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DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE DERIVATION OF THE FIGURES IN THE DAIGOJI EXEMPLAR

The figure of Mahāvairocana, who forms the Meditation Mudrā in the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 776, No. 1), is the Mahāvairocana of the *Chūdai hachiyō in* 中台八葉院 (Hall of the Central Eight-Petaled Lotus Dais) of the *Genzu taizokai mandara*. In the Mahāvairocana Mandala (fig. 3, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 778, No. 3), Mahāvairocana, who forms the Wisdom Fist Mudrā as prescribed in *Liqushi 2*, appears as the Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne* 成身會 (Perfected Body Assembly).¹

Vajrasattva appears with three distinct figure types in the Daigoji exemplar. However, only two can be traced to the *Genzu mandara*. The two that appear are Type (1), a figure with a *vajra* in his right hand and a bell in his left, and Type (3), with a *vajra* in his right hand and his left hand forming a fist. Type (2), with a *vajra* in his left hand and his right forming a fist, is absent from the *Genzu mandara*.

Let us discuss these types according to their order of importance within the Daigoji exemplar.² The Vajrasattva Type (1), who holds a *vajra* in his right hand and a bell in his left hand, is the central figure in the mandalas that are doctrinally most significant: the Vajrasattva Mandala (fig. 2, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 777, No. 2) and the final Five Mysteries Mandala (fig. 18, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 793, No. 18).³ It is clearly the iconographic type found in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne*, *Misai e* 微細會 (Subtle Assembly), *Shiin'ne* 四印會 (Four Seals Assembly), and *Rishu e*.⁴ Amoghavajra stipulates this type of Vajrasattva for the mandala that he expounds in *Liqushi 2* but he does not prescribe it in *Liqushi 1* or 17, which are the scriptural sources for the Vajrasattva Mandala (No. 2) and the final Five Mysteries Mandala (No. 18).

However, the Vajrasattva in the Daigoji's Mahāvairocana Mandala (fig. 3, No. 3), the most common type in the Daigoji exemplar,⁵ does not follow *Liqushi 2*. He holds a *vajra* horizontally in his slightly raised *left* hand and forms a fist with his *right* hand. Shingon and Tendai textual sources do not record a Vajrasattva type who holds the *vajra* in his left hand, which suggests that the iconography of this figure has been influenced by that of one or more deities.⁶

The third iconographic type of Vajrasattva, who holds a *vajra* in his right hand and forms a fist with his left hand, is seen only in the Daigoji Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1). This type corresponds to the Vajrasattva who heads the Vajra Family in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kongōshu in* (Hall of the Vajrapāni).⁷ This Vajrasattva type is, according to Ishida, the oldest in the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist tradition, where it makes its first appearance in the *Wubu xingua* 五部心觀.⁸ Amoghavajra prescribes this type of Vajrasattva for the mandala expounded in *Liqujing 1*,⁹ but, as noted above, he is not in the Daigoji Vajrasattva Mandala (fig. 2, No. 2).

Thus, even though the composer of the Daigoji exemplar has included three different types of the figure of Vajrasattva derived from three different sources, the most important, Type (1), the focal figure of the Vajrasattva and Five Mysteries Mandala (Nos. 2 and 18), is from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Moreover, Type (3), appearing in Mahāvairocana's retinue in the Daigoji Opening Mandala (No. 1), is from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*.

Turning now to the figure of Avalokiteśvara in the Daigoji exemplar, we find two distinct types. Type (1) holds a lotus flower in his left hand while forming with his right the gesture of

opening the lotus. Type (2) holds a long-stemmed lotus in his left hand and raises his right hand, palm outward, to his chest. Type (1) appears in the *Genzu mandara*, but Type (2) does not.

The iconography of Avalokiteśvara in the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1) is Type (1). It is identical to that of the figure of Vajradharma in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne* and to that of Avalokiteśvara in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kannon in 觀音院* (Hall of Avalokiteśvara). The figures of Vajradharma and Avalokiteśvara, who heads the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kannon in*, are of the same type as those in the *Genzu mandara*.¹⁰ Amoghavajra stipulates this iconography for the figure of Avalokiteśvara in the Mahāvairocana Mandala in *Liqushi 2*.¹¹

This, however, is not the only iconographic type of Avalokiteśvara found in the Daigoji exemplar. In the Mahāvairocana Mandala (fig. 3, No. 3) and in the Avalokiteśvara Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 780, No. 5) the figure raises his right hand, palm outward, to his chest and holds a long-stemmed lotus in his left hand, the Type (2) noted above. This figure seems at first glance to resemble that of Avalokiteśvara in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara's Chūdai hachiyō in*. His hand gesture and attribute are reversed, however, and he holds the lotus in his left hand.¹² In the oldest Chinese version of the matrix mandala, the *Taizang tuxiang 胎藏圖像* (Icons of the Matrix Mandala), for example, there is a figure of Avalokiteśvara who holds a lotus in his left hand.¹³ Neither the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* nor its commentary, nor the ritual manuals that Śubhākarasiṃha is said to have provided with his translation specify the details of the iconography of the *Taizang tuxiang* Avalokiteśvara.¹⁴ However, in his study of the *Taizang tuxiang*, Ishida Hisatōyō has identified the *Yizifuding lunwang jing 一字佛頂輪王經*, translated by the seventh-century Indian monk Bodhiruci, as containing an iconographic description corresponding to the figure of Avalokiteśvara in the *Taizang tuxiang* and the Daigoji exemplar.¹⁵

The composer of the Daigoji exemplar has thus used two iconographic types to depict the figure of Avalokiteśvara. Type (1) is based on an Avalokiteśvara figure common to both the *Genzu kongōkai* and *Genzu taizōkai mandara*, but Type (2) draws on iconography that predates that of the *Genzu mandara*.¹⁶

Ākāśagarbha, like Vajrasattva, is represented by three figure types in the Daigoji exemplar. Type (1) is a figure who holds a flaming jewel in his left hand, forming with his right hand the hand gesture of the granting of wishes; Type (2), one who holds in his left hand a long-stemmed lotus topped with three flaming jewels, holding a flaming sword in his right hand; and Type (3), one who holds a long-stemmed lotus topped with the jewels in his left hand, forming with his right hand the hand gesture of the granting of wishes. Types (1) and (2) are found in the *Genzu kongōkai* and *Genzu taizōkai mandara*, but Type (3) is not.

The iconography of the Ākāśagarbha Type (1), who appears as a retinue figure in the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1), the Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9) and the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 787, No. 12), is identical to that of the figure of Vajraratna in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Misai e* and *Shiin'ne*.¹⁷ Moreover, although Amoghavajra prescribes the iconography for the figure of Ākāśagarbha in the Mahāvairocana Mandala in *Liqushi 2*, this figure-type does not appear in the Daigoji exemplar.¹⁸ The retinue figure of Ākāśagarbha in the Mahāvairocana Mandala (fig. 3, No. 3) and the central figure of Ākāśagarbha in the Ākāśagarbha Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 781, No. 6) is instead Ākāśagarbha Type (2), corresponding to that of the Ākāśagarbha who heads the *Genzu taizōkai mandara's Kokūzō in 虛空藏院* (Ākāśagarbha Hall).¹⁹

On the other hand, the iconography of the Type (3) Ākāśagarbha figure, who holds a long-stemmed lotus topped with the jewels in his left hand, forming with his right hand the hand gesture of the granting of wishes, and is a member of the retinue in the Ākāśagarbha Mandala (No. 6), is not derived from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* or *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Shinjaku does not describe this type in his *Shosetsu fudōki*, but the twelfth-century Shingon work *Zuzōshō* 圖像鈔 (Compendium of Icons) does illustrate it.²⁰ After a description of a visualization practice in which this figure of Ākāśagarbha is brought forth, a note in small characters states that this practice appears in the *Qiuwenchi fa*'s 求聞持法 "rite for seeking, hearing, and retaining."²¹ This form of Ākāśagarbha was well known within the Shingon school of the Heian period. Nevertheless, Type (3) appears only once in the Daigoji exemplar, while Types (1) and (2), from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* and *Genzu taizōkai mandara*, appear frequently.

In contrast to Vajrasattva, Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha, the rest of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas are represented in an iconographic type that is based directly upon either the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* or the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. The three-faced figure of Trailokyavijaya in the Trailokyavijaya Mandala (fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779, No. 4) is depicted as Vajrahūṃkara of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Jimyō in* 持明王院 (Hall of the Vidyārājas, the Holders of Spells).²² Vajramuṣṭi appears in the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1) and in the Vajramuṣṭi Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 782, No. 7) in the form of Vajramuṣṭi of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne*.²³ In the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1) and in the Mañjuśrī Mandala (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783, No. 8) Mañjuśrī has the form of the crowned Mañjuśrī from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Chūdai hachiyō in*.²⁴ Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin appears in the form of two figure types that are found in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. In the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1) he takes the form of the figure of Bodhisattva Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin 共發意轉輪菩薩 from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kokūzō in*,²⁵ and in the Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9) he appears as Bodhisattva Mahācakra 曼荼羅菩薩, also found in the *Kokūzō in*.²⁶ Gaganagañja appears in the Gaganagañja Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 785, No. 10,) as the figure of Vajrakarma from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne*,²⁷ but in the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1) his figure type is a variation on that of Vajrakarma from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Shiin'ne*.²⁸ Amoghavajra does not provide a description of Sarvamāra-pramardin in the *Liqushi*, but in both the *Liqushi* and the *Liqujing* he equates this Bodhisattva with the figure of Vajrayakṣa, whose emblem is the fang.²⁹ However, the iconography of the figure of Sarvamāra-pramardin in the Opening Assembly Mandala (fig. 1, No. 1) and in the Sarvamāra-pramardin Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 786, No. 11)³⁰ does not resemble that of Vajrayakṣa in the assemblies of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Instead, the mandala-maker has represented Sarvamāra-pramardin in his benign form of Vajradamṣṭra 金剛牙 (Adamantine Fang), who holds a lotus topped with a fang.³¹

The iconography of the youths in the Mañjuśrī Mandala (fig. 8, No. 8), Mahākāla in the Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 789, No. 14), Brahmā in the Mandalas of the Seven Mother Goddesses and in The Three Brothers (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 791, No. 16), Nārāyaṇa in the Three Brothers Mandala (No. 16), the guardian figures in the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (No. 12) and Maheśvara and the guardian figures in the Maheśvara Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 788, No. 13) are also based upon that of the corresponding figures in the *Genzu taizōkai* and *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Mañjuśrī's retinue is composed of the four youths Jālinīprabhra, Ratnakūṭa, Candraprabha and Vimalaprabha, who also belong to Mañjuśrī's retinue

in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Monju in* 文殊院 (Hall of Mañjuśrī).³² Mahākāla and Brahmā are seen in the *Saigai in* 最外院 (Outermost Hall) of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*,³³ and the figure of Nārāyaṇa in the Three Brothers Mandala (No. 16) and the guardians of the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (No. 12) appear in the *Gekongō bu* 外金剛部 (Outer Vajra Family) of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne*.³⁴ However, the iconography of the guardian figures of the Maheśvara Mandala (No. 13) is composite, combining elements from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* and *Genzu kongōkai mandara*.³⁵ The iconography of the figures of Agni, Varuṇa and Vāyu matches that of the figures in the outer section of the assemblies of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*;³⁶ the iconography of Yamarāja is a reversal of that of the figure of Yamarāja who sits on a buffalo in the southern gate of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara's Saigai in*;³⁷ the iconography of Indra and Nirṛti combines features from the same figures in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* and *Genzu taizōkai mandara*;³⁸ and the iconography of Vaiśravaṇa is the same in both the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* and *Genzu kongōkai mandara*.³⁹

One figure remains to pose a problem as yet unresolved. This is Īśāna in the Maheśvara Mandala (No. 13). The three-headed, two-armed Īśāna, who holds a trident in his left hand and makes a fist with his right hand, is not found in the *Genzu mandara*, nor does he appear in any other surviving mandala of the esoteric traditions.

In short, the *Genzu mandara* provides the model for the iconography of all figures in the Daigoji exemplar except Vajrasattva Type (2), Avalokiteśvara Type (2), Ākāśagarbha Type (3), and Īśāna. The borrowing of iconographies from a variety of visual sources is not unique to the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo*. In the Chinese tradition of the mandala, the early eighth-century *Taizang tuxiang*, the *Taizang jiutuyang* 胎藏旧圖樣, which dates to the first half of the eighth century,⁴⁰ and the *Genzu mandara*, which dates to the latter half of the eighth century, exhibit the same characteristics.⁴¹ What is new is the clearly intentional juxtaposition of the iconographies of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* and *Genzu taizōkai mandara*, both within individual mandalas and within sets of mandala.

Juxtaposition within an individual mandala can be seen in all three of the Mandalas of Trailokyavijaya, Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha (Nos. 4, 5 and 6). Each of these follows a pattern whereby a central figure whose iconographic source is the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* is surrounded by a retinue of four figures based on the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*.⁴² This pattern is seen again in the Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra Mandala (No. 9), where the figure of Mahācakra, from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kokūzō in*, is surrounded by the Offering and Gathering Bodhisattvas who are standard to the assemblies of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*.⁴³ On the other hand, mandalas Nos. 1 (fig. 1) and 3 (fig. 2) and mandalas Nos. 12 and 13 show juxtaposition within a set rather than within a single image. Mahāvairocana of the Opening Assembly Mandala (No. 1), whose iconography is that of Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*, contrasts with the Mahāvairocana of the Mahāvairocana Mandala (No. 3), whose iconography is that of Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. The guardian figures of the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (No. 12), the five types of gods of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Gekongō bu* (Family of the Outer Vajras), contrast with the guardians of the Maheśvara Mandala (No. 13), who occupy the four cardinal and four intermediate positions of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Saigai in* (Outermost Hall).

EXAMINATION OF SHINGON SCHOLARS' METHOD OF CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF AMOGHAVAJRA'S TRANSMISSION

INTRODUCTION

Because Kukai records in his *Shōrai mokuroku* and in his *Fuhōden* that Huiguo had transmitted to him the great twofold teachings that Huiguo himself had received from his Master Amoghavajra,¹ the identity and doctrine of the post-Kūkai Shingon school were founded upon the amalgamation of the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Hence, any analysis of Amoghavajra's transmission must necessarily begin with the essential question: did Amoghavajra expressly combine into one the two originally independent Esoteric Buddhist traditions of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*?

The method of critical analysis employed by Shingon scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries seeks to identify instances of this combining of textual and ritual traditions. However, the opinions of these scholars are contradictory. Ōmura Seigai stated that Amoghavajra esteemed the adamantine realm category, focusing his efforts on the translation and transmission of the teachings and rites of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.² The Shingon monk Gonda Raifu 権田雷斧 (1846-1927), on the other hand, claimed exactly the opposite.³

Contemporary scholars are as divided.

Osabe Kazuo argues that Amoghavajra was the composer of the pure esoteric teachings of the Dual Categories 純粹兩部密教 (*junsui ryōbu mikkyō*) because he combined the two originally independent traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* into one tradition which is composed of two interrelated parts. Osabe characterizes the ritual manuals that Amoghavajra translated as manuals that display the combined practice of the rites of the adamantine realm and the matrix. By identifying elements that derive from these two rites,⁴ he defines two types of ritual manuals of combinatory practice. The first is a ritual manual whose structure is clearly divided into two parts; the source of the parts is either that of the matrix rite or that of the rite of the adamantine realm. One of the two traditions forms the dominant theme of the rite. In the second type of manual we find rites of combined practice in which elements from the two traditions are intermingled.⁵ Osabe states that this union of the two traditions characterizes the Esoteric Buddhist teachings of Amoghavajra's time. He cites the works of Yixing 一行 (683-729), a disciple of Śubhākarasimha and of Vajrabodhi, as another example wherein the two traditions are combined. Osabe has noted, for example, the number of times (22 in all) that Yixing cited the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in his commentary on the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*.⁶ In short, according to Osabe, Tang Dynasty Esoteric Buddhist teachings, of which Amoghavajra's were representative, have as their unique characteristic the combinatory practice of the ritual traditions of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

Onozuka Ikusumi 小野塚幾澄, following in Osabe's footsteps, also defines Amoghavajra's transmission as the precursor of the Shingon doctrine of the amalgamated traditions of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and he classifies a number of Amoghavajra's texts as combinatory practice.⁷

As mentioned, the art historian Ishida Hisatōyō, too, cites Amoghavajra as the originator of the mixing of the iconographies of the matrix and adamantine realm mandalas.⁸ Matsunaga Yūkei

and Mukai Ryūshō, on the other hand, date the express combining of the two traditions of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the concept of the non-duality of their mandalic realities after Amoghavajra's lifetime. They argue that Huiquo initiated this interpretation.⁹

In order to make authenticity less of a problem, I have limited the materials that I will examine to the list of translations and compositions that Amoghavajra himself presented to the Chinese emperor in 771. This is a list of the works that Amoghavajra translated and composed between the years 746 and 771. An investigation of all the ritual manuals that Amoghavajra listed in the memorial of 771 will not be possible here. Instead, I will focus on the *Liqujing*-related materials and ten works categorized as “combinatory practice.”¹⁰

THE LIQUJING-RELATED MATERIALS

Included in Amoghavajra's list of translations and compositions are the *Liqujing*, *Liqushi* and ritual manuals for the performance of the rites that focus on Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva, the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on Bodhisattva Samantabhadra from the Supreme Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle), the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* 普賢金剛薩埵念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva) and the *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽五祕密修行儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Practice of the Five Mysteries from the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle, hereafter *Wubimi xiuxing yigui*).¹¹ Kūkai includes the *Liqujing*, the *Liqushi* and the above three ritual manuals under the rubric of the textual lineage of the Adamantine Crown 金剛頂宗經 (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*) in his *Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku* 眞言宗所學經律論目錄, which was a list of texts that monks of his lineage had to study.¹²

Nevertheless, Shingon scholars, for example Ōmura, Osabe and Onozuka, classify these *Liqujing*-related materials under different headings. Ōmura categorized the *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* as works belonging to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.¹³ Osabe, on the other hand, classifies the *Liqushi* and related ritual manuals as works wherein the practices of the ritual traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* are combined.¹⁴ Onozuka, like Kūkai and Ōmura before him, classifies the *Liqujing*, *Liqushi* and its three ritual manuals as belonging to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.¹⁵

In the following discussion I will address the Shingon scholars' analysis of Amoghavajra's works.

The *Liqushi*

Ōmura does not analyze the *Liqushi* in terms of the mixing of elements from the rites of the matrix and adamantine realm. His position is that this work belongs to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. For example, he states that this text's visualization rite for the Five Mysteries mandala is based upon the rite of the adamantine realm. Further, he cites the *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqia yuqi jing* (*Yuqijing*), a work included in the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, as the origin of the concept of the Five Mysteries.¹⁶

Osabe, on the other hand, states that there are numerous instances of the mixing of elements from the rites of the matrix and adamantine realm throughout the *Liqushi*.¹⁷ The *Liqushi*

thus belongs to his second type of manual, describing a rite of combined practice wherein elements from the two traditions are scattered throughout the text. Osabe gives but three examples of combined practice. The first is:

[The letter *hrīḥ*] becomes an eight-petaled lotus flower. In the calyx [of the lotus] imagine Vajradharma 金剛法.¹⁸

Osabe does not specify what parts of this passage derive from which rite. I assume it is the eight-petaled lotus that signifies the matrix rite because Vajradharma is the main Bodhisattva attendant of Amitāyus, the Buddha who heads the Padma (Lotus) Family in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. If this is Osabe's point, it is not very well taken. True, the Shingon school associates the eight-petaled lotus with the central assembly of its Matrix Mandala.¹⁹ However, the eight-petaled lotus flower is a common motif in the construction of Buddhist mandalas and in Buddhist visualization practices, because the structure of the eight-petaled flower provided an easy manner whereby the practitioner could order and record the mandala's composition and his visionary experience. An example of its first use occurs in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* for construction of the Great Mandala for Consecration.²⁰ In the Indian Tantric Buddhist tradition the eight-petaled lotus is found in many of the visualization practices that are collected in the *Sādhanamālā*, and is an example of its second use. Although the latest date for this work is 1163 AD, the visualizations were composed by various authors and were collected over many centuries.²¹ The eight-petaled lotus also occurs in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, a collection of twenty-six mandalas compiled by Mahāpaṇḍita Abhāyakaragupta at the end of the eleventh century or early twelfth century.²² It occurs, moreover, in other ritual manuals of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* lineage that Amoghavajra translated.²³

When Osabe's example is placed in context, it is difficult to see an explicit reference to the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its rite in this quotation from the *Liqushi*. This passage that Osabe quotes is taken from the *Liqushi*'s Guiding Assembly of the Wisdom of Avalokiteśvara. Here Amoghavajra explains the significance of each of the central lines of the corresponding section in the *Liqujing* wherein Amitāyus, who takes the form of Avalokiteśvara, expounds four methods of experiencing the purity of all the passions through the very same passions. Amoghavajra gives the prescriptions for the mandala that symbolizes the teachings of this chapter. In this mandala Avalokiteśvara sits in the center and the four bodhisattvas who attend Amitāyus of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, Vajradharma, Vajratīkṣṇa, Vajrahetu and Vajrabhāṣa are placed in the four cardinal directions. Amoghavajra then describes the practices of visualization and recitation that center on this mandala and the results that the practitioner will attain. One visualization focuses on the lotus and Vajradharma and another focuses on the adamantine staff (vajra) and the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The passage that Osabe cites comes from the first visualization. I quote from the *Liqushi*:

When you succeed in entering this mandala, you will attain supreme enlightenment and the passions (*kleśā*) will not be able to defile [this enlightenment]. On the occasion when you yourself reside in the mandala and perform union with the main Venerable, in your mind you should position the sacred crowd around you, summoning [the deities] with the mantra of the four letters [*jaḥ, hūṃ, baṃ, hoḥ*] and recite their heart mantras. [Then], reciting the

guiding principle of wisdom of the fourfold purity [that the *Liqujing* expounds in its corresponding chapter], enter into each one of the gates [of this fourfold teaching of purity] and [thereby] pervade throughout the Dharma Realm (*dharmadhātu*), and then having gone around, begin again and create the one Dharma Realm [wherein] self and others are equal. One time imagine that [on] your own body [is] the letter *hrīḥ* and that [this] turns into an eight-petaled lotus flower and in the calyx [of that lotus] imagine Vajradharma and on the eight petals imagine eight Buddhas. Another time imagine [on] the body of another the letter *hum* [which then] becomes a five-pronged adamantine staff and in its center, where you grasp [this staff], imagine the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas. Taking this adamantine staff and lotus flower, unite the two bodies [which then] become Meditation (*dhyāna*) and Insight (*prajñā*). Consequently, the secret meaning in the Extended Chapter of Yoga 瑜伽廣品中 explains that the two roots [male and female] join [in sexual intercourse] and the five tainted objects [of the five sense-fields of body, speech, smell, taste and touch] become great buddha deeds.²⁴

The primary purpose of these visualizations is to eliminate defilements and attain the purity of one's original nature. From the very outset of Buddhism the lotus flower came to signify the purity of the Buddha and his teachings.²⁵ Avalokiteśvara, who holds the lotus as his emblem, symbolizes this purity in the *Liqushi*. Amoghavajra states that:

When you worship the Tathāgatas using this meditative concentration (*samādhi*), you will also be able to immediately dispel the various taints that arise from your deluded mind and will be able to quickly realize the gate of the teachings of the purity of one's fundamental nature. For this reason, Avalokiteśvara holds in his hand a lotus flower and contemplates that the light of the purity of self-essence of the essence of the repository of the tathāgatas within the bodies of all sentient beings cannot be stained by the taints of delusion. Because of your union with Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, you succeed in purifying yourself, having detached yourself from defilements, and in becoming one with the Holy One.²⁶

Amoghavajra concludes this section of his commentary with a brief description of the Paradise of Amitābha to which the practitioner attains through the practice of the mantra *hrīḥ*, thus drawing on the popular Mahāyāna theme of paradises:

Because of empowerment with this letter [*hrīḥ*], the water, birds and forests, all utter the sounds of the teaching in the world of utmost joy 極樂世界. Just like the extended scripture explains 如廣經中所說, if you maintain [and protect] this single-letter mantra, you can eliminate all misfortunes and illnesses, and after this life is over you will certainly be born in [Amitābha's] land of peace and joy 安樂國土, attaining the upper birth of the upper grade 上品上生. This one chapter, [when] understood by the practitioner who practices Avalokiteśvara's heart mantra 心真言, can also help those practicing the yogas of the other Families [in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm].²⁷

Nevertheless, his numerous references to the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and to the secret meaning in the extended chapter of *Yoga* and an extended scripture leave no doubt that the teachings of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* underpin this assembly of his commentary.²⁸

Osabe's second example of the mixing of the rites of the adamantine realm and matrix in the *Liqushi* is:

Because of the letter *a* 阿字, all the elements (*dharmas*) are originally unborn.²⁹

In the passage Osabe here refers to, Amoghavajra analyses the mantra *hūṃ*, which summarizes the teachings of the first section of the *Liqujing*, into its four component parts. This passage in the *Liqushi* is as follows:

The [heart mantra] *hūṃ* has the meaning of cause... This single letter [*hūṃ*] possesses the meanings of four letters. Namely, the letter *ha* 賀字 forms the main body [of the grapheme] and from the letter *ha* arises the letter *a* 阿字. Because of the letter *a*, all the elements are originally unborn and the cause of all the elements is unattainable. Within this letter [*hūṃ*] there is the voiced *u* 汚聲. The voiced *u* is the unattainability of the transience of all elements. On the top of this letter [*hūṃ*] there is a dot and a half moon, which is in fact the letter *m* [マ]字, the *anusvāra*,³⁰ and this] is the unattainability of the meaning of self in all the elements...³¹

In Sanskrit the vowel *a* is the primary sound. It is inherent in all consonants and the other vowels are modifications of this primary sound. The system of doctrine and practice in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* is indeed condensed into the single grapheme *a* 阿字.³² However, in addition to the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, the doctrine of the letter *a* is found in earlier exoteric and esoteric texts. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*, for instance, was the first to propagate the letter *a* as that which reveals the original non-generation of the elements of existence (*dharmas*).³³ This tenet is also found in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* 大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品³⁴ and the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* 不空羂索神變真言經.³⁵ Moreover, in Indian grammar the vowel *a* is a negative prefix. In Chinese translations of certain exoteric texts, in keeping with its use as a negative prefix, the syllable *a* signifies such concepts as impermanence 無常,³⁶ indestructibility 不破壞,³⁷ limitlessness 無遍, nondiscrimination 無分別, without self-nature 無自性 and the inexplicable 不可思議.³⁸ Thus, the letter *a* and its voiced phoneme, which came to symbolize Buddhist tenets in both exoteric and esoteric teachings, cannot be restricted to the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*.

Osabe gives as his third example of combined practice Amoghavajra's explanation of the rites of offerings 供養法 that belong to the rites of the adamantine realm and the matrix.³⁹ This passage occurs in the Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Gaganagañja. I quote the *Liqushi*:

This bodhisattva presides over all the gates of offering. As to offerings, there are numerous kinds. According to the *Susiddhi[kara] sūtra* there are five kinds of offerings and there are also twenty kinds of offerings. In the teachings of the

Yoga Scripture 瑜伽經教 there are four kinds of offerings [which are] the so-called offering of the mind of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), offering of merits, offering of truth (*dharma*) and offering of actions (*karma*). These are identical to the teaching of the fourfold guiding principle [that I have explained] earlier. There are, moreover, the fivefold secret offerings, the eightfold offerings, the sixteen great offerings, as well as the seventeen miscellaneous offerings and on up to the all-encompassing offering (*sarvapūjā*). All of them are collected together in the Ritual Manual of the Offerings of Bodhisattva Gaganagañja.⁴⁰

In this passage Amoghavajra does not make a distinction between the offerings rites of the adamantine realm and the matrix that Osabe claims he does. Amoghavajra simply lists in this passage the many kinds of Buddhist offering rites that in the esoteric tradition are presided over by Bodhisattva Gaganagañja. And he mentions the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and Yoga Scripture as textual sources. Amoghavajra expressly states, however, that the offering rite performed in this assembly of the *Liqushi* is based upon the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, which he refers to as the Yoga Scripture. And, indeed, the four kinds of offerings that are given in the corresponding section of the *Liqujing* are personified in the *Liqushi* by the Four Inner Offering Bodhisattvas of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.⁴¹

To conclude, Osabe's three examples of combined practice do not even begin to indicate elements that are found solely in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. The doctrine of the letter *a* is found in both the Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhist traditions. The eight-petaled lotus is a standard motif in the visualizations and mandalas of the Indian Esoteric Buddhist tradition. We know that Amoghavajra was familiar with the Exoteric and the contemporaneous Indian Esoteric Buddhist traditions. He specifically sought out new Esoteric Buddhist texts and practices and he received instructions in the current Esoteric Buddhist methods during his trip to India in 741–746.

Further, it is Osabe who makes a distinction between the offerings in the rites of the adamantine realm and the matrix because Amoghavajra mentions the different rites expounded in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and the Yoga Scripture. The Shingon school regards the *Susiddhikara sūtra* as a text belonging to the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* lineage and thus one whose contents have influenced the structure of the Shingon matrix rite.⁴² The five offerings of smearing unguents, flowers, stick incense, food and drink and lamps that Osabe consistently designates as elements of the rite are indeed found in the present Shingon rite.⁴³ And the same five types of offerings are also listed in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*.⁴⁴ However, we do not know whether Amoghavajra regarded the *Susiddhikara sūtra* as ancillary to that of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*. This is not to say that Amoghavajra did not include the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* in his commentary. The most obvious example is the famous “three phrases” 三句 in the introductory section of the *Liqushi*.⁴⁵ Osabe's three examples of combined practice, however, do not support his contention that Amoghavajra purposefully combined the two ritual traditions in his commentary.

Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva Ritual Manuals

Ōmura labels the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa*, the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* and the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* combined rites wherein elements from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Yugikyō* are evident.⁴⁶ Osabe, however, categorizes the

rites given in these manuals as combined rites, but as belonging to the *kenmitsu* lineage 顯密系 wherein there is a combining of Exoteric 顯 and Esoteric 密 Buddhist doctrine.⁴⁷ Onozuka, as I have stated, classifies them under the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.⁴⁸

According to Osabe, evidence of the matrix rite in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* is the following passage:

Or in a room in your home construct a practice site and face to the east...⁴⁹

and the fact that the practitioner must make five kinds of offerings to the buddhas.⁵⁰ The entire passage is as follows:

In a mountain forest, or in a purified room, or in a monastery, or in a room in your own home construct the practice site and face to the east or to the west. Accordingly, choose somewhere peaceful. Your body straight and erect, sit in the half lotus pose, or in the full lotus pose, or Samantabhadra's pose, or sit as you please, and imagine your connection with the worlds of sentient beings everywhere, [thus] causing sentient beings to purify their three acts of body, speech and thought. Say the secret words:

oṃ svabhāva śuddho'haṃ I am pure of self-nature

Next you should visualize the perfect possession of the major [thirty-two] and minor [eighty] marks of the tathāgatas. Imagine offerings, divinely wondrous smearing ointments, flower garlands, burning incense, lamps, food and drink and all sorts of praises.⁵¹

Although the practitioner does face east when he performs the rite, he also faces east when he performs the rite for prosperity (*pauṣṭika*) or specific rites that focus on the Vajra Family of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.⁵² Thus, once Osabe's extracted quote is placed back into context we see that Amoghavajra is not referring to a specific practice but is describing the possible situations within which the practitioner can practice this rite.

Similarly, Osabe's second example of the rite — the five kinds of offerings to the buddhas — is not convincing. In the text there are in fact several kinds of offerings listed. Amoghavajra does not, however, provide specific mudrās and mantras (mudrā-mantra pairs) for these offerings, though such mudrā-mantra pairs are the only way for us to identify his sources. For instance, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* gives the mantras for the five kinds of offerings of unguent, flowers, stick incense, lamps and food but does not explain the mudrās.⁵³ The mudrās are provided in the ritual manuals attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha.⁵⁴ Given the context, then, Amoghavajra is simply enumerating offerings in general, and such offerings of unguent, flowers, incense, lamps and food are traditional Buddhist offerings that are placed before every Buddhist image, whether exoteric or esoteric.

Osabe also claims that the mudrās and mantras of the four Gathering Bodhisattvas and the eight Inner and Outer Offering Bodhisattvas in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* serve as indications of the rite of the adamantine realm.⁵⁵ He is correct: the four Gathering Bodhisattvas and the eight Inner and Outer Offering Bodhisattvas belong to the thirty-seven deities who compose the focus of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, thus these figures do indeed figure in the rite of the adamantine realm. Moreover, the ritual mudrās and accompanying mantras of these

bodhisattvas are given in detail in this manual. As I will demonstrate in the following pages, the rite delineated in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* is in fact based upon Amoghavajra's translation of a rite for the adamantine realm.

Finally, Osabe does not cite specific examples from the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* or the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* that are indicative of combined practice. Instead he notes the elements that belong to Esoteric and Exoteric Buddhist teachings in the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui*; for example, the famous “three phrases” from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*,⁵⁶ the theory of the buddha bodies (*bushhin ron*),⁵⁷ the teachings of the school of the Consciousness Only (*yuishiki*)⁵⁸ and of Wisdom (*prajñā*).⁵⁹

My research reveals that these three ritual manuals are not examples of combined practice but belong to the ritual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. The first thing to note is that the titles of these three ritual handbooks contain the name of their textual source. There are differences in the titles: the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* has the title Yoga of the Adamantine Crown 金剛頂瑜伽⁶⁰ whereas the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* has that of the Supreme First Yoga of the Adamantine Crown 金剛頂勝初瑜伽.⁶¹ Although Amoghavajra announces the sources of the rites in many of his translations, Ōmura often states that his declarations are unreliable.⁶² However, we have discussed the research of Fukuda Ryōsei who, in researching the extended versions of the *Liqujing* in both the Chinese and Tibetan Canons, has discovered that the term *paramādi* 勝初 (*shengchu*) in the full title of the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* refers to a text in the Tibetan Canon called in Sanskrit the *Śrīparamādi tantra*.⁶³ The focus of the *Śrīparamādi tantra*, which corresponds, on the whole, to the second section of the Chinese extended version of the *Liqujing*, the *Foshuo zuishang genben dale jingang bukong sanmei dajiaowang jing* that was translated by the Song Dynasty monk Faxian in 999, is the doctrine of the Five Mysteries.⁶⁴ Fukuda has, moreover, divided the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals that Amoghavajra translated into groups and his criterion was the main textual source upon which each group is based. According to Fukuda's investigation, the ritual procedure of the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* derives from the *Śrīparamādi tantra*, and that of the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* and the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* stems from the *Liqujing* and its commentary, the *Liqushi*.⁶⁵ The textual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* constitutes, then, the origin of these ritual handbooks.

A final point to note concerning the textual sources of these Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva handbooks is that Amoghavajra also specifies the ritual tradition of these handbooks at the opening of each manual. The *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* begins with a reference to the hundred thousand verses and eighteen assemblies, that is the corpus of texts belonging to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.⁶⁶ Further, he declares in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* that:

Having once entered the Great Mandala (*mahāmaṇḍala*) of the Adamantine Realm, you will receive the precepts of the mind of enlightenment.⁶⁷

Thus, according to the basic rules of the Indian Esoteric Buddhist tradition founded upon the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the practitioner must first enter the mandala that is fundamental to the teachings of this text, and then he can receive the Esoteric Buddhist precepts.

Next, as further proof, I will compare the ritual phases in the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals with those given in a manual that Amoghavajra recorded as the ritual procedure for

the adamantine realm, the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on the Essence of the Lotus Family of the Adamantine Crown).⁶⁸ This manual is also included in his 771 list of translations and compositions.⁶⁹ Such a comparison will reveal that these three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals belong to the ritual lineage of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.

The Esoteric Buddhist rite is patterned upon the ancient Indian custom of receiving and entertaining a guest. The rite in general can be divided into five major phases.⁷⁰ These are the phases of purification, construction, encounter, identification and dissociation. In the first phase of purification the practitioner prepares himself for the arrival of the deity and his accompanying retinue. He purifies his body, speech and thought. Observance of this ritual phase of purification qualifies the practitioner to invoke and unite with the deity he will worship. In the second phase of construction the practitioner prepares the location in which the rite will take place. He creates in this phase the psychic location of the rite. First he purifies and demarcates the boundaries of the sacred realm 結界法 and then he visualizes the sacred center where he will receive his guests. This is the ritual phase of adorning the sacred site 莊嚴道場法. Having requested the deities who reside in their own transcendental lands outside the boundaries of the practice site to enter the sacred site that he has created within his mind, the practitioner then presents offerings and praises. This is the phase of the practitioner's encounter with the deities. In the fourth phase of identification, merger with the principle deity 入我我入 (Skt. *ahaṃkāra*) occurs. In this stage the practitioner unites with the invited deity by correlating the activities of his body, speech and mind with those of the deity. The phase of dissociation is divided into three parts: the dissolution of the sacred site, the sending off of the deity and his retinue and the practitioner's departure of the practice site.

Within the five major phases that characterize the esoteric rite there are a number of subdivisions that may vary according to the ritual objective or the ritual lineage of the rite. For instance, the objectives and thus the ritual phases of the rites of the adamantine realm, matrix and fire offerings (*homa*) differ. Further, differences result due to the interpretations of the ritual masters. In order to compare and contrast the ritual manuals under discussion, I have relied on the categorization of the contents of the rite of the adamantine realm that was composed by the Shingon monk Gengō 元果 (914-995) of Daigoji's Enmyōin 醍醐寺延命院. In Gengō's arrangement, which is given in his *Kongōkai nenju shiki* 金剛界念誦私記, the rite is divided into the following eight sections:⁷¹

- Purification
Section on going to the hall and performing vows 上堂行願分 (*jōdō gyōgan bun*)
- Construction
Section of the pledge (*samaya*) precepts 三昧耶戒分 (*sanmayakai bun*)
Section on attaining the [buddha] body and empowerment 成身加持分 (*jōjin kaji bun*)
Section on the adornment of the practice site 道場莊嚴分 (*dōjō sōgon bun*)
- Encounter
Section on inviting [the deities] and binding and protecting [the sacred site] 奉講結護分 (*hōshō ketsugo bun*)
Section on offerings and praises 供養贊嘆分 (*kuyō santan bun*)
- Identification
Section of the practice of contemplation and recitation 念誦修習分 (*nenju shujū bun*)

- Dissociation

Section of the later offerings and expedient devices 後供養方便分 (*gokuyō hoben bun*)

Although Gengō's rite of the adamantine realm differs slightly from that of Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* because of the addition of a number of sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs from other rituals, the contents of the two rites are, on the whole, comparable. Moreover, despite the accretions Gengō made to this rite, his eightfold classification scheme furnishes a method of analysis that can be applied to the contents of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals.

Comparison reveals that the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* provides the structural model for Amoghavajra's three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals. The *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* closely replicate the ritual phases of Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm. The *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* consists of the sections of going to the hall and performing vows, the pledge precepts, the attaining the buddha body and empowerment, offerings and praises, contemplation and recitation, and the later offerings and expedient devices. The *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* contains the sections of going to the hall and performing vows, the pledge precepts, the attaining the buddha body and empowerment, the adornment of the practice site, requesting the deities and binding and protecting the site, offerings and praises and contemplation and recitation.

There are, then, omissions in the ritual procedure outlined in the two Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals. The *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa*, for example, does not have the ritual phases of the adornment of the sacred site and the inviting of the deities and protecting the sacred site. The ritual phase of the later offerings and expedient devices is not given in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa*. Further, often the ritual phases of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* are reduced in the two Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals to a few mudrā-mantra pairs for each ritual phase.

Moreover, although the procedure for the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva rite outlined in both the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* is based upon that of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*, the two Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals do not contain exactly the same mudrā-mantra pairs for each ritual phase. The *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa*, for instance, includes the mudrā-mantra pairs of the Conquerer of the Three Worlds 降三世 (*Trailokyavijaya*) and the contemplation practice unique to the rite of the adamantine realm, that of the visualization of the attainment of the buddha body through the five steps, but the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* does not. Nonetheless, the mudrā-mantra pairs of the shared ritual phases in these two Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals do, despite minor exceptions, correlate with those of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.⁷²

There is, moreover, a core of ritual phases common to the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva rites, and the mudrā-mantra pairs of these phases are found in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*. The *Wubimi xiuxing yigui*, which is the most abbreviated of the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva rites, also contains this core of ritual phases. Common to the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and the three ritual manuals are three ritual phases: that of the pledge precepts, the attaining the buddha body and visualization of the mandala. The mudrā-mantra pairs of the first two of the shared ritual phases correspond to those of the *Jingangding*

lianhuabuxin niansong fa. The features particular to the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva rites are found in the ritual phase of mandala visualization.

The mudrā-mantra pairs in the phase of the pledge precepts are actually an extensive purification rite wherein the practitioner is made a worthy vessel for the main part of the ritual.⁷³ The meanings of the word *samaya* that appears in the title of this ritual phase are that of equality 平等 and pledge 本誓; the practitioner strives for the knowledge of transcendent equality and pledges to guide all being to enlightenment.⁷⁴ David Snellgrove translates the term *samaya* as “the coming together of the transcendent being and the immanent being” and “the coming together of the object offered and the divine element that pervades it.”⁷⁵ Thus, in this ritual phase the practitioner realizes a union with Vajrasattva, who symbolizes perfect wisdom.⁷⁶

The common mudrā-mantra pairs and their significance are: adamantine homage 金剛合掌 (*vajrāñjali*) which opens this ritual phase; adamantine bonds 金剛縛 (*vajrabandha*) whereby the practitioner attains liberation from the shackles of the passions and the perfection of the ten transcendental wisdoms; the striking of the heart with the adamantine bonds mudrā whereby the practitioner’s mind is opened 開心; adamantine universal penetration 金剛遍入 whereby wisdom enters the practitioner’s mind; the pledge of the adamantine fist 金剛拳三昧耶 whereby there is a union with Vajrasattva; the pledge of Vajrasattva 金剛薩埵三昧耶 whereby the practitioner resides in the meditative trance of universal goodness (*samantabhadra samādhi*); and the truth of the great pledge of bliss 素羅多大誓真實 whereby the practitioner experiences great bliss.⁷⁷ There are minor variations in the last two items of this sequence. In the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* the last two mudrā-mantra pairs are combined: the mudrā of the pledge of Vajrasattva is formed and a portion of the mantra of the following mudrā-mantra of bliss is intoned.⁷⁸ In the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* the last two mantras differ slightly from those given in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* because of the addition of the word *vajra* (adamantine).⁷⁹ These variations do not, however, change the meaning of the mudrā-mantra pairs.

In the phase that immediately follows that of the pledge precepts, the practitioner first visualizes becoming the body of form 色身 (*rūpakāya*) and then the wisdom body 智身 (*jñānakāya*). This is the ritual phase of the attainment of the buddha body.⁸⁰ The shared sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs in the four ritual manuals and their significance are: the crown of the Five Buddhas 五佛冠 whereby the practitioner receives consecration from the buddhas; the tying of the adamantine wig 金剛鬘 which is proof of the practitioner’s consecration; and the donning of the armour 被甲 whereby the practitioner puts on the armour of the Tathāgata’s great compassion in order to subdue those demons of passion who stand in the way of enlightenment.⁸¹ Once again, variations are evident. Although the mudrās of the consecration of the five Buddhas and the tying of the wig in the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals match those of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*, their mantras have been simplified.⁸² Nevertheless, these mantras can be traced to the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and their fundamental meaning remains unaltered.

A significant difference between the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals occurs in the ritual phases wherein mandala is to be visualized and the rite of identification is to be performed. Where the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* delineates the processes for visualizing the thirty-seven figures of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and for the offering rites to be performed for these figures, Amoghavajra

substitutes in the three ritual manuals the mudrā-mantra pairs for the figures of a mandala that centers on Vajrasattva. It is this phase of the rite that contains the mudrā-mantra pairs that are unique to the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva rituals.⁸³ Consequently, in the rites of the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* the practitioner visualizes and identifies with the seventeen figures of the Vajrasattva Mandala and in the rite of the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* these processes center on the five figures of the Five Mysteries Mandala, who are in fact the focal pentad of the seventeen-figure Vajrasattva Mandala.

The order of visualization and identification in the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manuals is, moreover, identical to the practices that center on the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The process begins in the center and proceeds in order to the east, south, west and north.⁸⁴ Furthermore, in the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* Amoghavajra equates the five figures of the Five Mysteries Mandala to the thirty-seven figures of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. This is also symbolized by the fact that each figure of the Five Mysteries pentad wears a Five-Buddha crown. Thus, each figure embodies one of the Five Buddha Knowledges. For example, when Vajrasattva takes on the aspect of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm's eastern Buddha, Akṣobhya, his four bodhisattvas become Akṣobhya's four attendant Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrakāmā and Vajrasādhu, and on through the five families of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.

In short, an analysis of the structure, the sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs in the ritual phases and the method of mandala visualization in the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals discloses that there is no evidence of the combined practice of the rites of the matrix and adamantine realm. The ritual procedure of these three manuals is patterned after that of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*. Moreover, although Amoghavajra does at times discuss elements from the teachings of other Buddhist traditions, both esoteric and exoteric, in order to make his point, and although this method of clarification is especially conspicuous in the opening and final sections of the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui*, nonetheless, the correspondences of structure, mudrā-mantra pairs and method of visualization of the mandala in these three manuals with those in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* demonstrates their affiliation with the ritual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

TEN RITUAL MANUALS OF COMBINATORY PRACTICE

If, as I have tried to prove in the foregoing section that the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa*, the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* and the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* cannot be regarded as examples of combinatory practice, we have to ask ourselves the question whether there are any other manuals that do qualify. The following are the ten ritual manuals that Onozuka classifies as combined practice:⁸⁵

1. *Jingangding yuqie qianshou qianyan Guanzizai niansong fa* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在念誦法 (Method for the Contemplation and Recitation of Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara [from] the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, hereafter the *Guanzizai niansong fa*)⁸⁶
2. *Achu rulai niansong fa* 阿闍如来念誦法 (Method for Contemplation and Recitation on Tathāgata Akṣobhya)⁸⁷
3. *Foding zunsheng niansong fa* 佛頂尊勝念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa)⁸⁸

4. *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* 一字佛頂輪王念誦儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Contemplation and Recitation of Ekākṣarabuddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravartī-rāja)⁸⁹
5. *Jenwang niansong yigui* 仁王念誦儀軌 (Ritual Manual for Contemplation and Recitation on the Humane Kings)⁹⁰
6. *Jenwang banruo niansong fa* 仁王般若念誦法 (Method for Contemplation and Recitation on the Wisdom of the Humane Kings)⁹¹
7. *Ruyilun niansong fa* 如意輪念誦法 (Method for the Contemplation and Recitation of Cintāmanicakra)⁹²
8. *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* 觀自在菩薩真言觀行儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Visualization Practice on the Mantra of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara)⁹³
9. *Ganlu Junchali yuqie niansong fa* 甘露軍荼利瑜伽念誦法 (Method for Contemplation, Recitation and Yoga on Amṛtakunḍalin)⁹⁴
10. *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Homa [from] the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown).⁹⁵

Japanese Shingon scholars do not agree in their analysis of those of Amoghavajra's ritual manuals that they designate as works of combinatory practice. Osabe labels the *Ruyilun niansong fa* as a work wherein elements from the matrix rite form the structural axis and so the major theme 胎金合行 (*taikon gōgyō*): elements from the matrix rite are more dominant than those from the rite of the adamantine realm.⁹⁶ Onozuka, on the other hand, classifies this work as one whose principal theme is the rite of the adamantine realm, and consequently labels it as a work wherein elements from this rite prevail over those of the matrix rite 金胎合行 (*kontai gōgyō*).⁹⁷ And whereas Onozuka designates the rite of the adamantine realm as the primary and the matrix rite as the secondary theme of the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* and the *Achu rulai niansong fa*, the *Mikkyō daijiten* classifies these works in exactly the opposite manner.⁹⁸

It is interesting to note that Kūkai lists a number of these ritual handbooks in his *Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku*. He includes under the texts that belong to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* the *Guanzizai niansong fa*, the *Achu rulai niansong fa*, the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* and the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*. He places the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* under the lineage of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* 胎藏宗經 (*taizōshū kyō*) and the *Jenwang niansong yigui* under the texts of the miscellaneous division 雜部真言經 (*zōbu shingon kyō*).⁹⁹

The only way to clarify the matter is to establish how, in fact, these ten rites are constructed. Is there an expressed mixing of the ritual traditions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*? And, if so, how is this done? Or does one ritual tradition override the other?

In order to answer these questions, I have compared the structure and sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs of these rites with those of the rite of the adamantine realm that is recorded in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and to the manuals for the matrix rite that are attributed to Amoghavajra and Śubhākarasiṃha. The manuals for the matrix rite that were examined are the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachijing lue shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經略示七支念誦隨行法 (hereafter the *Shiqizhi niansong suixing fa*), the *Darijing lue sheniansong suixing fa* 大日經略攝念誦隨行法,¹⁰⁰ the *Shedapiluzhena chengfo*

shenbian jiachi jing rulianhua taizang haihui beisheng mantuluo guangda niansong yigui gongyang fangbian hui 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經入蓮華胎藏海會悲生曼荼羅廣大念誦儀軌 供養方便會 (hereafter, the *Sheda yigui*) and the *Dapiluzhenajing guangda yigui* 大毘盧遮那經廣大儀軌 (hereafter the *Guangda yigui*).¹⁰¹ Further, I consulted the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, a scripture whose emphasis is on ritual practice that was translated by Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735) in 726, and the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* 蘓悉地羯羅供養法, a manual attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha that elaborates on the ritual acts expounded in this scripture.¹⁰²

Analysis discloses that Amoghavajra's ten ritual manuals categorized as combined practice can be divided into four groups: two are based upon the rite of the adamantine realm that is given in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*; one is based upon the matrix rite that is attributed to Amoghavajra; six exhibit ritual acts that are prescribed in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*; and one manual, though closest in structure to the six works of the third group, contains elements that are unique to itself.

The two rites that display the structure of Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm are the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* and the *Guanzizai niansong fa*. However, Ōmura, Onozuka and Osabe classify these as rites of combined practice wherein the main theme is that of the rite of the adamantine realm and the secondary theme is that of the matrix rite.¹⁰³

According to Osabe, for example, the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* is divided into two parts: the first half is a rite of the adamantine realm and the second half is a matrix rite.¹⁰⁴ I agree that the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* can be divided into two parts but, while the first part is based upon the rite of the adamantine realm, the second definitely is not a matrix rite. Thus, an analysis of the contents of this ritual handbook is mandatory.

The *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* begins with a description of the characteristics of the five kinds of rites of burnt offerings 護摩 (*homa*). These are the rites of pacification 災息 (*śāntika*), of increasing benefits 增益 (*pauṣṭika*), of wrathful subjugation 降伏 (*abhicāruka*), of emotional subjugation 敬愛 (*vaśīkaraṇa*), and of attraction 鉤召 (*ākaraṣaṇa*). Such information as the shapes of the hearths, the times of the performances, the directions the practitioner faces when performing each rite, the specific mudrā for each ritual, the symbols the practitioner draws on the inside of the hearths, the types of wood to be burnt, the sizes of the hearths and the construction of five mandalas is given.¹⁰⁵ The figural groupings of the mandalas that are to be set up for these rites accord with an explanation in the Yoga Scripture 瑜伽經所說 and are variations of the thirty-seven deities in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.¹⁰⁶ Each type of burnt offering rite has a specific mandala and the common features are: emblematic (*samaya*) forms in the central court; the four attendant Bodhisattvas of one of the four directional Buddhas in the second court; the guardian gods of the eight directions and the four Gathering Bodhisattvas in the third court. Common to all the mandalas are also the four Inner and four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas. The family of Trailokyavijaya in the mandala for the rite of wrathful subjugation (*abhicāruka*), as well as the Inner, Outer and Gathering Bodhisattvas, are angry in appearance.¹⁰⁷

After further delineating the features of the five rites of fire offerings,¹⁰⁸ Amoghavajra places this rite within the context of the rite of the adamantine realm. This he does by first explicating ritual steps that are unique to this rite.¹⁰⁹ For instance, the practitioner is to perform the ritual act of the visualization of the attainment of the buddha body in five phases, or steps 五相成身. Once this is completed and the deities have been summoned, greeted and their praises chanted, they are installed into the mandala and so surrounding the *homa* platform 盧壇, they are offered

water. Amoghavajra then explains the steps of the rite of burnt offerings. This rite consists of three sections: that of Agni 火天段, the main deities (buddhas and bodhisattvas) 本尊段, and the worldly gods of the ten directions 十方世天段.¹¹⁰ Amoghavajra explicates for each section the method of inviting, offering and sending off the deities, and he details for each burnt offering rite the mantras, the practitioner's petitions 所求, 所願, visualizations and offering practices, as well as the benefits that the practitioner will obtain. Having specified the variations of mantras, petitions, visualizations, offerings and benefits, he guides the practitioner through the rite of the adamantine realm's final phase of dissociation.¹¹¹ Amoghavajra thus inserts the rite of fire offerings into that of the rite of the adamantine realm.

Having completed his instructions for the final phase of the rite of the adamantine realm, Amoghavajra then explains a separate rite for the gods of the ten directions.¹¹² This offering rite takes place outside of the practice hall.¹¹³ The practitioner sets up a circular mandala 圓壇 that has ten positions for the guardian gods of the eight directions 八方天 (*aṣṭadikpāla*) and for Brahmā 梵天 and Pṛthivī 地天, who represent the zenith and nadir spheres.¹¹⁴ Amoghavajra supplies the mantras for each of these ten gods and a collective mantra for the Seven Luminaries 七曜 (*saptagraha*; the sun, moon and the five visible planets) and for the Twenty-Eight Constellations 二十八宿 (*nakṣatra*).¹¹⁵ The question is whether the guardian gods of the ten directions, the Seven Luminaries and Twenty-Eight Constellations do necessarily call to mind the matrix rite. Both Omura and Osabe say so,¹¹⁶ and indeed these figures are found in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, in the ritual manuals for the rite that are attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, as well as in the outer section of the Chinese tradition of the matrix mandala — the *Taizang tuxiang*, the *Taizang jūtuyang* and the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. There is, moreover, no mention of guardian gods in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.

However, the guardian gods of the directions, the planets and the phases of the moon have long had a protective function in Indian Buddhism, as well as in Hinduism and Jainism.¹¹⁷ Exoteric Buddhist examples of these guardian gods that date to the seventh and eighth centuries are the depictions of the twenty-eight phases of the moon on the ceilings of caves that lie along the silk route in central Asia.¹¹⁸ And in the Indian Esoteric Buddhist tradition these gods of protection are always found in the outermost court of the mandala, which is called the circle of defense (*rākṣacakra*).¹¹⁹ Directional guardians, the planets and the lunar mansions are depicted in the third of the four courts that compose the mandala described in one of the earliest Indian Esoteric Buddhist works, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.¹²⁰ Symbolic objects such as lotuses, *vajras*, tridents, lances, wheels, jars, banners, etcetera, which are the symbolic attributes of the gods, fill the fourth court of this mandala. And the eight directional guardians, the planets and the lunar mansions are also found in the outermost courts of, for example, the *Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara Mañjuśrī Maṇḍala* and of the *Kālacakra Maṇḍala* that are collected in the late eleventh-early twelfth-century *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.¹²¹

Thus, the *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* can be divided into two rites: a rite of the adamantine realm into which the rite of burnt offerings has been embedded and which is performed inside the practice hall, and a second offering rite to those of the lower realms that takes place outside of the practice hall. That the second rite serves to appease those reborn in the lower realms and that the figures in its mandala function as protectors of the sacred site wherein the rite of burnt offerings occurs seems to be a more convincing explanation than designating this section of the ritual an element from the matrix rite.

Let us now turn to the second manual of group one, the *Guanzizai niansong fa*. Amoghavajra states in the opening sentence of the *Guanzizai niansong fa* that the source of this rite for Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara is the Scripture of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown 瑜伽金剛頂經.¹²² And indeed, a comparison of the ritual structure and the mudrā-mantra sequences of the rite for Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara with those of the rite of the adamantine realm detailed in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* reveals many one-to-one correspondences.

Common to both is Amoghavajra's emphasis on the ritual phase of construction: in particular the sections of the pledge precepts, the attaining of the buddha body and empowerment, and the construction of the practice site. The *Guanzizai niansong fa* has, for instance, nine of the eighteen mudrā-mantra pairs that are given in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*'s section of the pledge precepts and seven of the twelve mudrā-mantra pairs in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*'s section of attaining the buddha body and empowerment. Moreover, the sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs for the visualization of the attainment of the buddha body in five steps, which is unique to the rite of the adamantine realm and which Amoghavajra relates in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*, also appear in the *Guanzizai niansong fa*.¹²³ Further, Amoghavajra describes the visualizations of the container world 器界觀 and the mandala in detail in the *Guanzizai niansong fa* and the method of construction matches the procedure that he explains in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*: the practitioner imagines the circles of the wind (*ham*) and water (*vam*), then a golden tortoise (*pra*) and upon its back Mount Meru, which is composed of four jewels, and lastly a jeweled, multistoried pavilion within which he visualizes the mandala.¹²⁴ Finally, the eight Offering Bodhisattvas of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm are present in the mandala that the practitioner is to visualize in the *Guanzizai niansong fa*.¹²⁵

Amoghavajra adapts elements in the ritual procedure of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* to make it conform to the different focus of the *Guanzizai niansong fa*'s rite. He accomplishes this adaptation in three ways.

First, he changes the mantras in the ritual sequences of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*'s visualization of the attainment of the buddha body in five steps, empowerment 加持, consecration 灌頂 and tying of the wig 繫鬘. Because the *Guanzizai niansong fa*'s rite centers on Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara who is a transformation of Avalokiteśvara/Vajradharma and so a member of the Lotus Family, the word *padma* (lotus) replaces that of *vajra* (adamantine or thunderbolt) in the mantra for the third phase of the visualization of the attainment of the buddha body through the five aspects.¹²⁶ And whereas he furnishes mantras for each of the Families in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*'s ritual sequences of empowerment, consecration and tying of the wig, he only gives the mantra of the Lotus Family in the *Guanzizai niansong fa*.¹²⁷

Secondly, Amoghavajra substitutes in the *Guanzizai niansong fa* the sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs for Hayagrīva 馬頭明王, Amoghapāśa 不空羂索, Padmasphoṭa 蓮華鎖 and Padmakumāra 蓮華俱摩羅 for that of the four Gathering Bodhisattvas in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*'s ritual phase of encounter.¹²⁸ Hayagrīva and his companions, who are transformations of Avalokiteśvara and so members of the Lotus Family, take over the roles of the four Gathering Bodhisattvas Vajrāṅkuśa 金剛鉤, Vajrapāśa 金剛索, Vajrasphoṭa 金剛鎖 and Vajraghaṅṭa 金剛鈴 who at this point in the ritual summon and draw the deities into the mandala.

Thirdly, the names of the eight Offering Bodhisattvas are also prefixed with the word *padma* instead of *vajra*; examples are Padmalāsyī 蓮華喜戲, Padmamālā 蓮華鬘 and Padmagīta 蓮華歌.¹²⁹

Thus, a structural analysis of the *Guanzizai niansong fa* does not reveal elements from the matrix rite. Nevertheless, Japanese scholars have provided examples that, they say, are indicative of influence from this rite. Ōmura, for instance, says that, although the procedure of this rite is based upon the rite of the adamantine realm, there are mudrā-mantra pairs from the matrix rite. He gives the mudrā-mantra pairs of the Ten Pāramitās 十波羅蜜, Tārā 多羅 and Bhṛkuṭī 毘俱胝 as examples.¹³⁰ The mudrā-mantra pairs of the Ten Pāramitā Bodhisattvas are indeed found in Faquan's *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuoluo guangda chengjiu yigui gongyang fangbian hui* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏悲生曼荼羅廣大成就儀軌供養方便會 and the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti zhuibiao zhi putong chuanyanzang guangda chengjiu yuqia* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標幟普通真言藏廣大成就瑜伽 and thereafter in the Shingon school's matrix rite, as well as in its Matrix Mandala (*Genzu taizōkai mandara*).¹³¹ Because these ritual manuals postdate Amoghavajra's translation of the *Guanzizai niansong fa*, however, it is difficult to accept these figures of the Ten Pāramitā Bodhisattvas as evincing the presence of motifs from the matrix rite. Furthermore, in the mandala that is described in the second chapter of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* which contains, as I have mentioned, some of the earliest of tantric passages, the figures of Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī, Pāṇḍaravāsini, Locanā, Uṣṇīṣarāja and Prajñāpāramitā surround Avalokiteśvara.¹³² Pāṇḍaravāsini, Mahāpāṇḍaravāsini, Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī appear in Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara's retinue in the mandala delineated in the *Guanzizai niansong fa*.¹³³ Clearly, sources other than the matrix rite serve as the origin of the iconography of the *Guanzizai niansong fa*'s mandala.

Osabe cites two examples that he thinks demonstrate the presence of motifs from the matrix rite in the *Guanzizai niansong fa*.¹³⁴ The first is that of the visualization of the eight-petaled lotus and the letter *hrīḥ*. This visualization, which occurs in the ritual phase of the visualization of the attainment of the buddha body in five steps and which is also found in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*, does not, we have seen, unequivocally indicate the matrix rite.¹³⁵ Osabe's second example is the concept of the threefold accomplishments (*siddhi*) 三種悉地 which, because it stems from the *susiddhi* rite 蘇悉地法, is indicative of, he says, the lineage of the matrix.

However, Amoghavajra does not mention the threefold *siddhi* in the rite of Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara itself. It appears in a long discussion of the fourfold rites of *siddhi* 四種成就法, which Amoghavajra defines as the rites for averting misfortune, increasing benefits, wrathful subjugation and emotional subjugation, and which are appended to the rite for Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara.¹³⁶ Amoghavajra first explains the special rules for each of these four rites,¹³⁷ then the benefits that the practitioner will obtain,¹³⁸ the method whereby the practitioner can acquire supramundane *siddhi* 出世間成就,¹³⁹ what he must do should obstacles arise that may hinder his attainment of this *siddhi*,¹⁴⁰ and finally more benefits, one of which will be to go, upon one's death, to *Sukhāvātī* 極樂世界 inside a lotus blossom where one will attain the upper birth of the upper level 上品上生, realization of the rank of bodhisattva and the mark of supreme enlightenment.¹⁴¹ In other words, although Amoghavajra does mention the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and the categories of high, middle and low *siddhi* in this appended discussion, neither the

context nor the content suggests even indirectly the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and its matrix rite.

The single ritual handbook that belongs to group two because it is based upon a rite that is attributed to Amoghavajra is the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui*. This handbook is classified by Ōmura, Onozuka and Osabe as a combined practice wherein the matrix rite forms the dominant theme 胎金合行 (*taikon gōgyō*).¹⁴² A note under the title of this text states that the contents are found in the *Dapiluzhena chengfo jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛經.¹⁴³ This is the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, whose Chinese translation is fully titled the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經.

Collation of the sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs in this rite to those given in the ritual manuals for the matrix rites that are attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha and Amoghavajra show that a sequence of three mudrā-mantra pairs is common to all the ritual manuals. This is the sequence of the pledge 三昧耶, the birth of the Dharma Realm 法界生 and the turning of the wheel of the teaching 轉法輪.¹⁴⁴ However, although this sequence of mudrās and mantras appears in the long rites outlined in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*, it forms, together with four other mudrā-mantra pairs, the body of the simplified rite that is given in the *Shiqizhi niansong suixing fa*. Moreover, in the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* Amoghavajra emphasizes the importance of this sequence of mudrās and mantras by repeating it twice. Here he says that the practitioner's performance of the pair of the pledge mudrā-mantra results in his ascent through the ten bodhisattva stages and his attainment of the stage of the tathāgata;¹⁴⁵ that the second pair of the birth of the Dharma Realm brings about purity and identification with the Dharma Realm;¹⁴⁶ and that the practitioner becomes Vajrasattva after having carried out the third mudrā-mantra pair of the turning the wheel of the teachings.¹⁴⁷ This sequence of mudrās and mantras is also found in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*.¹⁴⁸

The *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* also contains other elements from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, such as the visualization of the letter *a* and contemplation of its significance and its special mantra *aḥ vī ra hūṃ khaṃ*. These elements are important themes of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*.¹⁴⁹

In the case of the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui*, I am not able to identify what motifs belong to the rite of the adamantine realm, and Osabe and Onozuka do not elucidate this matter. Osabe merely quotes Ōmura, who states that although Amoghavajra uses in this rite many mudrā-mantra pairs from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, he employs for Āryāvalokiteśvara's fundamental mudrā-mantra pair 觀音心印明 that of the essence of the Lotus Family of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界蓮華部心.¹⁵⁰ In the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* Aryavalokiteśvara's fundamental mudrā is formed by locking the hands in the inner adamantine (*vajra*) bonds and erecting the right thumb. His fundamental mantra is *oṃ ālolik svāhā* (Gentle one!).¹⁵¹ Āryāvalokiteśvara's mudrā and mantra are thus not the same as those of Amitāyus and Vajradharma, which are given in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.¹⁵² Further, Āryāvalokiteśvara's mudrā and mantra are not found in Amoghavajra's rite for the Lotus Family, the *Yuqiebu lianhua niansong fa* 瑜伽蓮華部念誦法, whose structure is patterned after that of the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.¹⁵³ There is a mudrā-mantra pair in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* that is called the pledge mudrā and mantra of the Lotus Family 蓮華部三昧耶印明 (*rengebu sanmaya inmyō*) but it is completely different from that in the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui*.¹⁵⁴ Nor does Āryāvalokiteśvara's fundamental mudrā-

mantra pair appear in the rites in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui*.¹⁵⁵ However, the core of this mantra — *ārolik* — does appear in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, where it is called the three-and-a-half-syllable heart mantra of the Lotus Family.¹⁵⁶

In any case, even if Amoghavajra had taken Āryāvalokiteśvara's fundamental mudrā and mantra from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, this would seem to have been the only element in this rite that could be traced to this text. The structure of the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui*, the stress given to the sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the pledge, the birth of the Dharma Realm and the turning of the wheel of the teachings, Mahāvairocana's special mantra *āḥ vi ra hūṃ khaṃ* and the visualization and significance of the letter *a* indicate that the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* served as the textual source of this Āryāvalokiteśvara rite.

Although variations are evident in the six manuals of group three, these handbooks still form a set. The works of this third group are the *Ruyilun niansong fa*, the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, the *Achu rulai niansong fa*, the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa*, the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa*. The common denominator of this third group is the shared sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs that are performed in a fixed order for specific results. The structure of these rituals can be parsed into six ritual phases: that of purification of the practitioner, establishment of the boundaries of the ritual site, visualization of the innermost sanctuary, invitation of the deities, establishment of protections and ritual offerings. These rituals also contain the two phases of invocation and identification and final offerings and dissociation, but the sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs of these ritual phases are not shared. The mudrā-mantra pair that is unique to the deity upon which each rite focuses constitutes the phase of invocation and identification and the last phase of final offerings and dissociation is an abbreviated section wherein the practitioner simply repeats in a reverse order the sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs performed earlier in the rite.

The names and import of the shared sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs are as follows.¹⁵⁷

- The sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs for the first ritual phase of purification of the practitioner are the purification of the [practitioner's] three actions 淨三業, the pledges of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra Families 佛部三昧耶 蓮華部三昧耶 金剛三昧耶 which bring about, in turn, further purification of the practitioner's body, speech and thought, and the protection of the body by donning armour 被甲護身 whereby the practitioner dons an impenetrable suit of armour that will safeguard him from inner and outer defilements and hindrances.
- The phase of establishing the boundaries of the ritual site consists of the sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the adamantine stake 金剛橛 and the adamantine fence 金剛牆. The practitioner defines and protects the ritual premises by putting adamantine poles in the ground in the four directions and constructing an adamantine fence.
- The mudrā-mantra pair called the visualization of the sacred sanctuary 道場觀 creates the innermost sanctuary where the deity and his retinue will sojourn and that of the universal offerings of the great treasury of empty space 大虛空藏普通供養 further embellishes this sacred space with all sorts of offerings.
- The phase of inviting the deities consists of the sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of [sending] the jeweled carriage 寶車輅, requesting [the deity to enter] the jeweled carriage 請車輅, and inviting the symbolic form (*samaya*) of the Venerable to descend into the sacred site 請本尊三昧耶降道場.

- The sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs for the establishment of further protections is that of the adamantine net 金剛網 and the adamantine enclosure of flames 金剛火院. At this point in the rite the sacred area is protectively sealed off from the outside world by spanning an adamantine net above and an adamantine wall of fire around the sacred site.¹⁵⁸
- The sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of water 阿加, the lotus seat 蓮華坐 and the fivefold 五供養 or universal offerings 普供養 composes the phase of ritual offerings.

The fixed order and the specific import of these shared sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs results in a structural pattern that is common to the six manuals of group three. The structure of these rituals is simpler than that of Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm and that of the matrix rites attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha which, although they, too, have the above mentioned ritual phases, also contain other ritual phases that are particular to the focuses and purposes of those rites.¹⁵⁹

In fact, the major ritual acts shared by the manuals of group three are detailed in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s eighteenth chapter of the Methods for Offering Procedures 供養次第法品. This chapter of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* provides directives and mantras that vary according to the family the deity belongs to, the ritual acts to be performed, for example, removing pollutions and purifying, protecting, offering and worshipping, and the practitioner's objective (pacification, increasing benefits or wrathful subjugation).¹⁶⁰ Amoghavajra has greatly simplified the ritual prescriptions from this chapter of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, using key mantras provided in this scripture to demarcate the six ritual phases described above. The result is a general template for a rite that can be expanded or condensed as required. The rite given in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* serves as the standard blueprint for this type of esoteric rite of worship and identification. Examples of expansion and condensation of this template are the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* and the *Jenwang niansong yigui*.¹⁶¹

The rites of group three do exhibit two conspicuous differences among themselves that are to be construed as ritual modifications rather than as changes of meaning. First, although the names, order and significance of mudrā-mantra pairs correspond, the actual content of the mudrās and mantras may differ. Two examples are the mantras of the purification of the practitioner's three actions and of the pledges of the three Families. Whereas the mantra of the purification of the practitioner's three actions in the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa*, the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa* is *oṃ svabhāva-śuddhāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ svabhāva-śuddo'ham* (All factors of existence are pure of self-nature. I [too] am pure of self-nature),¹⁶² it is *oṃ svabhāva-śuddho'ham* (I am pure of self-nature) in the *Ruyilun niansong fa*.¹⁶³ The mantras of the pledges of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra Families are *namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṃ oṃ tathāgatodbhavāya svāhā* (Homage to the Universal Buddhas! To the Tathāgata-born!), *namaḥ samanta-padmānāṃ oṃ padmodbhavāya svāhā* (Homage to the Universal Lotuses! To the Lotus-born!) and *namaḥ samanta-vajrānāṃ oṃ vajrodbhavāya svāhā* (Homage to the Universal Vajras! To the Vajra-born!) in the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa*, but they are abbreviated in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* and the *Achu rulai niansong fa* to *oṃ tathāgatodbhavāya svāhā* (To the Tathāgata-born!), *oṃ padmodbhavāya svāhā* (To the Lotus-born!) and *oṃ vajrodbhavāya svāhā* (To the Vajra-born!).¹⁶⁴ The mantras given in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* and the *Achu rulai niansong fa* are those specified for the deities of the three families in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s chapter on the offering procedure.¹⁶⁵ In the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa* the pledge mantras of the three families in the ritual phase of

purification are *oṃ Jinajik svāhā* (Victorious vanquisher!), *oṃ Ālolik* (Gentle one!) and *oṃ Vajradhṛk svāhā* (Vajra protector!) which, as explained in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, are the heart-mantras of this scripture's three families.¹⁶⁶ The *Ruyilun niansong fa* employs the heart-mantra of the Lotus Family to invite the deities into the sacred site rather than to purify the practitioner's three actions of body, speech and thought.¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, despite the fact that Amoghavajra varies the content of the mudrā-mantra pairs, the name, order and import of these pairs correspond in the six handbooks of group three.¹⁶⁸

The second point of divergence is that Amoghavajra has substituted in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* and in the *Achu rulai niansong fa* parts of the sequence of the nine expedient devices 九方便 for those of the sequence of purification of the practitioner's three actions.¹⁶⁹ The sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the nine expedient devices still serves, however, a purification function.¹⁷⁰ The *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa*, the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa*, which contain the mudrā-mantra pair of the purification of the practitioner's three actions, also mention some of the nine expedient devices. The textual source of the nine expedient devices is the seventh fascicle of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and the *Sheda yigui* and *Guangda yigui*, attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, open with this sequence of mudrās and mantras.¹⁷¹

Thus, we see that elements from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* are present in the manuals of group three. However, although below we will document some elements from the rites of the matrix and adamantine realm and their textual sources, in the rites of group three the key mantras that compose the ritual phases of purification, establishing ritual boundaries, inviting the deities and establishing protections can be traced to the *Susiddhikara sūtra*.¹⁷² Identification of textual and ritual sources is easier to make in some of the rites of this group than in others. What is difficult to verify, as I will demonstrate, is the Japanese scholars' classification of these works.

I begin with the *Ruyilun niansong fa*. There are elements in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* that have been quoted from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and that are also found in the *Sheda yigui* and *Guangda yigui*. Apart from the nine expedient devices mentioned above, these are the stanza of the three powers 三力 and the ritual acts and mantras for the water offering and the universal offerings.¹⁷³

Elements from the rite of the adamantine realm are harder to discern in this manual. One possible correspondence is the opening sequence of the purification of the practitioner's three actions, although the mantra in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* is a simplified version of that which is found in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.¹⁷⁴ Collation of the mudrā-mantra pairs in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* with those in the matrix rites and Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm yield in fact only the above two matches and the third near-match. Amoghavajra opens the *Ruyilun niansong fa* with the statement that this rite is based upon a text called the *Guanding daochang jing* 灌頂道場經, but it is not known what text he is referring to.¹⁷⁵

The Japanese scholars' categorization of this ritual manual is, once again, conflicting. Ōmura states that Amoghavajra mixes elements from the rites of the matrix and adamantine realm.¹⁷⁶ Whereas Osabe labels the *Ruyilun niansong fa* a rite of combined practice wherein the matrix rite is predominant 胎金合軌 (*taikon gyōki*), Onozuka classifies this rite as a combined practice wherein the rite of the adamantine realm is the main motif 金胎合行 (*kontai gōgyō*).¹⁷⁷ Osabe enumerates the eastward-facing position of the practitioner and the sequence of the pledge mudrā-mantra pairs of the three families of the Buddha, Lotus and Vajra as indicative of the matrix rite.

This, however, is no proof. The *Susiddhikara sūtra* (ch. 14) instructs the practitioner to face east when performing the rite of increasing worldly benefits (*pauṣṭika*), whose focus is the deities of the Lotus Family,¹⁷⁸ and the pledge mudrā-mantra pairs of the three families are not found in the matrix rites attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha. Furthermore, in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* the practitioner performs the pledge mudrā-mantra pairs not to symbolize the three families of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its related rituals but for the express ritual purpose of purifying his three actions of body, speech and thought. The sequence of the pledge mudrā-mantra pairs of the three families is found in the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* and their function is to purify and remove pollutants.¹⁷⁹

Thus, despite the claims of the Japanese scholars, there is in this manual no dominance of the one tradition over the other and this is, as we shall see, the crucial characteristic of the manuals of group three.

The next text, the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, Osabe classifies as a rite of combined practice whose main motif is that of the matrix rite, but both Ōmura and Onozuka state that the primary motif is that of the rite of the adamantine realm.¹⁸⁰ Amoghavajra states at the beginning of the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* that he will relate the procedure for the rite of Ekākṣarabuddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravartī-rāja according to what Tathāgata Śākyamuni explained to the assembly in the palace of the Trāyastriṃśa 仞利天, the Heaven of the Thirty-Three Gods located on top of Mount Meru.¹⁸¹ Shingon scholars identify the scene of this preaching as that given in the *Yizi qite foding jing* 一字奇特佛頂經.¹⁸² The *Mikkyō daijiten* labels this a text of the miscellaneous esoteric teachings (*zōmitsu*), but Kūkai lists it under the textual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in his *Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku*.¹⁸³

Elements from both the ritual traditions of the matrix and adamantine realm can definitely be identified in this manual. The abbreviated nine expedient devices, which open this rite instead of the purification of the practitioner's three actions that is standard to the group three manuals, and the mudrā-mantra pair of the consort who transforms the treasury of empty space 虛空藏轉明妃, which is called in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* the empowerment of the jeweled multi-storied pavilion 加持室樓閣印, are found in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.¹⁸⁴ These mudrā-mantra pairs are also in the matrix rites attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha.¹⁸⁵ As discussed above, the actual contents of the mudrā-mantra pairs constitute one of the ways whereby the rites of group three may vary from one another. For example, the mantra of the empowerment of the consort who transforms the treasury of empty space differs from that of the universal offerings of the great treasury of empty space, which is common to the other manuals of group three. Nevertheless, its purpose of adorning the sacred site remains unchanged, and that is why I consider these handbooks as constituting a single group.¹⁸⁶

In the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* Amoghavajra expounds techniques from both the rite of the adamantine realm and the matrix rite in his instructions for the ritual phase of invocation and identification. Here he prescribes three techniques that the practitioner can employ in order to identify with the deity: that of becoming the main deity by means of placing letters on the five parts of the body 五支成本尊; union with the main deity that occurs in five phases 或五相成本尊 瑜伽; empowerment of the three sites of the crown of the head, the tongue and the heart 或三處頂舌心.¹⁸⁷ The first of these three methods derives from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*¹⁸⁸ and the second is unique to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Thus, Amoghavajra sets forth different

techniques from different sources in this ritual phase,¹⁸⁹ but the point he stresses is that the practitioner is to merge with the deity by whatever method works for him.

There are a number of versions of the visualization of the container world, a part of the construction of the sacred sanctuary for the deities, that vary according to ritual tradition, but it is difficult to determine the textual origin of this visualization in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* because only segments of this visualization are given.¹⁹⁰ The visualization of the container world can be classified according to the number of circles of elements that compose the cosmos.¹⁹¹ The version given in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and the *Sheda yigui* relate a visualization of the container world that is composed of three circles and this visualization differs from that given in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and its ritual manuals, which also has three circles. The version in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* consists of the three circles of the wind, water and earth (or *vajra*) and their letters are *ham*, *vaṃ* and *a*, respectively.¹⁹²

In the tradition of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, which is related in Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding yuqiazhong luchu niansong jing*, as well as in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and his *Guanzizai niansong fa*, for example, the water circle is replaced by the great ocean, the earth or *vajra* circle is replaced by the golden tortoise and their letters are *ham*, *vaṃ* and *pra*.¹⁹³ The *Guangda yigui*, however, details a visualization of the container world that is composed of five circles.¹⁹⁴ And this visualization of the container world also uses the same mudrā-mantra pairs of the great ocean 大海 and Mount Meru 須彌廬 that appear in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*.¹⁹⁵ Thus, Amoghavajra does not furnish enough information in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* to identify the source of this container world visualization. The ritual traditions of the matrix and the adamantine realm, as well as earlier ritual practices, could have been the textual origin of this sequence because it is found in the *Guangda yigui* and the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*.¹⁹⁶

In short, there is a mixing of elements from the ritual traditions of the matrix and adamantine realm in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, but one tradition does not prevail over the other.

The Japanese scholars' classification of the *Achu rulai niansong fa* and the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa*, which also belong to my group three, is complicated and conflicting. Ōmura states that the former is based on the rite of the adamantine realm with a few ritual acts from the matrix rite and that, although much of the latter rite is based on the rite of the adamantine realm, the matrix theme is prominent.¹⁹⁷ Onozuka categorizes both as combined rites whose main theme is based on the rite of the adamantine realm.¹⁹⁸ Osabe enumerates elements from the *susiddhi* rite in the two manuals, grouping them with the *Ruyilun niansong fa* as the forerunners of the later Shingon eighteenfold practice. He is correct in doing this.¹⁹⁹ But then he labels the *Achu rulai niansong fa* a rite of combined practice wherein the adamantine realm rite is dominant and the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* as belonging to the ritual lineage of the matrix.²⁰⁰ The authors of the *Mikkyō daijiten* on the other hand consider the matrix rite to be the predominant theme in these works.²⁰¹ Research shows, however, that although there is a mixing of elements from ritual traditions in these handbooks, there is no sense that one tradition overrides the other. Instead, the mudrā-mantra pairs and the structure of both ritual handbooks correspond, with minor deviations, to those in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* and the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, whose ritual acts and phases are based on the offering rite outlined in chapter eighteen of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*.

Amoghavajra details at the start of the *Achu rulai niansong fa* the sequence of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the nine expedient devices and this sequence, which functions to purify the

practitioner's actions, derives, as noted above, from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*.²⁰² Further, the mudrās of the fivefold offerings in this manual are explained in the *Sheda yigui* and *Guangda yigui*.²⁰³ Its series of mudrā-mantra pairs for the great ocean and Mount Meru that form the visualization of the container world are identical to those given in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*.²⁰⁴ And, as we have seen, the origin of these mudrā-mantra pairs is uncertain because they are found in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* and the *Guangda yigui*, as well as the *susiddhi* rite. Thus, although motifs from the ritual traditions of the matrix and adamantine realm are discernible in this rite whose focus is the Eastern Buddha of the mandala of the adamantine realm, as in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* and the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, they do not specifically refer to the parent rite but serve a particular function within the context of this rite.

The mixing of motifs from the two texts and their ritual traditions is more obvious in the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* than in the *Achu rulai niansong fa*. Amoghavajra in fact mentions in the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* the Scripture of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and its Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. He cites a verse from this scripture that extolls the purification of the practitioner²⁰⁵ and he refers to the mandala of the adamantine realm twice in the text. In both instances the practitioner's performance of the mudrā-mantra pairs of Bodhisattvas Vajracakra and Vajrahetu causes the beings in the six paths (*gati*) to enter this mandala.²⁰⁶ This additional sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs is unique to this manual²⁰⁷ but its presence does not alter the overall structure of this rite, which contains the shared sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs characteristic of group three. The visualization of the container world is more elaborate in the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* and, because the mudrā-mantra pair of the golden tortoise is given, the origin is the visualization tradition of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.²⁰⁸ Nonetheless, elements from the ritual tradition of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* do not dominate the contents of this manual. Elements from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* are the nine expedient devices, the stanza of the three powers and the mudrā-mantra pair of the universal offering.²⁰⁹ Moreover, although the names of the fivefold offerings are prefixed with the word *vajra*, as in the *Achu rulai niansong fa* the mudrās that the practitioner is to make are described in the *Sheda yigui* and *Guangda yigui*.²¹⁰

The single handbook of group four, the *Foding zunsheng niansong fa*, also displays a noticeable mixing of elements from the ritual traditions of the matrix and adamantine realm. This handbook forms a group of its own because it lacks the shared sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs and the resultant ritual phases that distinguish the manuals of group three. Nevertheless, the basic structure of this rite is closer to that of the manuals of group three than to those of group one and two. Ōmura records that the iconography of the prescribed mandala and many acts in the first part of this rite are based upon the matrix rite, while the second part of the rite uses acts from the rite of the adamantine realm.²¹¹ Osabe, Onozuka and the authors of the *Mikkyō daijiten* unanimously label this a rite of combinatory practice whose primary theme is the matrix rite.²¹² And indeed the sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs for the purification phase — that of the pledge, the birth of the Dharma Realm, Vajrasattva's turning the wheel of the teachings and the adamantine armour — and of the offering phase — the fivefold offerings, the stanza of the three powers and the consort of the treasury of empty space 虛空藏明妃 — are found in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and in the *Sheda yigui* and *Guangda yigui*.²¹³

However, immediately following the offering phase is the sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs of Vajrapāramitā 金剛波羅蜜, the tying of the wig 繫鬘 and the donning of the armour 被甲.²¹⁴ In

this phase of the rite the practitioner's formation of the mudrā of Vajrapāramitā signifies the consecration 灌頂 that he receives from the buddhas.²¹⁵ The mudrā-mantra pair of tying the wig confirms his consecration and that of donning the armour symbolizes the buddhas' compassion which the practitioner now wears and with which he shields himself and all sentient beings from both inner and outer evil that may impede the quest for enlightenment.²¹⁶ Although the ritual act of consecration is found in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, the ritual sequence of consecration does not appear in the two matrix manuals attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha. The sequence of tying the wig and donning the armour do occur, however, as we have seen, in Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm. In the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* the practitioner, having performing the ritual act of the attainment of the buddha body in five phases, then enacts the sequence of empowerment with and consecration by the buddhas of the adamantine realm.²¹⁷

Amoghavajra has thus created a simple rite that contains mudrā-mantra pairs from the matrix rite, as well as a sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs that belong to the rite of the adamantine realm.²¹⁸ This sequence from the rite of the adamantine realm does not, however, disrupt the pattern of the rite. The practitioner proceeds from this phase of consecration on to the phase of identification with the deity.

In summary, analysis reveals that a mixing of elements from both the ritual traditions of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* does occur in the handbooks of group three and four and that this mixing is more evident in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, the *Achu rulai niansong fa*, the *Kanro kudari nenju hō* and the *Foding zunsheng niansong fa* than in the *Ruyilun niansong fa*, the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa*.

Despite this mixing, however, there is in these manuals of group three and four no sense of a random intermingling of elements from these ritual traditions, nor does one of these ritual traditions prevail over the other.

Further, Amoghavajra does not combine elements *in order to* amalgamate the two traditions of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* into one. The deliberate combining of elements from of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* that characterizes the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingshifa jing* and the *Shewuai yigui*, for example, is absent in these ritual manuals.²¹⁹ Instead, the common structural pattern of the handbooks of group three, and to a lesser extent that of the single handbook of group four, discloses that Amoghavajra has translated, or redacted, ritual manuals for a type of rite that possesses a structure and sequences of mudrā-mantra pairs different from those of the rites of the adamantine realm and the matrix because it is based more closely on the rite prescribed in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. He presents in these manuals a coherent rite for the practitioner's invocation of, offering to and identification with a particular deity. Although mudrā-mantra pairs from the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtras* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, as well as from other tantric texts, may be employed and although they may call to mind the parent texts and their rites, they nonetheless serve a specific function — for example, that of purification, visualization of the sanctuary or consecration of the practitioner — and thus do not distract from the fundamental coherence of the rite.

CONCLUSION

My investigation of a portion of Amoghavajra's transmission results in an interpretation that differs from that of the post-Kūkai Shingon school and its scholars. First of all, my reading of the

Liqushi and the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals that Shingon scholars cite as examples of the combined practice of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sutra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* does not result in the same conclusion. Such motifs as the eight-petaled lotus and the fivefold offerings are standard to the Indian Buddhist tradition, both Exoteric and Esoteric. Second, I have found that seven of the ten ritual manuals that the Japanese scholars label as combined practice do indeed exhibit a mixing of elements from the ritual traditions of the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtras* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. However, the aim in combining these ritual elements is the coherency of the ritual pattern and thus the effectiveness of the rite itself and not the amalgamation of the differing ritual traditions of these texts.

The Shingon school and its scholars have tended to view Amoghavajra's transmission through their own sectarian bias. I think, however, that a distinction must be made between the standard ritual motifs of the Esoteric Buddhist tradition and doctrinal interpretations. The combining of ritual motifs from separate sets of rites is not to be equated with the Shingon doctrinal concept of the non-duality of the adamantite and matrix realms, which represents the purposeful consolidation of the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sutra* and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* into one tradition and which the Shingon school utilizes to construct its identity.

Amoghavajra in fact rarely discusses doctrinal interpretations in the ritual manuals that Shingon scholars have labeled combined practice. These handbooks are basic guides for the ritual and yogic processes whereby the practitioner can identify with and thus acquire the powers of the deities he evokes and unites with. The practitioner's concern is the correct performance of the mudrā-mantra pairs of the rite in order to ensure attainment of the promised results (*siddhi*). Amoghavajra's focus in these manuals is, then, the explication of these mudrā-mantra pairs and their rewards. The *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* is the exception, and yet the doctrinal themes that Amoghavajra does give in this manual are based upon the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and other Mahāyāna teachings.

REFERENCES IN THE *LIQUSHI*

- Amoghavajra names five references:
 1. *Liqushi* 1 (T.1003: 610b1-2)
 2. *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (T.1004:618b2-4)
 3. *Liqushi* 8 (T.1003: 614a2-11)
 4. *Liqushi* 16 (T.1003: 616c8-11)
 5. *Liqushi* 17 (T.1003: 617a1-4).

- Amoghavajra's nine references to "extended" scriptures and yogas
 1. *Liqushi* 3 Trailokyavijaya (T.1003:611c10-11):
The wrathful letter *hūm* controls the Vajra Family and, because of its ferocious power, the practitioner can quickly and successfully perform rites of subjugation, like those the Extended Yoga Scripture explains 如廣瑜伽經所說.
 2. *Liqushi* 3 Trailokyavijaya (T.1003:612a3-9):
The practitioner, having performed the visualization in the yoga for the main deity Trailokyavijaya, resides in the center of the mandala, and mentally surrounds himself front, right, back and left with the Four Wrathful [Bodhisattvas], the Eight Offering [Bodhisattvas] and the Four Gate [Bodhisattvas]. Just as the scripture [*Liqujing*] teaches, [while] chanting the "fivefold wisdoms of the absence of vain discourse" 五無戲論般若理趣, he has his mind pervade throughout the Dharma Realm, and then he begins [this process] again. Due to this practice, he masters numberless meditative concentrations (*samādhi*), rapidly accumulating merit and wisdom, and so creates the stocks [of merit and wisdom] for buddhahood 成佛資糧. This one Stage, [when] properly understood by the practicing yogin who performs [this rite] of Trailokyavijaya, thereby becomes the manual for this rite. As for the rest [of the details for this rite], all are provided in the various Extended Books 餘皆備諸廣本.
 3. *Liqushi* 4 Avalokiteśvara (T.1003:612b10-15).
 4. *Liqushi* 4 Avalokiteśvara (T.1003:612b27-c2).
 5. *Liqushi* 6 Vajramuṣṭi (T.1003:613a24-29).
 6. *Liqushi* 13 Seven Mother Goddesses (T.1003:616a24-25):
These goddesses also have a mandala. In the center draw Mahākāla. He is surrounded by the seven Mother Goddesses. The details are just as the Extended Scripture explains 具如廣經所說.
 7. *Liqushi* 14 Three Brothers (T.1003:616b3-6):
These gods also have a mandala. Draw the mandala in the shape of a bow and draw the three gods in order [of importance] 三天次第而畫. The iconographic prescriptions [for this mandala] are like those explained in the Extended Scripture 儀軌法則如廣經所說. But, because this text's sentences are complicated, now I will not cite it in detail.
 8. *Liqushi* 15 Four Sisters (T.1003:616b12-14):
These four goddesses also have a mandala. In the center draw Tumburu *deva*. This god is the brother of the four sisters. In each of the four directions draw one goddess. Their

[iconographic] prescriptions are like those the *Extended Scripture* explains 其軌則如廣經所說.

9. *Liqushi* 17 Five Mysteries (T.1003:617a5-6).

- Amoghavajra's reference to forms of deities in unnamed [yoga] ritual manuals. There are four such examples in the *Liqushi*:
 1. *Liqushi* 2 (T.1003:611a4-5) Mandala of Vairocana:
In the four inner corners install the four Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas]. Each is like her fundamental form 本形. In the outer four corners place the Outer Four Offering [Bodhisattvas]. Each one holds her fundamental utensil of offering 本供養具. In the four gates place [Bodhisattvas] Hook, Rope, Chain and Bell. Each resides in his fundamental majestic pose 本威儀.
 2. *Liqushi* 4 (T.1003:612a28-b5) Mandala of Avalokiteśvara.
 3. *Liqushi* 5 (T.1003:612c17-23) Mandala of Ākāśagarbha.
 4. *Liqushi* 12 (T.1003:616a3-7) Mandala of the Outer Thunderbolt Assembly.

Appendix D

**A COMPARISON OF AMOGHAVAJRA'S LIQUJING AND LIQUSHI AND THE
EXTENDED TIBETAN (P. 119, 120) AND CHINESE (T.244) VERSIONS**

Here I briefly outline the differences between Amoghavajra's description of the Sixth Assembly and the *Liqujing*, *Liqushi* and Parts 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions. I also compare content in Amoghavajra's materials to the ideological and iconographical development of this content that appears in the Tibetan and Chinese extended versions. The key point is that Amoghavajra's works and the extended Tibetan and Chinese texts belong to an Indian Esoteric Buddhist system of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and its later evolutions.

As I have demonstrated in Chapter One of this dissertation, Amoghavajra's version of the *Liqujing* reinterprets the earlier *Prajñāpāramitā* teachings within the ideological and iconological framework of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. And, as I have mentioned earlier, scholars (see Introduction, endnote 4, Chapter Four, endnote 126) conjecture that a Sanskrit text similar to Amoghavajra's version of the *Liqujing* existed in seventh-century India, making it the earliest of the yoga tantras in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* lineage. Further, Tanaka Kimiaki ("Kongōkai mandara no seiritsu ni tsuite (1) and (3)," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 30 (1981) pp. 134-135, vol. 31 (1983), pp. 615-616) argues that this early version of the *Prajñāpāramitā-naya sūtra* influenced the iconography of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.

This does not alter the fact that by Amoghavajra's time the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* had gained such prominence that the version of the *Prajñāpāramitā-naya sūtra* that he translated was produced using the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* as its reference system.

There are a number of differences between Amoghavajra's description of the Sixth Assembly, his *Liqujing* and Part 1 of the Tibetan and Chinese Extended versions of the *Liqujing*. One difference is that mandalas are prescribed in his commentary, the *Liqushi*, not his translation of the *Liqujing*, whereas the Tibetan and Chinese Extended versions do prescribe mandalas. A second difference is that Amoghavajra includes doctrinal interpretations and iconographic material in two chapters of his *Liqushi* (Assembly of Five Families in T.1003:616b23-c11 and one of its Five Mysteries Mandalas in T.1003:616c12-617a6) that are not explicitly expounded in the *Liqujing* itself (that is, in Amoghavajra's *Liqujing* or in Part 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions), nor recorded in the above description of the Sixth Assembly in the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. According to Amoghavajra, this material derives from the Thirteenth and Third (see Chapter Four) of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. Parts 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions do not contain material on these two mandalas and their rites. Commentaries on Part 1 of the extended Tibetan version allocate the teachings to the four families of the Vajra, Gem, Lotus and Action but do not record, as Amoghavajra does (T.1003:616b26-c6), that each of the five families has a mandala with five families. (See Toganoo, *ibid*, pp. 360-363, 368-369). The Five Mysteries appear in Parts 2 and 3 of the extended Tibetan version and in the second section (= Part 3) of the extended Chinese version.

A third difference is that variations are seen in the iconography of most of the mandalas prescribed in the *Liqushi* and in Part 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions. Some examples are the mandalas in *Liqushi* 1 (T.1003:610a15-23; Toganoo, *ibid*, pp. 130-133; T.244:787a29-b27), *Liqushi* 2 (T.1003:610c24-611a6; Toganoo, *ibid*, pp. 155-6; T.244:789c9-17),

Liqushi 4 (T.1003:612a29-b5; Toganoo, *ibid.*, pp. 196-197; T.244:791c28-792a16), *Liqushi* 5 (T.1003:612c17-23; Toganoo, *ibid.*, pp. 215-217; T.244:792c1-8) and *Liqushi* 7 (T.1003:613c1-7; Toganoo, *ibid.*, pp. 252-253; T.244:794a9-16). Clearly, the source texts and oral traditions for Amoghavajra's mandalas and those for the extended Tibetan and Song Chinese works were not the same. Tanaka Kimiaki demonstrates (unpublished manuscript, 2013) that an earlier iconography is apparent in Part 1 of the Tibetan and Chinese versions. For example, in these texts there are not always the one-to-one correspondences between the text's doctrinal propositions and the deities of the mandalas that are seen consistently throughout Amoghavajra's *Liqujing* and *Liqushi*. He concludes that the mandalas and ritual material appended to the root text (Part 1) of the Tibetan and Chinese versions derive from an early strand of Indian Esoteric Buddhist practice that had not yet been systematized.

Despite these disparities, Part 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions, like Amoghavajra's *Liqujing*, exhibit definite links to the family ideology and ritual system of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Examples are ch. 2 where Vairocana forms the Wisdom Fist Mudrā (T.244:789c27-29; 790a3-4); ch. 3 and the story of the subjugation of Maheśvara and the gods of the Three Worlds, who are installed into mandala as the Outer Vajra Family (T.244:790b21-c3, c4-11); ch. 8 and its prescriptions for the placement in the mandala of the four Great Bodhisattvas from the four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.244:794b28-c1, cf. T.1003:614a18-25); and ch. 12 wherein mandalas for the Outer Vajra Family are described (T.244:796a14-797a28).

Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*, discussed above in this study's Chapter Four, situates his *Liqujing*'s teachings and ritual practices within the system of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown that is summarized in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. The contents of Parts 2 and 3 of the extended Tibetan and the second part (= Part 3) of the extended Chinese version are also clearly linked to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Examples in these works are the mandalas and ritual practices prescribed for deities who belong to this lineage. See Fukuda, "Kisshō saishō honsho toshite no Rishukyō," *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 91-93 for a chart of sources for contents in Tibetan Parts 2 and 3 and the extended Chinese text (T.8.244) on Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, Tathāgatas, Vajrajvālānalārka 金剛火焰日輪 (that is Trailokyavijaya), Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha, and their General Assemblies. Fukuda does not record which chapter in the Tibetan Part 2 contains materials on the Five Mysteries. According to Tanaka Kimiaki (personal communication 2013/5/29), the final chapter of Tibetan Part 2 contains a description of the Five Mysteries and its secret mandala centered on Vajrasattva and material exists in Tibetan Part 3, chapter 8 (Fukuda, *ibid.*, p. 93) and Chinese chapter 21 (T.244:811b26-814a19).

Fukuda ("Kisshō saishō honsho toshite no Rishukyō," pp. 83-86, 91-92) has identified the sources of the two collections of ritual manuals (Part 2 and 3) that are appended to Part 1 of the extended Tibetan version. Part 2 is based upon the *Mahāsukha-vajraguhya-mahākalpa-rāja* 大樂金剛祕密の大議軌王 and the source text for Part 3 is the *Śrīparamādyā-mahākalpa-rāja* 吉祥最勝本初大議軌王. The character compounds "superlative" and "fundamental" 最上根本 in the title of the extended Chinese text refer to the source text of its second collection of ritual manuals, that is, the *Śrīparamādyā* 吉祥最勝本初. The contents of the *Mahāsukha-vajraguhya-mahākalpa-rāja* and the *Śrīparamādyā-mahākalpa-rāja* survive only in the extended Tibetan scripture, and that of the *Śrīparamādyā* is also found in Faxian's extended Chinese version. Amoghavajra knew of early versions of these works because their contents appear in his *Liqushi* and related ritual

manuals, as well as in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. The contents are that of the Seventh and Eighth Assemblies in the system of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. I discuss these Assemblies and Amoghavajra's ritual manuals in Chapter Four.

The mandalas prescribed in the second section (*Śrīparamādya* section = Part 3) of the extended Song Chinese version, for instance, focus on the figures of Vajrapāṇi, Tathāgatas, Vajrajvālānalārka/Trailokyavijaya, Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha, and they exhibit both an affiliation with the families of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and a development towards a completely new five-family system that is a composite of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s four family ideology and the families of the *Mahāsukha-vajraguhya-mahākālpa-rāja* and *Śrīparamādya-mahākālpa-rāja*. For example, the iconography of the Mandala of the Tathāgatas (*T.244:804b20-c15*, cf. *T.1003:610c24-611a4*) presents the Tathāgata Family of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. It is a seventeen-figured mandala composed of Buddha (Mahāvairocana) surrounded by the four Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Vajraratna, Vajradharma and Vajrakarma, who head the families of the Vajra, Gem, Lotus and Action in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. On the other hand, the General Assembly Mandala (*T.244:810c8-811b3*) depicts a different five-family system. Vajrapāṇi and members of his Vajra Family (the Bodhisattvas Desire 大樂, Touch 枳哩枳羅, Love 念金剛 and Pride 欲自在, and so on, as given in *T.244:799b3-c17*) are surrounded by Nārāyaṇa 那羅延 (that is, Vairocana), Caṇḍīśvara 贊尼設羅 (who is actually a form of Vajrajvālānalārka/Trailokyavijaya), Vajrapadmodbhava 金剛蓮華 (Avalokiteśvara) and Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏 in the four cardinal directions. Their consorts Adamantine Śrī 金剛吉祥, Adamantine Gaurī 金剛禺梨, Adamantine Tārā 金剛多羅 and Khavajriṇī 虛空金剛 are in the four intermediate directions.

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Collection of Daigoji, Kyoto.

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Published in *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經, vol. 9,
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