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

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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 classifies 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 *Vairocanābhisambodhi*; (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 worldly gods; (13) record of the offerings for the fire rite 護摩 (*homa*); (14) record of veneration, 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 veneration and repentances; (17) category of praises; (18) category of *siddham* 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) illustrations 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楨 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* 十七壇樣一卷 (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, Ennin 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 Fashiuan 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 particularly 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 attributed 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 Buddhist 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 愛染明王禱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 Buddhālocanā) 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 Buddhacāyā) 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 運尊有黑髻
- *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 yuqixiangyang* 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 extant 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 *siddham* 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 *Lidosengnieluo 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 rubrics “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 inconsistency between Annen’s work and those of the pilgrim-monks is found under the rubric “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 disciple⁶⁴
- 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" 祕録 (*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

compiled 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 *Yujijing*'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*" 理趣經曼荼羅奧有之. 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 Buddhhalocanā Mandala in his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku*, but the iconography of this Buddhhalocanā 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卷 (Method of the Great Accomplishments of Vajraśrī), which corresponds to chapter 9 of the *Yuqijing*, the source for the elements of Buddhhalocanā's mandala and rite.¹⁰¹ Although Annen does not acknowledge that Shūei introduced a Buddhhalocanā Mandala, or its ritual procedure, and instead ascribes the introduction of this mandala to Kūkai and Enchin,¹⁰² Kakuzen documents in the scroll on Buddhhalocanā in his *Kakuzenshō* the transmission of the symbolic (*samaya*) form of Buddhhalocanā 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 Buddhhalocanā 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 Buddhhalocanā rite, and a Buddhhalocanā 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 Mandala, 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 Buddhhalocanā.