



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Hunter, H.J.

Citation

Hunter, H. J. (2018, September 26). *A Transmission and its transformation : the Liqujing shibahui mantuluo in Daigoji*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/65999>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/65999>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/65999> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Hunter, H.J.

Title: A Transmission and its transformation : the Lijujing shibahui mantuluo in Daigoji

Issue Date: 2018-09-26

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 *Amoghapaśākalparāja* 不空羼索神變真言經.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 不空羼索, 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 chuangyan zang 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 金剛槩 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 Trāyastrīṃśa 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 *hūṃ* controls the Vajra Family and, because of its ferocious power, the practitioner can quickly and successfully perform rites of subjugation, like those the Extended Yoga Scripture explains 如廣瑜伽經所說.
 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.

**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, Vajrajvāṇalārka 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-mahākalpa-rāja* and *Śrīparamādya-mahākalpa-rāja*. For example, the iconography of the Mandala of the Tathāgatas (*T.244:804b20-c15*, cf. *T.1003:610c24-611a4*) presents the Tathāgata Family of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. It is a seventeen-figured mandala composed of Buddha (Mahāvairocana) surrounded by the four Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Vajraratna, Vajradharma and Vajrakarma, who head the families of the Vajra, Gem, Lotus and Action in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. On the other hand, the General Assembly Mandala (*T.244:810c8-811b3*) depicts a different five-family system. 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.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

REFERENCE WORKS AND COLLECTIONS

- Bonwa daijiten: Kanyaku taishō* 梵和大辭典 漢訳対照. 2001. Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan 鈴木学術財団, comp. Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社 (original ed. 1986).
- Bukkyōgo jiten* 佛教語辞典. 1975. Nakamura Hajime 中村元, ed. 3 vols. Tokyo: Tōkyō shoseki kabushiki gaisha 東京書籍株式会社.
- Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 佛書解説大辭典. 1933–1939. Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙 et al. eds. 14 vols. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社.
- Daikanwa jiten* 大漢和辭典. 1976. Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次, comp. 13 vols. Tokyo: Daishūkan shoten 大修館書店 (original ed. 1956).
- Dainihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書. 1912–1922. Bussho kankōkai 佛書刊行會, ed. 150 vols. Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai 佛書刊行會.
- Dengyō daishi zenshū*. 傳教大師全集. 1975. Tokyo: Nihon bussho kankōkai 日本仏書刊行會. (original ed. 1927–1928).
- A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms with Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali Index*. 1995. William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, comps. Reprint. London: Curzon Press.
- Hōbōgirin: dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises*. 1929–. Paul Demielle, ed. Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise.
- Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary* 日英佛教辞典. 1999. (rev. ed.). Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社.
- Kōbō daishi zenshū* 弘法大師全集. 1978. Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo 密教文化研究所, ed. 8 vols. Kyoto: Dōmeisha 同盟社.
- Kokuyaku himitsu giki* 國譯祕密儀軌. 1930–1934. Tsukamoto Kengyō 塚本賢暁, et al. eds. 18 vols. Tokyo: Bukkyō chinseki kankōkai 佛教珍籍刊行會.
- Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, Mikkyō-bu 密教部. 1978 (rev. ed.). Iwano Shinyū 岩野眞雄, ed. 5 vols. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社 (original ed. 1931–1939).
- Kokuyaku mikkyō* 國譯密教, *Kyōkibu* 經軌部. 1920–1925. Kokuyaku mikkyō kankōkai 國譯密教刊行會, ed. 16 vols. Tokyo: Bukkyō geijutsusha 佛教藝術社.
- Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辭典. 1975 (rev. ed.). Mikkyō daijiten hensankai 密教大辭典編纂會, ed. 6 vols. Kyoto: Hōzōkan (original ed. 1931–1933).
- Mikkyō jiten* 密教辞典. 1975. Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研, ed. Kyōto: Hōzōkan 法藏館.
- Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 望月佛教大辭典. 1958–1963 (rev. ed) Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, ed. 10 vols. Tokyo: Sekai seiten kankō kyōkai 世界聖典刊行協會.
- Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經. 1914–1922. Matsumoto Bunzaburō 松本文三郎, Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧, eds. 50 vols. Tokyo: Nihon daizōkyō hensankai 日本大藏經編纂會.
- Oda Bukkyō daijiten* 織田佛教大辭典. 1983. Oda Tokunō 織田得能, ed. Tokyo: Daizōshuppan kabushiki gaisha 大藏出版株式会社 (original edition 1917).
- A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. 1990. Sir Monier Monier-Williams. New Edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, PVT. Ltd.

- Shingonshū zensho* 眞言宗全書. 1933–1937. Shingonshū zensho kankōkai 眞言宗全書刊行會, ed. 44 vols. Kōyasan: Shingonshū zensho kankōkai.
- Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. 1924–1934. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, et al., eds. 85 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai 大正一切經刊行會.
- Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō* 大正新修大藏經圖藏. 1933–1934. Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙, ed. 12 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai 大正一切經刊行會.
- Zoku kokuyaku himitsu giki* 續國譯祕密儀軌. 1975. Nasu Seiryū 那須政隆, ed. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 國書刊行會.
- Zoku Shingonshū zensho* 續眞言宗全書. 1975–1988. Zoku Shingonshū zensho kankōkai 續眞言宗全書刊行會, ed. Kōyasan: Zoku Shingonshū zensho kankōkai.
- Zoku Tendaishū zensho* 續天台宗全書, *Mikkyō* 密教 1. 1987/1993. Tendai shūten hensanjo 天台宗編纂所, ed. Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Scriptures, Commentaries, Ritual Manuals, Ritual Collections and Ritual Materials

Known Translators, Composers and Compilers

- Amoghavajra 不空. *Achu rulai niansong gongyang fa* 阿闍如來念誦供養法. T.19.921.
- _____. *Ba dapusa mantuoluo jing* 八大菩薩曼荼羅經. T.20.1167.
- _____. *Banro boluomiduo liqu jing dale bukong sanmei tianshi Jingangsaduo pusa deng shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* 般若波羅蜜多理趣經大樂不空三昧眞實金剛薩埵菩薩等十七聖大曼荼羅義述. T.19.1004.
- _____. *Daxukongzang Pusa niansong fa* 大虛空藏菩薩念誦法. T.20.1146.
- _____. *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmoye jing* 大樂金剛不空眞實三麼耶經. T.8.243.
- _____. *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmoye jing banro boluomiduo liqu chu* 大樂金剛不空眞實三昧耶經般若波羅密多理趣釋. T.19.1003.
- _____. *Dubu tuoluoni mu* 都部陀羅尼目. T.19.903.
- _____. *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼念誦儀軌法. T.19.972.
- _____. *Ganlu Junchali pusa gongyang niansong chengjiu yigui* 甘露軍荼利菩薩供養瑜伽念誦成就儀軌. T.21.1211.
- _____. *Guanzizai pusa ruyilun niansong yigui* 觀自在菩薩如意輪念誦儀軌. T.20.1085.
- _____. *Jenwang banruo niansong fa* 仁王般若念誦法. T.19.995.
- _____. *Jenwang huguo banro boluomiduo jing daochang tuoluoni niansong yigui* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經道場陀羅尼念誦儀軌. T.19.994.
- _____. *Jingangding jing yuqie shibahui zhigui* 金剛頂經瑜伽十八會指歸. T.18.869.
- _____. *Jingangding jing yuqie Wenshushili pusa fa yipin* 金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩法品. T.20.1171.
- _____. *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦儀軌. T.18.873.

- _____. *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法 . T.20.1123.
- _____. *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌. T.19.908.
- _____. *Jingangding yuqie Jingangsaduo wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五祕密修行念誦儀軌. T.20.1125.
- _____. *Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshishe dacheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經. T.18.865.
- _____. *Jingangding yuqie qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經. T.20.1056.
- _____. *Jingang kongpu jihui fanguang guiyi Guanzizai pusa sanshi zuishengxin mingwang jing* 金剛恐怖集會方廣軌儀觀自在菩薩三世最勝心明王經. T.20.1033.
- _____. *Jingangwang pusa bimi niansong yigui* 金剛王菩薩祕密念誦儀軌. T.20.1132.
- _____. *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xui Zheng famen* 略述金剛頂瑜伽分別聖位修證法門. T.18.870.
- _____. *Puxian Jingangsaduo lue yuqie niansong yigui* 普賢金剛薩埵略瑜伽念誦儀軌. T.20.1124.
- _____. *Shiyimian Guanzizai pusa xinmiyan niansong yigui jing* 十一面觀自在菩薩心密言念誦儀軌經. T.20.1069.
- _____. *Shengguanzizai pusa xinzhennyan yuqie guanxing yigui* 聖觀自在菩薩心真言瑜伽觀行儀軌. T.20.1031.
- _____. *Wuliang rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* 無量壽如來觀行供養儀軌. T.19.930.
- _____. *Yizi dinglunwang niansong yigui* 一字頂輪王念誦儀軌. T.19.954A.
- _____. *Yuqiebu lianhua niansong fa* 瑜伽蓮華部念誦法. T.20.1032.
- Amoghavajra (Attributed). *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhua jing wangyuqie guan zhi yigui* 成就妙法蓮華經王瑜伽觀智儀軌. T.19.1000.
- _____. (Attributed). *Dale Jingangsaduo xiuxing chengjiu yigui* 大樂金剛薩埵修行成就儀軌. T.20.1119.
- _____. (Attributed). *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lue shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經略示七支念誦隨行法. T.18.856.
- _____. (Attributed). *Darijing lue she niansong suixing fa* 大日經略攝念誦隨行法. T.18.857.
- _____. (Attributed). *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* 法華曼荼羅威儀形色法經. T.19.1001.
- _____. (Attributed). *Jingangding yuqie bimi xindi famen yijue* 金剛頂瑜伽祕密心地法門義訣. T.39.1798.
- _____. (Attributed). *Jingangding xiangsanshi dayigui fawang jiao zhong Guanzizai pusa xinzhennyan yiqie rulai lianhua damantuoluo pin* 金剛頂降三世大儀軌法王教中觀自在菩薩心真言一切如來蓮華大曼拏囉品. T.20.1040.
- _____. (Attributed). *Jingangding shengchu yuqie jing zhong luechu dale Jingangsaduo niansong yigui* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽經中略出大樂金剛薩埵念誦儀軌. T.20.1120A.
- _____. (Attributed). *Jingangding yuqie tahuazizaitian liquhui puxian xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽他化自在天理趣會普賢修行念誦儀軌. T.20.1122.
- _____. (Attributed). *Shewuai dabeixin datuoluoni jing jiyifa zhongchu wuliang yi nanfang*

- manyuan butuoluo haihui wubu zhuzundeng hongjingli fangwei ji weiyi xingsezhichi sanmoye biaozi mantuluo yigui* 攝無礙大悲心大陀羅尼經計一法中出無量義南方滿願補陀落海會五部諸尊等弘誓力方位及威儀形色執持三摩耶標幟曼荼羅儀軌. *T.20.1067.*
- Annen 安然 (Attributed). *Foding Zunsheng xin podiyu zhuanyezhang chu sanjie bimi tuoluoni* 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界祕密陀羅尼. *T.18.907.*
- Bodhiruci 菩提流志. *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa mu tuoluonishen jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩_姥陀羅尼身經. *T.20.1058.*
- Buddhapālita 佛陀波利. *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經. *T.19.967.*
- Chōen 澄圓. *Byakuhōshō* 白寶抄. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 10, no. 3191.
- Chūjin 忠尋. *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* 叡山本大悲胎藏大曼荼羅. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2982, pp. 573–687.
- _____. *Eizanbon kongōkai daimandara* 叡山本金剛界大曼荼羅. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2983, pp. 689–714.
- Dharmasena 達磨栖那. *Damiao jingang daganlu Junnali yanman Chicheng Foding jing* 大妙金剛大甘露軍拏利焰鬘熾盛佛頂經. *T.19.965.*
- Divākara 地婆訶羅. *Foding zuisheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂最勝陀羅尼經. *T.19.969.*
- _____. *Zuisheng foding tuoluoni jingchu yezhang zhou jing* 勝佛頂陀羅尼淨除業障呪經. *T.19.970.*
- Dōhō 道寶. *Rishukyō hiketsushō* 理趣經祕決鈔. *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho* 理趣經釋章疏, pp. 61–140.
- Duxing Yi 杜行顛. *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經. *T.19.968.*
- Ejū 慧什. *Zuzōshō* 圖像抄. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006. (Also *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, Bekkan, vols. 1–10).
- Enchin 圓珍. *Daihiyō yuga ki* 大祕藏瑜伽記. *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 41, *Tendaishū mikkyō sōsho* 1, pp. 553–565.
- _____. *Gimon* 疑問. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 1005a–1035a.
- _____. *Gobu shinkan hiki* 五部心觀批記. *Hikishū* 批記集. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1284a.
- _____. *Ketsuji sanshu shiji hō* 決示三種悉地法. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 985a–986b.
- _____. *Kyōji ryōbu hiyō gi* 教示兩部祕要義. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1087a–1088a.
- _____. *Sanbu manda* 三部曼荼. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1071a–1081b.
- _____. *Sasagimon* 些些疑文. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 1037a–1069b.
- _____. *Seikōden shingon shikan ryōshūkan* 請弘傳真言止觀兩宗官. *Yohō hennen zasshū* 余芳編年雜集. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1310–1311, 1332–1333, 1336–1337, 1368–1369.
- _____. *Shangzhihui [Zhihuilun] Sanzang shu* 上智慧輪三藏書. *Yohō hennenn zasshū* 餘芳編年雜集. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1336a–1337a.

- _____. *Soshitsujikatsura kuyōhō hiki* 蘇悉地羯羅供養法批記. *Hikishū* 批記集. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1284b–1285a.
- _____. *Soshitsuji kishōjō* 蘇悉地起請狀. *Yohō hennen zasshū*, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1332a-b.
- _____. *Tainikan ki hiki* 胎二卷批記. *Hikishū* 批記集. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1284b.
- _____. *Taisankan ki hiki* 胎三卷批記. *Hikishū* 批記集. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1288a-b.
- _____. *Taizō kyūzuyō hiki* 胎藏舊圖樣批記. *Hikishū* 批記集. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1283a–1284a.
- _____. *Taizō zuzō hiki* 胎藏圖像批記. *Hikishū*, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 1283b.
- Ennin 圓仁. *Taizōkai koshin ki* 胎藏界虛心記. *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 41, *Tendaishū mikkyō sōsho* 1, pp. 181–230.
- Faquan 法全. *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. T.18.852.
- _____. *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti zhuibiaozhi putong zhenyanzang 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. T.18.853.
- Faquan (Attributed). *Gongyang hushi batian fa* 供養護世八天法. T.21.1295.
- _____. *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* 建立曼荼羅護摩議軌. T.18.912.
- Faxian 法賢. *Foshuo zuishang genben dale jingang bukong sanmei dajiaowang jing* 佛說最上根本大樂金剛不空三昧大教王經. T.8.244.
- Gavāṃdharma 伽梵達摩. *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin Pusa guangda yuanman wuai dabei xintuoluoni jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經. T.20.1060.
- Genkai 元海. *Atsuzotshi* 厚造紙. T.78.2483.
- Genkaku 嚴覺. *Rishukyō mandara zu* 理趣經曼荼羅圖. Kyōto, Tōji Kanchi'in 京都東寺觀智院. T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3046, pp. 818–837.
- Genshō 金剛元性 [Copier]. *Rishukyō jūhachie mandara* 理趣經十八會曼荼羅. Private collection of Sorimachi Natsuko 反町夏子藏. Housed in the Tokyo National Museum.
- Gōhō 果寶. *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki* 胎藏界念誦次第要集記. *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25.
- Ihō 維寶. *Rishukyō jūshichidan jūhachi shuhōmandara shosetsu fudōki* 理趣經十七段十八種法曼荼羅諸說不同記. Photographic reproduction in *Toganoo Korekushon Kenmitsu Tenseki Monjo Shūsei* 拇尾コレクション顯密典籍文書集成, vol. 12 *Siddham Maṇḍalas*. Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1981, pp. 222–276.
- Jichiun 實運. *Hizō konpōshō* 祕藏金寶鈔. T.78.2485.
- _____. *Gempishō* 玄祕抄. T.78.2486.
- _____. *Shoson yōshō* 諸尊要抄. T.78.2484.
- Jōtei'in 調定院. *Jōtei mandara zu* 調定曼荼羅圖. T. *Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2992, pp. 777–796.
- Kakuchō 覺超. *Taizō soni hei bonkan mitsugō shuji sanmaya gyōshiki shuintō ryakki* 胎藏尊位并梵

- 漢密号種子三昧耶形色手印等略記. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2998, pp. 953–977.
- Kakuzen 覺禪. *Kakuzenshō 覺禪鈔*. *T. Zuzō*, vols. 4 and 5, no. 3022 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vols. 45–51).
- Kanjin 寬信. *Denjushū 傳受集*. *T.78.2484*.
- Kanjo 寬助. *Betsugyō 別行*. *T.78.2476*.
- Kōzen 興然. *Mandarashū 曼陀羅集*. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3018.
- _____. *Rishukyō hō 理趣經法*. *Kakuzenshō 覺禪鈔*. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3022, pp. 712c–725c (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 46, pp. 757–779).
- Kūkai 空海. *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*. 金剛界黃紙次第. *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 199–243.
- _____. *Kongōchōkyō kaidai* 金剛頂經開題. *T.61.2221*.
- _____. *Rishukyō kaidai* (“deshi kimyō”) 理趣經開題 (弟子婦命). *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 722–724.
- _____. *Rishukyō kaidai* (“shōji no kawa”) 理趣經開題 (生死之河). *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 725–729.
- _____. *Rishukyō kaidai* (“masa ni kono kyōno sanmon funbetsu wo shakusu”) 理趣經開題 (將釋此經三門分別). *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 730–731.
- _____. *Shinjitsukyō mongu* 真實經文句. *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 732–746.
- _____. *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* 即身成仏義. *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 506–520.
- _____. *Taizō bonji shidai* 胎藏梵字次第. *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 247–290.
- _____. *Taizō ryaku shidai* 胎藏略次第. *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 291–341.
- Raiyu 賴瑜. *Hishō mondō 祕鈔問答*. *T. 79.2536*.
- Ryōson 亮尊. *Byakuhokkushō 白寶口抄*. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 6 and 7, no. 3119.
- Saisen 濟暹. *Dairakukyō kengishō 大樂經頌義抄*. *T. 61.2239*.
- Shihu 施護. *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing 祕密三昧大教王經*. *T.18.883*.
- _____. *Yiqiurulai zhenshi shedaxianzheng sanmei dajiaowang jing* 一切如來真實攝大現證三昧大教王經. *T.18.882*.
- Shingō 眞興. *Renge taizōkai giki kaishaku* 蓮華胎藏界儀軌解釋. *T.61.2231*.
- Shinkai 新快. *Kōshinshō 幸心鈔*. *T.78.2498*.
- Shinkai 眞海. *Rishukyō mandara* 理趣經曼荼羅. Toganoo Shōun 耨尾祥雲 *Rishukyō no kenkyū* 理趣經の研究. Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku shuppan, 1930.
- Shinkaku 心覺. *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007.
- _____. “Mandala [depicted] in Gold-on-[purple]-Mud in Jianfu Monastery” 薦福寺金泥曼荼羅. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, separate sheet 19 after p. 840.
- _____. *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū* 理趣經段段印明集. Ninnaji 仁和寺, Tatchūgura collection 塔中藏, box 33, number 145.
- Shinjaku 眞寂. *Daihi taizō futsū daimandara chū shoson shuji hyōshi gyōsō shōi shosetsu fudōki* 大悲胎藏普通大曼荼羅中諸尊種子標幟形相聖位諸說不同記. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2922, pp. 17–134.
- Shōchō 承澄. *Asabashō 阿娑縛抄*. *T. Zuzō*, vols. 8 and 9, no. 3190 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vols. 35–41).
- Shūei 宗叡 (Attributed). *Taizō furai gosan shidai* 胎藏普禮五三次第. *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2,

- pp. 342–394.
- _____. *Sarai hōben shidai* 作禮方便次第. *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 396–453.
- _____. *Taizōkai nenju shidai* 胎藏界念誦次第. *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 454–491.
- Shukaku 守覺. *Hishō* 祕鈔. T.78.2489.
- _____. *Takushō* 澤鈔. T.78.2488.
- Shunnyū 淳祐. *Ishiyama shichishū* 石山七集 (*Taizōkai shichishū* 胎藏界七集). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2924, pp.137–189.
- _____. *Kongōkai shichishū* 金剛界七集. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2925, pp. 191–203.
- Śubhākarasiṃha 善無畏. *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經. T.18.848.
- _____. *Subāhupariṣcchā sūtra* 蘇婆呼童子經. T.18.895.
- _____. *Suxidi jieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯羅經. T.18.893.
- Śubhākarasiṃha (Attributed). *Shedapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing rulianhua taizang haihui beisheng mantuluo guangda niansong yigui gongyang fangbian hui* 攝大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經入蓮華胎藏海會悲生曼荼羅廣大念誦儀軌供養方便會. T.18.850.
- _____. (Attributed). *Dapiluzhena jing guangda dayigui* 大毘盧遮那經廣大儀軌. T.18.851.
- _____. (Attributed). *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* 蘇悉地羯羅供養法. T.18.894.
- Vajrabodhi 金剛智. *Jingangding yuqiezhong luchu niansong fa/jing* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經. T.18.866.
- _____. *Jingangding jing Manshushili pusa wuzi xintuoluoni pin* 金剛頂經曼殊室利菩薩五字心陀羅尼品. T.20.1173.
- Xuanqing 玄慶. *Suxidi yigui qiying* 蘇悉地儀軌契印. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 8, no. 3146, pp. 3–26.
- Xuanzang 玄奘. *Da banro boluomiduo jing* 一 *Banrolu fen* 大般若波羅蜜多經 一 般若理趣分. T.7.220:986a-991b.
- Yicao 義操 (Attributed). *Taizang jingang jiaofa minghao* 胎藏金剛教法名号. T.18.864B.
- Yijing 義淨. *Foshou foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛說佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經. T.19.971.
- Yixing 一行. *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏. T.39.1796.
- Zenshō 禪證. *Mandara shū* 曼荼羅集. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, pp. 693–743.
- Zhitong 智通. *Qianyan qianbei Guanshiyin pusa tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 千眼千臂勸世音菩薩陀羅尼神呪經. T.20.1057.

Unknown Translators, Composers and Compilers

- Bizangji* 祕藏記. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2921 (extended version); *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 1–50 (abbreviated version).
- Daihi taizō daimandara* 大悲胎藏大曼荼羅. Ninnajiban 仁和寺版. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2948, pp. 633–815.
- Datang Qinglongsi sanchao gongfeng dade xingzhuang* 大唐青龍寺三朝供奉大德行狀. T.50.2057.
- Foding Zunsheng xin podiyu zhuanyezhang chu sanjie bimi sanshen foguo sanzong xidi zhenyan yigui* 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界祕密三身佛果三種悉地真言儀軌. T.18.906.
- Foding Zunsheng tutuoluoni biefa* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼別法. T.19.974F.
- Foding Zunsheng tuoluoni zhenyan* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼真言. T.19.974E.

- Jingangfeng louge yiqie yuqie yuqi jing* 金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經. T.18.867.
Jūhachi geiin 十八契印. T.18.900.
Kongōkai kyūe daimandara 金剛_海九會大曼荼羅. Ninnajiban 仁和寺版. T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2958, pp. 893–1004.
Liduosengnieluo wubu xinguan 惺多僧藥囉五部心觀. T. *Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2974, pp. 75–148.
Liqijing shibahui mantuluo 理趣經十八會曼荼羅. T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, pp. 776–798.
Rishukyō mandara 理趣經曼荼羅. T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3045.
Sanzhong xidi podiyu zhuan yezhang chu sanjie bimi tuoluoni 三種悉地破地獄轉業障出三界祕密陀羅尼. T.18.905.
Tangben Liqijing mantuluo 唐本理趣經曼陀羅. T. *Zuzō*, vol. 12, no. 3239, pp. 954–971.
Taizang jūtuyang 胎藏旧圖樣. T. *Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2981, pp. 480–565.
Taizang tuxiang 胎藏圖像. T. *Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2977, pp. 195–302.
Zunsheng foding xiuyujiafa guiyi 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽法儀軌. T.19.973.

Historical Documents: Biographies, Bibliographies, Histories, Inventories and Travel Records

- Annen 安然. *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 諸阿闍梨真言密經部類總錄. T.55.2176.
 Enchin 圓珍. *Chishō daishi shōrai mokuroku* 智證大師將來目錄. T.55.2173.
 _____. *Daishi zaitōji ki* 大師在唐時記. *Nihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū* no. 4, pp. 1095a–1100b.
 _____. *Gyōryakushō* 行歷抄. *Nihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū* no. 4, pp. 1226a–1235b.
 _____. *Nippon biku Enchin nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本比丘圓珍入唐求法目錄. T.55.2172.
 _____. *Shōryūji guhō mokuroku* 青龍寺求法目錄. T.55.2171.
 _____. *Zaitō nichiroku* 在唐日錄. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1237a–1239a.
 _____. *Zōki* 雜記. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1113a–1116b.
 _____. *Zōshiki* 雜私記. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 979aff.
 Engyō 圓行. *Reiganji wajō shōrai hōmon dōgutō mokuroku* 靈巖寺和尚請來法門道具等目錄. T.55.2164.
 Ennin 圓仁. *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* 慈覺大師在唐送進錄. T.55.2166.
 _____. *Nipponkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本國承和五年入唐求法目錄. T.55.2165.
 _____. *Nittō shingū shōkyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄. T.55.2167.
 Eun 惠運. *Eun zenshi shōrai kyōhō mokuroku* 惠運禪師將來教法目錄. T.55.2168A.
 _____. *Eun risshi sho mokuroku* 惠運律師書目錄. T.55.2168B.
 Feixi 飛錫. *Datang gudade kaifuyitongsansi shihongluqing suguogong Daxingshansi Daguangzhi sanzang heshang zhi bei* 大唐故大德開府儀同三司試鴻臚卿肅國公大興善寺大廣智三藏和上之碑. Collected in *Daizong chao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biao zhiji* 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集. T.52.2120:848b14-849c3.

- Haiyun 海雲. *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* 兩部大法相承師資付法記. T.51.2081.
- Hunlunweng 混倫翁. *Datang dongjing Daguangfusi gu Jingang sanzang mingta bing xu* 大唐東京大廣福寺故金剛三藏銘塔并序. Collected in *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*. T.2157:876b29-877a21.
- Kechimyaku ruijūki* 血脈類集記. *Shingonshū zensho* 真言宗全書, vol. 39.
- Kenjun 謙順. *Shoshū shōshoroku* 諸宗章疏錄. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書, *Bukkyō shoseki mokuroku* 佛經書籍目錄, vol. 1.
- Kūkai 空海. “Bōdeshi Chisen ga tame no dasshin no mon” 爲亡弟子智泉達しん文. *Henjō hokki shōryōshū* 遍照發揮性靈集. *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 499–501.
- _____. “Chūenshi ga senbi no tame ni *Rishukyō* wo kōzuru hyōbyakumon” 爲忠延師先妣講理趣經表百文. *Henjō hokki shōryōshū. Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 503–504.
- _____. *Datang shendu Qinglongsi gu sanchao guoshiguanding asheli Huiguo heshang zhi bei* 大唐神都青龍寺故三朝國師灌頂阿闍梨惠果和尚之碑. *Henjō hokki shōryōshū. Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 420–425.
- _____. “Esshū no settoshi ni ataete naige no kyōsho wo motomuru kei” 與越州節度使求内外經書啓. *Henjō hokki shōryōshū. Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 457–460.
- _____. *Goshōrai mokuroku* 御請來目錄. *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 69–104.
- _____. *Himitsu mandarakyō fuhō den* 祕密漫荼羅教付法傳. *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 1–49.
- _____. “Hongoku no tsukahi to tomo ni kaeramu to kofu kei” 與本國使請共歸啓. *Henjō hokki shōryōshū. Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 460–461.
- _____. “Kanjinshite buttō wo tsukuritatematsuru chishiki no sho” 勸進奉造佛塔智識書. *Henjō hokki shōryōshū. Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 516–517.
- _____. “Kōshi senbishūki no tame ni ryōbu no mandara *Dainichikyō* wo zushashi kuyōshi kōsetsu suru hyōbyakumon” 孝子爲先妣周忌圖寫供養兩部曼荼羅大日經講說表百文. *Henjō hokki shōryōshū. Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 502–503.
- _____. “Moto no zōsō Jōgonzō daitoku no ei no san” 故贈僧正勤操大德影讚. *Henjō hokki shōryōshū. Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 539–542.
- _____. “Shion no ontame ni nibu no daimandara wo tsukuru ganmon” 奉爲四恩造二部大曼荼羅願文. *Henjō hokki shōryōshū. Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 476–477.
- _____. *Shingon fuhōden* 真言付法傳. *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 1–50.
- _____. *Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku* 真言宗所學經律論目錄. *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 105–123.
- _____. “Takano konryū no hajime no kekkai no keibyakumon” 高野建立初結界啓百文. *Henjō hokki shōryōshū. Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 529–531.
- _____. “Takano no yama mandōe no ganmon” 高野山萬燈會願文. *Henjō hokki shōryōshū. Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 515–516.
- Lu Xiang 呂向. Biography of Vjrabodhi. Collected in *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄. T.2157:875a29-876b26.
- Rokugai kyōtō mokuroku* 錄外經等目錄. T.55.2175.
- Saichō 最澄. *Kenkai ron engi* 顯戒論緣起. Collected in *Dengyō daishi zenshū* 傳教大師全集. 1975. Tendai shūdan kankōkai, ed. 天台集團刊行會. Tokyo: Nihon bussho kankōdai 日本

- 仏書刊行會, vol. 1, pp. 278–281.
- Shiban 師蠻 (comp). *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書, vols. 102–103.
- Shūei 宗叡. *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* 新書寫請來法門等目錄. T.55.2174A.
- Shūei (Attributed). *Zenrinji Shūeisōjō mokuroku* 禪林寺宗叡僧正目錄. T.55.2174B.
- Wu Yin 吳愨. *Datang shendu Qinglongsi dongtayuan guandingguoshi Huiguo Asheli xingzhuang* 大唐神都青龍寺東塔院灌頂國師慧果阿闍梨行狀. Collected in *Himitsu mandarakyō fuhō den* 祕密漫荼羅教付法傳, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 44 and *Shingon fuhōden* 眞言付法傳, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 61.
- Yan Ying 嚴郢. *Datang Daguangzhi sanzang heshang yingzan bing xu* 大唐大廣智三藏和上影讚并序. Collected in *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangjin sanzang heshang biaozihi* 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集. T.52.2120:847a2-b7.
- _____. *Tang Daxingshansi gudade Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang beiming bing xu* 唐大興善寺故大德大辯正廣智三藏和尚碑銘并序. Collected in *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozihi* 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集. T.52.2120:860a8-c9.
- Yōkai 榮海. *Shingonden* 眞言傳. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書, vol. 106.
- Yuanzhao 圓照. *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozihi* 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集. T.52.2120.
- _____. *Datang zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄. T.55.2156.
- _____. *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄. T.55.2157.
- Yūhō 祐寶. *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōrokukō* 金剛頂無上正宗傳燈廣錄後. *Zoku shingonshū zensho* 續眞言宗全書, vol. 33.
- Zaoxuan 造玄. *Xiangcheng xuemai* 相承血脈. *Shingonshū zenshū*, vol. 39, pp. 28–29.
- Zhao Quian 趙遷. *Datang gudade zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Bukong sanzang xingzhuang* 大唐故大德贈司空大辯正廣智不空三藏行狀. T.50.2056.
- Zhisheng 智昇. *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄. T.55.2154.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Abe Ryūichi. 1995. “Saichō and Kūkai: A Conflict of Interpretations.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 22, pp. 103–137.
- _____. 1999. *The Weaving of Mantra. Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Abe Yūsei 阿部宥精. 1933. “Soshitsujikatsurakyō kaidai 蘇悉地羯羅經解題,” “Soshitsujikatsurakyō 蘇悉地羯羅經.” *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyōbu* 密教部, vol. 5, pp. 279–283, 284–377.
- Adachi Kō 足立康. 1987. “Kōyasan konpon daitō to sono honzon” 高野山根本大塔とその本尊. *Adachi Kō chosakushū*, vol. 3, *Tōba kenchiku no kenkyū* 塔婆建築の研究. Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, pp. 230–245 [first published in *Kenchikushi* 建築師, vol. 3/1, 1931].

- Agrawala, Prithivi K. 1995. "The depiction of Māra in early Buddhist art." *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, Gonda Indological Studies III. K. R. van Kooij, H. van der Veere, eds. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, pp. 125–134.
- Alper, Harvey, P. 1989. *Mantra*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Ariga Yoshitaka 有賀祥隆. 1983. "Hyakubyō zuzō sono denshōsei soshite shiryōsei to geijutsusei ni tsuite" 百描図像その伝承性そして資料性と芸術性について. *Mikkyō bijutsu daikan* 密教美術大観. Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研 and Hamada Ryū 濱田隆, eds. Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, vol. 1, pp. 208–218.
- _____. 1985. "Ai no hotoke 一 Aizenmyōō" 愛のほとけ一愛染明王. *Kōza mikkyō bunka 3, Mikkyō no hotoketachi* 講座密教文化3 密教のほとけたち. Inokuchi Taijun 井口泰淳, Torigoe Shōdō 鳥越正道, Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏, eds. Kyoto: Jinbun shoten 人文書店, pp. 173–197.
- Asai Endō 浅井円道. 1973. *Jōko Nihon Tendai honmon shisō shi* 上古日本天台本門思想史. Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten 平楽寺書店.
- Astley, Ian. 1994. "Dairaku/Tairaku," *Hōbōgin*, vol. 7, pp. 931–946.
- Astley-Kristensen, Ian. 1987–1988. "Images and Permutations of Vajrasattva in the Vajradhātu-Maṇḍala." *The Buddhist Forum*. vol. 1, pp. 111–117.
- _____. 1988a. "Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Passions and Enlightenment." *Temenos: Studies in Comparative Religion*, vol. 24, pp. 7–27.
- _____. 1988b. "An Example of Vajrasattva in the Sino-Japanese Tantric Buddhist Tradition." *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, vol. 1, pp. 67–87.
- _____. 1991. *The Rishukyo: the Sino-Japanese Tantric Prajñāparamita in 150 verses (Amoghavajra's version)*. Vol. 3. Buddhica Britannica Series Continua III. Tring, UK: Institute of Buddhist Studies.
- _____. 1994. "An Annotated Translation of Amoghavajra's Commentary on the *Liqu jing* (*Rishukyō*) — Part I." *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, vol. 7, pp. 27–53.
- _____. 2011. "Esoteric Buddhism, Material Culture, and Catalogues in East Asia." *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 708–718.
- Banerjea, Jitendra Nath. 1956. *The Development of Hindu Iconography*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.
- Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh. 1968. *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*. Mainly Based on *The Sādhnamālā* and Cognate Tantric Texts of Ritual. Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay.
- _____, ed. 1968. *Sādhnamālā*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 41. vol. 2. Baroda: Oriental Institute (original publication 1925).
- _____, ed. 1972. *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 109, B. Baroda: Oriental Institute, (original publication 1949).
- Birnbaum, Raoul. 1983. *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī: A Group of East Asian Maṇḍalas and Their Traditional Symbolism*. Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, Monograph No. 2.
- Bühnemann, Gudrun. 2003. "Maṇḍala, Yantra and Cakra: Some Observations." *Maṇḍalas and Yantras in the Hindu Traditions*. Gudrun Bühnemann, ed. Leiden: Brill.
- Chen, Jinhua. 1998. "The Construction of Early Tendai Buddhism: The Japanese Provenance of Saichō's Transmission Documents and Three Esoteric Buddhist Aprocrypha Attributed to

- Śubhākarasiṃha.” *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 21/1, pp. 21–76.
- _____. 2004. “The Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels.” *Journal of Chinese Religions*, pp. 101–173.
- _____. 2010. *Crossfire: Shingon-Tendai Strife as Seen in Two Twelfth-Century Polemics, with Special References to Their Background in Tang China*, Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series XXV. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
- _____. 2011. “Esoteric Buddhism and Monastic Institutions.” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 286–293.
- Chou Yi-Liang. 1945. “Tantrism in China.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3–4, pp. 241–332.
- Copp, Paul. 2011. “Visualization and Contemplation.” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 141–145.
- _____. 2001. “*Dhāraṇī* Scriptures.” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 176–180.
- Dalton, Jacob. 2004. “The Development of Perfection: The Interiorization of Buddhist Ritual in the Eight and Ninth Centuries.” *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 32, pp. 1–30.
- _____. 2005. “A Crisis of Doxography: How Tibetans Organized Tantras During the 8th–12th Centuries.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 28/1, pp. 115–181.
- Davidson, Ronald M. 1991. “Reflections on the Maheśvara Subjugation Myth: Indic Materials, Sa-skyapa Apologetics, and the Birth of Heruka.” *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 14/2, pp. 197–235.
- _____. 2002. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- _____. 2011. “Sources and Inspirations: Esoteric Buddhism in South Asia.” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 19–24.
- _____. 2011. “Abhiṣeka.” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 71–75.
- Dayal, Har. 1978. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Literature*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers.
- de Mallmann, Marie-Thérèse. 1964. *Étude Iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- _____. 1975. *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*. Paris: Bibliothèque du Centre de recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute Asie.
- Dolce, Lucia. 2002. *Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren's Interpretation of the Lotsu Sutra*. PhD. Dissertation. Leiden University, Leiden, the Netherlands.
- _____. 2006. “Reconsidering the Taxonomy of the ‘Esoteric’: Taimitsu Hermeneutical and Ritual Practices.” *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*. Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen, eds. London: Routledge, pp. 130–171.
- _____. 2010. “Taimitsu Rituals in Medieval Japan: Sectarian Competition and the Dynamics of Tantric Performance.” *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond*. Istvan Keul, ed. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Publishers, pp. 329–363.
- _____. 2011. “Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School.” *Esoteric Buddhism and*

- the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 744–767.
- Dolce, Lucia and Mano, Shinya. 2011. “Godai’in Annen.” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia: A Handbook for Scholars*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 768–775.
- Durt, Hubert. 1974 [reprint]. “Butchō” 佛頂. *Hōbōgin*, vol. 3, pp. 148a–151 (planche XII).
- _____. 1974. “Butsugenmo” 佛眼母. *Hōbōgin*, vol. 3, pp. 205a–207b.
- _____. 1983. “Daibutchō” 大佛頂. *Hōbōgin*, vol. 6, pp. 596b–598a.
- Eastman, Kenneth. “Mahāyoga Texts at Tun-huang,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Cultural Studies at Ryūkoku University*, vol. 22 (1983), pp. 42–69.
- _____. 1981. “The Eighteen Tantras of the *Tattvasaṃgraha/Māyājāla*,” *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan*, vol. 26, pp. 95–96.
- Foulk, Griffith T. 1992. “The Ch’an *Tsung* in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?” *The Pacific World, New Series: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, no. 8, pp. 18–31.
- Frank, Bernard. 2000. *Dieux et Bouddhas au Japon*. Paris: Editions Odile Jacob, pp. 221–267.
- Fukuda [gakujun] 福田學純. 1931. *Kongōchō issainyorai shinjitsusō daijō genshō daikyōō kyō kaidai* 金剛頂一切如來眞實攝大乘現證大教王經解題, *Kongōchō issainyorai shinjitsusō daijō genshō daikyōō kyō* 金剛頂一切如來眞實攝大乘現證大教王經. *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyō-bu* 密教部, vol. 2, pp. 152–159, 160–206.
- Fukuda Gyōei 福田堯穎. 1954. *Tendaigaku gairon* 天台学概論. Tokyo: Nakayama shobō busshorin 中山書房仏書輪.
- Fukuda Ryōsei 福田亮成. 1987. *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai* 理趣經の研究—その成立と展開. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 国書刊行会.
- Gardiner, David L. 1996. “Maṇḍala, Maṇḍala on the Wall: Variations of Usage in the Shingon School.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 19/2, pp. 45–279.
- Giebel, Rolf W. 1995. “The Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch’ieh shih-pa-hui cih-kuei: An Annotated Translation.” *Naritasan Bukkyō Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 成田山佛教研究所紀要. Naritasan: Shinshōji, vol. 18, pp. 107–202.
- _____. 2000. “*Soshitsujikarakyō genten kenkyū shotan*” 「蘇悉地羯羅經」原典研究初探. *Tōhō gaku* 東方學, vol. 99, pp. 105–91.
- _____. 2001. *Two Esoteric Sutras: The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra [and] The Susiddhikara Sutra*. Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research.
- _____. 2005. *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sutra*. Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research.
- Goepper, Roger. 1993. *Aizen Myōō. The Esoteric King of Lust. An Iconological Study*. Zurich: Artibus Asiae and Museum Rietberg.
- _____. 2001. “Maṇḍala Speculations in Shingon Buddhism based on the *Hizōki* and its Commentaries.” *Embodying Wisdom: Art Text and Interpretation in the History of Esoteric Buddhism*. Rob Linrothe and Henrik. H. Sørensen, eds. SBS Monographs 6. Copenhagen: The Seminar for Buddhist Studies, pp. 37–56.
- Gonda Raifu 権田雷斧. 1925. *Gakan mikkyō hattatsu shi* 我觀密教發達史. Tokyo: Heigo shuppansha 丙午出版社.
- Gray, David, B. 2005. “Eating the Heart of the Brahmin: Representations of Alterity and the

- Formation of Identity in Tantric Buddhist Discourse.” *History of Religions: an International Journal for Comparative Historical Studies*, pp.45–69.
- _____. 2007. *The Cakrasamvara Tantra: A Study and Annotated Translation*. New York: The American Institute of Buddhist Studies, Columbia University.
- Groner, Paul. 2000. *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Gupta, Sanjukta, Hoens, Dirk Jan, Goudriaan, Teun. 1979. *Hindu Tantrism*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Hakeda, Yoshito. 1972. *Kūkai: Major Works*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hall, John W. and Mass, Jeffrey P., eds. 1988. *Medieval Japan. Essays in Institutional History*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Hamada Ryū 濱田隆. 1960. “Jūniten gazō no kenkyū (1)” 十二天画像の研究. *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 44, pp. 24–44.
- _____. 1962. “Jūniten gazō no kenkyū (2)” 十二天画像の研究. *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 49 (1962), pp. 17–34.
- Harper, Katherine Anne. 2002. “The Warring Śaktis: A Paradigm for Gupta Conquests.” *The Roots of Tantra*. Katherine Anne Harper, Robert L. Brown, eds. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 115–131.
- Hatta Yukio 八田幸雄. 1982. *Himitsu kyōten: Rishukyō 祕密教典 — 理趣經*. Tokyo: Hira-kawa shuppansha 平河出版社.
- _____. 1985. *Shingon jiten 真言辞典*. Tokyo: Hira-kawa shuppansha.
- Hazama Jiko. 1987. “The Characteristics of Japanese Tendai.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 14/2-3, pp. 101–112.
- Hikata Ryūshō 干瀉龍祥. 1938. “Butchō sonshō darani kyō shoden no kenkyū” 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經諸傳の研究. *Mikkyō kenkyū 密教研究*, vol. 68, pp. 34–72.
- Hodge, Stephen. 1995. “Considerations on the Dating and Geographical Origins of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra*.” *The Buddhist Forum*, vol. III 1991–1993. New Delhi: Heritage Publisher, pp. 57–83.
- _____. 2003. *The Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi Tantra with Buddhaguhya’s Commentary*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Horiuchi Kanjin 堀内寛仁. 1969. “Kongaokai kyūe mandara no meishō ni tsuite” 金剛界九会マンダラの名称について. *Mikkyō bunka 密教文化*, vol. 89, pp. 120–102.
- _____. 1974. “Kōbō daishi no ryōbu funi shisō” 弘法大師の両部不二思想. *Indogakubukkyōgaku kenkyū 印度學仏教学研究*, vol. 23/1, pp. 98–105.
- _____. 1976. “Kongōchōkyō no sessō” 金剛頂經の説相. *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō 高野山大學論叢*, vol. 11, pp. 67–122.
- _____. 1976. “Sanjūshichi son shutsudan no shishu kanjō ni tsuite” 三十七尊出生段の四種灌頂について. *Okuda Jiō sensei kiju kinen. Bukkyō shisō ronshū 奥田慈應先生喜壽記念 — 佛教思想論集*. Tokyo: Heirakuji shoten 平楽寺書店, pp. 1017–1030.
- _____. 1983. “Shōe Kongōchōkyō shosetsu no shoson ni tsuite (3). Shi-haramitsu” 初會金剛頂經所説の諸尊について (3) 四波羅蜜. *Nasu Seiryū hakushi beiji kinen — Bukkyō shisō ronshū 那須政隆博士米壽記念 — 佛教思想論集*. Narita 成田: Narita-san Shinshō-ji 成田山新勝寺, pp. 160–177.
- Hunter, Harriet. 1995. “The *Rishukyō Mandara* Said to Have Been Introduced by Shūei.” *Cahiers*

- d'Extrême-Asie*, Mémorial Anna Seidel, vol. 8, pp. 371–388.
- _____. 1995. “Five Secrets Mandala.” *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, Gonda Indological Studies III. K. R. van Kooij, H. van der Veere, eds. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, pp. 111–124.
- _____. 2001. “Late Tang Chinese Handbooks for the *Garbhakośa* Rite.” *Embodying Wisdom: Art Text and Interpretation in the History of Esoteric Buddhism*. Rob Linrothe and Henrik. H. Sørensen, eds. SBS Monographs 6. Copenhagen: The Seminar for Buddhist Studies, pp. 1–36.
- _____. 2002. “A Late Heian Period Reinterpretation of the *Rishukyō mandara*.” *Japanese Religions*, vol. 27/1, pp. 69–98.
- _____. 2004. “Faquan’s Transmission of the *Susiddhi* Category of the Esoteric Buddhist Teachings.” *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies*, vol. 8, pp. 43–93.
- Hurst III, G. Cameron. 1976. *Insei: Abdicated Sovereigns in the Politics of Late Heian Japan, 1086–1185*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Inoue Akemi 井上曙生. 1984. “Kyōten to zuzō — Monju Bosatsu ni kanshite” 經典と圖像 — 文殊菩薩に關して. *Mikkyō zuzō* 密教図像, vol. 3, pp. 41–58.
- Inui Hitoshi 乾仁志. 1994. “Chūgoku ni okeru *Kongōchō* denshō” 中国における「金剛頂經」伝承 — 「略出經」を中心として, *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 高野山大学密教文化研究所紀要, vol. 8, pp. 1–27.
- _____. 1995. “*Shōe Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite” [初会金剛頂經] 所説のマンダラについて(前). *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 高野山大学密教文化研究所紀要, vol. 9, pp. 158–133.
- _____. 1996. “*Shōe Kongōchōkyō* no yondaibon to mandara no tokushoku” [初会金剛頂經] の四大品とマンダラの特徴. *Kōyasan daigaku ronbunshū* — *Kōyasan daigaku sōritsu hyakujū shūnen kinen* 高野山大学論文集 — 高野山大学創立百十周年記念. *Kōyasan daigaku: Kōyasan daigaku sōritsu hyakujū shūnen kinen ronbunshū hensha iinkai hen* 高野山大学創立百十周年記念論文集編者委員会編, pp. 81–100.
- _____. 1997. “*Kongōchō tantora* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1)” 金剛頂タントラ所説のマンダラについて, *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō* 高野山大学論叢, vol. 32, pp. 1–30.
- _____. 1997. “*Shōe Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no mandara” (2) [初会金剛頂經] 所説のマンダラ(後), *Koyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 10, pp. 260–233.
- Ishida Hisatōyō 石田尚豊. 1965. “Keika-Kūkaikei izen no taizō mandara” 恵果空海計以前の胎藏曼荼羅. *Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutdukan kiyō* 東京国立博物館紀要, vol. 1, pp. 31–147.
- _____. 1970. “*Genzu mandara saikō*” 現図曼荼羅再考. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教芸術, vol. 78, pp. 18–33.
- _____. 1975. *Mandara no kenkyū* 曼荼羅の研究. Tokyo: Tōkyō bijutsu 東京美術, 1975.
- Iyanaga Nobumi 彌永信美. 1985. “Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya — d’après les sources chinoises et japonaises (Notes autour de Maheśvara-Śiva dans le bouddhisme I).” Michel Strickmann, ed. *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honor of R. A. Stein*, vol. 3, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, vol XXII. Brussels: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises.

- _____. 2000. “Shinwa/Girei/Ōken” 神話／儀礼／王権. *Kōza Tetsugaku*, No. 13: *Shūkyō/Chōestsu tetsugaku* 講座 哲学 宗教／超越の哲学. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, pp. 1–27.
- Kambayashi Ryūjō 神林隆淨. 1930. “Sobako dōji shōmon kyō kaidai” 蘇婆呼童子問經解題, “Sobako dōji shōmon kyō” 蘇婆呼童子問經. *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyō-bu* 密教部, vol. 2, pp.207–208, 209–263.
- _____. 1931a. “Daibiroshana jōbutsu jinpen kaji gyō kaidai” 大毗盧遮那成佛神變加持解題, “Daibiroshana jōbutsu jinpen kaji gyō” 大毗盧遮那成佛神變加持經. *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyō-bu* 密教部, vol. 1, pp. 1–50, 51–212.
- _____. 1931b. “Daibiroshana jōbutsu shinpen kaji kyō rengo dao zō bodai dōhyōji futsū shingonzō kōdai jōju yuga kaidai,” 大毗盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標幟普通眞言藏廣大成就瑜伽, “Daibiroshana jōbutsu shinpen kaji kyō rengo dao zō bodai dōhyōji futsū shingonzō kōdai jōju yuga” 大毗盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標幟普通眞言藏廣大成就瑜伽. *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyō-bu* 密教部, vol. 3, pp. 237–244, 245–313.
- _____. 1931c. “Konryū mandara goma giki kaidai” 建立曼荼羅儀軌解題, “Konryū mandara goma giki” 建立曼荼羅儀軌. *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyō-bu* 密教部, vol. 2, pp. 314–321, 322–336.
- _____. 1931d. “Ryaku jutsu Kongōchō yuga bunbetsu shōi shūshō hōmon kaidai” 略述金剛頂瑜伽分別聖位修證法門解題, “Ryaku jutsu Kongōchō yuga bunbetsu shōi shūshō hōmon” 略述金剛頂瑜伽分別聖位修證法門. *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyō-bu* 密教部, vol. 3, pp. 29–31, 32–43.
- _____. 1931e. “Hajigoku sanshu shiji hō kaidai” 三種悉地破地獄轉業障出三界祕密陀羅尼法解題. *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyōbu* 密教部, vol. 3, pp. 80–94.
- Kanamori Jun 金森遵. 1942. “Mikkyō jūin ni okeru Tahōtō no igi (1)” 密教寺院に於ける多宝塔の意義. *Kokka* 國華, vol. 52/1, pp. 289–294.
- _____. 1942. “Mikkyō jūin ni okeru Tahōtō no igi (2)” 密教寺院に於ける多宝塔の意義. *Kokka* 國華, vol. 52/11, pp. 321–328.
- Katō Seishin 加藤精神. 1969. “Hizōki no chosha ni tsuite” 「秘藏記」の著者に就て. *Mikkyō* 密教, vol. 1/3, pp. 297–317.
- Katsumata Shunkyō 勝又俊教. 1969. “Fukū Sanzō no hibun ni tsuite” 不空三藏の碑文について. *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū* 密教研究, vol. 1/3, pp. 97–113.
- _____, ed. 1970–1975. *Kōbo daishi chosaku zenshū* 弘法大師著作全集. 3 vols. Tokyo: Sankibō bussho rin 三喜房仏書林.
- _____. 1981. *Kōbō daishi no shisō to sono genryū* 弘法大師の思想とその源流. Tokyo: Sankibō bussho rin 三喜房仏書林.
- Kawasaki Kazuhiro 川崎一洋. 2001. “Tibetto ni okeru Rishukōkyō no mandara no denshō: Sharuji nandō no sakurei wo chūshin ni” チベットにおける「理趣広経」の曼荼羅の伝承 — シェル寺南堂の作例を中心に. *Mikkyō zuzō* 密教図像, vol. 20, pp. 49–61.
- Kawashima Takeshi 川島健. 1989. “Trailokyavijaya mahākālparāja no kenkyū — mūlatantra o chūshin ni shite” “Trailokyavijaya mahākālparāja” の研究 — mūlatantra を中心にして.

- Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 828–826.
- Kinshiki Ryōnosuke 錦織亮介. 1975. “Gubodaisan nyohōji kyūzō ryōkai mandarazu — *Kongōkai hachijūichi son mandara no issakurei*” 求菩提山如法寺旧蔵 両界曼荼羅図 — 金剛界八十一尊曼荼羅の一作例. *Seinan chiikishi kenkyū* 西南地域史研究, vol. 4, pp. 113–160.
- Kirihata Takeshi 切畑健. 1969. “*Asabashō*: sono seiritsu to sensha Shōchō” 「阿娑縛抄」 — その成立と撰車承澄. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術, vol. 70, pp. 182–205.
- Kitagawa Shinkan 北川真寛. 2002. “*Keiran shūyō shū ni okeru mikkyō kyōsetsu no tenkai* — kakkan no kōsei to soshitsuji wo chūshin toshite” 「溪嵐拾葉集」における密教教説の展開 — 各巻の構成と蘇悉地を中心として. Paper presented at the 43rd Conference of Doctrinal Studies of the Tendai School 第四十三回天台宗教学大会, pp. 4–8.
- Kitamura Taidō 北村太道. 1981. “*Tantrārthāvatāra no inyōkyōki wo megutte*” *Tantrārthāvatāra* の引用経軌をめぐって, *Daijōbukkyō kara mikkyō e* — *Katsumata Shunkyō Hakushi koki kinen ronshū* 大乘仏教から密教へ — 勝又俊教博士古稀記念論集. Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社, pp. 431–442.
- Kiuchi Gyōō 木内堯央. 1984. *Tendai mikkyō no keisei* — *Nihon Tendai shisōshi kenkyū* 天台密教の形成 — 日本思想史研究. Tokyo: Keisuishsha 溪水社.
- _____. 1978. “*Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi*” 教示兩部祕要義. *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經. *Kaidai* 開題 3. Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, ed. 鈴木学術財団. Tokyo: Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan 鈴木学術財団, vol. 99, pp. 65–66.
- Kloetzli, W. Randolph. 1989. *Buddhist Cosmology. The Science and Theology in the Images of Motion and Light*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers PVT. LTD.
- Kobayashi Taiichirō 小林泰一郎. 1974. “Tōdai no Daihi Kannon” 唐代の大悲観音. *Kobayashi Taiichiro chosaku shū* 小林泰一郎著作集, vol. 7. Kyoto: Tankōsha 淡交社, pp. 83–186.
- Kōda Junnin 高田順仁. 1996. “*Soshitsujikarakyō Shōmonbon no kōsatsu*” 「蘇悉地羯経」 「請問品」の考察. *Mikkyō gaku* 密教学, vol. 32, pp. 109–128.
- Kōda Yūun 甲田宥畔. 2002. “*Keika wajō irai no mikkyō sōtachi*” 惠果和尚以来の密教僧たち. *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, No. 15 高野山大学密教文化研究所紀要. *Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo hen* 高野山大学密教文化研究所編, pp. 29–62.
- Kojima Yuko 小島裕子. 1998. “*Inseiki ni okeru Aizenō mishuhō no tenkai* — *Ninnaji Shukaku hōshinnō sōden Kurenainousuyō wo kiten toshite*” 院政期における愛染王御修法の展開 — 仁和寺守覚法親王相伝紅薄様を起点として. *Shukaku hōshinnō to Ninnaji gyoryū no bunkengakuteki kenkyū - Ronbunhen* 守覚法親王と仁和寺御流の文献学的研究・論文篇. Abe Yasuo 阿部泰郎 and Yamazaki Makoto 山崎誠, eds. Benseisha 勉誠社, pp. 319–387.
- Kokubo Keiichi 小久保啓一. 1986. “*Tōmitsu no jūhachiichi son mandara*” 東密の十八一尊曼荼羅. *Yamato bunka* 大和文華 vol. 75, pp. 1–16.
- Kroll, Paul. 2001. *Dharma Bell and Dhāraṇī Pillar* (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, Epigraphical Series 3).
- Kurimoto Noriko 栗本徳子. 1991. “*Shirakawa'in to Ninnaji* — *shuhō kara miru Inseiki no seishin sekai*” 白河院と仁和寺 — 修法からみる院政期の精神世界. *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū* 金沢文庫研究, vol. 286. Kanagzawa kenritsu Kanazawa bunko hen 金沢県立金沢文庫編, pp.

- 12–30.
- Lehnert, Martin. 2006. “Myth and Secrecy in Tang-period Tantric Buddhism.” *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*. Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen, eds. London: Routledge, pp. 78–104.
- _____. 2011. “Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism.” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard, K. Payne, eds. *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 351–359.
- Macdonald, Ariane. 1962. *Le Maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Malandra, Geri H. 1985. “Ellora: The ‘Archaeology’ of a Maṇḍala.” *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 15, pp. 67–94.
- Mammitzsch, Ulrich. 1991. *Evolution of the Garbhadhatu Mandala*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- Manabe Shunshō 眞鍋俊照. 1963. “Soshitsuji giki keiin zu no kōsatsu (1): Tōji Kanchiin zō to Ishiyamadera zō hon” 「蘇悉地儀軌契印」圖の考察 (1) — 東寺觀智院藏本と石山寺藏本. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 62, pp. 77–94.
- _____. 1966. “Soshitsuji giki no keitō ni tsuite — josetsu” 蘇悉地儀軌の系統について。序説. *Bukkyō shigaku* 仏教史学, vol. 12/4, pp. 13–45.
- _____. 1969. “Shinkaku to Besson zakki ni tsuite – Denki oyobi zuzō ‘watakushi kore wo kuwafu’ no shomondai” 心覚と別尊雜記について - 伝記および「私加之」の諸問題. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術, vol. 70, pp. 67–100.
- Murakai Ryōkai 村上了海. 1983. “Mikkyō kyōki niokeru kikai konryū kan” 密教経軌における器界建立観. *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū* 密教学研究, vol. 15, pp. 105–116.
- Matsubara Chibi 松原智美. 1990. “Shosetsu fudōki no aruzu to Taimitsu no Taizōzu” 「諸説不同記」の「或図」と台密の胎藏図. *Bijutsushi kenkyū* 美術史研究, vol. 28, pp. 25–43.
- Matsunaga Yūkei 松長有慶. 1977. “Ri to chi” 理と智. *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū* 密教学研究, vol. 13/14, pp. 60–71 (also published as *Takai Ryūshū Kyōju kanreki kinen ronshū* — *Mikkyō shisō* 高井隆秀教授還暦記念論集 — 密教思想. Kyoto: Shuchi’in daigaku mikkyō gakkai).
- _____. 1978. “Fuhōden no tenkyo to chosaku mokuteki” 「不法傳」の典拠と著作目的. *Kōbō daishi kenkyū* 弘法大師研究. Nakano Gishō, ed. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan 吉川古文館, pp. 1–31.
- _____. 1978. “Sanshu shijji to hajigoku” 三種悉地と破地獄. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 121, pp. 1–13.
- _____. 1981. *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsu shiron* 密教経典成立史論. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館.
- Matsunaga Yuken 松永有見. 1929. “Sanshu shijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū” 三種悉地破地獄儀軌の研究. *Mikkyō kenkyū* 密教研究, vol. 35, pp. 1–18.
- McBride, Richard. 2004. “Is There Really ‘Esoteric’ Buddhism?” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 27/2, pp. 329–356.
- _____. 2005. “Dhāraṇī and Spells in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 28/1, pp. 85–114.

- _____. 2011. "Esoteric Scriptures in the Context of Chinese Buddhist Translation practice." *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 220–222.
- Meiszahl, R. O. 1967. "Die Göttin Vajravahni. Eine Ikonographische Studie nach einem Sadhana Text von Advayavajra," *Oriens*, vol. 18–19 (Leiden), pp. 252–253.
- Misaki Ryōshū 三崎良周. 1962. "Taimitsu no *soshitsuji* ni tsuite" 台密の蘇悉地について. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教学研究, vol. 10/1, pp. 217–220.
- _____. 1963. "Taimitsu no *jūhachidō* ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教学研究, vol. 11/2, pp. 445–450.
- _____. 1964. "Chikaku daishi no mikkyō niokeru ichini no mondai" 慈覺大師の密教における一二の問題. *Jikaku daishi kenkyū* 慈覺大師研究. *Tendai gaku kaikan* 天台學會刊, pp. 281–297.
- _____. 1965. "Tōmatsu no mikkyō to *soshijji*" 唐末の密教と蘇悉地. *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū* 密教学密教史論文集. Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku hen 高野山大学編, pp. 255–281.
- _____. 1968. "Annen no *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*" 安然の諸阿闍梨眞言密教部類惣録について. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教学研究, vol. 16/2, pp. 572–579.
- _____. 1969. "Dengyō daishi Saichō no mikkyō shisō" 傳教大師最證の密教思想. *Firosafia*, vol. 56, pp. 41–66.
- _____. 1975. "*Jōju myōhokkekyō ō yuga kanchi giki* ni tsuite" 成就妙法蓮華經王瑜伽觀智儀軌について. *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū* 東洋學術研究, vol. 14/6, pp. 17–47.
- _____. 1977. "Butchōkei no mikkyō — Tōdai mikkyōshi no isshten" 佛頂系の密教 — 唐代密教史の一視点. *Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū: Dōkyō no shisō to bunka — Yoshioka Hakushi kanreki kinen* 道教研究論集—道教の思想と文化 — 吉岡博士記念. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 国書刊行会, pp. 477–499.
- _____. 1978. "Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō." *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經. *Kaidai* 開題 3. Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, ed. 鈴木學術財団. Tokyo: Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan 鈴木學術財団, vol. 99, pp. 72–73.
- _____. 1980. "Dengyō daishi no mikkyō shisō ni okeru shomondai" 傳教大師の密教思想における諸問題. *Dengyō daishi kenkyū* 傳教大師研究. Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppansha 早稲田大学出版社, pp. 477–499.
- _____. 1985. "Taimitsu no *soshijji* wo meguru shomondai — tokuni sono *denshō setsu* ni tsuite" 天台の悉地法をめぐる諸問題 — 特にその傳承説について. *Tendai gaku hō* 天台學報, vol. 27, pp. 14–23.
- _____. 1985. "Taimitsu no *soshijji* hō wo meguru shomondai" 台密の蘇悉地法をめぐる諸問題. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 149, pp. 79–95.
- _____. 1988. *Taimitsu no kenkyū* 台密の研究. Tokyo: Sōbunsha 創文社.
- _____. 1994. *Taimitsu no riron to jissen* 台密の理論と実践. Tokyo: Sōbunsha 創文社.
- Mizugami Fumiyoshi. 1982. "Shoki Taimitsu no *soshitsuji* sōjō ni tsuite" 初期天台の悉地相承について. *Tendai gaku hō* 天台學報, vol. 24, pp. 163–166.

- _____. 1988. “Sanshu shijji to sanshinshingon” 三種悉地と三身真言. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教学研究, vol. 73, pp. 253–257.
- _____. 1989. “Taimitsu ni okeru sanshu shijji hō no denshō” 台密における三種悉地法の傳承. *Tendai gakuho*, vol. 30, pp. 87–91.
- Mori Masahide 森雅秀. 2004. “Kongōkai mandara no Hindū shin” 金剛界マンダラのヒンドウー神. *Kūkai no shisō to bunka: Onozuka Ikusumi Hakushi koki kinen ronbunshū* 空海の思想と文化: 小野塚幾澄博士古稀記念論文. Taishō daigaku shingongaku Buzan kenkyūshitsu. Tokyo: Sonburusha.
- Moriyama Shōshin 守山聖真. 1931 [reprint 1973]. *Shingonshū nenpyō* 眞言宗年表. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 国書刊行会.
- Mukai Ryūken 向井隆健. 1976a. “Fuku sanzō yakkyōki rui ichiran” 不空三蔵訳経軌類一覧. *Buzan gakuho* 豊山学報, vol. 21, pp. 93–114.
- _____. 1976b. “Fukū sanzō no kyōtenhonyaku ni okeru taido” 不空三蔵の經典翻訳における態度. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究, vol. 24/2, pp. 775–777.
- _____. 1978. “Fukū sanzō denki shiryō ikkōsatsu” 不空三蔵伝記資料一考察. *Taishō daigaku daigakuin kenkyū ronshū* 大正大学大学院研究論集. Tokyo: Taishō daigaku shuppanbu 大正大学出版部, pp. 103–114.
- _____. 1981. “Fukū yaku *Shōmugekyō* to *Bizangji* to no kankei ni tsuite” 不空訳「撰無礙経」と「秘蔵記」との関係について. *Buzan kyōgaku daikai kiyō* 豊山教学大会紀要. Tokyo: Buzan kyōgaku shinkōkai hen 豊山教学振興会編, vol. 9, pp. 13–24.
- _____. 1982. “Shingon mikkyō no okeru richi no keifu” 眞言密教における理知の系譜. *Buzan kyōgaku daikai kiyō* 豊山教学大会紀要. Tokyo: Buzan kyōgaku shinkōkai hen 豊山教学振興会編, vol. 10, pp. 17–26.
- _____. 1982. “Fukū yaku *Shōmuge kyō* wo meguru mondai” 不空訳「撰無礙経」をめぐる問題. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究, vol. 30/2, pp. 801–804.
- _____. 1983. “*Hizōki seiritsu kō*” 「秘蔵記」成立考. *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū* 密教学研究, vol. 15, pp. 53–67.
- Murakami Ryōkai 村上了海. 1983. “Mikkyō kyōki ni okeru kikai konryū kan” 密教における器界建立観. *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū* 密教学研究, vol. 15, pp. 105–116.
- Murase Kōshi 村瀬鑛司. 1938. “*Genpōji giki no senshūsha*” 玄法寺儀軌の撰集者. *Mikkyō ronsō* 密教論叢, vol. 13, pp. 57–70.
- Nakano Genzō 中野玄三. 1969. “Kakuzen nenpyō” 覺禪年表. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教芸術, vol. 70, pp. 150–161.
- _____. 1969. “Kakuzen-den no shomondai” 覺禪傳の諸問題. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教芸術, vol. 70, pp. 162–171.
- _____. 1969. “*Kakuzenshō no mikōkan zuzō*” 「覺禪抄」の未公刊図像. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教芸術, vol. 70, pp. 140–149.
- Nasu Seiryū 那須政隆. 1952. “*Butchō sonshō darani kyō no honyaku ni tsuite*” 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經の翻譯について. *Taishō daigaku gakuho* 大正大学報, vol. 38, pp. 13–28.
- _____. 1954. “Sanshu shijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū” 三種悉地破地獄議軌の研究. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku ronshū* 一 Miyamoto Seison *Kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū* 印度學佛學教学論

- 集一宮本正尊還曆記念論文集. Tokyo: Sanshōdō shuppan 三省堂出版, pp. 431–444.
- Nishigori Ryōsuke 錦織亮介. 1971. “*Besson zakki no kenkyū* — sono seiritsu mondai o chūshin to shite” 別尊雜記の研究 — その成立問題を中心にして. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教芸術, vol. 82, pp. 47–67.
- Okada Keishō 岡田契昌. 1931. “*Kongōchō yuga goma giki kaidai*” 金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌解題, *Kongōchō yuga goma giki* 金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌. *Kokuyaku issai kyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyōbu* 密教部, vol. 2, pp. 57–61, 62–73.
- _____. 1931. “*Kongōchōyuga shūshū Birushana sanmaji hō kaidai*” 金剛頂瑜伽修習毗盧遮那三摩地法. *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyōbu* 密教部, vol. 2, pp. 76–77.
- _____. 1931. *Daibiroshanajōbutsushinbenkajikyō ryakuji shichishi nenju zuigyō hō kaidai* 大毗盧遮那神變加持經略示七支念誦隨經行法解題, *Daibiroshanajōbutsu shinbenkajikyō ryakuji shichishi nenju zuigyō hō* 大毗盧遮那神變加持經略示七支念誦隨經行法. *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyōbu* 密教部, vol. 2, pp. 100–101, 102–105.
- _____. 1931. *Tobudaranimoku kaidai* 都部陀羅尼目解題, *Tobudaranimoku* 都部陀羅尼目. *Kokuyaku issai kyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyōbu* 密教部, vol. 2, pp. 57–61, 62–73.
- Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖. 1913. *Sanpon ryōbu mandara shū* 三本兩部曼荼羅集. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 國書刊行會 [reprint 1973].
- _____. 1918. *Mikkyō hattatsu shi* 密教發達史. Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai 佛書刊行會圖像部.
- _____. 1921. “*Besson zakki oyobi sakusha Shinkaku ajari ni tsuite*” 別尊雜記及び作者心覺阿闍梨, *Bukkyōgaku zasshi* 佛教學雜誌, vol. 2/6, pp. 185–187.
- _____. 1922. “*Gobushinkan*” 五部心觀. *Bukkyōgaku zasshi* 佛教學雜誌, vol. 3/8, pp. 661–666.
- Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙. 1913. “*Hieizan Chishō daishi to Engakuji Shūei Sōjō no shōraisheshi Daihi taizō daimandara no kenkyū*” 比叡山智證大師と圓覺寺宗睿僧正の將來せし大悲胎藏大曼荼羅の研究. *Mikkyō* 密教, vol. 3/3, pp. 77–87.
- _____. 1914. “*Hieizan Chishō daishi to Engakuji Shūei Sōjō no shōraisheshi Daihi taizō daimandara no kenkyū*” 叡山智證大師と圓覺寺宗睿僧正の將來せし大悲胎藏大曼荼羅の研究. *Mikkyō* 密教, vol. 4/1, pp. 69–81.
- [Niryōsei 二楞生, Ono Genmyō]. 1916. “*Zuzōshō to Besson zakki (1)*” 圖像抄と別村雜記 (上). *Bussho kenkyū* 佛書研究, vol. 18, pp. 5–8.
- _____. 1916. “*Zuzōshō to Besson zakki (2)*” 圖像抄と別尊雜記 (下ノ一). *Bussho kenkyū* 佛書研究, vol. 19, pp. 4–7.
- _____. 1916. “*Zuzōshō to Besson zakki (3)*” 圖像抄と別尊雜記 (下ノ二). *Bussho kenkyū* 佛書研究, vol. 20, pp. 5–10.
- _____. 1937. *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi* 佛教の美術と歴史. Tokyo: Daizō shuppan kabushiki gaisha 大藏出版社株式会社.
- Onozuka Ikusumi 小野塚幾澄. 1979. “*Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite* — *Jisen mokuroku yori no ikkōsatsu*” 不空の教学について — 自選目錄よりの一考察. *Taishō daigaku daigakuin ronshū* 大正大学大学院論集, vol. 3, pp. 1–33.
- Orlando, Raffaello. 1981. A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra (A.D. 705–774). Ph.D. Princeton University.
- Orzech, Charles D. 1986. “Cosmology in Action: Recursive Cosmology, Soteriology and Authority

- in Chen-yen Buddhism with Special Reference to the Monk Pu-k'ung." Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Chicago, Chicago.
- _____. 1989. "Seeing Chen-yen Buddhism: Traditional Scholarship and the Vajrayāna in China." *History of Religions*, vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 87–114.
- _____. 1995. "The Legend of the Iron Stūpa." *Buddhism in Practice*. Donald Lopez, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 314–317.
- _____. 1996. "Mandalas on the Move: Reflections from Chinese Esoteric Buddhism Circa 800 C.E." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 19/2, pp. 209–244.
- _____. 1998. *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press
- _____. 2006. The "Great Teaching of Yoga," the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism, *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, pp. 29–78.
- _____. 2009. "A Tang Esoteric Manual for Rebirth in the Pure Land: Rites for Contemplation and Offerings to Amitāyus Tathāgata." *Path of No Path: Contemporary Studies in Pure Land Buddhism Honoring Roger Corless*. R. K. Payne, ed. Berkeley: Institute of Buddhist Studies and Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, pp. 31–55
- _____. 2011. "On the Subject of *Abhiṣeka*." *Pacific World. Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*. Third Series, Number 13, pp. 113–128.
- _____. 2011. "Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang: From Atikūṭa to Amoghavajra (651–780)." *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H., Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 263–285.
- _____. 2011. "After Amogavajra: Esoteric Buddhism in the Late Tang." *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H., Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 315–335.
- _____. 2011. "Vajrabodhi (671–741)." *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H., Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 345–350.
- Orzech, Charles, D., Payne, Richard K., Sørensen, Henrik H. 2011. "Introduction: Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia: Some Methodological Considerations." *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H., Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 3–18.
- Orzech, Charles, D. and Sørensen, Henrik, H. 2011. "*Mudrā*, Mantra and Mandala." *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H., Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 76–89.
- Osabe Kazuo 長部和雄. 1964. "Tōdai kōki no junmitsu to Nihonmikkyō" 唐代後期の純密と日本密教. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 67, pp. 1–21.
- _____. 1965. "Tōdaikōki taizōkei mikkyōgaku no niryūha to sanshu shijji hō" 唐代後期胎藏系密教学の二流派と三種悉地法. *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū* 密教学密教史論文集. Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku hen 高野山大学編, pp. 237–254.
- _____. 1966. "Kanyaku sanshu shijji hō no keifu." *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 77–78, pp. 57–78.
- _____. 1971. *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō* 唐代密教史雜考. Kobe: Kobe Shōkodaigaku keizai kenkyūjo 神戸商科大学経済研究所.
- _____. 1978. Daisō chō zō Shikū Daibenshō Kōchi sanzō wajō hyōseishū 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集. *Kokuyaku Issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Gokyōbu* 護教部, vol. 98, pp. 476–

- 604.
- _____. 1982. “Fukū yaku taizōhōki shōkō” 不空訳胎藏法軌小考. *Tōsō mikkyōshi ronkō* 唐宋密教史論考. Kobe: Kobe joshi daigaku tōsai bunka kenkyūjo 神戸女子大学東西文化研究所, pp. 260–270.
- Ōsawa Shōkan 大沢聖寛. 1977. “Hizōki no ikkōsatsu” 秘藏記の一考察, *Taishō daigaku daigakuin kenkyū ronshū*, Sōkangō 大正大学院研究論集創刊号, pp. 95–108.
- _____. 1999. “Hizōki no seiritsu nendai saikō” 秘藏記の成立年代再考, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究, vol. 47/2, pp. 623–627.
- Padoux, André. 1981. “A Survey of Tantric Hinduism for the Historian of Religions.” *History of Religions: an International Journal for Comparative Historical Studies*. University of Chicago, pp. 345–360.
- _____. 1990. “The body in tantric ritual: the case of the mudrās.” *The Sanskrit Tradition and Tantrism*. Teun Goudriaan, ed. Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 66–75.
- Payne, Richard Karl. 1991. *The Tantric Ritual of Japan. Feeding the Gods: The Shingon Fire Ritual*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan.
- Rambelli, Fabio. 1991. “Re-inscribing Maṇḍala: Semiotic Operations on a Word and Its Object.” *Studies in Central & East Asian Religions*, vol. 4, pp. 1–24.
- _____. 2000. “Tantric Buddhism and Chinese Thought in East Asia.” *Tantra in Practice*. David Gordon White, ed. Princeton: Princeton University press, pp. 361–380.
- Reischauer, Edwin. 1955. *Ennin's Diary. The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*. New York: Ronald Press Co.
- Robinet, Isabella. *Taoist Meditation: The Mao-shan Tradition of Great Purity*, Suny series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture, Norman J. Girardot and Julian F. Pas trans. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), pp. 180–185.
- Russell-Smith, Lilla. 2006. “Stars and Planets in Chinese and Central Asian Buddhist Art in the Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries.” *The Worship of Stars in Japanese Religious Practice*. Lucia Dolce, ed. Special Double Issue of *Culture and Cosmos: A Journal of the History of Astrology and Cultural Astronomy*, vol. 10, no. 1 and 2, pp. 99–124.
- Sakai Shirō 酒井紫郎. 1939. “Kongōchō no Daisan e ni tsuite” 金剛頂の第三會について. *Mikkyō kenkyū* 密教研究, vol. 71, pp. 117–147.
- _____. 1950. “Kongōchō Gōzanze daigiki hōkyōchū Kanjizai Bosatsu shinshingon issai nyorai rengo daimandara bon ni tsuite” 金剛頂降三世大儀軌法王教中觀自在菩薩心眞言一切如來蓮華大曼拏羅品に就いて. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 12, pp. 16–22.
- _____. 1951. “Monju Bosatsu no goji juhō ni tsuite” 文殊菩薩の五字咒法に就いて. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 18, pp. 28–37.
- _____. 1952. “Kongōchō yuga goma giki no issetsu ni tsuite” 金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌の一節について. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 19, pp. 1–12.
- _____. 1955. “Kongōchōkyō no daijūsan e ni tsuite” 金剛頂經の第十三會について. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 32, pp. 34–41.
- _____. 1964. “Mikkyōgaku e no Oboegaki” 密教学への覚書. *Mikkyō gakkai hō* 密教学会報. Kōyasan: Koyasan daigaku mikkyō gakkai 高野山大学密教学会, pp. 26–30.
- Sakai Shinten 酒井眞典. 1969. “Hachifukurin mandara ni tsuite” 八輻輪曼荼羅について. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 87, pp. 5–18.

- _____. 1985. Sakai shinten chosakushū. 酒井眞典著作集. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館.
- Sakurai Munenobu 桜井宗信. 1985. “*Vajrasekharatantra no ikkōsatsu*,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究, vol. 34/1, pp. 387–384.
- _____. 1986. “*Vajrasekharatantra no ikkōsatsu*” *Chizan gaku* 智山学報, vol. 35, pp. 37–49.
- Sasaki Susumu 佐々木進. 1985. “Ōmi — AshiuraKannonji no ryōkai mandarazu — Taimitsukeyi ryōkaimandara no issakurei toshite” 近江. 芦浦観音寺の両界曼荼羅図 — 台密系両界曼荼羅の一作例として. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術, vol. 163, pp. 77–78.
- Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研. 19—. “*Rishukyō mandara ni tsuite*” 理趣經曼荼羅について, *Kokka* 国華, vol. 769, pp. 114–126.
- _____. 1942. “Kontaibō Kakuzen zakkō” 金胎房覺禪雜攷, *Mikkyō kenkyū* 密教研究, vol. 82, pp. 32–46.
- _____. 1944. “Kongōbujigaran no sōsō ni tsuite” 金剛峰寺伽藍の草創について. *Mikkyō kenkyū* 密教研究, vol. 88, pp. 1–20.
- _____. 1950. “Heianchō jidai ni yunyū sareta bukkyō eiga” 平安朝時代に輸入された佛教繪畫. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術, vol. 6, pp. 26–38.
- _____. 1969. “Mikkyō ni okeru hyakubyō zuzō no rekishi” 密教における百描圖像の歴史. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術, vol. 70, pp. 1–23.
- _____. 1969. “Mikkyō zuzō no kenkyū — Mikkyō zuzō no tokushitsu oyobi sono bunrui” 密教圖像の研究 — 密教圖像の特質およびその分類. *Mikkyō bijutsu ron* 密教美術論. Kyoto: Seiridō, pp. 127–128.
- _____. 1982. *Hyakubyōzuzō no kenkyū* 百描圖像の研究. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館.
- Scharf, Robert H. 2002. “Esoteric Buddhism in China” (Appendix 1), *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism. A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, pp. 263–344.
- Senba Shōkan 千葉照観. 1989. “Butchōson to butsugen ni kansuru mondai — sono seiritsu wo chūshin toshite” 佛頂尊と佛眼に関する問題 — その成立を中心として, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学佛教学研究, vol. 37/2, pp. 626–629.
- Shibata Kenryū 柴田賢龍. “*Rishukyō to Aizen myō*” 理趣經曼荼羅と愛染明王. Shibata Kenryū mikkyō bunko 柴田賢龍密教文庫 (<http://www.ab.auone-net.jp/~badra20/rishumandara.html>), pp. 1–11.
- Shimizu Zenzō 清水善三. 1969. “*Kakuzenshō ni okeru kakukan no kōsei to sono seiritsu katei*” 「覺禪抄」における各巻の構成とその成立過程, *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術, vol. 70, pp. 101–139.
- Shimizutani Kyōjun 清水谷恭順. 1972. *Tendai mikkyō no seiritsu ni hanasuru kenkyū* 天台密教の成立に関する研究. Tokyo: Bunichi shuppan kabushiki gaisha 文一出版株式会社.
- Snellgrove, David. 1959. “The Notion of Divine Kingship in Tantric Buddhism.” *The Sacred Kingship: Contributions to the Central Theme of the Eighth International Congress for the History of Religions*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 204–218.
- _____. 1987. *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan Successors*. London: Serindia Publications.
- _____. 1988. “Categories of Buddhist Tantras.” *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*. G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti, eds. Serie Orientale Roma, vol. 56, no. 3, pp. 1353–1384.

- Sørensen, Henrik H. 1991–1992. “Typology and Iconography in the Esoteric Buddhist Art of Dunhuang.” *Silk Road and Archaeology* 2. Kamakura: The Institute of Silk Road Studies, pp. 285–349.
- _____. ed. 1994. *The Esoteric Buddhist Tradition*. SBS Monographs 2. Copenhagen: Seminar for Buddhist Studies.
- _____. 2011. “The Apocrypha and Esoteric Buddhism in China.” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H., Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 181–196.
- _____. 2011. “On Esoteric Buddhism in China: A Working Definition.” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H., Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 155–175.
- _____. 2011. “The Presence of Esoteric Buddhist Elements in Chinese Buddhism during the Tang.” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H., Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 294–303.
- Strickmann, Michel. 1983. “Homa in East Asia,” *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*. Frits Staal, ed. 2 vols. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, pp. 418–455.
- Sundberg, Jeffrey and Giebel, Rolf. 2011. “The Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi as Chronicled by Lū Xiang (呂向): South Indian and Śrī Lanḱān Antecedents to the Arrival of Buddhist Vajrayāna in Eighth-century Java and China.” *Pacific World. Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Third Series, vol. 13, pp. 129–222.
- Taga Sōshū 多賀宗集. 1978. *Zakki* 雜記. *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經. *Kaidai* 開題 3. Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, ed. 鈴木學術財団. Tokyo: Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan 鈴木學術財団, vol. 99, pp. 54–55.
- Tajima Tokuon 田島德音. 1933–1939. *Gimon* 疑門. *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 247c–247b.
- _____. 1933–1939. *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* 決三種悉地法. *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 136b-c.
- _____. 1933–1939. *Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi* 教示兩部祕密義. *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 278c-d.
- Takada Osamu 高田修. 1953. “*Gobushinkan no kenkyū* — sono kinyū bongo ni motozuku kōsatsu” 五部心觀の研究 — その記入梵語に基づく考察. *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究, vol. 4, pp. 139–173.
- _____. 1955. “Tōji seikei *Genzu mandara no sōshō*” 東寺正系現図曼荼羅の相承. *Bijutsu geijutsu* 美術藝術, vol. 24, pp. 3–18.
- _____. 1963. “Taimitsu no ryōkai mandara ni tsuite” 台密の兩界曼荼羅について. *Bijutsu shigaku no ronkō* — *Tayama Hōnan Sensei kakō kinen ronshū* 美術史の論考 — 田山方先生南華甲記念論集. Tokyo: Tayama Hōnan Sensei kakō kinen kai 田山方先生南華甲記念会, pp. 612–627.
- _____. 1969. “Jingoji to Takao mandara” 神護寺と高雄曼荼羅. *Bukkyō bijutsushi ronkō* 佛教美術史論考. Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan 中央公論美術出版, pp. 346–368.
- Takagi Shingen 高木神元. 1967. “Kūkai no kai to fuhō ni tsuite” 空海の戒と付法について. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 82, pp. 1–18.
- _____. 1982. “*Goshōrai mokuroku*” 御將來目錄. *Nihon meisō ronshū: Kūkai* 日本名僧論集:

- 空海. Wada Shūjō 和田秀乗 and Takagi Shingen, eds. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan 吉川古文館, vol. 3, pp. 226–243.
- Takahashi Hisao 高橋尚夫. 1982. “*Ryakushutsu nenjūkyō to Vajrodaya — nyū mandara ni tsuite*” 「略出念誦經」と「ヴァジュローダヤ」 — 入マンダラについて. *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū* 密教学研究, vol. 14, pp. 55–78.
- Takai Kankai 高井觀海. 1976. *Mikkyō jisō taikai* 密教事相大系. Kyoto: Fujiisahei 藤井佐兵衛 (originally published 1953).
- Tamura Ryūshō 田村隆照. 1969. “*Zuzōshō seiritsu to naiyō ni kansuru mondai*” 「図像抄」成立と内容に関する問題. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術, vol. 70, pp. 43–52.
- Tanaka Ichimatsu 田中一松. 1988. “*Kongōkai hachijūichi son dai mandara no ikkōsatsu*” 金剛界八十一尊大曼荼羅の一考察. *Kokka* 国華, vol. 674, pp. 117–123, (also published in *Nihon kaigashi ronshū* 日本絵画史論集. Tokyo: Chūōkōron bijutsu shuppan 中央公論美術出版 (1970), pp. 89–99).
- Tanaka Kaiō 田中海應. 1933. “*Sonshō darani shinkōshi kan*” 尊勝陀羅尼信仰史觀. *Taishō daigaku gakuho* 大正大學報, vol. 15, pp. 1–32.
- Tanaka Kimiaki 田中公明. 1981. “*Kongōkai mandara no seiritsu ni tsuite (1)*” 金剛界曼荼羅の成立について. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究, vol. 30, pp. 134–135.
- _____. 1983. “*Kongōkai mandara no seiritsu ni tsuite (3)*” 金剛界曼荼羅の成立について. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究, vol. 31, pp. 615–616.
- _____. 1984. “*Issai butsu shue dakini kaimō tantora to sono mandara ni tsuite*” 「一切仏集會拏吉尼戒網瑜伽タントラ」とその曼荼羅について. *Mikkyō zuzō* 密教図像, vol. 3, pp. 59–71.
- _____. 1987. *Mandara ikonoroji* 曼荼羅イコノロジー. Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha 平川出版社.
- _____. 1989. “*Issaibutsu shūe dakini kaimō yuga shosetsu ‘kūmi’ kō*” 「一切佛集會拏吉尼戒網瑜伽」所説「九味」考. *Tōhō* 東方, vol. 5, pp. 74–84.
- _____. 1992. “*Issaibutsu shūe dakini kaimō yuga shosetsu ‘kūmi’ saikō*” 「一切佛集會拏吉尼戒網瑜伽」所説「九味」再考. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究, vol. 41/1, pp. 402–397.
- _____. 1993. *The Lokeśvarakalpa and the Yi-qie-fo she-xiang-ying da-jiao-wang-jing sheng-guan-zi-zai- pu-sa nian-song yi-gui.* *Bukkyō bunka* 佛教文化, no. 30, pp. 1–24.
- _____. 1994. “*Navarasa Theory in the Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasamvaratantra Reconsidered.*” *Tōhō* 東方, vol. 10, pp. 323–331.
- _____. 2001. “*Taizō Dainichi hachi daibosatsu to hachi daibosatsu mandara no seiritsu to tenkai*” 胎藏大日八大菩薩と八大菩薩曼荼羅の成立と展開. *Mikkyō zuzō* 密教圖像, vol. 20, pp. 1–15.
- _____. 2004. *Ryōkai mandara no tanjō* 兩界曼荼羅の誕生. Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社.
- Tanaka Masayasu 田中正保. 1990. “*Fukū shoden no Kongōchōyugakyō ni tsuite (1)*” 不空所伝の金剛頂瑜伽經について (1). *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究, vol. 39/1, pp. 114–116.
- _____. 1994. “*Fukū shoden no Kongōchōyugakyō ni tsuite (4)*” 不空所伝の金剛頂瑜伽經に

- ついて (4). *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学佛教学研究, vol. 40/2, pp. 868–865.
- Tanaka Yūbun 田中悠文. 1991. “Fukū shoden no *Kongōchōyugakyō* ni tsuite (2) — Kongōchi sanzō shoden no *Kongōchōkyō* ni kansuru ikkōsatsu” 不空所伝の金剛頂 瑜伽經について (2) — 金剛智三藏所伝の金剛頂經に関する一考察. *Chizan gaku* 智山学報, vol. 40, pp. 181–197.
- _____. 1991. “*Rishushaku shosetsu mandara kō*” [理趣積] 所説 [曼荼羅] 考 — 「不空所伝の金剛頂瑜伽について(3). *Mikkyō zuzō* 密教図像, vol. 10, pp. 43–54.
- _____. 1992. “Fukū shoden no *Kongōchō yugakyō* ni tsuite (5) — *Rishushaku seiritsu jijō kanken.*” 不空所伝の「金剛頂瑜伽經」について (5) — 「理趣積」成立事情管見. *Chizan gaku* 智山学報, vol. 41, pp. 73–85.
- ten Grotenhuis, Elizabeth. 1999. *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.
- Todaro, Dale. 1986. “A Study of the Earliest *Garbha Vidhi* of the Shingon Sect.” *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 109–146.
- Toganoō Shōun 桐尾祥雲. 1928. *Rishukyō mandara no kenkyū* 理趣經曼荼羅の研究. *Mikkyō kenkyū* 密教研究, vol. 28, pp. 1–22.
- _____. 1935. *Himitsu no jisō no kenkyū* 祕密事相の研究. Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku shuppanbu 高野山大学出版部.
- _____. 1958. *Mandara no kenkyū* 曼荼羅の研究. *Toganoō Shōun zenshū* 桐尾祥雲全集 4. Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo 高野山大学密教文化研究所 (original publication 1927).
- _____. 1959. *Rishukyō no kenkyū* 理趣經の研究. *Toganoō Shōun zenshū* 桐尾祥雲全集 5. Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo 高野山大学密教文化研究所 (original publication 1930).
- Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館, Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, Hieizan Enryakuji 比叡山延曆寺, eds. 1986. *Hieizan to Tendai no bijutsu: Hieizan kaisō issen nihyaku nen kinen* 比叡山と天台の美術—比叡山開創一、二〇〇年記念. Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, Bijutsu shuppan Design Centre 朝日新聞社, 美術出版デザインセンター.
- Tomishima Yoshiyuki 富島義幸. 2007. *Mikkyō kūkan shiron* 密教空間史論. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, pp. 63–74.
- Tsuboi Tokkō 坪井徳光. 1931. “*Nenju ketsugo hō futsū shobū kaidai*” 念誦結護法普通諸部解題. *Kokuyaki issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyōbu* 密教部, vol. 2, p. 27 (also in *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 8, p. 414).
- Tsuda Shinichi 津田眞一. 1965. “Classification of Tantras in dPal brtsegs’ s ITa baḥi rim pa bśad pa and Its Problems.” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, pp. 402–397.
- _____. 1978. “A Critical Tantrism,” *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 36. Tokyo: Tokyo Press, pp. 167–231.
- _____. 1982. “*Vajrayoṣidbhageṣu vijahāra: Historical Survey from the Beginnings to the Culmination of Tantric Buddhism.*” *Indological and Buddhist Studies: Volume in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*. Australian National University, pp. 595–616.

- Ueda Reijō 上田靈城. 1984a. “Daishi gosaku taizōshidai no kōsatsu (1)” 大師御作胎藏次第の考察. *Mikkyō gakkaihō* 密教学会報, vol. 23, pp. 49–58.
- _____. 1984b. “Daishi gosaku taizōshidai no kōsatsu” 大師御作胎藏次第の考察. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 146, pp. 1–11.
- _____. 1986. *Shingon mikkyō jisō gaisetsu - Shidobu* 真言密教事相概説 一 四度部. Kyōto: Dōmeisha 同明社.
- Vanden Broucke, Pol. 1994. “On the Title and Translator of the *Yujijing* (T.XVIII no. 867).” *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Esoteric Buddhist Culture* 高野山大学密教文化研究所紀要, vol. 7, pp. 212–184.
- _____. 2006. “The Twelve-Armed Deity Daishō Kongō and his Scriptural Sources.” *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*. Richard K. Payne, ed. Boston: Wisdom Publications, pp. 147–277.
- van Kooij, Karel. 1995. “Fabelachtige doeken uit India en Nepal,” *Kunstschrift*, vol. 6, pp. 21–27.
- Wayman, Alex. 1990. *The Buddhist Tantras. Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd. (original publication 1973).
- Weinstein, Stanley. 1987. *Buddhism under the Tang*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1973. “Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism.” *Perspectives on the T'ang*. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 265–306.
- Wheelock, Wade T. 1989. “The Mantra in Vedic and Tantric Ritual.” *Mantra*. Harvey P. Apler, ed. New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 96–122.
- Winfield, Pamela D. 2011. “The Mandala as Metropolis.” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. Leiden: Brill, pp. 719–743.
- Watanabe Shōkō 渡辺照宏 and Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, eds. 1965. *Sangō shiki/Seireishū* 三教指歸/性靈集. *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文學大系, vol. 71. Tokyo: Iwanami shōten 岩波書店, pp. 196–207.
- Yoneda Kōnin 米田弘仁. 1994. “*Hizōki* no seiritsu nendai” 「秘藏記」の成立年代. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 186, pp. 67–93.
- Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏. 1979. *Chūgokumikkyō no kenkyū: Hannya to Sannei no mikkyō rikai wo chūshin toshite* 中国密教の研究 一般若と贊寧の密教理解を中心として. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社.
- _____. 1981. “Mikkyō ni okeru buzoku (kula) no tenkai — tokini sanbu no keisei nitsuite” 密教における部族 (kula) の展開 — とくに三ぶの形成について. *Katsumata Shunkyō Hakushi koki kinen ronshū* — *Daijō bukkyō kara mikkyō e* 勝又 俊教博士古希記念論集 - 大乘佛教から密教へ. Tokyo: Shunshū sha 春秋社, pp. 415–429.
- _____. 1982. “Hachidai bosatsu zō ni tsuite” 八大菩薩像について. *Mikkyō bijutsu no genzō: Indo Orissa chihō no bukkyō iseki* 密教美術の原像 — インド・オリッサ地方の佛教遺蹟. Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研, ed. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, pp. 114–127.
- _____. 1983. “Indo ni genzai suru ryōkaikei mikkyō bijutsu” インドに現在する両界系密教美術. *Bukkyō geijutsu*, 仏教芸術, vol. 150, pp. 131–150.
- _____. 1985. “Bunkenshiryō ni miru Monju Bosatsu no zuzō hyōgen” 文献資料に見る文殊菩薩の圖像表現. *Kumoi Shōzen Hakushi koki kinen — bukkyō to ishūkyō* 雲井昭善博士古稀

- 記念 — 佛教と異宗教. Heirakuji shoten 平楽寺書店, pp. 321–338.
- _____. 1989. “Chishō daishi shōrai no bukkyō zuzō” 智証大師請來の佛教図像. *Chishō daishi kenkyū* 智證大師研究. Kyoto: Dōhōsha 同胞社, pp. 489–516.
- _____. 1990. *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū* 密教佛の研究. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館.
- _____. 1990. “Kongō kanjō tantora no shibutsu hachibosatsu setsu” 金剛灌頂タントラの四佛八菩薩説. *Nakao Shunpaku Sensei koki kinen — Bukkyō to shakai* 仲尾俊博先生古稀記念 — 佛教と社會. Tokyo: Nagata bunshōdō 永田文昌堂, pp. 161–180.
- _____. 1992. “Mandara to hachidai bosatsu” マンダラと八大菩薩. *Nihon bukkyō gakkai nenpō* 日本佛教學會年報, vol. 57, pp. 251–267.
- _____. 1992. “Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō — tokuni *Rishukyō mandara* o chūshin toshite” 宗叡請來の密教圖像 — とくに理趣經曼荼羅を中心として. *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō* 成田山佛教研究所紀要, vol. 15, pp. 495–539.
- Yoritomi Motohiro and Shimoizumi Zengyo 頼富本宏 .下泉全暁. 1994. *Mikkyō butszō zuten* 密教仏像図典. Kyoto: Jinbunshoin 人文書院.
- Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊. 1964. “*Gorin kyūji hiyaku to Dōkyō gozō kan*” 五輪九字秘釈と道教五藏觀. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, vol. 69–70, pp. 77–97.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIQUJING SHIBAHUI MANTULUO 理趣經十八會曼荼羅

Collection of Daigoji, Kyoto.

Published in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō* (hereafter, *T. Zuzō*), vol. 5, 3044.

- Fig. 1. *Darizun liqahui* 大日尊理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Venerable Mahāvairovana). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044 p. 776, No. 1.
- Fig. 2. *Jingangsaduo liqahui* 金剛薩埵理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vajrasattva). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 777, No. 2.
- Fig. 3. *Darizun liqahui* 大日尊理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of the Venerable Mahāvairocana). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 778, No. 3.
- Fig. 4. *Jiansanshi liqahui* 降三世理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Trailokyavijaya). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779, No. 4.
- Fig. 5. *Wenshushili liqahui* 文殊師利理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783, No. 8.
- Fig. 6. *Wubu juhui* 五部具會 (Assembly of the Five Families). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 792, No. 17.
- Fig. 7. *Wubimi hui* 五祕密會 (Assembly of the Five Mysteries). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 793, No. 18.
- Fig. 8. *Foyan mantuluo* 佛眼曼荼羅 (Buddhalocanā Mandala). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 795, No. 20.
- Fig. 9. *Dafoding mantuluo* 大佛頂曼荼羅 (Mandala of Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 796, No. 21.
- Fig. 10. *Airan mingwang* 愛染明王 (Rāgavidhyārāja). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 797, No. 22.

TANGBEN LIQUJING MANTULUO 唐本理趣經曼陀羅Published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239.

- Fig. 11. *Piluzhena mantuluo* 毘盧遮那壇 (Vairocana's Mandala). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 956, No. 3.
- Fig. 12. *Cishi disan daojingzhong shuo* 此是第三道經中說 (“This is the third [mandala] expounded in the Scripture of the path [of guiding principles]”). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 971, No. 18.
- Fig. 13. *Shijie Jiansanshi tan* 釋迦降三世壇 (Śākya-Trailokyavijaya Mandala). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 958, No. 5.
- Fig. 14. *Jingang Wenshushili Tongzhen tan* 金剛文殊利師童真壇 (Mandala of Kumāra Vajra-Mañjuśrī). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 962, No. 9.

GENKAKU'S SEED LETTER VERSION OF THE *LIQUJING MANTULUO* IN KANCHI'IN

Published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046.

- Fig. 15. *Kongōsatta mandara* 金剛薩埵曼荼羅 (Vajrasattva Mandala). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 20, No. 2.
- Fig. 16. *Gōzanze mandara* 降三世曼荼羅 (Trailokyavijaya Mandala). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 822, No. 4.
- Fig. 17. *Gohimitsu e mandara* 五祕密會曼荼羅 (Mandala of the Assembly of the Five Mysteries). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 836, No. 19.
- Fig. 18. *Dainichison mandara* 大日尊曼荼羅 (Mandala of Venerable Mahāvairocana). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 837, No. 20 and Colophon.

SHINKAKU'S *RISHUKYŌ DANDAN INMYŌ SHŪ*

Housed in the Tatchūgura collection 塔中藏 at Ninnaji.
Reference number in the Nara Bunkazai kenkyūjo catalogue is
box 33, number 145 of this collection.

- Fig. 19. Shinkaku no. 1. Stages One *Vajrasattva shoshūe* 金剛薩埵初集會 (First Assembly of Vajrasattva) and Two *Birushana rishue* 毗盧遮那理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vairocana).
- Fig. 20. Shinkaku no. 2. Stages Two *Birushana rishue* (con't.), Three *Gōzanze ri sandoku* 降三世離三毒 (Trailokyavijaya [and] Release from the Three Poisons), and Four *Kanjizai bosatsu* 觀自在菩薩 (Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara).
- Fig. 21. Shinkaku no. 8. Stages Fourteen *Sankeitei* (con't.), Fifteen *Shishimai nyo* 四姊妹女 (Four Sister Goddesses), Sixteen *Gobu mandara* 五部万ダラ (Mandala of the Five Families) and Seventeen *Kongōsatta gohimitsu* 金剛薩埵五祕密 (Vajrasattva Five Mysteries).
- Fig. 22. Shinkaku no. 9. Stage Seventeen *Kongōsatta gohimitsu* (con't.) and Colophon.

KŌZEN'S VERSION OF THE *LIQUJING MANTULUO* IN SCROLL 29 OF THE *KAKUZENSHŌ*

T. Zuzō, vol. 4, 3022 and *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 46, pp. 270–287.

- Fig. 23. *Rishukyō mandara* 理趣經曼荼羅. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 713, No. 90.
- Fig. 24. *Kongōsatta rishue* 金剛薩埵理趣會 (Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vajrasattva, 2). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 715, No. 91.

Fig. 25. *Gohimitsu e* 五祕密會 (Assembly of the Five Mysteries, 18). *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, p. 724, No. 107.

DŌHŌ'S VERSION OF THE LIQUJING MANTULUO IN HIS RISHUKYŌ HIKETSUSHŌ

Published in *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經, vol. 9,
Rishukyō shaku shōsho 理趣經釋章疏, pp. 61–140.

Fig. 26. *Hōtō* 寶塔 (Jeweled Stūpa). *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 72b.

Fig. 27. *Hachiyō kyūson* 八葉九尊 (Nine Venerables [seated] upon an Eight-Petaled Lotus Flower). *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 73b.

Fig. 28a. *Rishukyō sō mandara zu* 理趣經總曼荼羅圖 (Diagram of Summarizing Mandala of the *Rishukyō*). *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 139a.

Fig. 28b. *Rishukyō sō mandara zu* 理趣經總曼荼羅圖 (Diagram of Summarizing Mandala of the *Rishukyō*). *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 139b.

IHŌ'S RISHUKYŌ JŪSHICHIDAN JŪHACHI SHUHŌMANDARA SHOSETSU FUDŌKI

Published in the *Toganoo Korekushon Kenmitsu Tenseki Monjo Shūsei*, vol 12
Siddham Maṇḍalas (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1981), pp. 222–276.

Fig. 29a. *Kongō wo shissuru kurai soku Gohimitsu* 執金剛位即五祕密 南院本 (The stage of the Holder of the Vajra is, namely, the Five Mysteries [from] the Nan'in Book). *Shuhōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 274.

Fig. 29b. *Gohimitsu mandara* 五祕密曼荼羅 道寶 (Dōhō's Five Mysteries Mandala). *Shuhōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 275.

SHINKAI'S VERSION OF THE LIQUJING MANTULUO IN FUDARAKU'IN

Published in Toganoo Shōun, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*
(Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku shuppan, 1930/1959).

Fig. 30. Rāgarāja. Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, plate 2.

Fig. 31. Vajrasattva Mandala (2). Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, plate 15.

Fig. 32. Trailokyavijaya Mandala (4). Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, plate 22.

FIGURES IN FAQUAN'S *XUANFASI YIGUI* AND *QINGLONGSI YIGUI*

Published in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō (T.)*, vol. 18.

- Fig. 33. Hall of Avalokiteśvara. Diagram after *T.18.853*, p. 153 and Ishida Hisatōyō, *Mandara no kenkyū*, p. 101.
- Fig. 34. Hall of Ākāśagarbha. Diagram after *T.18.852*, pp. 117–118 and Ishida Hisatōyō, *Mandara no kenkyū*, p. 104–105.