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# A Transmission and its transformation : the Liqujing shibahui mantuluo in Daigoji

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# 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.