōmura came to a similar conclusion (*taikon ryōbu no omoi*; see *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 631).

All the Bodhisattvas in the central court, including Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, appear in the *Lotus Scripture*. Links can be established with figures in the *Genzu mandara*, but some are tenuous; for example, that between Bodhisattva Akṣayamati 無尽意菩薩 and one of the Sixteen Venerables of the Present *Kapla* 賢劫十六尊 proposed by Asai Endō ("Hokkei mandara no kenritsu" 法華曼荼羅の健立 in *Jōko Nihon Tendai honmon shisō shi* (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1973), p. 462). Links can also be suggested for some of the eight Bodhisattvas in the mandala's second court, but they are similarly uncertain. Five of the Bodhisattvas in the second court are from chapters in the *Lotus Scripture,* and there are similarities with figures in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (for example, Mahāsthāmaprāpta and Ratnapāṇi). There also seems to be a connection between Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattava-saṃgraha* and Buddha Śākyamuni in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. But the reasoning behind the selection of Bodhisattvas Ratnaketu and Maghānakṣatra 星宿王 as deities for this *Lotus* mandala is unclear – although these two can be matched with figures in the *Genzu mandara*, the identification is tentative at best. (For example, Asai (ibid, p. 463) suggests Buddha Ratnaketu in the east of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* as a match for Bodhisattva Ratnaketu, but Misaki (in his "*Jōju myōhokkekyō ō yuga kanchi giki* ni tsuite," *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū*, vol. 14/6, p. 27) nominates the Bodhisattva Ratnaketu from the Hall of Ākāśagarbha in the Ācārya Transmitted Mandala [*T*.39.1796:638d]). Finally, Acalanātha appears in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* and a three-faced, eight-armed Trailokyavijaya is found seated in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*, but the ferocious, multi-armed figures of Ucchuṣma and Kuṇḍalī are absent from the *Genzu mandara*. See Dolce's description of this mandala and discussion of the figures' relationship with the Tiantai Lotus rite in Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren's Interpretation of the Lotus Sutra, p. 246 (*T*.1001), and pp. 235-239 (*T*.1000).

[37] Further, Mahāvairocana is described as forming the Mudrā of Meditation (*T*.1067:132a19-24). This mudrā signifies Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*.

There are other examples that contradict Amoghavajra's known positions. For instance, the names of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas and the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas that are given in the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* do not match the names given to these groups of figures in other works by Amoghavajra. For example, see the *Ba dapusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼荼羅經, the *Lueshu jingangding yuqie biesheng xiuzheng famen* 略述金剛頂瑜伽別聖修證法門, the *Jingangding lianhuabu xinniantong yigui* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦儀軌 and the *Jingangding yuqie jingang saduo wubimi xiuxing niantong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩五秘密修行念誦儀軌, which are enumerated in his inventory of translations and compositions (*T*.20.1167:675b14-c16, *T*.870:288c19-290a1, *T*.873:305b6-17, c1-11 and *T*.20.1125:528b29-c16, respectively).

Moreover, the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing*'s group of Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas include the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas and the Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas, who do not belong to this group. Amoghavajra, who composed a short commentary on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha,* the *Lueshu jingangding yuqie biesheng xiuzheng famen* 略述金剛頂瑜伽別聖修證法門, wherein information about the thirty-seven figures of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm is provided, could not have made such a mistake.

Finally, the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing*'s directives for the order of installing the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas and the Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas into the mandala contradict Amoghavajra's instructions in his *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. This order differs, thus changing the original functions of these deities. For example, in the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* (*T*.1001:602c6-8) the order of installation of the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas into the mandala begins with Vajrasphoṭa in the east gate and ends with Vajrapāśa in the north gate. In Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865:215b21-216a9), the order begins with Vajrāṇkuśa in the east gate and ends with Vajrāghanta in the north gate.

[38] The text states (*T*.1067:129c18-19) that the Gem Family controls the rite of augmentation, and a note provides specific results that are linked to the four Bodhisattvas of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Gem Family. In the second court of this mandala (*T*.1067:131b23-132b23), used for the rite of augmentation, the Bodhisattvas of the Gem

Family are not present. Instead Buddha Ratnasaṃbhava (*T*.1067:131b29-c4), the parent Buddha of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Gem family sits in this court's southern gate and the Buddhas who head the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s other families sit in the other gates of this court. Also present in this second court are the Four Pāramitā Bodhisattvas from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*, the Bodhisattvas Maitreya, Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara (who appear in the central court of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*), and the Bodhisattvas Tārā, Mahāsthāmaprāpta and Padmakulodbhava from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s *Kannon in* (Hall of Avalokiteśvara), as well as Tathāgata Mahāvairocana, who forms the Meditation Mudrā. Because Amoghavajra championed the methods of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and its Five Families in memorials to the Chinese emperors he served (*T*.2120:827c27-828a1, a13-14; 840b1-4), as well as in his last testament (*T*.2120:844a23-27; a28-b2) and his farewell letter to Emperor Daizong (*T*.2120:846b14-16), it is doubtful that he would have tolerated such inconsistencies.

[39] The index of the Esoteric Buddhist section of the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (sakuin, mikkyōbu, vol. 10, 11) does not list any work by Amoghavajra that employs these terms as a pair. The ritual manual *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* contains a *li*/*zhi* (*T*.1001:605c16), but its attribution to Amoghavajra is questionable. The allocation of Principle and Wisdom to the two hands is also found in the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* (*T*.1001:605c16). Here it is used to describe the primary mudrā of Trailokyavijaya, who makes the Mudrā of Saving the World 理智求世印 with his two hands Principle and Wisdom, as he does in the *Shewuai yigui* (*T*.1067:133b24).

I present the relevant passage in the *Shewuai yigui* (*T*.1067:129b17-c2) as follows:

> At that time the Bhagavan resided in the concentration of the power of sovereignty of the Great Dhāraṇī of the Essence of Great Compassion Without Obstacles. He spoke, explaining the aspects of the Holy Great Mandala and the rites of the majestic forms and colors of the Venerables of the Five Families. [If] you want to know the aspects of the Seals (hand gestures) of the Venerables of this ocean-[like] assembly 海會, first you should know the names of the fingers. As for the [Mudrā of] Adoration of the Lotus Flower 蓮華合掌, the lotus flower is, namely, Principle. In Principle there is certainly Wisdom. Therefore, we call the left and right hand Principle and Wisdom [respectively]. Because the left hand is quietude, we call it Principle; it is the [Assembly] of the Ocean of the Matrix Repository 胎藏海[會]. The right hand discerns all things; we call it Wisdom, and it is the Adamantine Ocean [Assembly] 金剛海[會]. The five fingers of the left hand are the Five Wisdoms of the [Assembly] of the Ocean of the Matrix Repository, and the five fingers of the right hand are the Five Wisdoms of the Adamantine Ocean [Assembly].
>
> The left hand is meditation and the right hand is insight. The ten fingers are, then, the ten perfections (*pāramitās*), or they are called the ten worlds of essences or the ten thusnesses (*tathātas*). [When] they are contracted, then they are collected up into one, and [when] they are extended, then they have innumerable names.

This passage clearly indicates that the two hands, conceived of as a cosmological system in miniature, represent the Cosmic Buddha Mahāvairocana in his aspects of Principle and Wisdom. Further, according to this manual the Assembly of the Ocean of the Matrix Repository and the Adamantine Ocean Assembly, in their turn, are understood as a visual representation of these two aspects of the Cosmic Buddha. Principle, the transformative reality, is visually manifested in the Assembly of the Ocean of the Matrix Repository and Wisdom, the ultimate vision of enlightenment, which is the reality of emptiness, is depicted in the Adamantine Ocean Assembly (The definitions of Principle and Wisdom are from Orzech, "Cosmology in Action: Recursive Cosmology, Soteriology and Authority in Chen-yen Buddhism with Special Reference to the Monk Pu-k'ung," [University of Chicago, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1986], p. 215). A pairing of the two mandalas, like the joining of the hands in the mudrā of adoration, symbolizes the union of these two separate worlds of transformative reality and visionary consciousness into the one body of Mahāvairocana, which is the universe itself.

Orzech gives examples ("Cosomology in Action," pp. 217–219) of Amoghavajra's use of the term *li* 理 that differs from the above use wherein there is a pairing of Principle and Wisdom.

[40] An examination of the iconographical prescriptions given in the *Shewuai yigui* reveals that the *Genzu mandara* was not the only visual source for its mandala. There are a number of prescriptions given for the deities that Ishida does not highlight in his charts. Examples include the animal mounts of the Five Buddhas (*T*.1067:131b28, c4, 9, 14,132a24), a standing figure of Vajrahuṃkara who treads on Śiva and his consort (133c4), and Yamāntaka seated

upon a water buffalo (133b9). Ishida tries to account for these discrepancies in his "*Genzu mandara* saikō" (*Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 78, pp. 23-25), citing the omission or unclear depiction of attributes, the reversal of the figures and their attributes, and influences from the iconography of the *Wubu xinguan*, factors that seem to be present in fourteen of the figures in the *Shewuai yigui* mandala.

One motivation informing the iconography of the mandala in the *Shewuai yigui* is the creation of a mandala for the cult of Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara within the context of the families of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. However, the *Shewuai yigui* mandala is clearly a pastiche of material from a variety of sources, of which the *Genzu mandara* and *Wubu xinguan* were but two. This is particularly evident in the figures in the mandala's fourth and fifth courts. As mentioned above, thirty-two of Avalokiteśvara's thirty-three transformations from the *Lotus Scripture* are in the fifth court. In the fourth court are Gopīka, Sudhana and Mārīci, and other figures, as well as eight groups composed of a form of Avalokiteśvara, a Vināyaka and a ṛṣi.

Tang Dynasty ritual manuals for the cult of Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara exhibit the pairing of this Bodhisattva and Vināyakas. See Zhitong's 智通 translation, dated sometime between 627-647, the *Qianyan qianbei Guanshiyin pusa tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 千眼千臂勸世音菩薩陀羅尼神呪經 (*T*.1057:833c11-15), wherein this Bodhisattva assumes a form with one thousand arms and one thousand eyes in order to subdue Vināyakas and subdues various gods, demonic beings, *nāgas*, beasts, and so on, who become protectors of his special *dhāraṇī*. One is a group of eight classes of demonic spirits that includes gods and *nāgas*, and another is a group of twenty-eight classes of demonic spirits (see *T*.1057:85c28-86a13, 89a11-25 and Bodhiruci's translation *T*.1058:99a16-22, 23-b3, 103a14-c1). Gavāṃdharma's 伽梵達摩 650-655 translation, the *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wuai dabei xintuoluoni jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經, enumerates the gods and demonic beings that Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara summons to protect the chanter of his *dhāraṇī* (*T*.1060:108b2-25). Included among these twenty-eight groups of protectors are vināyakas and ṛṣis, as well as Mārīci. The twenty-eight classes of gods and demonic protectors form the retinue of Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara in paintings from Dunhuang and copies of Tang Dynasty mandalas for Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara recorded in such Japanese iconographic compilations as the *Asabashō* 阿婆縛抄 (scroll 88) and the *Tōhon mandara* 唐本曼荼羅 in the Ninnaji collection (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3011, p. 11, No. 2 and also see Kobayashi, "Tōdai no Daihi Kannon," *Kobayashi Taiichirō chosaku shū*, vol. 7, pp. 94-99.) Amoghavajra describes in his *Jingangding yuqie qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* (*T*.1056:75a27-28) a mandala for Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara wherein many gods and the eight classes of protectors form his retinue.

The *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujie guanzhi yigui*, a rite that Yuanzhao attributes to Amoghavajra (*T*.2157:880b9, a topic that I return to below in this endnote), has been characterized as a rite of combinatory practice 胎金合行 (*taikon gōgyō*) in which procedures from the rituals for the matrix and adamantine realm are performed (see for example Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 631 and Kambayashi, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 6, pp. 8-9). The contents of the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui* and the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* demonstrate an intent to create an esoteric rite with an accompanying mandala for the cult of the *Lotus Scripture*. See Asai, "Hokkei mandara no kenritsu," *Jōko Nihon Tendai honmon shisō shi*, pp. 460-471, Misaki, "*Jōju myōhokkekyō ō yuga kanchi giki* ni tsuite," *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū*, vol. 14/6, pp. 17-47 and Dolce, Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren's Interpretation of the Lotus Sutra, pp. 228-231. Misaki has shown that the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia Guanzhi yigui* is a complicated rite whose author has drawn on many sources, including *Lotus* ritual practices, for its liturgy ("*Jōju myōhokkekyō ō yuga kanchi giki* ni tsuite," pp. 23-44 and Dolce, Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren's Interpretation of the Lotus Sutra, pp. 231-234). The basic structure of the rite proper and its major liturgical elements, which derive from the ritual traditions of the matrix and adamantine realm, are also seen in Amoghavajra's *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa* (*T*.19.972), a ritual manual included in his list of translations and compositions dated to 771 (see *T*.2120:839c11, *Foding zunsheng niansong fa*). For example, the mudrā-mantra pairs for the *Chengjiu miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui*'s ritual phases of purification and protection (pledge of All Tathāgatas *T*.1000:596c1-16, birth in the Dharmadhātu 596c17-597a3, Vajrasattva's turning the wheel of the teachings 597a4-12, donning adamantine armor 597a13-21), of establishing boundaries and removing obstacles (*T*.1000:597b19-c3), of encounter with the deities (inviting the holy ones into the mandala, *T*.1000:598b7-14, offering sacred water 598b15-23 and lotus seats 598b24-29), and of offerings (fivefold offerings of smearing unguents, flowers, incense, lamps and food and drink; *T*.1000:599b21-600b10), which derive from the matrix rite (see for instance *T*.848:47a7-14, a15-26, a27-b12, b13-23,48c24-49a8, 49a10-21, 49b5-8, b9-14, 50b5-20), correspond to the same ritual steps in the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa* (*T*.972:365a18-24, a25-b2, b3-8, b9-15, b16-24, 365b29-366a3, 366a10-14, 366a4-9, 366a15-b16). Following the ritual phase of offerings in the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa* is a series of mudrā-mantra pairs that are the practitioner's preparation for the ritual phase

of identification with the deity. These are the practitioner's consecration (*T*.972:366c2-367a9), tying the wig (*T*.972:367a9-11) and donning armor (*T*.972: 367a12-21). Although the mantras are simplified in the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa*, these liturgical steps derive from Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm (*T*.873:302c16-27, 302c28-303a7, 303a8-25). The practitioner performs the identical series of ritual steps in the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui* (*T*.1000:601a15-20, a21-25, a26-b4), but here the ritual phase of preparation of the practitioner for the following phase of ritual union with the deity is elaborated by the addition of the ritual act of attainment of the buddha body through five aspects 五相成佛, also from the rite of the adamantine realm (*T*.873:301c17-302b29). In the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui* the attainment of the buddha body through five aspects (*T*.1000:600b28-601a10), which precedes the ritual acts of consecration, tying the wig and donning armor, is adapted from Amoghavajra's *Puxian Jingangsaduo lue yuqie niansong yigui* (*T*.1124:532b11-c3, *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa*), a ritual manual also included in his list of translations and compositions (*T*.2120:839c14). In short, the rite proper given in the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui* is based on two ritual handbooks that Amoghavajra recorded in his 771 A.D. memorial.

There is, then, a mixing of elements from the two major Esoteric Buddhist ritual traditions in Amoghavajra's *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa*, as well as in the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui*, a work attributed to him. The purpose of these handbooks was not to amalgamate these two ritual systems but rather to provide a rite with precise directions for the ritual phases of purification and protection, visualization of the sacred site, encounter with deities, offerings, and mergence with, and so transformation into, deities. In the former rite the practitioner becomes Bodhisattva Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa (*T*.972:367a22-368a1) and in the latter with Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (*T*.1000:601b5-c9), the focus of *Lotus* ritual practices. I discuss the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa* and other ritual handbooks that Japanese scholars have labelled rites of combinatory practice 金胎合行 / 胎金合行 (*kontai gōgyō* or *taikon gōgyō*) in Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission, of this dissertation.

The *Jingangding yujie qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* (*T*.1056, mentioned in endnote 35) attests to Amoghavajra's involvement with the cult of Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara. This Bodhisattva does not appear in the Matrix Mandala expounded in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s second chapter, nor in the earlier versions of the Chinese matrix mandalas, the *Taizang tuxiang* or *Taizang jiutuyang*, for example, but he is in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. Present in the same court of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* are the figures of the Ten Pāramitā Bodhisattvas who surround Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara in the mandala constructed in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yujie qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* (*T*.1056:75a11-28, see also Appendix B, esp. endnote 124 for the figures in the mandala). This suggests the influence of Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yujie qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa xiuxing yigui jing*, a manual structured on his *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* (*T*.18.873, see Appendix B, pp. 185-187), on the iconography of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*, which was composed after his time.

There is, however, no documentation in Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangjin sanzang heshang biaozhiji* (*T*.2120), for example, indicating Amoghavajra had any special interest in the cult of the *Lotus Scripture*. I discuss Amoghavja's religious concerns in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

The *Chengjiu miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui* is listed second in Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:880b9), right after his recording of the translations and compositions that Amoghavajra presented to the Emperor in his 771 A.D. memorial (see *T*.2157:879a27-880b6 and *T*.2120:839a28-840a11), suggesting that perhaps this work was composed by disciples within Amoghavajra's lineage in order to address concerns and needs that arose after their master's time. There is, for instance, a letter dated 778 (*T*.2120:856a28-b10) from Li Xiancheng 李憲誠, the Palace Commissioner for Overseeing Buddhist Affairs, in which he presents to the Emperor a copy of the *Lotus Scripture* written in gold characters. Amoghavajra describes his close relationship with his lay follower Li Xiancheng in his last testament (*T*.2120:844b21-26; for English, see Orlando, "Chinese Documents," pp. 119-120), and he had Li Xiancheng deliver his deathbed letter of farewell to Emperor Daizong (*T*.2120:846b3-29, esp. 846b25). Amoghavajra's disciples could have composed at Li Xiancheng's behest the *Chengjiu miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui*, taking the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa* and *Puxian Jingangsaduo lue yuqie niansong yigui* as their model.

[41] See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1369a-1370b 金胎両部 (*kontai ryōbu*) and Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi,* vol. 5, p. 756. Toganoo implies the two were *a set* from Kūkai's time because he received a set from Huiguo (*Mandara no kenkyū* 曼荼羅の研究, Toganoo Zenshū IV (Koyasan: Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1958), pp. 105-109, pp. 110-114), as does Ono Genmyō ("Daishi goshōrai no geijutsu" 大師御請來の藝術, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, pp. 557-8, 559-60, 561) and some contemporary Shingon scholars. See Takagi Shingen, "Kūkai no kai to fuhō ni tsuite,"

Mikkyō bunka, vol. 82 (1967), pp. 1-18, esp. pp. 12-13, and "*Goshōrai mokuroku*," *Nihon meisō ronshū*: *Kūkai* (Wada Shūjō, Takagi Shingen, eds., vol. 3, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1982, pp. 226-243), esp. pp. 236-239; Horiuchi, "Kōbōdaishi no ryōbu funi shisō," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū,* vol. 23/1 (1974), pp. 98-105; Matsunaga Yūkei, "Ri to chi," *Mikkyō shisō* (Tokyo: Shuchiin daigaku mikkyō gakkai, 1977), pp. 60-71, esp. p. 68, and "*Fuhōden* no tenkyo to chosaku mokuteki," *Kōbōdaishi kenkyū*, ed. Nakano Gishō (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1978), pp. 1-31, esp. pp. 26-28; Katsumata Shunkyō, *Kōbōdaishi no shisō to sono genryū* (Tokyo: Sankobō busho rin, 1981), pp. 181-205; and Mukai Ryūken, "Fukū yaku *Shōmugekyō* o meguru mondai," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 30/2 (1982), p. 297 and "Fukū yaku *Shōmugekyō* to *Hizōki* to no kankei ni tsuite," *Buzankyōgaku daikai kiyō,* vol. 9 (1981), p. 20.

[42] These writings are the *Shōrai mokuroku* 請來目錄 (Catalogue of Imported Items), the *Himitsu mandarakyō fuhō den* 祕密曼荼羅教付法傳 (Legend of the Transmission of the Teachings on the Secret Mandalas, hereafter the *Fuhōden)*, the *Shingon fuhōden* 眞言付法傳 (Legend of the Transmission of Mantras) and the *Bizangji* 祕藏記 (Record of the Secret Treasury). The *Fuhōden* is published in *Kōbō daishi zenshū,* vol.1, pp. 1-49; the *Shingon fuhōden* in *Kōbō daishi zenshū,* vol. 1, pp. 1-50; the *Shōrai mokuroku* in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp 69-104; and the *Bizangji* is in *T. Zuzō,* vol. 1, pp. 1-16.

[43] *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 69. I have followed with minor modifications Hakeda Yoshito's translation of the *Shōrai mokuroku* in his *Kūkai*: *Major Works (*New York and London: 1972), pp. 140-150.

[44] *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 70. Refer to endnote 11 above for Kūkai's recording of the mandalas in this work.

[45] *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 100.

[46] I want you to return to your country, taking these great mandalas [of the Venerables in their anthropomorphic forms] for the two categories 兩部大曼荼羅, the more than one hundred volumes of the teachings of the Adamantine Vehicle, as well as the objects and offering utensils that Master Tripiṭaka [Amogavajra] left me, and spread [the teachings] there. (ibid)

[47] The *Fuhōden* survives in two versions: an extended version in two scrolls, called the *Himitsu mandarakyō fuhō den,* and a simplified version in one scroll, called the *Shingon fuhōden*. The extended version has three parts: the first relates the origin and formation of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings; the second records the biographies of the Shingon patriarchs Mahāvairocana, Vajrasattva, Nārājuna, Nāgajñāna, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra and Huiguo; and the third is a casuistry 門答 (*montō*). The simplified version consists only of biographies of the Shingon partiarchs, but in this text the biographies of Śubhākarasiṃha and his disciple Yixing have been added to those of the above patriarchs. Although the exact date of the extended version is not known, Kūkai most likely composed it some time before 821. A note at the end of the biographies of Śubhākarasiṃha and Yixing in the *Shingon fuhōden* states that these biographies were compiled in the ninth month of the twelfth year of Kōnin 弘仁 (821), and so scholars such as Matsunaga Yūkei conjecture that the extended version preceded the simplified one ("*Fuhōden* no tenkyo to chosaku mokuteki," *Kōbō daishi kenkyū*, p. 3). Kūkai composed the extended version sometime between Kōnin 6 (815), when he completed *Benkenmitsu nikyō ron* 辯顯密二教論, and Kōnin 12, the date of completion of the *Shingon fuhōden*. It is thought that it was produced to accompany a set of paintings of the Seven Shingon Patriarchs that Kūkai commissioned in 821, since its contents are identical to the eulogies written on the paintings of the Seven Shingon Patriarchs in the collection of Tōji (see *Kōbō daishi zenshū,* vol. 1, pp. 66-67, *Mikkyō daijien*, vol. 4, pp. 1961-2 and *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 611). Kūkai made significant changes in both the *Fuhōden* and the *Shingon fuhōden*, and I will introduce some of these alterations in this section. See also Matsunaga Yūkei, "*Fuhōden* no tenkyo to chosaku mokuteki," *Kōbō daishi kenkyū*, pp. 3-31.

[48] The following passage is found in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 39:

Reaching the age of manhood, [Huiguo] received the precepts, studied concurrently the four divisions [of the *Vinaya*] and grasped the inner significance of the [texts on the teachings, rules of discipline and commentaries in the] *Tripiṭaka*. He received all of his teacher's transmission on the rites of the Great Mandala of the Five Families [in their anthropomorphic forms as expounded in] the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the secret hand gestures and mantras of the teaching of the three mysteries [for the Venerables in the Great Mandala Born] of the Matrix Repository of

> Great Compassion [as expounded in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*]. That is to say, [Amoghavajra] conferred [on him] the secret mudrās of the teachings of the fundamental and supreme transmission of Vairocana [and] the position of master (*ācārya*) of the great teachings of the two categories 兩部大法阿闍梨位 (*ryōbu daihō ajari i*). [Amoghavajra] the [Master of the] *Tripitaka* proclaimed [to Huiguo]: "One hundred years after me, you are to maintain this great teaching of the two categories 兩部大法 (*ryōbu daihō*), to defend the Buddha's teachings, to protect the nation and to benefit and bring joy to sentient beings. In India, too, this great teaching is something exceedingly difficult to see. Even [instructions for] one Venerable [or] one part [of the teachings] are not easy to obtain. How much the more [difficult it is to obtain the teachings of] the two categories 兩部 (*ryōbu*)! Although the disciples that I have are many in number, some have obtained [instructions for] one Venerable and some have obtained [initiation into] one category [of the teachings]. Feeling compassion for your intelligence and diligence, I have granted you both categories 兩部 (*ryōbu*). Repay my favors by working hard and being diligent."

Kūkai, who usually identifies the sources he consulted for the biographies of the Chinese patriarchs in the *Fuhōden*, does not give the source for the account of the transmission that Huiguo received from Amoghavajra. The same passage is found in the *Shingon fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 60).

[49] Here Kūkai identifies his sources. Both documents are collected in Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji*. Kūkai quotes from Amoghavajra's last testament (*T*.2120:844a17-b3). He begins with the passage in which Amoghavajra briefly recapitulates his religious career, including his journey to India and his thirty years of propagating the new yoga teachings he returned with, and ends with the section where Amoghavajra lists the names of the surviving six of his eight gifted disciples. These, having studied and mastered his teachings and practices for the Five Families in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, were to be a guide for others. Huiguo is one of them. This passage appears in the *Shingon fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū* , vol. 1, pp. 60-61).

Huiguo's memorial (*T*.2120:852b23-c) was his first to Emperor Daizong, to thank him for a gift of cloth. In it, Huiguo briefly summarizes his religious apprenticeship under Amoghavajra, and the transmission that he received from him. This transmission constituted, he writes, "the fundaments of the secrets of the yoga [teachings]" 瑜伽祕密之宗 and "the essentials [concerning the practice of the generation of the mind] of universal goodness [of All the Tathāgatas] which is profound and wondrous" 普賢深妙之要 (*T*.2120:852b226-27). That is, Amoghavajra transmitted the teachings on yoga in his *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* to Huiguo, as well as its most important ritual practice, attaining Buddhahood in five steps. (See *T*.865:208a4,5,9,b9-10.)

Japanese scholars have other interpretations of the contents of the transmission that Huiguo received from Amoghavajra. For example, Takagi suggests that the second phrase in this memorial refers to the teachings and rites for Huiguo's personal deity, the Bodhisattva Samantrabhadra ("Kūkai no kai to fuhō ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 82, p. 13). As supporting evidence he cites a letter from Emperor Daizong to Amoghavajra's disciple Huisheng 慧勝, wherein the Emperor writes that the Bodhisattva Samantrabhadra was the personal deity of both men, given to them by their master Amoghavajra (*T*.2120:850c16-21; Takagi p. 17, footnote 20). In this case, the phrase might be translated "the essentials of the profound and wondrous [yoga rite for Bodhisattva] Samantabhadra." See also Takagi, "*Goshōrai mokuroku*," *Nihon meisō ronshū*: *Kūkai*, p. 239.

In the *Fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 41), Kūkai makes an important alteration to Huiguo's description of Amoghavajra's transmission. He substitutes "the essentials of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion" 大悲胎藏之要 (*daihitaizō no yō*) for the phrase concerning the Tathāgatas' universal goodness (*samantabhadra*). Kūkai's textual change emphasizes that Amoghavajra's transmission to Huiguo contained the doctrine and practices of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, that is, the teachings in two categories. Huiguo's memorial does not appear in the *Shingon fuhōden*.

[50] *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 40. This passage does not appear in Kūkai's *Shingon fuhōden*. Amoghavajra makes no mention in his last testament of any exceptional status for Huiguo, nor of his receiving a special transmission. Kūkai's description of the teachings that Huiguo received from Amoghavajra differs from that recorded in other Chinese works. For instance, in a Chinese biography of Huiguo dated between 826 and 830, the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhao Gongfeng Dade xingzhuang* 大唐青龍寺三朝供奉大德行狀 (*T*.50.2057), the transmission that Huiguo received from Amoghavajra is described. This account differs from that presented by Kūkai in the *Fuhōden*. The unknown author of the biography records that Huiguo received a number of teachings from Śubhākarasiṃha's disciple

Hyonchō [C. Xuanchao] 玄超. These included that on the great teachings on the great yoga of Vairocana of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion 大悲胎藏毘盧遮那大瑜伽大教, the methods for the great yoga of the accomplishment of special powers 蘇悉地大瑜伽法, and the rites for the yogas of the various deities 諸尊瑜伽等法 (*T*.2057:295a8-13). Amoghavajra initiated him into the Methods of the Scripture of the King of the Great Teachings of the Great Yoga of the Adamantine Crown 金剛頂大瑜伽大教王經法, and the secret hand gestures for the yogas of the various Venerables 諸尊瑜伽密印. This last statement tallies better with the information that Amoghavajra gives in his last testament (*T*.2120:844a29-b2).

[51] The *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhao Gongfeng Dade xingzhuang* records that Wu Yin was Huiguo's lay disciple (*T*.2057:295c10-11).

[52] He [Huiguo] always spoke to his disciples, saying:

> "The great teachings of the dual categories of the Adamantine Realm and the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion 金剛界大悲胎藏兩部大教 are the secret treasury of the Buddhas. That is to say, they are the path to becoming a Buddha in this body. I vowed to universally spread [these teachings] throughout the Law World and to save sentient beings. I have granted the rank of Master of the Matrix Repository 胎藏師位 to both Bianhong of Heling (Java) and Hyeil (C. Huiri) of Shiragi (Silla). To Weishang of Jiannan and Yiyuan of Hebei I have granted the great methods of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界大法. I have also granted to the Imperial Chamberlain Yiming the great methods in two categories 兩部大法. Now the monk Kūkai from Japan is here. Because he has come seeking the sacred teachings, I have instructed him in the hand gestures, the rites for [mandalic] altars and the secrets of the two categories 兩部祕奧壇儀印契. Undeterred by the difference between Sanskrit and Chinese, he has taken everything into his heart, and it was just like pouring [my teachings without spilling a drop] into a receptacle. These six are fit to transmit the lamp of my teachings. My vow has been satisfied..." (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 44.)

This biography, dated to the third day of the first month of the first year of Yuanhe (806) 元和元年正月三日, exists only in Kūkai's *Fuhōden* (see, for example, Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi,* vol. 5, p. 786.) The section given above is also found in the *Shingon fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 61).

[53] In the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhao Gongfeng Dade xingzhuang*, for instance, Hyeil of Silla received from Huiguo the teachings on the Matrix, the Adamantine Realm and the *Susiddhi*, as well as the yogas of various Venerables, in all thirty books. Yiming received from Huiguo the teachings of thirty books, among which were those on Vairocana's Matrix and the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. Further, Huiguo bestowed upon Kūkai the teachings from fifty texts, including those of the Matrix of Great Compassion and the Adamantine Realm, as well as rites for the yoga methods of various Venerables (*T*.2057:295b19-21, b27-29, c23-26). According to this account, then, Hyeil received from Huiguo more than just the teachings and practices of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, and no mention is made of Yiming's initiation into the teachings of the Adamantine Realm.

[54] The Great Teacher devoted himself wholeheartedly to the affairs of the Buddha and did not concentrate on maintaining himself. He did not save one penny of the alms that he received. He would erect a mandala, vowing to spread the teachings and benefit beings. On the inner and outer walls of the Consecration Hall and beneath the Stūpa of the Buddha, he had illustrated the great mandalas of the dual categories of the Adamantine Realm and Matrix Respoitory of Great Compassion 金剛界及大悲胎藏兩部大曼荼羅, as well as mandalas of each one of the Venerables (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 44).

This passage does not appear in the *Shingon fuhōden*.

[55] Refer to endnote 41 above.

[56] *T*.2120:848b14-849c3. This is dated to the 6th day of the seventh month of the sixth year of Dali (774). In this passage, the name of the Indian master is Samantabhadra 普賢阿闍梨.

[57] There is discussion as to the restoration of the original Sanskrit name of the fourth patriarch. Recent research convincingly suggests the name Nāgajñāna or Nāgajñā. See Jeffrey Sundberg and Rolf Giebel, "The Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi as Chronicled by Lū Xiang (呂向): South Indian and Śrī Laṇkān Antecedents to the Arrival of Buddhist Vajrayāna in Eighth-Century Java and China," *Pacific World. Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Third Series, vol. 13 (Fall 2011), pp. 129-222, esp. pp. 179-180, footnote 27, who use the name Nāgajñāna.

[58] *Kōbō daishi zenshū,* vol. 1, p. 21, and Feixi's stele biography given in *T*.2120:848c9-14. I have italicized the inserted sentence. One difference between the two works is that Kūkai has added "text composed in one hundred thousand verses." See also Orlando's English translation in "A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning Amoghavajra," p. 163.

In the *Shingon fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 58), Kūkai describes Master Nāgajñāna's transmission as consisting of the methods of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga 瑜伽十八會法, the secret repository of the Five Families 五部祕藏, and texts [Śākyamuni] bequeathed concerning the Three Vehicles [of the śravakas, pratyekabuddhas and bodhisattvas] 三乘遺典. Kūkai has taken the contents of Nāgajñāna's transmission from the Eulogy and Preface written to accompany Amoghavajra's Portrait, the *Datang Daguangzhi sanzang heshang yingzan bing xu* 大唐大廣智三藏和上影讚并序 (Eulogy and Preface [written to accompany] the Portrait of the Great Tang's Preceptor [honorifically titled] Master of the Tripiṭaka [possessed of] Great Broad Wisdom), *T*.2120:847a2-b7, esp. 15-16) that was composed by Amoghavajra's lay follower Yan Ying 嚴郢. This work is undated, but because it is found among the documents on Amoghavajra's funeral in Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji*, it most likely dates to Amoghavajra's death in 774.

[59] A comparison of Kūkai's *Fuhōden* and the Chinese sources he consulted reveals that Kūkai selected and rearranged facts from these sources (see also Matsunaga, "*Fuhōden* no tenkyo to chosaku mokuteki," *Kōbō daishi kenkyū*, pp. 3-31). Another change that Kūkai made in Feixi's biography was that he substituted the name Nāgajñāna for that of Samantabhadra. In the *Fuhōden,* Kūkai records the sacred lineage of his Esoteric Buddhist transmission, and because in these teachings Samantabhadra is another name for Vajrasattva, the second Shingon patriarch, Kūkai was forced to change it for one that would better accord with this transmission's line of succession: this transmission began with Mahāvairocana, was passed on to Vajrasattva/Samantabhadra, then to the two semi-mythical Indian patriarchs Nārārjuna and Nāgajñāna and to the three historical Chinese patriarchs Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra and Huiguo.

The Chinese sources on Amoghavajra record both names for the master whom Amoghavajra studied under during his travels. For instance, in his Eulogy and Preface for Amoghavajra's Portrait 影讚并序 (*T*.2120:847a15) and in his stele biography, the *Tang Daxingshansi gudade Dabianzeng Guangzhi sanzang heshang beiming bing xu* 唐大興善寺故大德大辨正廣智三藏和尚碑銘并序 (*T*.2120:860a8-c9, esp. 860b8-9) dated to 781, Yan Ying records that during his travels through India and Sri Lanka 天竺師子等國 Amoghavajra received teachings from Nāgajñāna. Samantabhadra of Sri Lanka appears in Feixi's stele biography (*T*.2120:848c9-14), which is dated to 774, and in Zhao Quian's 趙遷 biography of Amoghavajra, the *Datang gudade zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Bukong sanzang xingzhuang* 大唐故大德贈司空大辨正廣智不空三藏行狀 (*T*.50.2056:292c13-14, 293a6-9), which is dated to the end of the eighth century.

Yan Ying (*T*.2120:847a6-12 and 860b4-10) and Zhao Quian (*T*.2056:292b19-25) record the lineage of the Esoteric Buddhist transmission from Vairocana to Amoghavajra. Kūkai connects the master whom Amoghavajra visited for instructions in these teachings with the Fourth Patriarch Nāgajñāna of this transmission. In the *Fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 9) and *Shingon fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 54) Kūkai begins the biography of the Fourth Patriarch Nāgajñāna by stating that this master sometimes lives and teaches in Southern India, and sometimes travels to Sri Lanka to teach. This statement accounts for the different places recorded in the Chinese sources. Further, at the close of Nāgajñāna's biography in both works (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 9-10; 55), Kūkai records that when he was in Chang'an in 805, he heard from Indian monks such as Prajñā 般若 and Muniśrī 牟尼室利, as well as from Brahmins from Southern India, that Nāgajñāna was still teaching in that region. In the *Shingon fuhōden,* Kūkai adds a note in the section on the Fourth Patriarch Nāgajñāna stating that he was also known by the name Master Samantabhadra (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 54), thus accounting for the different names given in the Chinese sources.

Further, Kūkai emphasizes by means of this change of name that Amoghavajra too, like his Master Vajrabodhi before him, received instructions in the Esoteric Buddhist teachings from the aged Fourth Patriarch Nāgajñāna of Southern India. In substituting Nāgajñāna's name for that of Samantabhadra in the *Fuhōden*, Kūkai is

putting forward a transmission of Esoteric Buddhist teachings that centered on patriarchs from the Southern Indian region, where the texts of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* lineage were recovered from the Iron Tower. See Matsunaga, "*Fuhōden* no tenkyo to chosaku mokuteki," *Kōbō daishi kenkyū,* pp. 24-26.

[60] This passage from the stele biography and the inserted sentence do not appear in Amoghavajra's biography in the *Shingon fuhōden*.

[61] Bibliographical material on Vajrabodhi is found in the ninth volume of Zhisheng's 智昇 *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教録 (*T*.55.2154:571b27-c13), Lu Xiang's 呂向 account of the Vajrabodhi's life in Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.55.2157:875a29-876b26), and in Hunlunweng's 混倫翁 stūpa inscription and preface for the Late Tripiṭaka Vajra[bodhi] of Daguangfusi in the Eastern Capital of the Great Tang 大唐東京大廣福寺故金剛三藏銘塔并序, also collected in the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:876b29-877a21). The sources that I examined for Amoghavajra's biography were Yan Ying's eulogy and preface for Amoghavajra's portrait (*T*.2120:847a); his stele biography (*T*.2120:860a8-c9), which was included among documents recording the official history of the Tang Dynasty (ibid, 860c10); Feixi's stele biography; and Zhao Quian's *Datang gu dafu zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Bukong sanzang xingzhuang*; as well as the memorials that Amoghavajra and his disciples wrote to the Chinese Emperors, which are collected in Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji* and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*. I discuss the transmissions of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra that were recorded in these sources in Chapter Four.

[62] The extended version is in *T. Zuzō,* vol. 1, pp. 1-16 and the abbreviated version is published in *Kōbō daishi zenshū,* vol. 2, pp. 1-50.

[63] *T. Zuzō,* vol.1, p.15a.

[64] Despite this inscription, the authorship and date of the *Bizangji* have long been subjects of scholarly dispute. There have been a number of opinions as to the author of this work:

1) Huiguo recorded the oral teachings of Amoghavajra and this was transmitted to Kūkai;
2) Kūkai recorded the teachings of Huiguo;
3) Wenbi composed the *Bizangji* in two scrolls (the extended version) and the Japanese monk Engyō 圓行 (799-852) brought it back to Japan in 839;
4) the text is a Japanese composition because of numerous misunderstandings of characters and errors in writing, and thus it could be Engyō's recording of the oral instructions of either Wenbi, Kūkai or Kūkai's disciple Gōrin 果隣 (767-after 837).

Medieval Shingon monks such as Jinken 深賢 (?-1261) and Yūkai 宥快 (1345-1416), and the Edo period monk Ekō 慧光 (1656-1737), recorded (1) and (2), and their arguments are collected in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 71-73. Ōmura (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi,* vol. 5, pp. 795-796) proposes (3), and Katō Seishin favors (4) ("*Hizōki* no chosha ni tsuite," *Mikkyō,* vol. 1/3 (1969), pp. 297-317, and his entry on the *Hizōki* in the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten,* vol. 9, pp. 104-105). Ōmura also notes the lack of refinement in the composition of the *Bizangji* and the mistakes in the use of characters, but he regards this as an indication of the author's insufficient knowledge of writing, pointing out that such mistakes are also seen in the works of Huiyue and Haiyun, for example. Katō's solution to the problem of authorship is much more complicated. He suggests that Engyō recorded the oral transmission of either Kūkai or Gōrin and then, when he went to China, gave the work to Wenbi. Wenbi gave Engyō in return the appended material, which he had set down.

More recent scholarship has avoided the problem of authorship, instead attempting to date the text by analyzing its contents. See Ōsawa Shōkan, "*Hizōki* no ikkōsatsu," *Taishō daigaku daigakuin kenkyū ronshū,* Sōkangō *(*1977), pp. 95-108 and "*Hizōki* no seiritsu nendai saikō" *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 47/2 (March 1999), pp. 623-627; Mukai Ryūken, "*Hizōki* seiritsukō," *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū,* vol. 15 (1983), pp. 53-67 and "Fukū yaku *Shewuai yigui* to *Hizōki* to no kankei ni tsuite," *Buzankyōgaku daikai kiyō,* vol. 9, pp. 13-24; and Yoneda Kōnin, "*Hizōki* no seiritsu nendai," *Mikkyō bunka,* vol. 186, pp. 67-93. The problem of authorship thus remains unresolved.

My present concern is more with the contents of this text than exactly who wrote it. I believe it reflects the thinking of Huiguo. Although it may not have been written by him, I accept it as an oral transmission within his doctrinal lineage.

For information on Yicao and Wenbi, see *Mikkyō daijiten,* vol. 1, p. 274 (Gisō) and vol. 5, p. 2172 (Monbi). Yicao and Wenbi are also included in Haiyun's *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* 兩部大法相承師資付法記 and Xuanzao's *Xiangcheng xuemo* 相承血脈, according to which Yicao received the transmissions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhi sūtras* from Huiguo, and Wenbi received only the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* from Yicao. I present Haiyun's work later in this chapter, and discuss Haiyun's and Xuanzao's works in Chapter Seven.

[65] **Matrix Mandala** (Mandala means that the [functions of the] three mysteries are perfect and complete.) Vairocana (This is the Venerable in [the center of Hall of the Eight-Petalled] Central Dais and is referred to as the Wisdom of the Dharma Realm.) Four Buddhas (These are Akṣobhya and the others, and they are the Four Wisdoms.) Four Bodhisattvas (These are Samantabhadra and the others, and are called the Bodhisattvas of the Four Practices.) The triangle above the central hall (This is [the Hall of Universal Wisdom and contains such Venerables as] Buddhalocanā.), as well as the family of Śākyamuni [above the central hall] and the five Great Wrathful Venerables below the central hall [in the Hall of the Wisdom Holders] (all [constitute] the Buddha Family.) [In the] southern direction (is the Vajra Family) [and in the] northern direction (is the Padma Family,) [and the remaining [hall] (is that of the Outer Vajra Family.) **Mandala of the Adamantine Realm**. The four Pāramitā [Bodhisattvas] issue from the Wisdom of the Dharma Realm[, that is Mahāvairocana]. These are the Meditations. The four Wisdoms [of the four Buddhas in the four directions] emanate from these Meditations. The thirty-seven Venerables are the so-called five Buddhas, four Pāramitās, sixteen Great Bodhisattvas and the twelve Offering [Bodhisattvas]. [If one represents] Fifty-three Venerables (add to the above thirty-seven Venerables the Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Present Age). [If one represents] Seventy-three Venerables (add the twenty gods of the Outer Vajra Family.) [And if one represents] One hundred and eight Venerables…. [text breaks off here]

The above is found in *T. Zuzō,* vol. 1, 2921, p. 1a. The manuscript for the abbreviated version collected in the *Kōbō daishi zenshū,* vol. 2, p. 2 continues with a note as follows:

> Add the five Uṣṇīṣa Cakravartins, the sixteen Vajra Holders, the ten Pāramitās and [the four gods] Pṛthivī (Earth), Varuṇa (Water), Agni (Fire) and Vāyu (Wind).

[66] *T. Zuzō,* vol. 1, 2921, p. 1a.

[67] *T. Zuzō,* vol. 1, 2921, pp. 12a-14c, and illustrations 3 and 4.

[68] See a chart of the iconographic matches between the *Bizangji* and the Shingon *Genzu mandara* in Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 244-247.

[69] *T. Zuzō,* vol. 1, 2921, p. 4c24-27.

[70] Two examples are:

1) Matrix Repository 胎藏 is Principle and Vajra 金剛 is Wisdom. Realm 界 is body 身. It is the body of one who possesses the Vajra. Body signifies collection. We say that one body collects [within itself] an infinite number of bodies. [It] also means holder. This Vajra[, that is Adamantine] Body firmly holds the thirty-five Buddhas and the one hundred and eight Venerables on up to an infinite number of Buddhas. (*T. Zuzō,* vol. 1, 2921, p. 2b29-c3.)
2) The reason why you first form the Lotus Gesture of Adoration is because the lotus flower is Principle. There is certainly Wisdom where there is Principle, and so we call the two hands Principle and Wisdom. The left hand is tranquility and therefore we call it Principle; it is the Matrix. The right hand discriminates all things and therefore we call it Wisdom; it is the Adamantine Realm. The five fingers of the left hand are the Five Wisdoms of the Matrix [Mandala] and the five fingers of the right hand are the Five Wisdoms of the Adamantine Realm [Mandala]. The left hand is meditation and the right hand is insight. The ten fingers are namely the Ten Perfections. Or they are the Ten Realms of Existence or the Ten

> Thusnesses. [When] they are contracted, then they are collected up into one, and [when] they are extended, then they have innumerable names (*T. Zuzō,* vol. 1, 2921, p. 7b15-20).

The second entry is also found in the *Shewuai yigui* (*T.*1067:129b22-c2, see endnote 39 above). One difference between the two is that in the *Bizangji* the word Realm 界 replaces the word Ocean 海 found in the *Shewuai yigui*.

[71] Mukai has concentrated his research on the relationship between the *Bizangji* and the *Shewuai yigui* because of eight passages in the *Bizangji* that are directly quoted from the *Shewuai yigui* ("*Hizōki* seiritsu kō," 「*Mikkyōgaku kenkyū,* vol. 15, pp. 53-67; "Fukū yaku *Shewuai yigui* to *Hizōki* to no kankei ni tsuite," *Buzankyōgaku daikai kiyō,* vol. 9, pp. 13-24; and "Fukū yaku *Shewuaikyō* o meguru mondai," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 30/2, pp. 295-297). The *Shewuai yigui* is listed neither in the inventories of the eight pilgrim-monks who went to China nor in Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*. This suggests that the text was introduced to Japan after the journeys of these eight pilgrim-monks. Mukai states that the first time the *Shewuai yigui* is mentioned in Japanese sources is in Kōzen's 興然 (1121-1203) *Gojikkanshō* 五十巻鈔. A note in this work states that it was newly introduced by Chōnen 奝然 (938-1016) who returned from China in 987.

Yoneda has found a quotation from the *Shewuai yigui* in Myōtatsu's 明達 (879-955) *Rikai shiki* 理界私記 ("*Hizōki* no seiritsu nendai," *Mikkyō bunka,* vol. 186, pp. 67-93). This work predates Chōnen's return to Japan. Yoneda does not work with the *Shewuai yigui* because its date and authorship are not known. Instead, to date the *Bizangji,* he examined works by known authors that quote it. He concludes that the *Bizangji* was composed between 839, when Engyō brought back Yicao's *Taizang jingang jiaofa minghao* 胎藏金剛教法名号 (*T.*18.864B), and 903, when Ryakushin 益信, the author of *Enjōji hakkan shidai* 圓城寺八巻次第, died.

The *Bizangji* contains a passage that is based on Yicao's *Taizang jingang jiaofa minghao* introduced by Engyō in 839. The focus of Yicao's work is the Matrix Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm; he lists the special names of the deities from these two mandalas that disciples, who have undergone the rite of consecration into these two mandalas, take and use throughout their religious careers (see *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten,* vol. 11, pp. 246-247 and the example of Kūkai, whose special name 金剛名号 (*kongō myōgō*) was Henshō kongō 遍照金剛, the name of Mahāvairocana in the two mandalas). In an entry titled "The adamantine names of the Thirty-Seven Venerables," the *Bizangji* cites the special names of the thirty-seven Venerables in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm from Yicao's *Taizang jingang jiaofa minghao (*see *T. Zuzō,* vol. 1, 2921, p. 6a-b and *T.*864:205b-c and Yoneda's chart, "*Hizōki* no seiritsu nendai," *Mikkyō bunka,* vol. 186, pp. 83-87*)*. These new findings prove that authorship of the *Bizangji* cannot be attributed to Amoghavajra, Huiguo, or Kūkai.

[72] See, for instance, Takagi, "Kūkai no kai to fuhō ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 82, pp. 15-16, and Misaki, *Taimitsu no riron to jissen* (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1994), pp. 300-301. Both scholars emphasize that the Shingon school does not attach any special importance to the transmission of the teachings of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* that Huiguo received from Hyonch'o, as recorded in the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhao gongfeng dade xingzhuan* (*T.*2057:295a8-11), as well as other Chinese works on the Esoteric Buddhist transmissions such as Haiyun's 海雲 *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* 兩部大法相承師資付法記. The *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhao gongfeng dade xingzhuang* and Haiyun's work date to ca. 830. These two texts and other documents that date to the mid-ninth century, which I shall discuss in Chapter Seven, make it imperative to put forward a new interpretation of the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist teachings in three categories 三部.

[73] *Kōbō daishi zenshū,* vol. 3, pp. 420-425 (see also *Sankyō shiki /Shōryōshū* 三教指歸 性霊集, Watanabe Shōkō and Miyasaka Yūshō ed. *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 71 (Tokyo: Iwanami shōten, 1965), pp. 196-207.) This is the earliest of Kūkai's writings in which he describes his Chinese master's religious concerns and transmission. In this eulogy, Kūkai does not define Huiguo's religious career in terms of the propagation of specific texts or doctrinal interpretations. Instead he focuses on his master's acquisition and performance of the powerful ritual and yogic practices that were the special feature of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings. For example, Kūkai presents Huiguo as a tireless and consummate practitioner of apotropaic rites that brought about miraculous results 霊験 for the Emperor, the nation and its people (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 421-422). He records the practices that his master was in the habit of performing: "He visualized the Ocean Assembly of the Matrix [Mandala] while coursing through the Palace of the Law World; he entered the Adamantine Realm [Mandala] and worshipped the vast Assembly of [Tathāgatas of] Universal Wisdom; he retained in his mind hundreds of thousands of *dhāraṇīs*; he visualized billions of mandalas, spreading them out on his body" (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 422). Clearly the practices for the Matrix Mandala

and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm were important for Huiguo, but in this eulogy Kūkai does not seem to link them together in any significant way. However, Japanese scholars see these sentences as evidence for the concept of pairing the traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (see Horiuchi, "Kōbōdaishi no ryōbu funi shisō," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū,* vol. 23/1, p. 102 and Katsumata, "Ryōbu funi shisō no keisei," *Kōbōdaishi no shisō to sono genryū*, p. 195). In this eulogy Kūkai lists the names of Huiguo's most advanced disciples and the transmission they received, which he describes as the teachings of the three mysteries 三密教, and the yogic practice of union with the deities in the mandala 入三昧耶学瑜伽 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 422). Kūkai also states that Huiguo constantly told his disciples that the esoteric doctrines are supreme among the Buddhist teachings, being their essence; that forming one hand gesture of one Venerable is the path to enlightenment; and that chanting one phrase of a mantra or one syllable of a seed letter is the fundamental cause that enables entry into the Buddha's path (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 423).

Kūkai makes significant changes to Huiguo's biography in his later writings in order to make it accord with the interpretation that pairs the two main Esoteric Buddhist texts and mandalas. This can be seen, for example, when comparing the passage in this eulogy that describes the teachings Amoghavajra conferred on the young Huiguo (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 421) and the material in the *Shingon fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, 1:59-60). The eulogy records *dhāraṇī* practices for Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa 大佛頂 and Mahāpratisarā 大随求 and the recitation of praises to Samantabhadra 普賢行 and Mañjuśrī 文殊讃. The *Shingon fuhōden* states that Amoghavajra orally granted Huiguo the *dhāraṇī* practices for Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa and Mahāpratisarā, as well as the Sanskrit versions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* 金剛頂瑜伽經 and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* 大日經.

For a chronological re-creation of Huiguo's life story and a discussion of his religious concerns, using Kūkai's eulogy, as well as Wu Yin's *Datang shendu Qinglongsi dongtayuan guandingguoshi Huiguo Asheli xingzhuang* and the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhao gongfeng dade xingzhuang,* see Katsumata's "Keika Wajō den no kenkyū" 恵果和上傳の研究, *Kōbō daishi no shisō to sono genryū*, pp. 317-348.

[74] Kūkai's record of this transmission in the *Shōrai mokuroku* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 99-100) centers on his consecrations 灌頂 first into the Matrix Mandala and then into the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. He receives from Huiguo a third, final consecration, which establishes him as a master who can transmit the Esoteric Buddhist teachings 轉教灌頂, but he gives no details about this rite or its mandala (see Hakeda, Yoshito, *Kūkai*: *Major Works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), pp. 147-148 and Abe Ryūichi, *The Weaving of Mantra. Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 122-124.) In the *Shōrai mokuroku* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 100), Kūkai also records that Huiguo ordered temple artisans to make mandalas for him to take back to Japan. Ten picture scrolls were made, but the only names given are the Mandalas of the Matrix and Adamantine Realm.

Kūkai refers in a number of his letters and votive texts to his study in Chang'an, and in every case he records the names of the Matrix Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm when describing the religious writings and paraphernalia that he copied to take back to Japan. Some examples of these writings are Esshū no settoshi ni ataete naige no kyōsho wo motomuru kei 與越州節度使求内外經書啓 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 457-460), Hongoku no tsukahi to tomo ni kaeramu to kofu kei 與本國使請共帰啓 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 460-461), Shion no ontame ni nibu no daimandara wo tsukuru ganmon 奉爲四恩造二部大曼荼羅願文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 476-477, esp. 476), Takano konryū no hajime no kekkai no keibyakumon 高野建立初結界啓百文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 529-531, esp. 530). We can conclude that Kūkai regarded the Matrix Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, as well as the texts and manuals that explained the mantras, mudrās and rites of the deities in these mandalas, as constituting the core of the Esoteric Buddhist transmission that he received from Huiguo.

[75] Numerous entries in the *Bizangji* express the pairing of the Matrix Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. See Katsumata, *Kōbō daishi no shisō to sono genryū*, pp. 189-193. However, Mukai Ryūken ("Shingon mikkyō no okeru richi no keifu," *Buzan kyōgaku daikai kiyō*, vol. 10 (1982), pp. 17-26, esp. pp. 17-20) argues that Kūkai does not use the terms Principle and Wisdom to define the two mandalas but to construct his theory of a preaching Cosmic Dharma Body 法身説法 (*hosshin seppō*).

[76] Kūkai's votive text on the occasion of the completion of copies of the original Matrix Mandala and Mandala of the Adamantine Realm that he brought back from China in 806 is the most important document to confirm his use of the

two mandalas as a set (Shion no ontame ni nibu no daimandara wo tsukuru ganmon 奉爲四恩造二部大曼荼羅願文 in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 476-477). In this text, dated to 821, Kūkai describes the sad condition of the mandalas after eighteen years of use and the need to make a new set. This task began on the third day of the fourth month of the twelfth year of Kōnin (821) and was completed on the last day of the eighth month of the same year. Included among the twenty-six paintings produced at the time, in addition to one painting of the Matrix Repository Mandala on eight widths of silk 大悲胎藏大曼荼羅一鋪絹八幅 and one painting of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm on nine widths of silk 金剛界大曼荼羅一鋪絹九幅, were also portraits of the Shingon Patriarchs Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna 龍猛菩薩 and Bodhisattva Nāgajñāna 龍智菩薩.

Some of Kūkai's writings on the reproduction of the two mandalas as a set (*ryōbu*) are Kōshi senbishūki no tame ni ryōbu no mandara *Dainichikyō* wo zushashi kuyōshi kōsetsu suru hyōbyakumon 孝子爲先妣周忌圖寫供養両部曼荼羅大日經講説表百文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 502-503), Kanjinshite buttō wo tsukuri-tatematsuru chishiki no sho 勸進奉造佛塔智識書 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 516-517), and Takano konryū no hajime no kekkai no keibyakumon 高野建立初結界啓百文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 529-531, esp. 530).

The texts in which Kūkai uses the term *ryōbu* when referring to the two mandalas are Bōdeshi Chisen ga tame no dasshin no mon 爲亡弟子智泉達しん文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 499-501), Chūenshi ga senbi no tame ni *Rishukyō* wo kōzuru hyōbyakumon 爲忠延師先妣講理趣經表百文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 503-504, esp. 503), Takanoyama mandōe no ganmon 高野山萬燈會願文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 515-516, esp. 516), Takano konryū no hajime no kekkai no keibyakumon 高野建立初結界啓百文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 529-531, esp. 529-530), and Moto no zōsō Jōgonzō daitoku no ei no san 故贈僧正勤操大德影讃 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 539-542).

[77] Kūkai records his plan for the temple complex on Kōyasan in two documents. The first is an undated work, the Takano konryū no hajime no kekkai no keibyakumon (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 529-531), in which Kūkai addresses the Buddhas, the directional gods and the local mountain gods, informing them of his intent to construct a monastery on the site and asking for their protection. Here Kūkai states that he wants to erect on this mountain the great mandalas of the two categories in accordance with the mysterious teachings of the Adamantine Vehicle (ibid, p. 531). The second document in which Kūkai records his plans for Kongōbuji is a request for contributions to construct the temple, the Kanjinshite buttō wo tsukuritatematsuru chishiki no sho 勸進奉造佛塔智識書 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 516-517), which dates to 834 承和元年八月廿二日 (twenty-second day of the eighth month of the first year of Shōwa). He writes that he has decided to erect two stūpas at Kongōbuji that represent Vairocana's fundamental essence of the Dharma Realm 毘盧遮那法界體性塔二基 (*Birushana hokkai taishō tō niki*), as well as the mandalas of the dual categories of the Matrix Repository and the Adamantine Realm 胎藏金剛界兩部曼荼羅 (*taizō kongōkai ryōbu mandara*).

Because Kūkai's request for donations contains little detail on the iconography of the two stūpas and the type and placement of the mandalas (sculptural or painted) of the two categories, and Kūkai has left no other writings on this topic, scholars have interpreted his statement differently. A number have used materials that postdate Kūkai to reconstruct the original layout and programs of the structures in the Kongōbuji complex. For example, both Adachi Kō ("Kōyasan konpon daitō to sono honzon," *Adachi Kō chosakushū*, vol. 3, *Tōba kenchiku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1987), pp. 230-245, esp. 238-240 [first published in *Kenchikushi*, vol. 3/1, 1931] and Kanamori Jun ("Mikkyō jiin ni okeru Tahōtō no igi," *Kokka* , vol. 52/1 (1942), pp. 289-294, esp. pp. 290, 294 [footnote 5], and 292-293, continued in *Kokka*, vol. 52/11 (1942), pp. 321-328) understand Kūkai's plan as focused on two paired stūpas in which were installed sculptured images from the Matrix Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, respectively. The problem is whether Kūkai would have installed in each stūpa sculptures of all the figures or just of the five Buddhas from each mandala. The studies listed above cite the *Kongōbuji konryū shugyō engi* 金剛峯寺建立修行縁起 (History of Construction and Practice on Kongōbuji), dated to 968, as the earliest work on the iconography of the stūpas. According to this, the five Buddhas of the Matrix Mandala were enshrined in the Eastern stūpa and the five Buddhas of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm were in the Western one.

Sawa Ryūken ("Kongōbujigaran no sōsō ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 88 (1944), pp. 1-20) suggests another interpretation of Kūkai's statement in 834. This is an arrangement of the Kongōbuji complex that focuses on two stūpas placed on either side of a lecture hall. According to Sawa (ibid, pp. 2-6), the stūpas were not sites for ritual and meditational practice but were physical manifestations of Shingon doctrine as symbolized by the two aspects of Mahāvairocana represented in the two mandalas. Although Sawa does not give any sources, he states that sculptures

of the five Buddhas of the Matrix Mandala were installed inside the Great (eastern) Stūpa and those of the five Buddhas of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm inside the Western Stūpa. A lecture hall, Sawa writes, was a center for religious practices, and so the mandalas of the two categories that Kūkai refers to in his request for donations would have been installed there.

Despite these differences in detail, scholars are agreed that Kūkai envisioned a temple complex to manifest the essence of Mahāvairocana in the form of paired stūpas and Mandalas of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realms.

For a more recent discussion of the interpretation of Kūkai's plan, see Tomishima Yoshiyuki, *Mikkyō kūkan shiron* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2007), pp. 63-74, esp. 65-66, 73-74. For a study in English, see David L. Gardiner, "Maṇḍala, Maṇḍala on the Wall: Variations of Usage in the Shingon School," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 19/2 (1996), pp. 245-279.

[78] Such contemporary scholars as Horiuchi ("Kōbōdaishi no ryōbu funi shisō," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū,* vol. 23/1, pp. 98-105) and Katsumata (*Kōbō daishi no shisō to sono genryū*, pp. 193-205) cite numerous quotations from other works by Kūkai wherein he uses the polar terms Principle and Wisdom, as well as concepts such as the seed letters *a* and *vaṃ*, the three mysteries and the five wisdoms, and body and mind to pair the two texts and their mandalas.

[79] The *Suxidi jieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯羅經 was translated by Śubhākarasiṃha in 726 and is published in *T*.18.893.

A Sanskrit original of this text does not exist, but both the Tibetan and Chinese translations provide evidence that the text was originally part of a much larger Sanskrit work whose title, reconstructed from the Tibetan, was *Susiddhikara mahātantra sādhanopāyika paṭala* (Section on expedient means for rites of accomplishment in the *Susiddhikara* Great Tantra). See Kōda Junnin, "*Soshitsujikarakyō* Shōmonbon no kōsatsu," *Mikkyō gaku*, vol. 32 (1996), pp. 109-128 and Rolf Giebel, "*Soshitsujikarakyō* genten kenkyū shotan," *Tōhō gaku*, vol. 99 (January 2000), pp. 105-91.

The *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* has published three versions of this text: a Korean version 高麗本, a Song version 宋本 and a Japanese version in Sanpōju'in 三寶壽院本. There are differences in, for example, the division of the scrolls, the order of some chapters, and the contents (only the Korean version contains separate chapters on the rites of *śāntika*, *pauṣṭika* and *ābhicāruka*), but these differences do not make understanding the scripture more difficult (see Kambayashi Ryūjō, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 7, pp. 9-12). I have consulted the Korean version, and all my citations are based upon this version. See the English translation of this text by Rolf W. Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2001).

[80] Osabe Kazuo, "Tōdaikōki taizōkei mikkyōgaku no niryūha to sanshu shijji hō," *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū* (Koyasan: Koyasan daigaku hen, 1965), pp. 237-254, esp. pages 237 and 251, and Misaki Ryōshū, "Tōmatsu no mikkyō to *Soshitsuji*," ibid, pp. 255-281.

[81] The mantra of the inferior grade of *siddhi* is the five-syllable mantra *a ra pa ca na* of Mañjuśrī, based on ritual manuals translated by Vajrabodhi (*Jingangding jing Manshushili pusa wuzi xintuoluoni pin* 金剛頂經曼殊室利菩薩五字心陀羅尼品, *T*.20.1173, see *T*.2154:571b22-23) and Amoghavajra (*Jingangding jing yuqie Wenshushili pusa fa yipin* 金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩法一品, *T*.20.1171, see *T*.2120:839b5). The mantra of the median grade of *siddhi* is the five-syllables *aḥ vī ra huṃ khaṃ* given in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s sixth chapter, the *Xidi chuxian pin* 悉地出現品, and the mantra of the supreme grade of *siddhi* is the five-syllables *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ*, whose source is the fourth section *Chitong faze pin* 持誦法則品 of the seventh fascicle of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, but whose meaning spans both the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. See Matsunaga Yūkei, "Sanju shijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū," *Mikkyō kenkyū,* vol. 35 (1929), pp. 1-18, esp. pp. 7-9 and Misaki, "Tōmatsu no mikkyō to *Soshitsuji*," *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū*, pp. 268-270. I discuss these mantras in Chapter Seven.

[82] The Shingon school regards the *Susiddhikara sūtra* as belonging to the lineage of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* because it expounds rites for the Three Families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra, but by the late Tang in China its teachings were applied to the Five Families of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* as well. See Misaki, "Tōmitsu no mikkyō to soshitsuji," *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū,* pp. 265-270.

[83] This work is dated to 834 and is published in *T*.51.2081. The information cited is found in *T*.2081:786c24- 787a3. The description of Hyonch'o is found in sentence 786c17.

Haiyun's *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* consists of two parts. Scroll one recounts the transmission of the *Jingangjie dajiaowang jing* 金剛界大教王經 (Scripture of the King of the Great Teachings of the Adamantine Realm). Scroll two details the transmission of the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, which Haiyun refers to here as the *Dapiluzhena dajiaowang jing* 大毘盧遮那大教追王 (King of the Great Teachings of Mahāvairocana). The title of Haiyun's work (*Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji*) was most likely the creation of a Japanese copyist. The two scrolls are recorded separately in Ennin's catalogue, *Nittō shingū shōkyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄 (*T*.55.2167:1081a24-27), a list of texts and objects that he collected while visiting Chang'an in 847, and reported again as two scrolls in Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 諸阿闍梨眞言密教部類總錄 (*T*.55.2176:1131b1-4). It is, however, listed as a single scroll in the *Rokugai kyōtō mokuroku* 錄外目錄 (*T*.55.2175:1113a9), an inventory of items that the monk from Zenrinji, that is Shūei, did not record in his official inventory (*T*.55.2174A). I discuss Haiyun's work in greater detail in Chapter Seven. For a discussion on Haiyun and this work, especially Haiyun's agenda and biases, and the work's authenticity as a Tang Dynasty product, see Jinhua Chen, *Crossfire*: *Shingon-Tendai Strife as Seen in Two Twelfth-century Polemics, with Special References to Their Background in Tang China*, Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series XXV (Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2010), pp. 83-109, 131.

[84] *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 105-123, esp. p. 120. Kūkai presented this list to the Emperor Junna 淳和 in 823. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1410a-c and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten,* vol. 4, p. 3151b.

[85] *T*.2081:786c14.

Chapter Four: Amoghavajra's Transmission

[1] See *Mikkyō hattatsu shi* (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1918) vol. 4, pp. 606, 607, 613 621, for example.

[2] See Appendix B, Examination of Shingon Scholars' Method of Critical Analysis of Amoghavajra's Transmission, wherein I give these scholars' arguments and sources.

[3] See his *The Rishukyō*: *The Sino-Japanese Tantric Prajñapāramitā in 150 Verses* — Amoghavajra's Version.

[4] This is the title of this work in *T*.52.2120:839b14, which is published in *T*.18.869. See Introduction, endnote 7.

[5] In the *Liqujing* the main teachings of each Stage (except that of the first and seventeenth Stages) are presented in a fourfold formula of description. Each Stage's teachings conclude with a manifestation of Mahāvairocana who, for further clarification, forms a special mudrā or attitude and chants a summarizing mantra. In the *Liqushi* Amoghavajra also elucidates the contents of each Stage of the *Liqujing* in a fourfold method. He provides (1) commentary on each line of the text given in the *Liqujing*, allocating each line of teaching to the meditative concentrations (*samādhis*) (a) of specific deities (*Liqushi* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 17), (b) on mandalas (*Liqushi* 8), and (c) on the act of entering great mandalas (*mahāmaṇḍalas*) wherein the deities are depicted in their anthropomorphic forms (*Liqushi* 11, 16); (2) an explanation of the special letter 字 (*bīja*) that encapsulates the essence of the teachings in each Stage of the *Liqujing*; (3) prescriptions for a mandala; (4) instructions for the yogic practice with the deities of this mandala, as well as enumerations of the boons (s*iddhi*), both spiritual and material, that this practice brings about. Information about the iconography of the mandalas can be ascertained from all the above points.

[6] These are the mandalas prescribed in *Liqushi* 4, 5, 8, 10 and 11, which I discuss in this section and its accompanying endnotes.

Japanese scholars have also noted Amoghavajra's use of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* as a source for the content of his translation of the *Liqujing* and his commentary in the *Liqushi*. See, for example, Toganoo Shōun, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, Hatta Yukio, *Himitsu kyoten*: *Rishukyō*, pp. 336-352, Fukuda Ryōsei, "*Rishukyō* no jōbutsuron" 「理趣經」の成仏論, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*: *sono seiritsu to tenkai* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1988), pp. 357-402,

and Tanaka Yūbun, "*Rishushaku* shosetsu mandara kō — Fukūshoden no *Kongōchō yuga* ni tsuite (3)," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 10 (1991), pp. 43-54.

[7] This (*T*.19.1004) is listed as *Damantuluo shiqisheng shi* 大曼荼羅十七尊釋 in Amoghavajra's 771 memorial (*T*.52.2120:840a2) to the Chinese Emperor.

[8] See Appendix C, References in the *Liqushi*, for the listing of the three types of references that I investigate.

[9] Amoghavajra names a number of his sources throughout the *Liqushi*. See for example Tanaka Yūbun's "Fukū shoden no *Kongōchō yugakyō* ni tsite (5) — *Rishushaku* seiritsu jijō kanken," *Chizan gakuhō*, vol. 41, pp. 74-75, wherein he presents the sources that Amoghavajra cites only in *Liqushi* 1.

[10] See Appendix C Amoghavajra's List of References, first bullet, numbers 1-5.

Liqushi 8, the Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin (*T*.1003:613c28-614b3) indicates Amoghavajra's knowledge of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in four chapters (see Appendix C, first bullet, number 3). The theme of *Liqujing* 8 (*T*.243:785b3-10) is the exposition of the guiding principle of wisdom that enables the practitioner to enter into the great wheel of the guiding principle of insight 入大輪般若理趣. *Liqushi* 8 (*T*.1003:613c28-614a1) defines this great wheel as the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The expounder of this teaching (*T*.243:785b3) is Tathāgata Sarvatathāgata-cakrāntargata 一切如來入大輪如來, the Tathāgata of the great wheel into which All the Tathāgatas have entered. The *Liqushi* states that (*T*.1003:613c28-29) this Tathāgata is none other than Bodhisattva Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, who further clarifies the teachings of this Tathāgata. This is the Bodhisattva who presides over practices that bring about entry into the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, which is cosmically displayed in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-samgraha's* Chapter of the Adamantine Realm. In *Liqushi* 8 (613c28-614a14), as well as in *Liqushi* 1 (608a9-14), Amoghavajra extends this Bodhisattva's governance and expertise to include all the mandalas in the four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*: the six given in the Chapter of the Adamantine Realm, the ten in the Chapter on the Conqueror of the Three Worlds (*Trailoyavijaya*), the six in the Chapter of Universal Submission (*Sakalajagad-vinaya*), and the six in the Chapter of the Accomplishment of All Objectives (*Sarvārtha-siddhi*). Notes in small characters (*T*.1003: 614a2-11) refer the practitioner to the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* for information about these mandalas.

[11] See Appendix C, first bullet, numbers 1, 2, 4, and 5.

[12] *T*.1003:608b27-609a23.

[13] *T*.1003:609c20-610a8. For a discussion on the many terms for bliss (delight, joy, pleasure, rapture, passion, etc), see Astley, "Dairaku/Tairaku," *Hōbōgirin*, vol. 7: Daijō-Daishi (Paris-Kyoto, 1994), pp. 931-946, esp. 940-942 for its tantic use and meaning.

[14] *T*.1003:610a9-14:

> -The seventeen letters of this secret mantra thus compose the seed letters of these seventeen bodhisattvas, creating a seed letter mandala 法曼荼羅. If one draws the true fundamental forms of each of the bodhisattvas, one then makes a great mandala 大曼荼羅. If one draws the symbols that the fundamental Holy Ones hold, then one creates a symbol mandala 三昧耶曼荼羅. [If] each of the letters of the seed letters as [given] above are written in the original positions [of these bodhisattvas], then one calls this a seed letter mandala. [If] one casts the fundamental form of each [bodhisattva] and places it in its original position, then one composes the action mandala 羯磨曼荼羅.

[15] *T*.1003:610a15-23.

[16] *T*.1003:610a23-b2. In this passage Amoghavajra records the title of the ritual manual (*T*.1003:610b1-2) from which steps were taken: the *Dale bukong zhenshi xiuxing yuqie yigui* **大樂不空眞實修行瑜伽儀軌** (Ritual Manual for the Yoga [whereby one] Practices the Reality of [He who is] Infallible [and generates] Great Bliss). This is an example

where Amoghavajra names his source (see Appendix C, first bullet, number 1). The name of this manual is similar to that of the Sixth Assembly he records in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T*.869:286b21-27): *Daanle bukong sanmeiye zhenshi yuqie* 大安樂不空三昧耶眞實瑜伽 (Yoga of the Reality of the Pledge of [He who is] Infallible [and generates] Great Bliss)**.**

The steps of the abbreviated yoga rite given here correspond to those performed in the manuals that Amoghavajra translated for a rite of the adamantine realm and for three rites that focus on Vajrasattva. These are the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong hō* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on the Essence of the Lotus Family of the Adamantine Crown, *T*.18.873), *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法 (Method for Contemplation and Recitation on Bodhisattva Samantabhadra from the Supreme Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, *T*.20.1123), *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong hō* 普賢金剛薩埵念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva, *T*.20.1124), *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽五祕密修行儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Practice of the Five Mysteries from the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, *T*.20.1125). All these manuals are included in the list of translations and compositions (*T*.52.2120:839c7, 12, 14-15) that Amoghavajra presented to the Chinese Emperor in 771.

The *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong hō* is the liturgical template for the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa, Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong hō* and *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui*. (I analysize and discuss in detail the structure of these ritual manuals in Appendix B.) And in this brief rite recorded here in *Liqushi* 1 the practitioner also performs steps that are found in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong hō*'s major phases of purification, construction, encounter and identification.

[17] "*Rishukyō* to *Rishukyō*," 「理趣経」と「理趣経法」, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*: *sono seiritsu to tenkai*, p. 75.

[18] 金剛頂經第十三會大三昧耶眞實瑜伽 (*T*.1004:618b1-4). This is in Sanskrit the *Mahāsamaya-tattva-yoga* and is the second example (see Appendix C, first bullet, number 2) of the named sources we are investigating. Amoghavajra does not discuss this seventeen-letter mantra in his *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*.

Tanaka Yūbun ("*Rishushaku* shosetsu mandara kō," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 10, pp. 43-53) also refutes Fukuda's claim of Amoghavajra's originality, stating that the source of this seventeen-figure configuration is this Thirteenth Assembly.

[19] Samantrabhadra is Vajrasattva in the Esoteric Buddhist tradition. This is the mantra given in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:609c20-610a8).

[20] *T*.869:287a7-16. For a complete translation of this passage (287a7-20) and a discussion of its contents, see Giebel, "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation, *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 18, pp. 185-191.

[21] Themes and terms presented in Amoghavajra's description of the Thirteenth Assembly in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* are also found in his *Liqujing* and its two commentaries. For example, Vajrasattva's teaching of the Reality of the Pledge 三昧耶眞實教法 is the main theme of the Thirteenth Assembly. Likewise, in *Liqujing* 1 (*T*.243:784b21-24) Vajrapāṇi explains the essence of the pledge that is infallible, adamantine and [generates] great bliss 大樂金剛不空三麼耶心. This is the letter *hūṃ* which epitomizes the theme of this chapter. (See also Astley-Kristensen's translation in *The Rishukyō*, p. 82.)

In the Thirteenth Assembly the mandala with seventeen figures is called one of rapture and infallibility 適悅不空. Rapture 適悅 is one of the *Liqujing*'s "seventeen epithets of purity" 適悅清淨句 (*T*.243:784b5-6) and in the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:608c18-20) the practitioner attains by means of meditative concentration (*samādhi*) on this epithet the position of Bodhisattva Rapture Adamantine 適悅金剛菩薩位. In the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (*T*.1004:617c21) this is Bodhisattva Adamantine Rapture 金剛適悅菩薩. Further, Amoghavajra records in the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (*T*.1004: 617b26) that Vajrasattva, the focus of this seventeen-figure mandala, holds in his left hand an adamantine bell which signifies rapture 適悅. Unlimited rapture 適悅 is one of the many boons that the practitioner acquires upon successfully performing the teaching of *Liqujing* 1 (*T*.243:784b17-18, Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 82).

[22] *T*.1003:608b27-609a15 and for this translation see Astley, *The Rishukyō*, p. 81.

[23] See *T*.1003:610a15-23 and endnote 15 above.

[24] Amoghavajra will provide a brief description of the iconography of the Five Mysteries Mandala in *Liqushi* 17, as we shall see.

[25] *T*.1004:617c1-3, 4-7. The central five figures are described 617a26-c16.

[26] This work was translated by the Chinese monk Shihu 施護 and is published in *T*.18.883. Sakai Shinten demonstrates ("*Kongōchōkyō* no daijūsan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32 (September 1955), pp. 34-41) the correspondences between the contents of the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing* and the themes of the Thirteenth Assembly as presented in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*.

[27] *T*.883:457c11-459b8. The name of this rite is given on *T*.883:459a23. Sakai shows ("*Kongōchōkyō* no daijūsan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, pp. 35) that the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing* consists of two parts: a root tantra (*mūlatantra*, *T*.883:446a9-459b8) and an appendix, or supplementary, tantra (*uttaratantra*, *T*.883:459b9—462a15-16), which takes the form of questions and answers that further clarify the main theme of the root tantra.

The root tantra presents a section (*T*.883:446b12-448a22) on the teachings of the secret method of Vajrasattva 金剛薩埵祕密法門. All the Tathāgatas entreat Vajrapāṇi to explain his secret method that creates a state of great bliss. This rite has a special mantra and mandala 金剛薩埵祕密心明及曼荼羅 (447a27-b1). The mantra is *oṃ mahā sukha vajra amogha samaya prāveśa siddhaṃ vajrasattva jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ* (this is Sakai's transliteration in "*Kongōchōkyō* no daijūsan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, pp. 36) and the mandala is called the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界大曼荼羅 (446c12-22, c25-457a1).

Then, Vajrapāṇi continues his teachings (*T*.883:457c11-459b8), introducing another special rite 金剛薩埵大樂法, its mantra (458a9-11, 25-27), mandala (458b13-c1) and ritual steps for the ācārya and disciple. This rite brings about many boons, but its main objective (see for example, *T*.883:458a12-21, 458c24-25, 459a25-b7) is to allow the practitioner, by means of Vajrapāṇi's teachings on great bliss 金剛手大樂門, to enter the realm of wondrous bliss where the buddhas dwell.

In the appendix tantra the Tathāgatas question Vajrapāṇi, asking about the sounds of wondrous songs, the reality of the great pledge, its mandalic representation, and so on.

[28] This mantra is presented twice on the same page in the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing* (*T*.883: 458a10-11, a26-27; see Sakai, "*Kongōchōkyō* no daijūsan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, p. 38) and the description of Vajrapāṇi (*T*.883:458a22-25) as he is about to chant this mantra a second time resembles the description of Vajrapāṇi in the final passage of Amoghavajra's *Liqujing* 1 (*T*.243:784b21-24). For example, in both texts Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi smiles subtly and, creating an attitude of advancing courageously, he forms with his left hand the adamantine fist (in *T*.883 and the mudrā of adamantine pride in *T*.243) and playfully brandishes in his right hand a great thunderbolt (the great adamantine thunderbolt that is victoriously supreme and [generates] wondrous bliss 勝初妙樂大金剛杵 in *T*.883, and the fundamental, great thunderbolt 本初大金剛 in *T*.243). The difference between the two texts is that Vajrapāṇi chants the syllable *hūṃ* in the *Liqujing* but a long mantra in the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing*.

[29] *T*.1003:609c20-610a8.

[30] *T*.883:458a25 and Sakai, "*Kongōchōkyō* no daijūsan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, p. 38.

This mantra is not named in the *Liqushi* but, as mentioned above, Amoghavajra records the name of the manual from which it came: Ritual Manual for the Yoga [whereby one] Practices the Reality of [He who is] Infallible [and generates] Great Bliss.

The same mantra appears in Amoghavajra's manuals *T*.1124 and 1125. In the first manual this seventeen-letter mantra is called the "secret words of the reality of the pledge that is infallible and [generates] great bliss" 大樂 (see *T*.1124:535a13, note 12) 不空三昧耶眞實密語 (*T*.1124:535a13-15). It is chanted during the ritual phase of identification (*T*.1124:535a13-16), wherein the practitioner merges with the deity 入我我入觀 and "resides in the great seal, being identical to Bodhisattva Samantabhadra."

This mantra is chanted twice in *T*.1125. The first time the mantra appears in a shortened version (*T*.1125:536c4: *samaya hoḥ suratas tvaṃ* Pledge! Hoḥ (Joy)! You are exquisite bliss), called "the words of the reality of the great pledge" 大三昧耶眞實言. Performed together with its accompanying mudrā, the practitioner causes Vajrasattva to pervade throughout his body and mind (*T*.1125:536c1-5), making him a purified vessel worthy to perform the following ritual phase of attaining the buddha body and empowerment 成身加持分. The second time this mantra is recited is when (537a29-b1-2) the practitioner forms Vajrasattva's great wisdom seal 金剛薩埵大智印 and chants the accompanying fundamental mantra 根本眞言 (*oṃ mahāsukha vajrasattva jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ suratas tvaṃ*). This ritual act signifies the end of the rite's preparatory phase and the beginning of the ritual phases of encounter and identification with the deities. I discuss the ritual phases of these manauals in Appendix B, Shingon Scholars Analysis of Amoghavajra's Transmission.

[31] *T*.883:459b8. See Sakai, "*Kongōchōkyō* no daijūsan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, pp. 34-35, 39. Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of this work do not exist, but Sakai suggests (p. 35) that the Sanskrit title could be reconstructed as *Mahāsamaya-tattva-tantra-rāja* because the terms "great pledge" 大三昧耶 and "reality of the great pledge" 大三昧耶眞實 appear throughout the text, constituting its main theme.

[32] *T*.883:459a24. This mandala is also described in this text (*T*.883:458b13-14) as the "Great Mandala that is Secret, Adamantine and Wondrously Blissful" 妙樂金剛祕密大曼荼羅, and the names and iconographic prescriptions for its figures (458b13-28) resemble those in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:610a15-23) and *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*. In the center is Vajrasattva and he is surrounded by Desire 意生金剛尊 in front, Touch 枳理枳羅尊 at his right, Love 念金剛大尊 behind him and Pride 欲自在聖尊 at his left. Four Offering Bodhisattvas Incense 香, Flower 華, Light 燈 and Unguent 塗 are in the central court's four inner corners and in the four outer corners of the second court are the deities Form 色, Sound 聲, Smell 香 and Taste 味. In the four gates are the figures of Hook 鉤, Rope 索, Chain 鎖 and Bell 鈴.

The four Offering Bodhisattvas installed in this Mandala of Adamantine, Wondrous Bliss appear in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* [*T*.865]'s Mandala of the Adamantine Realm as the four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas. The Gate (Gathering) Bodhisattvas are also seen in this Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, but the four deities Form, Sound, Smell and Taste are the last four of the seventeen epithets expounded in *Liqujing* 1 (*T*.243:784b9-11). In Amoghavajra's commentaries on the *Liqujing* (*T*.1003:610a22-23, *T*.1004:618a18-29), the four deities Form, Sound, Smell and Taste are placed in the gates of the outer enclosure of the mandala and, according to the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*, Form holds a hook, Sound a rope, Smell a chain and Taste a bell. See Sakai's discussion of the mandala is in "*Kongōchōkyō* no daijūsan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, pp. 38-39.

[33] *T*.883:458b16-18, 23-26. In the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing*'s mandala prescriptions the iconography of the central pentad is briefly described. The other deities are only mentioned by position and name. The attitudes 勢 and distinctive external characterisitics 相 stipulated for the five central figures in the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing*'s mandala correspond to those given in Amoghavajra's *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (*T*.1004:617b21-c16).

[34] A seventeen-figure mandala that functions as the focus of a rite for Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva is also described in two ritual manuals translated by Amoghavajra. Prescriptions are given in his *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong hō* (*T*.1124:533a15[note 16], 533a24-b10, 534a1-b26 [see 534b26 which refers to note 24, wherein the installation of the deities into the mandala is given in the correct order]), and in his *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* (*T*.1123:529a25-b5, 529b24-29, 529c14-19, 530a5-8). The iconographical prescriptions for the Five Mysteries pentad in the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing*'s mandala also correspond to the central five figures in these two ritual manuals, and to the figures of the Five Mysteries Mandala prescribed in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui*. The iconography for the figures of the Five Mysteries is given on *T*.1124:534b6-26, *T*.1123:529a25-b5 and *T*.1125:536c6-9, 537b10-21.

[35] See Appendix C, first bullet, number 4.

[36] The final two chapters of the *Liqujing* elucidate the sphere of enlightenment (*Liqujing* 16, *T*.243:785c26-786a4) and the enlightened practitioner, "who has attained the stage of the Tathāgata, the Holder of the Vajra" (*Liqujing* 17, *T*.243:786a5-b1-4).

[37] *T*.1003: 616b26—27 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 161.

[38] *T*.1003: 616b25-c-6.

[39] *T*.1003: 616c8-11. This is a third example of a named source. See Appendix C, first bullet, number 4.

[40] In the *Zhubu tuoluoni mu* 諸部陀羅尼目 (*T*.903:899a9; this work is included in his 771 memorial on *T*.2120:840a4) Amoghavajra gives the title of this work (he does not call it an assembly) as the *Yiqie rulai jiaoji yuqie* 一切如來教集瑜伽 (Yoga on the Collection of the Teachings of All the Tathāgatas).

[41] *T*.869:286b1-8. See also Giebel's translation in his "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation, *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 18, pp. 167-168.

[42] See Amoghavjra's description of the First Assembly in *T*.869:284c18-286a25 and *T*.903:898c9-b6. See also Sakai Shirō, "*Kongōchō* no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71 (October 1939), pp. 117-147, Sakurai Munenobu, "*Vajraśekharatantra* no ikkōsatsu," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 34/1 (1985), pp. 387-384, and "*Vajraśekharatantra* no ikkōsatsu," *Chizan gakuhō*, vol. 35 (March 1986), pp. 37-49, Tanaka Kimiaki, "*Issai butsu shue dakini kaimō tantora* to sono mandara ni tsuite," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3 (December 1984), pp. 59-71, esp. 67-70, Yoritomi Motohiro, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), esp. ch. 3, pp. 200-205, ch. 4, pp. 206-215 and ch. 5, pp. 238-249 and Inui Hitoshi, "*Kongōchō tantora* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (I)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32 (February 1997), pp. 1-30.

[43] See Sakai, "*Kongōchō* no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 120-121.

This work is an explanatory tantra 釋怛特羅 (*vyākhyātantra*) on the *Sarvatathātaga-tatattva-saṃghra*, and it survives today only in the Tibetan canon. See Sakai, "*Kongōchō* no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 128-129, and Sakurai, "*Vajraśekharatantra* no ikkōsatsu," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 34/1, pp. 387-384 and "*Vajraśekharatantra* no ikkōsatsu," *Chizan gakuhō*, vol. 35, pp. 37-49. Sakurai demonstrates ("*Vajraśekharatantra* no ikkōsatsu," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 34/1, pp. 387, 384, endnotes 1-3, "*Vajraśekharatantra* no ikkōsatsu," *Chizan gakuhō*, vol. 35, pp. 37, 47, endnotes 5 and 6) the importance of the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* in the history of Indian Tantric Buddhism because passages from its appearance in works by later Indian and Tibetan scholar-monks.

[44] Sakai, "*Kongōchō* no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, p. 121. Here Sakai reconstructs the Sanskrit title of this text as *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* 一切教(議軌)集, that is, A Collection of All Teachings (in the *Kalpas*).

For the contents of the two parts, see also Sakurai ("*Vajraśekharatantra* no ikkōsatsu," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 34/1, pp. 387-384 and "*Vajraśekharatantra* no ikkōsatsu," *Chizan gakuhō*, vol. 35, pp. 38-40). Sakurai shows that the two parts were originally separate texts that were amalgamated into the work's present form (a single text) at a later date.

[45] While there is not a one-to-one correspondence between the contents of the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* and Amoghavajra's description of the Third Assembly in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, Sakai demonstrates that ("*Kongōchō* no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 122-125) the two texts have common themes. The first chapter of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* contains questions and answers between the Buddhas and Bodhisattva Vajrasattva concerning a mandala for yoga and its ritual rules. The second chapter of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* has prescriptions for offering and ritual union with the deities, prescriptions for *homa* rites, and instructions for creating a Great Mandala of Five Families. These themes broadly correspond to the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*'s Third Assembly, with its questions and answers between the Tathāgatas and Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, a Great Mandala with Five Families, and one hundred and twenty-five types of hearths for *homa* rites. See also Sakurai, "*Vajraśekharatantra* no ikkōsatsu," *Chizan gakuhō*, vol. 35, pp. 39-40.

[46] In addition to a parent Buddha and four attendant Bodhisattvas, there are in each family grouping four Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattvas, four Inner Offering Bodhisattvas and five figures (Five Mysteries) within a mandala 五祕密曼荼羅 in the corresponding intermediate direction.

The Tibetan translation of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* presents the features of this mandala. The mandala described in this work is not identical to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865)'s Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. For instance, in this Mandala of the Adamantine Realm Vairocana's immediate attendants are the four Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattvas, but in the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya*'s mandala he is attended by Buddha Akṣobhya's four Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrarāga and Vajrasādhu, who are depicted in their symbolic (*samaya*) forms. Further, the Vajra Family is depicted in its wrathful aspect. However, most importantly, each family has a Five Mysteries Mandala.

The compositions of the innermost court of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya*'s mandala and the Daigoji's Assembly of the Five Families (fig. 6, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 792, No. 17) are, on the whole, identical. Missing in the Daigoji mandala are the small circles for each family's four Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattvas and four Inner Offering Bodhisattvas. The *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya*'s mandala has an outer court, called the Outer Vajra Division, which is not depicted in the Daigoji's Assembly of the Five Families. See Sakai, "*Kongōchō* no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 124-126, 134-146, diagram on p. 147 and Inui, "*Kongōchō tantora* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (I)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, pp. 2-4, 6-25.

[47] This mandala is not a part of the Ishiyamadera exemplar.

[48] Inui, "*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* no shidaibon to mandara no tokushoku," *Kōyasan daigaku ronbunshū*: *Kōyasan daigaku sōritsu hyakujū shūnen kinen* (Kōyasan daigaku: Kōyasan daigaku sōritsu hyakujū shūnen kinen ronbunshū henshū iinkai hen, September 1996), pp. 81-100, esp. pp. 83-86 and "*Kongōchō tantora* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, p. 6 describes the basic shapes of the central court 宮殿 (or 中宮) of the Great Mandalas in the chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (Sanskrit text and *T*.882). For example, this court in the Great Mandala of the Chapter of the Adamantine Realm is circular in form, that in the Great Mandala for the Trailokyavijaya Chapter is square, that in the Great Mandala of the Chapter of Universal Submission has the shape of an eight-petaled lotus, and the central palace of the Great Mandala in the Chapter of the Accomplishment of All Objectives is made from glittering adamantine gems.

Mahāvairocana explains how to construct the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in the second chapter of Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865:216c21-217a22). In this exposition the terms altar 壇, circular altar 輪壇 and mandala 曼荼羅 are used interchangeably to refer to the five large circles wherein the families of this mandala are installed. Further, in this passage the term mandala refers also to the individual circle wherein a deity sits. Amoghavjra uses the term lunar disc 月輪 to refer to a deity's individual circle (see, for example, *T*.865:208c11) in his prescriptions for installing the deities into the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in this text's first chapter (*T*.865:208b9-216a14).

[49] In Amoghvajra's translation (*T*.865) there are four families but Vajrabodhi's translation (*T*.866) presents five. See Tanaka Yūbun, "Fukū shoden no *Kongōchōyugakyō* ni tsuite (2) — Kongōchi Sanzō shoden no *Kongōchōkyō* ni knsuru ikkōsatsu," *Chizangaku hō*, vol. 40 (1991), pp. 181-197, esp. 189-190, Inui Hiroshi, "Chūgoku ni okeru *Kongōchō* denshō," *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 8 (1994), pp. 1-27, esp. 11-17 and Inui, "*Kongōchō tantora* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, pp. 2-4, 6-20.

[50] This is the fourth example of Amoghavajra's citing a specific work that I will discuss. See Appendix C, first bullet, number 5.

[51] *T*.1003: 617a1-4.

[52] See *T*.243:786a5-b14 and *T*.243:784b1-11.

[53] The opening and closing chapters of the *Liqujing* allude to the concept of the Five Mysteries. However, the iconography of the Five Mysteries is not described in this text. Instead, Amoghavajra develops the concept of the Five Mysteries and provides a brief description of their mandala in *Liqushi* 17.

Amoghavajra declares in *Liqushi* 17 that the closing stage of the *Liqujing* (*T*.243:786a5-b4) signifies "the *samādhi* of the five types of mysteries," and that this "*samādhi* of the five types [of mysteries]" is "the most secret of secrets." (*T*.1003:616c12-13, c29-617a1.) Further, in *Liqushi* 17 (*T*.1003:616c15-29) he identifies each line of the *Liqujing*'s teaching (*T*.243:786a7-17) with the five figures of the Five Mysteries. For example:

> The sentence that "Bodhisattva, the Great Being, because of the most excellent accomplishment of Great Desire, attains the most excellent accomplishment of Great Bliss," this is the *samādhi* of Bodhisattva Desire. (*T*.1003: 616c15-17, Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 162-163)

The order of installation into the mandala concurs with *T*.1003:617a1-4. Vajrasattva is in the center and two consorts are on either side. After the identification of Bodhisattva Consort Desire Adamantine 欲金剛明妃菩薩 (Iṣṭavajriṇī) comes that of Bodhisattva Consort Adamantine Touch 金剛髻梨吉羅明妃菩薩 (Kelikilāvajriṇī), Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, Bodhisattva Consort Love Adamantine 愛金剛明妃菩薩 (Kāmā(Rāga)vajriṇī) and Bodhisattva Consort Adamantine Pride 金剛慢明妃菩薩 (Mānavajriṇī).

These figures correspond to the first five epithets given in *Liqujing* 1 (*T*.243:784b2-5) and they constitute the focal pentad of the seventeen-figure mandala described in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:610a16-18).

[54] But we can reconstruct the iconography of the Five Mysteries by referring to Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui* (*T*.1125:536c19-21 and 538a24-25). Here four consorts 印 (*mudrā*) surround Vajrasattva and they all sit on a single lotus within a single lunar disc. There is also in this ritual manual brief iconographical descriptions of the five figures. Vajrasattva (536c6-8) forms adamantine fists with his left and right hands. His left fist is placed at his groin and his right, in the attitude of brandishing an adamantine staff, is held at his heart. Desire (537b10-11) forms two adamantine fists, and with her left fist holds a bow and with her right holds an arrow in the attitude of shooting. Touch (537b13) holds two crossed adamantine fists in front of her chest. Love (537b17-18) places her left adamantine fist under her right elbow and raises her right arm in the attitude of holding a banner. Pride (537b20-21) forms adamantine fists and places them on her thighs. See also Astley-Kristensen, "The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Passions and Enlightenment," *Temenos*: *Studies in Comparative Religion*, vol. 24 (1988), pp. 7-27, esp. 9-10.

[55] Sakai, "*Kongōchō* no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 134-142 and diagram on p. 147, as well as Inui, "*Kongōchō tantora* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, pp. 6-20.

A comparison of the descriptions of the four consorts given in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui* with those in the Tibetan translation of the Third Assembly (Sakai, ibid, p. 143 and Inui, ibid, p. 18) shows basic iconographical correspondences between three (Touch who hugs her knees, Love and her banner, and Pride and her proud attitude) of the four consorts. The iconography of Vajrasattva, however, differs. In the Tibetan work Vajrasattva holds a vajra in his right hand and a bell in his left. This is the iconography for Vajrasattva in Amoghavajra's *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (*T*.1004: 617b26-27), as well as in his *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong hō* (*T*.1124:532c1-3).

[56] See *T*.1003:617a1-3, as well as Sakai, "*Kongōchō* no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, p. 143 and Inui, "*Kongōchō tantora* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, p. 18.

[57] See, for example, the title of *T*.20.1123(:528a7-8), as well as its in-text statement (ibid, 528a14-15). This manual prescribes a seventeen-figure mandala whose focus is the pentad of the Five Mysteries. I discuss the iconography of the mandala in this handbook, as well as in a related work (*T*.20.1124) in Chapter Four, pp. 86-88 and related endnotes.

[58] See *T*.1125:535b3-5 and in-text statement (ibid, 535b10).

[59] Subjugation by wrathful means is an important theme in *Liqujing* 3 and 10. I discuss *Liqujing* 3 (Trailokyavijaya, *T*.243:784c8-18) in Chapter One, pp. 24-29 and relevant endnotes. For *Liqujing* 10 (Sarvamāra-pramardin), see *T*.243:785b21-29. This theme of the subjugation of the Hindu gods is further expounded in *Liqushi* 3 (Trailokyavijaya) and 10 (Sarva-māra-pramardin). For my discussion of *Liqushi* 3 (Trailokyavijaya), see *T*.1003:611b9-612a9 and Chapter One as given above; for *Liqushi* 10 (Sarvamāra-pramardin) see *T*.1003:614c19-615b5.

In *Liqushi* 10 (*T*.1003:614c19-20) Amoghavajra declares that the Tathāgata who expounds the teachings of this stage of the *Liqujing* is in fact Bodhisattva Sarvamāra-pramardin, the One who Destroys All Demons. It is this Bodhisattva who, in order to further clarify the *Liqujing*'s teachings (*T*.243:785b26-28), takes the form of Vajrayakṣa and, holding the adamantine fang, terrifies All the Tathāgatas. Amoghavajra describes Sarvamāra-pramardin in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:608a22-25) as outwardly wrathful but inwardly compassionate, and as one who sweeps away the

practitioner's inner obstacles and crushes those like celestial Māra 王魔 (Deva-māra), ruler of the sixth heaven (Paranirmita-vaśavartin) in the realm of desire, and Maheśvara, ruler of the highest heaven (Akaniṣṭha) in the realm of form and lord of the three realms of desire, form and formlessness (Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 295), who would hinder his attaining enlightenment. Amoghavajra also states in *Liqushi* 10 (*T*.1003:615a1-4) that Sarvamāra-pramardin is in fact Maitreya who, upon entering a *samādhi* of compassion, outwardly manifested a fierce form in order to convert and lead to enlightenment those gods who were difficult to control.

Amoghavajra equates (*T*.1003:614c20-615a1) the four aspects of *Liqujing* 10's (*T*.243:785b21-26) teachings on wrath to the angry forms of the four Buddha Families: entering into the *samādhi* of Trailokyavijaya of the Vajra Family subdues Māra of Paranirmita-vaśavartin; entry into the *samādhi* of Kuṇḍalī, the wrathful form of the Ratna Family subdues Maheśvara; the *samādhi* of Hayagrīva, the Dharma Family's wrathful form, subdues Brahmā; and entering the *samādhi* of Ucchuṣma, the Karma Family's wrathful form, subdues Nārāyaṇa, the Hindu god Viṣṇu. The mandala prescribed for the practice on wrath in this stage (*T*.1003:615a19-27) includes the Hindu gods who are subjugated by this wrathful Bodhisattva.

As in *Liqushi* 3, this theme of battle occurs on two levels. One level is that of the Buddhist deities' conquest and conversion of the Hindu gods. Once converted, the Hindu gods were consigned to specific heavens of the Buddhist cosmology over which they rule. The second level is the practitioner's internal battle. Very early in Buddhism the heavens of the realms of desire, form and formlessness came to be considered levels of meditation that the practitioner must pass through in the process of detaching himself from his defilements. The practitioner conquers and thus transcends his inner obstacles, symbolized by the Hindu gods and their heavens, that prevent enlightenment. See Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 292-295 and W. Randolph Kloetzli, *Buddhist Cosmology. Science and Theology in the Images of Motion and Light* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1989), pp. 29-30.

[60] As I have mentioned earlier in this study's Introduction, a problem in Japanese scholarship has been whether Amoghavajra's citations in the *Liqushi* indicate *one* extended text, or a *number of different* extended texts, and whether the extended work(s) belongs to the textual lineage of the *Liqujing* or that of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Fukuda, for example, identifies one text, the *Paramādi* [*tantra*] 勝初瑜伽經 (see Fukuda's "*Shōshoyugakyō* to *Śrī-paramādi-tantra*" [勝初瑜伽経」と *Śrī-paramādi-tantra*, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 33-53; "Kongōsatta gikirui no kōsatsu" 金剛薩埵儀軌類の考察, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 54-67; "*Rishukyō* mandara ni tsuite – tokuni Gohimitsu mandara wo chūshin ni" 「理趣経」マンダラ – 特に五秘密マンダラを中心に, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 425-430) as the source for all Amoghavajra's references to an extended work in his *Liqushi*. My problem with Fukuda's research is that he has not investigated the context of each of the seven citations he gives (see below endnote 61). Further, Fukuda does not discuss the *Liqushi* or *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* and their relationship to the Third and Thirteenth Assemblies.

Tanaka Yūbun, on the other hand, demonstrates ("Fukū shoden no *Kongōchō yugakyō* ni tsuite" (5) – "*Rishushaku* seiritsu jijō kanken," *Chizan gakuhō*, vol. 41, pp. 78-82) that it is difficult to find one source for Amoghavajra's references to "extended" works. He concludes that the references do not indicate Faxian's translation (called the Extended *Liqujing, T*.244), as has formerly been indicated in Japanese scholarship.

In short, this text should be studied separately from the historical development of the various versions of the *Liqujing*.

[61] There are nine references; see Appendix C, second bullet, numbers 1-9.

Fukuda Ryōsei ("*Shōshoyugakyō* to *Śrī-paramādi-tantra*," *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 33-53, esp. p. 35 and footnotes 11-13 on pp. 50-51; "Kongōsatta gikirui no kōsatsu," *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 54-67, esp. 55-56 and footnotes 23-29 on pp. 64-65; "*Rishukyō* mandara ni tsuite – tokuni Gohimitsu mandara wo chūshin ni," *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 425-430, esp. p. 425 and footnote 1 on p. 429), Tanaka Yūbun ("Fukū shoden no *Kongōchō yugakyō* ni tsuite (5) – *Rishushaku* seiritsu jijō kanken," *Chizan gakuhō*, vol. 41(1992), pp. 73-85, esp. pp. 78-79) and Ian Astley-Kristensen (*The Rishukuō*, p. 21, footnote 88) give a list of references to "extended" works. There are differences between my list and those of these scholars. Fukuda records seven examples; he does not include my numbers 3 and 5, which do not have the characters scripture 經 and book 本. Tanaka's chart (ibid, pp. 78-79) has three more examples than I give because he includes references to "yoga teachings" 瑜伽教中. However, because this reference does not have the character "extended" 廣, I have included these references to yoga teachings under a third bullet in Appendix C, that is "references to forms of deities in unnamed [yoga] ritual manuals." Astley-Kristensen also records nine examples of "extended" works. He does not

include my number 5 but has instead a listing for *T*.1003:616c15 廣釋. I, however, read this passage differently and so do not consider this a reference to an "extended explanation."

[62] See Appendix C, second bullet, number 1, *Liqushi* 3 Trailokyavijaya (*T*.1003:611c10-11); and number 2 *Liqushi* 3 Trailokyavijaya (*T*.1003:612a3-9).

[63] See Appendix C, second bullet, number 3, *Liqushi* 4 Avalokiteśvara (*T*.1003:612b10-15); and number 4 *Liqushi* 4 Avalokiteśvara (*T*.1003:612b27-c2).

[64] See Appendix C, second bullet, number 5, *Liqushi* 6 Vajramuṣṭi (*T*.1003:613a24-29).

[65] See *T*.865:209c16-210a17, esp. 210a13-14. This is the adamantine name that Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha received when consecrated by All the Tathāgatas.

[66] *T*.869:286b9-16. See also Iyanaga's translation and notes, "Récits de la Soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya - d'apres les Sources Chinoises et Japonaises," pp. 663-664, and Giebel's translation and notes, "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation," pp. 170-172.

[67] The first manual is published in *T*.20.1040. See its listing in the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.55.2157:880c15-16). For the second work, see *T*.2120:839b5 and *T*.2157:879b8-9. It is published in *T*.20.1171.

[68] The correspondences between these two ritual manuals and Amoghavajra's description of the contents of the Fourth Assembly are numerous. In *T*.1040, for instance, the following points concur. Avalokiteśvara explains (1) his fundamental mantra 心眞言 that is found in the Assembly of the King of the Rites [given] in the Kalpa for the Conqueror of the Three Worlds 降三世儀軌法王會 (30c22-29); (2) his great mandala (31a3-9), as well as lotus (that is, *dharma*) mandala (31b4-7), symbolic mandala (31b8-11) and action mandala (31b12-13); (3) rites that the master performs within these mandalas (31a10-b3), for example rites whereby the master invites Avalokiteśvara into the sacred site (31a18-22) and rites whereby he draws his disciples into the mandala and bestows upon them special teachings (31a22-b3). Further, (4) rites of accomplishment (31b13-c15) are given. Finally, (5) an appended Chapter (*uttaratantra*) on Seals 印品 (31c16-32a13) describes various hand gestures (31c16-24), prohibitory precepts (32a1-5) and hand gestures for the four Inner Offering Bodhisattvas (32a6-13).

An example of a connection between the *Liqushi* and the *Jingangding Jiangsanshi dayigui fawang jiao* and so the Fourth Assembly occurs in *Liqushi* 4 (*T*.1003:612b10-11). Here Amoghavajra prescribes a visualization of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara sitting in the center of an eight-petalled lotus and surrounded by eight Buddhas 八佛 who sit on the eight petals. This iconography constitutes that of the great mandala that Avalokiteśvara describes (*T*.1040:31a3-9, esp. a6-8) in the *Jingangding Jiangsanshi dayigui fawang jiao*. (The same iconography appears in Amoghavajra's translation of a manual for a rite centered on Amitāyus; *T*.930:71a10-17, esp. 16-17.) This iconography is repeated again in the *Jingangding Jiangsanshi dayigui fawang jiao* for the focal image of a rite of accomplishment (*T*.1040:31b13-20, esp. 14-15), wherein the practitioner, after having drawn Avalokiteśvara's image on silk, entered into meditative concentration before this image and chanted this Bodhisattva's special mantra, becomes Avalokiteśvara, and so views the world of utmost bliss 極楽世界. The iconography of this image is identical to that of the *Liqushi* 4's visualization and the great mandala that Avalokiteśvara prescribes in the *Jingangding Jiangsanshi dayigui fawang jiao*: Avalokiteśvara sits on the summit of Sumeru, the site of the Fourth Assembly, and eight Buddhas surround him.

In *T*.1171, the following points agree with those in the Fourth Assembly. Mañjuśrī explains (1) his five-letter *dhāraṇī* 本五字陀羅尼 (705a10-18); (2) his great mandala (705a19-25), wherein he stipulates a youthful figure of Mañjuśrī with his hair done up in five topknots, who holds in his right hand an adamantine sword and in his left a Sanskrit text; symbolic 契印 mandala (705b11-13); seed letter 三摩耶 (*samaya* [but perhaps a mistake for *samādhi*, or *samāpanna*, because the seed letters of the deities are depicted]) mandala (705b14-17); and action mandala (705b18-20); (3) rites whereby the master draws the disciples into the mandala (705a27-29); (4) and rites of accomplishment and their boons (705b21-c6).

See Sakai Shirō, "*Kongōchō Gōzanze daigiki hōōkyōchū Kanjizai bosatsu shinshingon issai nyorai renge daimandara bon* ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 12 (1950), pp. 16-22, wherein his gives the Tibetan version of this

chapter, showing that its contents closely correspond to those of *T*.1040, and his "Monju bosatsu no goji juhō ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 81 (1951), pp. 28-37.

[69] This work is published in 東北 482. See Sakai, "*Kongōchō Gōzanze daigiki hōōkyōchū Kanjizai bosatsu shinshingon issai nyorai renge daimandara bon* ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 12, pp. 16-22, esp. p. 16, p. 17 footnote 2, where he states that the contents of this text correspond to Amoghavjra's description of the Fourth Assembly in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*.

[70] Kawashima Takeshi ("*Trailokyavijaya mahākalparāja* no kenkyū — mūlatantra o chūshin ni shite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究, vol. 37, No. 2 (1989), pp. 828-826, esp. pp. 828-7) presents the contents of the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja*. This work is divided into root manual 根本儀軌 and appendix (*uttaratantra,* 外編儀軌). The root manual has much in common with the structure of the *Liqujing* and explanations given in the *Liqushi*. It contains chapters on (1) Vajrahuṃkara, (2) Tathāgata, (3) Vajrapāṇi, (4) Avalokiteśvara, (5) Ākāśagarbha, (6) Vajramuṣṭi, (7) Mañjuśrī, (8) Vajracakra, (9) Gaganagañja, (10) Maitreya, (11) and the five types of gods. In *Liqushi* 8 (*T*.1003:614a14-17, 18-20 and *T*.243:785b7-8) Bodhisattva Sahacittopādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin takes the form of Vajracakra and in *Liqushi* 10 (615a1-3) Bodhisattva Sarvamāra-pramardin is said to be a transformation of Maitreya.

The systematic order of the *Liqushi* and the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* is difficult to establish with certainty. The opinions of the scholars who have studied these works are also divided. Sakai Shinten concludes that the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* corresponds to the Fourth Assembly and that it was the precursor of the *Liqujing*. See Sakai, *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 12, p. 87 and "*Kongōchōgyō* no daijusan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, p. 39. Sakai's criteria for dating the order of the Assemblies are based on the Five Mysteries Mandala and the concept of Great Bliss 大樂 (*mahāsukha*) that are found in the Third, Fourth, Sixth and Thirteenth Assemblies. Because the Five Mysteries Mandala is explained in the Third Assembly, again in the Fourth Assembly, where it is called the Great Wheel Mandala 大輪曼荼羅, and then both in the *Liqujing* and in Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*, Sakai gives the order of development of the texts as the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* first, then the *Liqujing*, and finally the Thirteenth Assembly. Moreover, Sakai dates the Thirteenth Assembly after the composition of the *Liqujing*, which, he says, is the origin of the concept of Great Bliss and which corresponds to the Sixth Assembly of the corpus of Eighteen Assemblies.

Kawashima Takeshi, on the other hand, argues for a two-way influence between the two texts. Kawashima states that Amoghavajra wrote the *Liqushi* knowing the composition of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* and that the content of his *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* also influenced that of the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja*. He lists five points concerning the *Trailokyavijaya mahākalpa-rāja*: (a) its composition resembles the *Liqujing*; (b) it has descriptions that are common to the *Liqushi*; (c) it describes a Five Mysteries Mandala; (d) it explains the four types of mandalas and has points in common with the Sanskrit *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Chapter on Trailokyavijaya (眞實攝經降三世品); and (e) partial translations (*T*.1040, 1172, 1173) by Amoghavajra exist. See *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, pp. 828-826, esp. 827. Moreover, he states (ibid, p. 828) that in the Tibetan Canon the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* is listed as the explanatory tantra 釈儀軌 (*vyākyātantra*) on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Chapter of Trailokyavijaya.

[71] Kawashima shows ("*Trailokyavijaya mahākalparāja* no kenkyū — mūlatantra o chūshin ni shite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 37, No. 2, p. 828) that the first chapter of the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* focuses on Vajrahūṃkara's subjugation of Maheśvara and the worldly gods, and the theme of its eleventh chapter is Maheśvara and the twenty-five gods.

[72] According to Amoghavajra's description of the Fourth Assembly in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T*.869:286b9-16), information about the subjugation and conversion of the Hindu gods and their initiation into Buddhist mandalas is found in the First Assembly.

In *Liqushi* 3 (*T*.1003:611b9-21; for a translation and discussion of this passage, see Chapter One), Amoghavajra provides a summary of the drama of subjugation of Hindu gods that occurs in the First Assembly's Chapter on Trailokyavijaya. Amoghavajra also records this drama in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T*.869:285a15- 27; see Chapter One). The *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* continues (*T*.869:285b7-22), presenting rites of subjugation and the six mandalas of the Vajra Family.

[73] Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* provides the following description (*T*.869:286a26-29) of the content of the Second Assembly:

> Next, the Second Assembly is explained. This Assembly is called the *Yiqie rulai bimi wang yuqie* 一切如來祕密王瑜伽 (Yoga of the King of Secrets of All the Tathāgatas), and it is expounded in the Akaniṣṭha, the highest Heaven of the realm of form 色究境天. [This Assembly] consists of four main chapters [in which] the subtle principle of reality is explained in detail, and also the subjugation of Maheśvara is extensively explained. [Further,] the god Maheśvara responds in verse to Bodhisattva Vajra[sattva]'s questions.

See also Iyanaga's translation and notes, "Récits de la Soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya - d'après les Sources Chinoises et Japonaises," p. 663, and Giebel's translation and notes, "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation," pp. 165-167.

Sakai ("*Kongōchō* no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 121, 127-128) has shown that the themes of this Second Assembly, which Amoghavajra describes in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, can be found in the second half of the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* (Tantra on the Extensive Secret Yoga of the Adamantine Crown), the explanatory tantra on the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*), which was discussed above. This second part, titled *Yiqie rulai bimi yintuoluo gui* 一切如來祕密因陀羅軌 (reconstructed Skt. *Sarvatathāgata-guhyendra tantra*, Tantra on the Secret Sovereign of All the Tathāgatas), consists of four chapters and three of them contain explanatory information about the First Assembly's Chapter on Trailokyavijaya. For example, chapter two of the *Yiqie rulai bimi yintuoluo gui*, called the Explanatory Chapter titled The Family of All the Tathāgatas' Secret Sovereign [from the] Scripture of All the Tathāgatas 一切如來の經祕密帝王一切如來族と名づくる釋品, presents explanations about the *samaya*, *dharma* and *karma* mandalas expounded in the First Assembly's Chapter of the Adamantine Realm, and ends with an explanation of a visualization practice on *Hūṃ Kāra* (Trailokyavijaya) 吽迦羅觀修行. Also, in chapter three of *Yiqie rulai bimi yintuoluo gui*, the Explanatory Chapter titled Conqueror of the Three Worlds 降三世と名づくりる釋品, such topics as the subjugation of the gods, the exchange between Vajrasattva and the gods, the gods' mantras and the Great Mandala of the Wrath of the Vajra Family are explained. Sakurai ("*Vajraśekharatantra* no ikkōsatsu," *Chizan gakuhō*, vol. 35, p. 38, endnote 14 on pp. 47-8) notes, however, that the theme of the subjugation of the gods in this third chapter differs distinctly from that given in the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*) and the Fourth Assembly (*Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja*). Here Trailokyavijaya subjugates the deites by using his family members and bodies that emanate from his own body 自分の分身, whereas is the other two works Trailokavijaya does the job himself.

[74] See Appendix C, second bullet, number 3, *Liqushi* 4 Avalokiteśvara (*T*.1003:612b11-15) states as follows:

> Another time imagine the letter *hūṃ* on another's body and [that] it becomes a five-pronged vajra. In its center, where it is grasped, imagine the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, and [then imagine that] the two bodies, [that of] your own vajra and [that of] the lotus, unite 以自金剛與彼蓮華二體和合, becoming meditation and wisdom 定慧 [two of the six *pāramitās*]. Thus, there is in the Extended Chapter of the Yoga 瑜伽廣品 a secret meaning which explains that [when] the two roots [sexual organs of a man and women] unite 二根交會, the five tainted objects [of the sense-fields of body, speech, smell, taste and touch] 五塵 become [instead] great acts of the buddhas 大佛事.

[75] See Appendix C, second bullet, number 5, *Liqushi* 6 Vajramuṣṭi (*T*.1003:613a24-29) goes as follows:

> [The *Liqujing*'s teaching that] "Forming the adamantine seal of All the Tathāgatas accomplishes the supreme achievements of All the Tathāgatas's functions of body, speech and mind" [means that] because the yoga practitioner attains the *samādhi* of Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi 金剛拳, he can successfully accomplish the practices of the three mysteries [that are explained] in all the teachings on mantras. For this reason, it is explained in the Extended Yoga 廣瑜伽中説 that the union of adamantine [states of] body, speech and mind is termed "fist" 拳 (*muṣṭi*). The bindings 縛 *(bandha*) [of the seals] of All the Tathāgatas are "adamantine fists" 金剛拳.

For instance, scholars give more than one source for Amoghavajra's reference to an extended work in examples at second bullet, number 3, the secret meaning of the union of "the two roots", and number 5, "the

adamantine union of body, speech and mind" given above. Sakai ("*Kongōchō* no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 126-7) refers to passages about the "secret meaning of the union of the two roots" in the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*. The first passage is found in the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* (Collection of All Teachings)'s third chapter, called Explanatory Chapter titled Explanation of the Secret Meaning [concerning] the Great God of Tantra 怛特羅大天の密意釋と名づくる釋品. A second passage containing this "secret meaning of the two roots" appears in the *Sarvatathāgata-guhyendra tantra* (*Yiqie rulai bimi yintuoluo gui*)'s second chapter, called the Explanatory Chapter titled The Family of All the Tathāgatas' Secret Sovereign [from the] Scripture of All the Tathāgatas. These works, as discussed above, correspond to the Third and Second Assemblies described in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. Tanaka Yūbun, ("Fukūshoden no *Kongōchō yugakyō* ni tsuite" (5), *Chizan gakuhō*, vol. 41), p. 80, esp. p. 85 endnote 44) shows that this visualization is also found in the Song Dynasty translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (First Assembly).

Kawashima Takeshi ("*Trailokyavijaya mahākalparāja* no kenkyū – mūlatantra o chūshin ni shite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 37, No. 2, p. 826, note 11) states that Toganoo (*Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 227) gives the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (First Assembly) as a source for second bullet, number 5, "the adamantine union of body, speech and mind is termed fist." Kawashima (ibid, p. 827) also finds the same explanation for "fist" in the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja*'s Chapter on Vajramuṣṭi (6).

Further, in *Liqushi* 17 (*T*.1003: 617a4-6, see also Appendix C, second bullet, number 9, the practitioner is told he can investigate details of the Five Mysteries rite in the Extended Scripture:

> The practitioner, having received consecration to become a master 阿闍梨灌頂 (*ācārya abhiṣeka*), can practice this rite of the Five Mysteries. The passages concerning the merits and benefits that will be obtained [due to the performance of this rite] are extensive and so I cannot explain them fully [here]. It is better if you can get hold of the Extended Scripture and try to investigate this yourself 所獨福利文廣不可具説。得廣經者自應尋見耳.

As we have seen above, Amoghavajra states in *Liqushi* 16 and 17 that the Five Mysteries mandala is a component of the larger mandala prescribed in the Third of the Eighteen Assemblies on the Yoga of Adamantine Crown. But the Extended Scripture that Amoghavajra refers the practitioner to in the example at second bullet, number 9 cannot be limited to the Third Assembly. According to his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and his *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*, in the Thirteenth Assembly Bodhisattva Samantabhadra further explains the secret whereby the seventeen figures of the mandala of rapture and infallibility conflate into a pentad of Venerables seated upon a single lotus dais. In sum, a single source for the Five Mysteries rite cannot be specified.

[76] See *T*.1003:616c8-10 and *T*.869:286b1-6. As mentioned already, this mandala is described in the Third of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown that Amoghavajra describes in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, and it correlates to the Tibetan version of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* (Collection of All Teachings).

[77] *T*.1003:611b27-c3, 611c27-29, *T*.243:784c15—8, Sakai, "*Kongōchōkyō* no daisane ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 136-137 and Inui Hitoshi, "*Kongōchō tantora* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32 (1997), pp. 1-30, esp. pp. 10-12.

Amoghavajra does not provide iconographic information for the figure of Trailokyavijaya in the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*'s outline of the First Assembly's Chapter on Trailokyavijaya. He only records that (*T*.869:285a20-25) Vajrapāṇi, having entered a meditative concentration of wrath and manifested a great, majestic body (Trailokyavijaya), pinned Maheśvara beneath his leg. Here we learn that Trailokyavijaya assumes a standing pose and treads on Maheśvara.

The Song Dynasty translation of the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*)'s Chapter on Trailokyavijaya (*T*.882:376c17-22) describes the iconography of this wrathful figure in greater detail. Vajrapāṇi, taking the form of Vajrahūṃkāra/Trailokyavijaya, is blue in color, has slightly protruding fangs, an angry, grimacing face, and tramples on Maheśvara with his left foot and on the breasts of Umā with his right foot. Further, the bodhisattvas of his retinue are wrathful in appearance. (See also Inui, "*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1)," *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kinen*, vol. 9 (1995), pp.13-14 and "*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* no shidaibon to mandara no tokushoku," *Kōyasan daigaku ronbunshū*: *Kōyasan daigaku sōritsu hyakujū shūnen kinen*, p. 88.) The iconography of this wrathful Vajrapāṇi/Vajrahūṃkāra/Trailokyavijaya surrounded by four wrathful figures concurs with prescriptions given in both *Liqujing* 3 and *Liqushi* 3. (See also Chapter One, Trailokyavijaya Mandala *Liqushi* Stage 3.) But, according to Inui ("*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* no shidaibon to mandara no tokushoku," *Kōyasan daigaku ronbunshū*, p. 88 and "*Kongō tantora* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, p.

11), this Song Dynasty translation does not describe Vajrahūṃkāra/Trailokyavijaya as multi-armed or multi-faced. This suggests that the Sanskrit manuscript used for this Chinese translation belongs to a textual tradition different from the Sanskrit manuscripts that Amoghavajra consulted.

[78] See Appendix C, second bullet, number 1, *Liqushi* 3 Trailokyavijaya (*T*.1003:611c10-11).

[79] See Appendix C, second bullet, number 2, *Liqushi* 3 Trailokyavijaya (*T*.1003:612a3-9).

[80] See, for example, *T*.18.873:301a5-8; *T*.20.1056:73c18-20, 1124:532a16-18; 1133:575b3-6. All are recorded in the list of translations and compositions (*T*.2120:839c16, c8, c14) that Amoghavajra presented the Chinese Emperor in 771.

[81] *T*.1133:575a20, in-text title.

[82] *T*.1056:72, title, and see in-text 72a10 依瑜伽金剛頂經.

[83] There are four such examples in the *Liqushi*. See Appendix C., third bullet, numbers 1 -4.

[84] *Liqushi* 4 (*T*.1003:612a28-b5, Appendix C, third bullet, number 2, prescribes for the Mandala of Avalokiteśvara:

> [If] the practitioner maintains the heart mantra of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and [if] he seeks to accomplish [this scripture's] guiding principle of insight, he must construct [its] mandala. In the center draw Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, [making him] just like his fundamental ritual form 本儀形. In front of him install Vajradharma, at his right install Vajratīkṣṇa, at his left Vajrahetu, and behind him install Vajrabhāṣa. In each of the four inner and outer corners install the Four Inner and Outer Offering [Bodhisattvas]. In the east gate depict the form of a goddess (*deva*). She represents desire. In the south gate draw the form of a snake, who represents hatred. In the west gate draw a boar who represents the form of delusion. In the north gate draw a lotus flower, which represents the form of *nirvāṇa*.

[85] *Liqushi* 5 (*T*.1003:612c17-23, Appendix C, third bullet, number 3, stipulates for the Mandala of Ākāśagarbha:

> Because the practitioner will perform a meditative concentration on Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha he must construct the fundamental mandala of this Bodhisattva. In the center of this mandala draw Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha in his fundamental form 本形. In front of him draw Vajraratna, to his right draw Vajrateja, to his left draw Vajraketu and behind him draw Vajrahāsa. In the four corners of the inner and outer courts [of this mandala] arrange the four Inner and Outer Offering [Bodhisattvas], respectively. They [too] are [drawn] in their fundamental forms 本形. In the eastern gate place a vajra, in the southern gate a jewel, in the western gate a lotus and in the northern gate a bell.

[86] See *T*.869:285c8-10:

> Next I will explain the Chapter on Universal Submission…The great mandala has thirty-seven [figures]. All are transformations of Bodhisattva Avalokitśvara. 次説遍調伏大品。。。第一大曼荼羅。具三十七。皆觀自在菩薩變現.

And see *T*.869:286a3, 20-21:

> Next, I will explain the Great Chapter of the Accomplishment of All Objectives… All [in the mandalas described above] are, namely, the transformations of Ākāśagarbha, [himself a manifestation of] that Revered One who holds the Vajra. 次説一切義成就大品中。。。皆是則彼婆伽梵執金剛虛空藏變化.

Directives in these chapters of the First Assembly prescribe the same type of figural grouping that is seen in the Mandala of Trailokyavijaya in *Liqushi* 3, where Vajrasattva/Trailokyavijaya is surrounded by the four main bodhisattvas of the wrathful Vajra Family.

[87] *T*.1003:611a1-2.

[88] That is, the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*)'s first Chapter on the Adamantine Realm.

The practitioner must learn to contemplate the equality of all elements of reality, which are inherently pure in nature. This is the teaching of *Liqujing* 4 (*T*.243:784c19-20), and it is expounded by the Tathāgata who has attained the original state wherein self-nature is innately pure 得自性清淨法性如來. *Liqushi* 4 states (*T*.1003:612a11) that this Tathāgata is none other than Tathāgata Avalokiteśvara-rāja 觀自在王如來 (King of Self-Mastery of Vision). This Buddha is so named in Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865:208b5) and its commentary (*T*.870:288b18-19, 291a14-15). Further, the *Liqushi* explains (*T*.1003:612a10-13) that this Buddha takes the form of Tathāgata Amitāyus 無量壽如來 when dwelling in his Pure Land, and that of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara when dwelling in our defiled world during the time of the five pollutions 雜染五濁世界.

In the *Liqushi* each line of the *Liqujing*'s teaching is assigned to one of the four bodhisattvas of the retinue of Tathāgata Avalokiteśvara-rāja. They are (*T*.1003:612a16-22) Vajradharma, Vajratīkṣṇa, Vajrahetu 金剛因 and Vajrabhāśa 金剛語.

[89] *T*.865:211a9-b9 and Chapter One. The *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865) further clarifies Avalokiteśvara/Vajradharma's iconography in its section on the action seals 羯摩印 for the figures who appear in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, stating (*T*.865:222a7) that Avalokiteśvara/Vajradharma holds a lotus in his left hand and with his right hand forms the action of opening its petals.

[90] See the section on mudrās and mantras (*T*.18.873:305b12) for the deities of the Action Assembly 羯摩會 in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa,* a manual for the performance of the rite of the adamantine realm, as well as ritual manuals for Avalokiteśvara in his transformations as Sahasrabhuja-Ārya-Avalokiteśvara (*T*.20.1032:7b17-19, esp.19; *T*.20.1056:74a9-11, esp. 10), as Ekādaśamukha (*T*.20.1069:143b27-29) and for his parent Buddha Tathāgata Amitāyus (*T*.19.930:71a10-15, esp. 13-14). All are listed in the memorial of 771 (*T*.2120:839c7, c22, c8, b12, c9, respectively).

Moreover, Amoghavajra's ritual manuals for rites of Avalokiteśvara that do not belong to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* lineage, for instance, the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* 觀自在菩薩眞言觀行儀軌 and *Guanzizai pusa zuisheng mingwang xinjing* 觀自在菩薩最勝明王心經, prescribe (*T*.20.1031:5a23-28, esp. a26-27, *T*.20.1033:14c21-2) that Avalokiteśvara hold a lotus in his left hand and open its petals with his right hand. Both manuals are recorded (*T*.2120:839c23, b4) in Amoghavajra's list of translations and compositions presented to the Chinese Emperor.

In the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 780, No. 5) the central figure of Avalokiteśvara holds a long-stemmed lotus in his left hand but his right hand does not form the gesture of opening its petals. The Ishiyamadera mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 959, No. 6) focuses upon a pentad configuration composed of a Bodhisattva cum Buddha and the four main members of Tathāgata Avalokiteśvara-rāja's family. There are correspondences between the iconography of this mandala and *Liqushi* 4's prescriptions, as well as the texts (*T*.865 and 870) that constitute the source of the *Liqujing*'s teachings and the *Liqushi*'s explanations. The first obvious correspondence is the name of the central figure, who is labeled Vajra Īśvara 金剛自在. The term *Īśvara* 自在, the ability to master something and so become sovereign (Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 171), signifies the ontological and soteriological essence of both Tathāgata Avalokiteśvara-rāja and Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara that is expounded in *Liqushi* 4, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865:211a9-b9) and its commentary (*T*.870:289b9-15, 291b6-7). A second correspondence is the epithet "Adamantine" 金剛 (*Vajra*) that preceeds all the names of the mandala's figures. This points to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865) wherein the names of all the figures in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm are prefixed with this term.

[91] *T*.1003:610c28-29. This iconography does not correspond at all to that of the central figure of Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba in the Daigoji's Mandala of the Guiding Assembly of Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏理趣會 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 781, No. 6). This figure holds a flaming sword in his right hand and a long-stemmed lotus in his left hand. The mandala has been damaged and it is impossible to tell if there would have been a gem on top of the lotus flower. For instance, in the Daigoji's Mandala of the Guiding Assembly of Venerable Mahāvairocana (fig. 3, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 778, No. 3) Ākāśagarbha holds a flaming sword in his left hand and a long-stemmed lotus topped with flaming jewels in his right hand.

[92] *T*.1003:612c8-13. These Bodhisattvas are Vajraratna 金剛寶, Vajrateja 金剛光, Vajraketu 金剛憧, Vajrahāsa 金剛笑.

[93] The passage wherein Vairocana/Vajradhara generates Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba for this Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm elucidates the particulars of this Bodhisattva's nature and function. While in a special meditative concentration associated with the pledge of Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba, Vairocana emits from his heart the mantra *vajraratna* (adamantine gem). Then, due to empowerment of All the Tathāgatas, the entire realm of empty space enters the heart of Vairocana and, becoming a repository of a realm composed of vast empty space, produces the form of a great adamantine gem. From this gem appears innumerable figures of Tathāgatas who, after performing the consecration of All the Tathāgatas in all the world systems, combine and become the figure of Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba. In a second concentration Vairocana places this adamantine gem in Ākāśagharba's hands and confers upon him consecration in the form of the adamantine gem. All the Tathāgatas then consecrate him with the adamntine name of Vajragarbha (Adamantine Repository). Having been consecrated by All the Tathāgatas, Bodhisattva Vajragarbha extols the adamantine gem that has been placed in his hands, saying that it is used by the Buddhas to consecrate the realms of sentient beings. See *T*.865:209c16-210a17 and an English translation in Giebel, *Two Esoteric Texts*, pp. 32-4.

[94] In Amoghavajra's reference source, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865), Tathāgata Mahāvairocana is described as having been consecrated with the great gem of Ākāśagharba (*T*.865:208a29-b1) and, further, that he has obtained the consecration of All the Tathāgatas' great gem, which was born from empty space (*T*.865:208b10-1).

[95] The *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865) does not give details of the anthropomorphic forms of Tathāgata Ratnasaṃbhava's family for the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. However, from descriptions of Vairocana's generation of these bodhisattvas for this Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, and from the prescriptions for their representations in the seed letter, symbolic and action (*dharma-*, *samaya-* and *katsuma-*) mandalas in the section on the Four Seals, we can assume that Ākāśagharba/Vajraratna would hold a gem as his emblem, Vajrateja would hold a solar disc, Vajraketu a gemmed banner and Vajrahāsa a smile. See *T*.865:207b20, 221a8-12, b6-10.

[96] *Daxukongzang pusa niansong fa* 大虛空藏菩薩念誦法 is published in *T*.20.1146. See *T*.1146:603a14-15: 我今依瑜伽金剛頂經說寶部虛空藏菩薩眞言教法. This manual is listed in Amoghavajra's 771 memorial (*T*.2120:839c21).

[97] *T*.1146:604a25-28.

[98] *T*.1146:604b4-6. The iconography of Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba is provided in a second ritual manual that its author states has been extracted from the First Assembly's fourth Chapter on the Accomplishment of All Objectives (*T*. 20.1145:601c11: 出金剛頂經成就一切義品. This manual, atrributed to Śubhakārasiṃha (see *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol.3. p. 240), directs (*T*.1145:602a3-6) that Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba holds in his left hand a lotus topped with the wish-granting gem and forms with his right hand the gesture of granting all wishes.

In another ritual maunal translated by Amoghavajra, but which cannot be directly linked to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865) ritual lineage, Bodhisattva Ākāśagharba appears holding the gem in his left hand and forming with his right the hand gesture of granting wishes. See, for example, *Ba dapusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼陀羅經 (*T*.20.1167:675b23-26, which is listed (*T*.2120:839c1) in Amoghavajra's 771 memorial.

[99] In the mandala described in Ch. 2 (*T*.848:8c25-26) this Bodhisattva's attribute is a sword that produces fiery light and in that described in Ch. 11 (*T*.848:36a5-7) the emblem of this Bodhisattva is a great sword of wisdom that is placed on a great white lotus flower. In Ch. 8 (*T*.848:23c16-17) Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha has a sword (*khaḍga*) in his hand. See Yoritomi (*Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, p. 611), who gives surviving Indian examples of Ākāśagarbha with a sword.

[100] *Liqujing* 11 (*T*.243:783c10-17) summarizes the teachings and practices of the Eight Bodhisattvas expounded in *Liqujing* 3 to 10. In *Liqushi* 11, Chapter on The Conqueror of the Three Worlds (Trailokyavijaya)'s Circle of Instruction and Command (*T*.1003:615b6-19), Amoghavajra's explanation is also one of summarization. He equates the *Liqujing*'s teachings with the attainments the practitioner has gained by his progress through the four mandalas of the four families. For example, entering into the Great Mandala of the Vajra Family enables the practitioner to awaken

to the fact that "all sentient beings possess an indestructible, adamantine buddha-nature"; entering into the Lotus Family's mandala enables him to awaken "to the purity of the Dharma Realm, as pure as the lotus" [which, like the lotus, is not tainted by delusions (*moha*) 如蓮華不染諸惑]. (*T*.1003:615b9-11, 14-16; See also Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 155-6.) The mandala Amoghavajra delineates in *Liqushi* 11 (*T*.1003:615b21-c3) graphically depicts this theme of summation. The five types of Indian gods and consorts who appear in this mandala are the same five types of gods who constitue the Outer Vajra Family in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm that is expounded in the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*)'s first Chapter on the Adamantine Realm. Amoghavajra's *Zhubu tuoluoni mu* (*T*.903:898c18-22) records that these five types of gods are installed in the outer enclosure of this Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. And, as we have seen, the drama of the subjugation of these gods, their conversion and entry into this mandala is the theme of the First Assembly's second Chapter on Trailokyavijaya. See Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T*.869:285a15-b6).

However, the story of subjugation of the Hindu gods and their entry into the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm is not only found in the First Assembly's Chapter on Trailokyavijaya. Maheśvara's subjugation is, according to Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T*.869:286a26-29), also presented in the Second Assembly. Sakai ("*Kongōchōkyō* no Daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 121, 127-128) has shown that in the third chapter (Explanatory Chapter titled Conqueror of the Three Realms) of the Tibetan work (*Sarvatathāgata-guhyendra tantra*, Tantra on the Secret Sovereign of All the Tathāgatas), whose content corresponds to Amoghavjra's description of the Second Assembly, the subjugation of the gods, their mantras and the Vajra Family's Great Mandala of Wrath are explained. Further, the five types of gods and consorts appear in the outer court of the Mandala of the Five Families, which is expounded in the Third Assembly (Sakai, "*Kongōchōkyō* no daisan e ni tsuite", *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 125, 146, diagram p. 147 and Inui Hitoshi, "*Kongōchō Tantora* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1)," *Koyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32 (Feb. 1997), pp. 1-30, esp. pp. 22-25). Finally, this drama of conquest and conversion has separate chapters in the the Fourth Assembly. Kawashima records ("*Trailokyavijaya mahākalparāja* no kenkyū — mūlatantra o chūshin ni shite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 37, No. 2, p. 828) that the first chapter of the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* focuses on Vajrahūṃkara's subjugation of Maheśvara and the worldly gods, and the theme of its eleventh chapter is Maheśvara and the twenty-five gods.

[101] *T*.1003:611c11, 612a9 and 612b14 and 28. I discuss Amoghavajra's recording (*T*.2120:840a13-14, a15, and 844a21-23) of his travels to India later in Chapter Four.

[102] In *Liqushi* 12, Chapter on the Outer Vajra Assembly (*T*.1003:615c10-25) Amoghavajra equates the *Liqujing*'s fourfold teachings (*T*.243:785c10-14) to the Four Buddha Wisdoms 四種智, and by extension, to each Buddha's main attendant Bodhisattva, that is, Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva, Ākāśagarbha/Vajraratna, Avalokiteśvara/Vajradharma and Viśvakarman/Vajrakarma, respectively. In the *Liqujing* (*T*.243:785c14-17), those of the Outer Vajra Family, to further clarify the teachings, "raised their voices in joy and expounded the true essence of the adamantine natural existence." (See Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 157.) For the mandala in *Liqushi* 12 (*T*.1003:616a3-7, listed in Appendix C, third bullet, number 4), Amoghavajra gives the following directions:

> Therefore, in order to pacify those gods who are difficult to control and are transmigrating in the five paths of the wheel of life and death, construct the liberation wheel of the five kinds. Buddha Vairocana, for the sake of gathering and converting the same types of worldly [gods and] beings, explains the mandala of Maheśvara. In the center draw Maheśvara. He is identical to his fundamental form 来形 [footnote has 本形]. The eight gods 八種の天 surround him. Draw the four Offering [Bodhisattvas] and the four Gate [Bodhisattvas] in their fundamental forms 本形.

There is a problem with the iconography of Maheśvara. The critical annotation in the *Taishō* edition states that the Song, Yuan and Ming editions, as well as the copy of this text included in Kūkai's *Sanjūjō sakushi* 三十帖冊子 contain the character "fundamental" 本, rather than the character 來. Is he, then, to have a tathāgata-like form 如来形, which he acquires in the drama recorded in, for example, the First Assembly's Chapter on Trailokyavijaya (*T*.869:285a15-27, esp. a23-25), or is he to be depicted in the form prescribed in his fundamental ritual manual, which is not named? Toganoo (*Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 334), as does *Kokuyaku mikkyō*, vol. 4, p. 480, translate this phrase as "fundamental form", and Astley-Kristensen, (*The Rishukyō*, p. 158) has "a Tathāgata form". Neither scholar refers to this textual problem.

The Extended Chinese version of the *Liqujing* (*T*.8.244:796a25) does not describe the figure of Maheśvara either, but instructs the practitioner to draw his figure according to the rules 法.

[103] See Amoghavajra's references to an "extended" text in Appendix C, second bullet, numbers 6, 7 and 8.

The Stages of the Seven Mothers, the Three Brothers and the Four Sisters are not in every version of the *Liqujing*. In addition to Amoghavajra's translation (*T*.243), these Stages are found in the Chinese Extended Version (*T*.8.244), as well as in the Tibetan Extended and Abbreviated Versions (see Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 336). However, as Toganoo's research shows (ibid, pp. 339-341, 347-350, 356-358), the iconography for these figures stipulated in the Tibetan and Song Dynasty Extended Versions differs from the very brief directions that Amoghavajra gives in his *Liqushi*. There is, on the other hand, information in his *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* that links these Stages and their mandalas of the Indian gods to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

One example that points to Amoghavajra's source is the offerings made by these Indian gods and goddesses. In the *Liqujing* (*T*.243:785c18-19, 21-22, 24-25) the Seven Mothers, Three Brothers and the Four Sisters offered their heart mantra 自心眞言 to the Buddha. For instance, the seven mothers all offered the Buddha "the essence of the mantra of their pledge [whereby they] summon [with a] hook, draw in, can kill and can accomplish" 獻鉤召攝入能殺能成三摩耶眞言心. The First Assembly's Chapter on Trailokyavijaya expounds mandalas of instruction and command 教勅曼荼羅 and their associated rituals and rules that center on the subjugated Hindu gods, who have become members of the Vajra Family. These gods and their consorts perform the same act of offering their mantras to the buddhas. Amoghavajra's describes these acts in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T*.869:285b22-c8). The passage (*T*.896:285b27-29) on the Symbolic Mandala of Instruction and Command 教勅三昧耶曼荼羅 goes as follows:

> Then, second, the Symbolic Mandala of Instruction and Command is explained. Each god and his consort offer their fundamental mantra. [Next], Buddha explains to [these gods] this mandala, which possesses thirty-seven [figures]. [Also Buddha] explains to the disciples the rites for mastering the yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs and elucidates in detail various ritual prescriptions.

(See also Giebel's translation and notes in "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation," *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 18, pp. 150-154, esp. p. 152). And, as we have noted, the Tibetan works that correspond to the Second and Fourth Assemblies also contain chapters on the Hindu gods.

Further, Amoghavjra's provides in *Liqushi* 13, 14 and 15 numerous clues to his reference system. Here we will focus on the Stage of the Seven Mothers. There is in *Liqushi* 13 more explicit commentary about the offering made by the Seven Mothers and this clarification points to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865) as his source. He states (*T*.1003:616a13-15) that the "hook [for] summoning" 鉤召 is the seal of the adamantine hook 金剛鉤印 with which one "can summon all types of sentient beings, for instance all two-legged beings and many-legged beings." The "[act of] drawing in" 攝入 is the formation of the seal of the adamantine rope 金剛索印 whereby one "pulls sentient beings into the mandala and so draws them into the Buddhist path." These acts of "summoning and drawing in" are the functions of two of the Gathering Bodhisattvas 攝菩薩, who appear in the gates of the First Assembly's Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, as well as in the Third Assembly's Mandala of the Five Families, for example. (See Sakai, "*Kongōchō* no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, diagram on p. 147 and Inui, "*Kongōchō tantora* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, p. 22, p. 25.)

There are variations in both the numbers and names of the mother goddesses (*mātṛkās*) in the Indian tradition, who came to represent the endowed energies (*śaktis*) of such Hindu gods as Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu, to name but a few. Therefore, in the Indian tradition the iconography of each mother is distinct, being characterized by the form, attributes and mount of her male counterpart. See, for example, Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 336-338 and Katherine Anne Harper, "The Warring Śaktis: A Paradigm for Gupta Conquests," *The Roots of Tantra*, Katherine Anne Harper, Robert L. Brown, eds. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), pp. 115-131, esp. pp. 115-121.) The *Devī Māhātmya*, dated between 400 and 600 C.E., is one of the first texts to specify the names and natures of the Seven Mothers, and this work includes Brahmānī in this group of seven (Harper, ibid, p. 117).

In the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:616a27-8) Amoghavajra adds Brahmānī to the group of Seven Mothers in order to symbolize, he says, the Eight Offering Bodhisattvas 表八供養菩薩, deities present in both the First Assembly's Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and the Third Assembly's Mandala of the Five Families.

[104] See Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji* (*T*.52.2120). I have consulted Osabe Kazuo's Daisōchō zō Shikū Daibenshō Kōchi sanzō wajō hyōseishū 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣 智 三藏和上表制集, *Gokyūbu* 護教部, *Kokuyaku Issaikyō* 國譯一切經 (Tokyo: Daito shuppansha), vol. 98, pp. 476-604 and Raffaello Orlando, A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch

Amoghavajra (A.D. 705-774), (Ph.D. Princeton University, 1981), pp. XI-XII for a description of the contents in this official collection.

[105] See Robert H. Scharf, "Esoteric Buddhism in China" (Appendix 1), *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism. A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002) pp. 263-344, who, in questioning the historical status of Chinese Tantra or Vajrayāna, initiated a dialogue concerning the problems of scholars' definitions and characteristics of an independent school of Esoteric, or Tantric, Buddhism in Tang China during the time of Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. Scharf argues (ibid, p. 268) there is no evidence that Chinese monks regarded the practices of these masters as other than a "state of the art" of Indian Buddhist ritual technology that was still within the perimeters of Mahāyāna. Moreover, he locates (pp. 269-273) the origins of the "Esoteric Teaching" with the tenth-century monk Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001), who used the terms "Wheel of Instruction and Command" 教令輪 and the "Great Doctrine of Yoga" 瑜伽大教 to describe the tradition of Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra and their descendants.

Two excellent responses to Sharf's essay are Charles Orzech, The "Great Teaching of Yoga," the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism, *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34 (2006), pp. 29-78, and Hendrik Sørensen, "On Esoteric Buddhism in China: A Working Definition," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 155-175. The core of Orzech's study is his examination of the context and significance of the terminology used by the Tang monks Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra and his immediate disciples, and the Song monk Zanning. He establishes (pp. 45-57) that Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, not Zanning, introduced the term "Great Doctrine of Yoga" to characterize their newly imported tradition of ritual practices, and that Amoghavajra coined the term "Wheel of Instruction and Command" (pp. 62-68) to demonstrate to his Chinese patrons the power wielded by the wrathful manifestations (*vidyārājas*) of bodhisattvas for State protection. Sørensen formulates a working definition of the term "Esoteric Buddhism" by tracing its earlier building-blocks, that of spells, *dhāranīs*, and ritual magic, for example, in the Chinese translations of Indic works from the early third through to the early eighth-century arrival of Śubhākarasiṃha with the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its complex, integrated system of rituals, iconography and hermeneutics. While both scholars concur with Scharf's statement that these Tang masters did not found a school/sect of Buddhism, they argue convincingly that the eighth-century Indian masters did follow and propagate a separate and distinctive path of practice within Mahayāna.

[106] *T*.2120:840b1-2.

[107] *T*.869:287c12 and *T*.1003:617a29-b1. In the *Liqushi* Amoghavajra explains that the *Liqujing*'s (*T*.243:786b10) use of the phrase "Adamantine Scripture" 金剛修多羅者 "indicates the methods of the Adamantine Vehicle's teachings on yoga" 指瑜伽教金剛乘法也.

[108] This path was one Amoghavajra practiced and studied throughout his life. He recounts in this memorial that (*T*.2120:840a12-13) for some twenty-four years he served as Vajrabodhi's disciple, receiving from him the "gateway to the yoga methods" 瑜伽法門. Then he describes his journey to India 五天 after Vajrabodhi's death, where he sought teachings and practices as well as scriptures and commentaries that his master had not transmitted to him. He records (840a13-15) that he collected on this journey "Sanskrit scriptures and commentaries on mantras and yogas, five hundred odd works in all" 梵本瑜伽眞言經論五百餘部.

He documents his activities under the three Tang emperors and all had to do with this path of yoga teachings. After his return to Chang'an in the fifth year of Tianbao 天寶五載 (746), Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-756) ordered Amoghavajra (840a16-18) to "erect a ritual arena [for esoteric rites] in the palace" 於內建立道場 and permitted him to translate the works he had brought back from his travels. Under Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756-762) he "set up (840a18-20) in the palace [a ritual arena for] the rites of fire oblations (*homa*) and consecration (*abhiṣeka*)" 於內建立護摩及灌頂法. He also carried out his translation work for the benefit of the state and for promotion of the Imperial Way. See Orlando, A Study of Chinese Documents, p. 70. He continued his translation activities and religious propagation (840a20-22, a27-b1) under Daizong (r. 762-779), receiving the order to check his master's translations for missing words and characters and to translate what had not yet been translated.

See also Orlando, A Study of Chinese Documents, pp. 67-71. This memorial is recorded in Yuanzhao's catalogues *T*.2156:749c20-750a21 and *T*.2157:888a11-b11.

[109] Because there is a debate about the authenticity of all of this work, I describe it as a list of translations and compositions.

[110] *T*.2120:840a29-b1.

[111] *T*.2120:840b1-5. See also the translations of this passage in Orlando, A Study of Chinese Documents, pp. 69-70, and Orzech, The "Great Teachings of Yoga," *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, p. 50 and "Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, p. 282. My translation, for which I have consulted Osabe, Daisōchō zō Shikū Daibenshō Kōchi sanzō wajō hyōseishū, pp. 46-50, esp. p. 50, differs slightly from those by the above scholars, but the key point of this passage is that Amoghavajra regarded the mantras of the yoga teachings to be in a category of their own.

[112] Evidence are the works that he translated and his memorials to the Tang Emperors wherein he records the fundamentals of his teachings, his transmission to his most gifted disciples, both monastic and lay, and his legacy to the Emperor and court. I refer to these translations and memorials throughout this section.

[113] Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* presents a formula for attaining enlightenment, which is the last step in the five-stepped process 五相成佛觀 (*pañcākārābhisaṃbodhikrama*) whereby Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi (Prince Siddhārtha) becomes perfectly enlightened. This five-stepped process consists of five mantras chanted in tandem with specific contemplations and visualizations. See *T*.865:207c10-208a23, *T*.869:284c23-24 and Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*: The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra, pp. 23-25. Enlightenment, achieved quickly by means by the manipulation of sounds (mantras) and symbols (lunar disc, vajra in a lunar disk, form of a buddha), does not require the strenuous endeavors 難行 made over the long period of three great incalculable eons that is characteristic of the bodhisattva path in such Mahāyāna scriptures as the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. See Snellgrove's (*Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*: *Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan Successors* (London: Serindia Pubications, 1987), pp. 121-120) discussion of this scripture's method of attaining enlightenment as representative of a new phase in Mahāyāna teachings and practices, and Tsuda's comparison ("A Critical Tantrism," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, vol. 36 (Tokyo: Tokyo Press, 1978) pp. 167-231 and "Vajrayoṣidbhageṣu vijahāra: Historical Survey from the Beginnings to the Culmination of Tantric Buddhism," *Indological and Buddhist Studies*: *Volume in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday,* (Australian National University, 1982), pp. 595-616, esp. pp. 595-605) of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and their contrasting Tantric and Mahāyānic goals, methods of accomplishment and mandalic representations.

The *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* also teaches the ritual performance of the acts of the four wisdom seals 四智印 (*catur-jñāna-mudrā*, also four seals 四印), that of the hand gesture (*samaya-mudrā*) of the deity, mantras and seed letters (*dharma-mudrā*), which express the speech of the deity, and the actions (*karma-mudrā*) the deity. The result is a ritual transformation of the body and mind of the practitioner into its divine equivalent (*mahā-mudrā*), that is, the physical form of the deity as visualized or depicted in mandalas. See *T*.865:220a9-220c22; 220c23-221b24; 221b24-c23; 221c24-222b18 and Tsuda's discussion ("A Critical Tantrism," p. 206-207, "Historical Survey," p. 603) of the tantric logic of symbolism whereby each symbolic act serves as a substitute for the deity it symbolizes.

The *Liqujing*, another important text in the corpus of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, as we shall see, and its related materials promote the five-stepped process for buddhahood that is expounded in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, as well as its method of union with, or transformation into, the deities in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm by means of the symbolic acts of the four wisdom seals. A comparison of the ritual phases in the manuals for rites for Samantabhadra (*T*.1123), Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva (*T*.1124) and the Five Mysteries (*T*.1125), works that belong to the ritual lineage of the *Liqujing*, with those in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* (*T*.873), a ritual manual that accompanies Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, reveals that this manual provides the ritual template for the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals. There are differences between the four manuals (see Appendix B, Shingon Scholars Analysis of Amoghavajra's Transmission, pp. 179-181), however, the correspondences of structure, the mudrā-mantra pairs of the ritual phases and the method of visualizing the mandalas in the three *Liqujing*-related manuals demonstrate their affiliation with the ritual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. In the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manual (*T*.1124:532b11-c3, *T*.873:302a13-b29), for instance, the practitioner performs a modified form of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s ritual acts of the five-stepped process for attaining enlightenment. The mantras are the same for the four steps of piercing the mind, entering the visualization of the mind of enlightenment, visualizing a five-pronged vajra in the lunar disc of the mind, and

visualizing the body as identical to this five-pronged vajra. The difference is that the mantra for the fifth and final step in the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manual, where the practitioner is to visualize his own body as identical to that of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, accords with the process of union with Samantabhadra, the focus of this rite.

In the first and last chapters of the *Liqujing* (*T*.243:784b15-19, 786b1-2), for example, Mahāvairocana states that the practitioner can in this present life "by means of the lives of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas attain the stages of the Tathāgata and the Holder of the Vajra" 以十六大菩薩生。獲得如来及執金剛位. *Liqushi* 1 explains (*T*.1003:609a29-b9) that the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas are the group that includes Vajrasattva and Vajramuṣṭi, that is the first and last of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The concept of the four wisdom seals appears throughout the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:607b2-8, 608a9-14, 609a17-21, 609c20-610a14, 610a23-b2, to give a few examples), signifying the yogic techniques whereby the practitioner effects his transformation and union with the deities. The practitioner employs this system of the four wisdom seals in order to work his way through the "lives" of these sixteen bodhisattvas, accumulating their special wisdoms and merits while in union with them. See Fukuda ("*Rishukyō* no jōbutsuron: tokuni jūroku daibosatsu wo megutte," *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 357-402, esp. 357-358, 367-372) who discusses the examples of this specific concept of accomplishing "the lives of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas" that are given in the *Liqujing* and *Liqushi,* and see also Astley-Kristensen's discussion (*The Rishukyō*, pp. 105-108) of a life perfected through practice in this given body as opposed to a life as understood as an eon of time (*kalpa*). Further, the concept of attaining enlightenment after passing through the lives of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas 後十六生成正覺 appears in Amoghavajra's ritual manuals *T*.1171:708c19-20 and *T*.1211:49a6-7.

[114] In a memorial dated to the third year of Qianyuan 乾元三年 (760) the "Secret Great Vehicle" 祕密大乘 is presented as "the only method to rescue [sentient beings] from calamities and to prevent disasters" and its gateway is that of consecration. See *T*.2120:829b22-c5, esp. b24-25, which petitions Emperor Suzong to allow Amoghavajra to establish, for the benefit of the state, a ritual arena for consecration 灌頂道場 in Daxingshansi 大興善寺.

The fast path, again proclaimed in a memorial dated to the first year of Guangde 廣德元年 (763), is the path of the bodhisattvas who receive consecration from the buddhas into "a smooth [unhindered] path that leads to the apex [of the bodhisattva stages], the correct stage for entry into buddhahood." See *T*.2120:830a12-27, wherein Amoghavajra petitions Emperor Daizong to allow him to establish, again for the benefit of the state, a ritual arena for consecration. In this memorial he contrasts the fast path of the bodhisattvas with the slow path of the disciples of the Small Vehicle. Although Amoghavajra does not identify the teachings of the Secret Great Vehicle or the fast path of the bodhisattvas in the above two memorials as that of the methods of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, other memorials, which I refer to below, substantiate that it was these particular teachings that formed the core of his transmission.

Consecration, a ceremony to access the esoteric system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, was a significant component of this path that Amoghavajra championed because it conferred lordship and its powers, both supramundane and mundane, and so appealed to his Chinese imperial and military patrons. In the rite of consecration presented in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the disciple acquires, for example, unsurpassed adamantine knowledge, innumerable powers (*siddhis*), the opening of the unsurpassed adamantine eye, and is transformed into an adamantine lord. See *T*. 865:218b2-219a10, Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*: The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra, pp. 76-79.

Ronald M. Davidson (*Indian Esoteric Buddhism*: *A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 123-144, and "Abhiṣeka," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 71-5) presents the origins and development of the consecration ceremony in medieval Indian feudal society, charts its appropriation into Indian Esoteric Buddhism and clarifies its explicitly imperial significance whereby the practitioner receives coronation and becomes an overlord (*rājādhirāja*) or universal ruler (*cakravartin*). Orzech (*Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*: *The Scripture of the Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), pp. 141-150, 191-198 and "Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 263-285, esp. pp. 263-265, 281-3) details Amoghavajra's new paradigm of religious policy for the Esoteric Buddhist teachings, elucidating his objectives of dual rulership by the emperor and the religious master (*ācārya*) and state protection. Consecration, that is bestowing upon the emperors the role of universal ruler, played an important role in the construction of this esoteric polity. See also Martin Lehnert's ("Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 351-359) description of Amoghavajra's role as ritual master in state-related rituals services. Jinhua Chen documents ("The Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels," *Journal of Chinese Religions* (2004), pp. 101-173, esp. pp. 130-132) the function and importance of the emperor's palace chapels 内道場 as an arena of interaction between the

Buddhist community and the state. See his "The Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels," pp. 130-135 for the probable sites of the chapels for Emperors Xuanzong, Suzong and Daizong and the functions Amoghavajra and his disciples carried out in them. See also Jinhua's "Esoteric Buddhism and Monastic Institutions," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 286-293 for information on the consecration arenas Amoghavajra had erected in Daxingshansi.

[115] That Amoghavajra employed skillful methods to help his disciples understand and practice his teachings is seen in his writings. See his last testament (*T*.2120:844b5-7), and in ritual manuals he translated (*Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* 一字佛頂輪王念誦儀軌 (*T*.954A:310a25-26), for example, wherein he proposes a number of ways that the practitioner can carry out effectively certain ritual acts.

For an understanding of the concept of expedient means and its relationship to the term "esoteric teachings", see Richard McBride's article ("Is There Really "Esoteric" Buddhism?" *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 27/2, (2004), pp. 329-356) wherein he clarifies medieval Chinese exegetics' use of this term. According to McBride (p. 355), Śubhākarasiṃha and Amoghavajra did not redefine the term "esoteric teaching" but continued to use the term "in the same way it was deployed in earlier Mahāyāna literature and Sinitic Buddhist exegesis: that "esoteric" means "the best," that it refers to advanced Mahāyāna teachings, that it is only intelligible to individuals with the spiritual capacity of bodhisattvas, and that it employs *upāya* (skillful means) as a means of causing the practitioner to obtain "the acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas" – which seems to be the great secret of the Mahāyāna." McBride selects the *Zongshi tuoluni yizan* (Encomium on a General Interpretation of the Meaning of Dhāraṇī, *T*.902) to represent Amoghavajra's position, even though this work is not listed in the 771 memorial nor in Yuanzhao's catalogues.

[116] See Giebel, "An Annotated Translation," pp. 108-109.

[117] See Giebel, "An Annotated Translation," pp. 107-114.

[118] See my discussion of Sakai's research above under the headings References to Specific Sources and References to Extended Scriptures and Yogas.

[119] Tanaka continued the work of Fukuda ("*Issaibutsu byōdō yuga tantora* no ikkōsatsu"「一切仏平等瑜伽タントラ」の一考察, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 486-502), who first investigated Sakai's earlier suggestion (Tanaka, 1992, p. 401; 1994, p. 325) that Amoghavajra's description of the Ninth Assembly corresponded to the appendix tantra (*uttara-tantra*) of the lost root tantra of the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra*. Examining such works related to the presumed lost root text as the appendix tantra, a supplement to the appendix tantra (*uttarottara-tantra*), Kukurāja's commentary on the six families of this tantra, Indranāla's commentary on the appendix tantra, as well as ritual manuals concerning the mandalas of this tantra and the visualization practice of the deity Heruka, Tanaka documented a connection between the *Śrīparamādya* textual lineage and that of the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra*, and also succeeded in identifying passages that correspond to Amoghavajra's statement on "nine tastes" 九味 and their allocation to nine deities. See "*Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra* to sono mandara ni tsuite," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3 (1984), pp. 59-71, "*Issaibutsu shūe dakini kaimō yuga* shosetsu 'kūmi' kō," *Tōhō* 東方, vol. 5 (1989), pp. 74-84, "*Issaibutsu shūe dakini kaimō yuga* shosetsu 'kūmi' saikō," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 41/1 (1992), pp. 402-397 and his English version of 1992 article, "*Navarasa* Theory in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra* Reconsidered," *Tōhō*, vol. 10 (1994), pp. 323-331, and Giebel, "Annotated Translation,' pp. 179-182.

For a discussion of the standard Tibetan schema of tantric classification and its doctrinal categories, see David Snellgrove, "Categories of Buddhist Tantras," *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti, eds., Serie Orientale Roma, vol. 56, no. 3 (Rome, 1988), pp. 1353-1384. Jacob Dalton, in "A Crisis of Doxography: How Tibetans Organized Tantras During the 8th-12th Centuries," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 28/1 (2005), pp. 115-181, discusses the classification schemes of tantras in India and Tibet during the eighth to the eleventh centuries, the period prior to the the formation of the standard scheme of the four classes of tantra.

[120] Correspondences between Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and existent works in the Chinese and Tibetan canons are charted in Sakai ("Mikkyōgaku e no Oboegaki," *Mikkyō gakkai hō* (Koyasan daigaku: Mikkyō gakkai, 1964), pp. 26-30, esp. pp. 27-29 and Tanaka Kimiaki, *Mandara ikonorojī* (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha,

1987), chart p. 267 and *Ryōkai mandara no tanjō* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2004), chart p. 125. Giebel ("An Annotated Translation," pp. 111-114) reproduces Tanaka's chart and provides a good discussion of this research.

Amoghavajra's description of the Fifteenth Assembly, *Bimi jihui yuqie* 祕密集會瑜伽 (Yoga of the Secret Assembly), in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T*.869:287a28-b7) discloses several interesting and suggestive correspondences with the present form of the *Guhyasamāja tantra* 祕密集會タントラ, which dates after his time. (This tantra was first translated into Tibetan in the eighth century, thus suggesting that its original Sanskrit form may date a century or so earlier. See David Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, p. 129. The Sanskrit text was translated into Chinese (*T*.18.885) by Shihu 施護 during the Song Dynasty). Common to all works are the assembly's name, the setting and the main tenet whereby the Buddha uses crude language in order to reveal the significance of his teachings. See Matsunaga Yūkei, *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsushi ron* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1980), pp. 249-260, especially pages 250-253, and Giebel, "An Annotated Translation," pp. 192-195. These common parallels suggest that in Amoghavajra's time concepts fundamental to the present form of the *Guhyasamāja tantra* had been incorporated into the system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown in eighteen assemblies.

[121] The last part of this statement comes from Tanaka ("*Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra* to sono mandara ni tsuite," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 70).

A problem in Japanese scholarship has been whether there existed during Amoghavajra's lifetime a single, extended version of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in eighteen assemblies 金剛頂經十八會 and/or in one hundred thousand verses 十萬頌. Matsunaga (*Mikkyō kyōten seiritsushi ron*, pp. 187-198) summarizes past scholarship and denies the existence of a *complete* extended version of such a text at the time of Amoghavajra. He states that, instead of a single text of eighteen assemblies, there most likely circulated many ritual manuals for the rites and deities, some of which Amoghavajra outlined in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, and that these would eventually become the root tantras and their commentarial and ritual literature that exist today in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Song Dynasty Chinese versions. Giebel gives in "An Annotated Translation," pp. 109-111 a summary of Japanese scholarship concerning such an extended version and Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. Further, Giebel (ibid, pp. 111-114) summarizes more recent Japanese scholarship, including that of Tanaka, who argues that Amoghavajra's arrangement of the eighteen assemblies may reflect a current, integrated corpus of Indian scriptures.

[122] Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*: *A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, pp. 145-146. There are a number of studies on the problems of defining Esoteric Buddhist movements in eighth-century India, their canons, in this case, an esoteric canon of eighteen works, and their spread throughout Asia. See Kenneth Eastman ("Mahāyoga Texts at Tun-huang," *Bulletin of the Institute of Cultural Studies at Ryūkoku University*, vol. 22 (1983), pp. 42-69, esp. p. 44), who compared Amoghavajra's eighteen assemblies to that of a collection of "Eighteen Tantras of the Māyājāla Class" in the Mahāyoga section of the Rnying ma pa's canon, the *rNying-ma rgyud-'bum* (*Ancient Tantric Canon*). There are three works in common, including the *Śrīparamādya tantra*, but the principle texts of these collections differed: it is the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃghra* in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and a group of *Māyājāla tantras* in the *rNying-ma rgyud-'bum*. Eastman concludes that there was in the eighth century a canon of Vajrayāna literature characterized by regional variation in the texts included.

Davidson (*Indian Esoteric Buddhism*: *A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, pp. 146, 152) suggests the concepts of a local esoteric canon (p, 146) identified according to "representative proponents...in specific locales or at selected times," and that of a *canon in use* (p. 152) whose texts were identified "by acknowledged bearers of the culture at discrete points in the hermeneutic process…" Davidson gives an example (p. 152) of such an esoteric *canon in use* in the eighth century and many of the works included were (see p. 376, footnote 125) those translated by such Tang Dynasty masters as Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, and commented upon by Buddhaguhya, active during the second half of the eighth century (see p. 376, footnote 125 for a list of specific scriptures given in his *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi-tantrapiṇḍārtha* and p. 158 and p. 378, footnote 137 for a listing of scriptures he cited in his commentaries).

Fukuda ("*Kongōchōkyō* toshite no *Rishukyō*" 金剛頂経としての理趣経 – チュニャーミトラの註釈 を中心として and "*Issaibutsu byōdō yuga tantora* no ikkōsatsu," *Rishukyō no kenkyū*: *sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 147-154, 486-508), Eastman (ibid, p. 44), Davidson (ibid, pp. 204, 242-3) also consider Jñānamitra's (ca. 800) "canon of eighteen" 十八大部 that is recorded in his *Prajñāpāramitā-naya-śatapañcāśatikā*.

[123] *T*.2120:839a28-29. This placement does not reflect the dates of translation. The *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* 金剛頂一切如來眞實攝大乘現證大教王經三卷 (*T*.865) was translated between the twelfth and thirteenth years of Tianbao 天寶 (753-754) while Amoghavajra resided in Kaiyuansi, a temple in the castle town of Wuwei in Hexi 河西武威城開元寺. Documentation about this translation is given in Yuanzaho's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目録 (*T*.2157:881b19-27). See also Chou Yi-Liang, "Tantrism in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no.3-4, pp. 293-4, note 47.

Toganoo (*Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 30) notes that the only documentation for the composition of the *Liqujing* is Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:1010a28), where he lists this work among the translations that Amoghavajra made during the reign of Daizong (r. 762-779). This suggests a date after 762 but before 771, the date of Amoghavajra's memorial in which he listed his translations and compositions.

It is difficult to see a plan in the listing of the works in this memorial. Orzech (The "Great Teachings of Yoga," *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, pp. 49-50) notes that the list opens and closes with important works.

[124] *T*.869:284c18-285a14. Amoghavajra's translation is that of only the first part of the first of the text's four chapters.

[125] *T*.243:784a8-9. An interlinear note records that this work is the *Banruo boluomiduo liqu pin* 般若波羅蜜多理趣品 (Chapter on the Guiding Principle to the Perfection of Insight) (*T*.243:784a13). The manuscript title of the *Liqushi* in the *Taishō* is (*T*.1003:607a9-10) *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmeiye jing banruo boluomiduo liqu shi* 大樂金剛不空眞實三昧耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣釋 (Explanation on the Guiding Principle to the Perfection of Insight [from the] Scripture on the Pledge of Reality of He who is Infallible, Adamantine and [generates] Great Bliss).

[126] Amoghavajra records in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T*.869:286b21-27) that the Sixth Assembly is called *Daanle bukong sanmeiye zhenshi yuqie* 大安樂不空三昧耶眞實瑜伽 (Yoga of the Reality of the Pledge of He Who is Infallible [and generates] Great Bliss) and that

> [this Assembly] is explained in the palace in the Paranirmita-vaśavartin Heaven. In this text the mandala of Samantabhadra is explained, and then the mandala of Vairocana is explained. After that, [the mandalas of] Bodhisattvas Vajragarbha and others up to Vajramuṣṭi, as well as [those of] the Outer Vajra Family, are explained. [Further, this text] explains the guiding principle to insight 般若理趣, and each one of the Venerables explains in detail four types of mandalas, and each also explains the methods for drawing disciples into [these mandalas]. [There the disciples] are given the methods of the guiding principle to insight 理趣般若波羅蜜多法 and also receive the methods for the four types of seals 四種印法. [In each] chapter each [Venerable also] explains methods for seeking mundane powers and supramundane attainments 求世間出世間悉地法.

See also Giebel's translation of this assembly in "An Annotated Translation," pp. 173-176, who has reconstructed the title as *Mahāsukha-amogha-samaya-tattva yoga*.

As I have stated in Chapter One of this study, Amoghavajra's *Liqujing* is a translation of a chapter from the above-named root text but it does not prescribe mandalas. His *Liqushi* is a separate composition, whose contents he based upon the same chapter from the same root text, as well as on other assemblies of the larger corpus on this Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. It prescribes mandalas for Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva, Vairocana, the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, for example, Vajragarbha/Ākāśagarbha, Vajramuṣṭi, and the members of the Outer Vajra Family, as well as yogic practices wherein the practitioners enter these mandalas. There they perform the deities' four wisdom seals 四智印 of body, speech, action and mind, bringing about union with the deities and acquisition of their special qualities. The boons (*siddhi*) that these practices generate are also enumerated.

The problem to date in Japanese scholarship has been which version of the *Liqujing* extant in the Chinese and Tibetan canons best corresponds to Amoghavajra's description of this assembly. Giebel (op. cit, pp. 173-176) presents the Japanese scholarship concerning the problem of identifying an extant text. Tanaka Kimiaki proposes that ("*Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra* to sono mandara ni tsuite," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3 (1984), pp. 67-70) an early form of Part 1 (*P*.119) of the extended Tibetan *Śrīparamādya tantra* (*P*.119, 120) and the extended Chinese text (*T*.244) corresponds in content to Amoghavajra's description of the Sixth Assembly.

The extended Tibetan and Chinese versions contain materials that were originally separate collections of ritual manuals 議軌 (*kalpa*). Part 1 of the extended Tibetan version, the *Śrīparamādya-nāma-mahāyana-kalpa-rāja* (*P*.119), was translated in late tenth century by Śraddhākaravarman 信作鎧 and Rin chen bzaṅ po 寶賢, and Parts 2 and 3, the *Śrīparamādya-mantra-kalpa-kaṇḍa-nāma* (*P*.120), were translated in the late tenth-early eleventh century

by Mantrakalaśa 眞言瓶 and lha btsan po 天力 and Shi ba ḥod. See Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 31-32 and Matsunaga, *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsushi ron*, p. 199.

Fukuda compares ("*Kisshō saishō honsho* toshite no *Rishukyō*" 「吉祥最勝本初」としての「理趣経, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*: *sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 83-88, 88-104) the extended Tibetan and Song Dynasty Chinese versions. Material corresponding to Parts 1 (*T*.244:786b22-797c23) and 3 (*T*.244:797c23-824a20) constitute the extended Chinese version, the *Fushuō zuishang genben dale jingang bukong sanmei dajiaowang jing* 佛説最上根本大樂金剛不空三昧大教王經, which was translated by Faxian 法賢 at the end of the tenth century.) The source text for Part 1 of the extended Tibetan version is titled (Fukuda, ibid, p. 90-91) in reconstructed Sanskrit, the *Mahāsukha-vajrāmogha-sarvasamaya-mahākalpa-rāja* 大樂金剛不空の一切三昧耶の大議軌王 (King of the Extensive Kalpa [concerning] All Pledges that are Infallible, Adamantine [and generate] Great Bliss). The title of the extended Chinese version verifies that this text also focuses on the "Pledge that is Infallible, Adamantine [and generates] Great Bliss" 大樂金剛不空三昧. The content of each chapter (or ritual manual) of Part 1 consists of Mahāvairocana's exposition on a particular aspect of the *Prajñāpāramitā* teachings, which are summarized by a seed letter and followed immediately by descriptions of mandalas, ritual practices using the deity's special seals (mudrās and mantras) inside mandalas, and resultant boons.

There are, then, similarities between Amoghavajra's description of the Sixth Assembly, his *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* and Part 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions. One, the titles of these works are similar. Two, the contents of the root text (exposition in Part 1) of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions, agree, on the whole, with Amoghavajra's *Liqujing*. (Not able to read Tibetan, I consulted Toganoo's *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, wherein he provides the ten versions of this text. The short Tibetan text of the *Liqujing* also agrees with Amoghavajra's version.) Sakai Shinten (Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō,* p. 11) and Tanaka Kimiaki (unpublished manuscript (2013), p. 156) suggest that a Sanskrit text close in form to the text Amoghavajra translated existed in seventh-century India. Mandalas and ritual acts were added to this root text, producing the source text for Part 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions.

The differences between Amoghavajra's description of the Sixth Assembly, his *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* and Part 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions are complicated and I give an outline of them in Appendix D. There I show that Amoghavajra's *Liqujing* and its related works, as well as the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions belong to an evolving system of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

[127] I have translated the titles according to their listing in this memorial (*T*.2120:839a28-840a11).

The titles of a number of works contain the terms *Jingangding yuqie* 金剛頂瑜伽 (Yoga of the Adamantine Crown), *Yuqie lianhuabu* 瑜伽蓮華部 (Lotus Family of the Yoga), and *Yuqie* 瑜伽 (Yoga). It is clear that these works provide ritual instructions for deities who belong to the Adamantine Crown lineage. However, they require further research in order to determine whether they would be classified under the First Assembly or, for example, under the Second and Fourth Assemblies.

[128] *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦法, *T*.18.873.

[129] See *T*.2156:766c23 and *T*.2157:879b5 which record that, according to the in-text title of this work, its contents have been extracted from a long *gāthā* in one hundred thousand verses from the *Jingangding yuqie nianzhu jing* (Scripture on [the Merit of Telling] Beads [for Recitation] on the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown) 金剛頂瑜伽念珠經於十萬廣頌中略出. A brief description of the contents of this work appears in *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 494c. See also *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 1080a 念珠 (*nenju*) and 念誦 (*nenju*).

[130] 理趣般若 (*nayaprajñā*). See Astley-Kristensen, "*The Rishukyō,*" p. 8, footnote 20.

[131] *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu, T*.19.1004.

[132] *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa*, *T*.1123.

[133] *T*.20.1132.

[134] *Puxian jingangsaduo niansong fa, T*.20.1124.

[135] *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui*, *T*.1125.

[136] See Chapter Four, References to Specific Sources.

[137] See his "*Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra* to sono mandara ni tsuite," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3 (1984), pp. 59-71. By examining works belonging to the *Śrīparamādya* (P.119, 120, see endnote 126 above) and the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantras* in the Tibetan canon, Tanaka elucidates the development that occurs from the Sixth to the Ninth Assemblies in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. He proposes (ibid, p. 68 and Giebel, "Annotated Translation," pp. 173-182) that Amoghavajra's description of the Ninth Assembly (*T*.869:286c9-16) reflects his knowledge of the contents of an early ritual work that corresponded to the lost root tantra of the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinījāla-saṃvara tantra* and that this tantra, as the Ninth Assembly, shows an evolution in ideology and mandala construction from the ritual manuals that compose the present form of the Tibetan *Śrīparamādya tantra*'s textual lineage.

Tanaka demonstrates this progression by examining the mandalas and the mantras for the deities in the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra*. For example, two types of mandalas are explained in this tantra (ibid, diagrams on p. 61). One mandala has six families centered on the Heruka Family ヘールカ族 (Heruka is a development from the figure of Trailokyavijaya/Vajrajvālānalārka 金剛火焔日輪), and includes the Vajrasattva Family 金剛薩埵族, Vairocana Family 毘盧遮那族, Vajrasūrya Family 金剛日族 (a development from figures in the Gem Family), Padmanarteśvara Family 蓮華舞自在族 (a tantric form of Avalokiteśvara, he represents the Lotus Family), Paramāśva Family パラマーシュヴァ族 (Paramāśva is the wrathful form of Amoghasiddhi, Buddha of the Action Family in the north of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*). A second mandala is centered on Vajrasattva and his family. Here the five families of Vairocana, Heruka, Vajrasūrya and Padmanarteśvara are in the four cardinal directions and the members of the sixth Paramāśva Family are in the intermediate directions.

The chapters of Part 3 in the Tibetan *Śrīparamādya tantra* (= second section of Chinese extended version) focus upon mandalas and ritual practices for Vajrasattva, All the Tathāgatas, Vajrajvālānalārka 金剛火焔日輪 (Trailokyavijaya), Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha, respectively, resulting in a system of the five families of Vajarasattva, Tathāgata, Vajrajvālānalārka (Vajra), Avalokiteśvara (Lotus) and Ākāśagarbha (Gem). The Action Family is not an independent family in the *Śrīparamādya tantra*. These five families in the *Sarva-buddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra* correspond to the *Śrīparamādya tantra*'s five families, but there are changes and developments. For example, the figures of the mandala of the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra*'s Vajrasattva Family, as well as their mantras, are identical to those of Vajrasattva and his retinue of seventeen figures described in the *Śrīparamādya tantra*'s opening chapter (extended Tibetan version's Part 3 ch. 1; ch. 14 of the extended Chinese version). The differences are that this seventeen-figure mandala becomes a twenty-one figure mandala in the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra* because of the presence of the four Offering Bodhisattvas of the Four Seasons 春雲秋冬四時供養菩薩, originally four of the *Liqujing*'s seventeen epithets of purity that were deified in the mandala described in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.243:784b7-9, 1003:610a20-22), as well as the four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas 外四供養菩薩 of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Mandala of the Adamantine Realm (ibid, p. 62, 64), and that the gate guardians are female and have animal heads (ibid, pp. 61-2, 64). The mantras and mandalas for the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra*'s families of Vairocana, Heruka, Vajrasūrya and Padmanarteśvara are taken from the *Śrīparamādya tantra*'s Part 3, ch. 16, 17, 18, and 19, respectively, and the changes that are seen in the mandala of the Vajrasattva Family (twenty-one figures and animal-headed female gate guardians) are also seen in these families' mandalas, indicating a development towards the system of the later female (wisdom) tantras (ibid, pp. 62-64).

Tanaka notes that ("*Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra* to sono mandara ni tsuite," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol, 3, p. 70-71) the earliest evidence of reverence for the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra* in Tibet occurred in the Rnying ma pa (Ancient school). This dates this text's contents to the early diffusion of Buddhist tantras from India, approximately from the eighth through the ninth centuries. See also Eastman, "The Eighteen Tantras of the *Tattvasaṃgraha/Māyājāla*," *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan*, vol. 26 (1981), p. 95).

[138] *T*.869:286c5-8.

[139] A comparison of the iconography of the mandalas in Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* and its related ritual manuals (*T*.1123, 1124, 1125) with those in Part 2 and 3 of the extended Tibetan text and the second section of the extended Chinese text (= Tibetan Part 3) reveal three significant matches. The first match is the seventeen-letter mantra (*oṃ mahāsukha vajrasattva jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ suratastvaṃ*) that transforms into the seventeen figures of a mandala that symbolizes the seventeen epithets of purity. This is found in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:609c20-610a23), *T*.1124:535a13-15, where it is used in the ritual phase of identification whereby the practitioner becomes identical to Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, and in the extended Tibetan Part 2, ch. 1 (Fukuda, "*Kisshō saishō honsho* toshite no *Rishukyō,*" pp. 94-96), whose source is the *Mahāsukha-vajraguhya-mahākalpa-rāja*. Amoghavajra gives (*T*.1004:618b1-4) the Thirteenth Assembly of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, the *Dasanmeiye zhenshi yuqie* 大三昧耶眞實瑜伽 (**Mahāsamaya-tattva-yoga*), as the source of this mandala.

The seventeen-figure mandala presented in the extended Tibetan (Part 3, ch. 1) and Chinese (ch. 14, *T*.244:799b1c15) versions corresponds to the mandala described in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* (*T*.1123:529a25-530a21) and thus constitutes a second match. Identical are the mantras for the seventeen deities, their positions in the mandala, and their iconographic prescriptions. (There are slight variations between *T*.1123 and *T*.244. The order of the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas who hold a flower and incense in *T*.1123:529b24-26 is reversed in *T*.244:799b22; in *T*.1123:530c16 Bodhisattva Smile of the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas is called Bodhisattva Garland in *T*.244:799b29 but their mantras (*he rati-vajrahāse ha ha*) are the same and contain the phrase "adamantine smile"; again, although the mantras are the same, the Gathering Bodhisattva in the northern gate is called Chimes in *T*.1123:530a8 and Bell in *T*.244:799c9.) Amoghavajra's *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* (*T*.1124) prescribes the same type of seventeen-figure mandala but the names of the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas are those of the four Seasonal Bodhisattvas Spring, Cloud, Autumn and Frost and Snow (*T*.1124:534a19-b5, correction on 534, note 24), who are placed in the four corners of the outer court in the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:610a20-23; *T*.1004:618a2-17), and so their mantras differ from those of the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas in *T*.1123 and *T*.244. I discuss Amoghavajra's two ritual manuals *T*.1123 and *T*.1124 below in endnote 150.) The Tibetan text records (see Fukuda, "*Kisshō saishō honsho* toshite no *Rishukyō,*" p. 92) its source as the *Śrīparamādya-mahākalpa-rāja*. In the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa*, Amoghavajra cites his source (*T*.1123:528a16-17) as the Supreme First Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, that is this yoga system's Eighth Assembly, called the *Shengchu yuqie* 勝初瑜伽 (*Paramādya yoga*).

The final match is that of the Five Mysteries mandala. The names of the five deities, the structure of their mandala and their positions in this mandala provided in the *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:616c15-617a4), as well as the iconographical descriptions given in the *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui* (*T*.1125:536c6-12, 19-21, 537b10-23, 538a24-25) are identical to the mandalas prescribed in the extended Tibetan (Part 3, ch. 8, see Toganoo, ibid, pp. 404-405) and Chinese (ch. 21, *T*.244:812a20-b4) texts, whose source text is given in the Tibetan text as the *Śrīparamādya-mahākalpa-rāja*. Amoghavajra records in his *Liqushi* (*T*.1003:616c8-11) the Third Assembly of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown as his source, that is the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie jing* 一切教集瑜伽經 (*Sarvakalpa-samuccaya,* a chapter in the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*) and in his ritual manual (*T*.1125:538b29-c16) he links each figure of the Five Mysteries to the buddhas and bodhisattvas of the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*)'s Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.

These iconographical matches verify that Amoghavajra and the later Tibetan and Chinese translators had access to common source texts. Fukuda Ryōsei's research links ("*Shōshoyugakyō* to *Śrī-paramādi-tantra*" 「勝初瑜伽経」と*Śrī-paramādi-tantra*, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 33-53; "Kongōsatta gikirui no kōsatsu" 金剛薩埵儀軌類の考察, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 54-67) the contents (seventeen-figure mandala, Five Mysteries ideology and mandala) of *Liqushi* 1 and 17, as well as that of manuals for a rite which focuses on Vajrasattva (*T*.1119, A1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125), to a work called the *Paramādi tantra* 勝初瑜伽經. Fukuda demonstrates that this work, an early root tantra whose contents survive only in the above works listed, as well as in Faxian's translation (*T*.244, ch. 14 and 21) and the extended Tibetan translation (Part 3, ch. 1 and 8), contained a ritual structure centered on the Five Mysteries and its mandala. Fukuda posits ("*Shōshoyugakyō* to *Śrī-paramādi-tantra,*" p. 33) the existence during Amoghavajra's lifetime of this text called the *Paramādi tantra* that had been composed by the mid-eighth century.

Tanaka continues Fukuda's line of research and establishes that Amoghavajra knew of early forms of this Indian text, versions of which were incorporated into the system he called the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown as the Seventh and Eighth Assemblies. Tanaka argues ("*Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra* to sono mandara ni tsuite," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 68) that Part 1 (*Prajñāpāramitā-naya sūtra*) of the extended Tibetan *Śrīparamādya*

tantra corresponds to Amoghavajra's Sixth Assembly; Part 2, whose source is the *Mahāsukha-vajraguhya-mahākalpa-rāja*, corresponds to his Seventh Assembly; and Part 3, whose source is the *Śrīparamādya-mahākalpa-rāja*, to his Eighth Assembly. That is, slightly different, more evolved versions of this *Paramādya tantra*, circulating separately during the eighth century, were appended to the *Prajñāpāramitā-naya sūtra*, resulting in the present forms of the extended Tibetan (and Chinese) versions, known as the *Śrīparamādya tantra*. Corroborating evidence, according to Tanaka, is Amoghavajra's descriptions of the Seventh and Eighth Assemblies in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. Here he records that (*T*.869:286b28-c8, esp. c7-8) the content of both assemblies is similar (for example, Bodhisattva Samantabhabra/Vajrasattva and so on up to Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi and the Outer Vajra Family explain their four mandalas), but that the Eighth Assembly is slightly more detailed. Tanaka states that (ibid, p. 68) this elaboration of content, the former being shorter than the latter, distinguishes the contents of Parts 2 and 3 of the present extended Tibetan *Śrīparamādya tantra*. For examples of further evidence for this identification of the contents of the assemblies, see Tanaka, "*Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra* to sono mandara ni tsuite," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 68, and Giebel, "An Annotated Translation," pp. 176-179.

[140] In memorials and letters Amoghavajra uses, in addition to the terms "consecration" 灌頂 and "yoga methods" 瑜伽法, such terms as "Five Families" 五部, "Five Families of the Yoga" 瑜伽五部 (*T*.2120:844b17), "Five Wisdoms" 五智, "Yoga of the Eighteen Assemblies" 十八會瑜伽 and "Thirty-Seven Venerables" 三十七尊 (*T*.2120:828a13) when describing his use of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm for propagating the teachings and rites centered on this mandala. See endnotes 170-174 below for examples.

Where Amoghavajra uses the terms "ritual arena" 道場 (*T*.2120:840a17, a19), "consecration altar" 灌頂壇 (*T*.2120:828a11) and "consecration methods" 灌頂法 (*T*.2120:840a19), his disciples are more specific in their biographies, using the terms "consecration of the Five Families" 五部灌頂, the ceremony focused upon the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, and "Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm" 金剛界大曼荼羅, wherein the deities are depicted in their anthropomorphic forms. One example is Feixi's stele biography (*T*.2120:848c24-29). In the thirteenth year of Tienbao (754), Amoghavajra was ordered by Military Governor-General Geshu Han 哥舒翰 to Wuwei in Hexi 河西武威 where he "erected a large ritual arena and granted consecration of the Five Families and the methods of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm to the Indian monk Hanguang, his lay disciple, the Kaifu, Li Yuancong and the others" 大道場。與梵僧含光并俗弟子開府功德使李元琮等授五部灌頂金剛界大曼荼羅法. Zhao Qian presents (*T*.2056:293b2-6) much the same information about Amoghavajra's sojourn in Wuwei. See Orlando, A Study of Chinese Documents, pp. 164-5, 144 for details and slight differences. Further, Zhao Qian uses the term "consecration of the Five Families" when he describes Amoghavajra's erection of a mandala in the palace (*T*.2056:293a19-20), wherein he granted consecration of the Five Families to Emperor Xuanzong in the fifth year of Tienbao, as well as the term "Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm" when he describes (*T*.2056:292b28-29) Vajrabodhi's initiation of Amoghavajra into this mandala. See also Yuanzhao (*T*.2157:881b14-27), who records the translation of *T*.865 in Wuwei, Hexi.

Yuanzhao documents (*T*.2156:251a26-753a2 and *T*.2157:8841-886c18, which include Amoghavajra's request (*T*.2120:831b19-c20) for imperial permission to retranslate the *Renwang jing* and a letter thanking the emperor (*T*.2120:832a25-b12) for composing a preface for this new translation, as well as the emperor's reply) the retranslation of the *Renwang jing* and its ritual performances in his *Datang zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄 and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄. In both catalogues, his gives the greatest space to the retranslation of this text and its reception. Charles Orzech (*Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, 1998) presents in detail Amoghavajra's religious and political motives for retranslating and propagating the *Renwang jing*. Further, Orzech (ibid, and The "Great Teachings of Yoga," *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol, 34, pp. 29-78) demonstrates that the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* was the ideological factor underlying Amoghavajra's teachings, which focused on state protection.

[141] See *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 94 and my Chapter Three, p. 61.

[142] See Chapter One of this dissertation and Hunter, "The *Rishukyō mandara* Said to Have Been Introduced by Shūei," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 8, pp. 371-388.

[143] *T*.869:284c21-285a14. See Giebel, "An Annotated Translation," pp. 128-140.

[144] This is the seventh of nine independent mandalas that compose the program of this larger mandala. See Toganoo Shōun, *Mandara no kenkyū*, fig. 99. I document ("Five Secrets Mandala," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, p.76b) that the iconography of the Mandala of Vajrasattva in the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing mantuluo* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p.777, No. 2) matches that of the *Liquhui* in the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo*.

[145] These are the eighth and ninth mandalas in the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo*. See *T*.869:285a15-285b10 and Giebel, "An Annotated Translation," pp. 141-147.

[146] As mentioned above, the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* has been extracted from the *Shengchu yuqie* (*Paramādya yoga*), the Eighth Assembly of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. We have documented (endnote 139) the correspondences between the mandala prescriptions and mantras in ritual manuals *T*.1123 and 1124 and Faxian's extended Chinese version of the *Liqujing*, whose source Tanaka Kimiaki demonstrates is the Eighth Assembly. Tanaka (*Mandara ikonorojī*, chart p. 267 and *Ryōkai mandara no tanjō*, chart p. 125) suggests a link between *T*.1121, a work not listed in Amoghavajra's 771 memorial nor in Yuanzhao's catalogues, the *Datang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu* and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, and the Seventh Assembly of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. *T*.1124's mandala prescriptions and mantras (*T*.1124:533a24-b10, 534a1b26, note 24) are similar to those given in *T*.1121(:521b23-29, 522a3-c2), suggesting a link between *T*.1124 and the Seventh Assembly.

[147] See *T*.1123:529a25-b23, *T*.1124:534b6-26 and Toganoo, *Mandara no kenkyū*, illustration 99.

[148] *T*.1123:529b24-28 and *T*.1124:534a19-b5 and note 24.

[149] *T*.1123:529b24-c13, *T*.1124:534a19-b5 and note 24 and *T*.865:214b8-c26.

[150] *T*.1123:529c14-530a4, *T*.1124:534a1-18 and *T*.865:214c28-b20.

The prescriptions for the seventeen-deity mandala in *T*.1123 and *T*.1124 do not match those for the seventeen-deity mandala in *Liqushi* 1 or in the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*. There are a number of discrepancies. First, in *T*.1123(:529b24-c13) the names of the Four Inner Offering Bodhisattvas indicate that they are the consorts of the four deities Desire, Touch, Love and Pride who surround Vajrasattva (*T*.1003:608c16-25, 610a18-20, *T*.1004:617c17-618a1), but their attributes (flower, censer, lamp and unguent) are those of the four Seasonal Bodhisattvas, Spring, Clouds, Autumn, and Winter (Frost and Snow) in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:608c25-609a7) and *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (*T*.1004:618a2-17), who reside in the four corners of the mandala's outer court. Second, in *T*.1124(:534a19-b5, note 24) the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas have the names of the Seasonal Bodhisattvas Spring, Clouds, Autumn and Frost and Snow who, as mentioned, appear in the four corners of the outer court of the mandala in *Liqushi* 1 (*T*.1003:608c25-609a7), and they hold, in accordance with the prescriptions in the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (*T*.1004:618a2-17), a flower, censer, lamp and jar of unguent, respectively. Third, in *T*.1123(:529c14-530a4) and *T*.1124(:534a1-18) the Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas are Joyful Play, Smile, Song and Dance. These are the names of the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas in the First Assembly, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s (*T*.865:214b8-c26) Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and its commentary, *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuizheng famen* (*T*.870:290a2-29), but for one exception. Bodhisattva Smile appears in the south-west corner of the mandala's prescribed in *T*.1123(:529c16, c23-25), and *T*.1124(:534a2-3, a10-12). This is the position of Bodhisattva Garland in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm (*T*.865:214b21-c2, *T*.870:290a9-15).

[151] See Toganoo, *Mandara no kenkyū*, illustration 99.

[152] Yuanzhao lists ritual manuals *T*.1119 and *T*.1120A (*T*.2516:753b18-20, 768a20-23, *T*.2157:880b10-13) and *T*.1122 (*T*.2157:881a6-7) in his catalogues.

For a discussion of *T*.1119, see Ian Astley-Kristensen, "An Example of Vajrasattva in the Sino-Japanese Tantric Buddhist Tradition," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions,* vol. 1, pp. 67-87. The figures of the seventeen-deity mandala and their mantras prescribed in this manual correspond to those in *T*.1123 and *T*.1120A. Also, see Hunter, "Five Secrets Mandala," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 74b-75a for the iconography of the mandala prescribed in *T*.1119, and the tables in Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 136 and Fukuda, "*Shōshoyugakyō* to *Śrī-paramādi-tantra,*" pp. 45-48 and "Kongōsatta gikirui no kōsatsu," pp. 58-59).

[153] See Appendix B, pp. 177-185.

[154] See *T*.1122:526c28-527b5 and the table in Toganoo, ibid, p. 139. Moreover, this manual closes with a rite of disassociation (*T*.1122:527b20-c17) wherein the eight Inner and Outer Offering Bodhisattvas from the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and their mantras are recorded. This information corresponds to the order and the mantras for these deities given in *T*.873(:306b16-20).

[155] Amoghavajra's translations and compositions provide the iconography of the individual mandalas that compose the iconographic program of the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo*. We do not know if Amoghavajra had a hand in composing the structure of this mandala. Would it have been his idea to combine the individual mandalas into one large composition of nine mandalas? Henrik Sørensen makes the comment (email dated 2004/07/20) that "the vast majority of the Vajradhatu Mandala material in China shows the different, minor mandalas as individual mandalas, i.e. there is almost nothing in the Chinese material which shows the Vajradhatu in the fully developed form we have from Japan."

A composition of nine square panels is seen in the Indian Buddhist tradition. Nine square panels form a mandala-like configuration done in relief on the walls of the first floor of Cave 12 at Ellora that Geri H. Malandra ("Ellora: The "Archaeology" of a Maṇḍala," *Ars Orientalis* (1985), vol. 15, pp. 67-94 and figs. 2, 5 and 7) dates ca. 710-730 C.E. Here we see a central buddha, who forms the Mudrā of Meditation, surrounded by eight bodhisattvas. Amoghavajra prescribes such a mandala, although there are not one-to-one iconographical matches with the reliefs at Ellora, in the *Bada pusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼陀羅經 (Scripture on the Mandala of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, published in *T*.1167), a work recorded in the list of translations and compositions (*T*.2120:839c1) he presented to the emperor in 771. Clearly, such a configuration of a central deity surrounded by figures in the cardinal and intermediate directions and its ritual were constructed and practiced during the time of Amoghavajra's trip to India. Similar expressions of mandala-like representations of buddhas and attendant bodhisattvas on large, square stone panels have been discovered in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. Yoritomi (*Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, pp. 552-557 and illus. 5-13) and Tanaka (*Ryōkai mandara no tanjō*, pp. 74-94) demonstrate that this configuration of a central buddha and eight bodhisattvas is the precursor to the structure of the central courts of the matrix mandalas. See Yoritomi, ibid, illus. 26 and Tanaka, ibid, pp. 91-92. For an overview of Yoritomi's excavations in Orissa, see Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*: *Representations of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), pp. 50-51. See also Davidson's discussion (*Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, pp. 131-144) of mandala and its relationship to the feudal Indian concepts of "domain" (*kṣetra*) and lords and vassals, and "family" (*kula*) and direction and locality.

Other scholars suggest influences from Chinese indigenous traditions on the structure of this mandala. See, for example, Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, pp. 170-173 (Daoist cult of Taiyi 大一, the "Great Monad", and his Ming Tang 明堂, "Bright Hall" or cosmic palace), his earlier "Seeing Chen-yen Buddhism: Traditional Scholarship and the Vajrayāna in China," History of Religions, vol. 29, No. 2 (1989), pp. 87-114, esp. pp. 109-113, and Winfield, Pamela D, "The Mandala as Metropolis," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 719-743, esp. 731-737 (the Zhou dynasty *wang cheng* 王城, or emperor's city). See also ten Grotenhuis, ibid, pp. 53-55 for more indigenous Chinese concepts and this mandala's structure.

[156] See *T*.1125:535b18-c3; *T*.1132:570c23-29. The mantra-practicing bodhisattva/practitioner is not striving towards an enlightened realm but is in an enlightened realm and must awaken to it. In Amoghavajra's *Liqujing*, this realm of enlightenment is manifested in our conditioned world by means of the practices and pledges of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgrahra*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. Performing their ritualized yogic practices of mantra and meditative concentrations (*T*.865:208b9-213c14, *T*.243:784b12-19, *T*.1003:609a24-b9, *T*.1125:538b29-c16), the practitioner acquires the special insights, qualities and powers of these bodhisattvas. He gains, for instance, insight into the ultimate nonduality of conditioned existence, which is, in fact, a realm of wondrous bliss wherein his own desires and impurities have been transformed and he resides in a state of absolute purity. Vajrasattva symbolizes this state of realization.

The path of great bliss presented in Amoghavajra's works foreshadows the meditative technologies of *śākta* (power), the ecstatic energies generated through sexual union that become a predominant characteristic of the path to enlightenment in the later tantras. This type of ritual technology is not overtly present in Amoghavajra's materials.

On great bliss, see Toganoo, "Dairaku no hōmon to mandara" 大樂の法門と曼荼羅, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 103-140 and "Dairaku shisō no shiteki kōsatsu" 大樂思想の史的考察, ibid, pp. 417-440 and Ian Astley, "Dairaku/Tairaku," *Hōbōgirin*, vol. 7, pp. 931-946. For further discussion of this concept of great bliss that underpins

the Five Mysteries *samādhi* and icon, see Toganoo, "Jinmitsu no hōmon to mandara" 深密の法門と曼荼羅, ibid, pp. 375-406 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 81-121, 162-183, "The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Passions and Enlightenment," *Temenos. Studies in Comparative Religion*, vol. 24 (1988), pp. 7-27, "An Example of Vajrasattva in the Sino-Japanese Tantric Buddhist Tradition," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religious Journal of the Seminar for Buddhist Studies*, vol. 1, pp. 67-87. For the development of ritualized sexual technologies after Amoghavajra's time, see Dalton, "The Development of Perfection: The Interiorization of Buddhist Ritual in the Eight and Ninth Centuries," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 32, pp. 1-30.

[157] See endnote 171 below.

[158] See Stephen Hodge, who gives the tentative dates of 700-after 760 for Buddhaguhya, in his *The Mahāvairocana-abhisaṃbodhi Tantra with Buddhaguhya's Commentary* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 11, 22-23. Davidson also presents information on Buddhaguhya's career in *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*: *A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, pp. 154-159, especially his syllabus, p. 158 and endnote 137 on p. 378.

[159] See Kitamura Taidō, "*Tantrārthāvatāra* no inyōkyōki wo megutte," *Daijōbukkyō kara mikkyō e — Katsumata Shunkyō Hakushi koki kinen ronshū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1981), pp. 431-442 and charts on pp. 433, 436, 438.

[160] Kitamura, ibid, chart on p. 433 and discussion on pp. 434-435, 440. See endnotes 126 and 139 above for a discussion on the Tibetan *Śrīparamādya tantra* and the *Paramādya tantra*, respectively.

[161] The research of Kawasaki Kazuhiro ("Tibetto ni okeru *Rishukōkyō* no mandara no denshō: Sharuji nandō no sakurei wo chūshin ni," *Mikkyō zuzō,* vol. 20 (December 2001), pp. 49-61) provides a later example of the importance of the *Śrīparamādya tantra* (*P*.119, 120) and the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* in Tibetan Buddhism. He presents the iconographic program in Sha lu temple, whose wall paintings were completed in 1335. The walls of the Southern Hall depict (Kawasaki, ibid, pp. 50-54) fifty-one mandalas of the *Śrīparamādya tantra* as prescribed in two commentaries on this tantra by the scholar-monk Ānandagarbha (active eighth-ninth centuries). These mandalas are a part of a larger program that includes nine mandalas from the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*.

[162] See Chapter Four, References to Specific Sources and References to Extended Scriptures and Yogas.

[163] See Jacob Dalton's article on the internalization of Buddhist ritual performance, "The Development of Perfection: The Interiorization of Buddhist Ritual in the Eight and Ninth Centuries," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 32 (2004), pp. 1-30, esp. pp. 5-7, and on Indian and Tibetan schemas of tantric classification, see Dalton, "A Crisis of Doxography: How Tibetans Organized Tantras During the 8th-12th Centuries," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 28/1 (2005), pp. 115-181, esp. pp. 121-124, Hodge, *The Mahāvairocana-abhisaṃbodhi Tantra with Buddhaguhya's Commentary*, p. 23, and Shinichi Tsuda, "Classification of Tantras in dPal brtsegs's lTa baḥi rim pa bśad pa and its Problems," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (1965), pp. 402-397.

[164] A number of other ritual manuals recorded in the memorial of 771 can be included in the category of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. There are manuals with titles prefixed with the phrase "Yoga of the Adamantine Crown" 金剛頂瑜伽 and contents derived from this source, as well as manuals containing an in-text statement that their contents are "based upon the Adamantine Crown Scripture's Yoga" 依瑜伽金剛頂經. Examples are *T*.1171, *T*.1056, *T*.1032 and *T*.908. As mentioned above, Sakai's research (*Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 18, pp. 28-37) on *T*.1171 establishes that Mañjuśrī's mantra and four mandalas (*T*.1171:705aa10-c6) derive from the Adamantine Yoga of the Conqueror of the Three Worlds (Trailokyavijaya) 降三世金剛瑜伽, the Fourth of the Eighteen Assemblies outlined in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, and an analysis of the structure of the accompanying rite (*T*.1171:705c7-708c13) identifies its source as the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* (*T*.873). The title, ritual structure and contents (see Appendix B, pp. 189-192) of *T*.1056 (title 72a; 72a10: 依瑜伽金剛頂經) and *T*.1032 (title 6c4 瑜伽蓮華部念誦法) are also based on *T*.873. Sakai ("*Kongōchō yuga goma giki* no issetsu ni tsuite" 金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌の一節について [Concerning One Passage in the Manual for the Rite of Homa in the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown], *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 19 (1952), pp. 1-12) demonstrates that the contents of the *homa* rite detailed in *T*.908 and 909 are found in the Third Assembly and my analysis (Appendix B, pp. 188-189) of its ritual structure shows that *T*.873 is its source.

Other manuals acknowledge their source as the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, and examples are *T*.1133(:575a20 依瑜伽金剛頂經), *T*.1146(:603a14 依瑜伽金剛頂經説宝部), and *T*.1102 (*T*.2157:880a16 records an inner title of 金剛[頂經]多羅菩薩念誦法).

[165] Some examples for the *Uṣṇīṣa* cult are *T*.2120:839b3 (*T*.953) and b16 (*T*.950) and 839c11 (*T*.972), 839c17 (*T*.955), and 839c18 (*T*.954) and for *dhāraṇī* practice there are *T*.2120:839b9 (*T*.1009), b22 (*T*.1163), b26-29 (*T*.1323, 1324, 1313) and 840a6 (*T*.1076). Also see Orzech, The "Great Teaching of Yoga," p. 50, notes 99 and 100 for comments on the works listed in this memorial, and Lehnert, "Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia,* pp. 357-359 for a categorization of Amoghavajra's works in the 771 memorial, as well as those attributed to him.

[166] For example, see Chapter Two of this dissertation wherein I present interpretations of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* that date from the late Heian to the Edo periods.

[167] For a discussion of the *Liqujing*, see Appendix B, pp. 171-177.

[168] See Appendix B, pp. 177-185.

[169] See *Achu rulai niansong fa* 阿閦如來念誦法 (*T*.2120:839c10, *T*.19.921), *Yizi foding lunwang niansong yigui* 一字佛頂輪王念誦議軌 (*T*.2120:839c18, *T*.19.954A), and *Jenwang niansong yigui* 仁王念誦議軌 (*T*.2120:840a10, *T*.19.994) in Appendix B.

Important examples of Amoghavajra's compositions are the ritual handbooks for the emperor cult. Orzech ("Mandalas on the Move: Reflections from Chinese Esoteric Buddhism Circa 800 C.E.," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 19/2 (1996), pp. 209-244, esp. pp. 211, 213, 215-216 and *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, pp. 155, 175-191) argues that this rite as presented in *T*.994 and *T*.995 is based on the ritual template of his *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. The *Taishō* manuscript for *T*.994 does contain a note beneath its title (*T*.994:514a15) recording that its contents "appear in the Scripture of the Adamantine Yoga" 出金剛瑜伽經, although Yuanzhao does not record this information in his catalogues (*T*.2156:768a9-10 or *T*.2157:880b6-7). Moreover, there are references within *T*.994 (514a24-26, 518a) to information provided by a "Sanskrit book of the Scripture on the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown" 梵本金剛頂瑜伽經. See Tanaka Masayasu ("Fukūshoden no *Kongōchōyugakyō* ni tsuite (1)," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 39/1 (December 1990), pp. 114-116, esp. p. 116) who concludes that specific reference to this Sanskrit text and its five types of consecration rites (*T*.994:518b) indicates a Sanskrit work from a lineage that differs from that of Amoghavajra's translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865). However, my analysis of this rite for the emperor cult reveals that its structure and content (mudrā-mantra pairs) are based on the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. See Appendix B for my analysis of *T*.994 and 995 and the other manuals that belong to this group (*T*.1085, 921, 954A and 1211).

[170] In his last testament, dated the seventh day of the fifth month of the ninth year of Dali 大曆九年五月七日 (June 20, 774), Amoghavajra describes (*T*.2120:844a20) his master's transmission as "methods in four thousand verses on the yoga" 瑜伽四千頌法. See also *T*.2120:840a12-13 and endnote 108 above.

Vajrabodhi's translations, recorded in Zhisheng's 智昇 *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (*T*.55.2154:571b19-26), and in Lu Xiang's 呂向 account of Vajrabodhi's life in Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:875a29-876b27) attest to his involvement with the very same yoga teachings that Amoghavajra documents in his works. The eight works listed in these catalogues are ritual manuals, and four belong to the system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. Common to these four manuals are source texts for this yoga system that Vajrabodhi refers to in such ways as "King of the Teachings on the Great Yoga of the Adamantine Crown [excerpted] from [its] Hundred Thousand Verses" 百千頌中金剛頂大瑜伽教王 (*T*.18.866:223c12), "Adamantine Crown Scripture" 金剛頂經 (*T*.20.1173:710a3), "Scripture of the Adamantine Crown Yoga" 瑜伽金剛頂經 (*T*.1087:211b) and "Supreme Methods of Yoga" 瑜伽最勝法 (*T*.18.876:327a). Scholars (Takahashi Hisao, "*Ryakushutsu nenjukyō* to *Vajrodaya* – nyū mandara ni tsuite," *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 14 (1982), pp. 55-78, Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, ch. 4, part 1, esp. 208-215, and chapter 5, part 1, esp. 238-249, Tanaka, "Fukū shoden no *Kongōchōyugakyō* ni tsuite (2) – Kongōchi Sanzō shoden no *Kongōchōkyō* ni kansuru ikkōsatsu," *Chizan gakuhō*, vol. 40 (1991), pp. 181-197 and "Fukū shoden no *Kongōchōyugakyō* ni tsuite (4)," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 40/2 (1992), pp. 868-865, Inui,

"Chūgoku ni okeru *Kongōchōkyō* denshō – *Ryakushutsukyō* wo chūshin toshite," *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 3 (1994), pp. 1-27) demonstrate that Vajrabodhi's manuals belong to a textual lineage different from that of Amoghavajra's translation of the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra* (*T*.865) and its associated ritual manuals because they contain concepts, iconography and practices that are not found in the core group of texts of this lineage.

Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding yuqiezhong luchu niantong fa/jing* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦法[經] (Methods [the Taishō manuscript has Scripture] for Recitation and Visualization extracted from the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, *T*.866) is an important work, evidence that he brought to China in 720, and translated in 723, the latest of Indian Buddhism's yoga and ritual technology. This work is not a scripture as such but a manual for rites of mandala construction, consecration and yoga with the mandala's Venerables. Its contents focus on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s first chapter (Chapter on the Adamantine Realm) and its six mandalas, with greatest attention given to its Great Mandala (*mahāmaṇḍala*), and the rites contain iconographic elements for mandalas and yoga techniques that are elucidated in a chapter (*Sarvakalpa-samuccaya*) of the explanatory tantra on the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra*, the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* (Tantra on the Extensive Secret Yoga of the Adamantine Crown) discussed above. The most important concept common to Vajrabodhi's manual and the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* is the system of the five families, a development from the four families that are named in Amoghavajra's translation of another version of the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra*. And, as we have discussed above, Amoghavajra refers in *Liqushi* 16 and 17 to a comprehensive Mandala of the Five Families from a version of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* that Vajrabodhi had had drawn on the wall of Chang'an's Jianfusi.

Takahashi ("*Ryakushutsu nenjukyō* to *Vajrodaya*," *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 14, pp. 55-78) collates the correspondences between Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding yuqiezhong luchu niansong jing* and the *Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalopāyikā Sarvavajrodaya nāma*, also a handbook for rites on the adamantine realm by the Indian scholar-monk Ānandagarbha, active eighth-ninth centuries (ibid, p. 56, note 6), that survives only in the Tibetan canon. Both works contain influences from works that postdate the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra*. Vajrabodhi does not cite his source text in his ritual manual but Ānandagarbha does, revealing that both works draw on common sources constituting predecessors of the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*, an early form for Vajrabodhi and a more developed form for Ānandagarbha.

Scholars (Kitamura Taidō, "*Tantrārthāvatāra* no inyōkyōki wo meguru," *Daijō bukkyō kara mikkyō e*. *Katsumata Shunkyō Hakushi koki kinen ronshū*, pp. 431-442, for example) show how important the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*, in whatever its early forms might have been, in both the Indian and Tibetan tantric traditions. For example, as noted above, Buddhaguhya, active at the time of Amoghavajra, cites from the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* in his *Tantrārthāvatāra*, when further elucidating the *Sarva-tathātagata-tattva-saṃghra*. Buddhaguyha records, for instance, that (Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, p. 201, Inui, "Chūgoku ni okeru *Kongōchōkyō* denshō – *Ryakushutsukyō* wo chūshin toshite," p. 11 and note 46 on p. 23) the Action Family (*karma-kula*) is not discussed as a separate family in the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra* because it is included in the Gem Family (*maṇi-kula*), but it is discussed as an independent family in the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*, resulting in the system of five families.

For biographical material on Vajrabodhi, see the ninth volume of Zhisheng's *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (*T*.50.2154:571b19-b13); Lu Xiang's 呂向 account of Vajrabodhi's life in Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:875a29-876b27) and Hunlunweng's 混倫翁 stūpa inscription and preface for the Late Tripiṭaka Vajra[bodhi] of the Daguangfusi in the Eastern Capital of the Great Tang 大唐東京大廣福寺故金剛三藏銘塔并序, also collected in the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:876b29-877a21). For secondary sources see Chou Yi-Liang, "Tantrism in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* vol. 8 (1944-5), pp. 241-332, esp. pp. 272-284, Charles D. Orzech, "Vajrabodhi (671-741)," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 345-350, and Jeffrey Sundberg and Rolf Giebel, "The Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi as Chronicled by Lū Xiang (呂向): South Indian and Śrī Laṅkān Antecedents to the Arrival of Buddhist Vajrayāna in Eighth-Century Java and China," *Pacific World. Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Third Series, vol. 13 (Fall 2011), pp. 129-222.

[171] Amoghavajra's recordings of the materials he brought back from his trip to India in some of his memorials correspond with his statements (see endnote 108) in the 771 memorial. See the memorial (*T*.2120:827c24-828a17), dated the third year of Zhide 至德三年 (758), wherein he thanks Emperor Suzong for a gift of incense. He states that (827c28-828a1)

> "wanting to spread the secret teachings, I traveled alone many thousands of miles. Studying throughout India… I investigated thoroughly [the teachings on] the Five Families and mantras

concerning Āmra[pālī's] garden…" 思弘密教。弧遊萬里。 遍學五天。。。專精五部窮奈苑之眞言.

In his last testament, dated 774, Amoghavajra writes (*T*.2120:844a21-23, Osabe, Daisōchō zō Shikū Daibenshō Kōchi sanzō wajō hyōseishū, *Gokyūbu*, *Kokuyaku Issaikyō*, vol. 98, p. 64, note 320, 321 and 322):

> "Therefore, I travelled far to India … Everywhere I studied yoga and I revered the sacred remains. I obtained the repository of [yoga] methods in one hundred thousand verses [and] the seal of [this] transmission." 是以遠遊天竺。。。遍學瑜伽。親禮聖跡。得十萬頌法藏印可.

Amoghavajra also describes his journey in his farewell letter to Emperor Daizong, dated the fifth day of the sixth month of the ninth year of Dali 大曆九年六月十五日 (July 28, 774). He writes (*T*.2120:846b1-16):

> I crossed the southern seas and travelled throughout India. [There] I inquired about what I had not yet heard and learned what I had not understood. What I obtained were one hundred thousand verses of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, mantras of various categories, as well as scriptures and commentaries, and so forth, some five hundred thousand odd verses. 越度南海。周遊五天。尋其未聞。習其未解。所得金剛頂瑜伽十萬頌諸部眞言及經論等五十餘萬頌.

[172] We have noted Amoghavajra's construction in the palace (endnote 108) and in Daixingshansi (endnote 114) of ritual arenas for consecration into the methods Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. An edit (*T*.2120:846c15-20, Orlando, The Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra, p. 77) announced by Li Xiancheng, Palace Commissioner for Overseeing Buddhist Affairs 內謁者監李憲誠, which orders his disciples to continue the yoga methods as taught and practiced by Amoghavajra during his lifetime, further testifies to the great influence his teaching of these yoga methods had upon the Court. See Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, pp. 147-159, 174-191 for his discussion of Amoghavajra's esoteric polity which centered on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and rituals for state-protection Buddhism.

In his last testament (T.2120:844b16), Amoghavajra mentions his sojourns in Hexi 河西 and Nanhai[jun] 南海[郡]. For the details of his religious mission in the provinces, his military patrons to whom he gave consecration into the teachings of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and the accompanying miracles, see Feixi's stele biography (*T*.2120:848c24-29), Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:881b14-27) and Zhao Qian's *Datang gudafu zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Bukong sanzang xingzhuang* (*T*.2056:293b2-6), and Orlando's The Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra.

[173] Amoghavajra records the transmission he gave to his most gifted disciples in his last testament. He writes (*T*.2120:844a28-b3):

> It has been thirty odd years since I have received consecration. Disciples who have entered the altar [= mandala] and been given the [consecration] rite are extremely numerous. Eight [disciples] have thoroughly mastered [the methods of] the Five Families [of the Adamantine Realm], but two passed away, one after the other, [and so now] there are only six. Those who were given this [transmission] are, namely, Hanguang of Jinge [Monastery], Hyech'o [Huizhao] of Silla, Huiguo of Qinglong [Monastery], Huilang of Chongfu [Monastery], and Yuanzhao and Quezhao of Baoshou [Monastery]. 吾當代灌頂三十餘年。入壇授法弟子頗多。五部琢磨成立八箇。淪亡相次。唯有六人。其誰得之。則有金閣含光新羅慧超青龍慧果崇福慧朗保壽元皎覺超。

[174] Amoghavajra describes what he had achieved in the Chinese capital in his last testament and farewell letter to Emperor Daizong. In both descriptions his achievements center on the teachings and practices of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown.

In his last testament, he records (*T*.2120:844a24-27) his transmission to the emperors and describes the practices at Court:

> The Emperors have been taught all the mudrās and methods of the secret transmission of the Yoga. Here, since [the reign of] the present Emperor, [the ritual arena for practice of] the most profound Yoga in Eighteen Assemblies has been completely set up. There, the [ritual practices for the Adamantine Realm's] sacred group of Thirty-Seven are carried out one by one and[, further,] each time the ritual arena is entered, [the most important ritual acts of] visualization and recitation are performed according to the [proper] time. The Emperor constantly visualizes the mind of [Mahāvairocana, who possesses the] Five Wisdoms [of the Adamantine Realm's Five Tathāgatas]

and all the Court officials fully uphold [the practice of] the seals of the three esoterica[, that is, the mudrās, the mantras and visualizations of the deity's body, speech and mind, respectively]. 人主尽授瑜伽密傳法契. 爰自今聖弘教。最深十八會瑜伽尽皆建立。三十七聖衆一一修行。毎入道場。依時念誦。九重萬乘恒觀五智之心。闕庭百寮尽持三密之印。

In his farewell letter to Emperor Daizong, Amoghavajra writes (*T*.2120:846b5): "I have spread the Gate to the Yoga Methods for some thirty odd years." 三十餘年演瑜伽法門. The Emperor (846c1) acknowledges his having come from India to spread the Yoga [teachings] and its Sanskrit scriptures. 來自五天。敷演瑜伽。宜流梵夾.

Finally, Amoghavajra's disciples continued his translation activities. For example, see Yuanzhao's list of new translations in his *Datang zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2156:768a15-c24, 753cb16-754a20; *T*.2157:880b8-881a7), wherein works related to the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown are recorded. Examples, to give but a few (I have relied on the titles recorded in the catalogues and have given here the numbers as published in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*), are *T*.1120A, 1119, 1172, 957, 1175, 1176, 1040, 931, 1665, 1030, 1209, as well as 1122 (which is listed only in the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*).

[175] This is the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* 觀自在菩薩眞言觀行儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Visualization Practice of the Mantra of Bodhisattva Aryāvalokiteśvara, *T*.19.1031), which is recorded in *T*.2120:839c23, as well as in *T*.2156:767c9-10 and *T*.2157:880a11-12. This manual's ritual acts are found in the ritual performance outlined in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s appended seventh scroll, and in the *Dapiluzhena chengfu shenbian jiachi jing lue shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經略示七支念誦隨行法 (*T*.18.856), a manual that Yuanzhao attributes to his master in his *Datang zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* (*T*.2156:753c18-19, 768b22-23) and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:880c9-10). See Appendix B wherein I discuss the structure and content of *T*.1031.

[176] See *T*.2120:840a4, as well as *T*.2156:749c10, 767c29 and 2157:880a29, where Yuanzhao records the title as *Dubu tuoluoni mu* 都部陀羅尼目 and notes in the latter two entries that "the scripture's inner title is Essential Points [from] Books [belonging to] the Teachings on *Dhāraṇī*" 經内題云 陀羅尼門諸部要目. We can substitute mantra for *dhāraṇī* in the title of this work because the texts discussed are mainly translations by Amoghavajra and Śubākarasiṃha that focus on the use of mantra technology. (See Richard McBride, II, "Dhāraṇī and Spells in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 28/1 (2005), pp. 85-114, esp. p. 110.)

The author's concerns are the deities and mandalas, as well as major concepts, mantras and practices in such recently translated works as the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* 一切如來眞實攝, the First of the Eighteen Assemblies that compose the Fundamental Scriptures on Yoga 瑜伽本經 (*T*.903:898c9-899a9), the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* 毘盧遮那成道經 (899a14-b9), the abbreviated version in seven volumes that has been translated in China, the *Susiddhikara sūtra* 蘇悉地經 (899b10-c11), the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra* 蘇婆呼童子經 (899c15-900a8) and the *Dali sanmeiye jing* 怛唎三昧耶經 (900a8-18). There is short mention of contents in two other esoteric works, the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya yoga* 一切如來教集瑜伽 (Yoga of the Collection of Teachings of All the Tathāgatas, 899a10-14), a work that corresponds to the Third of the Eighteen Assemblies in the Fundamental Scriptures on Yoga, as already mentioned, and the *Ruixiye jing* 蕤[ふ]耶經 (899c11-15, *Guhya tantra*, *T*.897).

The order of presentation tells us that the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* is a significant work because in the *Zhubu tuoluoni mu* it is discussed first, perhaps because it is the most recent of the translations. Although the *Guhya tantra* (*T*.897) is not listed in the 771 memorial, it was a work introduced by Kūkai, appearing in his *Sanjūjō sakushi* 三十帖冊子 (see Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 187). Some form of this work could have been around during Amoghavajra's time.

Nobumi Iyanaga questions whether the whole of the *Zhubu tuoluoni mu* was written by Amoghavajra (personal email communications dated June 4, 7 and 10, 2008). He accepts that Amoghavajra could have written the first section on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* but has doubts about the remaining sections. His main concern is the last section on the *Dali sanmeiye jing* (900a8-18), which has been identified as *T*.1201, a work that is listed in the 771 memorial. In addition to questioning the reliability of the authorship of the *Zhubu tuoluoni mu*, Iyanaga suggests that Amoghavajra's disciples could have added works to the listing given in the 771 memorial. These are interesting problems for future research. See Iyanaga's posting on kuden-ML Amoghavajra and the "Garbhadhātu," dated June 8, 2008, wherein he presents the many problems this document raises.

Iyanaga also notes in this posting on kuden-ML the texts wherein the term 大悲胎藏 occurs. His computer search of the Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works 密教部 in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, as well as the Chinese collection of histories and biographies 史傳部, catalogues 目錄部 and encyclopedias 事彙部, came up with the *Zhubu tuoluoni mu*, *T*.1000 (a work that Yuanzhao attributes to his master in his catalogues *T*.2156:751a22-23, 768a17-18; 2157:880b9), *T*.1067 (a work the *Taishō* editors attribute to Amoghavajra), as well as the biographies of Amoghavajra produced by his disciples. I discuss *T*.1000 and *T*.1067 in Chapter Three of this dissertation and I discuss Iyanaga's findings below.

[177] *T*.2120:844b4-7. It is difficult to know if Amoghavajra is referring to one deity among the Five Families in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm or one deity in the Buddhist pantheon. See Kūkai's recording and rewriting of the transmission that his master Huiguo received from Amoghavajra in Chapter Three, pp. 66-67 and related endnotes. He interprets Amoghavajra's transmission from the perspective of the "two categories" 兩部 of the paired *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

[178] These are the *Darijing lue she niansong suixing fa* 大日經略攝念誦隨行法 (*T*.18.857) and the *Dapiluzhena chengfu shenbian jiachi jing lue shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* (*T*.18.856). See *T*.2156:768b21-23, 753c16-19; *T*.2157:880c8-10. Yuanzhao includes these two ritual manuals in a new listing of forty translations that were made after his recording of the works Amoghavajra enumerated in his 771 memorial. He begins this list of new translations (*T*.2156:768a15-16, 751a3-4; *T*.2157:880b8) with the *Dasheng Wenshushili Pusa focha gongde zhuangyan jing* 大聖文殊師利菩薩佛刹功德莊嚴經 (*T*.11.319) in three scrolls. This text is one of three works that Amoghavajra mentions in his last testament. Here (*T*.2120:844b27-c1) he requests his lay disciple Zhao Qian 趙遷 to present their final three jointly-worked translations to the emperor. These are the *Wenshu jing* 文殊經 (Scripture on Mañjuśrī), *Baolouge niansong fa* 寶樓閣念誦法 (Rite for Visualization and Recitation of the Jeweled Pavilion) and *Rulaizang jing* 如來藏經 (Scripture on the Tathāgata's Repository), each in one scroll. Further, in his farewell letter to Emperor Daizong, written on the day of his death, Amoghavara records (*T*.2120:846b19-20) that he has recently presented to the Emperor for propagation a scripture on Mañjuśrī 大聖文殊佛刹經.

The two ritual manuals for the matrix rite appear in the middle of Yuanzhao's new list of forty works, suggesting that they are compositions made after Amoghavajra's death. We cannot know if Amoghavajra had a hand in the composition of these manuals, although the Avalokiteśvara rite mentioned above (*T*.1031) is evidence of his knowledge and practice of the matrix rite, or if his disciples required such manuals and so composed the manuals themselves. For a discussion of these two ritual manuals and their textual sources, see Osabe Kazuo, "Fukū yaku taizōhōki shokō," *Tōsō mikkyōshi ronkō* (1982), pp. 260-270.

[179] See *T*.2120 and Orlando, "A Study of Chinese Documents," ch. 2, pp. 38-93, which is his summary of the contents of this collection of documents.

[180] I have consulted the short biographies by his lay disciple Yan Ying 嚴郢 and his monastic disciple Feixi 飛錫, which are collected in Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji*, as well as the *Datang gudade zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Bukong sanzang xingzhuang* 大唐故大德贈司空大辨正廣智不空三藏行狀, a separate biography written by his lay disciple Zhao Qian 趙遷. Further, I have examined Yuanzhao's catalogues, the *Datang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, dated 794, and the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, dated 800, which present, on the whole, much the same information on Amoghavajra's career that is given in his *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji*. However, the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* includes new, as well as contradictory, information, which I take note of below.

The biographies differ in style, focus and length. Further, information concerning the events of Amoghavajra's life story in these biographies is often contradictory. For studies on these biographies, see Chou Yi-Liang, "Tantrism in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* vol. 8, pp. 284-307, Osabe, Daibenshō Kōchis anzō wajō hyōseishū kaidai, *Gokyūbu*, *Kokuyaku Issaikyō*, vol. 98, pp. 472-475, Katsumata Shunkyō, "Fukū Sanzō no hibun ni tsuite," *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 1/3 (1969), pp. 97-113, Orlando, A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra, pp. 131-171 and Orzech, The "Great Teaching of Yoga," the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism, *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, pp. 52-57.

There are also important variations in the recordings by Amoghavajra and his disciples concerning the destination of his westward journey and the name of the master whose transmission was brought back to China. Amoghavajra records that he went to the Five Indias 五天, 五竺 (see *T*.2120:827c28-828a1, 840a13-15, 846b14-16, for example), a term that signifies the regions in the north, south, east, west and center, but he does not specify a particular region. Further, he does not name the Indian master(s) under whom he studied. His disciples, on the other hand, record that their master travelled to India and Sri Lanka or just to Sri Lanka. The name of his Indian master also varies. I note these differences in the text and endnotes below.

These differences are significant and were used "creatively" by Kūkai in his histories of the Shingon patriarchs. See, for example, Ryūichi Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 220-234 and my discussion in Chapter Three of this dissertation. See also Sundberg and Giebel, "The Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi as Chronicled by Lū Xiang (呂向): South Indian and Śrī Laṇkān Antecedents to the Arrival of Buddhist Vajrayāna in Eighth-Century Java and China," *Pacific World. Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Third Series, vol. 13, pp. 129-222, who, in presenting a biography that focuses on Vajrabodhi's life before he arrived in China in 720, elucidate the political and religious circumstances of Southern India, Sri Lanka and Java in an attempt to trace the site and possible source of the latest Esoteric Buddhist teachings centered on the collection of yoga-works that Amoghavajra brought back to China in 746.

[181] 大唐大廣智三藏和上影讚并序 (Eulogy and Preface written to accompany the Portrait of the Great Tang's Preceptor [honorifically titled] Master of the Tripiṭaka [possessed of] Great Broad Wisdom). *T*.2120:847a2-b7. According to Katsumata ("Fukū Sanzō no hibun ni tsuite," *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 1/3, p. 101), this work was composed shortly after Amoghavajra's death.

[182] 唐大興善寺故大德大辨正廣智三藏和尚碑銘并序 (Stele Inscription and Preface for the Preceptor [honorifically titled] Master of the Tripiṭaka [possessed of] True, Broad Wisdom and Great Discrimination, the Late Great Worthy of the Tang's Daxingshansi). *T*.2120:860a8-c9. This stele biography, according to an attached note (ibid, 860c10), was included among the documents recording the official history of the Tang Dynasty.

[183] 大唐故大德贈司空大辨正廣智不空三藏行狀 (Account of Conduct of the Great Tang's Late Great Worthy [posthumously] Bestowed [the rank title] Sikong [and the honorific title] Master of Tripiṭaka, The Infallible One (Amoghavajra), [possessed of] True, Broad Wisdom and Great Discrimination). *T*.2056:292b-294c.

[184] As Sundberg and Giebel ("The Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," *Pacific World. Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Third Series, vol. 13, p. 134 and footnote 27) have noted, it is in Lū Xiang's biography of Vajrabodhi that a transmission link is made between Nāgārjuna, Nāgajñāna and Vajrabodhi. The authors date (ibid, pp. 133-134, 141 and footnote 17) Lū Xiang's biography around 757-765 and so we can surmise that Yan Ying was not the creator of this new lineage, but that it was a topic important to a number of Amoghavajra's disciples, and perhaps even for Amoghavajra himself.

[185] *T*.2120:847a6-12.

> Long ago Buddha Vairocana transmitted to Vajrasattva the Teachings of Yoga of the Supreme, Secret and Greatest Vehicle. [And then,] Vajrasattva, after some hundreds of years, met Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna and transmitted [these teachings] to him. Nāgārjuna, too, after some hundreds of years, transmitted [these teachings] to Ācārya Nāgajñāna. Nāgajñāna, after some hundreds of years, again transmitted [the teachings] to Ācārya Vajrabodhi. Vajrabodhi, carrying his monk's staff, came eastward and transmitted [these teaching] to our Teacher [Amoghavajra]. From the Tathāgata [Vairocana], the Law Body, until our Teacher only six have transmitted this path [of teaching]. 昔毘盧遮那佛以瑜伽無上祕密最大乘教傳於金剛薩埵。金剛薩埵数百歲方得龍猛菩薩而傳授焉。龍猛又数百歲乃傳龍智阿闍梨。龍智又数百歲傳金剛智阿闍梨。金剛智振錫東來傳於和上。自法身如來至于和上傳此道者六人而已矣。

Further, Yan Ying's summary of this lineage (847b4-5) in this eulogy is: "The legitimate successors of the transmission [on the supreme and secret yoga] until now are six [in number]." 法化正嫡迄今六人。

[186] Yan Ying does not *specify* that Amoghavajra met Ācārya Nāgajñāna in Sri Lanka in his eulogy or stele inscription. He states in the eulogy (*T*.2120:847a14-15) that Amoghavajra crossed the seas to reach *such* countries as India and Sri Lanka. Then he describes Amoghavajra's meeting with Nāgajñāna. 先師既歿。和上遂泛海遊天竺師子等國. 詣詣龍智阿闍梨。。。 The same pattern is repeated in the stele inscription (*T*.2120:860b8-9) where Amoghavajra went westward to *such* countries as India and Sri Lanka 和尚又西遊天竺師子等國詣龍智阿闍梨. In this stele inscription (*T*.2120:860b12-13), after recording that he cannot write about Amoghavajra's trip to India to visit the tree of enlightenment because his master did not speak about this trip, Yan Ying records that the event of taming a wild elephant occurred in a narrow alley in the Western Regions 西域隘巷. Both Feixi (*T*.2120:848c15-18) and Zhao Qian (*T*.2056:293 c12-15) place this event in Sri Lanka.

[187] *T*.2120:847a14-17.

> After his Teacher [Vajrabodhi] passed away, our Teacher again crossed the ocean and travelled to countries such as India and Sri Lanka. He visited Ācārya Nāgajñāna and received the methods of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga, the secret repository of the Five Families and scriptures [Śākyamuni] bequeathed [concerning] the Three Vehicles [of the śrāvaka, pratyekabuddhas and bodhisattvas]. Studying [these teachings] to their quintessence, there was nothing that he did not thoroughly master. 先師既歿。和上遂泛海遊天竺師子等國。詣龍智阿闍梨更得瑜伽十八會法五部祕藏三乘遺典。莫不究其精奧焉.

[188] *T*.2120:860b4-8.

> Long ago, Vajrasattva personally received the import of the Superlative Vehicle of Yoga before Buddha Vairocana. After some hundreds of years [Vajrasattva] transmitted [these teachings] to Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna. Nāgārjuna, again after some hundreds of years, transmitted [these teachings] to Ācārya Nāgajñāna and Nāgajñāna transmitted them to Ācārya Vajrabodhi. Vajrabodhi came eastward and transmitted [these teachings] to our Teacher. 昔金剛薩埵親於毘盧遮那佛前受瑜伽最上乘義。後数百歳傳於龍猛菩薩。龍猛又数百歳傳於龍智阿闍梨。龍智傳金剛智阿闍梨。金剛智東來傳於和尚。

[189] *T*.2120:860b8-10. 和尚又西遊天竺師子等國詣龍智阿闍梨。揚[カク]十八會法。法化相承。自毘盧遮那如來迨於和尚凡六葉矣.

Further, Yan Ying records (860b20-21) that Amoghavajra's teachings were passed on to Huilang 惠朗 who became the seventh patriarch. 沙門惠朗受次補之記。得傳燈之旨。継明佛日。紹六為七。The stele biography ends (860b27-28) with this verse:

> As for the Superior Vehicle of Yoga and its words of reality and secret [hand] gestures, six generations have imparted and received [these teachings], handing the lamp of transmission successively from one to the other. 瑜伽上乘　眞語密契　六葉授受　傳燈相継。

[190] *T*.2056:292b19-25. 昔者婆伽梵毘盧遮那。以金剛頂瑜伽祕密教王眞言法印。付屬金剛手菩薩。垂近千載。傳龍猛菩薩。数百年後。龍猛傳龍智阿闍梨那。後数百年。龍智傳金剛智阿闍梨那。金剛智傳今之大師。雖源一流派分。蓋数十人違而已。家嫡相継。我師承其六。

[191] Yan Ying summarizes in his eulogy (*T*.2120:847b3-4) the character of his master's transmission in verse.

> The gateway to the secrets of the Superior Vehicle of Yoga [enable its practitioners to] transcend various meditative concentrations and instantly enter the buddha's body. 瑜伽上乘祕密之門。 度諸禪定頓入佛身。

In his stele biography (*T*.2120:860b1-3), he presents the contents and goal of Amoghavajra's teachings as that which prescribes the meanings of the letters of mantras and the liturgy for ascending the altar for consecration so that practitioners can access the fast track to buddhahood. 夫眞言字義之憲度。灌頂升壇之軌迹。則時成佛之速。

Yuanzaho's accounts of Amoghavajra's study in the west do not contradict those of Yan Ying. He records in his Preface (*T*.2120:826c22-23) to the *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji* that his master visited India and there investigated Sanskrit books on yoga. 大師歿後還詣五天。 梵本瑜伽備皆披閲周遊遍覧。旋赴帝京. He presents the information from his Preface (*T*.2120:826c19-28) to the *Daizongchao zeng*

Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji again in both his catalogues. See *T*.2156:754a21-29, esp. 24-25 and *T*.2157:889c25-890a5, esp. 889c29-890a1.

In his *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:881a10-c18, esp. a28-b7) Yuanzhao describes in great detail what Amoghavajra studied in Sri Lanka and what he brought back to China. Again, although he does not name an Indian teacher, he records that Amoghavajra studied secret *dhāraṇīs* and thoroughly mastered such practices as protecting the body with the three esoterica, the mudrās of the Five families, methods [for making] mandalas and the Thirty-Seven Venerables, yoga and *homa* [rites]. Further, he documents that his master returned to China with the Sanskrit copies of the Scripture of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and philosophical treatises of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna.

[192] *T*.2120:848b14-849c3. This is titled the *Datang gudade kaifuyitongsansi shihongluqing suguogong Daxingshansi Daguangzhi sanzang heshang zhi bei* 大唐故大德開府儀同三司試鴻臚卿肅國公大興善寺大廣智三藏和上之碑.

[193] Feixi records (*T*.2120:848b28-c2) that Vajrabodhi finally granted Amoghavajra, who wished to study the Treatise on Words and their Meaning and to thoroughly investigate the Yoga doctrine, instruction in the three mysteries and spoke about the Five Wisdoms [of the Buddhas of the Adamantine Realm] 欲學聲明論窮瑜伽宗。。。 遂に授以三密。談於五智。

He details (*T*.2120:848c3-14, esp. 9-14) the teachings that Amoghavajra received from Ācārya Samantabhadra during his trip to Sri Lanka. (Note that Yan Ying's biographies (*T*.2120:847a14-15, 860b8-9) record this master's name as Nāgajñāna. In Zhao Qian's biography (*T*.2056:293a6-9), too, this master is called Samantabhadra.) These were "the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown in Eighteen Assemblies, as well as Vairocana's Matrix Repository of Great Compassion, secret texts [concerning] mantras and consecrations for the Five Families, and scriptures and scholastic discourses, about five hundred odd Sanskrit works [in all]." 國有普賢阿闍梨者。。。尋即授以十八會金剛頂瑜伽并毘盧遮那大悲胎藏五部灌頂眞言祕典經論梵夾五百余部。僉以為得其所伝。

[194] The Esoteric Buddhist lineage recorded in Yan Ying's and Zhao Qian's works has such minor differences as names (Vajrasattva in the former as opposed to Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi in the latter) and times ("after several hundreds of years" as opposed to "close to one thousand years later"). See *T*.2120:847a8, 860b4-6 and *T*.292a20-21. The basic facts of Amoghavjra's story in Zhao Qian's biography derive from Feixi's stele inscription, but they are always embellished and sometimes reordered.

[195] This is the *Jingangding yuqie bimi xindi famen yijue* 金剛頂瑜伽祕密心地法門義訣 (*T*.39.1798), which I discuss below.

[196] *T*.2056:292c8-12. 為與傳授五部之法。灌頂護摩阿闍梨教。大日經悉地儀軌。諸佛頂部衆眞言行。The Buddhoṣṇīṣas figure in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* are members of the Buddha Family, one of the three Families in this text. See *T*.903:899b10, b15.

[197] *T*.2056:293a6-9. 他日尋普賢阿闍梨等。奉獻寶錦繡之屬。請開十八會金剛頂瑜伽法門毘盧遮那大悲胎藏。建立壇法。

Zhao Qian relates (*T*.2056:292c14-293a16) in detail Amoghavajra's trip to Sri Lanka (293a9-12): No longer needing a regular teacher, Amoghavajra travelled throughout Sri Lanka, inquiring about scriptures on mantra...fundamental emblems and secret mudrās of the deities, prescribed forms and colors of icons, altars, rites and banners, the intrinsic and extrinsic meanings of texts. There was nothing whose source he did not exhaust. 大師自爾。覺無常師。遍更討尋諸眞言經。并諸經論五百余部。本三昧諸尊密印。儀形色像。壇法標識。文義性相。無不尽源。He records his travels through the Five Indias in a single sentence (293a15-16): 又遊五天。巡歷諸國。

[198] *T*.2056:294b24-26. 是以有蘇悉地毘盧遮那金剛頂經諸眞言部。若戒定慧。頓漸半滿。大師之教也。Zhao Qian records in this passage that Amoghavajra's teachings included the standard Buddhist teachings on precepts, meditation and wisdom. Further, he gives a description of Amoghavajra's methods of teachings, that of "the middle [between] the sudden and the gradual." See Orlando, A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra, p. 157.

[199] See Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*: *A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), Appendix 1 On Esoteric Buddhism in China, pp. 264-278, esp. pp. 268-269 where he documents such historical facts as: Ch'an monks, particularly those of the Northern School, studied esoteric texts and participated in esoteric rituals; Yixing (685-727), Śubhākarasiṃha's student and co-translator of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, was also a disciple of the seventh Northern School patriarch; and Kenneth Eastman's statement that Śubhākarasiṃha's and Yixing's work "might rightly be considered as belonging to the Northern School of Cha'an, whose members solicited it, recorded it, and seemingly disseminated it." This suggests that Amoghavajra's disciples must have felt the need to distinguish themselves from Chan monks and their appropriation of esoteric materials by specifying their master's expertise. See also Orzech's discussion of Amoghavajra's multiple transmission and his disciples construction of a unilinear transmission, their borrowing of language to describe this exclusive lineage from eighth-century Chan circles, and yet the uniqueness of their claims in his The "Great Teaching of Yoga," the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism, *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, pp. 52-57. See also Jinhua Chen's documentation of the lineages of Amoghavajra's disciples in his *Crossfire*: Shingon-Tendai Strife, pp. 103-106.

[200] See Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, pp. 192-203 for his excellent analysis of the significance and purpose of this collection of documents, esp. p. 193.

[201] Orzech (ibid, pp. 203-204) has clarified the intents underlying Yuanchao's catalogues. The earliest, the *Datang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (*T.* 2156), served as "propaganda for the Esoteric school" because its concern was to present the *Renwang jing* as "the exempla for a 'national protection' Esoteric Buddhism that was exported to Korea and Japan." The *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T.*2157) is a "massive catalogue of Buddhist scriptures, though one that highlights scriptures of the Esoteric school."

[202] See T. Griffith Foulk, "The Ch'an *Tsung* in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?" *The Pacific World*, New Series, no. 8 (1992), pp. 18-31, esp. pp. 22-25, where he presents the activities of Shen-hui (d.758) and his dharma heirs, who were active at the same time as Amoghavajra and his disciples. Shen-hui established a claim to Bodhidharma's lineage and had built at his Ho-tse Monastery in Loyang a mortuary portrait hall wherein portraits of six generations of patriarchs were enshrined. High-ranking government officials composed the text for the stele and the preface to the portraits, signifying the recognition and financial support Shen-hui received for these activities. The Ch'an historian Tsung-mi (780-841) recorded instances of imperial support and so further legitimacy for Shen-hui's and his disciples during the later part of the eighth and early nine centuries. For example, in 763 the emperor had a monastery constructed at Shen-hui's stūpa site in Loyang; Emperor Daizong granted a doorway plaque for the monastery's patriarch's hall in 770 and an imperial plaque for the stūpa in 772; in 796, during Emperor Tezong's reign, Shen-hui was officially recognized as the seventh patriarch; a memorial stele written in 806 for his disciple Hui-chien (719-792) records that an imperial grant enabled the construction of a Kuanyin hall that housed portraits of the seven patriarchs.

Yuanchao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji* contains many documents recording the numerous instances of imperial support that Amoghavajra received for his religious projects, as well as Emperor Daizong's support for his dharma heirs, such as contributions for the construction of a stūpa and portrait hall and the granting of special titles to Amoghavajra. See Orlando, The Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra.

[203] Comparable is Shen-hui's teachings on "sudden enlightenment" in order to garner converts and patronage. See Foulk, "The Ch'an *Tsung* in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?" *The Pacific World*, New Series, no. 8, p. 24.

[204] I have recorded the title as listed in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 93. Under this rubric Kūkai has also included, for example (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 92-93), Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji* and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*.

Henrik Sørensen (personal communication August 18, 2017) writes that the *Jingangding yuqie bimi xindi famen yijue* is listed as a work by Amoghavajra in the Dunhuang manuscripts that documents the integration between the *Brahmajala* and Esoteric Buddhist ritualism.

[205] The story goes that a great worthy, whose recitation of the mantra of Mahāvairocana resulted in a manifestation of this Buddha, was made to record this Buddha's exposition, which was, "namely, the present [Chinese version of the] Essentials of the Methods of Contemplation and Recitation [Expounded] by Vairocana in one scroll 即今毘盧遮那念誦法要一卷." See *T*.39.1798:808a29-b3 and Orzech, "The Legend of the Iron Stūpa," *Buddhism in Practice* (Donald Lopez, ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 314-317. Although the contents of this work cannot be known from this title and brief passage, Orzech identifies it as a work within the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* lineage. This is *T*.18.849, a translation attributed to Vajrabodhi but not recorded under Vajrabodhi's name in *T*.2154:571b19-27 or *T*.2157:875a4-13, 876b16-24.

[206] *T*.1798:808b3-28 and Orzech, "The Legend of the Iron Stūpa," pp. 316-317.

[207] See his *Himitsu mandarakyō fuhōden* 祕密漫荼羅教付法傳 (Record of the Transmission of the Teachings on the Secret Mandala, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 1-49), for example. Yuanzhao's works are listed in the *Shōrai mokuroku* (see endnote 204 above). See also Mukai Ryūken, "Fukūsanzō denki shiryō ikkōsatsu," *Taishō daigaku daigakuin kenkyū ronshū* (Tokyo: Taishō daigaku shuppanbu, 1978), pp. 103-114, and Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, esp. pp. 117-118, 220-232.

An early description of the Esoteric Buddhist lineage and its transmission is recorded in Kūkai's *Shōrai mokuroku* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 83) but no mention is made of an iron tower. Here mention is made of Amoghavajra's visit to Nāgajñāna in southern India, his acquisition of the Yoga in Eighteen Assemblies 十八會瑜伽 and his thorough study of "the secret treasury that included such teachings as the Matrix Repository 胎藏等密藏."

[208] He authored the commentary based on Śubhākarasiṃha's oral teachings. See Orzech, "Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 276-278.

[209] Zhisheng records in his *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (*T*.2154:571c4-6) that Yixing received consecration and instruction from Vajrabodhi. See also Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:875a19-21).

[210] Kūkai records (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 95) that this rubric includes "images of buddhas, bodhisattvas and many devas of the Vajra [Family]" 佛菩薩金剛諸天等像, as well as "portraits of Dharma transmitting masters" 轉法阿闍梨等影.

[211] The portraits, in the order listed (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 94-95), are those of Vajrabodhi, Śubhākarasiṃha, Amoghavajra, Huiguo and Yixing.

[212] For example, in his *Shōrai mokuroku*, Kūkai writes that (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 69) under Huiguo he studied the great teachings of the two categories 兩部大法 (*ryōbu daihō*). See Chapter Three wherein I document Kūkai's and Wuyin's use of the term "great teachings in two categories." We see discrepancies between Amoghavajra's record of his transmission to Huiguo (*T*.2120:844a29-b2) and descriptions of his transmission in the works of Huiguo's disciples Kūkai (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 100, 21, 39), Wuyin (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 44, 61) and an unknown biographer on Huiguo (*T*.2057:295a8-13).

[213] For the listing of these icons in the *Shōrai mokuroku*, see *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 94, as well as Chapter Three of this dissertation.

[214] See *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 99 for Kūkai's consecrations, first into the Matrix Realm and then into the Adamantine Realm. See *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 44 and Chapter Three for a translation of this passage in Wuyin's biography.

[215] See *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 82. The *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqie yuqi jing* 金剛峰樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 (*T*.18.867) and its relationship with the *Liqujing mantuluo* is discussed in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

[216] Two examples of new deities are Rāgarāja 愛染明王 (Aizen Myōō), presented in chapter 2 and 5, and the "Great Victorious Vajra" (Daishō Kongō) in chapter 8. See Goepper, *Aizen Myōō: the Esoteric King of Lust, An iconological*

Study (*Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 39. Zūrich: Artibus Asiae and Museum Rietberg, 1993) and Pol Vanden Broucke, "The Twelve-Armed Deity Daishō Kongō and His Scriptural Sources" in *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, pp. 147-159.

[217] Obvious examples of mixing of elements from such systems as the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa*, *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi,* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgrha*, for example, are found in chapters 2, 4 and 9. I discuss the contents of these chapters and others, as well as this mixing of esoteric Buddhist systems, in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

Chapter Five: Problem of the Ascription of the Daigoji *Liqujing Mantuluo*

[1] See Chapter One of this dissertation.

[2] *T*.2174A:1108b10-11, 1110b12-14, 1110c18.

[3] *T*.55.2176:1113b26-29. Annen suffixes the names of these monks with the polite title 和上, which I have ommitted in my translation. The Shingon and Tendai schools pronounce this title differently: *Kashō* in the Tendai school and *Wajō* in the Shingon. The contents of the second prefatory inscription are given in an endnote 7 below.

[4] Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 4126a.

[5] See Misaki Ryōshū, "Annen no *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku,*" *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 16/2 (1968), pp. 572-579, esp. pp. 572-574.

[6] *T*.2176:1113c1-10.

[7] *T*.2176:1114a2-12. This colophon begins as follows (*T*.2176:1113c14-1114a1):

> For my own personal interest, I examined the inventories of the Esoteric Buddhist masters, as well [as Yuanzhao's] *Jōgan roku* (*Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釈教目錄). I selected the scriptures and [ritual] methods that had been newly entered [in these works] and which I consider to be the gateway to the teachings of the one house of mantras 眞言一家教門 (*shingon ikke kyōmon*). I did not select any of the *dhāraṇī* methods from old translations. Consequently, those who study [the doctrine and practices of this new teaching] may not be able to understand its origins and so will lack the deeper knowledge [acquired by a broader reading of scriptures].
>
> Now, having relied upon the secret inventories 祕錄 of the eight monks [who went to China], I created twenty categories. And each of these categories I further divided into [sub-]categories of teachings 法類 (*hōrui*)[, wherein I include further categories for scriptures, commentaries, ritual manuals, additionally used methods 加用法, for example]. And in these categories I added as often as possible the old translations. [Further,] even though [not considered to be] secret spells [like mantras and *dhāraṇī*], I also included [such categories as] vows and historical accounts 願緣[, which contain works of reverences and repentences, works of praises, as well as stele inscriptions and tranmissions].
>
> Moreover, among the inventories [of the eight who went to China], some relied upon the main inventory [of Yuanzhao], the *Jōganroku*, when providing the titles of the scriptures and ritual manuals], and so I just give here abridged titles. And sometimes, following my own whims and fancies, I listed the long titles [of works when an inner title 內題 (*naidai*) has been recorded in Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*]. Hence, [my method of recording] may cause those who come after me some difficulty in seeing the truth of the traces of the [Buddha's] footprint 跡蹤實. [Therefore] now, I have recorded at the end of the [entries on the] books their most significant points 名目(*myōmoku*). And I also have indicated whether similarities and differences exist or have been omitted.

Further, the secrets of the Esoteric Buddhist masters may not have been recorded in their inventories, [and so] if I have seen or heard of any, I have also added them.

The secret inventories of the eight monks 八家祕錄 are: (1) the inventory of [Sai]chō of Hieizan, (2) the inventory of [Kū]kai of Kōyasan, (3) the inventory of [En]nin of Hieizan, (4) the inventory of [En]gyō of Reigan[ji], (5) the inventory of [E]un of Anjō[ji], (6) the inventory of [Jō]gyō of Oguri 小栗, (7) the inventory of [En]chin of Hieizan and (8) the inventory of [Shū]ei of Engaku[ji].

The twenty categories are: [see main text].

The colophon ends with the following (*T*.2176:1114a13-16):

The newly imported scriptures and [ritual] methods have been placed side by side and I have noted the names of those who brought [them] back. Because I dreaded a cumbersome text, I chose for each [Esoteric Buddhist master] a single posthumous name. As for the circumstances [by which I could gather information about] these teachings, I also present the name of the temple where a copy was obtained. If there was no copy, I did not mention it.

Recorded on the eleventh day of the fifth month of the second year of Engi.

[8] *T*.2167:1131b5-1132c4.

[9] *T*.2167:1131b25. The character 楨 is a mistake for 幀 [see Eun's catalogue *T*.2168B:1091c15-15, where 禎子(*tōsu*) is used], the counter for paintings mounted on cloth or paper.

[10] This is published in *T*.55.2165.

[11] See *T*.55.2166.

[12] See *T*.55.2167.

[13] *T*.2165:1076b.

[14] A colophon at the end of the catalogue (*T*.2165:1076a25-b6) states that:

As for the above said teachings, having arrived at the great regional commandery of Yangzhou 揚州 and having visited the many temples within the city, [I] Ennin made the copies as above. Preceptor Zongrui 宗叡和尚 of Zhongnanshan 終南山 is a scholar whose learning is excellent. His understanding is extreme and profound in import, and he can explain [in both] Sanskrit and Chinese the wondrously refined sounds of *siddhaṃ*. [I] Ennin fortunately could meet him and got to study the Sanskrit *siddhaṃ* and also to learn both the Sanskrit and Chinese words. Moreover, I met Ācārya Quanya 全雅阿闍梨, who is the disciple who inherited the teachings from Master Bianhong 辯弘, who was the Imperial Chaplain 内供奉 of the Great Tang. I consulted with him and [then] received the secret teachings. The feelings of Ācārya [Quanya] are far-reaching and sincere. He transmitted [to me] the essence of the secret [teachings], and then finally he gave me the teachings of recitation, as well as the dual Mandalas of the Matrix and the Adamantine [Realm], many images of the altars [for the Esoteric Buddhist deities], and so on. After that I wanted to visit Tiantaishan 天台山 [but], because the road was distant and I would lose time in coming and going, the imperial order did not permit my going [there]. It is sad and regretable. Although I do not fully possess the teachings that I seek and which are difficult to attain, still I have copied the books and have counted them as the above-mentioned items.

Concerning the relationship between Huiguo, Bianhong and Quanya, see the lineage charts of Zaoxuan's 造玄 *Xiang cheng xiemai* 相承血脈 in *Shingon zenshū*, vol. 39, p. 28 and those in Sawa Ryuken, *Mikkyō jiten*, Appendix VI, p. 125.

[15] *T*.2166:1078b16-24.

[16] See *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 310-1.

[17] For instance, the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* (*T*.2166:1078a1, 4-5, 7) includes the following iconographic materials, which are not listed in the *Nipponkoku shōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku*:

- *Jingangjie mantuluo weiyang* (Configuration of the Positions of [the Venerables] of the Adamantine Realm Mandala) one folded book 金剛界曼荼羅位様 一帖
- *Guanyin tan yang* (Configuration of the Altar for Avalokiteśvara) one line drawing on paper 觀音壇様 一張
- *Jingangmianzhutou pusa xiangyang* (Figures of Bodhisattva Vajramukha) line drawings on paper 金剛面猪頭菩薩像様 一張金剛面菩薩像様 一張
- *Tiantai Zhizhe dashi ying* (Portrait of Tendai Chisha daishi) one [painting] three widths 天台智者大師影 一鋪三幅

Although not listed with the other images, two scrolls depicting the *Shiqi tan yang* 十七壇様 and the *Taizang shouyin yang* 胎藏手印様 (Mudrās of [the Venerables of the] Matrix Repository) were found in a sealed box (ibid, 1078b8-15). These works are listed in the *Nipponkoku shōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* (*T*.2165:1076a5, 9).

[18] *T*.2167:1087b.

[19] ibid, 1084c26-27.

[20] ibid, 1085b9-14.

[21] ibid, 1087b13-16.

[22] There are slight discrepancies in the images that are recorded in the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* (*T*.2167:1087a20-b11); for example, the *Shiqi tan yang* 十七壇様, which is listed in the *Nipponkoku shōwa gonen guhō mokuroku* (*T*.2165:1076a5) and in the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* (*T*.2166:1078b12), is not listed here, and a portrait of the Tendai daishi 天台大師感得聖僧影, which is recorded in the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* (*T*.2167:1078a7), has been included here (*T*.2167:1087a28).

[23] *T*.2165:1076b3-4, 2167:1079b2-3, 5-6, 10-11.

The *Nipponkoku shōwa gonen guhō mokuroku*, the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* and Part three of the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku*, all of which list the works that Ennin gathered in Yangzhou, include (*T*.2165:1076a2-32, 2166:1077c24-1078a19, and 2167:1087a20-b11) the following mandalas and related iconographic materials:

- *Dapiluzhenafo taizang damantuluo* (Great Mandala of the Matrix Repository of Buddha Mahāvairocana) one [painting] five widths line drawing 大毘盧遮那佛胎藏大曼荼羅 一鋪 五副苗畫
- *Jingangjie damantuluo* (Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm) one [painting] seven widths colors 金剛界大曼荼羅 一鋪七副菜色
- *Shiqi tan yang* (Configuration of the Altar of the Seventeen [Venerables]) one scroll 十七壇様一卷
- *Jingangjie sanshiqizun zhongzi mantuluo yang* (Drawing of the Seed Syllable Mandala of the Thirty-Seven Venerables of the Adamantine Realm) one line drawing on paper 金剛界三十七尊種子曼荼羅様 一張
- *Jingangjie bashiyizun zhonhzi mantuluo yang* (Drawing of the Seed Syllable Mandala of the Eighty-One Venerables of the Adamantine Realm) one line drawing on paper 金剛界八十一尊種子曼荼羅様 一張
- Fahua mantuluo yang (Drawing of the Lotus Mandala) one line drawing on paper 法華曼荼羅様 一張
- *Taizang mantuluo shouyin yang* (Drawings of the Mudrās of the [Venerables of the] Matrix Repository Mandala) one scroll 胎藏曼荼羅手印様 一卷

There are slight differences in the manner of the recording of items; for example, in the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* (*T*.2166:1077c28-29) the character 鋪, a measure for paintings, twice replaces the character 張, the counter for a sheet of paper, which is used in both the *Nipponkoku shōwa gonen nittō guhō* (*T*.2165:1076a6-7) and the *Nitto shingu shōkyō mokuroku* (*T*.2167:1087a23-24). Further, the *Jingangjie mantuluo weiyang*, the *Guanyin tan yang* and two images of Bodhisattva Vajramukha, which are listed in the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* (*T*.2166:1078a1, 3, 4-5), are not given in the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku*.

The method of recording is much more precise in the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku*. For example, such information as "colors" 綵色 and "line drawing" or "outline drawing" 苗 has been added beneath the counters. I have listed the items according to this inventory.

Part one of the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku*, which lists the works that Ennin collected in Chang'an, contains (*T*.2167:1084b27-c26) some of the mandalas of interest and their related iconographic items:

- *Dabei taizang famantuluo* (Seed Syllable Mandala of the Matrix Respository of Great Compassion) one [painting] three widths line drawing 大悲胎藏法曼荼羅 一鋪三幅苗
- *Dabei taizang sanmeiye lue manuluo* (Abbreviated Symbol Mandala of the Matrix Respository of Great Compassion) one [painting] one width line drawing 大悲胎藏三昧耶略曼荼羅 一鋪一幅苗
- *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo* (Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm) one [painting] five widths line drawing 金剛界九會曼荼羅 一鋪五幅苗
- *Jingangjie damantuluo* (Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm) one [painting] five widths line drawing 金剛界大曼荼羅 一鋪五幅苗
- *Foding Zunsheng tanxiang* (Image of the Altar of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa) one [painting] two widths line drawing 佛頂尊勝壇像 一鋪二幅苗
- *Dabei taizang shouyin* (Mudrās of the [Venerables of the] Matrix Respository of Great Compassion) one scroll 大悲胎藏手契 一卷
- *Jingangpou zhuzun tuxiang yigui* (Manual of the Images of the Venerables of the Vajra Family) one scroll 金剛部諸尊圖像儀軌 一卷
- *Foyan ta bing ji* (Stupa for Buddhalocanā and its History) one scroll 佛眼塔并記 一卷

[24] The *Nipponkoku shōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* (*T*.2165:1074a29-b5, 23-24), the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* (*T*.2166:19-20, 23) and Part Three of the *Nitto shingu shokyou mokuroku* (*T*.2167:1085b29-5, 21-22) list the following *Liqujing* related materials:

- *Puxian pusa Jingangsaduo yuqie niansong yigui* 普賢菩薩金剛薩埵瑜伽念誦儀軌 (published as *T*.1124)
- *Jingangding yuqie Jingangsaduo wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五祕 密修行念誦儀軌 (*T*.1125)
- *Jingangding shengchu yuqie jing zhong luechu Dale Jingangsaduo niansong yigui* 金剛頂勝 初瑜伽經中略出大樂金剛薩埵念誦儀軌 (*T*.1120A)
- *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmeiye jing banruoboluomiduo liqushi* 大樂金剛不空眞實 三昧耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣釋 (*T*.1003).

The *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* has the characters "letters in both Chinese and Sanskrit" 梵漢両字 before the titles of the first and third ritual manual listed above, and this inventory records that the *Liqushi* and *Wubimi yigui* 五祕密儀軌 were included within a sealed box (*T*.2166:1078b10-11,13).

Part One of the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* (*T*.2167:1079a17-18, 25-26, b3-6, 20, 22, c10-12, 18-19, 29, 1080b7-8) has the following *Liqujing* related materials:

- *Jingangding yuqie Tahuazizaitian liquhui puxian xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽他化自 在天理趣會普賢修行念誦儀軌 (*T*.1122)
- *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansongfa jing* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法 經 (*T*.1123)
- *Jingangding shengchu yuqie jing zhong luechu Dale Jingangsaduo niansong yigui* 金剛頂勝 初瑜伽經中略出大樂金剛薩埵念誦儀軌 (*T*.1120A)
- *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmeiye jing banruoboluomiduo liqushi* 大樂金剛不空眞實 三昧耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣釋 (*T*.1003)
- *Jingangwang pusa bimi niansong yigui* 金剛王菩薩祕密念誦儀軌 (*T*.1132)
- *Puxian Jingangsaduo yuqie niansong yigui* 普賢金剛薩埵瑜伽念誦儀軌 (*T*.1124)
- *Banruoboluomiduo liqujing Daanle bukong sanmeiye zhenshi Jingang pusa deng yishiqisheng damantuluo yishu* 般若波羅蜜多理趣經大安樂不空三昧耶眞實金剛 菩薩等 一十七聖大曼荼羅義述 (*T*.1004)
- *Jingangding yuqie Jingangsaduo wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五祕 密修行念誦儀軌 (*T*.1125)
- *Dale Jingangsaduo xiuxing chengjiu yigui* 大樂金剛薩埵修行成就儀軌 (*T*.1119)

- *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmeiye jing Banruoboluomiduo liqu pin* 大樂金剛不空眞實 三摩耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣品 (*T*.243).

In his *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, Yuanzhao adds *T*.1120A, 1122 and 1119 (*T*.55.2157:880b10-13, 881a6-7) to Amoghavajra's translations (*T*.52. 2120:839a29, c12-15, 840a1-2).

[25] *T*.55.2174A. The colophon (2174A:1111c1-6) states that:

> From the sixth month until the tenth month of the sixth year of Xiantong 咸通 (865) of the Great Tang [Dynasty] in Fashiyuan[, where] the Japanese student monk Ensai 圓載 [resided], [and which is within] Ximingsi, which is in Chang'an's streets of the right, I sought out and copied miscellaneous [books of the] teachings. An inventory accompanied them as above.
> On the twelfth day of the eleventh month of the seventh year of the Jōgan 貞觀 (865) reign era just past [upon my return to Japan], I again examined [the books and this inventory] in Tōji in Kyōto. The monk who sought instruction by going to Tang [China] and [who has] the position of Great Teacher of the Dharma.

[26] *T*.55.2174A:1111a.

[27] *T*.2174A:1108b10-11, 1110b12-14, 1110c18.

[28] *T*.2174A:1110c17, c10.

[29] 2174A:1111b6-7. The third part of Shuei's inventory closes with the following colophon (2174A:1111b18-19):

> The above religious implements and relics are the provisions of *dhāraṇī* chanters 持念者之備. As for the success of the [Esoteric Buddhist] practices, [if] you do not depend on these [articles], [then] there will be no success.

The fourth part, where works on astrology and medicine are recorded, ends with the following colophon (2174A:1111c1):

> Although the above miscellaneous books are not included in the methods of the Buddha 法門, they are necessary for daily life.

[30] The character should be 幀子 (*tōsu*), counter for scroll painting.

[31] *T*.2174A:1111a11, 21-25, b2.

[32] Yoritomi Motohiro ("Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō — tokuni *Liqujing mantuluo* wo chūshin toshite," *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, No. 15, pp. 504-505) identifies this Preceptor Tianzhu as Zhihuilun 智慧輪 (Prajñācakra), who resided in Daxingshansi 大興善寺 in Chang'an and who also instructed Ennin and Enchin in Esoteric Buddhist rituals.

Takada Osamu ("Taimitsu no ryokai mandara ni tsuite," p. 632) and Kinshiki Ryōnosuke ("Gubodaisan Nyohōji kyūzō ryōkai mandara zu," p. 117) identify the iconography of this mandala as that of the Mandala of the Eighty-One Venerables of the Adamantine Realm. However, both Kokubo Keiichi ("Tōmitsu no jūhachiichi son mandara," *Yamato bunka*, vol. 7, pp. 1-16, esp. pp. 6-9) and Yoritomi ("Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō," pp. 505-506) furnish evidence that suggests that the iconography of this mandala differed from that of both the Mandala of the Eighty-One Venerables and the Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm, and instead illustrated the Third Assembly.

[33] *T*.2174A:1111a22.

[34] *T*.2174A:1111a24. Shūei simply records that Preceptor Xuan[zao] made this work in three widths 玄和尚造之三副. Shūei's line drawing of this figure has not survived. Yoritomi ("Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō," p. 507) identifies this deity as Vajrarāja of the Eastern Buddha Akṣobhya's bodhisattva retinue in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha's* Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. However, given Shūei's concern to seek out new iconography, this figure could also be the four-armed Vajrarāja described in Amoghavajra's manual for the rite of Vajrarāja (*T*.20.1132).

[35] *T*.55.2174B:1111c27.

[36] *T*.2176:1131b.

[37] *T*.2176:1131b21-c1.

[38] *T*.2174A:1111b.

[39] See Yoritomi, "Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō," *op. cit.,* pp. 508-509. A work that is regarded as corresponding to this Fourth Assembly is in the Tibetan Canon, and its Sanskrit title can be reconstructed as *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* (King of [the Teachings in] the Extensive *Kalpa* for the Conqueror of the Three Worlds) 降三世大儀軌王 and is published in 東北 482. See Sakai Shinten, "*Kongōchō Gōzanze daigiki hōōkyōchū Kanjizai bosatsu shinshingon issai nyorai renge daimandara bon* ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 12, pp. 16-22, esp. p. 16, p. 17 footnote 2 and my discussion of Amoghavajra's use of this text in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

[40] See Chapter One. There are many articles on the iconography brought back by these pilgrim monks that was not recorded in their official inventories. The ones I found helpful were, for example, Ono Genmyō, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, pp. 717-730 and Sawa Ryūken, *Hyakubyō zuzō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982). I cite other, more specific studies in the following endnotes.

[41] *T*.2176:1131b22-23: 會昌滅佛法日和上密屬手工令圖一本那邦無復異本. I could not find such a statement in Ennin's *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki*, for example. Ennin commissioned Chinese painters to make copies of the Matrix and Adamantine Realm Mandalas during the first few months Huichang1 (see endnote 23 above for the materials he collected in Chang'an). Moreover, he did visit the Jianfusi during this year (see *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 72, p. 251/83b), but he makes no mention of having seen this mandala painted on the temple's wall.

[42] The relevant entry in this work goes as follows:

> Question: The gold-on-[purple]-mud mandala represents what Assembly?
> Answer: [Amoghavajra's] *Zhigui* 指帰 says [as follows]: "Next is explained the Third Assembly. It is called the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie jing* 一切教集瑜伽經. [small letters: It is expounded in the palace of the Dharma Realm.] This scripture explains the Five Families' Great Mandala. Each of the families have Mandalas of the Five Families. Each [mandala] has Thirty-Seven [Venerables] and all [the mandalas] form one great mandala. Each Venerable explains his/her four seals, [that is,] the great seal, the symbolic seal, the seed syllable seal and the action seal and each explains his/her rite of accomplishment. The *Liqu*[*shi*] says: "From the Vajra Family up to the Karma Family, all [the Families] possess five families. Each one of the sacred multitude possesses unlimited mandalas. The four seals, and so forth, also are unlimited, etc, etc." The vastness of the mandala in this [commentary] is like what the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie jing* explains, and this is the Mandala for Yoga [depicted in] Gold-on[-purple]-Mud [drawn] by the Great Preceptor of Jianfu[si].
> Question: What are the features of this mandala?
> Answer: First you must set up a great circle and within it place five individual great circles. Within each one of these circles install the Thirty-Seven Venerables. The features of their seating positions are like that of the [figures in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm's central] Perfected Body Assembly. In the square outer court install every one of the multitude of the Outer Vajra [Family]. By way of a metaphor, [this outer court] resembles the walls that surround the four sides of a castle and some [of the figures in this outer court] hold banners, some clutch clubs, some hold halberds and some carry great drums. The masters and attendants among them cannot be counted. Well now, you must simply draw the main illustration as in the Jianfu[si]! [A note in smaller letters states: In total place seventy-three Venerables in the five individual [circles]. If you include their consorts, [then] there are ninety-three Venerables.]

See *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, vol. 4, pp. 1071-1082, esp. pp. 1075b7-1076a3. This work, in a question-and-answer format 問答 (*montō*), is a collection of notes wherein Enchin recorded his

Chinese masters' oral transmissions. The focus is mainly on the matrix tradition, for example, the structure, iconography and significance of elements of the Matrix Mandala, its use in ritual, and explanations according to its scriptural sources.

The title of the *Sanbu manda* has been taken from the first question about the format and families of the Matrix Mandala, but questions are posed and references are made to the contents and concepts in such Mahāyāna scriptures as the *Huayan shidi jing* 華嚴十地經, for example (p. 1071b3-7), as well as in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and certain chapters of the *Liqushi* 般若理趣釋 and *Liqujing* (pp. 1074b9-1076a16). It is within this section that the above passage about the gold-on-[purple]-mud mandala appears. There is mention of the significance of the rite of the *susiddhi* 蘇悉地 (p. 1077a11-15) and of manuals for the rite of contemplation and recitation (如如意輪十八道念誦。是無量壽議軌亦然) that relate to the rite of the *susiddhi*. Also the contents of Enchin's dreams (p. 1072b1-11, 1076b1-11, 1078b13-15) are recorded. The work closes with a final series of short questions and answers (pp. 1078b16-1081a17) on such topics as mudrās, mantras for entry into the Matrix Mandala and *samādhis* to be performed with mudrās, explanations of words in mantras, etc.

The dated entries in this work are not in any regular order. It is thought that later copiests assembled the content of both sides of separated sheets of paper into a single work. Moreover, because of numerous questionable and missing characters and mistakes, this work is thought to be the original form of Enchin's note-taking as he received his oral transmissions or a fragnment from his larger travel record. See Tajima Tokuon, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 108-109.

The above passage about this gold-on-[purple]-mud mandala is also found in the *Zakki* 雜記 (Miscellaneous Notes) in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1113a-1116b, esp. p. 1113a. This work contains a number of passages from works attributed to Enchin that were collected in Gōhō's *Rishushaku hiyōshō* 理趣釋祕要鈔. See also Ono Genmyō, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, pp. 496-497 and Sakai Shinten, "*Kongōchō* no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71 (October 1939), pp. 117-147, esp. pp. 118-119.

[43] These works are published in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū,* no. 3, pp. 1005a-1035a and 1037a-1069b, respectively. These two versions, as well as smaller documents thought of be parts of drafts in various stages of Enchin's research and copying of this list of questions also exist. One example is the *Zakki*, mentioned above. See Tajima Tokuon, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 246-247 (疑門 *Gimon*), Taga Sōshū, *Nihon daizōkyō*, Kaidai 3, Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, eds. (Tokyo: Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, 1978), vol. 99, pp. 54-55, and Asai Endo, *Jōko Nihon Tendai honmon shisō shi*, p. 403, who describe the history and contents of this work.

[44] See *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 1010b3-5.

[45] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 1042b5-7.

[46] Enchin inquires about this mandala in a section of questions on a number of Stages of the *Liqushi*. He has specific problems concerning the elements of visualizations, the iconography of mandalas and terminology, for example, in this text's Stages on Avalokiteśvara 觀自在會 (4), Mañjuśrī 文殊會 (8), Vajracakra 金剛輪會 (9), Gaganagañja 虛空庫段 (10), Sarvamāra-pramardin 摧摩段 (11), the Wheel of Instruction and Command of Trailokyavijaya 降三世教命段 (12) and the Outer Vajra [Family] 外金剛品 (13). See *Sasagimon*, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 1042b1-1043a1 and *Gimon*, ibid, pp. 1009b4-1010b5. Although there are slight differences in the questions in these two works, the content of the questions correspond. However, Enchin's questions concerning the gold-on-purple-mud mandala do not occur in the proper sequence in the *Sasagimon*. If the correct order of the *Liqushi* was maintained, questions concerning this mandala should have come after Enchin's inquiries about the mandala of the Outer Vajra Family (13), not between questions about the stages of Avalokiteśvara (4) and Mañjurśī (8). The sequence is correct in the *Gimon*.

Enchin's questions about passages in the *Liqushi* in the above two works differ from those posed in the *Sanbu manda* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1074b14-1076a3).

[47] See *Yohō hennen zasshū* 餘芳編年雜集 (A Chronological Miscellenea of Remnant Fragrances), *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1336a-1339a, esp. p. 1337a16-b5.

[48] Ibid, p. 1337b14, 15-16.

[49] 悝多僧蘖囉五部心觀 (Mentally Visualizing [the Venerables] of the Five Families of the *Ṛṭasaṃgraha*, hereafter the *Wubu xinguan*). See Appendix A, endnote 2 for its history.

[50] See *Hikishū* 批記集 (A Collection of Commentarial Notes), *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1284a and Ōmura Seigai, "Gobushinkan," *Bukkyōgaku zasshi*, vol. 3/8 (1922), pp. 661-666, esp. p. 661. The *Hikishū* is a collection of the contents of inscriptions, prefaces, colophons and notations found on the works and documents that Enchin returned with from his trip to China. The editor of the *Hikishū* records in a note (ibid, p. 1284a) following the entry on "the inscription on the *Wubu xinguan*" that the contents of this entry have been taken from the copy book of the Elder Teacher Kei 敬長師 and that the original and its copy 眞模二本 (*shinmo ni hon*) are secretly stored in the Sūtra Repository of Tō'in 唐院御經藏 (Tō'in Gokyōzō) in Miidera. Ono Genmyō (*Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, p. 499) identifies the compiler of this entry as the monk Naobayashi Keihan of Mii 三井の直林敬範師 who saw and copied the inscriptions on the original.

For the history and problems concerning the original Chinese work that Enchin returned with, its late Heian period (eleventh century) copy and other later copies, see, for example, Ono, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, 720-725, Takata Osamu, "*Gobushinkan* no kenkyū — sono kinyū bongo ni motozuku kōsatsu," *Bijutsu kenkyū*, vol. 4 (1953), pp. 139-173 and Yoritomi Motohiro, "Chishō daishi shōrai no bukkyō zuzō," *Chishō daishi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1989), pp. 489-516, esp. pp. 501-502. Two later copies of the *Wubu xinguan* are published in the *Taishō Zuzō* section. See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2974, pp. 75-148 for Elder Kei's 敬長師 late Tokugawa period copy in Mii Hōmyōin 三井法明院 (see Ono, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, p. 721) and for an incomplete copy by Onjōji's Zenkaku 園城寺法印禪覺 (1143-1213) that dates to the fifth year of Kenkyū 健久 (1194) and is in the collection of the Takefuji Family 武藤家, see *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2975, pp. 151-189 (esp. p. 189 for Zenkaku's inscription).

[51] A small note on a copy of this scroll in Daigoji states that this is Preceptor Faquan's Buddhist title 法号法全和上. See Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, p. 425. This note does not appear on the original work in Onjōji (see *Hikishū, Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1284a). Enchin received Faquan's transmission in 855, as recorded in Faquan's postscript on Enchin's *Shōryūji guhō mokuroku* (*T*.2172:1097a15-27), which he compiled on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the ninth year of Dazhong 大中 9 年十一月 (855). Enchin received from Faquan consecrations into the Matrix in the seventh month and the Five Families of the Adamantine Realm in the tenth month, as well as the conceration for the position of Great Master who Transmits the Great Teachings of the Five Families in the eleventh month. I discuss Faquan's transmission to Enchin in Chapter Seven of this dissertation.

[52] See *Hikishū*, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1284a. See also Yoritomi, "Chishō daishi shōrai no bukkyō zuzō," *Chishō daishi kenkyū*, pp. 489-516, who gives an overview of the iconography associated with Enchin and of the problems and past scholarship concerning this iconography. See also this inscription on the original in *Hieizan to Tendai no bijutsu*: Hieizan kaisō issen nihyaku nen kinen (The Art of Tendai Buddhism to mark the 1200 anniversary of the founding of Mt. Hiei monastery, March-November, 1986), entry 38 on page 152.

[53] Misaki Ryōshū presents a number of problems concerning the contents Annen records and the inconsistanies in his method of recording in "Annen no *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyogaku kenkyū*, vol. 16/2, pp. 572-579. Misaki documents instances (ibid, p. 579, endnote 2) in Annen's catalogue where he includes some of his own works, as well as those by Kūkai, Ennin, Enchin and Saichō; he records works that are listed in "the *Jōganroku* (*Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*)" 貞元錄, those that "had not yet entered the [scriptural] repository [according to the] *Jōganroku*" 貞元不入藏, those listed "outside of the *Jōganroku*" 貞元錄外 or "outside the inventories" 錄外; he records titles of works but does not note who returned with them nor what scritputal inventory he consulted; he records that (ibid, pp. 572-573 and p. 579, endnote 3) he consulted temple inventories at such temples as Bonshakuji 梵釋寺, Engakuji 圓學寺 and Gacchirinnji's Junna'in 淳和院月輪寺. These examples clearly show that Annen did not solely rely on the inventories of the eight monks who visited China.

There are problems (ibid, pp. 573-574) concerning such notations as "[the works that] Shūei returned with" 宗叡將來 and "[works] of [the monk from] Engaku[ji]" 圓學 that are recorded in different copies of this catalogue that date to different times.

Another major problem is that a great number of works that Shūei returned with are not listed in Annen's catalogue. For instance (ibid, pp. 574-575), the works recorded in Jōgyō's inventory (*T*.2163) and Annen's catalogue tally, but the number listed under Shūei's name in Annen's catalogue and the number Shūei lists in his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* do not tally at all. Further, the titles of the works listed in Shūei's and Annen's catalogues do not tally. Mizaki spectualtes that Annen might not have actually seen Shūei's inventory. Only seven works Shūei listed under the rubric "scriptures and ritual manuals" (*T*.2174A) correspond with those given in Annen's listing under Shūei's name. There are better relationships between scriptures and manuals that Annen listed and those listed in the second inventory attributed to Shūei (*T*.2174B) and in the Catalogue of Scriptures Etcetera [listed] Outside the [Official] Inventories 錄外經等目錄 (*Rokugai kyōtō mokuroku*, *T*.2175:1112b6-1113c11) under "[works listed] outside the inventory of [the] Zenrin[ji monk]" 禪林錄外. Because the manuscript of Shūei's inventory published in the *Taishō* has the character "New[ly]" 新 in its title and an appended note recording that "the works listed are those outside of the *Tōji hōmon roku*" 東寺法門錄中以外之者, Misaki suggests that (ibid, pp. 574-575) Annen may have consulted such a catalogue as the *Tōji hōmon roku*, which no longer exists.

[54] Compare *T*.2176:1131b11, 15 and the *Shōrai mokuroku*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 94. Kūkai does list (ibid, p. 87) a scroll in Sanskrit letters of the Sanskrit Names of the Venerables in the Matrix Mandala 梵字胎藏曼荼羅諸尊梵名一卷.

[55] Compare *T*.2176:1131b10, 2167:1084b27 and the *Shōrai mokuroku, Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 94. Kūkai does not give any particulars about this mandala other than to record that it was one painting on silk. Ennin, on the other hand, records that it was a line drawing on silk that was composed of three widths 一鋪三副苗. Annen also gives these details.

[56] Compare *T*.2176:1132a26-27 and the *Shōrai mokuroku*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 94-95.

[57] *T*.2176:1132a21-23 and 2167:1084c12-14.

[58] *T*.2174A:1111a19-20.

[59] *T*.2176:1124b1-2. Another example is the *Suxidijieluo gongyang fa* 蘇悉地羯羅供養法 一部二卷 (Methods of Offering in the *Susiddhikara*) that Shūei records in his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* (*T*.2174Aa23-24). Annen does not list Shūei's name (*T*.2176a11-15) under manuals with this title.

[60] For discussions about the endeavors of and reasons for the Japanese scholar-monks of the Shingon and Tendai schools to collect and compile ritual materials, see, for example, Sawa Ryūken, "Mikkyō ni okeru hyakubyōzuzō no rekishi," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 1-23 (republished in *Hyakubyōzuzō no kenkyū*, pp. 31-65), Tamura Ryūshō, "*Zuzōshō* seiritsu to naiyō ni kansuru mondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 42-6, esp. pp. 42-43, and Luca Dolce, "Taimitsu Rituals in Medieval Japan: Sectarian Competition and the Dynamics of Tantric Performance," Istvan Keul, ed., *Transformations and Tranfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond*, (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter Publishers, 2001), pp. 329- 363.

[61] The work, also known as the *Jikkanshō* 十卷抄 (Compendium in Ten Scrolls) and the *Sonyōshō* 尊容抄 (Compendium of the Venerables' Forms), is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006 and in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, Bekkan, vols. 1-10. The manuscript published in the *Taishō* is from the collection of Entsuji on Kōyasan and was copied by the Ninnaji monk Hōin Ingen 印玄法印 in 1309-10 (Enkyō 延慶 2 and 3). The *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*'s manuscript is from the collection of Naritaki Jōraku'in 鳴滝常樂院 and was copied in 1226 (Karoku 嘉祿 2) by Eison 叡尊, Genjō 嚴貞 and Zenchō 善長.

This compilation contains ten scrolls that are organized according to the deities' ranks and positions in the Shingon mandalas (*Genzu mandara*), beginning with the Tathāgatas in the center and extending to the worldly gods in the outermost court. For a description of this compendium's content and organization, see Raoul Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjūśrī*. A group of East Asian maṇḍalas and their traditional symbolism. (Society for the Study of Chinese Religions. Mongraph No. 2, 1983), pp. 39-45. The *Zuzōshō* is the earliest Japanese ritual source that both records data for the performance of the deities' rites, and includes illustrations of the deities, in most cases one per

deity. See, for example, Sawa, "Mikkyō ni okeru hyakubyōzuzō no rekishi," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, p. 10, Tamura, "*Zuzōshō* seiritsu to naiyō ni kansuru mondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, p. 53 and Shimizu Zenzō, "*Kakuzenshō* ni okeru kakukan no kōsei to sono seiritus katei," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 101-139, esp. p. 110.

The original of the *Zuzōshō* does not survive but there are a number of copies, and it is the colophons 奥書 on these copies that record the compilers names as either Ejū or Yōgen 永嚴 (1075-1151). For instance, a colophon on a scroll of a copy dated 1510 (Eishō 永正 7) in the Daigoji collection records the inscription of a copy made in 1193 (Kenkyū 建久 4) which records an earlier inscription dated to 1139 (Hōen 保延 5). This inscription states that in 1139 the former *Gonshō sōzu* Yōgen 前權少僧都永嚴 produced the work for the ex-emperor 上皇 (*jōkō*). Scholars have interpreted this inscription (Sawa, "Mikkyō ni okeru hyakubyōzuzō no rekishi," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 11-12 (reprinted in *Hyakubyōzuzō no kenkyū*, pp. 19-20), Tamura, "*Zuzōshō* seiritsu to naiyō ni kansuru mondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 45-66, esp. p. 43) as referring to the fact that Yōgen, a monk from the Hirosawa subschool, was comissioned by retired Emperor Toba in 1139 to compile this ritual collection. The attribution to Ejū comes from a colophon on the Jōraku'in manuscript dated 1226 (see 二楞生 [Ono Genmyō], "*Zuzōshō* to *Besson zakki* (1)," *Bussho kenkyū*, vol. 18 (1916), pp. 5-8, esp. p. 6) and on a manuscript dated to c. 1264-1275 (Bunei era 文永頃) that is in the Daigoji collection (see Tamura, "*Zuzōshō* seiritsu to naiyō ni kansuru mondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 45-46). It records that "Byōdōbō's [Yōgen's Buddhist sobriquet] Compendium in Ten Scrolls 平等房十卷抄 states that in truth Master Ejū assembled this."

The problem of attribution of the *Zuzōshō*/*Jikkanshō* is complex. See Tamura, "*Zuzōshō* seiritsu to naiyō ni kansuru mondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 43-52 and Sawa Ryūken (*Hyakubyōzuzō no kenkyū*, pp. 19-20). Sawa, for example, argues that Ejū was the compiler of this work because the Shingon monks Shinkaku and Kakuzen, who were active not long after Ejū and Yōgen, refer only to Ejū's work. I present in the text and endnotes of this chapter Shinkaku's use of Ejū's transmission ("Ejū observes" 慧什曰 and [according to] "Shōjōbō" 勝定房, which was Ejū's Buddhist sobriquet) in his *Besson zakki*. Kakuzen often refers to the *Ejūshō* 慧什抄 (Ejū's Compendium) in his *Kakuzenshō* and, as I have noted in the text, examples are seen in his scroll of the Five Mysteries. See also this scroll (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 165c) for such headings as "Ejū's image" 慧什圖, "Ejū's seal" 慧什印, "E[jū]'s Compendium states" 慧抄云, and (ibid, pp. 166c, 167a) "Ejū's explanation" 慧什説.

On the other hand, Shōchō, the compiler of the *Asabashō*, records in his preface (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 8, pp. 743c29-744a9) under the heading "Works that I cited from among the compendia" 抄中所引書 that he consulted the *Jikkanshō* (ibid, 744a9), the compendium of Tōji's Yōgen Sōzu 十卷抄東寺永嚴僧都抄. Examples of citations from Yōgen's work are seen, for instance, in the *Asabashō*'s Five Mysteries scroll (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, p. 231c7-9 and 234a4, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [ ], p. 166a2, 166b17, 171b8). I present the first two citations in the text.

For works authored by these two monks, see *Shoshū shōsho roku, Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, *Bukkyō shoseki mokuroku*, vol. 1, p. 170b-171a (Ejū) and p. 167b (Yōgen). For Yōgen's lineage and biography, see *Shoshū shōsho roku* (ibid, p. 167b); *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 血脈類集記, scroll 4, *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 103a); *Kechimyaku ruijūki* scroll 5 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, pp. 122a-123b); and the *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōroku kō* (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 293b-294a). For information on Ejū, see *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 4 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 90a) and *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōroku kō* (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 277a-b).

[62] This work is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007. Colophons on some of the oldest scrolls 古写本 have dates that range from 1162 應保 二年 (Ōhō 2) to 1172 承安二年 (Jōan 2). The original work 原本 is housed in Ninnaji's Shinren'in 心蓮院 and of the original 57 scrolls 10 were later additions. See Ōmura, *Bukkyōgaku zasshi*, vol. 2/6 (1921), pp. 185-187, who reported on the condition of manuscript found in Shinren'in, as well as Manabe, "Shinkaku to *Bessonzakki* ni tsuite – Denki oyobi zuzō "watakushi kore wo kuwafu" no shomondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 83-86 and Nishigori, "*Besson zakki* no kenkyū: sono seiritsu mondai wo chūshin ni shite," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 82, p. 48. Copies of these missing scrolls, which included the scrolls on the Five Mysteries and Rāgarāja (Aizen myōō), were taken from copies in other collections. The brushwork of the original is that of three different transcribers, showing that the recording of information was a collaborative effort. See Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 615-616.

Shinkaku, a monk from the Shingon's Hirosawa subschool, based his *Besson zakki* on the collections of four previous scholar-monks, who belonged to both the Shingon Ono and Hirosawa subschools. Nishigori Ryōsuke ("*Besson zakki* no kenkyū: sono seiritsu mondai wo chūshin ni shite," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 82, pp. 47-67) discusses the Shinkaku's masters, their works, and his method of presenting his predecessors' information. I have presented

Shinkaku's biographical and lineage information in Chapter Two of this dissertation. For details on Shinkaku's career and his *Besson zakki*, see, in addition to Nishigori's study, Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten,* vol. 3, pp. 2009-2010, Manabe, *op. cit*, pp. 67-100, and Bernard Frank, *Dieux et Bouddhas au Japon*., pp. 238-241.

[63] This work is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3018. The *Taishō* publication is based on a manuscript in the collection of Daitsuji in Kyoto, and the reference manuscripts are in the collections of Kongōsanmai'in (Kōyasan), Ninnaji, and Kōmyō'in (Kōyasan). The format of each entry in the *Mandarashū* is simple, consisting of a pairing of a citation from a text and an image.

Kōzen of the Shingon's Ono subschool was the author of a number of iconographic treatises: for example, see *T. Zuzō,* vol. 1, no. 2934 and 2935. See also Chapter Two of this dissertation for information on Kōzen's career and for the details about his tranmsission of the rite of the *Liqujing* that was recorded in Kakukzen's *Kakuzenshō*.

[64] This work, consisting of 136 scrolls, is published in *T. Zuzō*, vols. 4, no. 3022 (scrolls 1-56) and 5 (scrolls 57-136) and in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vols. 45-51 (128 scrolls). See Chapter Two of this dissertation for Kakuzen's relationship with Kōzen and for studies on this monk. Kakuzen lived first in Kannonji, spent his middle years on Kōyasan, and his later years in Jōdo'in, a subtemple of Kajūji. Kakuzen's career is detailed in Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 414, in Nakano Genzō, "*Kakuzenshō* no shomondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 162-171 and in Shimizu Zenzō, "*Kakuzenshō* ni okeru kakkan no kōsei to sono seiritus katei," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 101-139.

Kakuzen compiled a vast amount of information on the deities' rites, and carefully identified all past and current oral transmissions and written sources. His objective seems to have been to note all manner of textual and ritual variations he discovered both in the Tang transmissions and in the Japanese esoteric traditions. His sources present the major Shingon Ono and Hirosawa subschools of ritual traditions, as well as the traditions of such minor subschools as the Ishiyama. See Shimizu (ibid, pp. 117-125) who traces the lineages of the earlier ritual masters whose writings and oral transmissions Kakuzen consulted via their disciples and his contemporaries. These written and oral transmissions centered on the Ono subschool's Kajūji, Sanbō'in, Rishō'in, and Kongōmyōō'in branches. Kakuzen also sought the secret rites of masters outside of his own Ono subschool, and consulted the works and transmissions of masters of the various branches of the Hirosawa subschool. We see, for example, entries titled *Jikkanshō* 十巻抄云, 十巻抄有之, numerous citations from Shinkaku's *Besson zakki* (心覺抄, 心覺説, 心覺記, 以上心覺, 以上心覺記有之) and from Omuro Jōju'in Kanjo's 御室成就院寛助 *Betsugyō* and *Ojūhō* 御修法 and Jōrenbō Kenni's 成蓮房兼意, *Jōrenshō* 成蓮抄, as well as entries from the works of unnamed ritual masters who belonged to the Hirosawa subschool (仁和寺伝云, 御室御説, 廣澤云, 廣澤口伝). Kakuzen also consulted the works of Tendai esoteric masters, for example, Ōhara Sōzu Chōen (1016-1081) 大原記, 大原僧都長宴, Toba Sōjō Kakuyū (1053-1140) 鳥羽僧正覺猷, and a master called Sannō'in (三王院伝, 三王院記), whom I have not yet identified.

[65] This work is published in *T. Zuzō*, vols. 8, no. 3190 (scrolls 1-53) and 9 (scrolls 54-227) and in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vols. 35-41 (228 scrolls). According to colophons at the end of many of the scrolls, Shōchō composed this work between 1242 (仁治 Ninji 3) and 1281 (弘安 Kōan 4). See Kirihata Takeshi, "*Asabashō*: sono seiritsu to sensha Shōchō," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 182-205, chart on pp. 193-205.

Shōchō, a scholar-monk of the Ōgawa ritual lineage 小川流, a sub-lineage of the Anōryū ritual lineage 穴太流, assembled this work of Tendai esoteric ritual transmissions, having consulted the collections of his predecessors who belonged to a number of ritual lineages of the Tendai Sanmon subschool 山門流. For example, he consulted his Ōgawa master Chūkai's 忠快 (ca. 1189) *Mitsudanshō* 密談抄 (Collection of Secret Discussions), Chōen's 長宴 (1016-1081) *Shijūjōketsu* 四十帖決 (Oral Transmissions in Forty Notebooks), his recording of the oral transmission of Ikegami Ajari Kōgei 池上阿闍梨皇慶 (977-1049), the founder of the Tani ritual lineage 谷流, of which Chōen's Ōhararyū 大原流 (also known as Sanmairyū 三昧流) was an off-shoot, as well as Jōnen's 静然 (dates unknown) *Gyōrinshō* 行林抄 (Compendium of the Forest of Practices), a recording of the oral transmissions of rites of the Hōman branch 法曼流, another off-shoot of the Tani lineage that was founded by Jōnen's master Sōjitsu 相實 (1081-1165). Chōen dated each of his entries, compiling this work between the Chōgen era of 1028-36, the earliest date when he received Kōgei's teachings, and 1049 (Eishō 4), when Kōgei died. See Tajima Tokuon, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 191-192 (*Shijūjōketsu*) and *T*.75.2408. The *Gyōrinshō*, published in *T*.76.2409, contains a colophon dated 1145-1153. See Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 388 (Jōnen). As mentioned above, Shōchō also consulted

Shingon works, for example Yōgen's compilation (see endnote 61 above), as well as the works of Ejū Ajari 慧十阿闍梨云 (*Jikkanshō*) and Shinkaku Ajari 心覺阿闍梨私云 (*Besson zakki*). See Kirihata, ibid, p.188.

For information on the *Asabashō,* see, in addition to Kirihata's work, *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 15, Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 2122, Tajima Tokuon, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 1, pp. 4-5, Sawa Ryūken, *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 4-5, and Lucia Dolce, "Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 744-767, esp. pp. 762-764 and her "Taimitsu Rituals in Medieval Japan: Sectarian Competition and the Dynamics of Tantric Performance," *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in East Asia and Beyond*, pp. 336-338.

[66] The following articles were very helpful in developing this section: Sawa Ryūken, "Heianchō jidai ni yunyūsareta bukkyō eiga," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 6 (1950), pp. 26-38 (also reprinted in his *Hyakubyōzuzō no kenkyū*, pp. 99-123); Ariga Yoshitaka, "Hyakubyōzuzō sono denshōsei soshite shiryōsei to geijutsusei ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bijutsu daikan*, vol. 1, pp. 208-218; and Yoritomi, "Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō - tokuni *Rishukyō mandara* o chūshin toshite," *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, No. 15, pp. 495-539.

The *Zuzōshō* and *Asabashō* do not include the *Liqujing* in their scrolls of scriptures (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006, scroll 3 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, no. 3190, scrolls No. 70-82), but they do have material on the deities, especially the Five Mysteries, who are alluded to in *Liqujing* 17 and whose mandala is described in *Liqushi* 16 and 17.

[67] An inscription (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 165b-c) contains information concerning Kakuzen's compilation of this Five Mysteries scroll 77. On the eighth day of the fourth month of the third year of Juei 壽永 (1184) Kakuzen received the transmission of this rite from Dainagon ajari Obō [Ninsai 仁済] 大納言阿闍梨御房 and then later he recorded additional information from other tranmissions he received. In the sixth month of the same year (Genreki 元暦 1) he finished making a clean copy 清書 of this scroll. See Shimizu ("*Kakuzenshō* ni okeru: kakkan no kōsei to sono seiritsu katei," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 102-110) who classifies and discusses Kakuzen's methods of collecting and arranging information for the scrolls, and see p.138, note 9 for the Five Mysteries scroll.

[68] *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 159c3-12. Annen records (*T.*2176:1131b25) that Shūei also returned with a set of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* but Kakuzen does not include Shūei in this entry.

[69] Ibid, p. 159c6-7. Note that Kakuzen changes the contents of Annen's note (*T.*2176:1131b22-23) in his own appended note.

[70] Ibid, p. 159c8-12 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3018, p. 182b28-c and fig. No. 45. The image that Kōzen includes after this citation is interesting because of the attributes of the figure of Pride at Vajrasattva's left side. A note in small letters describes Pride's hand gestures and these are the hand gestures of Dance, the Outer Offering Bodhisattva, that are prescribed in *T.*1119(:511b24-25): "she forms a half-closed fist (*khaṭaka*) with her left hand and three flutters with her right, twirling and dancing them in accordance with the ritual. This is namely creating the attitude of striking with a flower." Kōzen records that the mudrās, as well as attitude of striking with a flower should be looked into. Pride's half-closed fist and attitude of "striking with a flower" reminds us of the figure of Rāgarāja, whose third set of hands holds "that" in the closed fist of his left hand and a lotus in his right hand. See also Hunter, "Five Secrets Mandala," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 116-117, illustration 4.

[71] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006, p. 297, illus. no. 30. The compiler gives no information about this Five Mysteries Mandala but its iconography does not conform to the *Liqushi*. See Hunter, "Five Secrets Maṇḍala," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, p. 116.

The Five Mysteries rite is included in the fourth scroll, titled "Secret Rites" 祕法等 (*hihōtō*). The information concerning this Five Mysteries Mandala (see Hunter, ibid, p. 116) follows the set format for the Esoteric Buddhist process of visualization of the deity as a syllable, then as a symbol (for example, as a vajra, a bow and an arrow), and finally as an anthropomorphic form. The compiler's focus in this fourth scroll is to record for the practitioner the methods for the correct performance of the rites in order to obtain spiritual boons, as well as such promised material benefits as long life, fame and fortune.

[72] Compare *T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, no. 3190, p. 231a20-25 and illus. 43. A lineage for this image is provided. Sōgen's version was copied from the version possessed by Ōhara Risshi (Chōen) 大原律師 who copied this image in 1046 (Kantoku 寛徳 3). Then Kensen 賢暹 copied the image in 1076 (Jōhō 承保 3).

[73] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [ ], p. 166a2. The *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* manuscript has the same information that appears in the the *Taishō* manuscript (see endnote 72), except in the entry a note has been added referring to the manuscript of Masanishi Keigu which does not have this illustration 正西雞倶此圖無之.

[74] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, no. 3190, p. 231c7-9, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [ ], p. 166b17-167a1 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006, p. 16c10.

[75] See endnote 61 above and Tamura, op. cit. pp. 45-48. A third reference to Yōgen's Compendium 永嚴抄云 in the *Asabashō*'s Five Mysteries scroll appears at *T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, no. 3190, p. 234a4, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [ ], p. 171b8).

[76] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 160b17-21. Here again Kakuzen focuses on an illustration of the Five Mysteries that was included within the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. A note in small letters records that this set was listed outside of the Zenrinji monk's official inventory. See Annen (*T.*2176:1131b25) who records under the heading "secret mandalas [listed] outside the inventories" that this work was introduced by Ennin and Shūei.

[77] *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 160b18.

[78] See the *Nihon kōsōden yobunsho* 1, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 101, p. 14b-15b, esp. 15b9; the *Honchō kōsōden* 7, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, 131a-132a, esp. 132a1; *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 851-2; and Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 339-340.

[79] See Sawa, "Heianchō jidai ni yunyūsareta bukkyō eiga," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 6, p. 34 (reprinted in *Hyakubyōzuzō no kenkyū*, p. 115), who reads Kakuzen's passage as recording that the illustration of the Five Mysteries that Shūei brought back is the same as that which is illustrated in the *Ejūshō*. The problem is that the image paired with this entry is the same as the images included in the *Besson zakki* and *Mandarashū*. As we have noted, Kōzen records in his *Mandarashū* that the Zenrinji monk returned with this image. This suggests that the *Ejūshō* may not be the present-day *Zuzōshō*/*Jikkanshō*, but such a statement is too complicated for me to attempt to defend in this dissertation.

There is, however, one more piece of evidence that requires consideration with regard to the compiler of the presentday *Zuzōshō*/*Jikkanshō*. Nakano Genzō ("*Kakuzenshō* no mikōkan zuzō," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 140-149, esp. p. 148) presents copies of Kakuzen's entries on the Five Mysteries that have not been published. Copies in the Sainan'in 西南院, dated to 1323 (Genkō 元亨 3), include an illustration of the Five Mysteries and an accompanying note on the back. The illustration is similar to the one that Kōzen includes after his entry on the Five Mysteries in Master Ejū's Compendium of Icons (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3018, p. 182c and endnote 70 above) in his *Mandarashū*. The differences are that in Kakuzen's sketch Vajrasattava holds a bell in his left hand and Pride at his left does not hold a lotus in her raised right fist but a weapon of some kind. The accompanying note contains information that we see in Kakuzen's scroll on the Five Mysteries (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3002, p. 159c3-12), which I have given in the text. Here the note begins with the same statement that Kōzen records (see endnote 70 above) about the features of the Five Mysteries in the gold-on-[purple]-mud mandala that he cites from the Five Mysteries entry in Master Ejū's Compendium of Icons. Kakuzen then records that

> My Teacher said that the Senpukuji (Jianfusi) mandala that Jikaku [Ennin] introduced is kept in the Scripture Repository at Ninnaji. Ejū made a drawing based on that version. Also he [my Teacher] added: Is the image that the Zenrinji monk [Shūei] introduced a drawing of the Senpukuji [mandala done in accordance] with the meaning of the *Liqushi*? Both [Ennin's and Shūei's] versions differ and one must inquire about this.

[80] *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 160 and illus. No. 43.

[81] *Besson zakki*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007, p. 297 illus. No. 123 and *Mandarashū*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3018, p. 182 illus. No. 42 and reference illus. No. 44, p. 238.

Shinkaku records (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007, p. 294c18-296a9) in the beginning of his entry on the Five Mysteries a visualization which is identified with small letters as that of Jōren'in 成蓮院. This indicates the transmission of his master Kenni. The information he then records (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007, p. 296a10-c20) for the rite of the Five Mysteries is, with very minor changes, exactly the same information given in the *Zuzōshō*'s entry (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006, pp. 16a1-c10) on the Five Mysteries. The difference is the iconography of the illustration of the Five Mysteries pentad that is included in each compendium.

[82] *Mandarashū, T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3018, p. 182a10.

[83] Compare *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 160 and illus. No. 44 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006, p. 16c and illusration No. 30.

[84] See Hunter, "Five Secrets Mandala," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 111-124 for a discussion of the of relationship between text and image.

[85] *Kakuzenshō*, scroll 113, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 524b21 and illustration no. 372.

[86] See p. 101 above, *T.*2174A:1111a11 and *T.* 2176:1131b28.

[87] *Kakuzenshō*, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [ ], pp. 27/1619-30/1622.

[88] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [ ], p. 28/1620.

[89] *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 2, *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 52a-b, esp. b6.

[90] Kakuzen also supplies an illustration of the figure that Kūkai penned 大師御筆; see *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [ ], p. 27/1619.

[91] See, for example, Genkai's *Atsuzōshi*, *T.*2483:271c3-6 and Jichiun's *Gempishō*, *T.*2486:389a20-23. See also Goepper's discussion (*Aizen myōō*, pp. 30-36) of the various attributes that Rāgarāja can hold in this hand and their meanings, which he cites from a number of ritual collections, including the *Asabashō*.

[92] The *Taishō* compilers have labelled this the Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa Mandala 大佛頂曼荼羅 (*Daibutchō mandara*), but the iconography of this mandala corresponds to the prescriptions given in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* 尊勝佛頂修遊瑜伽法軌儀, which is published as *T.*19.973. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3174-5 (*Sonshō mandara*) and pp. 3391-2 (*Daibutchō mandara*) elucidates the textual and iconographical differences between these two mandalas. The titles Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa or Buddhoṣṇīṣa are used as a generic name under which a number of Buddhoṣṇīṣa are subsumed. See, Hubert Durt, *Hōbōgirin*, vol. 3, pp. 148-150 (Butchō) and vol. 6, pp. 596-598 (Daibutchō).

[93] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007, p. 125, illus. no. 27 and p. 126, illus. no. 28.

[94] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3022, p. 531 and illustration no. 50, p. 533 for the Miidera version, whose iconographic source is *T.*19.973.

[95] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007, p.127a1-2 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3022, p. 527b7-8, entry on "the main deity" 本尊事. Shinkaku's reference occurs in his documentation of Shōgutei'in 勝倶胝院 (Jichuin)'s transmission. Kakuzen cites Jichiun's *Konpōshō* 金寶抄, that is, his *Hizō konpōshō* 祕藏金寶抄.

[96] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3022, p. 523b19-24, esp. 22-24 in entry titled "the figures of Mahoṣṇīṣa-cakravartin are not the same" 廣生佛頂像不同.

[97] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3022, pp. 526a7-8, entry on "origins of this secret rite" 祕法由.

[98] *T*.2174A:1108a26-27. The note states that this was translated by Śubhākarasiṃha. I discuss this manual and it prescribed mandala in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

[99] See *T*.2176:1119a14.

[100] *T*.2174A:1111a25 and sixth bullet, p.100.

[101] See *T*.2174A:1108b2 and *T*.867:259c26-264a29. I discuss this chapter of the *Yuqijing* in Chapter Six.

[102] *T*.2176:1131b27 and 1119b20, where Annen credits the introduction of this ritual to Ennin and Engyō.

[103] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, p. 399c where Kakuzen records: "The transmission of the last [monk] to go to Tang [uses] five eyes inside of a circle of light." 後入唐伝、圓光中五眼. See also Yoritomi's "Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō," *Naritasan bukkyo kenkyujo kiyō*, No. 15, p. 531.

Chapter Six: Characteristics of Ninth-Century Chinese Esoteric Buddhist Works

[1] On the concept of a "canon in use," see Ronald Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*: *A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, pp. 146, 152, and Kenneth Eastman ("Mahāyoga Texts at Tun-huang," *Bulletin of the Institute of Cultural Studies at Ryūkoku University*, vol. 22 (1983), pp. 42-69, esp. p. 44).

[2] Yoritomi, "Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō," op. cit., p. 522 and Shibata Kenryū, "*Rishukyō* to Aizen myōō," Shibata Kenryū mikkyō bunko (http://www.ab.auone-net.jp/~badra20/rishumandara.html, pp. 1-11, esp. p. 2) both give the *Damiao jingang daganlu Junnali yanman Chicheng Foding jing* (*T*.19.965) as this mandala's source. This work presents eight Buddhoṣṇīṣas and, although the names correlate, their positions around Mahāvairocana do not.

[3] *T*.55.2168A:1087c8, 2168B:1090a27. Eun's inventory is dated to 847 (Jōwa 14 承和十四年). Kūkai was the first pilgrim-monk to return to Japan in 806 with a copy of the *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqia yuqi jing* (*Yuqi jing*). See his *Shōrai mokuroku*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 82.

[4] See Engyō inventory (*T*.55.2164:1072b6), which dates to 839 (Jōwa 6 承和六年). Engyō notes that this work is also called "the Scripture of the Five Eyes and that it has been extracted from the Scripture of the Peak of the Adamantine Crown 亦名五眼經出金剛頂峰經."

[5] See Ennin's inventory (*T*.2167:1080c28), where the work is listed as a "chapter" 金剛吉祥大成就品 一卷, and Shūei's (*T*. 2174:1108b2), where it is listed as a "method" 金剛吉祥大成就法 一卷.

[6] Engyō lists (*T*.2164c2) the work as a "scripture" 經 and notes that it was translated by Śubhākarasiṃha. Eun records (*T*.2168B:1089b5) this work as a "ritual method" 法 that was translated by Śubhākarasiṃha, and Shūei records it as a ritual handbook 儀軌 (*kalpa*) also translated by Śubhākarasiṃha.

There are a number of reasons to suspect this attribution to Śubhākarasiṃha. One reason is that this ritual manual is not listed under Śubhākarasiṃha's name in the two catalogues of Buddhist works that were composed during the mid Tang Dynasty, Zhisheng's 智昇 *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (*T*.55.2154:571c27-572a3) and Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.55.2157:874c1-9). It first appears in these mid-ninth-century Japanese inventories.

Annen records in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* that this ritual manual was introduced by Ennin, Engyō and Eun. He does not mention Shūei's introduction of this work. See Chapter 5, p. 108 and endnote 99. Ennin lists in his catalogues a ritual manual for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa that was translated by Amoghavajra, as well as other manuals whose authors he does not give (see *T*.2167:1079b15,1080a28, for example), but he does not record a ritual manual for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa that was translated by Śubhākarasiṃha.

[7] See *T*.2167:1084c4,11; *T*.2171:1096c28, 2172:1098c20, 2173:1104a19; and *T*.2174:1111a11, 25. See also my Chapter Five, pp. 107-109 and related endnotes. Yoritomi, "Chishōdaishi shōrai no bukkyō zuzō," *Chishō daishi kenkyū*, pp. 489-516) esp. p. 494 identifies the mandala that Enchin records as one related to the rite of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa.

[8] *T*.867:259c27-260a6.

[9] The iconography of the figure of Buddha-Mother Buddha-Eye is described (*T*.867:260a6-11) as follows:

> At that time Vajrasattva, in the presence of All the Tathāgatas, suddenly manifested the body of the Mother of All the Buddhas 一切仏母身. She resided on a great white lotus and her body produced a radiance [like] a white moon, and a subtle smile [lit] both eyes. With her two wings [hands] placed at her navel and [appearing] as if having entered a trance of concentration (*samādhi*), she produced from all her limbs buddhas, as numberless as the sands of ten Ganges, and every one of these buddhas paid reverence, venerating whom the principle had brought forth. In an instant all [of these buddhas] were transformed into Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rājas 一字頂輪王 (Kings of the Wheel of Uṣṇīṣa [generated] in One Syllable). They [all formed] the mudrā of holding the wheel and their heads emitted light...

[10] The iconography of the mandala is (*T*. 867:263a16- 21) as follows:

> Having spoken these words, then Mahāvajraśrī, the mother, whom the principle had brought forth, explained the rite of drawing the mandala with figures. "Take a clean cloth, equal to the size of your own body, and draw [the figures of the mandala]. As for all the figures in yoga, draw their bodies in a sitting posture and the same size. In the center you must draw three layers of eight-petaled lotuses. Draw my body in the center. In front of me draw Sarvabuddha-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja 一切佛頂輪王 on one lotus blossom. He holds in his hand an eight-spoked, jeweled, adamantine wheel."

[11] The Chinese and Sanskrit names are, respectively: Sun, Taiyang and Āditya; Moon, Taiyin and Sōma; Mars, Huoxing and Aṇgāraka; Mercury, Shuixing and Budha; Jupiter, Muxing and Bṛhaspati; Venus, Jinxing and Śukra; and Saturn, Tuxing and Śanaiścara.

[12] Mahāvajraśrī, the Mother, continues (*T*.867:263a21-26):

> "Then turning to the right install the emissaries of the Seven Luminaries 七曜使者 (Saptagraha). In the second lotus court draw Vajrasattva in front of Uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja 頂輪王 and then draw the Eight Great Bodhisattvas. Each holds his fundamental emblem. Next, in the third lotus court, turning to the right, draw the Eight Great Kings of Adamantine Spells (Vidyārājas) 八大金剛明王. And in the four directions outside of the lotus courts draw the emassaries of the Eight Great Offering [Bodhisattvas] and the Four Gathering [Bodhisattvas]. All are crowned with lion crowns. This we call the rite of drawing the figures, and the mandala is also [drawn] like this."

Although the text states that the Eight Offering Bodhisattvas and Four Gathering Bodhisattvas in the outermost court are depicted in their anthropomorphic forms ("crowned with lion crowns"), only the symbolic forms of the Four Inner Offering Bodhisattvas are represented in the Daigoji Buddhalocanā Mandala. The Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas and the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas have been omitted.

[13] *T*.867:263a26-27.

[14] *T*.19.965. This is a Tang Dynasty translation by Dharmasena 達磨栖那 and it is first recorded in Eun's inventory (*T*.2168B:1090b3-4). While residing on Cock's Foot Mountain 鶏足山 in Magadha, Vairocana enters a special *samādhi* and, among a number of supernatural feats, manifests the appearance of gathering all Buddhoṣṇīṣas into his own body. This feat thus accounts for the title this scripture is given in Master Dharma-General's note. Further, Vairocana produces eight lotus seats for eight Buddhoṣṇīṣas who sit on these seats surrounding him. Vairocana then enters a second *samādhi* in order to expound a special ten-letter mantra, which so delights the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in the assembled crowd that they transform themselves into Eight Vidyārājas and each in turn expounds a special mantra. The Eight Great Bodhisattvas in this scripture are: Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī, Ākāśagarbha, Maitreya,

Avalokiteśvara, Kṣitigarbha, Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhī 一切蓋障, and Samantabhadra. See *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 7, p. 497a-c. The group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas in this work is the same group that appears in Amoghavajra's *Ba dapusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼荼羅經 (*T*.20.1167).

The *Damiao jingang daganlu Junnali yanman Chicheng Foding jing* gives the names of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas and Eight Great Vidyārājas but it does not supply any information about their figures. Unfortunately, we do not know the contents of the scroll on the Chapter of the Great Accomplishments of Vajraśrī that the pilgrim-monks listed in their inventories, that is, whether it was simply a copy of the ninth chapter of the *Yuqijing* or if it would have included more detailed directions for depicting the iconography of the figures in this mandala. The only mention of this independent version of the *Yuqijing*'s chapter nine is in Shōchō's *Asabashō* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, p. 77b9-10). He records that this chapter is exactly like the text of which it is a part. However, further research in other Japanese ritual compendia is necessary to verify this statement.

[15] Master Dharma-General's comment about the seven stellar gods suggests that there existed a ready source of information concerning their depiction. There are many works, both secular and Buddhist, for the Seven Luminaries, and the figures of these celestial bodies appear among the guardian gods in the outermost courts of the mandalas prescribed in numerous Esoteric Buddhist scriptures. See, for example, Shūei's inventory (*T*.2174:1111b21-23, c1), wherein he records, in addition to Faquan's *Gongyang hushi batian fa* 供養護世八天法 (*T*.21.1295), secular works concerning the Seven Luminaries and the Twenty-Eight Constellations. Hamada Ryū presents the Buddhist works on the gods that were introduced by Japanese pilgrim-monks, for example, Kūkai, Ennin, Enchin and Shūei, in his "Juniten gazō no kenkyū (2)," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 49 (1962), pp. 17-34. See also Hamada, "Jūniten gazō no kenkyū (1)," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 44 (1960), pp. 24-44, esp. his illustrations and charts of mandalas, beginning with Atikūṭa's 阿地瞿多 *Tuoluoniji jing* (*T*.901) and including a mandala based on Faquan's *Gongyang hushi batian fa*.

[16] The Buddha Eye is one of Five Eyes discussed in the versions of the *Vajracchedikā* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 that were translated by Bodhiruci 菩提流志 (*T*.8.236) and Paramārtha 眞諦 (*T*.8.237). See Senba Shōkan, "Butchōson to butsugen ni kansuru mondai – sono seiritsu wo chūshin toshite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 37/2 (March, 1989), pp. 626-629, esp. p. 627. See also *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 359a and *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 582c-582b.

[17] For instance, she proclaims the efficaciousness of chanting her Fundamental King of Spells 根本明王, enumerating the acquisition of such boons as a body like Vajrasattva and his protection, good fortune like the seven jewels of Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja and the propitiation of the negative influences of the astral gods. See *T*.867:260a25-b14, esp. a26-27, b9, b10-11, b11-13.

Two of the mantras that Buddhalocanā teaches (263c5-264a4) are addressed to the astral gods. These are Vajraśrī's Accomplishment of All Spells 金剛吉祥成就一切明 and the Spell whereby Wondrous Śrī Destroys All Constellations and Luminaries 妙吉祥破諸宿曜明. A third mantra, the Mantra that Accomplishes All Spells 成就一切明眞言 (*T*.867:264a5-27), calls on Vajrasattva to enable the practitioner to accomplish all spells, defeat all inner and external demons, and understand all matters, to name but a few of the boons he can bestow.

[18] *T*.867:260b21-22.

[19] The transmissions recorded in the *Kakuzenshō* and *Asabashō* are numerous and their contents are far more complicated than what I present here. This mandala requires a much more in-depth study based on this Japanese material. I acknowledge only those transmissions that allow the summary I have presented in the text. See *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, p. 394a 25-29, transmission of Ryōe 亮惠, and p. 398a21-23, transmission of Hōmu 法務 (Kanjin); and *Asabashō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, p. 68a25-b2, the Ōhara transmission 大原決 (Chōen) for the role of the Seven Luminaries, and p. 69c6-25 for an explanation of the meaning of the figural groups seated on this mandala's three tiers of lotus petals.

See also Lilla Russell-Smith, "Stars and Planets in Chinese and Central Asian Buddhist Art in the Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries," *The Worship of Stars in Japanese Religious Practice*, ed. Lucia Dolce, Special Double Issue of Culture and Cosmos: A Journal of the History of Astrology and Cultural Astronomy, vol. 10, no. 1 and 2 (Spring/Summer and Autumn/Winter 2006), pp. 99-124.

[20] The Eight Bodhisattvas and Eight Vidyārājas arise from Buddhalocanā's Dharma-Eye 法眼 and Wisdom-Eye 慧眼, respectively. The acumen of the Eight Bodhisattvas enables them to adjust the Buddhist teachings for sentient beings' comprehension in order to lead them to enlightenment. The Eight Great Vidyārājas, who perceive with their penetrating insight the non-substantiality of all elements of existence, manage and guide those beings who are difficult to subdue. See endnote 19 above for sources.

[21] Pol Vanden Broucke ("On the Title and the Translator of the *Yugikyō* (T.XVIII no. 867)," *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kinen*, (March 1994, pp. 212-184), esp. p. 200) conjectured that the *Yuqijing* might be a collection of fragments of Indian works that were translated into Chinese and compiled into one text, and that a guiding principle in the selection of these textual fragments was the concept of the non-duality of the matrix and the adamantine realm. In a second article ("The Twelve-Armed Deity Daishō Kongō and His Scriptural Sources," *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, Ed. Richard K. Payne (Boston: Wisdom Publication, 2006) pp. 147-159, endnotes pp. 270-277, esp. p. 149-150) Vanden Broucke writes that it is not known whether this text was a translation of a lost Indian original or was a forged Chinese work. Misaki Ryōshū also characterizes ("Butchōkei no mikkyō" 佛頂系の密教, *Taimitsu no kenkyū,* pp. 114-117, 126, 137-140; first published as "Butchōkei no mikkyō – Tōdai mikkyōshi no isshiten," *Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū* – Yoshioka Hakushi kinen (1977, pp. 477-499) this work as a forged text that exhibits the mixing of the traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* (*T*.18.848), the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.18.865) and the earlier *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* texts.

[22] In the Preface (*T*.867:253c19-255c9) of the *Yuqijing*, the Universally Illuminating Tathāgata of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界遍照如来 (Mahāvairocana), surrounded by the Four Directional Buddhas and the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas 十六大菩薩, Goddesses, who are the Messengers in the Four Gates 四門使者天女, and Eight Inner and Outer Offering Messenger-Goddesses 内外供養天女使者, states that he will explain the Adamantine Vehicle 金剛乗. In the following eleven chapters of the *Yuqijing*, this Tathāgata introduces to Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva (as in the *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* these two are interchangeable) and, by extension, the practitioners, deities and their practices belonging to this system of the Adamantine Realm.

One difference between this version of the Adamantine Realm and that presented in Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* is seen in the figures of the gate guardians. Here these deities are female, whereas in Amoghavajra's work they are male.

[23] In ch. 2 (*T*.867:255c19-256a3) Vairocana teaches Vajrapāṇi and other Bodhisattvas the special mantra *oṃ Mahārāga Vajroṣṇīṣa Vajrasattva jjaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ*. This mantra addresses the three deities Mahārāga, Vajroṣṇīṣa and Vajrasattva, calling on their powers, which quickly bring about the successful achievement of all yogic activities. This mantra is said to positively affect the mantras of the Six Families of the Buddhoṣṇīṣa, Tathāgata, Adamantine, Lotus, Gem and Action. Here the Buddhoṣṇīṣas, who belong to the Buddha Family in such works as the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, for instance, are grouped as a family along with the Five Families of the Adamantine Realm.

[24] A second example is ch. 7 (*T*.867:257c19-26). Here Vajrapāṇi expounds to an assembly of Bodhisattvas the mantra for the Yoga of the Essence of the Great Victorious [One], the Essence in One Letter that Accomplishes [the state of] Vajrasattva 成就金剛薩埵一字心大勝心相應 and describes the boons that this mantra practice brings about. The theme of this chapter is Fundamental Hindrance Born from Self-Nature 自性所生障 and it takes the form of Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, adorned with adamantine wheels 金剛輪 atop his head, beneath his feet, in both hands and at his heart. Vajrapāṇi explicates (258a14-28) the Method of the Adamantine Crown and [its relationship to] the Hindrance of Self-Nature 自性障金剛頂法. We learn that the only way to destroy Fundamental Hindrance is to keep intoning Rāgarāja's Fundamental Essence in One Letter 愛染王根本一字心. Constantly contemplating this letter *hūṃ* 一吽字, the master of mantra will reside firmly in the nature of vajra 堅住金剛性, completely become a substance of vajra 全成金剛體, his body firm [as a vajra] 同堅固身. I thank Nobumi Iyanaga for helping me understand this chapter.

[25] Ritual practices described in *Yuqijing* ch. 11 (*T*.867:266c28-267b4, 267b5-21) serve as examples.

[26] In ch. 6 (*T*.867:257b18-c17) Vajrapāṇi explains the method for collecting [the infinite virtues of] the four practices 四行攝法 [of benevolence 慈 (*maitrī*), compassion 悲 (*karuṇā*), joy 喜 (*muditā*) and impartiality 捨 (*upekṣa*)]. This

method requires two mantras that are addressed to Vajrasattva and his powers. These four practices, when successful, will enable the practitioner to achieve many supermundane accomplishments (*lokottara siddhis*). Some are, for example, to realize supreme enlightenment, which is the ultimate of accomplishments, to dwell in the meditative concentration (*samādhi*) of Vajrasattva and so give benefits and happiness to all sentient beings, and to attain in this lifetime the Adamantine Nature of the Adamantine Vehicle 金剛乘金剛性 and the position of the Great Adamantine [One] 大金剛位.

[27] *T*.867:257b3. The medieval Shingon Ono school, citing this line of verse, considered Rāgarāja and Buddhalocanā to be transformations of Vajrasattva. See Chapter Two for Shingon sources.

[28] In addition to figuring in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, Buddhalocanā is one of three Buddha-Mothers in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. She is the Buddha-Mother of the Buddha Family (see *T*.19.873:603c13-19), whose members also include the Buddhoṣṇīṣas.

[29] Senba ("Butchōson to butsugen ni kansuru mondai – sono seiritsu wo chūshin toshite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 37/2, pp. 626-629) presents passages from Atikūṭa's 阿地瞿多 *Tuoluoniji jing* 陀羅尼集經 (*T*.19.901) that provide mudrās and mantras for such figures as Śākya, Buddha of the Golden Wheel 釋迦金輪佛 (also Golden Wheel Buddha, Crown-Buddha 金輪佛頂佛) and Śākya-Buddhalocanā 釋迦佛眼, who appear as separate deities in the mandala constructed in this work. Further, the association of Bodhisattva Buddhalocanā with the Buddha Crown [generated] in One Letter 一字佛頂 is also found in Atikūṭa's work. Senba demonstrates that Atikūṭa's work is the origin of the deification of Buddhalocanā and the pairing of Buddhalocanā with the Buddha Crown [generated] in One Letter, iconological changes that are said to have first appeared in Bodhiruci's *Yizi foding lunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 (*T*.19.951).

Both Misaki ("Butchōkei no mikkyō," *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 112-145, esp. p. 125) and Senba (ibid, pp. 628-629) discuss the chapters in Bodhiruci's *Yizi foding lunwang jing*, which present Buddhalocanā and her powerful mantra, whose effectiveness resulted in her pairing with Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja. Senba (ibid, pp. 628-629) cites Bodhiruci's *Yizi foding lunwang jing* as evidence for the development of the role of Buddhalocanā and the power of her mantra. For instance, a passage in this scripture (*T*.951:227a) relates that the World Honoured One explained the Mother of Spells, the Great Vidyā of All the Buddha Eyes 一切佛眼大明呪母. This Spell, the Great Vidyā of Buddhalocanā 佛眼大明呪 can bring about subjugation and the successful accomplishment of the Spell of the Wheel [Turning] King of All Buddha Crowns 一切佛頂輪王呪, and it is also called the spell of the Mother of Families of All the Buddhas 一切諸佛種族母呪. This figure is the Mother who Bears and Raises All the Great Bodhisattvas 一切諸大菩薩生養育母.

[30] *T*.19.954A:310a25-28, see my Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission.

[31] See *T*.1003:612b11-15 and Chapter 4, endnotes 74 and 75.

The author of the *Yuqijing* may have been influenced by works being composed or oral transmissions being circulated within the Adamantine Realm lineage in India during the mid-late eighth century that came to belong to the Mahāyoga tantras. These tantras, composed ca. 750-850 CE, contain early examples of ritualized sexual practices. See Dalton, "The Development of Perfection: The Interiorization of Buddhist Ritual in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 32, pp.1-30, wherein he outlines the gradual development of tantric ritual technologies and systems in India from the eighth century onwards.

[32] See Misaki, "Butchōkei no mikkyō," *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, p. 138), who sees a *śakti* relationship between the two deities as a development of the relationship that Bodhiruci presents in his *Yizi foding lunwang jing*. On the other hand, Senba ("Butchōson to butsugen ni kansuru mondai," *op. cit*., p. 628) sees a *śakti* relationship between these two deities in Bodhiruci's work. Misaki also states that a *śakti* relationship between Rāgarāja and Vajrasattva is presented in *Yuqijing* ch. 5. (Misaki reads this passage (*T*.867:257b2-3) as describing Rāgarāja as "the wife 妻 of Vajrasattva and the Mother of All the Buddhas." The *Taishō* manuscript has the character for meditation 定 (see endnote 27) and so resulted in my reading of this passage.) According to Misaki (ibid, p. 138), these two examples are influences from what later came to be called the Supreme Yoga tantras, but this statement too requires further research.

[33] The Mandala Born of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion is outlined in the second chapter, *Ru mantuluo juyuan pin* 入漫荼羅具緣眞言品第二之一 (Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala), of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. The figure of this Mother is described (*T*.848:6c23-25) as residing in a deep meditative concentration (*samādhi*). See also *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2948, p. 646, No. 13. See Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 70-71, who traces the iconography of this deity to the figure of Bodhisattva Buddha-Mother, Eye of Emptiness 虛空眼佛母菩薩 who forms the Mudrā of Meditation and sits in *samādhi* in Bodhiruci's *Yizi foding lunwang jing* 不空羂索經 (*T*.20.1092:270b29-c1).

According to Yixing's *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*, this figure is called the Eye of Emptiness 虛空眼 (Gaganalocanā) and she is the Buddha Mother of Vairocana 毘盧遮那佛母. Yixing also states in his commentary that the origins of this figure is the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*'s chapter on the Buddha Mother. See *T*.1796:631c27-28, 28-29. Yixing is referring to Prajñāpāramitā, the deification of the teachings on the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*), the highest of wisdoms that brings salvation through enlightenment as to the unreality, that is the illusory character, of all factors of existence (*dharmas*).

This mother figure's understanding, or vision, of emptiness as the ultimate reality of all things is regarded as the source of all buddhas and bodhisattvas. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 1932c-1933a and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, pp. 4445b-4446b.

[34] *T*.867:260b25-263a4.

[35] This mantra is the first of the five that Buddhalocanā teaches in this chapter. See *T*.867:263b4-11 and Hatta Yukio, *Shingon jiten* 真言辞典, (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1985), p. 4, no. 5.

Buddhalocanā also teaches the "King of Spells in Five Letters that Hooks and Invites the Vajrākāśagarbhas who successfully Manifest Wealth" 成就富貴金剛虛空藏鉤召五字明王, which is the mantra of the Five Ākāśagarbhas. Its five letters *vaṃ hūṃ trāḥ hrīḥ aḥ* are also the five seed letters of the Adamantine Realm's Five Buddhas. See *T*.867:263b11-14 and Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, p. 121, no. 891. A Mandala of the Five Ākāśagarbhas is appended to the Daigoji exemplar (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 594, No. 19).

[36] *T*.61.2228:485a-504b.

[37] Scriptures and the *dhāraṇī* for this deity had become extremely popular in Tang China from the late seventh century onwards. Between 680 and 710 five Chinese translations of the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* (*T*.19.967, 968, 969, 970 and 971) were made of versions of the Sanskrit text, known as the *Sarvadurgatiparisodhana-uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī sūtra*. I am grateful to Henrik Sørensen (personal communication, June 3, 2004) for alerting me to the significance of these earlier scriptures and for providing me with suggested readings.

[38] *T*.848:52b13-28.

[39] See *T*.973:368c19-369b24, ch. two, Vikīrṇa's Mantra and Procedure for Recitation 尊勝眞言持誦法則品第二. In the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, the practitioner transforms the aggregates of his body and the elements of his surrounding world (the container world 器界) that have been produced through causation into those that are unconditioned, adamantine and indestructible. This he does by first burning away the conditioned aggregates and elements of his body with the letter *raṃ* and then by recreating his body, visualizing the letters *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ* of the five Buddhist cosmic elements earth, water, fire, wind and space on five parts of his body from his groin to the top of his crown. In this rite (*T*.973:369b15-16) he becomes the "wisdom body without taints" 無漏智身. The sanctified practitioner then goes on to recreate his environment, this time visualizing the letters for the elements in a reverse order, beginning with *khaṃ* at the bottom on upwards to the letter *a*. The manual provides (*T*.973:369b7-24) a second summarizing explanation of these visualizations, as well as diagrams. In a subsequent ritual act 道場觀, the practitioner will visualize the sacred world of the mandala atop this stack of purified cosmic building blocks.

[40] Compare, for example, *T*.851:91b29-c14 (letter *raṃ*), 91c16-92b7 (recreation of body by means of the five letters of the five cosmic elements), 92b9-22, 92c12-93a6 (visualization of container world); *T*.852:110b16-22 (*raṃ*), 110b23-c10 (recreation and five letters), 110c11-14 (container world); and *T*.853:146b5-11 (*raṃ*), 146b11-c1 (recreation and five letters), 146c2-7 (container world). This visualization is performed before the ritual phase of visualizing the

sacred site, either in the ritual phase of establishing the altar in *T*.851, or at the opening of the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body in *T*.852 and *T*.853.

[41] See *T*.973:371b19-c10, ch. five, Chapter on Vikīrṇa's Mantra and Practice of Five Wisdoms Yoga 尊勝眞言修瑜伽五智品第五, *T*.865:207c10-208a23 and *T*.873:302a11-c5.

[42] *T*.973:372a19-373b15.

[43] The composer has broken up the original five steps of this ritual act by performing the mantra for the first step, penetrating one's true mind 通達本心, in the final act of the ritual phase of offerings. Here (*T*.973:371b13-17) the mantra enables the practitioner to do such things as protect the five spots of his body and understand and quickly accomplish the deeds of the buddhas. In this Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite, then, the first step (ibid, 371b19-24) in the act of attaining the buddha body in five steps becomes that of cultivating the mind of enlightenment 修菩提心, which is actually the second step in the original process. The practitioner then goes on to perform (ibid, 371b24-c10) the third and the final fifth steps of the original process, attaining the adamantine mind 成金剛心 and the buddha body perfected 佛身圓滿. The important fourth step of the original process, that of realizing the adamantine body 證金剛身, is missing. For the titles of these steps, see Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T*.869:284c23), and for the significance of this fourth step, see Tsuda, "Critical Tantrism," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko*, vol. 36, pp. 201-203.

[44] The composer of this manual has allocated five wisdoms to each of the five steps but his method of allocation does not match the five wisdoms of the Five Buddhas of the Adamantine Realm, nor the mantras of the original process. See *T*.869:284c21-23 for the equation of this five-stepped ritual act with the five wisdoms of the Five Buddhas in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. First in order in this Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa rite (*T*.973:371b22-c10) is that of the wisdom of the great round mirror (the mantra is that of the original step two), then the wisdoms of the nature of equality (the mantra is that of the original step three), of the completion of actions (the mantra is that of the original step five), of wondrous observation and, lastly, of employing skillful means as the final aim. Further, the three Buddha Bodies have been assigned to the five steps of this ritual act. Step one signifies the *dharmakāya*, step two and four that of the *saṃbhogakāya* and step five that of the *nirmāṇakāya*.

[45] The mantras for the wisdoms of wondrous observation (*T*.973:371c4, see Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, p. 225, no. 1809) and skillful means as the final aim (ibid, 371c8, see Hatta, ibid, p. 218, no. 1750) are not in the original source.

[46] In this final step of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s formula for quick enlightenment (*T*.865:208a12-22), Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi realized himself as a Tathāgata, having visualized himself as a buddha figure while chanting a special mantra. Immediately after his empowerment and consecration as Tathāgata Vajradhātu by All the Tathāgatas (ibid, 208a21-b2), he, in the form of an "enjoyment body" (*saṃbhogakāya*; see Amoghavajra's *T*.870:288a10-15 and ibid, 288b9-24), manifested the mandalic reality of the Adamantine Realm in a pavilion on the summit of Mount Meru.

[47] *T*.848:1b25-c2. I have followed, but slightly modified by eliminating the Sanskrit terms, Tsuda's translation in his "Critical Tantrism," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko*, vol. 36, p. 183. See also his discussion of the world of reality, the omniscience of Mahāvairocana, ibid, pp. 182-4.

[48] See *T*.973:368b21-23 for reference to this story, and for this story in the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* (*T*.19. 967), see Paul Kroll, *Dharma Bell and Dhāraṇī Pillar* (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, Epigraphical Series 3, 2001, pp. 46-48). Although different Sanskrit manuscripts served as the source for the Chinese translations, the characters and events of this story are identical in the five translations.

In addition to the reference to this story and its characters made in the preface of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, there are other references to these characters and their story. I mention two below in endnotes 67 and 73. A third reference is in ch. seven (*T*.973:376b12-25), where a mandala is described, whose focus is the triad of Śākyamuni, Indra and Supratiṣṭhitā. This mandala also includes the Four Heavenly Kings and Yamarāja, characters who also appear in the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing*.

[49] In Amoghavajra's rite for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa, the *Foding zunsheng niansong fa* (*T*.19.972:366c2-367a21 and my Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission), for example, there is a single sequence of three mudrā-mantra pairs from the rite of the adamantine realm in a rite whose majority of ritual acts and mudrā-mantras sequences are from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. These elements from the rite of the adamantine realm serve the purpose of allowing a consecrated practitioner to perform the ritual phase of identification with Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa. In a second example, the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* (*T*.19.954A:310a25-26, Appendix B), for instance, Amoghavajra proposes three methods that the practitioner can use for identification with *Ekākṣarabuddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-rāja*.

[50] *T*.973:368b17.

[51] For the five circles of liberation, see *T*.870:288a13-23), *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 581c and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 1168c-1169b.

A second statement of correlation (*T*.973:368b17) follows immediately upon the above: "The Five Wisdoms 五智 constitute the Body in Five Parts 五分身." The "body in five parts" is that of the Universal Body (*dharmakāya*) of Mahāvairocana formed by means of the five letters of the five cosmic Buddhist elements. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 636c.

[52] These wisdoms are allocated to this mandala's Five Buddhas and their Families, as well as to the various levels of the practitioner's consciousness, and specific medatative practices transform the levels of the practitioner's consciousness into its corresponding wisdom. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1246c-1247c and *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 620c-621b.

[53] *T*.973:368b24-29.

[54] The one hundred and sixty minds symbolize the defilements that obscure the practitioner's innate mind of enlightenment. These defilements can be eliminated and the supramundane mind uncovered by overcoming the three erring attachments of the mundane world. This occurs in a process, also termed "crossing the three eons," whereby the practitioner eradicates layers of defilements from his mind by means of yogic practices. First he removes the layer of gross defilements and comes to understand the non-existence of self, then he gets rid of the layer of subtle defilements, which discloses the knowledge of the emptiness of all elements of reality, and finally the layer of extremely subtle defilements, whereby he abandons dualistic constructs that are ignorance based. See *T*.848:2a6-3b29 and Tsuda's explanation of the structure of the human mind and enlightenment according to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* in "A Critical Tantrism," pp. 184-197.

[55] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 796, No. 21 and *T*.973:375c17-376b9. Absent also are the flying devas in the upper part of the mandala. Trailokyavijaya and Acala become important in other versions of this mandala, for example, the version that Enchin is said to have returned with (see *Besson zakki*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, p, 126, No.28 and *Kakuzenshō*, vol. 4, p. 533, No. 50) depicts only Vairocana, Trailokyavijaya and Acala. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, p.3175b for a discussion of Enchin's mandala as a secret image and p. 3173a for a Shingon interpretation of the two figures of Trailokyavijaya and Acala.

[56] There are exceptions among the Daigoji figures of the Buddhoṣṇīṣas. The attributes and mudrās of all the figures to the right of the central figure of Mahāvairocana in the Daigoji mandala have been reversed for some reason. Vijayoṣṇīṣa 最勝佛頂輪王 should hold (*T*.973:376a6-10) a lotus topped with an eight-spoked jeweled wheel in his right hand, and Asnantasvaraghoṣa 無邊聲佛頂輪王 should hold (376a23-26) a lotus topped with a conch shell in his right hand. Jayoṣṇīṣa 殊勝佛頂輪王 on the left side of Mahāvairocana holds a vajra, but he should hold (376a18-20) a sword in his left hand.

The Buddhōṣṇīṣas' attributes correspond, on the whole, to the attributes of these figures in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* (*T*.18.848:35a) and in one of the most important of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* scriptures, Bodhiruci's *Yizi Foding lunwang jing* (*T*.19.951:247a-c). See Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, p. 133.

[57] See *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2948, p. 633), *Taizang tuxiang* 胎藏圖像 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2977, p. 197) and *Taizang jiutuyang* 胎藏旧圖様 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2981, p. 480).

[58] *T*.973:370b6 (ch. 2, Vairocana's mudrā in the visualization prescribed for inviting the deities into the sacred arena), 371c16-17 (ch. 5, instructions for forming this mudrā) and 376a2-3 (ch. 7, Vairocana's mudrā in the prescriptons for drawing the figures of the mandala). See *Genzu kongkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2958, pp. 893 and 955) and *Wubu xinguan* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. vol. 2, no. 2974, pp. 75, 93 and 110).

See also the preface (*T*.973:368b7-11), where homage is paid to the Adamantine Realm's four Buddhas, four Bodhisattvas, four Pāramitā Bodhisattvas and four Offering Bodhisattvas.

[59] See my Chapter Five.

[60] There are other examples of performances of the rite of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa wherein the mudrās and mantras for Vairocana derive from the two ritual traditions of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm. For example, Kakuzen records in his *Kakuzenshō* the August Transmission of the Great Teacher in his entry on the "main deity" 本尊事 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, p. 527a25-29). Here Vairocana's mudrā is the Wisdom Fist and his mantra is *a vi ra hūṃ khaṃ*, a variation of the special mantra taught in chapter six, Manifesting Siddhi, of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

[61] *T*.2174A:1108a27-28. And these reasons, as well as safety in childbirth, accounts for its frequent performance for the Court and aristocracy in the late Heian and medieval periods. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3172a-3174a for an overview of this deity's rite in the Japanese Shingon ritual lineage, and see for Tendai Esoteric school's *Asabashō*, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [ ], pp. 51c24-52a12.

[62] The two monks present in their scrolls numerous versions of the visualization of the sanctuary 道場觀 that their earlier Japanese masters' transmitted, as well as the diverse icons that functioned as the focus of their rituals and the varient seed letters, mudrās and mantras of these deities that they ritually performed. See *Besson zakki*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 122a2-c20, the Jōju'in 成就院 (Kanjo 寛助) transmission's entry on "the differing explanations concerning the seed letters, symbols and pictorial forms" 種子三摩耶形等畏説. See also the entry in Kanjo's *Betsugyō* 別行 (*T*.78.2476:139b10-140b9) because the correlation of the Eight Buddhoṣṇīṣas in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* with the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in Amoghavajra's *Foding zunsheng niansong fa* (*T*.972) that Shinkaku gives in his *Besson zakki* entry is not in the original. See also *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, pp. pp. 527a6-528b13, entry on "the main deity," and ibid, p. 530a15-22, a23-b28, entry on "the extremely different explanations concerning the main deity that is used in this rite" 今法用本尊頗有異説.

[63] See *Besson zakki*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 115c3, p. 117, the Jōrenbō 成蓮房 (Kenni 兼意) transmission, and *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, p. 529a22-23.

[64] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, p. 528a25, p. 529b28-29 and ibid, p. 530b5-11.

[65] Examples of seed letter mandalas based on the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* are in: Kanjo's *Betsugyō* where (*T*.78.2476, p. 138a15) the "Illustration from Zemui's manual" 無畏軌圖 has the letter *vaṃ* for Mahāvairocana and (ibid, p. 138b1) "the Great Teacher's Augustly Penned Illustration" 大師御筆圖 has the letter *a* for Mahāvairocana (see also *Besson zakki*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 120c, the Jōju'in transmission); Jichiun's *Gempishō* where an illustration (*T*.78.2486:399c1-13) has the letter *a* for Vairocana; *Kakuzenshō* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, p. 534) illustration no. 51 has the letter *vaṃ* for Mahāvairocana and Kakuzen records at the side this illustration that scroll three of the *Denjushū* states "this is the August Version in Yakuōji" 伝受集三云 薬王寺御本 (this image is in fact recorded in scroll 4 of the *Denjushū* (*T*.78.2482, p. 255c17-29), which is the transmission of Genkaku's master Kakui 覺意); and *Asabashō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, p. 54a, the letter *a* for Mahāvairocana.

Jichiun presents in his *Gempishō* (*T*.78.2486, p. 399c15-400a2) an explanation for the differing seed letters for Mahāvairocana. His explanation is based upon passages from two chapters (ch. 5 and ch. 7) of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* and the concept of the nonduality of Principle and Wisdom 理智不二. See also Mochizki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3172c-3173a.

[66] See Misaki, "Butchōkei no mikkyō," *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 135-136, who presents examples from chapters three through seven.

[67] See *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqie benzun zhenyan pin diliu* 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽本尊眞言品第六 (The Venerable's Mantra for the Performance of the Yoga of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa, Chapter Six), *T*.973:373b21-375c4. The attention given to these thirty-four methods clearly indicates that ritual success and its attainments, in this case, worldly boons, were of paramount importance. These boons include, for example, the elimination of one's own present and future transgressions, as well as the transgressions of those sentient beings who have fallen into the Buddhist hells and of those who have been reborn as hungry ghosts, animals and devas; the settling of disputes, for example, between kings, officials and soldiers; the cure of diseases and protection from such disasters as epidemics, wars, torments of flying *rākṣasas*, demonic spirits 鬼神 and fierce animals, crop failure, floods and robbers; as well as the attainment of such felicitous boons as long life, love, wealth and honor, virtuous children, a harmonious marriage, the conversion of unbelievers and the subjugation of evil demons and poisonous dragons. Supratiṣṭhitā and Indra figure in a few of of these thirty-four methods of accomplishments. See *T*.973:374b13-16, c8-17, 375a20-22.

The text states (*T*.973:373b20) that it will next clarify in detail the mandala and fire rite, but abruptly the description of these thirty-four methods begins. Scholars suggest that this section of chapter six is either misplaced or a separate work that was added to this manual. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4:3171c.

The ninth-century pilgrim-monks Ennin, Eun and Shūei copied and returned with scrolls whose titles contain reference to a separate set of rites for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa. Eun records in his inventory (*T*.2168B:1089a26-27) a scroll titled *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqienei biexing chengjiu sanshisi fa* 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽內別行成就三十四法 (Thirty-four Separate Rites of Accomplishments in the Yoga Performed for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa), and a scroll with a more simplified title, *Zunsheng biexing chengjiu fa* 尊勝別行成就法 (Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa's Separate Rites of Accomplishments), in his second inventory (*T*.2168A:1088a29).

Ennin lists in his *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* (*T*.2167:1083a11) the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni biexing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼別行 (Separate Rites on Buddhoṣṇīṣa Vikīrṇa's Heart *Dhāraṇī*), whose title is identical to the scroll published in the *Taishō* (*T*.19.974F). In *T*.974F there are thirty-eight rites, of which numbers one to thirty-four are identical to those in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*. The contents of T.974F, that is instructions for the method of drawing a painted image, the rite for setting up a three-dimensional mandala, as well as thirty-four of the thirty-eight separate rites of accomplishments are identical to material in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*. *T*.974E contains more elaborate versions of the method for drawing the painted image and constructing the three-dimensional mandala, but its thiry-five rites of accomplishments also correspond to those in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*. The difference in the number of rites can be accounted for. The contents of rite number 27 in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* appear as rites number 27 and 28 in *T*.973E. Manuscripts for *T*.974F and 974E are not found in any of the Chinese canons and the *Taishō* publications are based on Japanese manuscripts. These works attest to the popularity of Esoteric Buddhist masters' transmissions for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa's *dhāraṇī*.

Annen records Ennin's introduction of the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni biexing* in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* (*T*.2176:1119a18). Further, he records (*T*.2176:1119a19) that Shūei returned with a work called *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni bing biexing fa* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼并別行法 (Buddhoṣṇīṣa Vikīrṇa's *Dhāraṇī* and [appended] Separate Rites). Shūei records in his inventory (*T*.2174A:1108a29) a scroll titled *Foding zunsheng xin tuoluoni* 佛頂尊勝心陀羅尼 (Buddhoṣṇīṣa Vikīrṇa's Heart *Dhāraṇī*) and he adds in a note that this was a translation by Vajrabodhi that instructs on how to do such things as extinguish transgressions, eliminate calaminites, stop wind and rain and control evil doers, which are some of the themes of *T*.974E, 974F and the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s thirty-four rites of accomplishments. In a second inventory attributed to Shūei (*T*.2174B:1111c20), there is also a scroll titled *Foding zunzheng xin tuoluoni bing biexing fa lie* 佛頂尊勝心陀羅尼并別行法列 (Buddhoṣṇīṣa Vikīrṇa's Heart *Dhāraṇī* [in smaller characters] and Listng of Separate Rites).

For a discussion of these works and their dating, see *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 9, pp. 325-326, Hikata Ryūshō, "*Butchō sonshō darani kyō* shoden no kenkyū," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 68 (1938), pp. 34-72, esp. pp. 61-67 and Nasu Seiryū, "*Butchō sonshō darani kyō* no honyaku ni tsuite," *Taishō daigaku gakuhō*, vol. 38, (1952), pp. 13-28, esp. pp. 26, 28.

[68] See the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s ch. 9 on *Siddhi* (*T*.973:379c-12-380b3) and my Chapter Seven, endnote 83. In this chapter the compiler has set up a new system of ranked accomplishments whose contents are based on chapters of the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras*.

[69] *T*.973:377c26-28.

[70] *T*.973:378b18-20, b29-c3-5. I cannot cite a source for Yamāntaka 六足尊, also referred to as Daweide mingwang 大威德明王.

[71] *T*.973:378c6-379b3 and compare *T*.893:623c27-624a8.

In the west of this consecration mandala's second court (*T*.973:379a6-8, a28-b3) are such figures as the Buddhas of the Ten Directions, Four Great Arhats and Four Pratyekabuddhas and a group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas to the left and right of the western gate. This group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas features in *Damiao jingang daganlu Junnali yanman Chicheng Foding jing* (*T*.965) and Amoghavajra's *Ba dapusa mantuluo jing* (*T*.1167). Samantabhadra is missing but there is a Bodhisattva Holding Earth 持地菩薩, whom I have not identified.

[72] For example, Śākyamuni's family members include (*T*.973:378c19-23-379a1-3) Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Tathāgatatorṇā, Tathāgatajihva, Tathāgatadaṃṣṭra, and so on. Although more research is required, compare the *Aduli suochuan mantuluo* in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* (*T*.1796:636-640).

[73] Indra and Supratiṣṭhitā reverently kneel to the left and right of Śākyamuni (*T*.973:378c6-7) and ask him how calamities can be avoided, one's lifespan extended and *karma* that would lead to a series of seven rebirths in the path of animals eradicated. Śākyamuni enters the *samādhi* of eliminating hindrances and from his crown emits the *jayā samādhi*, whose form is that of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa. The worlds in the ten directions shake six times and the evil *karma* of all the beings in the six paths of conditioned existence is extinguished. These beings attain rebirth in the heavens and in the purified lands in the ten directions. This vision of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa also results in the eradication of Supratiṣṭhitā's *karma* that would have lead to his seven rebirths in the evil paths. See *T*.973:378c7-17.

[74] See *T*.973:379b3-23 and compare *T*.893:624a8-10, 10-14. While the identities of these gods correspond, their positions do not tally with the placement of these figures in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* or the *Aduli suochuan mantuluo*, nor with those illustrated in the *Taizang tuxiang*, *Taizang jiutuyang* or the *Genzu mandara*.

[75] *T*.973:379b27-29. The five marchmounts and the four mighty rivers mark China's boundaries, delimiting the known universe. The mythical Five Emperors reside in these mountains, where they maintain registers of life and death. Holy scriptures are also hidden there and Daoist immortals take up residence there. Reference here is also made to the theme of the sovereign's tour of his empire to inspect its boundaries. His excursion quells wild forces, bringing order and civilized law and proclaiming imperial virtues. See Isabella Robinet, *Taoist Meditation*: *The Mao-shan Tradition of Great Purity*, Suny series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture, Norman J. Girardot and Julian F. Pas trans. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), pp. 180-185.

[76] *T*.973:379b29-c1.

[77] Indigenous Chinese motifs are also added to the rain-making mandala, which is explained in ch. 11 of this manual. See *T*.973:381b20-21, c14-17.

Hikata ("*Butchō Sonshō daranikyō* shoden no kenkyū," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 68, p. 60) suggests that this work is an assemblage of recorded oral transmissions.

[78] A new deity Ranai wang 染愛王 (addressed as Mahārāja in the mantra) is presented in Chapter 2 (*T*.867:255c12-256a320-25).

[79] Other examples of new deities are Rāgavidyārāja 愛染明王 (Aizen Myōō), presented in chapter 5 (and considered in the Shingon school to be the female version of Ranai wang who was introduced in chapter 2) and the twelve-armed Dazhuanlun wang 大轉輪王 in chapter 8. See Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*: *The Esoteric King of Lust, An iconological Study* (*Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 39. Zūrich: Artibus Asiae and Museum Rietberg, 1993) and Pol Vanden Broucke, "The Twelve-Armed Deity Daishō Kongō and His Scriptural Sources" in *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, pp. 147-159.

[80] In Chapter 8 the Tathāgata manifests Dazhuanlun wang 大轉輪王, the figure with twelve arms mentioned in the endnote above, whose fundamental mantra can destroy all Buddhoṣṇīṣas (*T*.867:258b10-17), and ends this chapter (*T*.867:259c1-13) expounding for Vajrapāṇi a secret rite called the Five Yogas.

[81] *T*.2174A:1109c. This ritual manual is published in *T*.21.1295:380a-382c.

[82] *T*.2176:1128c28-1129a-1.

[83] See Hamada Ryū, "Jūniten gazō no kenkyū," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 44 (1960), pp. 24-44 who, in his presentation of the historical development of the directional gods, has included diagrams of mandalas with the positions of these gods marked.

[84] *T*.2174A:1109c.

[85] *T*.1295: 380a12-28. These sections are not clearly distinguishable, because passages are repeated (*T*.1295:380c12-19, 381a15-23, 382a19-27, etc). Perhaps these repetitions are the result of frequent copying.

[86] *T*.1295:380b1-c11.

[87] *T*.1295:380c20-381a14, a24-b16.

[88] *T*.1295:381b17-c18.

[89] *T*.1295:382a5-18.

[90] *T*.2176:1128c28-1129a-1. See Hamada Ryū, "Jūniten gazō no kenkyū," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 49 (1962), pp. 17-34, especially pages 19-20.

[91] Compare *T*.1295:380a11-12 and *T*.895:731b25. The manual's opening statement is: The *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra* states as follows: If the mantra practitioner daily performs offerings to the gods who protect the directions, then there will be no calamaties.

[92] *T*.1295:380a12-18 and 908:919a29-b8.

[93] *T*.1295:380a19-28 and 895:731b2-23. These are the eight gods of the four cardinal, Indra (Śakra), Yama, Varuṇa, Vaiśravaṇa, and four intermediate directions, Agni, Nirṛiti (Rakṣa), Vāyu, Īśāna, and the two gods of the zenith, Brahmā, and nadir, the earth-dwelling spirit-kings 地居所有諸大神王.

[94] *T*.1295:380b2-c11.

[95] Āditya is master of the Seven Luminaries and Candra of the Twenty-Eight Constellations. See *T*.1295:382b5.

[96] Hamada Ryū, "Jūniten gazō no kenkyū," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 44 (1960), pp. 24-44, especially pages 27-40.

[97] See such examples as *T*.1295:380c21 for the mantra chanted when offering purified water and *T*.908:917c9-10 for the mantra of perfumed water for performing purification; *T*.1295:381a26 for using Indra's mantra, which is from *T*.908:919b18-20, when offering perfumed water from a purified vessel on a leaf; and phrases for performing acts of offering in *T*.1295:381a24, 27-b9 that have been taken from *T*.908:919b8-17.

[98] For the gods and their mudrās and mantras, compare *T*.1295:380b2-c11, 853:160c3-163a5 and 848:7c-8a; for the offerings see 1295:380c22-381a14, 853:150b-c, 848:50b, 850:67b-68a and 851:97a-c.

[99] *T*.1295:381b17-c4 and 895:731a17-b25. In the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra* (ch. 10) the presentation of offerings to all the demons and spirits (731a17-b2) occurs first and then, on a separate day, the practitioner is to summon and perform offerings (895:731b2-23) to the ten directional gods. Faquan has changed the order of these two ritual performances. See endnote 90 above.

[100] See *T*.1295:382a5-15 for this section of the manual, and comapre *T*.908:919b2-3 and *T*.1295:382a6. The description of Acalanātha is on ibid, 382a9-15.

[101] *T*.909:924a11-14. Annen records this work in his catalogue (*T*.2176:1129a16) and notes that Shūei returned with it. There are inconsistancies in this section of the expanded version. The work prescribes the iconography (*T*.909:923b4-29, 924a6-19) of the eight directional gods but not for Brahmā, Pṛthivī, the Seven Luminaries or the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions. The description of a four-armed Acalanātha (ibid, 924a11-14) is inserted between the mantras for Brahmā and Pṛthivī. Hamada Ryū (*Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 49, p, 19) suggests that these descriptions in *T*.909 were later additions.

[102] See, for example, the ritual acts in Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding yuqiezhong luchu niantong jing* (*T*.866:248b22-c6 and 251a9-29) wherein mantra offerings are made to the eight directional gods, and wherein directions for construction of the consecration altar are given using the names of the eight directional gods. See also the instructions for laying out the Mandala Born of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s second chapter (*T*.848:6b24-c2), wherein directions, for instance that of Vāyu in the northwest and Agni in the southwest, are also specified by using the names of the eight directional gods.

[103] *T*.2176:1129a19. An inscription at end of the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* manuscript published in the *Taishō* states as follows (*T*.912:934c7-12):

> This manual is the composition of *Ācārya* Faquan [and it provides] the essential procedure for the *homa* [rite]. This was introduced by Jikaku daishi [Ennin]. (smaller letters: [Annen's] Secret Record says that it was not included in En[nin's official] Inventory.) Nevertheless, it is a copy and there are numerous mistakes. I have corrected the places that were missing, and this has taken a long time. I bring out [this ritual manual] and all those who possess knowledge should correct it again.
>
> This is a day in the sixth month of the lunar calendar 季夏 of the reign era Genbun 元文 (1736), when the constellations are violently unsettled and unlucky events occur one after the other. The drought is extraordinary and it is just as though we are in a basket steamer.
>
> During the day I lecture on *siddhaṃ* and at night I work on [manuscript] revisions. I do nothing but exert myself unsparingly, and this I do for the sake of [Buddha's] teachings.
>
> Mutō 無等 of Buzan's Hase[dera] 豊山長谷 wrote [this].

[104] *T*.2174A:1109b7.

[105] *T*.912:929a16-930b16.

[106] *T*.912:930b17-931b12.

[107] *T*.912:931b13-934a18.

[108] *T*.912:934a19-c5.

[109] *T*.912:929a16-930b16. First there is a brief summary of the activities to be carried out during the seven-day period and then the activities of the first two days are detailed.

[110] *T*.848:4c1-8c6 and *T*.1796:617a-635c21.

[111] A number of texts describe this rite and all have variations but the basic steps are: (1) selecting and purifying a site; (2) coating the earth with scented mud and cow dung; (3) burying precious objects such as the five jewels and the five grains; (4) adorning the now sacred site; and (5) drawing the images of the figures of the mandala. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 1914.

One major difference, for example, is the day on which the mandala platform is to be constructed. The *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* stipulates that from the third day onward the practitioner begins to set up the mandala.

First he establishes its size and location and marks with sandalwood paste the positions of the Venerables in the mandala. Then he constructs this sandalwood mandala by making a circular altar and fixing the positions of Mahāvairocana and the surrounding eight deities. He visualizes them and makes offerings to them. See *T*.1796:622a27-623b13. According to the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 975b these activities are to be performed on the third and fourth days, respectively. From sunset of the seventh day the practitioner constructs the entire mandala, drawing the deities of the mandala in detail. See *T*.1796:630a2-635c21.

In the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* (*T*.912:929a17-19, 24), on the other hand, the practitioner erects the mandala on the second day. On this day he is to establish the positions of the deities of the matrix mandala, and with sandalwood paste mark the positions of the five Buddhas and the four Bodhisattvas in the central court. The positions of the remaining deities are established on the evening of the sixth day.

[112] Compare *T*.912:929b11-23 and *T*.848:4c4-13.

[113] *T*.912:929c2-24 and *T*.1796:619a21-c25 and 23b2-4.

[114] *T*.912:930b3-4, *T*.848:6c17-19.

[115] *T*.912:930b6-10 and *T*.1796:623a9-13.

[116] *T*.848:42c25-44a8. In the scripture, Vairocana enumerates for Vajrapāṇi's benefit the external *homa*'s twelve fires 十二火, the true nature of which he himself has only come to understand since his attainment of enlightenment. Vairocana's motive is to contrast these twelve Buddhist fires with the fourty-four fires of the Vedic tradition. This chapter begins with Vairocana's discussion (*T*.848:43b10-c4) of the fourty-four fires of the Vedic tradition and then he goes on to clarify the twelve fires of the Buddhist tradition. Michel Strickmann provides a detailed discussion of these fires in his "Homa in East Asia," *Agni*: *The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar* (Frits Staal, ed. 2 vols. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), pp. 418-455, especially pp. 438-443.

Vairocana then elucidates the internal *homa*, a fire of a higher order than the twelve external fires because it is contemplated internally. This inner fire burns away all *karma*, discriminations and false perceptions, and so brings forth the pure mind of enlightenment. See *T*.848:43c5-6, 44a1-8 and Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," pp. 438-443.

[117] First he introduces (*T*.912:930b26-c4) the internal *homa*, furnishing his own definition of this *homa*:

> What we call internal *homa* is, namely, the attainment of liberation when we eliminate *karma* from which all sentient beings have arisen. The ability to burn off this original *karma* is what we call the mind of enlightenment. This we designate internal *homa*. The worldly fire burns all things, turning them into ashes, but this [fire of internal *homa*] is not the same. Because of our exceedingly acute wisdom, [this internal fire] burns all defilements (*kleśa*), and like the fire [that occurs] during the *kalpa* of destruction 劫燒之火, nothing remains behind.

The author also gives an interpretation of Vairocana's declaration concerning the true meaning of the internal *homa*: "the three parts [deity, fire and practitioner] are united to form one." (See *T*.848:43c6 and Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," *op. cit*., pp. 443-444.) His interpretation of Vairocana's pronouncement includes the main points of the long explanation in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*.

> The three parts [are of] the same body. The great [mandala] platform is, namely, the [hearth for] *homa*, and the *homa* [hearth] is our very body. Our body is, namely, Agni [god of the fire] and Agni is Mahāvairocana. The [mysteries of] body, speech and mind unite, [and forming] three equalities 三平等 [of deity, fire and practitioner], there are no differences.

Compare *T*.912:930c5-8, *T*.848:43c6 and *T*.1796:781c16-29.

The author concludes his interpretation (*T*.912:930c9-12) of the internal fire rite with the statement that performance of this fire rite results in the practitioner's oneness with the Buddhist cosmos and Mahāvairocana.

[118] For example, Vairocana's description (*T*.848:43b17-18) of the second of the twelve fires is as follows: The second [fire] is called Fullness of Action. Shining everywhere, [he is like] the light of the autumn moon. He is within an auspicious disk and has a pearl-adorned chignon and a pure white garment. I have consulted Strickmann's translation

in "Homa in East Asia," p. 438.

Our author embellishes the portrait of the second fire with information from the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* (*T*.912:931a3-8 and*T*.1796:780c18-781a9):

> The second is the Fire of the Fullness of Action. His form is like the autumn moon and his brilliance emanates everywhere. His body and robe are pure white in color, and [residing] within a mandala of a lunar disk, he holds a pearl and vase (*kuñḍikā*). He eliminates [disasters caused by] water, fire, insects and frost, diseases of the bodies of oneself and others, manifold evil calamities, [as well as] the unsettled minds that have continued until now. This fire can purge and eradicate [all these obstacles].

[119] *T*.848:31b1-20.

[120] *T*.912:929b5-10.

[121] *T*.848:31b14-18.

[122] *T*.912:930c11-22.

[123] *T*.848:10a24-25, 20b10, 21a25-29, for example, and *Mikkyō daijiten,* vol. 1, p. 17c.

[124] See, for example, *T*.848:31a25-29 and *Mikkyō daijiten,* vol. 2, pp. 593a-c, 651c.

[125] Examples are the shape and size of the hearth, and the disk that is placed at the bottom of the hearth (*T*.912:931c21-23 and *T*.18.893:621b26-27, 612c15-16); the use of Kuñḍalī's mantra and mudrā of protection (*T*.912:932a3 and *T*.893:621c4-5); the injunction that the hearth for the fire rite is to be set up outside, but opposite, the mandala inside the ritual practice hall (*T*.912:932a11 and *T*.893:621b27-29); the placement of offerings of incense, flowers and wood on the right side of the hearth and the ladles, empty utensils and materials used in the fire rite (ghee, honey, oil) on the left side of the hearth (*T*.912:932b13-15 and *T*.893:621b29-c1 and *T*.908:917c4-8); and the invitation and mantra to Agni to descend into the hearth (*T*.912:932a25-b4 and *T*.893:621c6-13).

[126] *T*.912:934b1-c5 and *T*.18.895:726b20-c28. The author has paraphrased this passage from the *Subāhuparipṛcchā sūtra*, enumerating sixty-three of the seventy-five auspicious signs given in this text.

[127] See Michel Strickmann's "Homa in East Asia" for a discussion of some of these texts.

[128] These prescriptions include the shapes of the hearths and the objects that are to be placed on the bottom of the hearths, the times of performance of the rite, the directions that practitioner is to face and his poses, the colors of hearths and the practitioner's garments, and the placement of offerings and utensils.

[129] Examples are the mudrā and mantra of the spade (*T*.912:930a10-12 and *T*.908:917b19-21), those of the water offered to Agni to rinse his mouth (*T*.912:932b9-12 and *T*.908:917c11-14) and the mantra to summon Agni (*T*.912:932a29-b4 and *T*.908:918a10-14), which is also found in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s chapter 25, *Homa* Prescriptions (*T*.18.893:621c9-13).

[130] *T*.912:933a19-24 and *T*.908:918b27-c2, and *T*.912:933c12-15 and *T*.908:918c14-16.

[131] There are numerous differences between the two works. One example is that there are five types of fire rites (*T*.908:916a13, 18-19, 27-29) in Amoghavajra's manual and, although the author of this manual names the same five rites (*T*.912: 931b17-19), he presents in detail only four. A second example is that Amoghavajra's handbook divides the fire rite into the three sections of evocation of and homage to Agni, to the buddhas and bodhisattvas and to the worldly gods of the ten directions, whereas this manual has five sections, that of Agni, the astral gods (sun, moon, planets, stars and constellations), the main deity to whom the rite is dedicated, those beings in the paths of conditioned transmigratory existence who have extinguished evil 滅悪趣, and the gods of the eight directions.

[132] See my discussion of Amoghavajra's handbook in Appendix B.

Chapter Seven: Faquan's Transmission

[1] See Misaki, "Taimitsu no *soshitsuji* ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 10/1 (1962), pp. 217-220, "Taimitsu no *jūhachidō* ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 11/2 (1963), pp. 445-450, "Tomatsu no mikkyō to soshitsuji," *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū* (Kōyasan daigakuhen, 1965), pp. 255-279. Most of these articles have been collected into the *Taimitsu no kenkyū (*Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988). See also Chen, *Crossfire*: *Shingon-Tendai Strife as Seen in Two Twelfth-century Polemics, with Special References to Their Background in Tang China*, Studia Philologica Buddhica Monography Series 25 (Tokyo: The International Instutite for Buddhist Studies, 2010).

[2] Haiyun states that he documents the transmission of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* through eight generations of monks (*T*.51.2081:785b27-29) and that of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* through seven generations (*T*.2081:787a27-28). The first scroll contains an account of the transmission from teacher to disciple of the teachings of the *Jingangjie dajiaowang jing* 金剛界大教王經 (Scripture of the King of the Great Teachings of the Adamantine Realm), which he wrote on the twentieth day of the eighth month 仲秋 of the eighth year of Yonghe 永和 (834).

[3] Haiyun does not give the title of this text, but because he continues to discuss the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* in the next paragraph, here he is referring to the extended version of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. Haiyun explains earlier in his work that the extended versions of these scriptures consisted of one hundred thousand stanzas. See 784b26-c14 where he discusses the versions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and 784c for his discussion of the versions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

[4] *T*.2081:786c2-14.

[5] *T*.2081:786c23-787a10.

[6] *T*.2081:787a25-29.

[7] The concept of the teachings in three categories does not appear in the *Bizangji* 祕藏記, which is an oral transmission within Huiguo's lineage. See my discussion of this work (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 2a: the Three Families and the Five Families, 9a-b: mothers of the Three Families) in Chapter Three. For studies on the date of the *Bizangji*, see Chapter Three, endnotes 64 and 71.

[8] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, p. 249b6 (the monk Huaiqing's 懷慶 report 249a15-b6 about those in the capital who are learned in secret methods 祕法), 256b3. See also Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*. *The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1955), pp. 289, 315.

[9] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, pp. 251a3-5, 252b16-253a1 and Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, pp. 294, 302.

[10] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, pp. 254a6-12, 254b12-13, and Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, 306, 307-308.

[11] *T*.2081:787a1-10.

[12] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, p. 249b2-3 (Huaiqing's report about those in the capital who are learned in esoteric studies), and Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, p. 289.

[13] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, p. 255b6-7 and Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, p. 311.

[14] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, p. 256b3-5 and Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, p. 315.

[15] Ennin petitioned the court in Kajō 嘉祥 3 (850) to be allowed to establish on Hieizan the specialized studies of the

Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha and the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. See Fukuda Gyōei, *Tendaigaku gairon* (Tokyo: Nakayama shobō busshorin, 1954), p. 294, Shimizutani Kyōjin, *Tendai mikkyō no seiritsu ni hanasuru kenkyū* (Tokyo: Bunichi shuppan kabushiki gaisha, 1972), p. 118, and Kiuchi Gyōō, *Tendai mikkyō no keisei — Nihon Tendai shisōshi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Keisuisha, 1984), pp. 283-284. Ennin thus sought to enlarge the program of studies of Esoteric Buddhism on Hieizan that had first been set up by its founder Saichō. Saichō had petitioned Emperor Kanmu to allow him to introduce, along with the study of the *Mohezhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (*Makāshikan*), the specialized study of Vairocana 遮那業 (*Shanagō*), which focused exclusively upon the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. See Fukuda, *Tendaigaku gairon*, p. 294, Hazama Jiko, "The Characteristics of Japanese Tendai," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 14/2-3 (1987), pp. 101-112. Moreover, Ennin wrote commentaries on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the *Kongōchō daikyōōkyō so* 金剛頂大教王經疏, in Ninju 仁寿 1(851) and on the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, the *Soshitsujikara kyō ryakuso* 蘇悉地羯羅經略疏, in Saikō 齊衡 2 (855) for these newly added specializations, as well as ritual manuals for the rites of the matrix, adamantine realm and *susiddhi*. There already existed a commentary on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*: Yixing's 一行 *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏.

[16] Enchin's inscription on the *Shōryūji guhō mokuroku* (*T*.55.2171:1097a5-9) is as follows:

> As for the above scriptures, ritual [manuals], images of the Buddhas, and so forth, having requested books from Preceptor 和上 [Faquan], the Transmittor of the Teachings in Qinglongsi in Xinchangfang in the left section of the city of Chang'an in the Great Land of Tang, I extracted [the relevant parts], and then copied and compared them. Thus, my brief inventory is the above.
>
> Recorded by Enchin, the monk in search of the *Dharma*, on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the ninth year of Dazhong of the Great Tang [Dynasty]

[17] The Chinese reign era should be written as Daizhong 太中. This copiest's mistake appears in many of Enchin's documents that are examined in this chapter.

[18] *T*.2171:1097a15-27, esp. 15-21. Faquan's inscription (*T*.2171:1097a22-27) continues:

> The said Great Virtuous Enchin has already been granted the *dhāraṇīs* and the Teachings of the Supreme Vehicle. His comprehension, together with his mastery [of both the *dhāraṇīs* and the teachings] and his discernment of the significance of what is asked and what is answered are difficult to exhaust. I think that he can transmit and maintain [these teachings] and can broadly effect causal relations. Now we will part from each other. I hope that we will meet in the Pure Land. Success! Success!
>
> On the twenty first day of the tenth month of the ninth year of Dazhong [this] letter by the monk who transmits the teachings [in] Qinglong[si], Faquan, Great Virtuous 大德 (Bhadanta, Director of Monks), former *Dhāraṇī* Chanter in the Hall of Long Life, was given to Enchin. Success! Success!

Enchin also records the consecration ceremonies that he had received from Faquan in his travel account, the *Gyōryakushō* 行略抄. Here he does not mention Faquan's instructions on the teaching of the *susiddhi*, but the order of consecrations that he received tally with those in Faquan's colophon on the *Shōryūji guhō mokuroku*. Enchin states in this work that (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū* vol. 4, p. 1232a-b):

> On the fifteenth day [of the seventh month] I entered [the matrix mandala and received] the Consecration of the Matrix Repository 胎藏灌頂. (note in small characters: On the tenth day of the eighth month I myself drew the matrix repository [mandala]…) On the third day of the tenth month I entered [the mandala of the adamantine realm and received] the Consecration of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界灌頂… On the fifth day of the eleventh month I was granted the Position of [Master who has undergone] Consecration [which authorizes] Transmission of the *Dharma* [to others] 傳法灌頂位.

[19] This document is collected in the *Yohō hennen zasshū* 余芳編年雜集 (A Chronological Miscellenea of Remnant Fragrances) and published in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, vol. 4, esp. pp. 1310b13-1311a16.

[20] Enchin seems to have first procured a book of the rites that he sought, and then to have received the initiations and

instructions.

This colophon is included in a work entitled the *Hikishū* 批記集 (A Collection of Commentarial Notes), which is a compilation of the inscriptions that Enchin recorded on the texts and iconographic materials he assembled in China. This work is published in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, vol. 4, pp. 1282-1289, esp. pp. 1284-1285. The colophon on the second scroll of this work contains the same information as that recorded on the first scroll.

[21] This document is included in the *Yohō hennen zasshū*, *Chishō Daishi zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 1332a-b.

[22] This is the position that the *susiddhi* rite holds today in the Tendai school. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1410 (*Soshitsujikarakyō*), 1412 (*Soshitsuji hō*), 1414 (*Soshitsuji kanjō*) and ibid, vol. 2, p. 824 (*sanbu daihō*); Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3152-3 (*Soshitsuji kanjō*), 3153-4 (*Soshitsuji hō*), and ibid, vol. 2, pp. 1645-6 (*sanbu daihō*)

[23] The iconographic materials for Esoteric Buddhist practice that Ennin records in his *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* verifies his study of and consecrations into the mandalas of the adamantine realm and matrix. He returned with a painting of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies 金剛界九界曼荼羅一鋪 (*T*.2167:1084b29), a Manual of the Icons of the Venerables of the Adamantine Family 金剛部諸尊圖像儀軌一卷 (ibid, 1084b7), and a scroll of the Mudrās of the [Venerables of the] the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion 大悲胎藏手契一卷 (ibid, 1084b6), whose title corresponds to the work he notes in his travel diary that he received from Faquan.

Ennin most often identifies the author or translator of the scriptures and ritual manuals that he collected in the temples of Chang'an, but he does not once record Faquan's name in his *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku*. It is Annen who records in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* that Ennin introduced Faquan's writings to Japan. He records (*T*.55.2176:1115b20-21, 25-26) under the rubric Extended Ritual Manuals [Recorded] Outside of the [Pilgrim-Monks'] Inventories 錄外廣儀軌 (*rokugai kōgiki*) Ennin's importation of two copies of Faquan's manual for the matrix rite (*T*.18.852), the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuluo guangda chengiu yigui* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏悲生曼荼羅廣大成就儀軌. The difference is that the first copy is in two scrolls and the second in three scrolls. The second copy may be the Extensive Ritual Manual for the Matrix Repository that Ennin received from Faquan and recorded in his travel diary (see text p. 131 above). And, as I mention later in this chapter, the ritual manual that Ennin composed for the matrix rite was based upon Faquan's *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuluo guangda chengiu yigui*. Annen also lists (*T*.2176:1115c15) under the rubric Additionally Used Rites [Included] in the Official Inventories 加用本錄法 (*kayō honroku hō)* the scroll of Mudrās of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion that Ennin recorded (*T*.2167:1084c6) in his *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku*. And under the rubric Section of the Fire Oblation (Homa) 諸護摩部 (*shogoma bu*, *T*.2176:1129a19), Annen records that Ennin returned with Faquan's *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* and that this work was not listed in Ennin's official inventory.

Enchin, like Ennin, does not record any of Faquan's writings in his official inventories of the articles that he brought back from China. It is the colophons that he wrote on his personal religious souvenirs that enables us to reconstruct the contents of the transmission he received from Faquan. Examples are the *Soshitsujikara kuyōhō hiki* discussed above, Faquan's own personal copy of the *Liduosengnieluo wubu xinguan* (see Chapter Five), and copies of Faquan's ritual manuals for the matrix rite, whose colophons I discuss in the following section of this chapter, Faquan's Manuals for the Matrix Rite.

Enchin records in his official inventories (*T*.2171:1096c26-27; *T*.2172:1098c16-18; *T*.2173:1104a16-18) only iconographic materials for the dual categories of the matrix and adamantine realm that he procured while studying under Faquan. These are: paintings of the Matrix Mandala 大毘盧遮那如來大悲胎藏曼荼羅 and the Adamantine Realm Mandala in Nine Assemblies 金剛界九會曼荼羅; one scroll of an altar mandala of the Seed Letter Mandala of the Eighty-One Venerables of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界八十一尊法曼荼羅壇面.

Annen records in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* under the rubric Extended Ritual Manuals [Listed] Outside of the [Pilgrim-Monks'] Inventories (*T*.2176:1115b27-28) that Enchin returned with a copy of Faquan's *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti zhuibiaozhi putong zhenyanchang guangda chengiu yuqia*, a manual for the matrix rite (*T*.18.853) in three scrolls. However, he does not record that Enchin also brought back Faquan's *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuluo guangda chengiu yigui* (*T*.852) in two scrolls.

[24] *T*.55.2167:1083a1.

[25] *T*.2176:1116c, 1117a16, 1117a12.

[26] *T*.2176:1117a11-12.

[27] This ritual manual is not listed under Śubhākarasiṃha's name in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* or in the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*. See Appendix B, endnote 102.

[28] *T*.2174A:1108a23 and 1111b5. Shūei, unlike Ennin and Enchin, does not document the Esoteric Buddhist transmissions that he received during his sojourn in China. There are, moreover, discrepancies in the information about the transmission that Shūei received from his Chinese masters in contemporary and later historical sources. For instance, according to Zaoxuan's 造玄 *Xiangcheng xuemai* 相承血脈 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, pp. 14-15), which is dated to 865, Shūei received from Faquan consecrations into both the adamantine realm and matrix. His biographies in the *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳 (*Honchō kōsōden*, 7 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, p. 131a) and the *Shingonden* 眞言傳 (*Shingonden*, 3 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 160a), however, both state that he received consecration into the adamantine realm from Xuanqing during his stay in Bianliang and that while in Chang'an he received from Faquan consecration into the matrix. The Shingon school's *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 血脈類集記 records (*Kechimyaku ruijūki*, 2 in *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, pp. 15-16) that Shūei received the teachings of the adamantine realm from Faquan and the matrix from Farun.

Documentation of Shūei's transmission in later sources further confirms that he passed on to his disciples the teachings in the three categories of adamantine realm, matrix and *susiddhi*, thus perpetuating the esoteric transmission that he himself received in China. There are a number of medieval Shingon writings wherein discussion focuses upon the transmission of the *susiddhi* within the Shingon subschools. Among these works, two in particular elucidate Shūei's role in the transmission of the *susiddhi* category. These are the *Gaṃbirashō* 儼避羅鈔 (Extracts on [the profoundness of the three letters] *Gaṃ Bi Ra*) by the scholar-monk Yōkai 榮海 (1278-1347) of the Ono subschool and the *Hōsakushō* 寶册鈔 (Selections from Jeweled Volumes) by Gōhō 果寶 (1306-1362), Yōkai's disciple. See *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 52, p. 311, pp. 318b-319c and *T*.77.2453:799c-800c. Misaki presents a detailed discussion of these works in "Tōmitsu ni okeru soshitsuji," *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 606-653.

In his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* Shūei lists ritual manuals for the rites of the adamantine realm, matrix and *susiddhi*. Some examples are (*T*.2174A:1108a16-17, 1108c24, 1108a18-20 and a21-22, 1108a23-24, 1108a): the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*, which he notes is a translation by Amoghavajra; the *Yuqie gongyang cidi fa* 瑜伽供養次第法, a translation by Vajrabodhi; the *Shedapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing rulianhua taicang haihuibeisheng mantuluo guangda niansong [yi]gui* and the *Dapiluzhena jing guangda yigui*, both of which he records are translations of Śubhākarasiṃha; and the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* that I have mentioned above. Shūei records in his official inventory (*T*.2174A:1109c14-15) only one of Faquan's works, the *Gongyang hushi batian fa* 供養護世八天法 (Method of Offerings to the Eight Gods of Protection).

Annen records in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* that (*T*.2176:1115b29-c2) Shūei introduced one of Faquan's ritual manuals for the matrix rite, the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti zhuibiaozhi putong zhenyanchang guangda chengjiu yuqie* (*T*.853), a work that was not listed in Shūei's official inventory, and that (*T*.2176:1115c15) Shūei, like Ennin, returned with a copy of Mudrās of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion.

The iconographic materials listed in Shūei's inventory were works that his Chinese master Faquan possessed (see Chapter Five, p. 100). The works relevant to Shūei's study of and consecrations into the three categories of the esoteric teachings of his time are (*T*.2174A: 1111a21, a22, a23, a26, b2, b5): a line drawing on paper of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界大曼荼羅苗子一張; a line drawing on paper of the [Mandala for spreading on] the Altar of the Matrix Repository 胎藏壇面苗子一張; Images within Lunar Discs of the [Mandala for spreading on the] Altar of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界壇面月輪像等; a book of line drawings of the Karma Assembly of the Matrix Repository 胎藏羯磨會苗子一本; a book of the Images of the Trailokyavijaya Assembly 降三世會像様一本; and lastly, the *Suxidi yigui qiyin*. Of these works, only the *Suxidi yigui qiyin* survives today in Kanchiin of Tōji.

[29] See Chapter One and relevant endnotes.

[30] *T*.2176:1117a11 (Enchin), 1117a12 (Ennin), 1117a13 (Engyō) and 1117a14-15 (Eun).

[31] Annen organizes the Esoteric Buddhist materials of his time into the three categories of matrix, adamantine realm and *susiddhi*. See Chapter Five.

[32] The *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* has published two versions of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa*. The first, a Korean version 高麗本 (*T*.894:692b-704b), consists of three scrolls and the second version, based on a manuscript kept in Kōzanji 高山寺 (*T*.894:704b-718c), has two scrolls. There are differences between the two versions (for instance, the mantras in the three-scroll version are transcribed into Chinese but are given in both Chinese and *siddhaṃ* in the two-scroll version, and each version includes series of ritual steps that are unique to that version), but they do not affect the fundamental prescriptions for this rite. See Kamabayashi Ryūjō's entries in the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 7, pp. 14b-15a for a listing of these differences. Manabe investigated the relationship between the two-scroll version of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* and the *Soshitsuji giki keiin* in his "Soshitsuji giki no keitō ni tsuite — josetsu," *Bukkyō shigaku*, vol. 12/4, pp. 13-45. Misaki ("Soshitsuji no genryū to tenaki" 蘇悉地の源流と展開, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, p. 586) states that the *Soshitsuji giki keiin* is based on the three-scroll version of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa*. I concur with Misaki's statement and have consulted this version of the ritual manual. A comparison of the mudrās depicted in the *Suxidi yigui qiyin* with those described in the three-scroll version of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* reveals a close correspondence between text and image.

[33] This I demonstrate in my analysis of the six ritual manuals of group three given in Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission.

[34] See Zhao Qian's biography of Amoghavajra in *T*.50.2056:292c8-12 and 294b24-26. I discuss Zhao Qian's version of Amoghavajra's transmission in Chapter Four. Japanese scholars suggest that these references to the *susiddhi* teaching in Amoghavajra's biography could be later additions. See Takagi Shingen, "Kūkai no kai to futō ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 82 (1987), pp. 1-18, esp. p.16 and Misaki, "Soshitsuji no genryū to tenkai," *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 489-491.

Circumstantial evidence seems to indicate that Huiguo and Kūkai too studied the *susiddhi* teaching. In addition to Haiyun's *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* wherein he records, as we have seen, that Huiguo received and transmitted the teaching of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, there are passages in Huiguo's biography, the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhao gongfeng dade xingzhuang* 大唐青龍寺三朝供奉大徳行状 (*T*.50.2057) which dates to 826-830, concerning the transmission that he received. This transmission (*T*.2057:295a8-11) included the *susiddhi* teaching. However, the transmission that Huiguo gave to Kūkai (ibid, 295c23-27) does not include any mention of *susiddhi* materials. According to the Chinese response, dated 839, to a letter that Kūkai's disciple Jitsue 實慧 (786-847) composed in 837 and had the pilgrim Engyō deliver, Kūkai had studied under Huiguo the Esoteric Buddhist teachings in three categories (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 99-101). See also Takagi, "Kūkai no kai to futō ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 82, pp. 8-18 and Matsunaga Yūkei, "Sanshu shijji to hajigoku," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 121 (1978), pp. 1-13, esp. pp. 12-13.

[35] *T*.55.2154:571c28-572a1 and 2157:874c3-6. Perhaps because of this Chinese classification, both Kūkai and Saichō regarded these texts as works that elucidated the precepts of the esoteric teaching. See Misaki, "Butchōkei no mikkyō — Tōdaimikkyōshi no ichishiten" 佛頂系の密教ー唐代密教史の一視点, *Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū Yoshioka Hakushi kinen*, (1977), pp. 477-499, esp. p. 478.

[36] *T*.2154:571c29-572a1 and 2157:874c5-6 and Misaki, "Butchōkei no mikkyō," *Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū Yoshioka Hakushi kinen*, pp. 478-9 and his "Butchōkei no mikkyō," *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 112-3. The contents of the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* are based upon those of the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*.

[37] The relationship between the scripture (*T*.893) and this ritual manual (*T*.894) is the same as the relationship bewteen the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgrha* and Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui* (*T*.18.873) and the first six chapters of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its seventh chapter. The scripture outlines the construction of the mandalas and its deities, whereas the ritual manual explains in detail the rites of offering 供養法 and recitation and

visualization 念誦法, which center on the deities expounded in the scripture, and provide the mudrās and mantras for the ritual performances.

[38] *T*.893:603a7-b13.

[39] *T*.893:603b13-16.

[40] *T*.893:603b21-25.

[41] See Misaki's discussion of this problem in his "Taimitsu no *soshitsuji* ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 10/1, pp. 217-220.

[42] *T*.893:604b23-25, Chapter Two, *Zhenyan xiang* 眞言相 (Characteristics of Mantras).

[43] *T*.893:614b12-13, Chapter 16, *Fenbie chengjiu fa* 分別成就法 (Distinguishing the Methods of Accomplishemnt). There is a note in small characters: also called *Xidi xiang pin* 悉地相品 (Chapter on the Characteristics of *Siddhi*).

[44] *T*.893:604b26-29.

[45] One text that predates the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and discusses three families 三部 is Atikūṭa's (active mid-seventh centruy) translation of the *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya* 陀羅尼集經 (*Tuoluoni jing*, *T*.19.901). The content of this text is presented by using the three families of the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and Vajra. See Osabe Kazuo, "Kanyaku sanshu shitsuji hō no keifu," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 77-78 (November 1966), pp. 57-78, esp. p, 58 (repreinted in *Tōdai mikkyōshi zakkō,* pp. 226-252, esp. p. 228).

[46] Texts that predate the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and expound the rites of the threefold *siddhi* as supreme, middling and inferior are Bodhiruci's (? -727) *Yizi foding lunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 (*T*.19.951) and *Wufoding samei tuoluoni jing* 五佛頂三昧陀羅尼經 (*T*.19.952). The first gives the most detailed account. Although a comparison of texts shows that the *Susiddhikara sūtra* is not based on the *Yizi foding lunwang jing*, clearly the authors of both texts consulted the same work for the rites of the threefold *siddhi* (Osabe, "Kanyaku sanshu shitsuji hō no keifu," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 77-78, pp. 59, 75-76). Moreover, the main difference is that the *Susiddhikara sūtra* allocates these three rites to the three families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra whereas the focus of the *Yizi foding lunwang jing* is the success of the rite of Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣa, a deity of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* textual tradition.

[47] The *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* is published in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho,* vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū,* no. 3, pp. 985-986. In his discussion of this document in the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* (vol. 3, p. 136), Tajima Tokuon suggests that *ketsuji* refers to the oral transmission a master personally confers on his disciple 面授口決, and so dates this document to the time of Enchin's bestowal of the esoteric transmission on Henjō. See also Misaki's discussion of this document in "*Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō*," *Nihon daizōkyō*, Kaidai 3, vol. 99 (Tokyo: Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, 1978), pp. 72-73.

[48] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 985b2-11.

[49] See *T*.893:603c3-604b4, Chapter Two, *Zhenyan xiang*. See also Matsunaga Yūkei, "Sanshu shitsuji to hajigoku," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 121, pp. 1-13, esp. pp. 8-9.

[50] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 985a13-17, 936a12-c1. Enchin's own writings show that he was uncertain of the sources of these mantras. For example, in his *Sasagimon*, which scholars date to 882, Enchin records the following questions for his former Chinese master Zhihuilun (Prajñācakra) 智慧輪 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 1039b11-13): [The letters] *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ* [are] the supreme grade, *aḥ vi ra huṃ khaṃ* [are] the middle [grade] and *a ra pa ca na* are the lower accomplishment. These [mantras] appear in what text? Once when I visited the temples in Loyang, many had [these mantras] inscribed on stickers on their gates. What is the main significance of this?

Enchin addresses the problem of textual sources somewhat differently in his *Gimon* 疑問. Here (*Dainihin*

bukkyō zensho, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 1033a5-8) he asks for the textual sources of these mantras which, he records, correspond to the Three Buddha Bodies and the threefold accomplishments. Note that the correlation between the mantras of supreme and middling and the Buddha bodies are out of order in this work. The *Gimon* is considered to be a draft of the questions that he sent to Zhihuilun, whereas the *Sasagimon* is thought to be a more organized version, perhaps the final version, of his list of questions for his former teacher. For Enchin's letter to Zhihuilun, see (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1336a-1339a), wherein Enchin refers to his list of questions as *Gishū* 疑集 (Collection of Questions), and *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 6, p. 5b-c, vol. 2, p. 4b and pp. 246c-247b.

[51] *Dainihin bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 985a4-8. Recorded in the *Kenkairon engi* 顯戒論縁起, for example, is the statement that Saichō received from Shunxiao the mantras for the pledges (*samaya*) of the three categories 三部三昧耶眞言. See *Dengyō daishi zenshū* (Tokyo: Nihon bussho kankōkai, 1975), vol. 1, p. 279 and Misaki, "Dengyō daishi Saichō no mikkyō shisō," *Firosofia*, vol. 56 (1969), pp. 41-66, esp. pp. 47-48. However, Ryūichi Abe ("Saichō and Kūkai: A Conflict of Interpretations," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, (1995), vol. 22, pp. 103-137, esp. pp. 105-106) interprets this phrase as "the pledges of the three families." There are thus problems concerning the content of the Esoteric Buddhist transmission that Saichō received from Shunxiao, as well as the authenticity of the documents of this content. For instance, it seems that it was Enchin who made in his *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* a link between Shunxiao's transmission of the mantras of the pledges of the three categories and those of the threefold accomplishments. See Jinhua Chen, "The Construction of Early Tendai Buddhism: The Japanese Provenance of Saichō's Transmission Documents and Three Esoteric Buddhist Aprocrypha Attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha," *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 21/1 (1968), pp. 21-76 and Paul Groner, *Saichō*: *The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), pp. 52-61.

[52] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 985a9-12. See also Enchin's *Gimon* (*Dainihin bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 1033a6). In the transcription of the third mantra, the Chinese character for the syllable *ca* is written with the Chinese character for the syllabel *ṣa*.

[53] There are other important topics contained in this short, but important document. For example, Enchin records that (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 985b13-17) a secret document of another master, either Saichō's disciple Ninchū 仁忠 (d. 824) or Ennin (see Misaki, Soshitsuji no genryū to tenkai, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, p. 522, and his entry on the *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* in *Nihon daizōkyō*, *Kaidai* 3, p. 72, and Mizugami Fumiyoshi, "Taimitsu ni okeru sanshu shijjihō no denshō," *Tendai gakuhō,* vol. 30 (October 1989), pp. 87-91), includes a separate book of "essential selections" 一本要抄 (*ippon yōshō*) and therein is a five-letter mantra that is described much the same way that Faquan presented the special mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment he taught Enchin. Further, Enchin issues a threat against those who slander his master, thus informing us of the sectarian purpose of this work because here he is referring to the polemic disputes between the lineages of Saichō and Kūkai. See Chen's "The Construction of Early Tendai Buddhism: The Japanese Provenance of Saichō's Transmission Documents and Three Esoteric Buddhist Aprocrypha Attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha," *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 21/1, pp. 55-65.

[54] The four demons 四魔 that cause suffering are: (1) demons of passions (*kleśa-māra*); (2) demons of aggregates, that is the "five elemental aggregates of body, perception, conception, volition, consciousness" (*skandha-māra*); (3) demon of death (*mṛtya-māra*); and (4) the demon-king (*devaputra-māra*) of the sixth heaven (Paranirmita-vaśavartin) in the realm of desire, who obstructs the good acts and intentions of Buddha and his followers. See *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary* (revised ed., Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1999), p. 310.

[55] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō Daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 985a13-14.

[56] *T*. 848:20a16-19.

[57] *T*.848:20a20-27.

[58] The discrepancy between the syllables of the mantra *āḥ vi raṃ huṃ khaṃ* and those of the five elements is not significant, it seems, for no explanation is given in the scripture. Enchin does, however, refer to this discrepancy in his

Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1087a) by showing that the syllables are transformations of their fundamental syllables.

[59] *T*.848:20b7-c18.

[60] *T*.848:18c29-19a5.

[61] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 985a15.

[62] *T*.848:52b13-28.

[63] *T*.848:20b7-21a22, 31a24-29, ch. 11, *Bimi mantuluo* 祕密曼荼羅 (Secret Mandala), and *T*.39.1796:727c8-19, for example. See also Nasu Seiryū, "Sanshu shijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku ronshū—Miyamoto Seison kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, (Tokyo: Sanshōdō shuppan, 1954), pp. 441-442 for a number of interpretations based on oral traditions in the Shingon school.

[64] 攝大毘盧那成佛神變加持經入蓮華胎藏海會悲生曼荼羅廣大念誦儀軌供養方便會 (The Offerings, Expedient Means and Assemblies [contained] in the Extensive Ritual Manual for the Visualization and Recitation [Practice] on Entry into the Mandala Born from the Compassion of the Ocean Assembly of the Lotus Matrix Repository [that is] Included in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*), hereafter the *Sheda yigui*, *T*.18.850.

[65] *T*.850:83c18-84a2, esp. mantra on 83c15, and 848:31a25-29.

[66] 大毘盧那經廣大儀軌 (Extensive Ritual Manual [based on the] *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*), hereafter the *Guangda yigui*, *T*.18.851.

[67] *T*.851:91c15-92b7 and 848:52b13-29 and 20b7-21a22.

[68] *T*.18.852:110b22-c10, 853:146b11-29.

[69] 大毘盧那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏悲生曼荼羅廣大成就儀軌供養方便會 (The Offerings, Expedient Means and Assemblies [contained] in the Extensive and Perfected Ritual Manual for the Mandala Born from the Compassion of the Matrix Repository of the Lotus [as expounded] in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*) is published as *T*.18.852, and 大毘盧那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標熾普通眞言藏廣大成就瑜伽 (The Extensive and Perfected Yoga of the Repository of Universal Mantras and Symbols and Banners of Enlightenment for the Matrix Repository of the Lotus [as expounded] in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*) *is* published as *T*.18.853. I discuss these two manuals in Chapter Seven.

[70] *T*.18.912:930c20-21. In this manual the practice is called the attainment of the Buddha body by means of the letters of the five circles [of the five cosmic elements] 五輪字成佛身.

[71] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 985a16-b1, 936a12-b2. For example, Enchin records the *Wuzi tuoluoni song* 五字陀羅尼頌 (ibid, p. 985a16, published *T*.20.1174), which Yuanzhao lists as one of Amoghavajra's translations in his *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.55.2157:880b20), and the *Jingangding Wenshushili pusa wuzi tuoluoni pin* 金剛頂文殊師利五字陀羅尼品. (ibid, 936a12, published *T*.20.1173), which is listed as one of Vajrabodhi's translations in entries in both the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.55.2154:571b22-3 and *T*.2157:875a8-9).

[72] See Chapter One, endnote 106.

[73] See Chapter One, endnote 101. Versions of these forty-two letters with different meanings and contemplations appear also in texts and ritual manuals of the *Avataṃsaka* textual lineage. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 999-1001, Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1945-6 and Sawa *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 310-311.

[74] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 986a12-b1, esp. 986a12-13. In Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding jing Manshushili pusa wuzixin tuoluoni pin* 金剛頂經曼殊室利菩薩五字心陀羅尼品 (*T*.20.1173:710b2-9), Mañjuśrī expounds the meaning of each letter and then he reverses the process of this contemplation, beginning from *na* and returning to *a*, in order to negate the substantiality and thus reality of all elements of reality, which is the essence of the teaching of the texts of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* lineage.

Passages almost identical to Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding jing Manshushili pusa wuzixin tuoluoni pin* concerning the significance of this five-letter mantra and the special boons it brings about are found in the *Jingangding chaosheng sanjie jingshuo Wenshu wuzi zhenyan shengxiang* 金剛頂超勝三界經説文殊五字眞言勝相 (*T*.1172:709b15-c5), which Yuanzhao attributes to Amoghavajra in his *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:880b18-19). Japanese scholars have cited only the *Jingangding chaosheng sanjie jingshuo Wenshu wuzi zhenyan shengxiang* as the source for the mantra of the inferior grade of *siddhi*. See, for example, Matsunaga Yūken, "Sanjushijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 35, p. 8, Nasu Seiryū, "Sanshu shijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū," *Miyamoto Seison kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, pp. 439-40, and Matsunaga Yūkei, "Sanshu shijji to hajigoku," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 121, pp. 1-13, especially p. 9.

[75] *T*.1173:710b9-11.

[76] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū,* no. 3, p. 936a14-b1, *T*.1173:710b13-18.

[77] *T*.1173:710b18-20.

[78] See Raoul Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī*. A group of East Asian mandalas and their traditional symbolism, Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, Monograph No. 2, 1983.

[79] See the *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangjin sanzang heshang biaozhiji* (*T*.52.2120:839b5, c27) and the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:879b8-9, 880b8, 18-20, 22, c12-14, 17-18).

[80] This work is listed in *T*.2120:839b5 and published in *T*.20.1171:705a16-18, b3-9.

[81] Faquan incorporated a hymn to the Three Bodies of the Buddha in his matrix rite (*T*.853:150c-151a). However, the mantras that Faquan records in this ritual manual differ from the mantras of the threefold accomplishments that Enchin documents in his *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō*. For a discussion of the mantras of the three bodies and the threefold accomplishements in Tendai, see Mizukami Fumiyoshi, "Sanshu shijji to sanshin shingon," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 73 (1988), pp. 253-257.

[82] The only other documentation that corroborates Enchin's textual identification and clarifies the mantras and their associations is that of the *Podiyu yigui* (Manuals for Destroying the Hells). Faquan's oral instructions as documented in Enchin's *Ketsu sanshu shijji hō* correspond, albeit with a few minor changes, to the revelation of the significance of the mantra of the supreme grade that is given in these three manuals. These manuals have a common theme: the practitioner can, by means of the three mantras of accomplishment 三種悉地, destroy his personal hells 煩惱 (*kleśa*), and so release himself from the hindrances of his past actions (*karma*). The three manuals exhibit many similarities, most signficantly that of the mixing of elements from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, as well as the application of Chinese medicine and medical cosmology to the three mantras.

The problem is the date and provenance of the *Podiyu yigui*. Japanese scholars all accept these manuals as works that date to the mid or late Tang Dynasty. See, for example, Matsunaga Yūken, "Sanshu shijiji hajigoku giki no kenkyū," *Mikkyô kenkyū*, vol. 35 (1929), pp. 1-18, Kambayashi Ryūjō, "Hajigoku sanshu shijjihō kaidai," *Kokuyaku issaikyō*, *Mikkyōbu*, vol. 3, pp. 80-94, Nasu Seiryū, "Sanshu shijji hagigoku giki no kenkyū,"*Miyamoto Seison Kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, pp. 431-444, Osabe Kazuo, "Kanyaku sanshu shijji hō no keifu," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 77-78, pp. 57-78, and his "Tōdaikōki taizōmikkyōgaku no ryūha to sanshu shijji hō," *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū* (Koyasan, 1965), pp. 237-254, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, "*Gorin kuji hishaku* to dōkyō gozōkan," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 69/70 (1964), pp. 77-97, Matsunaga Yūkei, "Sanshu shijji to hajigoku," *Mikk*yō *bunka*, vol. 121 (Feb. 1978), pp. 1-13 and Misaki's *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 499-507. The scholar Jinhua Chen, however, makes a convincing argument that

these are Japanese works composed by Tendai monks, who were active after Enchin, in order to substantiate the transmission Saichō received from Shunxiao and so compete with Kūkai's lineage of the dual categories 兩部 (*ryōbu*). See his "The Construction of Early Tendai Esoteric Buddhism: The Japanese Provenance of Saichō's Transmission Documents and Three Esoteric Buddhist Aprocrypha Attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha," *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 21/1, pp. 21-76.

[83] *T*.19.973:379c12-380b3. Amoghavajra's manual for the rite of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa (*T*.972:368a13-21) ends with a brief description of four rites of pacification, increasing benefits, wrathful subjugation and emotional subjugation that produce accomplishments. The concept of accomplishments is elaborated upon in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* and comprises a separate chapter, as is seen in the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Further, an amalgamation from differing sources in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* results in two types of accomplishments. The *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s chapter 9, the *Zunsheng zhenyan zheng yuqie xidi pin dijiu* 尊勝眞言證瑜伽悉地品第九 (Accomplishments [concerning] Yoga Realized [by means of] Vikīrṇa's Mantra), first presents the threefold accomplishments of inferior, middling and supreme grades (*T*.973:380a7-a17), a concept that derives from the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s chapter 16. Also explained in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s chapter 9 is the concept of the threefold accomplishments with aspects (*T*.973:380a7-21) and without aspects (*T*.973:380a21-b3), which are graded as inferior, middling and supreme, and the source is chapter 28 of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* (*T*.848:44a16-25) and chapter 5 (*T*.848:54c16-23) of this scripture's seventh fascicle. The contents of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s new system of accomplishments also exhibit influences from both the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras*. Examples are seen in the middling grade of accomplishments (*T*.973:380a10, *T*.873:614a22-23, b1-2) and the supreme grade of accomplishment without aspects (*T*.973:380a29-b3, *T*.848:3a28-29, b8-9, b28-29). I discuss the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* in Chapter Six of this dissertation. See also Misaki, "Bucchōkei no mikkyō," *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 136-137 and Osabe, "Kanyaku sanshu shitsuji hō no keifu," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 77-78 (November 1966), pp. 57-78, esp. pp. 64-66 and his "Tōdaikōki taizōkei mikkyōgaku no niryūha to sanshu shitsuji hō," *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū* (Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku, 1965), pp. 237-254, esp. 238 (both reprinted in *Tōdai mikkyōshi zakkō*, pp. 226-252 and 209-222, respectively).

[84] *T*.2081:786c12-13.

[85] The mantras are written in the *siddhaṃ* script. The character for *ca* is written as *sa*.

[86] *T*.848:9b16-18. Yixing's *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* states (*T*.1796:646b-c) that this is one of two *gāthās* that clarify the true meaning of enlightenment. Kambayashi Ryūjō notes in his Japanese translation of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* (*Kokuyaku issai kyō*, *Mikkyōbu*, vol. 1, p. 74, note 3) that this passage indicates the truth of the mind of enlightenment by means of the five letters *a va ra ha kha*. Further, in his discussion of the *Podiyu yigui* 破地獄議軌 (Manuals for Destroying the Hells), Kambayashi states ("Hajigoku sanshu shijji hō kaidai," *Kokuyaku issaikyō*, *Mikkyōbu*, vol. 3, pp. 93-94) that this *gāthā* from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* is the textual basis for the theory of the five cosmic elements 五大説, earth, water, fire, wind and space, which are allocated to the phrases of the *gāthā*.

[87] Kiuchi Gyōō identifies (entry on the *Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi* in *Nihon daizōkyō*, *Kaidai* 3, vol. 99, pp. 65-66, esp. p. 66) this passage from the *Niansong jiehufa putong zhubu* 念誦結護法普通諸部 (*T*.904), which is attributed to Vajrabodhi, but notes the phrase 金剛頂經云 does not appear. However, Kambayashi identifies ("*Hajigoku sanshu shijji hō* kaidai," *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyōbu* 密教部, vol. 3, p. 94) this text as the *Jingangdingjing yuqie xiuxi Piluzhena sanmodi fa* 金剛頂經瑜伽修習毘留盧遮那三摩地法 (*T*.18.876), also attributed to Vajrabodhi. This *gāthā* is found in both texts' (*T*.904:903a, *T*.876:331a) rite of recitation and identification 正念誦法, during which the practitioner visualizes the wheel of letters 字輪觀, called in these two texts the *dhāraṇī* of the revolving five letters 五字旋陀羅尼, in order to merge his mind with that of Mahāvairocana. The *Niansong jiehufa putong zhubu* is composed from a variety of sources, not all related to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (see Tsuboi Tokko, "*Nenju ketsugo hō futsū shobū* kaidai," *Kokuyaki issaikyō*, *Mikkyōbu*, vol. 2, p. 27 and the same article in *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 8, p. 414). The *Jingangdingjing yuqie xiuxi Piluzhena sanmodi fa* is a manual of prescriptions for a rite of union with Mahāvairocana of the Adamantine Realm that belongs to a different textual

lineage than that of Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabu xinniansong yigui* (*T*.873) and *Jingangding yiqie zhenshishe dacheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* (金剛頂一切眞實攝大乘現證大教王經, *T*.874). Thus, because of its content, the *Jingangdingjing yuqie xiuxi Piluzhena sanmodi fa* seems the most likely textual source for the quote in Enchin's document.

The five syllables of this visualization are not given in the texts, and Shingon scholars differ on what they were. Tsuboi, in his study of the *Niansong jiehufa putong zhubu* (*Kokuyaku issaikyō*, *Mikkyōbu*, vol. 2, p. 38 footnote 18), gives the five syllables as *a ra pa ca na*. In his discussion of the *Jingangdingjing yuqie xiuxi Piluzhena sanmodi fa*, Okuda Keisho (*Kokuyaku issaikyō*, *Mikkyōbu*, vol. 2, pp. 76-77 and footnote 73 on pp. 90-91) presents them as *a va ra ha kha*. Kambayashi in his discussion of the *Jingangdingjing yuqie xiuxi Piluzhena sanmodi fa* (*Bussho kaisetsu daijiten,* vol. 3, p. 481) also records the five syllables as *a va ra ha kha* and states elsewhere (*Kokuyaku issaikyō*, *Mikkyōbu*, vol. 3, p. 94) that this *gāthā* and these syllables represent the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s concept of the five cosmic elements 五大説. Further, Kūkai also cites these two *gāthās* from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Jingangdingjing yujia xiuxi Dapiluzhena sanmodi fa* in his *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 508-9), using them as textual evidence for his theory of the six cosmic elements 六大説 (*rokudai setsu*). Kūkai allocates the five syllables *a va ra ha kha* to the elements earth, water, fire, wind, and space, respectively.

[88] I have not yet been able to identify this source.

[89] Enchin does not give any information from this Commentary, which I have not been able to identify.

[90] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho,* vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū,* no. 4, p. 1087a-b. See also Tajima Tokuon's entry in *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 278c-d and Kiuchi's discussion of this document in "*Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi*," *Nihon daizōkyō*, *Kaidai* 3, vol. 99, pp. 65-66.

[91] The Japanese Shingon school has named these manuals after the temples where Faquan lived while writing them. Hence, they are known respectively as the *Genpōji giki* 玄法寺儀軌 and the *Shōryūji giki* 青龍寺儀軌. See *Mikkyō daijiten,* vol. 3, p.1531 and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3317-18. Hereafter, I use the Chinese version of the Japanese names for Faquan's manuals.

[92] Enchin documents in an inscription (*Hikishū*, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p.1288a-b) on a copy of Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui* in three scrolls that:

> An inscription on the last scroll of the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti chuangbiaozhi putong zhenyanzang guangda chengjiu yuqie* [from] the collection of the monk Faquan of Qinglongsi states as follows: 'On a day in the seventh month of the ninth year of Dazhong I requested the original book of the Master Faquan of Qinglongsi and I extracted [passages] and copied [them]. I will return to Japan with it and I will eternally devote myself to its transmission and perpetuation.'
> Moreover, this yoga has a book in two scrolls and one in three scrolls. This is the final collated book. I will transmit [it] to Japan for the first time. Or perhaps henceforth I could transmit them together?
>
> Monk Enchin of Hieizan's Enryakuji recorded this in Chang'an.

[93] See for example, Murase Kōshi, "*Genpōji giki* no senshūsha," *Mikkyō ronsō*, vol. 13 (1938), pp. 57-70. Murase attributes the *Xuanfasi yigui* (*T*.852) to Amoghavajra or one of his close disciples (ibid, p. 63, pp. 66-70). However, Misaki Ryōshū ("Taizōkai no nenju giki to mandara" 胎藏界の念誦儀軌と曼荼羅, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 298-301) refutes Murase's argument and assigns the differences seen in these two manuals to Faquan's reconsiderations made after the passage of time. I agree with Misaki's conclusion, as I shall demonstrate in this section.

[94] See Chapter Three.

[95] See his *Shōrai mokuroku* in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 94.

[96] *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 14b.

[97] Toganoo Shōun, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū* (Koyasan: Koyasan Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1935), p. 72.

[98] I have only consulted the commentaries of Shingō (*T*.61.2231) and Gōhō (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25), and have set aside the others for future study. Dale Todaro briefly summarizes the focii of the major commentaries made on the matrix rite in his "A Study of the Earliest *Garbha Vidhi* of the Shingon Sect," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhsit Studies*, vol. 9, No. 2 (1986), pp. 109-146, especially page 116. More contemporary studies include those of Ōmura Seigai, Ueda Reijō and Misaki Ryōshū. Of these scholars, Ōmura was the first to critically discuss these manuals in his *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 5, pp. 812-20. Here he focuses on the ritual inconsistencies that he found in Faquan's manuals. These contradictions can be explained, however, once the textual sources of Faquan's works are uncovered. Ueda traces the sources of the mudrā and mantra pairs of Faquan's rite in his "Daishi gosaku taizōshidai no kōsatsu," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 146 (1984), pp. 1-11. Misaki presents the content of five matrix ritual manuals in his "Taizōkai no nenju giki to mandara," *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 271-300 by comparing the mudrā-mantra pairs in the rites of Śubhākarasiṃha, Faquan, Enchin and Annen.

Despite the importance of these handbooks in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, the only discussion in English of Faquan's manuals is in Ulrich Mammitzsch's *Evolution of the Garbhadhātu Maṇḍala* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1991), pp.76-79. Here Mammitzsch provides a very brief summary of the main features of the focal mandala.

[99] For information on these two ritual manuals, see Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission, text p. 183 and accompanying endnote 101.

[100] *T*.55.2176:1115b-c.

[101] Enchin records in an inscription on his copy of Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui* in two scrolls (*Hikishū*, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō Daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1284) that:

> The *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuluo guangda chengjiu yigui* two scrolls [from] the collection of the monk Faquan of Xuanfasi. An inscription [on this work] states as follows:
>
> > Xuanfasi was in the Anyi Ward of the city of Chang'an's streets of the right [note in smaller characters: in this country we would say 'the Western [part of the] Capital'] since the Kaicheng reign era (836-840), [but] it was destroyed during the Huichang era (841-847) and there is no temple [anymore]. During the Dazhong era (847-860) the Heshang belonged to the temple called Qinglongsi [note in smaller characters: The *Xingcichao* says that the *Yuqialuechao* says that originally [this temple] was called Huguosi and during the seventh month of the ninth year of Dazhong (855) its original [name] was restored and it was called Qinglong], [where] he raised its halls and transmitted the teachings. As for the halls, [while Faquan was] in Jingtuyuan 淨土院, which is in the south-west corner of Qinglongsi, Enchin and others received the teachings there. Moreover, there is a [matrix] *yoga* in three scrolls [wherein] the Great Teacher Fa[quan] assembled variant [versions that] he heard and [wherein] he explained the first and last [of these versions]. It is not that there are no discrepancies.
> >
> > Enchin recorded [this].

[102] See Ueda, "Daishi gosaku taizōshidai no kōsatsu (1)," *Mikkyō gakkaihō*, vol. 23 (1984), pp. 49-58, especially p. 50.

[103] *T*.61.2231.

[104] See the explanation given under the rubric "[Placement of] the Nine Seals Before [or] After" 九印前後事 (*kūin zengo no koto*) in *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 158a15-b17.

[105] There were appended notes on the copies of Faquan's manuals that the pilgrim-monks returned with. Annen records in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* under the *Xuanfasi yigui* brought back by Ennin's disciple Yuijō 惟正 [whose second character should be 尚] (*T*.2176:1115b22-24) that the manuscript had notes in various places. Further, he records under the *Qinglongsi yigui* introduced by Shūei (*T*.2176:1115b29-c2) that the presence of notes made it different from the manuscript that Enchin returned with.

There are notes that record the mudrās that the practitioner is to form in the handbooks attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, but they are extremely few in number. However, Annen does not mention in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* whether the copies of Śubhākarasiṃha's manuals brought back by the pilgrim-monks contained notes.

[106] *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 13b-14a.

[107] This refers to the Tathāgata's great sword of insight.

[108] *T*.853:146c8-23.

[109] *T*.853:147a25-26.

[110] Another example of the discrepancy in the amount of information given in Faquan's two manuals is seen in the ritual phase of the mandala's assemblies. There are few notes in the *Xuanfasi yigui* and they only furnish a deity's Sanskrit name and occasionally instructions for forming a deity's mudrā. The notes in the *Qinglongsi yigui* are, in contrast, numerous and extensive in content, providing the Sanskrit names of the mandala's figures, clarifying their significance and the formation of their mudrās. For instance, the *Xuanfasi yigui* records in its note for the figure of Tārā in the Hall of Avalokiteśvara the deity's Sanskrit name as Tārādevī, but the *Qinglongsi yigui*'s note contains, in addition to her Sanskrit name, the significance of this figure (*T*.852: 115c9, 853:153c5):

> [She] is like a boat that ferries people across the great ocean [of *saṃsāra*] and places [them] on the other shore [of *nirvāña*] [where they] attain sovereignty of existence.

Most often, however, the *Xuanfasi yigui* does not have a note that explicates the deities of the rite's mandala. Faquan has rectified this shortcoming in the *Qinglongsi yigui* by providing information for almost every figure of the mandala. Furthermore, Faquan also includes instructions for the formation of the ritual mudrās of the deities in the mandala but, once again, these notes are few and far between in the *Xuanfasi yigui* and numerous in the *Qinglongsi yigui*.

[111] For instance, the figures of the monks Gāyakāśyapa and Uruvilvākāśyapa are present in the *Qinglongsi yigui*'s Hall of Universal Wisdom and the figures of Lotus Flower, Lamp, Unguent and Incense [and] the four Gathering and Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas], whom Ōmura (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 5, p. 820) says are the Offering and Gathering Bodhisattvas from the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, and "family members, such as the lotus messengers, as numerous as the Buddha lands" 蓮華使諸眷属佛刹微塵衆, appear in the Hall of Avalokiteśvara, but these figures are not found in the *Xuanfasi yigui*'s mandala. See *T*.853:152c18-19, 153a29-b1.

[112] *T*.853:153a21.

[113] *T*.853:157b2.

[114] *T*.852:115a28, b 3, 116a20, 119a9.

[115] *T*.853:157b5, 8.

[116] *T*.853:154a29.

[117] There are a number of other differences to be noted between the two handbooks, but they do not alter the rite in any way. The introductory passages differ; compare *T*.852:108c8-15 and *T*.853:143c27-144a24. A ritual of accomplishments during the six moons is appended to the *Xuanfasi yigui*. The source for this rite is the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s fifteenth chapter (*T*.848:126a23-c6). The *Qinglongsi yigui* contains some mudrā-mantra pairs and a few passages of text that are not found in the *Xuanfasi yigui*; see, for example, *T*.853:144c21-145a13, 145c22-24, 146a10-19, 151b29-c152a1. Finally, occasionally the formation of mudrās may vary. Ueda gives three examples in his "Daishi gosaku taizō shidai no kōsatsu," *Mikkyō gakkaihō*, vol. 23, p. 54-5 and ibid, *Mikkyō bunka* 146, p. 4.

[118] Neither the *Sheda yigui* nor the *Guangda yigui* are listed under Śubhākarasiṃha's name in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* and the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, catalogues of Buddhist works that date to 730 and 800, respectively. Thus, Misaki (Taizōkai no nenjugiki to mandara, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, p. 272) suggests that these manuals were produced after Huiguo's death by his disciples sometime between 839 and 847, because they are not listed in Kūkai's *Shōrai mokuroku* but are included in the inventories of Ennin, Enchin and Shūei. Moreover, although Ōmura states in his *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, p. 388 that the *Guangda yigui* is simply a different transmission of the *Sheda yigui*, these ritual manuals display marked differences in structure and content and thus require further research to substantiate the Shingon school's attribution of both to Śubhākarasiṃha. Differences are seen not only in the actual text of the rite but also in such ritual phases as the placement of the Assembly of the Tathāgata's Body, the visualization of the container world, as well as the order of the installation of the deities into the mandala. Although the majority of the figures of the focal mandala and their mudrās and mantras in this manual correspond, on the whole, to those in the *Sheda yigui*, and are based on the mandala descriptions given in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, I have not found some of the figures, as well as the textual passages of such ritual phases as the visualization of the container world, for example, in the *Vaircanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. A comparison with the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*, the commentary on the *Vaircanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, may perhaps help to identify the source of these new elements in the *Guangda yigui*, but this is a project for future research.

[119] *T*.848:45a-46a; *T*. 850:65a28-b18; *T*. 853:143c27-144a24. The introductions of the *Sheda yigui* and the *Qinglongsi yigui* are taken from the first two chapters of the *Vaircanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s seventh fascicle, although the authors have chosen at times different lines from the scripture.

Four and a half lines of the opening passage of the *Xuanfasi yigui* (*T*.852:108c8-12) has been taken from the *Dapiluzhena Foshuo yaolue niansong jing* 大毘盧舍那佛説要略念誦經 (*T*.18.849:55a11-15), a translation of the *Vaircanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s seventh fascicle that is attributed to Vajrabodhi.

[120] *T*.848:45a-47c, 850:65a-67a, 852:108c-109c and 853:143a-144c, 145a-b. These mudrā-mantra pairs and their explanatory textual passages have also been taken directly from the first two chapters of the seventh fascicle of the *Vaircanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

[121] *T*.848:48a-b, 850:67b, 852:112b-c, 853:148c-149a. Although these manuals' mudrā-mantra series for this ritual phase are based upon different chapters of the scripture, the visualization of the mandala's central palace is identical. This visualization is from the third chapter of the *Vaircanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s seventh fascicle.

[122] The figures of the mandala's courts are described in the chapters titled *Ru mantuluo juyuan zhenyan pin* (Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala) and *Bimi mantuluo* (Secret Mandala) in the first and fifth fascicle of the *Vaircanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, respectively, but no mantras or instructions for the formation of the figures' mudrās are provided. Mantras and instructions for the formation of the mudrās are furnished in the ninth chapter, *Miyin pin* (Secret Seals), from the text's fourth fascicle and in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of fascicle five of the text, entitled *Ru bimi mantuluo wei pin* (The Stage of Entering the Secret Mandala) and the *Bimi bayin pin* (Secret Eight Seals). The deities of the mandala's central hall and their mantras are based on the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of the scripture and the ninth chapter is the source for the mantras and mudrās of the deities in the mandala's other halls. See *T*.848:36b-c, 36c-37b, 24a-30a and 850:84b-85b, 852:125b-126a and 853:151c-152b.

[123] The figures of Susiddhikara and Padma, for example, do not appear in the *Vaircanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s Hall of Ākāśagarbha but are present in this hall in all of the ritual manuals (*T*.848:8b-c, 28a-b, 36a36b-c, 36c-37b, 850:74c-75a, 851:102c, 852:118a-b and 853:156b-c).

[124] Two examples are the figures and mantras for Bodhisattva Prajñāpāramitā and Yamāntaka in the Hall of the Vidyādharas (*T*.851:106b, 100c-101a, 852:120a-b, 853:158c). Prajñāpāramitā does not have a mantra in the *Guangda yigui* but she is given a mantra in Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui*.

[125] The figures and mantras of the ten Prajñāpāramitās are one example (*T*. 852:118b-c and 853:156c-157a). Slight differences are also seen in Faquan's two manuals. For instance, the *Xuanfasi yigui*'s Hall of Avalokiteśvara has eight mantras that are also found in the *Sheda yigui* but the *Qinglongsi yigui* contains two more mantras: "a mantra that the bodhisattvas expound" and "a mantra for the ones who revere the teachings" (*T*.853:154a1-3, 8-10).

[126] *T*.850:69b-81a, 84c. The order of the installation of the figures into the courts of the mandala in the *Guangda yigui* (*T*.851:98c-107b) differs from that in the *Vaircanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and in the *Sheda yigui*. In this manual the order of installation is: the figures of the Halls of Universal Wisdom, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, the Vidyādharas, Mañjuśrī, Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhī, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha, Śākyamuni, the protective deities, and the central hall.

The order of installation of the deities in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* does not conform to that given in the various chapters of the *Vaircanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. The order of installation in the scripture's (Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala*)* is as follows: after establishing Mahāvairocana's position in the central court, the figures of the Hall of Universal Wisdom, which is located in the east directly above the central court, are installed, followed by Avalokiteśvara and his attendants in the court on the north side of the central hall, Vajragarbha (Vajrapāṇi) and his retinue in the court on the south side of the central court, and the figures of Acala and Trailokyavijaya in the court directly below the central court; in the first gate in the north are placed Śākyamuni and his retinue, the protective deities follow and then come the halls of Mañjuśrī, Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhī, Kṣitigarbha and Ākāśagarbha (*T*.848:6c-8c). The eight figures which surround Mahāvairocana in the central hall are the last to be installed and their installation is described in the thirteenth chapter (*T*.848:36c) of fascicle five, The Stage of Entering the Secret Mandala. The order of installation described in the eleventh chapter of fascicle five, the Secret Mandala (*T*.848:34a-36c), is identical to that given in the the Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala.

[127] Also common to both Faquan's manuals and the *Sheda yigui* is the ritual of accomplishments during the six moons which serves as a closing for these matrix rites.

[128] The placement of this assembly is the same in the manuscripts for the *Xuanfasi yigui* and the *Qinglongsi yigui* that the editors of the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* consulted. However, there seems to have been a version of the *Qinglongsi yigui* in which this assembly came after the ritual phases of the visualization of the sacred sanctuary and the offerings and before the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala. Shingō consulted (*T*.2231, p. 579a-580c) just such a version to write his commentary on Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui*.

[129] This ritual pattern, according to Gōhō (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 454b3-6), is based upon that given in the seventh fascicle of the *Vaircanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. The second chapter of the scripture's seventh fascicle, the *Zengyi shouhu qingjing xing pin* 增益守護清淨行品 (Increasing and Protecting Pure Conduct), explicates the ritual phase of the preliminary expedients. Its third chapter, the *Gongyang yishi pin* 供養儀式品 (Offering Ceremony), details the establishment of the altar, the visualization of the sacred sanctuary and the offerings to be presented to the deities. The fourth chapter of the seventh fascicle, the *Chisong faze pin* 持誦法則品 (Rules of Recitation), explains the ritual phase of recitation and identification. Descriptions of the mandala and its figures are, as discussed above, taken from the scripture's chapters on the Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala and the Secret Mandala. See also Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 72 and Todaro, "A Study of the Earliest *Garbha Vidhi* of the Shingon Sect," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 9/2, pp. 114-115.

[130] These emblems of the physical and spiritual attributes of the Tathāgata are also assigned to the Hall of Universal Wisdom of the *Asheli suochuan mantuluo* described in chapter six of the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* (*T*.1796: 636a-637a.). Here the *ācārya* declares (ibid, 641a) that the hook, armor, and so on which appear in this hall of the mandala, are all symbolic forms of the Tathāgata Mahāvairocana. Further, he instructs the maker of a figural mandala (*mahāmaṇḍala*) to depict these emblems of the Tathāgata in the form of goddesses who sit on lotus blossoms and hold in their hands a lotus topped with their particular attribute.

[131] In the *Guangda yigui* this assembly of the Tathāgata's body has been divided into two parts (*T*.851:95b-97a, 98a-b): the first part, which begins with the mudrā-mantra pair of the great sword of insight and ends with that of the repository of the Tathāgata 如來藏, comes immediately after the visualization of the sacred sanctuary and before the ritual phase of offering; the second part, which comprises the mudrā-mantra pairs from the Tathāgata's *uṣṇīṣa* to the wish-fulfilling gem of universal goodness 普賢如意珠, follows the ritual phase of offering but precedes the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala.

[132] *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 454a2-3. Gōhō also says that (ibid, p. 454a7-9) in other ritual manuals this assembly is performed after the installation of the deities into the mandala and prior to the ritual phase of recitation and

identification.

Gōhō, like Shingō, documents two versions of Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui*. This same passage in his *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki* continues (p. 454a3-7) as follows:

> In the first [explanation] again there are two [variations]. In one [variation] one performs it before the visualization of the sacred sanctuary. The *Qinglongsi yigui* [the version that] Chishō [Enchin returned with], the *Xuanfasi yigui* (...) are [examples of] this explanation. In another [variation] one performs it after the visualization of the mandala's assemblies. The *Guang[da yi]gui*, Shūei's manual and the *Qinglongsi yigui* are [examples of] this explanation. Then, as for performance of [this ritual phase] within the [ritual phase of the] assemblies [of the mandala], in the *She[da yi]gui*, (...), for example, one performs it in the Hall of Universal Wisdom [which is] performed during[the ritual phase of the] assemblies [of the mandala].

[133] *T*.2231:579a, 580c.

[134] *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 453b13-16.

[135] The practictioner realizes a union with Mahāvairocana in the manuals wherein this ritual phase comes after the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala and prior to the ritual phase of recitation and identification.

[136] Although not in disagreement with Gōhō's clarification of the meaning of this assembly of the Tathōgata's body, there are other interpretations in other Japanese commentaries. See Todaro, "A Study of the Earliest *Garbha Vidhi* of the Shingon Sect," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 9/2, p. 126. For discussions of the significance of this assembly, see also Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 496-510 and Ueda, *Shingon mikkyō jisō gaisetsu* (Kyōto: Dōmeisha, 1986), p. 408.

[137] I have discussed the purposeful combining of elements of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in such ritual manuals as the *Shewuai yigui* (*T*.20.1067), *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyuqie guanzhi yigui* (*T*.19.1000) and *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingshifa jing* (*T*.19. 1001), *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqia yuqi jing* (*T*.18.867), and the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* (*T*.19.973), for example, in Chapters Three and Six of this dissertation.

[138] *T*.853:145c18-19, 852:110a10-11.

[139] In his *Renge taizōkai giki kaishaku* (*T*.2231, p. 571c16-21) Shingō explains that the ground of the ritual site, which is transformed into a pure land when the practitioner performs this mudrā-mantra pair, is formed by means of the seed letters of the five elements of space, wind, fire, water and earth. He then provides the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*'s elaboration of this yogic process which involves the practitioner's visualization of and union with these five elements and their seed letters. Gōhō corroborates Shingō's clarification of the purpose of this mudrā-mantra pair in his *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki* (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 82a2-b10). He also includes the exposition of this mudrā-mantra pair that the Tendai monk Annen gives in his study of the matrix rite, the *Taizōkai daihō taijuki*. According to Annen, the practitioner creates three grounds with the performance of this mudrā-mantra pair: the first is that of the ritual site, the second is that of his own mind and the third is that of the minds of all beings.

[140] See *T*.912:929b23-26. Works translated, or composed, by Amoghavajra are the *Wuliangshou rulai niansong yigui* 無量壽如来念誦儀軌 (*T*.2120:839c9, published as *Wuliangshou rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* 無量壽如来觀行供養儀軌, *T*.19. 930) and the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* (*T*.20.1123). An example attributed to Amoghavajra is the *Dale Jingangsaduo xiuxing niansong yigui* (*T*.20.1119 and listed in *T*.2157:880b12-13). See Hatta Yukio, *Shingon jiten*, p. 96, No. 640.

[141] *T*.19. 930:69a27-b5. The ritual structure of this manual compares to that of Amoghavajra's *Ruyilun niansong fa* 如意輪念誦法 (*T*.2120:839c20, published as *T*.20.1085, *Guanzizai pusa ruyilun niantong yigui* 觀自在菩薩如意輪念誦儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Contemplation and Recitation of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara-Cintamanicakra), whose main mudrā-mantra pairs have been drawn from the ritual tradition of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. See Appendix B, pp. 188-189, and Orzech, "A Tang Esoteric Manual for Rebirth in the Pure Land: Rites for Contemplation and Offerings

to Amitāyus Tathāgata" *Path of No Path*: *Contemporary Studies in Pure Land Buddhism Honoring Roger Corless*, ed. R. K. Payne (Berkeley: Institute of Buddhist Studies and Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2009), pp. 31-55.

[142] See *T*.852:112a5-6 and 853:148c3-5 for this mantra. For this ritual phase, see *T*.852:110b-c, 112b-c and 853:146a-c, 148c-149a.

[143] *T*.852:112b10-16, 18-20 and 853:148c10-16, 18-20. Faquan has taken this passage of his rite from the *Vaircanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s eleventh chapter of the Secret Mandala (*T*.848: 34a4-13).

[144] *T*.18.873:303b24-c11.

[145] *T*.851:93a6-20, *T*.873: 303c1-3.

[146] *T*.852:112b7-9 and 853:148c6-9.

[147] *T*.2231:574c27-575a12.

[148] See passage in endnote 143 above and *T*.848:48a20-b5, 852:112b20-c6 and 853:148c20-149a6.

[149] Some works are: *T*.18.865, 866, 873, *T*.20.1123, 1119 and 1122 (see *T*.2157:881a6-7). See Gōhō, *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki, Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, p. 525a15-17 and Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, p. 31, No. 155.

A final element from the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm that is performed only in Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui* is the series of mudrā-mantra pairs of the four immeasurable minds (*catvāri apramāṇāni cittāni, T*.853:144c27-145a13), which Faquan has inserted immediately after the nine expedient means in the ritual phase of preliminary expedients and prior to the mudrā-mantra pairs of the series of the entering of the pledge, the birth of the Dharma Realm and the turning of the wheel of the teaching. Although an ancient Buddhist concept that is found in both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts, an Esoteric Budhist version, called the contemplation of the four immeasurable minds, appears in Amoghavajra's ritual manuals. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol.3, pp. 2101a-2102c, *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1033-4, Oda, *Buddkyō daijiten*, pp. 761-762 and Gōhō, *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki, Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, pp. 56a-57b. The nine expedient means, the entering of the pledge, the birth of the Dharma Realm, and the turning of the wheel of the teaching are ritual acts fundamental to the rite described in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s chapter of the Increasing and Protecting Pure Practices. See *T*.848:46a-47b, Gōhō, *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki, Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, pp. 60b-67b and Ueda, "Daishi gosaku taizō shidai no kōsatsu," *Mikkyō gakkai hō*, vol. 23, p. 52.

[150] The mudra-mantra pair of the procedure of holding the earth deities is inserted between the mudrā-mantra pair of surprising the earth deities and that of purification by sprinkling water. See *T*.852:109c24-110a9, 110a12-16; 853:145c8-17, c25-29. The ritual acts of surprising the earth deities and purifying the site are performed in the ritual phase of the construction of the altar and are based upon the instructions given in the scripture's chapter of the Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala. See *T*.848:4c-5a and Gōhō, *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*, *Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, pp. 77b-78b and 84a-b. The mudrā-mantra pair of the great ocean comes after that of the consort whose powers are without hindrance 無能害力明妃 and is followed by that of the lotus held by Vajrapāṇi which, as discussed above, establishes the realm of the flower repository. See *T*.852:112a27-b2, b7-9; 853:148b25-29, c6-8. Both Shingō in his *Renge taizōkai giki kaishaku* (*T*.2231:581b10-11) and Gōhō in his *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki* (*Shingon zensho*, vol. 25:510b10-11) cite the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*'s explanation of the meaning of *munōgai* as that of "without hindrance" 無障礙. The mudrā-mantra pair of the consort whose powers are without hindrance is expounded in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s eighth chapter, the *Zhuanzilun mantuluoxing* 轉字輪曼荼羅行品 (Practice of the Mandala of the Revolving Wheel of Letters). See *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*, *Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, pp. 510b7-9. According to the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*, which both Shingō and Gōhō quote in their exegeses, this mudrā-mantra pair allows the practitioner to enter the enlightened realm of the Tathāgata and so to assume the same virtuous qualities as the Tathāgata. See *Renge taizōkai giki kaishaku*, *T*.2231:581b6-14 and *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*, *Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, p. 510b10-15. Faquan thus uses this mudrā-mantra pair to conclude the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body and to precede the ritual phase of the visualization of the sacred

sanctuary. The mudrā-mantra pair for sending off the deities is not embedded in ritual acts from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and this is because this act concludes Faquan's rite.

[151] *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki, Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, p. 16a13-b5.

[152] The deities and their mantras, and thus the mandalas, in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* are, for the most part, identical. There are a few exceptions; see endnote 118 above.

[153] Although Shingō notes in his *Renge taizōkai giki kaishaku* that some figures who appear in the mandala do not have a mantra, he offers no explanation. Ōmura (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 5, pp. 812-813), too, noted this discrepancy between the number of figures and mantras in Faquan's manuals.

[154] *T*.850:72b9-73a19; 852:115a28-b9; 853:153a21-b1.

[155] These figures are not the Offering and Gathering Bodhisattvas from the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, as stated by Ōmura (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 5, p. 820) but are the small attendant figures that can be seen in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*.

[156] For an investigation of the iconographic sources of these figures, see Sawa, *Mikkyo jiten*, pp. 719-720, 467-468, 547, 690-691 and 589-590, and Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 29-45.

[157] *T*.850:74c9-75a28; 852:117c19-118c19; 853:156a17-157a16.

[158] See Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 103-114.

[159] See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 12a-14c and illustrations no. 3 and 4. I discuss the *Bizangji* and its significance in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

[160] One small variation is the different placement of the group of figures of Tumuburu, Jaya, Vijaya, Ajita and Aparajita in the Hall of Mañjuśrī and of the figure of Bodhisattva Mahācakra in the Hall of Ākāśagarbha (fig. 34). See also *T*.852:116a18-19, 118a10; 853:154a26-27, 156b1. A second small difference is seen in the *Xuanfasi yigui* (*T*.852:125c9, 11). The positions of the figures of Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara in the central court of this mandala do not correspond to the placement of these figures in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s central court. The positions of these figures in the *Qinglongsi yigui*'s central court (*T*.853:151c15) do, however, agree with those in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*.

[161] See Ishida's *Mandara no kenkyū* for a thorough discussion of the textual sources of the figures in the *Genzu mandara*. An instance of the presence of the iconography of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Faquan's focal mandala is evident in a note under the mantra of Trailokyavijaya in the *Xuanfasi yigui*'s ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala (*T*.852:120a24). This note states that this figure is the same as the figure of this deity who appears in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界降三世也.

[162] Despite the fact that the *Sheda yigui*'s focal mandala and the *Taizang tuxiang* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2977) include in their Halls of Universal Wisdom the numerous personifications of the virtues of the Tathāgata, which suggests a relationship between these two works, the striking differences of composition and the names and numbers of figures in the other courts of these mandalas argue otherwise. Ishida discusses both works in detail in his *Mandara no kenkyū*.

[163] See my discussion of the mandalas that Kūkai introduced in Chapter Three and related endnotes.

[164] I discuss the *Bizangji* and Huiguo's transmission in Chapter Three and related endnotes.

[165] The Shingon school attributes a number of matrix rites to Kūkai which they have collected in their *Kōbō daishi zenshū*. The scholar Ueda Reijō has analysized these rites and has convincingly attributed the original forms of the *Taizō bonji shidai* (Ritual Procedure [with] *Siddhaṃ* Letters for the Matrix Repository, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp.

247-90) and the *Taizō ryaku shidai* (Abbreviated Ritual Procedure for the Matrix Respository, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 291-341) to Kūkai. It is to these two ritual manuals that I refer when I discuss Kūkai's matrix rite. See Ueda, "Daishi gosaku taizō shidai no kōsatsu," *Mikkyō gakkaihō*, vol. 23, pp. 50-5, and Todaro, "A Study of the Earliest *Garbha Vidhi* of the Shingon Sect," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 9/2, pp. 110-12.

[166] See endnote 129.

[167] A number of manuals for the rite of the adamantine realm have also been attributed to Kūkai but, because at present scholars accept only the *Kongōkai ōshi shidai* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 199-243) as a work composed by Kūkai, I have consulted this ritual manual. See Ueda, "Daishi gosaku taizō shidai kōsatsu," *Mikkyō gakkaihō*, vol. 23, p. 49. Amoghavajra's rite is the model for the Shingon school's rite of the adamantine realm; see Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 590 and Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 54.

[168] Toganoo, (*Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 44), for example, states Kūkai took these elements from Amoghavajra's *Ruyilun niansong fa* (*T*.1085). See Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission, endnote 199.

[169] *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 218-230; *T*.18.873:305a-308c.

[170] *Taizō bonji shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 255-283 and the *Taizō ryaku shidai, Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 297-335.

[171] *Taizō bonji shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 282 and the *Taizō ryaku shidai, Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 334.

[172] *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 216; *T*.873:304c-305a. The contents of the mantras of the gathering deities in Kūkai's matrix rite differ slightly from those in his rite of the adamantine realm.

[173] Ueda argues ("Daishi gosaku taizō shidai no kōsatsu," *Mikkyō gakkaihō*, vol. 23, pp. 55-6) that, because the author of the *Taizō bonji shidai* and the *Taizō ryaku shidai* has relied exclusively on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its commentary to compose the rite, the original forms of these manuals were written by Kūkai.

[174] See Ueda, "Daishi gosaku taizō shidai no kōsatsu," *Mikkyō gakkaihō*, vol. 23, pp. 52-5 and Todaro, "A Study of the Earliest *Garbha Vidhi* of the Shingon School," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 9/2, pp. 120-32.

[175] *Taizō bonji shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 247; *Taizō ryaku shidai, Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 291; *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 201; *T*.873:299b.

[176] *Taizō bonji shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 249; *Taizō ryaku shidai, Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 292; *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 205 (金剛眼, *kongōgen*); *T*.873:300b.

[177] *Taizō bonji shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 252-3; *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 211-212 and in an appended visualization of the sacred site on pp. 236-7; *T*.873:303b-c.

[178] *Taizō bonji shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 286; *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 234.

[179] See *T*.893:616a26-b8 and these four mudra-mantra pairs appear in an expanded rite in *T*.894:699b28-700b8. These mudrā-mantra pairs enable the practitioner to establish the sacred site by putting vajra poles in the ground and constructing a vajra wall and then, once the deities have been invited to enter this sacred area, to seal off and protect the site from the outside world by spanning a vajra net above and a wall of fire around it.

[180] *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 205, 217.

[181] *Taizō bonji shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 249, 255 and the *Taizō ryaku shidai, Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 293, 297.

[182] Enchin's documentation of Faquan's teachings on the mantras of the threefold accomplishments disclose what some of the Japanese Tendai esoteric lineages came to consider the special mantra of the accomplishment category that had not been given in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. For thorough discssions of this problem, see Misaki, "Taimitsu no soshijji wo meguru shomondai," *Mikkyo bunka*, vol. 149, pp. 79-95, esp. pp. 80-84, "Taimitsu no soshijji ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 10/1 (1962), pp. 217-220 and his *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 521-524, 536-37; Mizugami Fumiyoshi, "Shoki Taimitsu no soshijji sōjō ni tsuite," *Tendai gakuhō*, vol. 24 (November 1982), pp. 163-166 and Kitagawa Shinkan, "*Keiran shūyō shū* ni okeru mikkyō kyōsetsu no tenkai — kakkan no kōsei to soshitsuji wo chūshin toshite," paper presented at the 43rd Conference of Doctrinal Studies of the Tendai school (2002), pp. 4-8.

[183] His disciples Ennin, Enchin and Shūei also based their matrix rites upon the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. An examination of the ritual manuals of Faquan's disciples discloses, on the one hand, a faithful perpetuation of their master's teachings and, on the other hand, the focuses and concerns unique to each disciple. Ennin has patterned his *Taizōkai koshin ki* 胎藏界虛心記 (Record [of the rite] for the Realm of the Matrix Repository [beginning with the mudrā of the] Empty Mind in *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 41, *Tendaishū mikkyō sōsho* 1, pp. 181-230) after Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui*. Enchin has based the structure and content of the rite and mandala in his *Daihizō yuga ki* 大祕藏瑜伽記. (Record of the Yoga of the Great Secret Repository in *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 41, *Tendaishū mikkyō sōsho* 1, pp. 553-565) on Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui*. Three ritual handbooks for the matrix rite are attributed to Shūei and his circle of immediate disciples; these are the *Taizō furai gosan shidai* 胎藏普禮五三次第 (Ritual Procedure for the Matrix Repository [beginning with the steps] Universal Reverence for the Five [Families of the Adamantine Realm] and for the Three [Families of the Matrix Realm]), the *Sarai hōben shidai* 作禮方便次第 (Ritual Procedure [for the Matrix Repository that begins with the step] Expedient Means of Paying Reverence), and the *Taizōkai nenju shidai* 胎藏界念誦次第 (Ritual Procedure for Visualization and Recitation [Practice on] the Realm of the Matrix Repository) in *Kōbō Daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 342-394, 396-453, 454-491. Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui* has served as a model for both the *Taizō furai gosan shidai* and the *Taizōkai nenju shidai*. The *Sarai hōben shidai*, on the other hand, is closely patterned after Faquan's *Xuaṇfasi yigui*.

[184] See Chapter Four, where I demonstrate that Amoghavajra's translations of portions of the first and second chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Liqujing*, as well as these scriptures' accompanying commentaries and ritual manuals resulted in the template for the iconographic program of Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies.

[185] See Chapter Five for the relevant materials recorded in the inventories of Ennin, Enchin and Shūei.

[186] See Chapter One.

[187] See *T*.243:784c8-18, *T*.1003:611b9-21. For Amoghavajra's presentation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s second chapter on Trailokyavijaya, see his *Jingangding yuqie jing shibahui zhigui* (*T*.869:285a15-c8) in Chapter One, pp. 15-16.

[188] See *T*.848:7b22-25 (Mandala Born from Great Compassion) and 34c14-15 (Secret Mandala).

Conclusion

[1] Some examples of this evidence are: Zhao Qian's biography of Amoghavajra, which records that Vajrabodhi's transmission contained "manuals on *Susiddhi*, and many mantra practices for the Family of Buddhoṣṇīṣas" and that Amoghavajra's transmission included "the categories of mantras and scriptures of the *Vajroṣṇīṣa*, *Vairocana* and *Susiddhi*"; the unknown author of Huiguo's biography, dated ca. 826-830, who records that (*T*.2057:295b19-21, b27-29) Huiguo also transmitted books on the *Susiddhi*, but he makes no mention (*T*.2057:295c23-26) of Kūkai receiving the *Susiddhi* teachings; and the *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqie yuqi jing*, a work that was not listed in any Tang Dynasty catalogue but was composed by the time of Kūkai's journey to China.

[2] Jinhua Chen, "The Construction of Early Tendai Esoteric Buddhism: The Japanese Provenance of Saichō's Transmission Documents and Three Esoteric Buddhist Aprocrypha Attributed to Śubhaakarasiṃha," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 21/1 (1998), pp. 21-76.

[3] See Chapter Two where I document Kakuzen's reference to Ningai's icon in his *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, p. 706a12-21 and its illustration on p. 708, No. 88.

[4] *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 1042b1-1043a1.

Appendix A

[1] Allowance must be made for the fact that the figures of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* are line drawings in black ink. For example, the Daigoji Mahāvairocana is much simpler than the elaborately ornamented figure of Mahāvairocana in the *Genzu mandara*. The head and body haloes of the figures are common to both the Daigoji exemplar and the *Genzu mandara*. Compare, for example, the *Omuro* printed edition 御室版 of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 633, No. 1) and the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 893, No. 1).

[2] This is not the only way to approach the categorization of these figures. In his *Mandara no kenkyū* (pp. 63-65), Ishida Hisatōyō defines two types of the Vajrasattva figure that appear in the Sino-Japanese tradition of the mandala. Ishida's first type, which is represented by the Vajrasattva figure who holds a *vajra* in his right hand and forms a fist with his left hand (my type 3), is the oldest and stems from the earliest Chinese version of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, the *Liduosengnieluo wubu xinguan* 悝多僧蘗囉五部心觀 (Mentally Visualizing [the Venerables] of the Five Families of the *Ṛtasaṃgraha*). The Tendai pilgrim-monk Enchin returned to Japan with a copy of the *Wubu xinguan* that he had received from his Chinese master Faquan in 855. Enchin's original copy, line drawings in black ink on paper, is in the possession of Onjōji 園城寺 in Shiga. The inscriptions on this scroll are published in *Hikishū* 批記集 (A Collection of Commentarial Notes), *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1284a. See also Ōmura Seigai (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, pp. 424-245) who records the inscriptions on a copy of the *Wubu xinguan* in the possession of Daigoji. I present the contents of these inscriptions in Chapter Five of this dissertation. An Edo period copy in the possession of Onjōji's Hōmyoin is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2974, pp. 75-148.

The *Wubu xinguan* depicts the Venerables of the six mandalas that are expounded in the first chapter of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, as well as their emblems (*samaya*), mudrās and mantras. Tradition has it that Indian Esoteric Buddhist master Śubhākarasiṃha 善無畏 (637-735) drew the original of this mandala in accordance with a Sanskrit version of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. (For a discussion of the relationship between text and image, see Ono Genmyō, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi,* pp. 507-524.)

Despite differences in the way of grasping the *vajra* with the right hand and the position of the left fist, Ishida states that the type that most closely resembles the figure in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s *Kongōshu in* 金剛手院 (Hall of the Vajrapāṇis) is that of Vajrasattva in the assemblies of the *Wubu xinguan*. Compare the figure the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 673, No. 52) to that in the *Wubu xinguan* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 77, No. 6. The figure of Vajrasattva, who holds a vajra in his right hand and a bell in his left hand (my type 1), is a new type that Amoghavajra introduced to China when he returned from his trip to India in 746. Amoghavajra had gone to India after the death of his master, Vajrabodhi, in 741 to collect Esoteric Buddhist materials that were not yet available in China (see Chapter Four). This figure type was the result of new influences on Indian Esoteric Buddhism initiated by the mid-eighth-century monk Padmasambhava (Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 63-65 and 236-237. Ishida's second type of Vajrasattva, who holds a *vajra* and bell, is common in the Tibetan tradition). Ishida thus categorizes the Vajrasattva figures according to the date of their reception into Chinese Esoteric Buddhism.

[3] This type also appears as a retinue figure in the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (No. 12).

[4] See the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 894, No. 7, p. 924, No. 142, p. 956, No. 283, p. 963, No. 296). The iconography of the figure of Vajrasattva in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne* (Perfected Body Assembly) is also described in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 12a21-22) and this iconographic

prescription agrees with Amoghavajra's mandala instructions in *Liqushi* 2 (*T*.1003:610c27-28), a work which predates both the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* and the *Bizangji*. The difference is that the *Bizangji* prescribes a five-pronged instrument, whereas Amoghavajra simply calls it a pounder. See also Amoghavajra's translation of a related Vajrasattva ritual manual, the *Puxian Jingangsaduo lue yuqie niansong yigui* 普賢金剛薩埵略瑜伽念誦儀軌 (*T*.20.1124:532c2-3), wherein such a Vajrasattva figure-type is described.

[5] This type is seen in mandalas 3, 4, 9, 10 and 12 of the Daigoji exemplar.

[6] A likely candidate for the source of this influence is Trailokyavijaya, a fierce manifestation of Vajrasattva, who appears in another Chinese version of the matrix mandala called the *Taizang jiutuyang* 胎藏旧圖樣 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, pp. 480-565). This predates the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. (A colophon at the end of this scroll links this work to Enchin; see *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 563. The colophon is also published in *Hikishū*, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1283a. See also Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, p. 387-388, and Yoritomi Motohiro, "Chishō daishi shōrai no bukkyō zuzō," *Chishō daishi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1989), pp. 489-516, esp. pp. 504-505.) The figure of Trailokyavijaya in the *Taizang jiutuyang* (illustrated in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 492, No. 20) holds a *vajra* in the same characteristic horizontal manner, but in his right hand.

On the other hand, in the oldest Chinese version of the matrix mandala, the *Taizang tuxiang* 胎藏圖像 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, pp. 195-302) said to have been drawn by Śubhākarasiṃha, a figure who is labeled Vajradharmagarbha 執金剛藏 heads the Vajra Family, and although Vajradharmagarbha does not hold the *vajra* in this characteristic horizontal manner, he does have it in his left hand (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 226, No. 96). The two scrolls of line drawings in black ink on paper are an early Kamakura copy of the original that Enchin had made during his stay in Chang'an in 855. (See also *Hikishū*, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 1283b, Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, p. 387 and Yoritomi, "Chishō daishi shōrai no bukkyō zuzō," *Chishō daishi kenkyū*, pp. 496-504.) It is in the custody of the Nara National Museum.

A figure called the Holder of Adamantine Wisdom 持金剛慧, also called Vajragarbha 金剛藏, who holds a *vajra* in his left hand, heads the Vajra Family in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*. This information is also given in a ritual manual attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, the *Sheda piluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing rulianhua taizang haihui beisheng mantuluo guangda niansong yigui gongyang fangbian hui* 攝大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經入蓮華胎藏海會悲生曼荼羅廣大念誦儀軌供養方便會 (*T*.18.848:7a23-29 and *T*.18.850:75b). It is also found in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏, Yixing's 一行 commentary on Śubhākarasiṃha's *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* (*T*.39. 1796: 632c17-633a5; see also *Shosetsu fudōki*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 49c-50a). In the *Asheli suochuan mantuluo* 阿闍梨所傳曼陀羅 (Acarya-Transmitted Mandala), whose description and list of figures appears in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*'s commentary on the second chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, this figure is called Vajradhara 執金剛 (*T*.1796:637, column c).

In the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* the mandalas described in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* are called "abbreviated versions" – the "longer versions" were to be provided by the Master himself. One such "long version" is the Acarya-Transmitted Mandala. Ōmura Seigai describes and reproduces this Acarya-Transmitted Mandala in his *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, pp. 391-393. Ishida (*Mandara no kenkyū*, p. 48) found the iconographical descriptions that correspond to this figure in Bodhiruci's two texts *T*.19.951:230b, 248a and *T*.20.1092:270a.

Thus, the name of the figure who heads the Vajra Family in the *Taizang tuxiang* is no more than a combination of the two appellations given in the relevant textual sources. Vajradharmagarbha, Vajragarbha and Vajradhara are different names for the figure who heads the Vajra Family and holds a vajra in his left hand. This figure seems to be the most likely prototype for the Daigoji *Vajrasattva* Type (2). Further, Vajradhara is also known as Vajrapāṇi 金剛手 (*Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 861). In the *Taizang jiutuyang*, the figure who heads the Vajra Family and who holds the emblems of Vajrasattva, a *vajra* in his right hand and a bell in his left, is labeled Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (see the illustration in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 495, No. 27). In accordance with the mandala prescriptions in *Liqushi* 11 (*T*.1003: 615b24-25), this figure, who holds a *vajra* in his left hand, is the focus of the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (No. 12) in the Daigoji exemplar.

[7] The *Bizangji* precisely stipulates this iconography for Vajrasattva, who heads the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* Kongō (Vajra) Family, and the Shingon and Tendai writings on the *Genzu mandara* and the *zenbon* agree. See the descriptions in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 13a), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1:49b-50c, esp. 50c), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 146c28-147a12), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 958a13-15), *Eizanbon daihi*

taizō daimandara (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 657, No. 298) and the *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 781 [turn page upside down] left side). The only difference in these descriptions is that the *vajra* is either one-pronged, three-pronged, or five-pronged.

[8] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 77 (No. 6).

[9] *T*.8.243:784b22-23. This Vajrasattva type is also prescribed in Amoghavajra's translation of a Vajrasattva Ritual Manual titled the *Jingangding yuqie Jingangsaduo wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五秘密修行念誦儀軌 (*T*.20.1125: 536c6-8).

[10] See the illustrations of these figures in the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 896, No. 17) and *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 650), as well as the descriptions in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 12a28 and 12c17-18), Shinjaku's *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 24a18-20), Shunnyū's *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 193c2) and his *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 142a10-11), Kakuchō's *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 955b17), Chūjin's *Eizanbon kongōkai daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 700, No. 21*)* and *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 668, No. 333) and the *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 782 [turn page upside down] right side).

[11] *T*.1003:611a1-2.

[12] The figure of Avalokiteśvara in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s *Chūdai hachiyō in* that is described in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12c8), Shinjaku's *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 31c16-18), Shunnyū's *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 138b25), as well as the Avalokiteśvara in the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 643, No. 8)*,* whose iconography corresponds to the textual descriptions in the *Bizangji*, *Shosetsu fudōki* and *Taizō shichishū*, holds the lotus in his right hand. The Tendai works, *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 954a9), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 684, No. 376), as well as *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 793), also describe a figure of Avalokiteśvara holding a lotus in his right hand, with his open left palm at his chest.

[13] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 202, No. 10.

[14] For instance, in the second chapter of Śubhākarasiṃha's *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, the *Ru mantuluo juyuan zhenyan pin* 入曼荼羅具緣眞言品 (Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala), the source for the mandala that depicts anthropomorphic forms, Avalokiteśvara's attributes are not specified (*T*.848:6c29-7a2). Yixing explains in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* the Buddhist meaning of Avalokiteśvara and elaborates on the significance of his white color, without mentioning his attributes (*T*.1796:632a19-27).

[15]Ono Genmyō made the first detailed iconographic study of the *Taizang tuxiang* in his *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, pp. 388-487. The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* outlines the basic features of a number of mandalas, but the text has only condensed descriptions of these mandalas. In *Mandara no kenkyū* Ishida thus set out to identify those figures in the various versions of the matrix mandala who cannot be identified by means of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* (*T*.848), its commentary (*T*.1796) and the associated ritual manuals (*T*.18.850, 851, 852, 853). He concludes that the textual source of many of the figures in the *Taizang tuxiang* is neither Śubhākarasiṃha's translation of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* nor its related texts, but two works translated by the Indian monk Bodhiruci 菩提流志 (?-727), the *Yizi Foding lunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 (*T*.19.951) and *Bukongjuansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羂索神變眞言經 (*T*.20.1092). However, although Ishida points out a close connection between Śubhākarasiṃha's mandala and Bodhiruci's texts, he does not explain the reason behind this connection.

In English, Ulrich Mammitzsch provides an examination of the mandalas described in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, its commentary, and related ritual manuals in his study *Evolution of the Garbhadhatu Mandala* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1991). See his chapter 4, "The Pre-Genzu Mandalas," pp. 80-173.

The description of Avalokiteśvara is found on *T*.951:230b.

[16] It is interesting to note that this Avalokiteśvara Type (2) is also seen in the Buddhalocanā Mandala 佛眼曼陀羅 (fig.

8) that is appended to the Daigoji exemplar (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 795, No. 20). The iconographic source of the Buddhalocanā Mandala is the *Jingangfeng louke yiqie yuqie yuqi jing* 金剛峰樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 (hereafter, the *Yuqijing*, *T.*18.867). However, the passage that gives the features of this mandala in *Yuqijing* ch. 9 (*T.*867:263a22-23) simply states that the eight Great Bodhisattvas, who encircle Buddhalocanā and of whom Avalokiteśvara is one, hold their emblems (*samaya*). I discuss this chapter of the *Yuqijing* in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

[17] See *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 925 (No. 147) and 957 (No. 284), respectively.

[18] The *Liqushi* (*T.*1003: 610c29) states that Ākāśagarbha holds in his right hand the adamantine jewel and forms with his left hand the gesture of granting wishes. This prescription corresponds with that given for the figure of Vajraratna in the *Kongōkai Jōjin'ne* in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12a25) and in Shunnyū's *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 193a21-22. The figure of Ākāśagarbha in Amoghavajra's *Bada pusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼陀羅經 (*T.*20.1167:675b25-26) makes the same mudrā with his right hand and holds the jewel in his left hand.

[19] See *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 721, No. 123), as well as the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 13b27-28), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 75b1-3), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 158c5-6), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō,* vol. 2, p. 967b18), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 650, No. 279) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 787).

[20] This collection is attributed to Eju 慧什 (ac. 1129-after 1144). See Chapter Five, endnote 61. This work is published in the *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3 and the illustration is No. 47 on page [illegible].

[21] *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 22. In 717, Śubhākarasiṃha translated the text for this rite (*T.*20.1145), whose focus is Ākāśagarbha in the form of the morning star Venus. The following year, this text was brought to Japan. In this practice the practitioner is said to attain the ability to remember all that he has seen and heard. It was undertaken in order to memorize the sutras (for a discussion, see Sawa Ryūken, *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 150). This rite was practiced in Japan during the Nara period, and Kūkai had performed it before he journeyed to China in 804 in search of instruction in the tantric methods. The *Besson zakki* by Shinkaku 心覺 (1117-1181) includes two illustrations of this type of Ākāśagarbha. On one, there is the following inscription:

> [illegible]命僧以之本尊大師又 以之修求聞持法. The Monk [illegible]myō used this [figure] as the main image. The Great Teacher [Kūkai] also used this [figure] to perform the rite of the Gumonji. [*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 252, illustrations No. 102 and 103.]

The inscription is on No. 103. Shinkaku copied the information about this figure and the rite from the *Zuzōshō* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 254).

[22] See *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 699, No. 85). Shinjaku states in his *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 60c7-8) that the figure of Trailokyavijaya in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* has three faces, whereas the figure in the *aruzu* has four faces. In the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 13a29), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 960a19), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 677, No. 363) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 779) this figure has four faces. Shunnyū's *Ishiyama shichishū* records a four-faced figure under the rubric 'seal aspects' 印相 (*insō*; *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 40b19) and a three-faced figure under the rubric 'illustration' 圖 (*zu*; ibid, p. 140b26).

[23] See *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b4-5), *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 194b28-29), which quotes the *Bizangji*, and *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 897, No. 25).

[24] See prescriptions in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12c7) and *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 31b14-17), which state this figure holds a three-pronged vajra. The figure in the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 642, No. 7) holds a three-pronged vajra. The *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 138c8-9) and *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 954a4) record a five-pronged vajra, the *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 683, No. 375) records that the vajra is either a three- or a five-pronged vajra, and the *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 793) notes a five-pronged vajra and records that the *Bizangji* gives a three-pronged vajra.

[25] See *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 727, No. 134), *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 13c10-11), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 77a22-25), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 159b21-22; hands and attributes are opposite to those recorded in *Bizangji*), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 969a5; hands and attributes correspond to those given in *Ishiyama shichishū*), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 650, No. 280; illustration corresponds to *Omuro* image and *Bizangji* prescriptions, but hands and attributes correspond to those given in *Ishiyama shichishū* and *Taizō mandara ryakki*) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 787; same description as in *Ishiyama shichishū*, *Taizō mandara ryakki* and *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara*).

[26] See *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 732, No. 147), *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 13c8-9; mistakenly labeled as Bodhisattva Susiddhikara), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 79c12-17), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 158c9-12), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 969c17-19), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 648, No. 274) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 786).

[27] See *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, 1: 897, No. 22). The iconography of Vajrakarma is the same in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b2-3), and in the *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 194a13-14), which quotes the *Bizangji*.

In *Liqushi* 9 (*T*.1003:614c2-4) Amoghavajra prescribes the iconography for the figure of Gaganagañja. He holds in his right hand the double vajra 羯磨杵 (*katsuma sho*) and his left hand forms a vajra fist that is placed on his left thigh. See Hunter, "The *Rishukyō mandara* Said to Have Been Introduced by Shūei," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 8, pp. 371-388, esp. p. 382.

[28] See *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 959 (No. 286). This is the iconography that Amoghavajra stipulates for Gaganagañja in *Liqushi* 9. In the Daigoji Opening Assembly Mandala (No. 1) this figure holds in his right hand a long-stemmed lotus topped with the double vajra.

[29] *T*.1003:615a19-27 and *T*.243:785b26-29. Sarvamāra-pramardin is also called Vajrayakṣa in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865: 213a16-b12) and his emblem is the fang. Subjugation by means of wrath is the theme of this chapter of the *Liqujing* (*T*.243:785b21-29), and there are numerous passages in both the *Liqujing* and the *Liqushi* that would argue for the depiction of Sarvamāra-pramardin as a wrathful Vajrayakṣa. See *T*.1003:608a22, 614c20-615a1 and Chapter Four, endnote 59.

[30] The hand gestures and attributes of these two figures of Sarvamāra-pramardin are the reverse of each other.

[31] Although the *Bizangji* states (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 13a24) that the Vajradaṃṣṭra in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kongōshu in* holds a lotus topped with a fang in his left hand, the figure of Vajradaṃṣṭra in the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 690, No. 69) holds in his left hand a lotus topped with a half of a three-pronged vajra. Shinjaku's description of the Vajradaṃṣṭra of the *Genzu mandara* in his *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 55c24-27) corroborates the iconography of the Omuro figure. (See also the *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 150b26-27), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 959a16), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 664, No. 319) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 781), whose descriptions correspond to that of Shinjaku and the Omuro illustration.) However, in the *Kongōshu in* of the Mountain illustration that Shinjaku describes in his *Shosetsu fudōki* (ibid, 27-28), the figure of Vajradaṃṣṭra holds a lotus topped with two fangs, like that of Sarvamāra-pramardin in the Daigoji exemplar. (This type of Sarvamāra-pramardin also appears in the Buddhalocanā Mandala (fig. 8) appended to the Daigoji exemplar). Thus, the *Bizangji*'s record of the figure of Vajradaṃṣṭra holding a lotus topped with a fang in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kongōshu in* and the depiction of the same figure in the Mountain illustration's *Kongōshu in* suggests that the common source for the iconography was a Chinese matrix mandala.

[32] See *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 14a2-4), *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 704-706, Nos. 94-97; Candraprabha's attributes are opposite those given in the *Bizangji*), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 67a28-68a26; Candraprabha's attributes correspond to the figure in the Omuro illustration), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 161b20-162a13; iconographic prescriptions for these figures match on the whole, although there are some discrepancies when compared to the above three works), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, pp. 965b13-966a3), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, pp. 619-620, Nos. 197-200) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, pp. 784-785).

[33] For Mahākāla's iconography, see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 804, No. 374), as well as the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p.14c15-16; no specific attributes are mentioned), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 127b7-c12), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 171c7-9), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 977a7-9), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 592, No. 86) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 792). The descriptions in the Tendai works correspond to the information given in *Ishiyama shichishū*.

For Brahmā's iconography, see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 810, No. 392), *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 14a26-27; prescribes four hands but only specifies the three attributes), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 131a17-b24), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 169a17-18), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 971b5-6; corresponds to description in *Ishiyama shichishū*), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 597, No. 107; corresponds to prescriptions given in *Ishiyama shichishū* and *Taizō mandara ryakki*) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 805; corresponds to information in *Ishiyama shichishū*, *Taizō mandara ryakki* and *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara*).

[34] In the Daigoji Three Brothers Mandala, Nārāyaṇa holds his symbol, an eight-spoked wheel, in his left hand and forms a fist with his right hand, but in the Sarvamāra-pramardin Mandala (No. 11) this figure holds the wheel in his right hand and makes a fist with his left hand. This is the iconography for Nārāyaṇa prescribed in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b18), the *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 198b25-c3) and seen in the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 902, No. 39 *Jōjin'ne*, No. 189 *Misai e*).

In *Liqushi* 11 降三世教令輪品 Amoghavajra instructs the practitioner to create a mandala (*T.*1003:615b21-c3) whose two outer courts contain the five types of gods of the Outer Vajra Family 五類外金剛諸天 and their consorts 五種天之妃后. He states (*T.*1003b26-c3):

> In the first court draw the five types of gods of the Outer Vajra Family. [These are] the so-called rulers of the Heavens of the Upper Spheres, such as Nārāyaṇa and the four others. Also draw the sky-roving [gods], such as Āditya and the four others. Draw also the four Vināyaka, who dwell in space, placing each in the four gates in the four directions. Also draw the four earth-dwelling [gods], such as [He who is] Head of the Storehouse 主藏. And draw the four spirits who reside within the earth, such as Vajramukha 猪頭. Make a circle, proceeding from the northeast corner and turning right, and so arrange [the gods] as given above. Turn all their heads outward. The third court has the consorts of the five types of gods given above. Allocating each to her main god, they face each other.

The five types of gods and the story of their subjugation by Trailokyavijaya is related in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Chapter of Trailokyavijaya. Amoghavajra briefly presents this story and lists the five types of gods, citing the name of a member of each group, in his *Jingangding yuqie jing shibahui zhigui* (*T.*869:285a15-b8). See a discussion of this story in Chapter 4.

In the Daigoji's Vajrapāṇi Mandala the five types of gods in the Outer Vajra Family are labeled. The order of the gods and their iconography correspond [an exception is the presence of Bṛhaspati 歲星 instead of Ketu 彗星 (also 計都星) to that given for the Outer Vajra Family in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b15-24, the positions of Rākṣasa 羅殺天 and Śukra 太百天 are not correct), the *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 198b-200b19) and the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 902-905, No. 39-58).

Toganoo (*Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 242-255) correlates textual (The First Assembly of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Bizangji*, for example) and visual sources (*Genzu mandara*) in a chart of the five types of gods. In the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* the name Dhana-da 守藏 appears; perhaps this is who Amoghavajra refers to when he gives the name [He who is] Head of the Storehouse in his *Liqushi* mandala prescriptions. For a discussion of these gods in Tibetan and Japanese sources, see Mori Masahide, "Kongōkai mandara no Hindū shin," *Kūkai no shisō to bunka*: Onozuka Ikusumi Hakushi koki kinen ronbunshū (Taishō daigaku shingongaku Buzan kenkyūshitsu, ed., Tokyo: Sonburusha, 2004), pp. 523-543.

[35] In his directions for the Mandala of the Outer Vajra Family in *Liqushi* 12 (*T.*1003:616a4-7), Amoghavajra states that the central figure of Maheśvara is to be surrounded by "the eight kinds of gods" 八種天, but he does not provide any information about these gods. In *Liqujing* 12 (*T.*243:785c14-17) the Outer Vajra Family appears to further clarify the teachings and, according to the *Liqushi* (*T.*1003:615c25-28), this family is composed of the fives types of gods, twenty in all, who are headed by Maheśvara. These are the same figures Amoghavajra prescribed for the mandala in *Liqushi*

11. Amoghavajra specifically states in *Liqushi* 12 (*T*.1003:616a3-4) that the purpose of the mandala of the Outer Vajra Family is that of pacification. Reference is made, once again, to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s second Chapter of Trailokyavijaya and its theme of subjugation. Vajrapāṇi, in the form of Trailokyavijaya, brings the five types of conquered and converted Indian gods into the mandala, giving them appropriate Buddhist names and stations.

The figures in the Daigoji Maheśvara Mandala (No. 13) are labeled, and these are the Vedic-Brahmanic deities who were brought into the Buddhist pantheon as the protectors of the eight directions (*astadikpālas*). The names, as well as their quarters of jurisdiction were stereotyped in Puranic mythology. They are: Indra in the east, Yama in the south, Varuṇa in the west, Kubera (Vaiśravaṇa) in the north, Íśana in the northeast, Agni in the southeast, Nirṛti in the southwest and Vāyu in the northwest. See Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconographyy* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1956), pp. 519-529. The Esoteric Buddhist tradition adopted unaltered this group of guardians; for example, the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* 5 (*T*.39.1796:634a-c) enumerates the same names and stations. These figures occupy the four cardinal and four intermediate positions of the outermost court of the Chinese matrix mandalas. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, p. 1816a 八方天; Marie-Therese de Mallmann, Introduction a l'iconographie du tantrisme bouddhique (Paris: Bibliotheque du Centre de recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute Asie, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 157-158; Toganoo, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 186-188; Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 149-204.

In *Liqushi* 12 (*T*.1003:616a4-6) Amoghavajra provides scant information for the iconography of Maheśvara. The iconography of the figure of Maheśvara in the Daigoji's Maheśvara Mandala (No. 13), as well as in the Three Brothers Mandala (No. 16), is a problem, which I return to in Chapter Four.

Although there are numerous forms of Maheśvara in the Esoteric Buddhist tradition, the three types most commonly depicted are: Īśānamaheśvara who dwells on the summit of the Realm of Desire; Śaṃkaramaheśvara who resides in the First Dhyāna Heaven of the Realm of Form; and Piśācamaheśvara who resides at the summit of the realm of Form. Textual sources furnish various iconographic descriptions, but the common denominator of Īśānamaheśvara is a three-eyed, two-armed figure who holds a trident; that of Śaṃkaramaheśvara is a one-headed, two-armed figure with a trident and a bull mount; and Piśācamaheśvara, considered the oldest form in Buddhism, is three-headed, eight-armed who rides a bull. See Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 334; Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 178-180; *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 1465a-1466a; Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3229a-3231c (Daijizaiten), and vol. 3, pp. 2562b-2563a (Shokatsuraten); Sawa, *Mikyyō jiten*, pp. 462-463 and *Butsuzō zuten*, pp. 146-147 (Īśāna), pp. 151-152 (Makeishuraten).

The Daigoji version does not, however, depict Maheśvara in any of these forms. He resembles the *deva* figures found in the outermost courts of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Moreover, Maheśvara makes the hand gesture of homage, a gesture that indicates this god has been subjugated and converted.

[36] For Agni, see *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b23-24), *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 199c27-28), and *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol.1, p. 904, No. 52 *Jōjinne*, p. 936, No. 202 *Misai e*); for Varuṇa, see *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b17-18), *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 200b18), and *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 905, No. 58 *Jōjin'ne*); and for Vāyu, see *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b23), *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 199c9), and *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 904, No. 50 *Jōjin'ne*).

[37] The *Bizangji* gives Yamarāja's attribute for both mandalas (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 12b16, 14b13) and his bull mount for the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 14b13) but does not describe his hand gesture. See *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 773, No. 240), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 103c27-104a1), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 169b1), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 973a10), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 610, No. 159), *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 791 right side).

[38] For Indra's attribute, see *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 2b20, 14c9-10), *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 199a5), and *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 905, No. 43 *Jōjin'ne*); and for his appearance (crown, clothing, attribute), see *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 123a27-b1), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 171a22), *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 798, No. 351), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 976b17), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 586, No. 64) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 791 left side).

For Nirṛti's appearance and hand gesture, see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 905, No. 47 *Jōjin'ne*, p. 937, No. 199 *Misai e*, p. 987, No. 374 *Gōzanze e*)*;* and for his sword as

attribute, see *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 14b20), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 108b24-25), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 169c9), *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 779, No. 271), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 974a7), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2: not depicted), *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 790 right side).

[39] For Vaiśravaṇa, see *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b24), *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 200a7) and the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 904, No. 53 *Jōjin'ne*, p. 936, No. 203 *Misai e*, p. 953, No. 276 *Gōzanze e*), as well as *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 114b17-19), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 171b6), *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 799, No. 357), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 977a7), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 588, No. 70) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 791 left side).

[40] By means of a stylistic analysis of features such as the halo patterns and garments, Ishida dates the *Taizang jiutuyang* to the early part of the eighth century. See *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 251-252.

[41] As mentioned earlier, we find many correspondences between the iconography of the figures in *Taizang tuxiang* and the two ritual texts that were translated by the Indian monk Bodhiruci. Perhaps Śubhākarsiṃha, or someone in his immediate circle, relied upon then-existing visual versions of the *Yizi foding lunwang mantuluo* 一字佛頂輪王曼荼羅 and the *Amoghapasa Mandala* 不空羂策觀音曼荼羅 described in Bodhiruci's ritual texts when he composed the *Taizang tuxiang*.

In the *Taizang jiutuyang*, we find a figure of Avalokiteśvara in the *Taizang jiutuyang*'s central hall that resembles that of Vajradharma in the *Wubu xinguan Shiin'ne* (Four Mudra Assembly), and the iconography of an unidentified figure in this matrix mandala's Hall of Kṣitigarbha 地藏院 corresponds to that of the figure of Vajrakarma in the Four Seals Assembly of the *Wubu xinguan* (Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 236-238).

The *Genzu mandara* also displays a number of influences from earlier mandalas: the figure of Vajrasattva is seen in the *Taizang jiutuyang*, and the iconography of Akṣobhya 阿閦, Vajrasādhu 金剛喜, Vajradharma 金剛法, Vajrahetu 金剛因, Vajrabhāṣa 金剛語, Vajramuṣṭi 金剛拳, Vajrāṇkuśa 金剛鉤 and Vajrapāśa 金剛策 in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* corresponds, on the whole, to that of the same figures in the *Wubu xinguan* (Ishida, ibid, p. 249).

[42] The four retinue Bodhisattvas of Akṣobhya in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 894, Nos. 7-10), now attend on the figure of Trailokyavijaya, who appears in the form of Vajrahuṃkara of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. The figures of Avalokiteśvara's retinue, who are the attendant Bodhisattvas of Amitāyus in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*, correspond to the same figures in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne* (see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 896, Nos. 17-20). The figure of Ākāśagarbha, whose iconography is that of the figure of Ākāśagarbha in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kokūzō in* (Hall of Ākāśagarbha), is surrounded by the retinue Bodhisattvas of Ratnasaṃbhava from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*, and the iconography of these retinue figures corresponds to these figures in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Misai e* (see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 925). The exception is the Vajraratna in the retinue, and his iconography has been discussed above.

[43] There is one exception to this pattern, namely the Vajramuṣṭi Mandala (No. 7). The iconography of the central Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi is not based on the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. Instead Vajramuṣṭi forms the hand gesture of Amoghasiddhi, his parent Buddha in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 897, No. 21). Nevertheless, the iconography of the retinue of surrounding Bodhisattvas is identical to that of the figures who attend Amoghasiddhi in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne* and *Kuyō e* 供養會 (Offering Assembly). The iconography of the figure of the retinue Vajramuṣṭi is seen in the *Jōjin'ne* (see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 897, No. 25) and that of Vajrakarma, Vajraraksa and Vajrayakṣa are found in the *Kuyō e* (see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 943, Nos. 230, 231, 232).

Appendix B

[1] *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 100; vol. 1, p. 39.

[2] *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 627.

[3] *Gakan mikkyō hatttatsu shi* 我觀密教發達史 (Tokyo: Heigo shuppansha 丙午出版社, 1925), p. 178.

[4] *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō* (Kobe: Kobe Shōkadaigaku keizai kenkyūjo) pp. 3, 187. Osabe's methodology continues in the critical tradition of that of Ōmura Seigai, although Ōmura used the term "combined rite" 合法 *(gōhō)* to define some of Amoghavajra's rituals.

[5] Osabe does state that (*Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 11 footnote 11, 191) the number of rites wherein Amoghavajra employs the rite of the adamantine realm as the main theme and the matrix rite as a secondary, ancillary theme are the most numerous.

[6] Yixing cited the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in order to explain Esoteric Buddhist terms, mudrās, specific mandalas, etc. We do not know if he considered the two scriptures to be a pair.

[7] "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite — *Jisen mokuroku* yori no ikkōsatsu," *Taishō daigaku daigakuin ronshū*, vol. 3 (1979), pp. 1-33. Onozuka classifies the translations that Amoghavajra listed in his memorial of 771 into the following categories: (i) 30 texts and ritual manuals of the miscellaneous lineage of esoteric teachings 雜部密教系の經典儀軌; (ii) 23 texts and ritual manuals that belong to the lineage of the Adamantine Crown 金剛頂經系の經典儀軌; (iii) 10 ritual manuals of combined practice 合行の儀軌; (iv) 6 exoteric texts 顯教. See "Fuku no kyogaku ni tsuite — *Jisen mokuroku* yori no ikkosatsu," p. 16. Onozuka gives two more categories: (v) one work whose content is unique; (vi) and one work whose source is unknown.

[8] See Chapter Three of this dissertation.

[9] See Matsunaga, "Ri to chi," *Mikkyō shisō*, pp. 68-69 and Mukai, "Fukūyaku *Shomugekyō* o meguru mondai," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 30/2, p. 297 and "Fukū yaku *Shomugekyō* to *Hizōki* to no kankei ni tsuite," *Buzankyōgaku daikai kiyō*, vol. 9, p. 20.

[10] A vast number of the works in the volumes of the esoteric texts of the Chinese Buddhist Canon are attributed to Amoghavajra. See the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, vol. 18, 19, 20 and 21. Amoghavajra's disciple Yuanzhao attributes to his master one hundred and eleven translations, which he lists in his *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.55.2157:879a-881a). Kūkai includes in his *Shōrai mokuroku* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 81-82) thirteen new translations by Amoghavajra which, he notes, had not yet been entered in Yuanzhao's catalogue. For a discussion of the number of Amoghavajra's translations and the catagolues of Yuanzhao and Kūkai, see Onozuka, "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite — *Jisen mokuroku* yori no ikkōsatsu," pp. 4-13 and Mukai Ryūken, "Fukusanzō yakkyōki rui ichiran," *Buzan gakuhō*, vol. 21 (1976), pp. 93-114.

[11] *T*.2120:839a29, c12, 14-15, 840a1. The ritual manuals are published as *T*.20.1123, 1124 and 1125, respectively.

[12] *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 106, 107, 110. The Shingon school's interpretation of the *Liqujing* and the *Liqushi* and its mandalas cannot be attributed to Kūkai. Kūkai regarded Amoghavajra's translation of the *Liqujing* as the Sixth of the Eighteen Assemblies in the Scripture of the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle 金剛頂瑜伽經. See his *Liqujing kaidai* 理趣經開題, *T*. 61.2236:611a24-27, 612b9-10.

[13] *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 596-604.

[14] *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 189-190 (*Liqushi*), pp. 135-139 (*T*.1119, 1124, 1125, 1132, as well as 1119, 1120A, 1121, 1122).

[15] "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite," p. 17. Onozuka categorizes Amoghavajra's works but he does not analyze them in his article.

[16] *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 603-604. See *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, pp. 519-522 and vol. 4, 609-610 for Ōmura's discussion of the *Yuqijing*'s contents, date of composition and author.

[17] *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 189.

[18] *T*.19.1003:612b10-11.

[19] See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol.4, p.1817b (*hachiyō kuson*); Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 567a (*hachiyō renge*) and *T*.848:17, 19a22-23 (fascicle 3, ch. 6), 21c23-29 (ch. 7), 34a2-15 (fascicle 5, ch. 11), 36c1-12 (ch. 13), and 48a11-20 (fascicle 7, ch. 3).

[20] *T*.893:623c7-18 (ch. 31).

[21] One of the manuscripts of the *Sādhanamālā* is dated to the Newari Era 285; see Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1968), p. 2. The eight-petaled lotus is visualized, for example, in the *Vajravārāhīsādhanam* (Invocation of the Adamantine Sow), which was composed by the tenth-century pandit Advayavajra:

> The practitioner, having imagined the interior of Indra's palace, which is furnished with all marks, beginning with a square and so forth, he should see within [that palace] an eight-petaled lotus, which has been produced from the red [syllable] *paṃ*. In the seed vessel of that [lotus] in the middle of a red and white colored glow that has been transformed from all the Sanskrit syllables, he should see a light [sky], beautiful in nature, and a red syllable *vaṃ* that is within a red thunderbolt. The practitioner should allow himself to become the Blessed One, Vajravārāhī... Then on the four petals [in the cardinal directions] the practitioner should cause himself to become, in sucession and turning to the left, Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā and Rūpiṇī... On the petals in the intermediate directions the practitioner should imagine four skulls (*kāpala*) that are filled with the Mind of Enlightenment, and so on.

Sādhanamālā, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 41 (vol. 2), B. Bhattacharyya, ed. (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1968). I have used the transcription in R. O. Meisezahl, "Die Gottin Vajravarahi. Eine Ikonographische Studie nach einem Sadhana Text von Advayavajra," *Oriens*, vol. 18-19 (Leiden, 1967), pp. 252-253.

[22] The eight-petaled lotus forms the core of the *Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara Maṇḍala* (Mandala of the Lord of Speech of the Dharma Realm):

> In the center of Indra's palace on a lion that is standing on the pericarp of a double lotus and in a lunar disc on that double lotus Mañjughoṣa [sits] in the *vajraparyaṇka* pose [wherein his legs are firmly locked with both soles visible].... On lions standing on the eight petals [of the central lotus] and in lunar discs on that lotus, beginning in the east, are the Uṣṇīṣa [deities] Mahoṣṇīṣa, Sitātapatra, Tejorāśi and Vijaya. And [on the petals] in the intermediate points of the compass, beginning in the north-east, [are the figures of] Vikīraṇa, Udgata, Mahodgata and Ojaś...

Niṣpannayogāvalī, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 109, B. Bhattacharyya, ed. (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1972.) I have followed the transcription in Marie-Therese de Mallmann, *Etude Iconographique sur Mañjuśrī* (Paris: Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1964), pp. 229-230.

[23] See, for example, *T*.873:302b20-25 and 1132:7b7-19 and 1056:75a11-29 (as given in endnote 124 below).

[24] *T*. 1003:612b5-15.

[25] Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 5036b-c, *Mikkyō daijiten*, p. 718a.

[26] *T*.1003:612b15-20.

[27] *T*.1003:613b27-c2.

[28] See Chapter Four and relevant endnotes, as well as Appendix C, References in the *Liqushi*, examples at second bullet, numbers 3 and 4.

[29] *T*.1003:609c14.

[30] This is written as a dot at the top right of the syllable and is represented in transliteration as *ṃ*. It signifies that the vowel sound is nasalized.

[31] *T*.1003:609c10-17.

[32] See, for example, *T*.848:10a24-25 (fascicle 2, ch. 2/2), 22c5-15 (fascicle 3, ch. 8), 38a24-b6 (fascicle 5, ch. 16), 41b29-c3 (fascicle 6, ch. 22), 41c29-42a8 (fascicle 6, ch. 23), 48a11-b14 (fascicle 7, ch. 3), 52a1-4, 52b6-14 (ch. 4).

[33] I have taken this and the following examples from Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol.1, pp. 1-2.

[34] *T*.295.

[35] *T*.1092.

[36] *T*.187, 397, 468. These and the following examples and their textual sources are given in Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 1.

[37] *T*.375.

[38] *T*.1523.

[39] *Tōdai mikkyōshi zakkō*, p. 190.

[40] *T*.1003:614b23-c1.

[41] *T*.243:785b11-17 and *T*.1003:614b5-23.

[42] See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 1646 (*sanbu daihō*), *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1411, Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 450.

[43] See Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 105, 137, 141, 191.

[44] See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 730b and vol. 4, p. 3151b-c *Soshitsujikara kuyō hō*.

[45] *T*.1003:608a25-27:

> These Eight Bodhisattvas, whom I have explained as above, bring together the threefold Dharma.
> These are Mind of Enlightenment, Great Compassion and Skillful Means.

However, Amoghavajra continues to say that these bodhisattvas also embrace the paths of both esoteric and exoteric Buddhism (608a27-28):

> And the Bodhisattvas, whom I have explained as above, contain in themselves the gate to the mantras in all the teachings of the Buddhas, as well as in the revealed Great Vehicle.

[46] Ōmura's discussion is not easy to follow. He does not specify (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 605-606) what elements in the Five Mysteries manual are from the *Yugikyō*. He lists its ritual acts and states that this rite is not the same as that of the adamantine realm but is a combined rite based on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865) and *Yugikyō*.

Next (ibid, pp. 606-607) he lists the ritual acts performed in *T*.1122, and labels it a rite wherein elements from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T*.865) and *Yuqijing* are combined. He then (ibid, pp. 607-609) lists the ritual acts in manuals T.1123, 1120A, 1124 and 1119, stating that, despite some differences, these rites are simialar to

T.1122. Further, as a group, he links their contents (Vajrasattva and the Five Mysteries) to that of the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Assemblies.

For Ōmura's thoughts on the *Yuqijing* and its relationto the system of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, see *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 609-610 where he discusses Amoghavajra's ritual manual for Vajrarāja 金剛王 (*T*.1132).

[47] *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 136, 139.

[48] "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite," p. 7.

[49] *T*.1124:531b6-7.

[50] *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 138.

[51] *T*.1124:531b5-12.

[52] See *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s (*T*.893:613a4-5) chapter on the *pauṣṭika* rite and Amoghavajra's rite for Amṛtakuṇḍalī (*T*.1211:42c12-13).

[53] *T*.848:13a8-19 (fascicle 2, ch.2), 50a25-b20 (fascicle 7, ch.3).

[54] See *T*.850:67c21-68a23 and 851:97a4-10, a26-b29. The *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* (*T*.39.1796) elucidates the symbolic meaning of these five types of offerings. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 703b.

[55] *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 138.

[56] *T*.1003:539a15-17.

[57] *T*.1003:535b.

[58] *T*.1003:538c.

[59] *T*.1003:539a.

[60] *T*.1125:535b3-4, b10.

[61] *T*.1123:528a7-8. Further, Amogavajra states in the opening section of this manual (528a14-15) that the rite is based upon the teachings of the *Jingangding Shengshi* [*yuqie*] 金剛頂勝初 (Supreme First [Yoga] of the Adamantine Crown).

[62] See, for example, *Mikkyo hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 594-596 (*T*.869), 612-613 (*T*.1040), 621 (*T*.908), 634-635 (*T*.1031, 1085).

[63] Fukuda Ryōsei, "*Shōshoyugakyō* to *Śrī-paramādi-tantra,*" *Rishukyō no kenkyū*: *sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 33-53.

[64] See Chapter Four of this dissertation where I present a discussion of the correspondences between the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions of the *Liqujing* given in Fukuda Ryōsei, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*: *sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 21-26. See also Matsunaga Yūkei, *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsushi ron*, pp. 198-231 and Ian Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 12-22.

[65] Fukuda also analyzes the other Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva rites that Yuanzhao attributes to Amoghavajra in his *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T*.2157:880b10-13, 881a6-7), which are published as *T*.20.1120A, 1119, and 1122. Concerning the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals and their textual sources, see Fukuda, "*Shōshoyugakyo* to *Śrī-paramādi-tantra,*" "Kongosatta gikirui no kosatsu" and "*Rishukyō* to *Rishukyō* hō" that are collected in his

Rishukyō no kenkyū: *sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 33-53, 54-67 and 68-80; Matsunaga, *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsushi ron*, especially pp. 217-218; Astley-Kristensen, "The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Passions and Enlightenment," *Temenos*. *Studies in Comparative Religion*, vol. 24 (1998), pp. 7-27 and "An Example of Vajrasattva in the Sino-Japanese Buddhist Tantric Tradition," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, vol. 1 (Autumn 1988), pp. 67-87.

[66] *T*.1125:535b10.

[67] *T*.1124:531b1-2.

[68] *T*.18.873.

[69] *T*.2120:839c7. See Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 590; Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 54. This work could also be his own composition.

[70] The following is summarized from Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū,* pp. 44-84, and Richard Karl Payne, *The Tantric Ritual of Japan*. Feeding the Gods: The Shingon Fire Ritual. (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1991), pp. 88-94.

[71] See Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 54-58. In my bulleted arrangement (pp. 178-179), I have placed Gengō's classifications within a five-part structure of purification, construction, encounter, etc.

[72] For example, in one mudrā-mantra pair the mantra is lengthened by the addition of seed syllables and the order of the performance of another mudrā-mantra pair has been changed.

[73] Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū,* pp. 60-61.

[74] Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 60.

[75] Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, p. 165; see also pp. 220-223.

[76] Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 60-61.

[77] The name of a mudrā-mantra pair and its significance differ slightly in the ritual manuals. For example, the adamantine fist mudrā (*vajra-muṣṭi mudrā*) in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* is called the pledge fist mudrā (*samaya-muṣṭi mudrā)* in the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and the mudrā of the pledge of the adamantine fist (*vajra-muṣṭi-samaya mudrā*) in the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui*. While the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* does not label this mudrā-mantra pair, it does explain its significance. For a discussion of the explanations given in the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* see an Astley-Kristensen, "The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Passions and Enlightenment," *Temenos*, Studies in Comparative Religion, vol. 24, pp. 7-27, especially pages pp. 13-16.

[78] The mantra is (*T*.1123:528b27):
suratastvaṃ You are exquisite bliss!

[79] The mantras in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* are (*T*.1124:532a5 and 14):
oṃ vajra samayastvaṃ Oṃ You are the adamantine pledge!
oṃ vajra samaya hoḥ suratastvaṃ Oṃ Adamantine pledge!
Hoḥ You are exquisite bliss!
In the latter two texts the mantras are (*T*.873:300c23 and *T*.1125:536c4):
samayastvaṃ You are the pledge!
samaya hoḥ suratastvaṃ Pledge! Hoh You are exquisite bliss!

[80] Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 62-63.

[81] *T*.873:303a8-18.

[82] The *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*'s mantras for the crown of the Five Buddhas and the adamantine wig are (*T*.873:302c22-27 and 303a3-7):

oṃ sarva-tathāgata-iśvarya-abhiṣeka hūṃ oṃ vajrasatta abhiṣiñca māṃ hūṃ oṃ vajraratna abhiṣiñca māṃ trāḥ oṃ vajrapadma abhiṣiñca māṃ hrīḥ oṃ vajrakarma abhiṣiñca māṃ aḥ Oṃ Consecration of all Tathagatas who are sovereign! Hūṃ Oṃ Vajrasattva! Consecrate me! Hūṃ Oṃ Vajraratna! Consecrate me! Trāḥ Oṃ Vajrapadma! Consecrate me! Hrīḥ Oṃ Vajrakarma! Consecrate me! Aḥ

oṃ vajrasattva-mālā abhiṣiñca māṃ vaṃ oṃ vajraratna-mālā abhiṣiñca mām vaṃ oṃ vajrapadma-mālā abhiṣiñca māṃ vaṃ oṃ vajrakarma-mālā abhiṣiñca māṃ vaṃ Oṃ Vajrasattva [of] Wig! Consecrate me! Vaṃ Oṃ Vajraratna [of] Wig! Consecrate me! Vaṃ Oṃ Vajrapadma [of] Wig! Consecrate me! Vaṃ Oṃ Vajrakarma [of] Wig! Consecrate me! Vam

and in the Vajrasattva manuals these mantras are (*T*.1124:532c13-14, 533a2 and 1125:537a19-20, 25):

oṃ sarva tathāgata ratnābhiṣekha aḥ Oṃ The gem consecration of all the tathagatas! Aḥ

oṃ vajramālā abhiṣiñca māṃ Oṃ Vajra wig! Consecrate me!

The *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* contains the mudrā-mantra pair of the adamantine wig (*T*.1123:528c21) but for the crown of the Five Buddhas it gives the names of the Five Buddhas (*T*.1123:c3-c15).

[83] Astley-Kristensen in his "The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Passions and Enlightenment," *Temenos*, pp. 12-19 has identified two distinct ritual phases that compose the Vajrasattva rites given in the ritual manuals *T*.1119-1125. The first phase – the general — establishes affiliation with the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* ritual lineage and the second phase – the particular — specifies the Five Mysteries teachings.

The mudrā-mantra pairs for the pentad of Vajrasattva, Iṣṭavajriṇī, Kelikilāvajriṇī, Kāmāvajriṇī and Mānavajriṇī are the same in the three Vajrasattva ritual manuals. The mudrās and mantras of the four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas and Gathering Bodhisattvas given in the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* are identical, but those of the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas in the former manual are found in *T*.1119 and those in the latter text are unique.

[84] *T*.1123:529a24-530a21 and 1125:536c6-9, 19-21, 537a29-b23. The entire process is reversed in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* (*T*.1124:533a24-b10, 534a1-b26) and begins with the Gathering Bodhisattvas, proceeds to the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas, the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas and on to the central pentad. Nevertheless, the order of visualization of the central pentad – center, east, south, west and north – is the same as in the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui*.

[85] Onozuka, "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite — *Jisen mokuroku* yori no ikkōsatsu," p. 17. I have listed the works as they appear in Amoghavajra's listing (*T*.2120:839a-840a).

[86] *T*.20.1056, *Jingangding yuqie qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經.

[87] *T*.19.921.

[88] *T*.19.972, 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼念誦議軌法.

[89] *T*.19.954A.

[90] *T*.19.994, *Xinyi jenwang banruo jing tuoluoni niansong yigui xu* 新訳仁王般若經陀羅尼念誦儀軌序 (Preface and Ritual Manual for the *Dhāraṇī*, Contemplation and Recitation of the Newly Translated Scripture of the Wisdom of the Humane Kings).

[91] *T*.19.995.

[92] *T*.20.1085, *Guanzizai pusa ruyilun niantong yigui* 觀自在菩薩如意輪念誦儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Contemplation and Recitation of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Cintamanicakra).

[93] *T*.20.1031, *Shengguanzizai pusa xinzhenyan yuqie guanxing yigui* 聖觀自在菩薩心眞言瑜伽觀行儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Yoga and Visualization Practice of the Heart Mantra of Bodhisattva Āryāvalokiteśvara).

[94] *T*.21.1211.

[95] *T*.19.908.

[96] Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 46-50. Osabe also states (ibid, p. 47) that, because elements from the *susiddhi* ritual tradition 三種悉地法 (*sanshu shijji hō*), which was a part of the matrix ritual tradition, are present in the *Ruyilun niansong fa*, it as a rite wherein elements from the ritual traditions of the matrix, adamantine realm and *susiddhi* are present 胎金蘇合行 (*taikonso gōgyō*) and so concludes (ibid, p. 50) that it was produced during or directly after Amoghavajra's lifetime. In any case, the matrix rite is the main theme (ibid, p. 47).

[97] "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite," p. 28.

[98] Onozuka, "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite," p. 28 and *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 259a and 24b.

[99] *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 107, 108, 111, 114.

[100] Amoghavajra's disciple Yuanzhao attributes the *Shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* and the *Darijing lue she niansong suixing fa* to Amoghavajra in his catalogues, the *Datang zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄 and the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釈教目錄 (*T*.55.2156:768b21-23, 753c16-19; *T*.2157:880c8-10). They are published as *T*.18.856 and 857.

[101] The works attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha are published as *T*.18.850 and 851. Scholars, for example Misaki (*Taimitsu no kenkyū*, p. 272), question this attribution. Despite the problems of authorship and date, I have used these two works as representative of a Tang Chinese version of the matrix rite because their content and mudrā-mantra pairs are based upon the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its appended seventh scroll. Osabe states in "Fukū yaku Taizōhōki shōkō," *Tōsō mikkyōshi ronkō* (Kobe: Kobe joshi daigaku Tōsai bunka kenkyūjo, 1982), p. 266 that the basis of the Chinese matrix rites are the translations of this scripture that were made by Śubhākarasiṃha (*T*.18.848) and Vajrabodhi (*T*.18.849). A seven-scrolled translation of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* is listed under Śubhākarasiṃha's name in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (*T*.2154:571c27) but this catalogue does not list (*T*.2154:571b19-26) such a translation under Vajrabodhi's name.

[102] *T*.18.893 and 894. The *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (*T*.2154:571c29) lists the *Susiddhikara sūtra* under Śubhākarasiṃha's name. This catalogue does not list the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* under Śubhākarasiṃha's name, but this work is considered to be a direct disciple's presentation of his oral teachings. See Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, p. 417, Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 3153c-3154a, *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1411c and Manabe Shunshō, "*Soshijji giki* no keitō ni tsuite — josetsu," *Bukkyō shigaku*, vol. 12/4 (1966), pp. 13-45, esp. p. 13. This ritual manual has long been associated with Śubhākarasiṃha. An inscription at the end of the first of the three-scrolled version published in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (*T*.894A:697a22-28) states that a close examination of this ritual manuals reveals that it is not a forged work, and for this reason the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and this ritual manual appear together under Śubhākarasiṃha's name in the Buddhist canon produced by the Kitan Tartars sometime between 907 and 1115 CE. See Manabe, ibid, p. 13.

The *Susiddhikara sūtra* provides instructions and mantras for the ritual acts presented in its chapters but directs the practitioner in the formation of mudrās only in a very few cases. Instead, it is the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* that gives precise instructions for the formation of the mudrās.

[103] Ōmura, *Mikkyo hattatsu shi*, pp. 621, 613, Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 187, 67-68, Onozuka, "Fuku no kyōgaku ni tsuite," p. 27.

[104] *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 187.

[105] *T*.908:916a13-c19.

[106] *T*.908:916c16-17. See Okada Keishō's chart of the iconography of the five mandalas in "*Kongōchō yuga Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* kaidai," *Kokuyaku issai kyō*, Mikkyōbu (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1935), vol. 2, pp. 58-59.

[107] *T*.908:916b21-917b12.

[108] *T*.908:917b13-c19. For example, Amoghavajra gives such information as descriptions of the hearths, mudrās and mantras for empowering the utensils and offerings, the placement of these utensils and offerings, and the colors of the main images, hearths, robes of the practitioner and offerings, as well as the practitioner's seated poses.

[109] *T*.908:918a1-4, 873:302a12-b29, 303c12-17, 304c18-305a3.

[110] *T*.908:918a5-919a27.

[111] *T*.908:919a27-29 and 873:309b26-c11. The order of the steps in this ritual phase differs slightly in the two manuals. In the *homa* manual the practitioner is to form the action (*karma*) and pledge (*samaya*) mudrās of the Holy Crowd, to chant their praises and to utter vows (*hatsu gan*), then to form the mudrā of Trailokyavijaya and so dissolve the boundaries, and finally to send off the deities.

[112] 919a29-920a18.

[113] Okada Keishō, "*Kongōchō yuga Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* kaidai," *Kokuyaku issai kyō*, Mikkyōbu, vol. 2, p. 61 says that this is because the rite is performed on behalf of those who are reborn in the lower realms of hungry ghosts 餓鬼 (*preta*) and beasts 畜生 (*tiryagyoru*), who cannot enter the sacred arena.

[114] *T*.908:919a29-b5. The practitioner has a number of choices. He can physically mark the directions outside of the practice hall with reeds, lotus leaves or other green grasses; he can paint a circular mandala and so allocate ten positions; he can create ten positions in a purified spot in front of the practice hall. In any case, this rite takes place outside of the practice hall and a mandala that is divided into ten positions is constructed.

[115] 919b18-920a16.

[116] *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 621 and *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 187. Both cite the offering rite to the twelve guardian gods 十二天供養 as an example of the matrix rite.

[117] See Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 519-529; Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography,* Mainly Based on *The Sādhanamālā* and Cognate Tantric Texts of Ritual (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1968), pp. 367, 381; Mallmann, *Introduction a l'Iconographie de Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 157 (*dikpāla*), pp. 276-279 (*navagraha*), pp. 273-274 (*nakṣatra*); Yoritomi Motohiro and Shimoizumi Zengyo, *Mikkyō butsuzō zuten* (Kyoto: Jinbun shoin, 1994), pp. 286-306.

[118] See Karel van Kooij, "Fabelachtige doeken uit India en nepal," *Kunstschrift*, vol. 6 (1995), pp. 21-27; see illustration 26 of the lunar mansions from Toyuk, Central Asia, which date to the seventh century.

[119] Mallmann, *Introduction a l'Iconographie de Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 41.

[120] See Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, p. 191 and Ariane Macdonald, *Le Maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1962), pp. 116-125. There are eight planets and twenty-seven lunar mansions in this mandala.

[121] See *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, ed. (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1972), p. 64, and Mallmann,

Introduction a l'Iconographie de Tantrisme Bouddhique, pp. 62, 73.

[122] *T*.1056:72a10.

[123] *T*.1056:74a26-b24.

[124] The visualizations of the container world, the multi-storied pavillion and the mandala form the ritual phase of the construction of a sacred sanctuary for the deities. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, p.1660 道場觀 (*dōjō kan*) and vol. 1, p. 263 器界觀 (*kikai kan*). The visualization of the container world and the mandala in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* (*T*.873:303b24-c11) is as follows:

> Then you should imagine a great ocean [whose] waters [consist of] the eight meritious virtues. Imagine on top [of this ocean] a golden tortoise and seven golden mountains surround [this tortoise]. Imagine that there are rivers among the mountains and that all consist of the waters of the eight virtues. Imagine the seed letters [of the wind [which has not been mentioned H.H.], water and golden tortoise] and at the same time chant [their seed letters] *haṃ vaṃ pra*. Say the mantra as follows:
>
> > *oṃ vimalodadhi hūṃ* (oṃ stainless ocean hūṃ)
>
> Then imagine Sumeru, which is entirely composed of four jewels. Say the mantra:
>
> > *oṃ acala hūṃ* (oṃ mountain huṃ)
>
> On top [of Sumeru] imagine a jeweled, multi-storied pavilion and then form the mudrā of the Vajra Wheel. Due to the imposing power of this mudrā you form the circular altar. Your two wings (hands) [form] Vajra Fists and then hook [together] endeavor, power, charity and insight (your index and small fingers). Within [this mudrā] you should visualize a circular altar like that [described] in the fundamental teaching. Then within the multi-storied pavilion visualize the mandala. Say the mantra as follows:
>
> > *oṃ vajracakra hūṃ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ* (oṃ adamantine circle hūṃ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ)
>
> Then you should recite [the mantra] of invitation. Without changing the aspects of the previous mudrā, imagine that you say to the sacred Venerables "[Kindly] descend into this mandala."

The passage in the *Guanzizai niansong fa* (*T*.1056:75a11-29) is:

> Then in the space in the lower regions imagine the letter *haṃ*. This letter is deep black and, gradually expanding and gradually becoming bigger, it becomes the great wind circle. On top of the wind circle imagine the letter *vaṃ*. It is white in color and it gradually expands and gradually beomes bigger, and [when] it matches the wind circle [in size] it changes and becomes the water circle. On top of the water circle imagine the letter *pra*. It is gold in color and [when] it matches [the size of] the water circle it becomes a golden tortoise. On the back of the tortoise imagine the letter s*u*, which changes and becomes a wondrously high mountain. [This mountain] is composed of four jewels. Imagine the letter *khaṃ*. Changing, it becomes golden mountains that surround [Sumeru] in seven layers [of ranges]. Then in the space above those wondrous gold mountains imagine Vairocana. From the hair pores of his entire body flows a rain of scented milk and, flowing among the seven mountains, it thus forms the seas of scented milky waters of the eight merits. On the summit of that wondrous high mountain imagine that there is a large eight-petaled lotus flower and that on the lotus flower there are eight large adamantine pillars, forming a jeweled, multistoried pavilion. In the calyx of the lotus flower imagine the letter *hrih*. From this letter issues an immemse light and it completely illuminates the worlds of all the buddhas. [When] the sentient beings, who are suffering, encounter the illuminating touch of this light, they all attain liberation. Within this immense light Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara wells up. He possesses the innumerable major and minor characteristics [of a bodhisattva] and majestic merits in abundance. The ten Prajñapāramitā Bodhisattvas surround him. The Eight Offering Bodhisattvas reside in their respective fundamental positions. In the four corners of the jeweled, multistoried pavilion are the four Great Bodhisattvas, Paṇḍaravāsinī[-Avalokiteśvara], Mahāpaṇḍaravāsinī[-Avalokiteśvara], Tārā and Bhṛkuṭi, together with an unlimited crowd of Lotus Family members, who encircle them front and back, and heavenly beings and [other members of the] eight groups thereby form their retinues. Visualize the fundamental Venerable and his immense sacred crowd in this way. It is absolutely necessary that you make [them]

extremely clear. Do not allow yourself to forget the procedure.

[125] *T*.1056:75a25 and their mudrās and mantras are given on 76b4-77a18.

[126] *T*.873:302b17-19 and *T*.1056:74b8, 13, 16. The *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*'s mantras *oṃ tiṣṭha vajra-padma* (Stay! Vajra-Lotus!) and *oṃ sphara vajra-padma* (Extensive! Vajra-Lotus!) become *oṃ tiṣṭha padma* (Stay! Lotus!) and *oṃ sphara padma* (Extensive! Lotus!) in the *Guanzizai niansong fa*.

[127] Compare *T*.873:302c11-15, 302c22-27, 303a3-7 and *T*.1056:7428-29, c6, 13.

[128] *T*.873:304c18-305a3 and *T*.1056:75c12-76a26.

[129] *T*.1056:76b-77a.

[130] *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 613.

[131] See *T*.18.852:118b20-c19 and 853:156c11-18, c22-157a16. The titles of these manuals are, respectively, the Offerings, Expedient Means and Assemblies [contained in the] Extensive and Perfected Ritual Manual for the Mandala Born from the Compassion of the Matrix Repository of the Lotus [as based on the] *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the Extensive and Perfected Yoga of the Respository of Universal Mantras and Symbols and Banners of Enlightenment for the Matrix Respository of the Lotus [as based on the] *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

Toganoo uses Gengō's *Taizokai nenju shiki* 胎藏界念誦私記 as an example of the Shingon school's matrix rite. See his *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 400-514 and 461-463 for the mudrā-mantra pairs of the Bodhisattvas of the Ten Perfections.

[132] See Ariane Macdonald, *Le Maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, pp. 107-108 and Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, p. 193.

[133] See endnote 124.

[134] *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 67.

[135] *T*.1056:74b4-16. For examples of this visualization in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* ritual tradition, see *T*.1056:75a19-23 (discussed in endnote 124 above), *T*.873:299c16-20 (homage to Amitāyus), and *T*.1003:612b5-15.

[136] *T*.1056:81a2-4.

[137] *T*.1056:81a2-b25.

[138] 81b26-c17.

[139] 81c17-82a11.

[140] 82a11-12.

[141] 82a21-23.

[142] Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattasushi*, vol. 4, pp. 634-635, Onozuka, "Fuku no kyogaku ni tsuite," p. 28 and Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 78-79.

[143] *T*.1031:4c.

[144] *T*.850:66a24-c4, *T*.851:94c16-95a12, *T*.856:174c19-175a17.

[145] Although the *Shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* does not explain the significance of this mudrā-mantra pair, the passage in the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* (*T*.1031:5a29-b8) does:

> You will be able to immediately fulfill the vows of practice of the ten stages (*bhūmi*) [of spiritual progress] and the ten perfections (*pāramitās*). You will often be able to see the stage of the tathāgatas and will be able to transcend the realm of the path of the *dharmas* 法道界; that is you will transcend the stages of supreme liberation 勝解地 (*adhimuki-carya-bhūmi*), of purity of thought 淨心地 (*śuddh-asaya-bhūmi*) and of the tathāgatas (*tathāgatha-bhūmi*). [A note adds: We call these transcending the realm of the path of the teachings.]

For an explanation of these stages of the bodhisattva's career see Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978, 3rd ed.), pp. 50-54, 270-291.

[146] The *Shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* (*T*.18.856:174c25-175a5) explains the meaning of this mudrā-mantra pair as follows:

> You will purify your actions of body, speech and thought... Imagine that the impurities within your body become identical with space.

And the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* (*T*.1031:5b9-17) states that:

> Above your head imagine the letter *raṃ* and that from that letter issues a white colored light that pervades throughout your body inside and outside. Then visualize that your own body is identical with the *dharmadhātu*.

[147] Having made this this mudrā-mantra pair, the *Shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* (*T*.856:175a6-17) states:

> Clearly imagine that the image of your own body is that of Vajradhara.

The passage in the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* (*T*.1031:5b18-27) is:

> Visualize that your own body is like that of Bodhisattva Vajrasattva and in your left hand you hold an adamantine bell that is held above your left thigh. In your right hand you hold a five-pronged staff. Place it on your heart, forming the attitude of brandishing [this staff]. Your body is like the color of the white moon, your head is crowned with a Five-Buddha crown and you sit within a lunar disc.

[148] See *T*.848:12c19-13a2 (fascicle 2, ch. 2/2), 47a3-b12 (fascicle 7, ch. 2), for example. See also Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, pp. 306-307 and Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2005), pp. 61, 239-241 for the chapters of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* wherein this series occurs.

[149] See *T*.1031:5c2-3, c5-6. On the letter *a* and its significance, see p. 174 of this Appendix and endnote 32 for references in the scripture. The mantra *āḥ vī ra hūṃ khaṃ* appears in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s sixth chapter (*T*.848:20a16-19), the *Xidi chuxian pin* 蘇悉地出現品 (Manifestation of Supernatural Accomplishments). For this mantra's application and significance, see *T*.848:20a19-21c4 and Hunter, "Faquan's Transmission of the *Susiddhi* Category of the Esoteric Buddhist Teachings," *Journal of the International College for advanced Buddhist Studies*, vol. 8 (2004), pp. 43-93, esp. pp. 75-77.

[150] Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 79 and Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 634.

[151] *T*.1031:6a20-24.

[152] *T*.873:305a-b; 306a-b.

[153] This rite, which is included in Amoghavajra's list of translations (*T*.2120:839c22), is published as *T*.20.1032.

[154] *T*.873:301a20. The mantra is *om vajra-padma samayastvaṃ* Oṃ You are the pledge of the Thuderbolt Lotus! The same mudrā-mantra pair appears in the *Guanzizai niansong fa* (*T*.1056:74a5-8).

[155] There is no mudrā-mantra pair for Avalokiteśvara, who heads the Hall of Avalokiteśvara, in the *Sheda yigui*. The *Guangda yigui* does not describe Avalokiteśvara's mudrā and the mantra that it does give differs.

[156] See *T*.893:607c24-25.

Amoghavajra uses this mantra in another ritual manual, the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*. Here (*T*.954A:307c20-23) he pairs the pledge mudrā of the Lotus Family 蓮華部三昧耶印, which is the same as Āryāvalokiteśvara's fundamental mudrā, with a simplier version of his fundamental mantra, called a heart mantra, which is *oṃ ālolik*. Amoghavajra begins this text with the statement that (*T*.954A:307c9) this rite is based the scripture that was explained in the palace of Trāyastriṃśa 忉利天宮. The Trāyastriṃśa, or the Thirty-Three Heavens, is the second of the six heavens of the Realm of Desire 欲界 (*karma-dhātu*) and it is on the summit of Mount Meru. A note in the *Kokuyaku himitsu giki*, vol. 23, p. 111 identifies this text as the *Yizi qite fuding jing* 一字奇特佛頂經. Published as *T*.19.953, it is recorded in Amoghavajra's list of translations and compositions (*T*.2120:839b3) as *Qite fuding jing*.

[157] Because the names of the mudrā-mantra pairs slightly differ in some of the group three manuals, I have listed those given in the *Ruyilun niansong fa*.

[158] This protective phase also contains another mudrā-mantra pair unique to each rite but whose import is common to all the rites of group three. These are the mudrā-mantra pairs of the guardian of the site. This is Hayagrīva in the *Ruyilun niansong fa*, Sarva[ ]buddhoṣṇīṣa 一切辦事佛頂 in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* and Trailokyavijaya in the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa*. The *Achu rulai niansong fa*, the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang niansong fa* simply have a mudrā-mantra pair for warding off evil. The manual of the fourth group, the *Foding zunsheng niansong fa*, uses the mudrā-mantra pair of Acala.

[159] Moreover, the contents of Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm and that of the matrix rites attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha differ because the textual sources, the focuses and the mudrā-mantra pairs also differ.

[160] *T*.893:615b18-619c14. Despite the abundant detail given in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* for the performance of various rites, it is not exhaustive in its instructions for an offering rite. The *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* (*T*.18.894) prescribes the rules for an offering rite to the three families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra.

[161] The ritual phases in the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa* are recorded in such a brief manner that not all the mudrā-mantra pairs are given. Nevertheless, these manuals possess nine of the mudrā-mantra pairs (plus a mudrā without a mantra) that are common to the rites of this third group and so their ritual structure matches that of the other rites of group three. There are mudrās for the phase of protection of the sacred site 辟除印及金剛方隅寶界印 but no mantras are given.

[162] See *T*.1211:43b3-4 and *T*.994:516b3-4 and 995:520a23-24. The *Foding zunsheng niansong fa* (*T*.972:365a4-5) also has this mantra.

[163] *T*.1085:203c26.

[164] *T*.1211:43b16-17, c2-3, c13-14, *T*.1085:204a27-28, b9, c19-20 and *T*.921:16b25, c4-5, c13.

[165] *T*.893:615c13-18.

[166] *T*.954A:307c19, c23, c27 (the closing word *svāhā* is omitted in the mantras), *T*.994:516b12, c21, c1, *T*.995:520b3,b12, b21 and *T*.893:615c19-25 and 607c21-27.

[167] *T*.1085:205b13 (first part).

[168] An exception is the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* (*T*.954A:308a29-b11) whose mudrā-mantra pairs for establishing of the boundaries of the ritual site with adamantine stakes and an adamantine fence are performed after, and not before, the visualization of the sacred sanctuary.

[169] Whereas the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* mentions some of the nine expedient devices but does not give the mudrā-mantra pairs (*T*.954A307c14-15), the *Achu rulai niansong fa* details this sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs (*T*.921:15c24-16ab15).

[170] See Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 77-78, Ulrich Mammitzsch, *Evolution of the Garbhadhatu Mandala*, p. 63.

[171] *T*.848:46a21-c22, 850:65b19-66a23 and 851:90c28-91b25.

[172] Indian Esoteric Buddhist texts that predate the *Susiddhiskara* and *Vairorocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtras* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* also need to be examined. An example is the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. Here the heart (*hṛdaya*) mantras of the three Families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra are *jinajik*, *āroliku* and *vajradhṛk*, and these mantras are used, as we have seen, in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa*. See Macdonald, *Le Mandala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, pp. 44-45.

[173] *T*.1085:205a12-13, 205c10-14, 206a9-17. Compare the stanza of the three powers on *T*.848:19a2-3 and 48b4-5, *T*.850:67b24-25, *T*.851:97c14-15; water offering on *T*.848:13a20-21, 49b2-8, *T*.850:68b4-9 and note 18, *T*.851:97a1-3; universal offerings on *T*.848:19a2-11, 48b4-11, *T*.850:67b24-c3, *T*.851:94c3-8.

[174] *T*.1085:203a26 *oṃ svabhāva-śuddho'haṃ* (I am pure of self-nature) and *T*.873:299b18-19 *svabhāva-śuddhāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ* (All factors of existence are pure of self-nature).

[175] *T*.1085:203c14. See *Kokuyaku himitsu giki*, vol. 12, pp. 156-157. One theory identifies this text as the *Lianhua sanmei wuzhangai jing* 蓮華三昧無障礙經 (*Renge sanma mushōge kyō*) and another as the larger version of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

[176] *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 635. Ōmura gives but one example that seems to point to the matrix rite as its source. In contrast to Vajrabodhi's rite wherein the practitioner faces west, this rite has him face east.

[177] *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 47. Osabe notes that there are elements found in the *susiddhi* rite but he does not explain. See Onozuka, "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite," p. 28.

[178] *T*.893:613a4.

[179] *T*.894:693b20-c9.

[180] *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 128-129, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 630, "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite," p. 28.

[181] *T*.954A:307c9-10.

[182] Ōmura, ibid, p. 630, *Kokuyaku himitsu giki*, vol. 12, p. 111. A description of this text is in *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 82b-c.

[183] *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 82c, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 106.

[184] *T*.954A:307c14-15 and 308a18-23. See *T*.848:19a1-11 (fascicle 3, ch. 6, no mudrā), 48b6-11 (fascicle 7, ch. 3) for the consort who transforms the treasury of empty space.

[185] See endnote 169 above for the nine expedient devices given in the *Achu rulai niansong fa* (*T*.921:15c24-16ab15) and, for the consort of the treasury of empty space, see *T*.850: 67b26-c3 and 851:94c6-10. The mantra for the the consort of the treasury of empty space is the same in the scripture and the two matrix ritual manuals but has been abbreviated in *T*.954A.

[186] Compare *Ruyilun niansong fa* (*T*.1085:14-20, mantra a18), *Achu rulai niansong fa* (*T*.921:17c2-4, mantra c2), *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* (*T*.1211:45a24-b1, mantra a28) to *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* (*T*.954A:308a18-23, mantra a21-23).

[187] *T*.954A:310a25-26.

[188] See *T*.848:20b7-21a22 (fascicle 3, ch. 6), 52b13-28 (fascicle 7, ch. 3). This is most likely the visualization which the Shingon school refers to by a number of names. It is called the visualization of adorning the body with the five letters 五字厳身觀, the visualization of attaining the [buddha] body by means of the five great elements 五大成身觀 or the visauliation of attaining the [buddha] body by means of the five circles 五輪成身觀. In this visualization the practitioner imagines and places the letters of the five Buddhist elements (Sawa, *Shingon jiten*, p. 211, p. 595 gives the letters *a*, *va*, *ra*, *ha, kha* and Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 417-418 lists the letters *a*, *vaṃ*, *raṃ*, *haṃ* and *khaṃ*), which represent Mahāvairocana, on his groin, navel, chest, between his brows and on the crown of his head. He then imagines that his body transforms into a stūpa, which is the symbolic form of Mahāvairocana.

[189] Ōmura (*Mikkyō hattasushi*, vol. 4, p. 630) notes that there are ritual acts that do not agree with the rites of the matrix and adamantine realms and cites the visualizations prescribed (see *T*.954A:310a26-28) as examples where Amoghavajra constructs and instructs according to his own ideas 随其意樂.

[190] *T*.954A:308a12-17.

[191] See Murakami Ryōkai, "Mikkyō kyōki ni okeru kikai konryu kan," *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 15 (December 1983), pp. 105-116.

[192] The visualization occurs on *T*.848:47c28-48a16 (fascicle 7, ch. 3). See endnote 193 for the visualization in the *Sheda yigui*.

[193] Compare this visualation in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* that is given above in endnote 124 to that given in the *Sheda yigui*. The passage in the *Sheda yigui* (*T*.850:67a22-b7) is as follows:

> First think of the wind circle at the lowest level where the letter *haṃ* dwells. A black blaze of light flows outward from it. Then say its mantra as follows:
>
> *namaḥ samanta-buddhānaṃ haṃ* Homage to the universal buddhas!
>
> Then visualize on top [of the wind circle] the water circle. Its color is just like that of snow and milk and it is where the letter *vaṃ* resides. [This letter] has flames [which are the colour of] quartz and the moon and lightening. Then say its mantra as follows: *vam*. Further, visualize the *vajra* circle on top of the water circle and imagine that you place [within this circle] the letter of the fundamental beginning. It is square and is entirely yellow in color. Then say its mantra as follows: *a*. This [earth] circle is like the *vajra* and is called Mahendra. It's blaze of light is pure gold in color and issues everywhere in all directions...

[194] See *T*.851:92c9-93a7. The letters for the wind, water and earth do not change and are *haṃ*, *vaṃ* and *a*. According to Murakami Ryōkai ("Mikkyō kyōki ni okeru kikai konryu kan," *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 15, pp. 110-111) the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* only explains the visualization of the container world composed of three circles, but the *Dapiluzhena chengfo jingzhou* [Commentary on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*] gives, in addition to the visualization with three circles, a visualization with five circles.

[195] *T*.954A:308a12-17 and 851:93a10-20. The mantra of the great ocean in *oṃ vimalodadhi hūṃ* (Stainless ocean!) and that of Mount Sumeru is *oṃ acala hūṃ* (Mountain!).

[196] See, for example, the visualization of the sacred sanctuary in *T*.894:697c13-698a5. The elements are a great ocean, a jeweled mountain, a lion throne, a lotus dais and a jeweled, multi-storied pavilion and their mantras.

[197] *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 629-630, 642.

[198] "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite," p. 28.

[199] The structure and content of the *Ruyilun niansong fa* presages the later Shingon rite of the eighteenfold practice 十八道 (*jūhachidō*). This rite, which is structurally the simplest of the Shingon rites, is so named because it contains

eighteen fundamental mudrā-mantra pairs that are divided into the six ritual phases of purification of the practitioner, establishment of the ritual boundaries, creation of the sacred sanctuary, invitation of the deities, establishment of protections and ritual offerings that characterize the *Ruyilun niansong fa*. The *Jūhachi geiin* 十八契印 (*T*.18.900), which the Shingon school considers to be Kūkai's documentation of Huiguo's oral teachings, records the above method of parsing the rite. The evidence that supports the Shingon school's attribution is the fact that on the back of the ninth sheet of Kūkai's *Sanjūjō sakushi* 三十帖冊子, which he wrote while in China, the ritual steps of the *jūhachidō* are listed, and on the twenty-ninth sheet of this work the mantras for a *Bonji jūhachidō* are written. Moreover, the Shingon monk Raiyu 頼瑜 (1226-1304) recorded in his *Jūhachidō kūketsu* 十八道口訣 that Faquan told Ennin that the *jūhachidō* belonged to the oral teachings of Huiguo. See Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 44, Sawa, *Shingon jiten*, p. 352.

According to Toganoo (*Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 44), Kūkai excerpted the essential parts of the rite of the eighteenfold practice in the *Jūhachidō geiin* from Amoghavajra's *Ruyilun niansong fa*. Ōmura (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 649-650) regards Amoghavajra's *Wuliangshou rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* 無量寿如来観行供養儀軌 (*T*.19.930) as the model for the Shingon school's eighteenfold practice. This manual's number and names of the mudrā-mantra pairs, their significance and thus the ritual structure are identical to those of the *Ruyilun niansong fa*. It is listed in Amoghavajra's memorial (*T*.2120:839c9) as *Wuliangshou rulai niansong fa* 無量寿如來念誦法.

The ritual divisions in the *Jūhachi geiin* are (*T*.900:782a2-783b25) identical to the *Ruyilun niansong fa*. Further, the names and contents of the mudra-mantra pairs of the *Jūhachi geiin* match, on the whole, those of the *Ruyilun niansong fa*. The exceptions, which do not signify a change in meaning, are the mantras of the purification of the practitioner's three actions, the invitation of the deities to descend into the sacred site, and the universal offerings. The first and third of these mantras differ only in length and the second in focus. For example, in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* the practitioner summons with the mantra *oṃ alolik* Gentle one! only the Lotus Family to enter the sacred site but in the *Jūhachi geiin* he invites the three Families of the Buddha, Lotus and Vajra with the mantras *oṃ jinajik oṃ alolik oṃ vajradhṛk āgaccha āgaccha svāhā* Victorious Vanquisher! Gentle One! Vajra Protecter! Come! Come!

Amoghavajra has clearly based the ritual format and contents of his *Ruyilun niansong fa*, as well as the other rites of group three, on the offering rite given in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and elaborated in the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa*. Certain mudrā-mantra pairs are performed two and three times in the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa*, producing extensive and repeated rites of purification of the practitioner and the site that are given in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s ch. 18. The *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* has almost ninety mudrā-mantra pairs whereas Amoghavajra's rites are much shorter in length.

[200] For *T*.921, see *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 104-105 and for *T*.1211, see *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 159. Osabe's analysis is predicated upon his understanding of the *susiddhi* elements as belonging to the ritual lineage of the matrix. I discuss Osabe's position on the *susiddhi* in Chapter Seven.

[201] *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, pp. 24b, 259a.

[202] *T*.921:15c22-16b15 and endnote 171.

[203] Compare *T*.921:18b21-19a 24, *T*.850:67c21-68a23 and 851:97a4-10, a26-b29. The mantras of this series, however, are not the same as those given in the manuals attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha.

[204] *T*.921:17b9-20 and endnotes 190-196.

[205] *T*.1211:43b5-7. This verse is given immediately after the mudrā-mantra pair of purification of the practitioner's three actions and just before that of the pledge of the tathāgathas is performed.

[206] The mudrā-mantra pair for Vajracakra occurs at the end of the purification phase and prior to the visualization of the container world (*T*.1211:44a18-b8). Vajrahetu's mudrā-mantra pair is performed after the visualization of the sanctuary and prior to the sending off of the jeweled carriage to fetch the deities (*T*.1211:45b9-21).

[207] The source of the mudrā-mantra pairs of these bodhisattvas has not been identified. They are not found in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* nor in the ritual manuals attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha.

[208] *T*.1211:44b8-c11.

[209] *T*.1211:43a, 45a22-23, 47b7-19 and endnote 213.

[210] *T*.1211:46b29-47b6 and endnote 203.

[211] *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 631.

[212] Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 32, Onozuka, "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite," p. 28 and the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, p. 1941a.

[213] *T*.972:365a18-b15, 366a15-25. Compare for the purification phase *T*.848:12c19-13a2 (fascicle 2, ch. 2/2), 47a3-b12 (fascicle 7, ch. 2); 850:66a24-c14; 851:91b26-28 (collapsed), 94c16-95a25 and, for the offering phase *T*.848:13a8-19 (fascicle 2, ch. 2), 50a25-b20 (fascicle 7, ch. 3), 19a1-11 (fascicle 3, ch. 6), 48b3-11 (fascile 7, ch 3); 850:67c21-68a23, 67b23-c3; 851:97a4-10, a26-b29, 94c2-10.

[214] *T*.972:366c2-367a21.

[215] *T*.972:367a8-9.

[216] I have summarized the significance of this sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs from Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* (*T*.873:303a8-11) and *Guanzizai niansong fa* (*T*.1056:74c3-75a10).

[217] *T*.873:302c28-303a25. The *Foding zunsheng niansong fa'*s mantra of tying the wig is simply *oṃ vajra-abhiṣiñca* "Vajra consecrate!" whereas that in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* contains a mantra for each of the Buddha Families.

[218] Amoghavajra instructs that the practitioner can perform the bathing rite (*T*.972:364c20-21) as stipulated in the *Susiddhi*.

[219] See my discussion of these works in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

Behoren bij:
Harriet Jean Hunter, **A TRANSMISSION AND ITS TRANSFORMATION: THE *LIQUJING SHIBAHUI MANTULUO* IN DAIGOJI**

Deze dissertatie is een studie van het iconografische type mandala dat bekend staat als *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* ("Mandala's van de Achttien Samenkomsten van het *Sutra van het Leidende Principe*"). Deze mandala's werden oorspronkelijk voorgeschreven door de Meester (*ācārya*) Amoghavajra (705–774) in diens *Liqushi* ("Uitleg van [het *Sutra* van] het Leidende Principe"). Amoghavajra's versie van het *Liqujing* verschafte zijn Chinese beschermheren en discipelen een esoterische bewerking van oudere Mahāyāna geschriften uit de *Prajñāpāramitā* ("Vervolmaking der Wijsheid") traditie. Een belangrijke verandering was de aanpassing van dit *sutra* aan een nieuw systeem, dat een snellere weg naar de verlichting beloofde, nog gedurende het huidige leven te bereiken door middel van geritualiseerde, yoga-achtige oefeningen. Amoghavajra zette dit systeem uiteen in zijn *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*; het *Liqujing* beschouwde hij als de Zesde Samenkomst in dit corpus.

Het system van de "Yoga van de Diamanten Kroon" vormde de kern van Amoghavajra's leer; dit was het systeem dat hij propageerde aan het hof van drie Chinese keizers, zoals door hemzelf werd gedocumenteerd in memories die hij richtte aan het hof. Het is het systeem dat ten grondslag ligt aan het *Liqujing* en de bijbehorende commentaren en rituele handboeken. De iconografie van de mandala's die Amoghavajra vastlegt in zijn *Liqushi*, behoort derhalve tot het systeem van de Yoga van de Diamanten Kroon.

In het exemplaar dat berust in de Daigoji, zijn bepaalde veranderingen opgetreden in de wijze waarop de godheden worden voorgesteld. Het belang van deze veranderingen is gelegen in het feit dat de mandala's grafische voorstellingen zijn van onderscheidende aspecten van de leer van het *sutra*, en dat elke godheid een verschillend perspectief op die leer belichaamt. Bovendien dient de mandala als een *focus* in een cyclus van opeenvolgende rituele en symbolische betekenissen die de asceet in staat stellen om de beloofde doelen van het *sutra* te bereiken en te realiseren. De plaatsing van de figuren, maar ook hun voorgeschreven uiterlijke verschijning, poses en attributen zijn van belang en, in het onderhavige geval, ook strikt vastgelegd, aangezien zij de doctrinaire stellingen van het *sutra* en de beoogde geestelijke en materiele verworvenheden van deze oefeningen symboliseren. Een verandering in de positie van een van de figuren zou een verandering in de betekenis van deze godheid impliceren. Het belang van de posities van de godheden, die speciale constructies van de werkelijkheid van de mandala's symboliseren, blijkt ook uit het systeem dat uiteen wordt gezet in de tekst waar Amoghavajra's aan refereert, te weten, de *Savatathāgata-tattva-saṃghraha* ("De Grote Mandala van de Eerste Samenkomst van het Diamanten Rijk"). Kort gezegd, Amoghavajra's instructies voor de constructie van mandala's richten zich naar het systeem van de Yoga van de Diamanten Kroon, maar de iconografie van het Daigoji-exemplaar stemt absoluut niet overeen met zijn *Liqushi* en het systeem waar die tekst aan refereert. Dit wijst erop dat we te maken hebben met een interpretatie van een andere meester, die actief was in een andere fase in de ontwikkeling van Esoterische Boeddhistische leer en praktijk in China.

De onderzoekshypothese van deze studie is dat de iconografische en iconologische

veranderingen die vastgesteld kunnen worden in het Daigoji-exemplaar, de traditie weergeven van de negende-eeuwse Chinese meester Faquan, welke traditie nog nooit goed bestudeerd is. Om dit te aan te tonen onderzoek ik de tradities van Amoghavajra en de Chinese esoterische Boeddhistische meesters die na hem kwamen, en wel met name Faquan. Zulk onderzoek laat zien wat de preoccupaties van deze meesters waren, alsmede de wijze waarop Indisch Esoterisch-Boeddhistisch materiaal in China werd geassimileerd en getransformeerd. Mijn stelling is, dat het Daigoji-exemplaar het resultaat is van dit proces van Sinificatie, waar ook Faquan's traditie toe behoort.

Historische bronnen geven aan, dat Shūei twee verschillende exemplaren van de *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* in Japan introduceerde, die beiden stamden uit de Tang. In Hoofdstuk Een doe ik een vergelijkende studie van Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* en deze twee sets van *mandala*'s. De ene wordt vertegenwoordigd door de set in de collectie van de Ishiyama Temple, die gedateerd wordt in de Tang Dynastie (864). Hedendaagse Japanese geleerden hebben deze "Ishiyamadera set" nog niet grondig bestudeerd. De tweede set van mandala's is het Daigoji-exemplaar, een middeleeuwse, Japanse kopie van een set van afbeeldingen uit de Tang Dynastie. De vergelijking die ik trek in Hoofdstuk Een van deze dissertatie, is het eerste systematische onderzoek dat ooit ondernomen is van deze tekst en afbeeldingen. Mijn vergelijking van tekst en afbeeldingen onthult, dat de iconografie in het exemplaar in de Ishiyamadera beter overeenstemt met Amoghavajra's uitleg en voorschriften dan die in het Daigoji-exemplaar. Waar Amoghavajra voor bepaalde van de achttien mandala's verwijst naar zijn referentie-tekst of naar een iconografische bron, stemt de iconografie van de set mandala's van de Daigoji daar niet mee overeen. Kortom, ik ontkracht de pretentie van de Shingon School dat het Daigoji-exemplaar gebaseerd is op Amoghavajra's overlevering.

In Hoofdstuk Twee onderzoek ik versies van de *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* uit de Late Heian-, Kamakura- en Edo-periodes, alsmede bepaalde traktaten die daaraan zijn gerelateerd, met het doel bepaalde problemen met betrekking tot de herkomst en toeschrijving van de Ishiyamadera- en Daigoji-exemplaren te aan de orde te stellen. Het Daigoji-exemplaar is een dertiende-eeuwse kopie van een kopie die naar Japan gebracht zou zijn door Shūei. Geleerde monniken van de Shingon School die actief waren na Shūei's tijd, corrigeerden de iconografie van het Daigoji-exemplaar om het beter in overeenstemming te brengen met de *Liqushi*. Voorts schiepen Shingon-meesters ook hun eigen interpretaties in mandala-vorm van de leer van dit *sutra*, welke gebaseerd waren op latere ontwikkelingen in de Shingon-doctrine. Mijn onderzoek van deze aspecten versterkt de these dat het Daigoji-exemplaar niet gebaseerd is op Amoghavajra's commentaar, en geeft ook informatie over bepaalde karakteristieken van de iconografie van dit exemplaar. Bovendien laat het zien dat het Daigoji-exemplaar dat naar Japan is meegenomen door Shūei, diende als een gezaghebbend referentiewerk voor deze revisies en herinterpretaties die gemaakt zijn tussen het begin van de twaalfde en de achttiende eeuw. Het Ishiyamadera-exemplaar, dat met zekerheid gedateerd kan worden tot de Tang Dynastie, wordt nooit genoemd in de rituele compilaties van de geleerde Shingon-monniken; deze set van mandala's lag onopgemerkt in de archieven van de tempel, tot hij werd ontdekt in het begin van de twintigste eeuw.

Visuele tradities die dateren van de tijd *na* Amoghavajra, en niet zijn *Liqushi* en de teksten waaraan daarin wordt gerefereerd, vormen de iconografische bronnen van het Daigoji-exemplaar zijn. In Hoofdstuk Drie documenteer ik eerst de overeenstemmingen in iconografie tussen het Daigoji-exemplaar en de Mandala's van het Diamanten Rijk en het Baarmoederrijk (*Genzu*

kongōkai and *taizōkai mandara*) van de Shingon School, de Chinese prototypes waarvan naar Japan werden meegenomen door de pelgrim-monnik Kūkai (774–835). Van deze mandala's wordt gezegd, dat zij een grafische voorstelling zijn van de onderwijzingen van de *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* en het *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* — geschriften, dus, die afkomstig zijn en uit diverse varianten van het Indische Esoterisch-Boeddhistische systeem. Ten tweede verduidelijk ik de historische context van de visuele en schriftelijke tradities waarop deze iconografische veranderingen zijn gebaseerd. In het bijzonder neem ik de tradities van Amoghavajra, zijn discipel Huiguo, die tevens de Chinese meester was van Kūkai, en Faquan, een discipel van Huiguo in de tweede generatie, onder de loep.

Zoals hierboven reeds is opgemerkt, vallen de iconografische veranderingen die aan de dag treden in het Daigoji-exemplaar, chronologisch gezien niet samen met Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*. De ideologie van de non-dualiteit van de twee tradities van het *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* en de *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* en de daarbij behorende *mandala*'s dateert van *na* Amoghavajra. Ook kunnen toelichtingen en aanwijzingen voor de vervaardiging van mandala's in de *Liqushi* niet de opvallende aanwezigheid verklaren van iconografische elementen uit de Baarmoederrijk-Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*) in het Daigoji-exemplaar. Deze vermenging van onderscheiden iconografische systemen van het esoterische Boeddhisme wijst op beïnvloeding door een latere meester.

Amoghavajra's transmissie vormt de *focus* van Hoofdstuk Vier. Ten eerste maak ik een reconstructie van de iconografie van Amoghavajra's versie van de *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* door zowel de geïdentificeerde als de niet-geïdentificeerde bronnen te onderzoeken waarvan hij gebruik maakt in zijn commentaren op de *Liqushi*. Amoghavajra is in leerstellig opzicht consistent in de voorschriften die hij in zijn *Liqushi* geeft voor de mandala's. Zijn bronnen bevestigen dat hij materiaal gebruikte dat afkomstig was uit een *corpus* dat hij de *Jingangding yuqie shibahui* noemde. Ten tweede betoog ik dat, ondanks de aanwezigheid van elementen uit het *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* en andere schriftuurlijke tradities, de doctrines en oefeningen die uiteen worden gezet in een aantal van de samenkomsten binnen het systeem van de Yoga van de Diamanten Kroon de basis vormen van zijn overlevering. In biografieën van zijn discipelen wordt echter een herformulering gegeven van de inhoud van Amoghavajra's overlevering, waaraan ik eveneens in het kort aandacht besteed. Een significante verandering die zij aanbrachten in de overlevering van hun meester, was het opnemen van leringen van oudere, Indische Esoterisch-Boeddhistische geschriften, om precies te zijn van het *Susiddhikara sūtra* ("*Sutra* over het Verkrijgen van Speciale Krachten") en het *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

De voorstelling dat Shūei het Daigoji-exemplaar naar Japan heeft gebracht, is twijfelachtig; de set wordt in elk geval niet vermeld in de officiële inventarislijsten van door hem meegebrachte religieuze voorwerpen. In de inventarislijsten van pelgrim-monniken van de Heian-periode werden de geschriften, iconen en religieuze parafernalia opgetekend die zij hadden gekopieerd en verzameld gedurende hun verblijf in het China van de Tang. Bij hun terugkeer in Japan boden zij deze aan het keizerlijke hof en de religieuze autoriteiten.

De pelgrim-monniken namen ook persoonlijke souvenirs mee terug, bij voorbeeld geschriften, rituele handboeken en afbeeldingen die zij niet registreerden in hun officiële inventarislijsten, maar die zij wel doorgaven binnen hun respectievelijke scholen en onder hun leerlingen. In Hoofdstuk Vijf onderwerp ik de betrouwbaarheid van de historische bronnen die de introductie van de iconografie van het Daigoji-exemplaar van China naar Japan vermelden, aan een onderzoek. Voorbeelden van deze bronnen zijn *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*

("Algemene, gerubriceerde inventaris van de geheime onderwijzingen door de esoterische meesters over *mantra*") van de Tendai monk Annen (841–915?), de inventarissen van pelgrim-monniken die naar Tang China gingen, alsmede latere rituele compilaties samengesteld door zulke geleerde monniken als Ejū (actief 1125–na 1144), Kōzen (1121–1203) en Kakuzen (1143–na 1213) van de Shingon School, en Shōchō (1205–1282) van de esoterische stroming in de Tendai School. Er is in deze bronnen bewijs te vinden, dat Shūei in verband brengt met de iconografie van de mandala's in het Daigoji-exemplaar.

In het Chinese esoterische Boeddhisme van het midden van de negende eeuw kwam de *focus* opnieuw te liggen op rituele oefeningen, die een eclectische mengeling laten zien van diverse Esoterisch-Boeddhistische systemen. Als voorbeelden van deze trend neem ik de schriftelijke bronnen van de mandala's die toegevoegd werden aan het Daigoji-exemplaar, onder de loep. De *focus* van Hoofdstuk Zes ligt op *Jingangjixiang dachengjiu pin* ("Hoofdstuk over de grote merites van Vajraśrī"), een hoofdstuk van *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqie yuqi jing*, en verder *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* ("Ritueel handboek van voorschriften voor de beoefening van de Yoga van Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa), welke de bronnen zijn van de Mandala's van Buddhlocanā en Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa — twee van de vier mandala's die werden toegevoegd aan het Daigoji-exemplaar. Hoewel deze mandala's respectievelijk worden toegeschreven aan Vajrabodhi (671–741) en Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735), zijn zij in feite apocriefe werken, die voor het eerst worden vermeld in de inventarissen van Japanse pelgrim-monniken van het midden van de negende eeuw. Voorts onderzoek ik twee handboeken die toe worden geschreven aan Faquan. Dit zijn *Gongyang hushi batian fa* ("Offerite voor de Acht Goden die de Wereld Beschermen") en *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* (Ritueel handboek voor de constructie van *mandala* voor de uitvoering van het vuurritueel (*homa*)").

Mijn reden om de inhoud en mandala's van deze werken aan de orde te stellen is, dat ik een aantal van de typische trekken van het Chinese esoterische Boeddhisme van de negende eeuw wil reconstrueren, in de re-interpretatie en verspreiding waarvan Faquan een belangrijke rol speelde.

In Hoofdstuk Zeven maak ik een reconstructie van Faquan's overlevering. Mijn stelling is, dat de *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* en *Susiddhikara sūtra's* van belang waren voor Faquan, en dat hij hun daarom speciale rollen toebedeelde in het Esoterisch-Boeddhistische systeem van de drie onderling verband houdende categorieën van de *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* en de *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* en *Susiddhikara sūtra's* die hij doorgaf aan zijn discipelen. Dit driedelige systeem impliceert een nieuwe classificatie van de leer van het Chinese esoterische Boeddhisme — een vernieuwing die plaatsvond *na* Amoghavajra en Huiguo. Aangezien Faquan geen geschriften heeft nagelaten over de categorie "merites" (Skt. *susiddhi*), onderwerp ik eerst de geschriften van zijn Chinese tijdgenoot Haiyun en zijn Japanse discipelen Ennin (794–864) en Enchin (814–891) aan een nader onderzoek, en voorts de inventarislijsten van deze discipelen, om de vorm en inhoud van Faquan's leer vast te stellen. De herinterpretaties van het *Susiddhikara sūtra* in de late Tang culmineerden in een speciale *mantra*, de kracht waarvan een gelukkige uitkomst bewerkstelligde van *alle* rituele praktijken, onafhankelijk van de schriftuurlijke traditie. De bron van deze *mantra* was het *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, een tekst die, zoals ik in dit hoofdstuk laat zien, voor Faquan van groot belang was. Van betekenis is, dat mijn onderzoek van de bronnen die Faquan's overlevering documenteren, onthult dat hij voortdurend gebruik is blijven maken van het prototype van de set van mandala's die in de Shingon School bekend staat als de *Genzu mandara*.

Concluderend stel ik, op basis van het onderzoek dat ik in deze dissertatie aan de lezer voorleg, vast, dat het prototype van de iconografie van het Daigoji-exemplaar afkomstig was uit het China van het midden van de negende eeuw, en dat het de essentie vormde van Faquan's religieuze bijdrages aan de verdere Sinificatie van het Indische esoterische Boeddhisme.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Harriet Jean Hunter behaalde in 1972 een B.A. Engelse Literatuur aan de University of British Columbia. In 1979 begon zij aan dezelfde universiteit een MA-studie Kunstgeschiedenis. Van 1984 tot 1986 studeerde zij met een beurs van het Japanse Ministerie van Onderwijs aan de Universiteit van Kyoto, Afd. Esthetica en Kunstgeschiedenis, en in 1986 behaalde zij bij de University of British Columbia een MA Kunstgeschiedenis. Haar MA-scriptie ging over de Japanse schilderkundige traditie van *Hassō Nehan*. Nadat zij in 1986–1987 de cursus Nederlands had afgerond, volgde zij een MA-opleiding Japanse Taal en Cultuur aan de Universiteit van Leiden (1987–1989). Van 1990 tot 1994 was zij aangesteld als AIO bij de Leidse Onderzoeksschool voor Aziatische, Afrikaanse en Amerindische Studies (CNWS). Tijdens haar aanstelling bij het CNWS deed zij, met een beurs van de Canon Foundation in Europe, een jaar onderzoek aan de Universiteit van Kyoto, Afd. Esthetica en Kunstgeschiedenis (1991–1992). Na afloop van haar aanstelling bleef zij in Leiden en werkte zij verder aan haar onderzoek, tot zij in 1997 een betrekking vond bij Miyazaki International College (Kyūshū, Japan), eerst als docent, daarna als Assistant Professor en uiteindelijk als Associate Professor in de Vergelijkende Cultuurkunde. Tot 2013 gaf zij in Miyazaki onderwijs en deed zij onderzoek op dit gebied. In 2001–2002 was zij onderzoeker aan het Internationale Instituut voor Boeddhistische Studies te Tokyo. Sinds 2013 woont zij in Gibsons, British Columbia, Canada, alwaar zij tot op heden haar onderzoek over het esoterische Boeddhisme en de *Liqujing mantuluo* voort heeft gezet.