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

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ENDNOTES

Introduction

¹ The full title of the scripture is *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmoye jing* 大樂金剛不空眞實三麼耶經 and it is published in T.8.243:784a-786b. Hereafter I refer to it as the *Liqujing*.

² The full title of this commentary is *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmoye jing banro boluomiduo liqu chu* 大樂金剛不空眞實三昧耶經般若波羅密多理趣釋 and it is published in T.19.1003:607a-617b. Hereafter I refer to it as the *Liqushi*.

³ See T.52.2120:839a29, 840a1, a2, 839c12-15. Amoghavajra's second commentary is the *Banro boluomiduo liqu jing dale bukong sanmei tianshi Jingangsaduo pusadeng shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* 般若波羅蜜多理趣經大樂不空三昧眞實金剛薩埵菩薩等十七聖大曼荼羅義述 (hereafter, the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*) and is published in T.19.1004.

⁴ Amoghavajra's Indian source text has been dated to the seventh century and is regarded as one of the earliest of the yoga tantras. See Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō: The Sino-Japanese Tantric Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses (Amoghavajra's Version)*, Buddhica Britannica Series Continua III (Tring, UK: Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1991), p. 11.

⁵ Also called the four seals 四印, this method of identification with deities is seen in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.18.865), Amoghavajra's reference source for his *Liqujing* and *Liqushi*. See Chapter Four.

⁶ I have used the English translation "Adamantine Crown" for the Sanskrit term Vajroṣṇīṣa. See Ronald M. Davidson ("Sources and Inspirations: Esoteric Buddhism in South Asia," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 19-24, esp. p. 24) and Giebel ("The Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui cih-kuei: An Annotated Translation," *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō* [Naritasan: Shinshōji, 1995], vol. 18, pp. 107-210, esp. p. 109) who suggest that the term has been mis-rendered in Japanese literature as Vajraśekhara/śikhara 金剛頂. Giebel refers us to Kūkai's *Kongōchōkyō kaidai* 金剛頂經開題 (T.61.2221:2b11-15), where he records the work's title in the *siddham* script as *vajra-uṣṇīṣa*, and to Haiyun's 海雲 *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* 兩部大法相承師資付法記 (T.51.2081:784b23), wherein he equates this work to the head of the human body and so its teachings are supreme among all the methods of the Great Vehicle.

⁷ See Amoghavajra's translation of a part of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.18.865), which is the First Assembly of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. This system is documented in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* 金剛頂瑜伽十八會指歸 (Guide to the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown), which is published as the *Jingangding jing yuqie shibahui zhigui* 金剛頂經瑜伽十八會指歸 (T.18.869). Both works are recorded in the list of translations and compositions (T.2120:839a28, b14) that Amoghavajra presented to the Chinese emperor in 771. I discuss Amoghavajra's memorial, his translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* in Chapter Four.

⁸ Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* and a manual for the rite of the Five Mysteries (T.20.1125) were fundamental to Kūkai's construction of the doctrine of "becoming a buddha in this very body" 即身成仏 (*sokushin jōbutsu*), which he promotes in his *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* 即身成仏義 (Meaning of Becoming a Buddha in This Very Body). See this work in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 514-515 and compare T.19.1003:609a18-20 (four wisdom seals), 610a9-14 (four types of mandalas) and T.20.1125:535b26-c16 (empowerment of Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva and the Five Mysteries).

⁹ The *Liqujing* and its commentaries and ritual manuals are listed in Kūkai's *Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku* 眞言宗所學經律論目錄 (Catalogue of Scriptures, Precepts and Treatises for Those Who Study the

Shingon Doctrine), a reading list for monks of his lineage. See *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 105-123, esp. pp. 106, 107, 110.

¹⁰ The Chinese original of the mandalas from which Shūei's copy derived does not survive.

¹¹ Japanese scholarship is vast. I present the views and works of these scholars in the chapters of this study, as well as in Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission.

¹² See Chapter Three of this dissertation.

¹³ See Osabe Kazuo, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō* (Kobe: Kobe Shōkadoigaku keizai kenkyūjo, 1971) and Ishida Hisatōyō, *Mandara no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu, 1975), for example.

¹⁴ Examples are the Ishiyamadera exemplar of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* and the template of the *Jingangding jiuhui mantuluo* 金剛頂九會曼荼羅 (Mandala of Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm, also known in the Shingon school as the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* 現圖金剛界曼荼羅), which includes the *Liquhui*.

¹⁵ See Orzech, "Seeing Chen-yen Buddhism: Traditional Scholarship and the Vajrayāna in China," *History of Religions*, vol. 29, No. 2 (1989), pp. 87-114, and *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of National Protection Buddhism* (State College, Pennsylvania: the Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Sharf, Appendix 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), pp. 264-278, esp. pp. 277-278.

¹⁶ See Orzech, The "Great Teaching of Yoga," the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism, *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, pp. 29-78.

¹⁷ See Chapter Four.

¹⁸ See Chapter Four.

¹⁹ See Misaki, *Taimitsu no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988), which contains his studies on this topic from 1962 onwards; Orzech, "Seeing Chen-yen Buddhism," *History of Religions*, vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 87-101; Jinhua Chen, *Crossfire: Shingon-Tendai Strife as Seen in Two Twelfth-century Polemics, with Special References to Their Background in Tang China*. Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series XXV (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2010).

²⁰ Kōda Yūun, "Keikawajō igo no mikkyō sōtachi," *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyōbunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 15 (2002), pp. 29-62, esp. pp. 38-39 reckons Faquan's dates as 800-870. I presented an initial study of Faquan's transmission in "Faquan's Transmission of the *Susiddhi* Category of the Esoteric Buddhist Teachings," *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies*, vol. 8 (2004), pp. 280-232.

²¹ *Rishukyō no kenkyū* 理趣經の研究 (Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku shuppanbu, 1930, 1959).

²² *Himitsu kyoten: Rishukyō* (Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1982), p. 13.

²³ Hatta, op. cit., pp. 336-352 presents the contents of the scripture and its commentary (teachings and mandalas) in chart form. See especially p. 345 for the reference system he uses for his explanations of the charts. These are a variation of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界マンダラの変形, the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*) 初会金剛頂經 (Dānapāla's Song Dynasty translation, T.18.882), and a completed form of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界大マンダラの完成.

²⁴ See endnote 4. Hereafter, *The Rishukyō*.

²⁵ In Chapter One, I document Amoghavajra's use of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s system in his *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* and in Chapter Four, I demonstrate that he consulted other assemblies of this new yoga system.

²⁶ T.243:784b15-19, 786b1-3, T.1003:609b6-9, 611a19-21, 617a26-28.

²⁷ See Chapter One.

²⁸ T.55.2176.

²⁹ These works are published in T.18.867 and T.19.973.

³⁰ See Rolf W. Giebel's statement (*Two Esoteric Sutras* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research (2001), p. 7, which is also in his "The Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui cih-kuei: An Annotated Translation" *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 18, (1995), pp. 112-113) that Amoghavajra's translation conforms closely with the corresponding portion of the Sanskrit text, as well as the later Tibetan and Chinese translations of the complete text.

³¹ I thank Iyanaga Nobumi for the idea of a chart, and for creating an empty chart for me to fill.

³² See, for example, Horiuchi Kanjin, "Shōe Kongōchō shosetsu no kyōshū ni tsuite," *Katsumata Shunkō hakushi koki kinen ronshū — Daijō bukkyō kara mikkyō e* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1981), pp. 301-315 and Yoritomi Motohiro, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), pp. 188-189.

Chapter One: The *Liqushi* and the *Liqujing Mantuluo*

¹For a description of Shūei's travel route in China, see his biographies in *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳, 7 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書, vol. 102, p. 131; *Shingonden* 眞言傳, 3 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 160; and Ōmura Seigai, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi* (Tokyo, 1918), pp. 868-869. For more sources on Shūei's biography, see Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 2213b and *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 852a.

² Called the *Tangben Liqujing mantuluo* 唐本理趣經曼荼羅 (The Tang Version of the Mandalas of the Guiding Principle Scripture), the work is illustrated in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō* 大正新修大藏經圖藏 (hereafter, *T. Zuzō*), vol. 12, no. 3239, pp. 954-971.

³ The Daigoji version, which is titled *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* 理趣經十八會曼荼羅 (Mandalas of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Guiding Principle Scripture) is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3044, pp. 776-798. For the date of this copy, see Ono Genmyō, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* (Tokyo, 1968-1978), vol. 11, p. 187a.

⁴ I have examined such late Heian and Kamakura period ritual compilations as the *Zuzōshō* 圖像抄 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006), *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007), *Mandarashū* 曼荼羅集 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3018), *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 (*T. Zuzō*, vols. 4 and 5 no. 3022) and the *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄 (*T. Zuzō*, vols. 8 and 9, no. 3190).

⁵ For details of this discovery, see Ono Genmyō, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, (Tokyo, 1937), p. 73, wherein he reports that this discovery took place in January of 1934 昭和九年 (Shōwa 9). This explains why this important document was totally ignored from the time of its introduction in 865 until the 1930s. The Ishiyamadera set was published for the first time in 1934 in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, no. 3239. Other examples of the *Liqujing* set of mandalas were published in 1933 in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5.

⁶ Toganoo Shōun, *Rishukyō no kenkyū* (Kōyasan, 1930/1959) would not have known of the Ishiyamadera exemplar. See Hatta Yukio, *Himitsu kyōten: Rishukyō* (Tokyo, 1982), pp. 13-17, who did not include the Ishiyamadera exemplar in the list of *Liqujing mantuluo* that he examined. Ono Genmyō, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, pp. 729-730, who did not publish in any detail his examination of these mandalas, conjectured that a master after Amoghavajra translated a Sanskrit work and paired these images with this as yet unknown text. Fukuda Ryōsei examined only two mandalas. He records in "Rishukyō mandara ni tsuite—toku ni Gohimitsu mandara wo chūshin ni" 理趣經曼荼羅について——特

¹² Vajrapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha, Vajramuṣṭi, Mañjuśrī, Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, Gaganagañja and Sarvamāra-pramardin.

¹³ 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經 (*The Adamantine Pinnacle: Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas and the Realization of the Great Vehicle, Being the Scripture of the Great King of Teachings*), published in T.18.865:207a10-24. See Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 77 and Horiuchi Kanjin, “Kongōchōkyō no sessō,” *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 11 (1976), pp. 67-122), esp. pp. 71-72. For an English translation of Amoghavajra’s text, see Rolf W. Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2001, pp. 5-107,) esp. 19-20.

I give Giebel’s English translation for the title of this work.

¹⁴ Amoghavajra places the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Liqujing* first and second, respectively, in a list of translations and compositions that he presented in a memorial to the Chinese Emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762-779) in 771 (T.52.2120:839a28-29). This indicates the importance of these two texts in his transmission, and emphasizes their close doctrinal relationship. This memorial is part of a larger collection of memorials, the *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biao zhiji* 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集 (T.52.2120), which date from the years 757 to 781 and which Amoghavajra presented to three successive Chinese emperors. Amoghavajra’s disciple, the monk Yuanzhao 圓照 (719-800) was the compiler of this collection. The list of translations and compositions is found on T.52.2120:839a28-840a11 and a translation of the memorial is found in Orlando Raffaello, *A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra (A.D. 705-774)* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1981), pp. 67-71.

¹⁵ The teachings of the *Liqujing* belong to the earlier *Prajñāpāramitā* tradition, but influences from Indian Esoteric Buddhism can be seen in a Chinese translation of this text made by Bodhiruci sometime between 693-727. For the “esoterizing” of this text, see discussions throughout Toganoo’s *Rishukyō no kenkyū* and Fukuda, *Rishukō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 21-27. In Chapter Four of this dissertation, I discuss Amoghavajra’s *Liqujing* and *Liquishi* and their relationship with the textual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

¹⁶ Amoghavajra presents the contents of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown in the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* 金剛頂瑜伽十八會指歸 (T.18.869). This work is recorded in the list of translations and compositions (T.2120:839b14) that Amoghavajra presented to the Chinese Emperor in 771. See the *Jingangding jing yuqie shibahui zhigui* and Rolf W. Giebel, “The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch’ieh shih-pa-hui chik-kuei*: An Annotated Translation,” *Naritasan Bukkyō Kenkyūjo Kiyō* (Journal of the Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies), vol. 18 (1995), pp. 107-202.

¹⁷ Chapter of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界品. See T.869:284c18-285a14.

¹⁸ In this heaven, where form has become so rarefied that it is almost imperceptible and its inhabitants have no desires, Mahāvairocana’s appearance has yet to be actualized so that it can be perceived by practitioners. According to Tsuda Shinichi’s discussion of the significance of the setting and the theme of this text (“A Critical Tantrism,” *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 36 (1978), pp. 176-231, esp. pp. 197-208), in this heaven Mahāvairocana has an incorporeal form that will become concretized in our world of Jambūdvīpa through Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi’s practice of a new, quick and easy method of attaining enlightenment. That is, Sarvārthasiddhi attains enlightenment in five quick steps 五相成身觀 and, as Tathāgata Vajradhātu (Mahāvairocana) displays to sentient beings an absolute reality in the form of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The text provides rites and rules that enable the practitioner to access this ultimate reality.

The Akaniṣṭha Heaven is the eighteenth heaven of the realm of form, beyond which lies the four heavens of the realm of formlessness. The Buddhist cosmological system of the realms of desire, form and formlessness is actually the stages of contemplation that the practitioner passes through until all desire, perception and thought cease. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 1742 (*shikikukyōten* 色究竟天) and vol. 3, pp. 3467-8 (*takejizaiten* 他化自在天), W. Randolph Kloetzli, *Buddhist Cosmology. The Science and Theology in the Images of Motion and Light* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers PVT. LTD, 1989), especially pp. 23-50.

¹⁹ The practitioner's five kinds of desires 五欲 undergo changes as he progresses through the six heavens that constitute the realm of desire. The Paranirmita-vaśavartin Heaven is the sixth of this realm's six heavens, and here bodhisattvas, who have attained the sixth of the ten stages required in their progress to buddhahood, reside in the contemplation of the perfection of wisdom, which they teach to the inhabitants of this heaven. See *T.1003:607c3-6*. For a thorough discussion of the significance of the setting, see Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 89-91 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 56-63.

²⁰ In the Paranirmita-vaśavartin Heaven (*T.1003:607c6-9*) Buddha Mahāvairocana becomes Vajrasattva and expounds “the guiding principle on the yoga of empowerment and manifestation of great bliss and great taints of passions” 大樂大貪染加持現證瑜伽理趣 that will enable the practitioner to transcend the realm of Māra 魔羅之境. The king, or ruler, of this heaven is Māra, who presides over the realm of desire.

²¹ This group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas appears in all the Chinese translations of the texts that constitute the lineage of the *Liqujing*, beginning with that of the monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664), which was done some time between 660 and 663 (see Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 28) and which forms a part of his larger translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* (*T.7.220:986a26-991b8*). Moreover, according to Amoghavajra (*T.869:286b9-16*), this group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas and their mandalas and rites are the theme of the Fourth Assembly of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown (see Iyanaga Nobumi's French translation in his “Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya,” M. Strickmann ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, III, [Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, XXII] Bruxelles, 1985, p. 663-664). I discuss the contents of the Fourth Assembly in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

²² There are other groups of Eight Great Bodhisattvas who form the focus of mandalas. See, for example, Amoghavajra's ritual manual *Ba dapusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼荼羅經 (*T.20.1167*). For secondary studies on the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, see Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten, vol. 5, pp. 4218-9, Yoritomi Motohiro, “Hachidai bosatsu zō ni tsuite” in Sawa Ryūken, ed., *Mikkyō bijutsu no genzō: Indo Orissa chihō no bukkyō iseki* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982), pp. 114-127, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), pp. 607-622 (“Indo no hachi daibosatsu” インドの八大菩薩) and pp. 622-632 (“Chibetto no hachi daibosatsu” チベットの八大菩薩), “Kongō kanjō tantora no shibutsu hachibosatsu setsu” in Nakao Shunpaku Sensei koki kinen: *Bukkyō to shakai* (Tokyo: Nagata bunshōdō, 1990), pp. 161-180, “Mandara to hachidai bosatsu” マンダラと八大菩薩, *Nihon bukkyō gakkai nenpō*, vol. 57 (1992), pp. 251-267, and Tanaka Kimiaki, “Kongōkai mandara no seiritsu ni tsuite (1),” *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 30, pp. 134-5, “Taizō Dainichi hachi daibosatsu to hachi daibosatsu mandara no seiritsu to tenkai,” *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 20 (December 2001), pp. 1-15 (L) and *Ryōkai mandara no tanjō* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2004), pp. 66-89 and 150-164.

²³ The *Liquishi* states that (*T.1003:607c9-14*):

This palace [in the Heaven of Paranirmita-vaśavartin] is the great mandala (*mahā-maṇḍala*) of Vajrasattva[, who represents] great bliss and effectiveness, and all issues from the [source of the] good fortune and merits of Buddha [Mahā]vairocana. It is a jeweled multistoried pavilion [with] an adamantine pinnacle composed of five adamantine gems of great magnificence. This mandala is four-sided and [has] eight pillars [that are linked to] the eight positions [of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas], and [there are] four gates. In the central position is [Mahā]vairocana, the Tathāgata who is the universally illuminating one. [He] is the liberator [possessing] the wisdom of inner realization. As for the eight positions, I shall explain them after [the following quotation from the text].

My translation differs slightly from Ian Astley's, which is in “An Annotated Translation of Amoghavajra's Commentary on the *Liqu jing* (*Rishukyō*) — Part I,” *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, vol. 7 (1994), pp. 27-53, esp. p. 35.

²⁴ *T.865:217a3-8, 215a7, 216a6-7, a17-18, a29-b1*.

²⁵ These four “wheels” are the titles of the four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

²⁶ See *Liqushi* 1, T.1003:607c20-608a29. Compare Astley’s translation of this section of the text in his “An Annotated Translation of Amoghavajra’s Commentary on the *Liqujing* (*Rishukyō*) — Part I,” pp. 35-7.

²⁷ For example, Mañjuśrī symbolizes the sword of the perfect wisdom of the Tathāgatas and so perhaps he would hold a sword. Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, the “One Who Turns the Wheel of Dharma as Soon as He Has Produced the Mind of *Bodhi*,” as the meaning of his name implies, sets the wheel of the teaching in motion and so perhaps he would hold a wheel in his hands. In order to frighten and subdue those beings who are difficult to convert to the Buddha’s path, Sarvamāra-pramardin, “the Destroyer of All Māras,” would most likely be wrathful in appearance. But what clue might the mandala-maker follow to depict Gaganagañja Bodhisattva, who symbolizes the vast offerings of all the Tathāgatas, for instance?

²⁸ There is in the *Liqujing* the same principle of manifestation from Mahāvairocana that is seen in the first chapter of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. The buddhas and bodhisattvas have no concrete reality outside of Mahāvairocana’s *samādhi*, from which they are produced. Rather, they represent the contents of Mahāvairocana’s wisdom. See Horiuchi, “Sanjūshichi son shutsudan no shishu kanjō ni tsuite,” *Okuda Jiō Sensei kiju kinen. Bukkyō shisō ronshū* (Tokyo: Heirakuji shoten, 1976) pp. 1017-1030, as well as his “Shōe Kongōchōkyō shosetsu no shoson ni tsuite (3). Shi-haramitsu,” *Nasu Seiryū Hakushi beiji kinen. Bukkyō shisō ronshū* (Narita: Narita-san Shinshō-ji, 1984), pp. 160-177, Kambayashi Ryūjō, “*Ryakujutsu Kongōchō yuga bunbetsu shōi shūshō hōmon kaidai*,” *Kokuyaku issaikyō, Mikkyō-bu*, vol. 3, pp. 29-30 and Yoritomo Motohiro, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, pp. 188-205, especially pp. 188-190.

See also the passage in the *Liqushi* (T.1003:609b28-c2, T.865:208b13-c24, esp. c17-21) where Amoghavajra refers to this method of generation of the deities of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. Here he explains Vajrapāṇi (in fact Bodhisattva Samantabhadra) who, upon receiving from Tathtāgata Mahāvairocana the esoteric unction (*abhiṣeka*) and the *vajra* in both his hands (T.1003:609c1), was given the name Vajrapāṇi.

²⁹ The details given in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* on how the Buddha Mahāvairocana’s states of meditative concentrations generate the deities of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, examples of which I give in endnotes 30 and 31 below, demonstrate both that the *Liqushi* does indeed refer to the figures in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, and that the information in the latter text is still insufficient to allow the iconographic depiction of the figures in the mandalas in question.

³⁰ This transformation is the result of Mahāvairocana’s entering a meditative concentration (*samādhi*) wherein there emerges from his heart the mantra *vajradharma*. Mahāvairocana then transforms himself into a multitude of lotus flowers that condense into a single adamantine lotus flower. From this flower emerge myriads of bodies of tathāgatas who combine to form the anthropomorphic figure of Avalokiteśvara. In a second meditative concentration Mahāvairocana confers upon Avalokiteśvara this lotus flower, a symbol of the inherent purity and equality of all elements of reality. As Mahāvairocana places this flower in both of the Bodhisattva’s hands, All the Tathāgatas consecrate him with the adamantine name of Vajranetra (Adamantine Eye). Avalokiteśvara then holds this lotus as though to open its petals. See T.865:211a9-b6 and Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*, The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra, pp. 39-40. This process of meditative concentration, generating first the mantra or the seed syllable, then the symbolic (*samaya*) form, then finally the image of the Venerable, serves as the foundation of the esoteric visualization practice, whereby the practitioner is assimilated into Buddha Mahāvairocana.

³¹ The sequence of transformations from mantra to symbolic and finally to anthropomorphic form remains unchanged. The process begins with Mahāvairocana’s heart mantra *vajratkṣya* 金剛利 (adamantine acuity), progresses through Mahāvairocana’s manifesting himself as numerous swords that consolidate into one adamantine sword from which appear innumerable tathāgatas who merge into the figure of Mañjuśrī. Mahāvairocana then confers upon Mañjuśrī this adamantine sword as a symbol of the perfect wisdom of All the Tathāgatas, placing it in both his hands, as he is consecrated by All the Tathāgatas with the adamantine name of Vajrabuddhi 金剛慧 (Adamantine Sapience). See T.865:211b10-c5 and Giebel, *ibid*, pp. 40-42.

³² An examination of Amoghavajra’s reference system, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, shows us that a mandala-maker would be confronted with the same problem there: there is a lack of precise instructions for the anthropomorphic depictions of the figures of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The mandala-maker might

find some information concerning the figures' hand gestures and attributes in the text's section on the four kinds of knowledge-seals 四智印. These seals represent the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas from the four modalities of body, mind, speech and activities and are expressed in four specific types of mandalas. For example, according to *Liqushi* 1 (*T.1003:610a9-15*), the deities in their anthropomorphic forms 本形 constitute a great 大 (*mahā*) mandala, their attributes 標幟, which symbolize their vows, form a symbolic (*samaya*) mandala, their special letters 種子 (*bīja*) compose a seed letter (*dharma*) mandala and their casted forms an action (*karma*) mandala. Although the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* specifies for most of the deities their symbolic forms (for example, an arrow, a banner, a sword, a suit of armor), its instructions are cryptic and cannot be used as a manual that stipulates the physical characteristics of the deities. Moreover, Amoghavajra further explicates Mahāvairocana's manifestation of the thirty-six figures in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in his *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuzheng famen* 略述金剛頂瑜伽分別聖位修證法門 (Gateway to Methods for Realization and Practice of the Sacred Positions Differentiated in [the mandala] Abridged from the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, *T.18.870*), a work that he included in the list of translations and compositions (*T.2120:839b15*) that he presented to the Chinese Emperor in 771. Again, we learn from this work (*T.18.870:288c19-290a1*), a short commentary on the significance of the figures in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, the concepts that the figures embody, their symbolic forms, and their positions in this mandalic reality. But, as was the case with the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, there is not enough information provided in this text to accurately draw the figures of this mandala.

³³ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 956. The order of the Ishiyamadera mandalas has not been published correctly in the *Taishō Zuzōbu*. See my chart in the Introduction's Conventions. The Five Mysteries Mandala is represented first but it should be placed last in the series. The opening mandala is presented as the third in this set. See the discussion and the correction of the order in the articles by Fukuda Ryōsei, "Ishiyamadera zō Tōhon *Rishukyō mandara no kentō*," *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 431-439 and by Yoritomi Motohiro, "Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō," *Bukkyō bunka shiron shū* 1, p. 20.

³⁴ For example, Gaganagañja is referred to as Adamantine Storehouse 金剛庫 and Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin as Adamantine Mere Generation 金剛纒發.

³⁵ The rotation of the positions of the Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī, Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, Gaganagañja and Sarvamāra-pramardin, and of the Offering and Gate Bodhisattvas points to a copyist's error. A rotation of positions occurs systematically in all the mandalas of the Ishiyamadera set.

³⁶ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 776, No. 1.

³⁷ Visual traditions that date after Amoghavajra's time, in particular the set of mandalas known in the Shingon school as the *Genzu mandara* 現圖曼荼羅, rather than the *Liqushi* and its references, serve as the iconographic sources for the figures in the Daigoji's opening mandala, as I will demonstrate in Chapter Three.

³⁸ See *T.243:784b11-19*, *T.1003:609a16-b9* and *T. 243:784b26-c1* and *T.1003:610b6-21*. For a discussion of the teachings and practice presented in *Liqujing* 2, see Togano, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 146-154, Hata, *Himitsu kyōten*, pp. 92-101 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 122 (translation)-131, esp. pp. 124-125 for a discussion of the term *abhisambodhi* 現等覺.

³⁹ The four yogic practices are those of the great perfect mirror of wisdom 大圓鏡智 (*adarśa-jñāna*), the wisdom of equality 平等性智 (*samatā-jñāna*), the wisdom of wondrous perception 妙觀察智 (*pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna*) and the wisdom of accomplishing actions 成所作智 (*kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna*). Amoghavajra assigns to each yogic meditation one of the Yogacāra school's level of consciousness. See *T.1003:610b6-21* and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 122, 126-128. The practice of these yogas of wisdom purifies a particular level of consciousness; that of the great perfect mirror of wisdom purifies the eighth level, the storehouse consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*), the underlying substratum of mind; that of the wisdom of equality the seventh consciousness (*manas*), which contains the false idea of self and other; that of the wisdom of wondrous perception the sixth level, the consciousness of coordinating mental functions (*mano-vijñāna*), and that of the wisdom of accomplishing action the fifth level, the consciousness of the five senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch (*pañca-vijñāna*). For discussions on the Yogacāra school's theory of

consciousness, see *Mikkyō dijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 907b-908c (識 シキ), Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1735c-1736c (識 シキ), Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, pp. 94-109, and Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, pp. 215-216.

⁴⁰ T.1003:611a6-9 and 610c19-23. These Bodhisattvas are four of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. In this text Mahāvairocana generates from his special meditative concentrations (*samādhi*) these sixteen figures in four groups of four (T.865:208b9-209c15; 209c16-211a8; 211a9-212b1; 212b14-213c14). They represent from sixteen different aspects the wisdoms, virtues and activities of Mahāvairocana, and the Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Vajraratna, Vajradharma and Vajrakarma are the four most important of the sixteen. See Horiuchi, “Shoe *Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no shoson ni tsuite (3) — Shiharamitsu,” *Nasu Seiryū Hakushi beiju kinen*. — *Bukkyō shisō ronshū*, pp. 160-177, esp. pp. 164-5, 171 and his “Sanjūshichi son shushōdan no shishu kanjō ni tsuite,” *Okuda Jiō Sensei kiju kinen*. — *Bukkyō shisō ronshū*, pp. 1017-1030, esp. p. 1017, as well as his “*Kongōchōkyō* no sessō,” *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 11, pp. 67-122, esp. pp. 71-79. For instance, the text states that Tathāgata Mahāvairocana possessed the firm mind of Samantabhadra (Vajrasattva), had been consecrated with the great gem of Ākāśagarbha (Vajraratna), had acquired Avalokiteśvara (Vajradharma)'s knowledge of all elements of reality, and had fulfilled all the salvific activities of Viśvakarma (Vajrakarma). See T.865:208a28-b2, 208b9-13 and Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, pp. 196-198. The importance of these four Bodhisattvas in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm is further emphasized by their positions. According to the *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuzheng famen* (T.870:288c23-4, 289a19-20, b14-15, c11), these Bodhisattvas sit in the lunar discs in front of their parent Buddhas, and symbolize the qualities and functions of their parent Buddhas, who incarnate, in turn, one of Mahāvairocana's four wisdoms. Mahāvairocana's four wisdoms are the four wisdoms of the Yogacāra school discussed above (T.870:288a20-24). This is the first Chinese work to give a concrete explanation of the four wisdoms. For a discussion of the Buddhas and their wisdoms see Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, pp. 212-228.

⁴¹ This mudrā is prescribed in Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding yuqiazhong luchu niansong jing* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (T.18.866:242c28-29) and in Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.18.865:222a9-10) and his manual for the rite of the adamantine realm, the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦儀軌 (T.18.873:305b15-16). See also Toganoo, *Himitsu no jisō no kenkyū* (Kōyasan, 1982 [original edition 1935]), p. 363, No. 83.

⁴² T.1003:610c24-611a6.

⁴³ T.865:208a28-b8 and T.870:288b9-24.

⁴⁴ See T.869:284c21-24 and 285a7-14.

⁴⁵ See T.1003:607c20-23, 865:208b9-209c15 and 870:288c19-289a14.

⁴⁶ See T.1003:607c23-27, 865:211a9-212b1 and 870:289b9-c5.

⁴⁷ See T.1003:607c27-608a2, 865:209c16-211a8 and 870:289a15-b8.

⁴⁸ See T.1003:608a26, 865:212b14-213c14 and 870:289c6-290a1.

⁴⁹ See T.243:784c15-18, 784c28-785a2, 785a7-10, 785a20-23 and T.1003:611b27-c1, 612a16-23 and a28-b2, 612c8-13 and c17-21, 613a14-27 and b4-7.

⁵⁰ See Fukuda's discussion in “*Rishukyō* no jōbutsuron — tokuni jūroku daibosatsushō wo megutte” 『理趣經』の成仏論 — 特に十六大菩薩生をめぐって, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 357-402, esp. pp. 368-70. Fukuda provides an illustration of the contents in this stage in the form of a chart (p. 369) and a mandala (p. 370).

⁵¹ T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 778, No. 3.

⁵² T.243:784c5-6.

⁵³ T. *Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 971, No. 18. There is a notation on the right side and the dated colophon (for contents, see above endnote 9) on the left side of this mandala. The notation states: “This is the third [mandala] expounded in the Scripture of the path [of guiding principles]” 此是第三道經中說. For this interpretation, see Fukuda Ryōsei, “Ishiyamadera zō *Tōhon Rishukyō mandara no kentō*,” *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 436-437, who has re-ordered this set of mandalas. This is No. 3 in the set, not No. 18.

⁵⁴ T.1003:610b4.

⁵⁵ A number of minor variations may be due to scribal error and carelessness: for instance, Ākāśagarbha’s attribute and mudrā are correct, but reversed, and Vajrakarma’s Turn-Dance 旋舞 Mudrā is mistakenly written as scatter-dance 散舞.

⁵⁶ See T. 243:784c8-18 and T.1003:611b9-612a9. For a discussion of the contents of this third stage, see Togano, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 165-75 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 135-44.

⁵⁷ Beings difficult to “discipline” or “convert” is a technical term that is used constantly to especially designate Maheśvara and his followers, who cannot be converted to the Buddha’s path by peaceful means. See Nobumi Iyanaga, “Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya — d’après les sources chinoises et japonaises (Notes autour de Maheśvara-Śiva dans le bouddhisme I),” ed. Michel Strickmann, *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honor of R. A. Stein*, vol. 3, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, vol XXII (Brussels: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1985), p. 660 and note 7.

⁵⁸ In *Liqujing* 1 (T.243:784b19-21 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 82) Vajrapāṇi is presented as “the victorious thunderbolt-bearing being who subjugates the three realms.” In the *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuizheng famen* (T.870:288c19-24) Vajrasattva is associated with the knowledge of the valorous mind of enlightenment 勇猛菩提心智. Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva thus has two specific functions. *Liquishi* 1 (T.1003:607c20-2 3) states that, because Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva embodies the mind of enlightenment of All the Tathāgatas, his empowerment of the practitioner brings about the practitioner’s first awakening of this mind of enlightenment. This Bodhisattva’s first function is, then, to generate within the practitioner the desire to seek enlightenment. His second function is that of transformation through subjugation. Subjugation is a form of skillful means (*upāya*) that is used on those difficult to discipline, and it is carried out by wrathful manifestations of the Tathāgatas.

⁵⁹ Togano, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 160-164; Xuanzang’s version, T.7.220:987c7-28; Amoghavajra’s version, T.243:784c8-15.

⁶⁰ Amoghavajra’s version, T.243:784c15-18.

⁶¹ Because the original Sanskrit text of the *Liqujing* dates earlier than the redaction of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, this text’s impressive doctrine according to which a bodhisattva can “kill all the beings of the three realms” without falling into the bad destinies must have greatly influenced the teaching of the subjugation of the three realms that is presented in the second chapter of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. In turn, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*’s second chapter shaped later versions of this Stage (and of other subsequent Stages) of the *Liqujing*. Amoghavajra certainly knew of an early version of the second chapter of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, and based his interpretation of this Stage of the *Liqujing* upon it.

⁶² See T.18.869:285a15-c8, part of the second chapter devoted to the myth of the subjugation of Maheśvara that has been taken from a synopsis of the entire First Assembly (T.869:284c19-286a25).

⁶³ The text has 悲怒, literally “compassionate wrath,” but it is very probably a scribal mistake for 忿怒, a variant reading recorded in T.869:285, note 14.

⁶⁴ T.869:285a15-27. See also Iyanaga's translation and notes in his "Récits de la Soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya," pp. 660-663; and Giebel, "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation," *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 18, pp. 141-146.

⁶⁵ Note that while *Liqujing* 3 begins with a list of "five absences of vain discourse," which constitutes the main doctrinal message of this Stage, Amoghavajra mentions the doctrinal message in the middle of his commentary on this Stage. Here he only states (*Liqushi* 3, T.1003: 611b22-27) that the knowledge of these five absences of vain discourse produces Tailokyavijaya's mandala. After this short passage, the remainder of the commentary is devoted mainly to the description of this mandala.

⁶⁶ Amoghavara states in the *Liqushi* (T.1003:611b9-21; a translation given on p. 25) that all the teachings contained in the four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* can be condensed into the system of the bodies of the two wheels: the wheel of correct teaching 正法輪 (*sadharmacakra*) or 法輪 and that of instruction and command 教令輪 (**ādeśanacakra*, see *ādeśana*, commanding, instructing in Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 137c and in *Bonwa daijiten* 梵和大辭典 (Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, ed., Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001/1986), p. 193. See also Orzech, "The 'Great Yoga Teachings,'" *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, pp. 62-63, esp. footnote 152, concerning the sources for this Sanskrit term). In this system, Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva, representing the wheel of the correct teaching, takes the benign form of Samantabhadra and employs gentle methods in order to help beings understand and practice the teachings. For instance, a gentle figure of Vajrasattva/Samantabhadra is the focus of such ritual manuals as the *Jingangding sheng chu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法 (T.20.1123), *Puxian jingang saduo lue yuqie niansong yigui* 普賢金剛薩埵略瑜伽念誦儀軌 (T.20.1124) and *Jingangding yuqie jingang saduo wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五祕密修行念誦儀軌 (T.20.1125), three works that Amoghavajra included in the list of translations and compositions (T.2120:839c12, 14, 15) he presented to the Chinese Emperor in 771.

On the contrary, Trailokyavijaya represents the wheel of instruction and command, the Tathāgata's angry transformation which disciplines by wrathful methods those resistant to the teachings. Amoghavajra describes more precisely this system of the wheel bodies 輪身 (**cakrakāya*) in the *Xinyi Renwang banruo jing tuoluoni niansong yigui xu* 新譯仁王般若經陀羅尼念誦儀軌序 (T.19.994:514a24-b5), also a work included in Amoghavajra's list of translations and compositions (T.2120:840a10). See Iyanaga, "Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya," pp. 671-2, footnote 54 and Orzech Charles, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), pp. 156-157, and footnote 65, and his "The 'Great Teaching of Yoga,' the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism," *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 3, (2000), pp. 29-78, esp. pp. 57-68.

Trailokyavijaya's wrath arises from a great compassion. He is described in *Liqushi* 3 (T.1003:611c24-25) as being wrathful on the outside 外示 but possessing an inner-heart 內心 full of compassion like that of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

⁶⁷ T.1003:611b9-21.

⁶⁸ See Toganoo, *Mandara no kenkyū* (Kōyasan: Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1958), pp. 335-7 and Iyanaga Nobumi, "Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya," pp. 633-745, especially pp. 668, note 44, 723, 737 and note 24.

⁶⁹ Iyanaga, *ibid.*, pp. 728-31.

⁷⁰ See Toganoo, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 337 and Ronald M. Davidson, "Reflections on the Maheśvara Subjugation Myth: Indic Materials, Sa-skyapa Apologetics, and the Birth of Heruka," *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 14/2 (1991), pp. 197-235, especially pp. 214-18. Snellgrove states that (*Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, pp. 140-1) the purpose of this drama, from the point of view of Esoteric Buddhists, was to bring non-Buddhist deities into the Buddhist path, as well as to give them new names, attributes and roles within the Buddhist context.

⁷¹ See *T.39.1796:678c8-679b4*, esp. 679a28-b1; see Iyanaga, “Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya,” pp. 682-708; *ibid.*, p. 710-711 and note 154 quoting another passage in Yixing’s *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* (*T.1796:685b18-19*) wherein the three realms are equated with the three poisons. Amoghavajra quotes this passage from the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* in a ritual manual for Acala that he compiled, a work included in his list of translations and compositions (*T.21.1201:13c4-14b5* and Iyanaga, *ibid.*, p. 683, note 87; see *T.52.2120:839b11*).

⁷² *T.1003:611c15-18*.

⁷³ Despite the moralizing bent that characterizes the doctrine, in practice subjugation rituals were conducted to destroy real enemies of the ritual’s sponsors or officiants. Such an interpretation served as doctrinal justification for subjugation practices that were used as political or military weapons. In Chapter Two of this study (endnote 51), I mention an example of a performance in late Heian Japan that resulted in the sudden death of a monarch. This subject is a study of its own, beyond the scope of this dissertation.

⁷⁴ *T.1003:611c5-11* and *611c29-612a3*.

⁷⁵ *T.1003:611c9-11*.

⁷⁶ *T.1796:632a11-15*.

⁷⁷ *T.18.903:898c9-13*. This work, although included in Amoghavajra’s list (*T.2120:840a4*, which he records as *Zhubu tuoluoni mu* 諸部陀羅尼目), is not a translation but a collection of notes on concepts and practices contained in a number of Esoteric Buddhist texts. Yoritomi Motohiro suggests (*Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, p. 208) that this was a notebook of teachings and ideas that Amoghavajra brought back with him from his trip to India in 746.

Vajrasattva and the other Bodhisattvas, who form the family of Buddha Akṣobhya, are not specifically named the Vajra Family in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* or in the *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuzheng famen*, but Amoghavajra uses the terms Vajra Family, as well as Gem Family, Lotus Family and Action Family throughout the *Liqushi*.

For a discussion of the fundamental characteristics of the families in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, see Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū* pp. 188-228. Concerning the families in the Sanskrit and Chinese (*T.18.882*) versions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha nāma mahāyānasūtra*, see Horiuchi Kanjin, “Sanjūshichi son shushōdan no shishu kanjō ni tsuite,” *Okuda Jiō Sensei kiju kinen. Bukkyō shisō ronbunshū*, pp. 1017-1030 and Inui Hitoshi, “*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite,” *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 9 (December, 1995), pp. 158/1-133/26 and “*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no mandara” (2), *Koyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 10 (January 1997), pp. 260/1-233/28, and for a discussion on the development of the families in Chinese Esoteric Buddhist texts, see Yoritomi Motohiro, “Mikkyō ni okeru buzoku (*kula*) no tenkai — tokuni sanbu no keisei ni tsuite,” *Katsumata Shunkyo Hakushi koki kinen ronshū. Daijō bukkyō kara mikkyō e*, pp. 415-429 and his *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, pp. 200-215.

⁷⁸ The characters are 書契. The character 契 is an abbreviation for 契印. This term signifies both the symbolic (*samaya*) form, which is the emblem held by the Buddhist figure, as well as the hand gesture (*mudrā*) made by the figure. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 429a and also 印契 (*ingei*, *ibid.*, vol. 1. p. 105a), which is synonymous with 契印.

⁷⁹ *T.1003:611b27-c3*.

⁸⁰ See endnote 58 above.

⁸¹ *T.865:208c25-209a20*, *T.870:288c25-289a1*.

⁸² These are four methods that all bodhisattvas use to lead sentient beings to the Buddhist path and emancipation. See *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 524b-c.

⁸³ Originally an entity signifying such concepts as death, evil desires and passions, the Buddhist Māra became identified with Kāmadeva, the Brahmanical god of love, and in time came to be depicted holding Kāmadeva's attributes of bow and sheaf of arrows and/or the *makara*-banner, a monster-like fish whose appetite is insatiable. See Prithivi K. Agrawala, "The depiction of Māra in early Buddhist art," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1995), pp. 125-134.

⁸⁴ T.865:209a21-b16, T.870:289a2-7, Giebel, The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra, pp. 30-31. His inspired verses (*udānas*) reveal his aim is to subdue the passions.

⁸⁵ T.865:209b17-c12, T.870:289a8-14.

⁸⁶ T.1003:611c27-29. This pose is specified in the *Liqujing* (T.243:784c17).

⁸⁷ This is the iconography of Trailokyavijaya that is represented in, for example, the Shingon school's *Genzu kongōkai Gōzanze e* 金剛界降三世會 (Trailokyavijaya Assembly of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm), and the story of the battle between Vajrapāṇi, who transforms himself into the wrathful form of Trailokyavijaya in order to subjugate Maheśvara and his followers, is described in the Chapter on Trailokyavijaya 降三世品 in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Subjugation is also the theme of this chapter of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, and it is the function of the members of Akṣobhya's family, upon whom this chapter focuses, to bring about conversion through submission. For this purpose, the members of this family appear in their wrathful forms (see T.882:376c17-377c16), and the rites and mandalas explained in this chapter are for subjugation (see T.869:285b7-8, 12-13).

⁸⁸ T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779, No. 4.

⁸⁹ The works examined were the *Jingangding lianhuabu-xin niansong yigui* (T.873:301a3-8), *Jingangding jing yuqie shibahui zhigui* (T.869:285a25 where "Vajradhara[, that is, Vajrasattva/Vajrapāṇi] pinned [Maheśvara] down with his leg"), the *Puxian jingang saduo lue yuqie niansong yigui* (T.20.1124:532a16-18), as well as the *Jingangding yujia qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經 (T.20.1056:73c18-20).

⁹⁰ The figures of the Vajra Family appear in their wrathful forms in the mandala prescribed in the Sanskrit *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha-nāma-mahāyāna sūtra* and its Song Dynasty Chinese translation (T.18.882:376c17-377c16; for the Sanskrit version, see the reference in Inui, "Shoe Kongōchōkyō shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite" (1), p. 145). See also Togano, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 338-44 and Inui, *ibid.*, (1), pp. 146-138 and "Shoe Kongōchōkyō shosetsu no mandara" (2), pp. 260-252.

⁹¹ T. *Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 958, No. 5 but correctly labelled as No. 4 in the title on the upper right side of the mandala.

⁹² See above, pp. 25-26.

⁹³ For example, in the southern gate next to the sword there is a drawing of two hands forming the Mudrā of Trailokyavijaya. See endnote 78.

⁹⁴ The names recorded are those that Amoghavajra explicates in *Liqushi* 1. For example, Manojavajra (the Chinese characters 金剛憶生 are inscribed in the Ishiyamadera mandala instead of the correct 金剛意生) and Kelikilāvajra 金剛髻離 replace the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas Vajralāsī 金剛嬉 and Vajramālā 金剛鬘; Vajramegha 金剛雲 (mistakenly inscribed in the Ishiyamadera mandala as 金剛雨) replaces the Outer Offering Bodhisattva Vajrapuṣpā 金剛華 and Vajraśarad 金剛秋 replaces the Outer Offering Bodhisattva Vajrālokā 金剛燈. There has been a rotation in the order of the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas, which is evident when comparing the positions and names of these deities to the other figures in the mandala. Moreover, this mandala orients to the south with its sword. Because a consistent rotation occurs in the order of these figures in many of the Ishiyamadera mandalas, for example in the re-ordered mandalas No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16 and 17, this is very probably due to a copyist's error, and not an intentional re-orientation as the one which is seen in the Daigoji Trailokyavijaya Mandala.

⁹⁵ See the discussion under Mahāvairocana Mandala (*Liqushi* Stage 2) above, pp. 21-24.

⁹⁶ These practices and their mandalas are those of Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva as Trailokyavijaya, Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha and Vajramuṣṭi. Vajrasattva and his family members strive to conquer the practitioner's inner hindrances and awaken his desire for enlightenment (see *T.1003:607c20-23*, 611b9-21 for Vajrasattva and Trailokyavijaya, *T.865:209a21-b16*, 870:289a2-7 for Vajrarāga, for example); Avalokiteśvara and his family develop within the practitioner the knowledge that enables him to see absolute reality and to communicate this reality to others (*T.1003:607c23-27*, 865:211a9-b9 for Avalokiteśvara, *T.865:212a3-26*, 870:289b28-c5 for Vajrabhāṣa, for example); Ākāśagarbha and his family teach the practices of charity that result in mundane and supramundane benefits for the practitioner and others (*T.1003:607c27-608a2*, 865:209c16-210a17 for Ākāśagarbha, *T.865:210b14-c10*, 870:289a27-b2 for Vajraketu, for example); and Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi and his family bring about the successful accomplishment of all the practitioner's actions (*T.1003:608a2-6* and *T.865:213b13-c11*, 870:289c24-290a1 for Vajramuṣṭi and *T.865:212b14-c19*, 870:289c6-11 for Vajrakarma, for example). See also endnotes 45-48 above.

⁹⁷ In *Liqujing* 7 (*T.243:785a24-b2*) Mahāvairocana manifests himself as Tathāgata Sarvadharmāprapañca 一切無戲論如來, the Tathāgata without any vain discourse about the *dharmas*, and expounds the guiding principle of wisdom concerning the wheel of revolving letters 轉字輪. This Tathāgata is, according to the corresponding stage of the *Liqushi* (*T.1003:613b21-c27*), none other than the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and the wheel of revolving letters is the *samādhi* of the wheel of five letters 五字輪三摩地. Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī's special mantra consists of five syllables, as we shall see.

⁹⁸ *T.1003:613c12-21*. On the four wisdoms of enlightenment that convert the four types of consciousnesses, see Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1886b-1887b.

⁹⁹ *T.1003:613c18-21*.

¹⁰⁰ *T.243:785a25-28*, *T.1003:613b24-c1* and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 148. These manifestations appear in the four great mandalas that are expounded in the four chapters of the *Sarvathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Each of these four chapters focuses upon one of four families. The Tathāgata/Buddha Family is the center of the first Chapter of the Adamantine Realm, the Vajra Family has this role in the second Chapter on Trailokyavijaya, the Padma/Dharma Family in the third Chapter on Universal Submission 遍調伏品 (*Sakalajagad-vinaya*) and the Ratna Family in the fourth Chapter of the Accomplishment of All Objectives 一切義成就品 (*Sarvārthsiddhi*).

The names of the mandalas and the manifestations of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī are as follows (*T.1003:613b23-c1*): Vajradhātu maṇḍala and Vajratikṣṇa; Trailokyavijaya maṇḍala and Krodhavajratikṣṇa; Sakalajagad-vinaya maṇḍala and Padmatikṣṇa; Sarvārthsiddhi maṇḍala and Ratnatikṣṇa.

As we have seen above (p. 20 and endnote 31), Vajratikṣṇa is the esoteric form of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī who was generated by Tathāgata Mahāvairocana as a member of Tathāgata Avalokiteśvararāja's Family in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. He holds a sword, a symbol of All the Tathāgatas' transcendent wisdom. In the mandalas expounded in the other three chapters of the *Sarvathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T.882:377a22-b5*, 400b22-c11, 413b10-20), this Bodhisattva takes on the qualities of each family that govern these chapters; for example, he has an angry (*krodha*) appearance in the great mandala in the Chapter on Trailokyavijaya, he holds a lotus (*padma*) in the great mandala in the Chapter of Universal Submission and a gem (*ratna*) in the great mandala in the Chapter of the Accomplishment of All Objectives. (See Inui, "Shoe Kongōchōkyō shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite" (1), pp. 1-26, "Shoe Kongōchōkyō shosetsu no mandara" (2), pp. 1-28 and his "Shoe Kongōchōkyō no yondaibon to mandara no tokushoku," *Kōyasan daigaku ronbunshū*: Kōyasan daigaku sōritsu hyakujū shūnen kinen (Kōyasan daigaku: Kōyasan daigaku sōritsu hyakujū shūnen kinenn ronbunshū henshū iinkaihen, 1996), pp. 81-100.) But in each of these mandalas he retains his fundamental nature: he is the Bodhisattva who possesses acute (*īkṣṇa*) insight.

¹⁰¹ This doctrine teaches meditations whereby the practitioner realizes the non-substantiality of existence, that phenomena, being non-substantial, are formless and undifferentiated, and that, because of this unreality of all phenomena, there is nothing to be desired. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1498b-1499a; Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 248-9.

¹⁰² In many Mahāyāna texts Mañjuśrī is the Bodhisattva of wondrous wisdom and he is associated with subtle and profound teachings, especially those of the *Prajñāpāramitā* lineage. (See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, pp. 4875c-4876c.) *Liqushi* 1 states (see pp. 18-19 above) that Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī teaches the meditative practices of the three gateways to liberation. The doctrine of the non-substantiality of all factors of existence is expounded in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrīkā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, for example (T.8.223:256a6-b15), and is made accessible to the practitioner by means of forty-two *siddham* letters 悉曇四十二字門, each of which embodies a special spiritual concept that is independent of its use among the alphabetic signs. See *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 10, pp. 270-272, Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1945-6, *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 999-1001, and *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 310-11. Recitation of the forty-two letters provides, like that of the three gateways to liberation over which Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī presides, a contemplation that reveals the illusory character of reality. The first five letters of the forty-two *siddham* letters, the syllables *a ra pa ca na*, also constitute the five letters of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī's special mantra, which is called, according to the *Liqushi* (T.1003:613b22-23), the wheel of five letters.

In *Liqujing* 7, then, Tathāgata Sarvadharmāprapañca/Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī teaches the wisdom that is attained by intense contemplation upon the wheel of five letters. The meanings of each of the syllables *a ra pa ca na* and the significance of this mantra as a whole are explicated in a manual that Amoghavajra translated for a rite that centers on Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, the *Jingangding yuqie Wenshushili pusa jing* 金剛頂瑜伽文殊師利菩薩經 (Scripture on Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī [from] the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown) (recorded in his list of translations and compositions [T.2120:839b5] and published in T.20.1171:705b3-9, 705a17-18). The truth to be learned in the *Jingangding yuqie Wenshushili pusa jing*, as well as in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrīkā-prajñā-pāramitā sūtra*'s doctrine of forty-two *siddham* letters, is identical to that which is expounded in *Liqujing* 7: an understanding of the non-substantiality of all elements of reality. This marks the beginning in the practitioner's quest for the acquisition of transcendent wisdom, which is the ability to discern the true nature of reality.

¹⁰³ T.243:785a28-29 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 148. Bodhisattva Vajratīkṣṇa performs the same action in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865:211c2-3; see also T.866:231c6-7; T.882:346c4-5).

¹⁰⁴ T.1003:613c19-21.

¹⁰⁵ The Song Dynasty translation (T.8.244:794a11) and the Tibetan version both prescribe an eight-spoked wheel format. For a description of this mandala in these two texts, see Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 252-53.

¹⁰⁶ The *Taishō* text has the character 印 which is, according to *Mikkyō daijiten* (vol. 1, p. 103a) and to Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* (vol. 1, p. 68b), an abbreviation for 印契 or 契印, the emblem held by the figure, as well as the hand gesture. The *Taishō* (T.1003:613c5, n. 9), gives the variant “甲” for this “印.” According to Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 254, who refers to the commentary by Gōhō 梶寶 (T.61.2241:720a3-15), “甲,” which may mean a suit of armour 甲冑, is a variant form of “匣,” which is itself a variant form of “篋,” meaning “book” (literally a rectangular box). See also the following endnote 107.

¹⁰⁷ T.1003:613c1-7. A note in the *Taishō* (T.1003:613c7, n. 10) gives a variant reading of 夾 and 筴 for 甲. *Mikkyō daijiten* (vol. 5, p. 2063a-b) states that 梵夾 is synonymous with 梵篋 and refers to the sūtras that are written on *pattra* leaves. Bodhisattvas Prajñāpāramitā and Mañjuśrī, for example, hold such sūtras as emblems.

¹⁰⁸ T.1003:613c10-12. These rewards are also included among the many boons enumerated in the *Jingangdingjing yujia Wenshushili pusa fa yipin* (T.1171:705b23-c2).

¹⁰⁹ T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783, No. 8.

¹¹⁰ T.243:785a29 and T.1003:608a6-9, 613c12-21. In the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* the emblem of Bodhisattva Vajratīkṣṇa is also the sword. See endnote 31 above.

¹¹¹ See endnote 106 above.

¹¹² The youths, who belong to Mañjuśrī's retinue in the Shingon school's *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s (Mandala of the Matrix Realm) Hall of Mañjuśrī 文殊院 (Monju in), are Jālinīprabha in the east, Ratnakūṭa in the south, Candraprabha in the west and Vimalaprabha in the north. See Togano, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 254. I discuss the relationship between the iconography of the Daigoji exemplar and the Shingon school's *Genzu mandara* in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

¹¹³ The *Liqujing* states (T.243:785a24-b1) that Tathāgata Sarvadharmāprapañca, to further elucidate the teaching of the wheel of revolving letters, manifested himself as the young prince Mañjuśrī 文殊師利童眞 who brandishes his sword. Amoghavajra also declares in his commentary (T.1003:613b21-22) that this Buddha is none other than Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Moreover, he identifies the wheel of revolving letters (613b22-23) as that of the five letters. Further, in the mandala (T.1003:613c3) Mañjuśrī is described as having the form of a youth. There is a particular iconographic type of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī associated with the five-syllable mantra *a ra pa ca na*. For example, Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie Wenshushili pusa jing* prescribes (T.1171:705a21-25, 707a22-25) a youth with his hair done up in five topknots 五髻童子形狀, who holds an adamant sword in his right hand and a Sanskrit sūtra 梵夾, that is the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, in his left. Inscribed around the lunar disc in which he sits are the five letters *a ra pa ca na*.

For studies on the iconography of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, see Raoul Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī: A Group of East Asian Mandalas and their Traditional Symbolism*, Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, Monograph No. 2, 1983, Inoue Akemi, "Kyōten to zuzō — Monju Bosatsu ni kanshite" (Iconography in Texts and Objects — the case of Mañjuśrī), *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3 (1984), pp. 41-58, Yoritomi Motohiro, "Bunkenshiryō ni miru Monju Bosatsu no zuzō hyōgen," *Kumoi Shōzen Hakushi koki kinen — bukkyō to ishūkyō* (Heirakuji shoten: 1985), pp. 321-338, and Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Étude iconographique sur Mañjuśrī* (Paris:École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1964).

¹¹⁴ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 962, No. 9 [reordered No. 8, which is recorded in the mandala's title on the right].

¹¹⁵ Tathāgata of Dharma Clarity 法明如來 inscribed in the circle in the west signifies the Dharma/Padma Family.

¹¹⁶ Compare T.1003:614c2-4, where the text stipulates that this Bodhisattva must hold in his right hand a *karma-vajra* (a crossed double *vajra*) and form with his left hand a Vajra Fist that he places on on his left thigh, with *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 785, No. 10, where he is depicted with his two hands in a mudrā that he raises to his crown. This is the iconography of Bodhisattva Vajrakarma in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*'s central assembly.

¹¹⁷ See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9; T.243:785b3-10 and T.1003:614a19-20.

¹¹⁸ T.1003:608a21-25.

¹¹⁹ Compare T.243:785b21-29, T.1003:614c19-615b5, especially 615a21-27 with *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 786, No. 11.

¹²⁰ See T.1003:612b1, 612c19.

¹²¹ See T.1003:612a9, 616a25, 616b5; T.1003:616b27-c11, 617a1-6.

¹²² For more on mandalas in the Daigoji exemplar not touched on here, for example, No. 2, 17 and 18, see Hunter, "Five Secrets Mandala," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, Gonda Indological Studies III (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1995), pp. 111-124 and for the Daigoji mandala No. 10, as well as an overview of the iconographical problems in the remaining mandalas of the Daigoji exemplar, see Hunter, "The *Rishukyō Mandara* Said to Have Been Introduced by Shūei," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 8, pp. 371-388.

¹²³ See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 957, No. 4 [reordered as No. 2], p. 971, No. 18 [reordered as No. 3] and pages 10-14 above.

¹²⁴ See T.243:784b19-24.

¹²⁵ See T.1003:610a15-23, 608c4-609a15, 609c20-610a8 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 957.

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- ¹²⁶ See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 955, No. 2, whose iconography and source are still unsolved problems.
- ¹²⁷ See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 956, No. 3 [reordered as No. 1], p. 958, No. 5 [reordered as No. 4] and p. 962, No. 9 [reordered as No.8].
- ¹²⁸ See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, pp. 959, No. 6 [reordered as No. 5]; 960, No. 7 [reordered as No. 6]; 961, No. 8 [reordered as No. 7].
- ¹²⁹ *T.1003:612a10-14, b1*; see also *T.865:211a9-b9* and *T.870:289b9-15*.
- ¹³⁰ *T.1003:612c4-5, c19*; see also *T.865:209c16-210a17* and *T.870:289a15-20*.
- ¹³¹ *T.1003:613a11-12, b6*; see also *T.865:213b13-c11* and *T.870:289c6-11*.
- ¹³² See *T.1003:615a19-27*.
- ¹³³ See *T.243:785b21-26, 27-29* and *T.1003:614c19-615a4*.
- ¹³⁴ See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 965, No. 12 [reordered No.11].
- ¹³⁵ The mandala-maker has included the names of these figures in the four directions of the mandala's second square court (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 965). See *T.1003:614c19-615a1*, wherein Amoghavajra attributes each line of the scripture's teachings to the *samādhi* of the Buddha Families' wrathful manifestations. See also Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 153-154.
- ¹³⁶ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 970, No. 17 [reordered No. 16].
- ¹³⁷ See *Liqujing T.243:785c10-25* and *Liqushi T.1003:615c10-616b22*. *Liqushi* 13 prescribes for Stage 13 of the *Liqujing* a mandala of Maheśvara and twenty-five *devas*; a mandala of Mahākāla and seven Mother Goddesses for Stage 14; a mandala of "three brothers" for Stage 15, who are identified as the Brahmanic deities Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) and Maheśvara (Śiva) (see *T.1003:616a29-b2*; see also the commentary by Ānandagarbha, translated in Togano, *Liqujing no kenkyū*, pp. 344-345); a mandala of Tumburu (a Tantric form of Śiva) and four sister goddesses for Stage 16.
- ¹³⁸ See *T.1003:616a7-10, a25-27*.
- ¹³⁹ See *T.1003:616b10-12, 14-16*.
- ¹⁴⁰ See Ishiyamadera mandala No. 17 [reordered No. 16], *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 970. For Tumburu's information, see *T.1003:616b12-13, 16-17*. The numbering of the sisters in the mandala is not correct. Further, the mandala maker omitted to mention the kind of "perfection" attributed to this fourth sister, but it can easily be deduced.
- ¹⁴¹ See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 963, No. 10 [reordered No. 9], p. 964, No. 11 [reordered No. 10], and p. 966, No. 13 [reordered No. 12].
- ¹⁴² See *T.20.1167:675a-676a* in *T.2120:839c1*.
- ¹⁴³ See *T.20.1167:675b14-c16*. Although different Chinese characters are used, for example, in the case of Mañjuśrī's name, the order of inscription in the three mandalas follows this scripture.
- ¹⁴⁴ See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 954, No. 1 [reordered No. 18].
- ¹⁴⁵ This is *T.20.1123* and it is included in Amoghavajra's list of translations and compositions in *T.2120:839c12*.

¹⁴⁶ T.20.1119. See the Canon catalogues by Yuahzhao in T.55.2156:753b20, 768a22-23, T.55.2157:880b12-13.

¹⁴⁷ Compare T.1123: 529a23-530a12, 1119:510b7-c28 and T. *Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 954. See I discuss the correspondence with T.1119 and image in Hunter, “Five Secrets Maṇḍala,” *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 113-115.

¹⁴⁸ See T. *Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 967, No. 14 [reordered No. 13], p. 968, No. 15 [reordered No. 14], and p. 969, No. 16 [reordered No. 15].

¹⁴⁹ See T.1003:616a3-7 and 616a24-25.

¹⁵⁰ See T.1003616a29-b2 and b3-5.

¹⁵¹ Instead, inscribed in the right circle is “Three Brothers” 三兄弟 and the left circle has “the Second One” 第二者.

Chapter Two: Revisions and Reinterpretations of the *Liqujing mantuluo*

¹ Shingon scholars such as Toganoō Shōun (*Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 44-48), Ōmura Chōkaku and the other compilers of the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 2263b-2264a), Mochizuki Shinkō (Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 4963b-4964a) and Hatta Yukio (*Himitsu kyōten: Rishukyō*, pp. 14-15) have stated that the Shingon monks Kōzen 興然 (1120-1203) and Shinkai 眞海 (? -1770) corrected the inconsistencies in the mandalas brought back by Shūei in order to make them better conform to the information given in the *Liquishi*.

² This set of mandalas is published in T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3046, pp. 818-837. The colophon that is recorded after mandala No. 20 (fig. 18, T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 837; see also Toganoō, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 46 and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 4963c), was written by the monk Gōhō 杲寶 (1306-1362). It states:

To the right is the work of Genkaku, the *Daisōzu* of Kajūji 勸修寺大僧都嚴覺. In the monks' quarters of the Western Hall of Tōji 東寺西院僧坊, I had Master Eigen 榮賢 copy this. Genpō 賢寶, acting in his official capacity, wrote the Sanskrit inscription.

On the eighteenth day of the intercalary sixth month of the fifth year of Jōwa (the year of the ox) Gōhō, the *Gonshō sōzu* 權少僧都杲寶, recorded this.

As for the one who recorded this collection, it may perhaps be Master Seiyo 靜譽闍梨; we should decide this [matter].

Gōhō was the founder of Kanchi'in 觀智院 (*Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 530c-531b; *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 188).

For information on Genpō, see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 484b-c and *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 175.

Thus, the fourteenth-century monk Gōhō, at the time serving as *Gonshō sōzu* of Tōji, had Master Eigen copy this set of mandalas. Genpō (1333-1398), a disciple of Gōhō, wrote the *siddham* letters of the mandalas. The late Heian period monk Genkaku or Gonkaku 嚴覺 (1056-1121) is usually credited with the actual drawing, and there is both graphic and written evidence for this attribution. (According to the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 463c-464a, the *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 165, and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 4254 (*Hanjūn*), the Kajūji branch of the Ono subschool pronounces the characters of his name as Genkaku and the Daigoji branch as Gonkaku.)

As Gōhō suggests in his final line, Genkaku may have had the drawing done by his disciple Seiyo 靜譽 (ca. 1105). Seiyo founded the Shingon Kōmyōzan branch of ritual lineage 光明山流. (For more information on Seiyo, see *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 428-429.) Toganoō states in his *Rishukyō no kenkyū* (p. 46) that, despite differing opinions on the attribution of the set of mandalas, it was generally accepted as Genkaku's composition by the Nanbokuchō period (1336-1392).

An Edo period work (the final colophon by Zenshō 禪證 contains the date 1797 [Kansei 寛政 9]), the *Mandara shū* 曼荼羅集 (Collection of Mandalas), presently in the possession of Ninnaji 仁和寺 (edited in T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3023, pp. 693-743), records a copy of Genkaku's *Liqujing mantuluo* as part of a larger collection of seed letter mandalas. Another inscription at the side of the final mandala of the *Liqujing mantuluo* in the *Mandara shū* (T.

Zuzō, vol. 5, 3023, p. 713, No. 20) states that the set was composed by Genkaku 嚴覺作. The iconography, the content of the notes and the ordering of the *Mandara shū* copy of the *Liqujing mantuluo* correspond exactly to those of the Kanchi'in set.

In his *Rishukyō jūshichidan jūhachishu hōmandara shosetsu fudōki* 理趣經十七段十八種法曼陀羅諸說不同記 (A Record of the Dissimilarities of the Various Explanations [concerning] the Eighteen Seed Syllable Mandalas of the Seventeen [Ritual] Stages of the Liqujing), dated 1724 (Kyōhō 享保 9) (photographic reproduction in *Toganoo Korekushon Kenmitsu Tenseki Monjo Shūsei*, 12, (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1981), p. 232), the monk Ihō 維宝 (1687-1747) refers to a set of the *Liqujing mantuluo* in the possession of Nan'in on Kōyasan 南山南院 as the “ancient book” 古本. Although Ihō does not record the attribution to Genkaku, the iconography of the illustrations he copies from this Nan'in version generally matches that of the Kanchi'in and Ninnaji sets. Ihō makes a few changes, adding to or correcting the Nan'in iconography, and he occasionally makes mistakes in copying, but his numerous citations of the text of the Nan'in version invariably match the text of the Kanchi'in set.

Finally, Shingon monks of the late Heian and Kamakura periods include Genkaku's transmission as represented by the Kanchi'in set in their iconographic compilations. For example, the ritual mudrās and mantras that Kakuzen 覺禪 (1143-after 1213) records in his *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 are identical to those that Genkaku gives in the notes on the Kanchi'in set of mandalas (for references, see pp. 49-50 of this chapter and the accompanying endnotes). Kakuzen identifies this transmission as the Secret Transmission of the Ono 小野祕傳. A note in small characters states that this is the explanation of Master Shinkaku 心覺. Indeed, as we will see below, the content of this transmission matches that of the Ono Transmission that Shinkaku (1117-1180) records in his *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū* 理趣經段段印明集, which is in the Tatchūgura collection 塔中藏 at Ninnaji. See endnote 61 below for details of this work's reference code.

³ Toganoo, *Mikkyō kenkyū* 密教研究, vol. 28 (1928), p. 5. See also his discussion in *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 46.

⁴ The contents of the Kanchi'in notes are inscribed inside the mandalas that are copied in the *Mandara shū* and are included in the text of Ihō's *Liqujing jūshichidan jūhachishu hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, two later Edo copies of Genkaku's version mentioned in endnote 2 above. This testifies to the fact that the mandala and notes are a unit, despite the fact that most of the notes of the Kanchi'in set are written either at the sides or below the mandalas.

⁵ This description matches, with slight changes, Shunmyō's 淳祐 (890-953) entry for Trailokyavijaya in his *Taijōkai shichishū* 胎藏界七集 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2924, p. 140b26-29). I discuss this work in Chapter Three.

⁶ See Chapter One, text, p. 32.

⁷ A third example is the Kanchi'in set's Mandala of Seven Mother Goddesses. Once again, Amoghavajra furnishes no iconographical information in *Liqushi* 13. Instead, he directs the mandala-maker to the “extended scripture” for the details needed. The content of the Kanchi'in note (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 832, No. 14) is as follows:

Mahākāla [In] the mandala his body is blue-black in color; his hair of flames stands upright and his appearance is extremely ferocious. He has three faces and [each has] three eyes and his open mouth has two fangs that protrude upwards. He has six arms. Skulls form his crown and necklaces, and snakes form his topknot, ear ornaments and arm bands. His right hand is pendant. It is turned inwards and holds a sword horizontally across his knees. His next [right] hand grasps the hair of a man, [who] is [almost] naked, and who forms the gesture of homage [while] kneeling deeply. His next [right] hand is raised, turned to the front and holds the hide of an elephant. His left hand is pendant, is turned to the front and grasps the edge of the sword. His next [left] hand grasps the horn of a sheep, [as if] presenting it. His next [left] hand is raised and holds the elephant hide. At his waist there is a human head turned upwards...

Seven Mother Goddesses all hold in their right hand a hook, and the left hand is turned upwards, forming a fist [held at the] waist. They resemble the Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattvas.

These are the figures that are depicted in the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of the Seven Mother Goddesses (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 789), although the Seven Mother Goddesses hold a trident rather than a hook. The description of Mahākāla is from Shinjaku's 眞寂 (886-927) *Daihi taijō 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, p. 127b6-22). I discuss the significance of this quotation in Chapter Three.

Moreover, the Kanchi'in note records the canonical sources that list the names of the Mothers. These sources are the *Māyūrī[-vidyārājī]* *sūtra* (Peacock Spell Sūtra) and the *Darījing yishi* 大日經義釋 (Commentary on the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*). The enumeration is given in this commentary (*Zoku tendaiishū zensho, Mikkyō 1* (Tendai shūten hensanjo, Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1987.1993?), p. 738b15-17) as follows:

The *Commentary*'s fourth chapter, Storehouse of Common Mantras [note in small letters: *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* (7)], [gives] seven elder and younger sisters: the first is called Cāmuṇḍī 左閼拏, the second Kauberī 嬌吠哩, the third Vaiṣṇavī 吠瑟拏微, the fourth Kaumārī 嬌麼哩, the fifth Indrī 印捺哩, the sixth Raudrī 嚙捺哩, and the seventh Brāhmī 末羅囉呬弭.

In the Kanchi'in Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses these names from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*'s commentary are written in small Chinese characters next to the seed letters (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 832, No. 14). Seven mothers in the Kanchi'in mandala are given the seed letter *mā*. Brāhmī in the lower right corner is represented by the letter *ma*. Surprisingly, Brahmā is represented in this mandala by the letter *bra*, which is directly below the central letter *bhyo*. Brahmā also appears in the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 789, No. 14). In the *Liqushi* (*T.1003:616a27-28*), however, Amoghavajra adds Brāhmī 梵天母 to the group of Seven Mother Goddesses 七母天, whom he does not name. They now form a group of eight deities, who represent the Eight Offering Bodhisattvas in the *Sarvathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.

A fourth example is the Kanchi'in's Gaganagañja Mandala. The note that accompanies the Gaganagañja Mandala also shows that Genkaku composed his set of mandalas after having consulted the Daigoji exemplar. In this note Genkaku records Amoghavajra's prescriptions from *Liqushi* 9 (*T. 1003:614c3-4*), as well as an account of Gaganagañja's mudrā, which is to be performed in the ritual, and a description of the figure's iconography from "a certain mandala" 或圖 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 828, No. 10):

Gaganagañja [his] right hand holds the action (*karma*) pounder and his left hand forms a Vajra Fist and is placed on his left thigh. He [sits] in a half-lotus pose [within] a moon circle.
Mudrā: The left and right thumbs pinch the nails of both the two small fingers and the ring fingers; the middle and index fingers are straight upright. [Pass] [the mudrā] in front [of you] and the [right] hand, facing upwards, touches the bottom of the left hand, your right side and your chest. [Make] one turn and place [the mudra] on your head.
[In] a certain illustration Bodhisattva Gaganagañja's two hands form the [Mudrā of] Homage of Emptiness and are placed on his head.

Gaganagañja's mudrā in "a certain illustration" is identical to that of the figure of Gaganagañja in the Daigoji exemplar (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 785, No. 10), whose iconography matches that of the figure of Vajrakarma 金剛業 in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. See the *Bizangji* 祕藏記 (Record of the Secret Treasury, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2921, p. 12b2-3), the earliest of the Esoteric Buddhist compilations concerning the Shingon school's *Genzu mandara*, which I discuss in Chapter Three, and Hunter, "The *Rishukyō Mandara* Said to Have Been Introduced by Shūei," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 8, pp.382-383. Genkaku's comment about "a certain mandala" requires further investigation, which I carry out in Chapter Three.

This is not the only instance of exact matches: in thirteen of the Kanchi'in notes (4-16) we find iconographic information that corresponds exactly with the iconography of the figures of the Daigoji exemplar.

⁸ These are the notes on the Mandalas of Mahāvairocana of the First Stage (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 818, No. 1), Mahāvairocana (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 821, No. 3) and Vajrasattva (fig. 15, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 820, No. 2). The notes on the Mandalas of Mahāvairocana of the First Stage (No. 1) and Mahāvairocana (No. 3) reproduce passages that detail the meaning and iconography of the figures in these mandalas, taken from the corresponding chapters of the *Liqushi* (*T.1003:607c22-608a25; 610c24-611a4*). The note on the Vajrasattva Mandala (2) describes the mudrās and attributes of six of the figures. The information is from the *Liqujing* and two ritual manuals, the *Dale Jingangsaduo xiuxing chengjiu yigui* 大樂金剛薩埵修行成就儀軌 (*T.20.1119*), a manual for the rite of Vajrasattva whose translation a disciple attributed to Amoghavajra (see *T.55.2157:880b12-13*), and the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦儀軌 (*T.20.1123*), a ritual manual Amoghavajra included in his list of translations and compositions that he sent to the Chinese emperor in 771 (*T.52.2120:839c12*), although a few phrases are also found in the *Liqushi* (*T.1003:608b27, c11-15*) and the *Jingangding yuqie*

Jingangsaduo wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五秘密修行念誦儀軌 (T.20.1125, also in T.2120:839c15). Information, somewhat simplified, has been taken in the following order from T.20.1125:536c7-8, 1119:509a23-24, 510b8-9, 1123:529a23-25, T.8.243:784b2 for Vajrasattva; 1123:529a27-28 for Iṣṭavajra (Desire); 1123:529a29-b1 for Kelikilāvajra (Touch); 1123:529b2-4, T.243:784b3-4 for Kāma (Rāga)vajra (Love-Bliss); 1123:529b4-5, T.243:784b4-5 for Mānavajra (Pride); 1119:510b28, T.243:784b5 for Kelikilāvajriṇī.

⁹ First, common to both, for example, are the compositions of the mandalas: the majority of the mandalas consist of two, and occasionally of three (9, 10, 12), square enclosures (Daigoji mandalas: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 784, 785 and 787; Kanchi'in set: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, pp. 827, 828 and 830); the Seven Mothers and the Four Sisters consist of a single enclosure (Daigoji mandalas: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 789 and 790; Kanchi'in set: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, pp. 832 and 835; the Mandalas of the Three Brothers are semi-circular in shape and the Five Mysteries Mandalas are circular (Daigoji mandalas: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 791 and 793; Kanchi'in set: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, pp. 833 and 836). Second, the orientation of the Daigoji mandalas of Trailokyavijaya, Ākāśagarbha, Vajrapāṇi and Maheśvara (4, 6, 12 and 13), which do not accord with Amoghavajra's directions, are repeated in the Kanchi'in set (Daigoji mandalas: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 778, 781, 787 and 788; Kanchi'in set: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, pp. 822, 824, 830 and 831). The only anomaly is that the Gaganagañja Mandala has been reoriented to the east (Daigoji mandala: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 785; Kanchi'in set: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 828). Third, the same discrepancies noted between the *Liqushi* and the iconography of the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of the Mañjuśrī appear in the Kanchi'in's Mañjuśrī Mandala: the missing eight-spoked wheel, the replacement of the four Buddhas with four youths and the sets of armor instead of the sūtra boxes that contain the Sanskrit *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* (Daigoji mandala: fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783; Kanchi'in set: *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 826).

¹⁰ Biographical information on Genkaku is found in the *Shingonden* 眞言傳 7 (compiled by Yōkai (1278-1347) of Kajūji's Jisonin 勸修寺慈尊院僧正榮海 around 1325 (Shōchū 正中 2), see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 2213 and *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 6, pp. 193d-194a) in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 244a, p. 267b for a colophon; the *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 4 血脈類集記 (which is of unknown authorship but which bears a repair stamp dated to 1482 文明 14) in *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 101b; the *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōrokukō* 2 金剛頂無上正宗傳燈廣錄後 (hereafter, the *Dentō kōrokukō*, compiled by Yūhō 祐寶 of Daigosan 醍醐山 perhaps sometime between 1688-1710 (Genroku 元祿-Hōei 寶永 period, see *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 513) in *Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 492a-493a; and the *Honchō kōsōden* 51 本朝高僧傳, compiled by Shiban 師蠻 (1626-1710, see *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 10, p. 197c), in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 103, p. 214a.

We learn from these sources that Genkaku's brothers were Kakui (1052-1107) of Ninnaji 仁和寺覺意僧都 and Gyōson (1057-1135) of Miidera 三井寺行尊僧正. The storehouse of Miidera had been renowned for its treasures since the time of Enchin 圓珍 (814-891), the early Heian pilgrim-monk. Genkaku studied under his older brother Kakui, thus inheriting rituals from the Ninnaji lineage. See endnote 52. Genkaku, under the patronage of his master Hanjun 範俊 (1038-1112) of Mandaraji at Ono 小野曼荼羅寺, served as custodian of a collection of temple paraphernalia called the Toba no Hōzō 鳥羽寶藏, which was part of a retirement palace, called the Tobadono 鳥羽殿, begun by Emperor Shirakawa 白河 (1053-1129; r. 1072-1086; In 1086-1129) in 1086. The collection in the Toba no Hōzō was considered unparalleled, and it included Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhist texts, ritual objects, paintings and sculptures.

According to Hanjun's biographies in the *Shingonden* 6 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, pp. 233a-234b), *Dentō kōroku kō* 1 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 488a-489b) and *Honchō kōsōden* 50 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 103, p. 212a-b), because of the rivalry between Gihan 義範 (1023-1088) and Hanjun for the inheritance of their master Seison's 成尊 (1012-1074) transmission, Hanjun appealed to the monarch Shirakawa in 1078 (Jōryaku 承曆 2) to have Seison's lineage and its main temple Mandaraji (presentday Zuishinin 隨心院) at Ono put under his control. Having been successful in his petition, Hanjun then presented to Shirakawa the sacred collection of texts and ritual implements that had been stored in Mandaraji since this temple's founding by Ningai 仁海 (951-1046). Shirakawa transferred the Ono collection, which contained works from Kūkai onwards, to the Toba no Hōzō 鳥羽寶藏. For generations thereafter the *Chōri* 長吏 (abbot) of Kajūji 勸修寺, a position that Genkaku held, was assigned to the post of management of the Toba Hōzō collection and Imperial permission was needed to view its works.

¹¹ For example, *Liqujing* 2 (T. 8.243:784c5-7); Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 122) ends in the following manner:

Thereupon, having thus given his explanation, the Lord, being about to elucidate this meaning further, relaxed his mien and gave a subtle smile: forming the Seal of the Wisdom Clasp, he explained the essence of the sameness of the self-nature of all dharmas: *āḥ*.

And *Liqujing* 3 (T. 8.243:784c15-18; Astley-Kristensen, *ibid.*, p. 173) closes as follows:

Then Vajrapāṇi, the Great Bodhisattva, being about to elucidate this meaning further, formed the Seal of Conquering the Three Worlds and like a lotus blossom his face broke into a smile. Then knitting his eyebrows and gazing ferociously he bared his sword-like fangs, adopted the stance of conquest and explained the essence of this adamant syllable: *hum*.

The seed letter *āḥ*, then, epitomizes the Stage of Mahāvairocana in *Liqujing* 2 and *hum* that of Trailokyavijaya in *Liqujing* 3. These seed letters are the focus of the corresponding Kanchi'in mandalas (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, pp. 821, No. 3 and 822, No. 4, fig. 16). Astley-Kristensen gives the seed letter *hūm*, but in the *Taishō* publication of the *Liqujing* the seed letter is *hum* 呬 (短). Kūkai records the single seed letter *hum* for this stage in his *Shinjitsukyō mongu* 眞実經文句 (T. 61.2237:614a8), his commentary on Amoghavajra's *Liqushi*.

¹² As I have mentioned in Chapter One of this dissertation (p. 16), the *Liqujing* has sixteen seed letters. Fifteen close Stages of the teachings and a final seed letter sums up the teachings of the text as a whole. Nevertheless, Amoghavajra clearly divides the *Liqushi* into seventeen Stages. Moreover, although Amoghavajra assigns a seed letter to each of the seventeen figures that compose the Mandala of the Seventeen Epithets of Purity in *Liqushi* 1 (T. 1003:609c20-610a9), he does not allocate seed letters to the figures that appear in the mandalas he describes in the other Stages of the *Liqushi*.

¹³ The seed letters from the *Liqujing* form the focal points of fifteen of the twenty mandalas in the Kanchi'in set.

¹⁴ Despite the fact that the note accompanying the Kanchi'in Vajrasattva Mandala (No. 2, see endnote 8 above) cites passages from the *Liqujing* and the ritual manuals T.1119 and 1123, and that the seed letters are those that Amoghavajra assigned to the seventeen figures who represent the Seventeen Epithets of Purity in *Liqushi* 1, Vajrasattva's seed letter agrees neither with *Liqushi* 1 nor with the *Liqujing*. Vajrasattva's seed letter in the Kanchi'in mandala is *hum* (fig. 15, T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 820), but in *Liqushi* 1 it is *om* (T.1003:609c20) and in *Liqujing* 1 his seed letter is *hūm* (T.243:784b24). Further, the arrangement of the seed letters does not agree with Amoghavajra's allocation of seed letters in *Liqushi* 1. The series *jaḥ*, *hūm*, *baṃ*, *hoḥ*, which Amoghavajra assigns to Bodhisattvas Spring, Summer, Fall and Winter (T.1003:610a1-4), are given to Bodhisattvas Form, Sound, Smell and Taste, who are assigned to the gates of the mandala. *Jaḥ*, *hūm*, *baṃ* and *hoḥ* are, in fact, the seed letters of the Gathering Bodhisattvas 四撰菩薩 in the gates of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* 現因金剛界曼荼羅.

These are not the only puzzles. Although the *Jingangfeng louge yiqie yuqi jing* 金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 (hereafter the *Yuqijing*, T.18.867) is the source for the seed letters of the retinue Bodhisattvas in the Mandalas of Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha and Vajramuṣṭi (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 823, No. 5, p. 824, No. 6 and p. 825, No. 7; T.867:254b29-c18, 254b10-28, 254c19-255a9), the seed letters for these Bodhisattvas in the Trailokyavijaya Mandala (fig. 16, T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 822, No. 4), which forms a doctrinal group with the above three mandalas because, according to the *Liqujing*, the Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha and Vajramuṣṭi represent the outer workings of Vairocana's four wisdoms (T.243:784b26-c1, T.1003:610c19-23, and Chapter One, p. 22 and endnote 40), are not based on the *Yuqijing*. In this mandala the first syllables of the names of the figures form the seed letters. For example, *sa*, *ra*, *sa* and *rā* are the seed letters of Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrasādhu and Vajrarāga, respectively, instead of *hūm*, *traḥ*, *aḥ* and *hrīḥ* that are given to these Bodhisattvas of the East in the *Yuqijing* Preface (T.867:254a22-b9).

¹⁵ See for example entries for each deity in the *Mikkyō daijiten*: Incense 金剛香, vol. 2, p. 682a; Flower 金剛華, vol. 2, pp. 675c-676a; Lamp 金剛灯, vol. 2, p. 716b; Unguent 金剛塗香, vol. 2, p. 701c; and Hook 金剛鉤, vol. 2, p. 682b-c; Rope 金剛索, vol. 2, p. 686b; Chain 金剛鎖, vol. 2, p. 689b; Bell 金剛鈴, vol. 2, p. 734a.

Moreover, in the Mahāvairocana Mandala (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 821, No. 3) Mahāvairocana's seed letter *āḥ* is from the *Liqujing* (T.243:784c7) but those of his four retinue Bodhisattvas – Vajrasattva, Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha and Vajrakarma – are the seed letters of the four Buddhas of the four Families in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*: Akṣobhya (*hūm*), Amitāyus (*hrīḥ*), Ratnasambhava (*trāḥ*) and Amoghasiddhi (*aḥ*) (*Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 25a; vol. 5, p. 2017c; vol. 1, pp. 38c-39a; vol. 4, p. 1906a). The *Liqujing*, however, specifically states that the seed

letters for Vajrasattva, Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha and Vajrakarma are *hūṃ*, *hrīḥ*, *trāṃ* and *aḥ* respectively (T. 243:784b24; 785a2; 785a10; 785a23). Further, the *Liqushi* provides precise information about the positions, mudrās and attributes of the Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Ākāśagarbha, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrakarma, who form Mahāvairocana’s immediate retinue (T.1003:610c24–611a4, and Chapter One, p. 22).

By replacing Ākāśagarbha’s seed letter *trāṃ* with the seed letter *trāḥ*, which is that of Buddha Ratnasambhava of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*’s Gem Family, the seed letters *hūṃ*, *hrīḥ* and *aḥ* equate, in turn, to those of the Buddhas Akṣobhya, Amitāyus and Amoghasiddhi. This equation of the four Bodhisattvas with the four Buddhas who head their respective families is in keeping with Amoghavajra’s commentarial references and explanations in the *Liqushi* (T.1003:610b6–21, c19–23, 611a6–9), where Amoghavajra elucidates the contents of Mahāvairocana’s enlightenment which are symbolized by these four Bodhisattvas. The accompanying note (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 821) on the Kanchi’in Mahāvairocana Mandala states that the seed letters of the Inner, Outer [and Gathering] Bodhisattvas are from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* 十二供養菩薩如金剛界。

¹⁶ The seed letters of Mañjuśrī’s attendants are: *ca* for Candraprabha 月光菩薩, *ka* for Ratnakūṭa 宝冠菩薩, *tra* for Vimalaprabha 無垢光菩薩, and *jam* for Jālinīprabha 光網菩薩. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 373a-b, vol. 5, p. 1998c, vol. 5, p. 2133a and vol. 2, p. 546a.

¹⁷ The exception is Brāhmī’s seed letter *ma*. Brahmā is represented by the seed letter *bra*.

¹⁸ T.18.867. For an overview of the Japanese Shingon school’s discussion of the translators of this text, see Pol Vanden Broucke, “On the Title and Translator of the *Yujijing* (T.XVIII no. 867),” *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Esoteric Buddhist Culture*, vol. 7 (March 1994), pp. 212–184. Present day Japanese scholars, for example, Misaki Ryōshū (“Butchōkei no mikkyō” 佛頂系の密教, *Taimitsu no kenkyū* (Sōbunsha, 1988), pp. 137–140) regard the *Yujijing* is an apocryphal text that was written after the death of Amoghavajra in 774 and before Kūkai’s arrival in China in 804.

¹⁹ T.867:254c3–18. Vajradharma, Vajratīkṣṇa, Vajrahetu and Vajrabhāṣa are the Esoteric Buddhist names givens to the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin and Vajrabhāṣa once they have received consecration into the Adamantine Realm. See Chapter One, p. 20 and endnotes 30 and 31.

²⁰ T.867:255a22–b1. The four sisters of the Four Sisters Mandala (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 834, No. 16) have the seed letter *om*, which is the seed syllables of the four Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattvas in the *Yujijing* Preface (T.867:255a18–21).

²¹ See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1273a–1274b, see p. 1273b; *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 628c, vol. 5 (*Rishukyō dandan no inmyō*), pp. 2260a–2262a, esp. 2262a; *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 222–223. This explanation for the double *hūṃ* seed letter is found in such works as the Ninnaji master Saisen’s 濟暹 (1025–1115) *Dairakukyō kengishō* 大樂經顯義抄 (T. 61.2239:0640a27–b11), the Ono master Raiyu’s 賴瑜 (1226–1304) *Hishō mondō* 祕鈔問答 (T. 79.2536:441c4–11), wherein he records, almost verbatim, Genkaku’s note, the Tōji monk Chōen’s 澄圓 (1218–after 1278) *Byakuhōshō* 白寶抄 (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 10, no. 3191, p. 745b20–c4), and Ryōson’s 亮尊 (1258–1341) record of the teachings of his master Ryōzen 亮禪 (1258–1341) of Tōji’s Hōbodai’in 寶菩提院, the *Byakuhokkushō* 白寶口抄 (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 6, no. 3119, pp. 581a24–587b5: entry on ritual practice of the Mudrās and Mantras of the Seventeen Stages 段段印明事 (*dandan inmyō no koto*) of the scripture, esp. pp. 586c27–587b5), but the origin of the explanation is difficult to trace from the information that is given in these compilations. In his *Byakuhōshō*, for example, Chōen cites this explanation under an entry titled *Yaketsu* 野決 (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 10, p. 745b20–c10), which could possibly refer to the Ono subschool transmission that the Ninnaji 仁和寺 Dharma Prince Shukaku 守覺法親王 (1150–1202) received from Shōken 勝賢 (1138–1196) of Daigoji 醍醐寺. Shukaku recorded Shōken’s transmission in the *Yaketsushō* 野決鈔, a work I have not been able to consult, and the *Hishō* 祕鈔 (T.78.2489), a work I can access. See the *Hishō*’s entry (T.78.2489:514a15–515a6) on the Mudrās and Mantras of the Stages 段段印明 (*dandan inmyō*) which has a *siddham* *hhūṃ* for the Stage of the Five Mysteries. Shukaku records in his *Takushō* 澤鈔 (T.78.2488:436a14–437a9) the transmission of this ritual phase of the Stages of the *Liqujing* that he received from Kakusei 覺成 (1126–1198) of the Hojuin branch 保壽院流 of the Hirosawa subschool 廣澤流. Here he provides individual mudrās for each figure of

the Five Mysteries pentad, and states that the double *hūṃ* is used to represent the five figures. According to the above records, then, both the Ono and Hirosawa subschools used the double *hūṃ* for the final of the seventeen Stages of the *Liqujing*.

²² See *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, p. 710c27-28; *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 4963a: 理趣經法 (*Rishukyō hō*); *Byakuhokku shō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 6, p. 587a4-7; and *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 744 (also *Nihon daizōkyō*, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, vol. 9, p. 12b5-6).

²³ For instance, Kanjin's 寬信 (1084-1153) *Denjushū* 傳受集 (*T.78.2484*, see endnote 52) does not record that his master Genkaku received a transmission of the *Liqujing* rite from his Daigoji and Ninnaji masters. Jichiun 實運 (1105-1160) records Kanjin's transmission of the *Rishukyō dandan in* (Mudrās of the Stages of the *Rishukyō*) in his *Hizō konpōshō* 祕藏金寶鈔 (*T.78.2485:369c5-370a2*), a recording of the transmission he received from Genkaku's disciple Kanjin (*Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 9, pp. 106c-107a), but this ritual performance does not have seventeen Stages. Kakuzen records a secret Ono tradition in his *Kakuzenshō* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 709b710c, esp. p.710c23) that corresponds to that recorded in Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō*, and here there are seventeen Stages and the final Stage of the Five Mysteries has, again according to an Ono transmission, a *siddham* *hhūṃ* seed letter. After Genkaku's time we see numerous examples of the double *hūṃ* for the seventeenth Stage of the Five Mysteries. See Shinkaku's *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū* (housed in the Tachūgura collection in Ninnaji, see endnote 61 below) and Ryōe's 亮慧 (1098-after 1131) transmission to Kōzen 興然 (1121-1203) that Kakuzen inherited (*Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, pp. 712c-724, esp. p. 724, no. 107), as well as the Ono and Hirosawa transmissions that Shukaku inherited, as I noted above.

²⁴ This mantra, called the Heart Spell (*vidyā*) in One Letter 一字心明, is given in Sanskrit letters 梵字 (*siddham*) as *hhūṃ ṭakki hūṃ jjaḥ* (*T.867:257a20-22*). The Chinese characters read as *hūṃ ṭakki hūṃ jjaḥ* 吽引咤枳吽引惹入聲. The double “h” of the seed syllable *hhūṃ* can be read only when written in the *siddham* script. I thank Iyanaga Nobumi for alerting me to a notation in the *Taishō* (*T.867:254a25*, n. 9: 原本有漢字而無梵字, 甲本有梵字而無漢字, 今梵字依甲本載之, 乙本有梵漢兩字, 下同” (253c14, n. 54: <原>明本, <甲>三十帖策子第五, <乙>縮冊大藏經). The Chinese Ming edition did not have *siddham* letters, suggesting that research would have to be carried out to trace this mantra back to a Chinese original. However, the *siddham* letters are given in Kūkai's *Sanjūjō sakushi* (5) 三十帖策子第五. This work is a compilation of masters' transmissions, scriptures and ritual manuals that were copied for Kūkai's return to Japan. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 798c-800b. From Kūkai's time, then, Rāgarāja's mantra contained a double *hūṃ* when written in *siddham* script.

There are commentaries and ritual compilations that suggest the *Yuqijing* as the source of the double *hūṃ* seed letter for the Five Mysteries. For example, Saisen 濟暹 states in his *Dairakukyō kengishō* (*T.2239:640b10-11*) that the *Yuqijing* be investigated concerning the double *hūṃ* for Vajrasattva. The transmission of the Ono master Kenjin 憲深 (1192-1263) that his disciple Shinkai 新快 (1215-1276) records in the *Kōshinshō*'s 幸心鈔 (*T.78.2498:720a8-11*) is another example. The entry on the “Matter of the Five Mysteries” 五祕密事 presents the principle of conflation of the deities from the thirty-seven of the *Kongōkai mandara* (Mandala of the Adamantine Realm) into the seventeen of the *Rishue* 理趣會, then into the five of the Five Mysteries and finally into one body of Rāgarāja (Aizen myōō). Ryōson too documents in the *Byakuhokkushō*'s entry on the Mudrās and Mantras of the Seventeen Stages of the *Rishukyō* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 6, p. 587b21-b1) the close relationship between the Five Mysteries and Rāgarāja. He provides such explicit examples as the principle of conflation of the deities as is given in the *Kōshinshō*; the indivisible relationship 不二 between the *Liqujing* and the *Yuqijing*; and the fact that Five Mysteries and Rāgarāja are one body and that Rāgarāja's double *hūṃ* represents the single body of the Five Mysteries.

²⁵ *T.867:256b25-257b15*, esp. 265c10-11, 12, 14.

²⁶ In the Ono subschool, Rāgarāja is considered to be a transformation of Vajrasattva, and a transformation of the four Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Vajrarāga, Vajrarāja and Vajrasadhu 金剛喜 of the retinue of Buddha Akṣobhya, head of the Vajra Family in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, as well as a transformation of an unusual four-armed Vajrarāja 金剛王 whom I present in this discussion. These identifications are based on interpretations given to elements in Rāgarāja's ritual performance, scriptural and commentarial citations, as well as the deity's attributes.

²⁷ The vajra is Vajrasattva's attribute in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, *Liqujing* 1 and *Liqushi* 1 (see *T.865:208c21-24*, *T.243:784b25*, *T.1003:609b28-c2*, c7-8), and in *Liqushi* 2 his attributes are the vajra and bell (see *T.1003:610c26-28*, *T.1004:617b26-27*).

²⁸ *T.78.2483:272a25-27* and compare *T.867: 257b2-3*, *T.2483:272a25-27*.

²⁹ See Chapter One, p. 28 for this deity in Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T.865:209a21-b16*, *T.870:289a2-7*, Giebel, *The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra*, pp. 30-31).

³⁰ *T.78.2482:229b24-26*. I discuss this work in endnote 52. For Rāgarāja's equation with Vajrarāja of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, see also Genkai's *Atsuzotshi* (*T.2483:271b15-29*, 25) and Jichiun's *Gempishō* 玄祕抄 (*T.78.2486:390a4-9*, 13-17), a work that records the transmission of his Daigoji master Genkai (*Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 200c-201b); for his equation with Vajrasattva, see Jichiun's *Gempishō* (*T.2486:392b1-3*) and his *Hizō konpōshō* (*T.2485:356a28-b4*); and for Rāgarāja's transformation of the Four Bodhisattvas of the East, see *Gempishō* (*T.2486:392b1-c18*), *Hizō konpōshō* (*T.2485:355a10-16*, 356c17-23) and *Shoson yōshō* 諸尊要抄 (*T.78.2484:299c13-14*), a recording of the transmissions Jichiun received from Kanjin and from Kanjin's contemporary, Genkai, which was produced either by Jichiun himself or by his disciple (see *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 272a-c).

³¹ Jichiun's *Shoson yōshō* contains the following entry (*T.2484:299c11-13*): “[Concerning the fact that] Rāgarāja is, namely, the transformation of Bodhisattva Rāga 愛菩薩, and so on: [the Tendai monk] Annen's 安然 (841-915?) *Yugikyōki* 瑜祇經記 (Notation on the *Yuqijing*) clearly explains this [deity's] significance. The *Jinwang yugui* (*T.1132*) is the ritual procedure for Rāgarāja. [Therefore,] [this figure] is not the usual Vajrarāja 金剛王 [in the east of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm].” See also Jichiun's *Gempishō* (*T.2486:392b3-6*) and *Hizō konpōshō* (*T.2485:355a10-16*).

For this form of Vajrarāja, his connection to Rāgarāja and his becoming the distinct deity Ṭakki krodharāja in later Tantrism, see Iyanaga, kuden-ML posting of Sunday, 1 Jul 2007, *Indian Origins of Aizen myōō*, and Goepper, *Aizen Myōō. The Esoteric King of Lust. An Iconological Study* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae and Museum Rietberg, 1993), pp. 58-62.

³² The mantra is *ṭakki huṃ jaḥ* 唵枳吽惹. See *T.20.1132:572c16-18*, 572c22 and *T.2120:839c13*. The deities in this rite's mandala are installed by visualization of the syllables of the mantra expounded in *Liqushi* 1 (*T.1003:609c20-610a8* and 1132:573b22-c5): *om mahāsukha vajrasattva jaḥ hūṃ bam hoḥ suratastvaṃ*. Thus, the four-armed Vajrarāja sits surrounded by the sixteen deities prescribed in the *Liqushi* 1, although the secondary figures in these two works are positioned differently.

³³ See *Atsuzōshi*, *T.2483:272a1-2*. There is in Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* (*T.2485:353c26-29*, see also *Gempishō*, *T.2486:389a1-8*, esp. 389a2) the statement that “The utmost secret Rāga[rāja] rite has three styles: the so-called *hoḥ* 斛 letter is the seed [letter] and the bow and arrow are the symbolic [form, and] this is one [style]; the double *hūṃ* 重 吽 letter is the seed [letter] and the five pronged *vajra* is the symbolic emblem [and] this is [style] two.” Style three uses the seed letter *hrīḥ*.

Kanjin's *Denjushū* contains two transmissions of Rāgarāja's double *hūṃ* seed letter that Genkaku received from Raishō 賴照. Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* (*T.2485:353c24*) confirms Raishō's transmission of the double *hūṃ*. Jichiun's *Shoson yōshō* (*T.2484:298b23*) also records a *siddham* *hhūṃ* for Rāgarāja's seed letter and a note in small characters states this is the secret explanation of the Kajūji's Hōmu, that is Genkaku's disciple Kanjin. See Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* (*T.2485:356a18-19*) for the transmission of Shōkaku.

³⁴ See the performance of the Great Wisdom Mudrā-Mantra of Vajrasattva: *T.1125:536c6-19*, 536c22-537a8; the Great Wisdom Mudrās-Mantras of the five deities: 537a29-b23; the Pledge Mudrās-Mantras of the five deities: 537b24-538a5; the attainments (*siddhi*) for residing in the *samādhis* and forming the Great Wisdom Mudrās of the five deities: 538a20-b19.

³⁵ See, for example, Genkaku's contemporary Kanjo 寛助 (1052-1125) of the Hirosawa subschool 廣澤流, who records verbatim in his *Betsugyō*'s 別行 (T.78.2476:152b23-153c17) entry on Rāgarāja the text of *Yuqijing* chs. 2 (152b23-c17), 5 (152c18-153b8) and 7 (153b9-c17). The contents of these chapters clearly emphasize the connection between Rāgarāja and Vajrasattva.

³⁶ See Goepper, *Aizen-Myōō*, p. 13-16, T.867:256c15, c22, 256c25-257a1, 257a20-28.

³⁷ See T.243:784c8-18, T.1003:611b9-612a9 and Chapter One, pp. 24-28 with relevant endnotes.

³⁸ T.867:258a3-258a18-28, 257c19-22 (mantra).

³⁹ Jichiun's source is scroll one of Kanjin's *Denjushū*. See T.2485:354c14-16 and T.867:256c14-15 (ch. 5) and Goepper, *Aizen-Myōō*, p. 14.

⁴⁰ T.2485:356a22-27 and T.867:258a18-19 and 257c21-22.

⁴¹ Compare T.2484:299b and T.1003:609c20-610a8.

⁴² See T.2483:270c14-15 and 270c16-26. Jichiun provides the same information about the transmissions of Hanjun and Shinzen in his *Gempishō* (T.2483:390c19-21, c26-391a3), his recording of Genkai's transmission. He includes in this work a diagram of the *Rishue* (ibid, 391a) that is similar to that drawn in the *Atsuzōshi*.

⁴³ T.2485:355a1-4, ibid, 353c22-355b2.

⁴⁴ T.2485:355b8-356a16, ibid, 355c26-27.

In addition to the mandala for the large altar in the Rāgarāja rite in Accordance with the Rules, as recorded in Genkai's *Atsuzōshi* and Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō*, the Ono subschool borrowed other ritual elements from Vajrasattva's rite for this Rāgarāja rite. One example is the use of *Liqushi* 1's (T.1003:609c20-610a8) mantra for Vajrasattva and his retinue of Sixteen Bodhisattvas during the ritual phase of visualization in the rite of burnt offerings 護摩法 that accompanies the Rāgarāja rite. The diagram in Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* (T.2485:355c) that precedes Kanjin's statement (ibid, 355c26-27) about the use of the *Rishue* for Rāgarāja's mandala is not that of the *Rishue*. This diagram presents the seating arrangement of the seventeen deities (T.2485:355c12-13) who are invited 勸請 into the sacred arena 道場 for the rite of burnt offerings 護摩諸尊段. The mantra is prescribed in *Liqushi* 1 (the central *om* has not been written) and it is written in *siddham* script with the deities' names in Chinese characters beside the *siddham* letters. The arrangement of the syllables is, however, not according to *Liqushi* 1 or the *Jingangwang yigui* (T.1132). This configuration is identified in Jichiun's *Gempishō* (T.2486:391c) as the Ono Sōjō [nin] *zu daishidai* 小野僧正仁圖大次第 (Diagram in the Great Ritual Procedure of Ono Sōjō Nin[gai]). The figure of Rāgarāja replaces Vajrasattva as the main deity. For the difference between the mandalas prescribed in *Liqushi* 1, the *Jingangwang yigui* (T.1132) and Ningai's mandalic configuration, see Jichiun's diagrams in *Gempishō*, T.2486:391b, c.

⁴⁵ T.2483:271c18-24. The chapters in the scripture that focus on these two deities (ch. 2 for Zenaiō and ch. 5 for Aizenō) do not provide such an interpretation. For a translation of *Yuqijing* ch. 5 and a discussion of Rāgarāja's iconography, mantra and seed letter, see R. Goepper, *Aizen Myōō*, pp. 13-16, 18-39, 120-123, 127. For a general discussion of this deity, see also Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 10a-c, *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, pp. 5a-7a and "Aizen myōō," *Hobogirin*, 1, pp. 15-17. See Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* (T.2485:355a17-25) on Zenaiō and Aizenō.

⁴⁶ One variation which is difficult to evaluate is that the Five Mysteries Mandala, number seventeen of the set, precedes the Mandala of the Assembly of the Five Families. This may be a copyist's error. In the Five Mysteries Mandala a small numeral "eight" 八 has been placed at the side of the number "seven" 七, and the reverse occurs in the Mandala of the Assembly of the Five Families. The *Taisho* editors have "corrected" the order. See T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, pp. 835-836, where the Mandalas of the Assembly of the Five Families are numbered 17 and 18 and the Five Mysteries Mandala is 19.

Whereas the Edo period copy in the *Mandara shū* (see above endnote 2) follows the order of the Kanchi'in

set, the Edo monk Ihō copied the unusual numbering of the mandalas, but presented them in an order that is in keeping with that given in the *Liqushi*, so that the Five Mysteries Mandala is the final mandala of the set. For the copy in the *Mandara shū*, see *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3023, pp. 710-712, and for the diagrams in Ihō's manuscript, see the *Rishukyō jūshichidan jūhachishu hōmandara shosetsu fudōki, Toganoo korekushon kenmitsu tensekimonjo shusei*, vol. 12 *Siddham Mandalas*, pp. 271-275.

⁴⁷ *Yuqijing*, T.867:254a22-255b20.

The Daigoji example of the Assembly of the Five Families (fig. 6, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 792, No. 17) depicts in its four intermediary directions four empty lunar discs. These are the discs of the Five Mysteries, as prescribed in the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie jing* 一切教集瑜伽經, the Third Assembly of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, which Amoghavajra briefly describes in his *Liqushi* (*T.1003:616b23-c11, 617a1-4* and *T.869:286b1-8*). The two versions in the Kanchi'in set (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 835, No. 17, No. 18) do not have these lunar discs. The notes on the Kanchi'in mandalas record a certain explanation (No. 18) that refers to the seed letters of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界種子字 and to an illustration of mantras, mudrās and symbols of the Thirty-Seven Venerables of the Five Families 五部三十七尊之三昧耶印言圖, respectively. These references suggest a connection between the Kanchi'in mandalas and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. But the Shingon school's *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (Mandala of the Adamantine Realm) is not the source of the seed letters. Instead, there are patterns seen in the use of the seed letters from the preface of the *Yuqijing*, a work whose system belongs to the Adamantine Realm. For example, in the first version (No. 17), the iconography of the central circle of the five large circles in the five directions is constant: the letter *vaṃ* is surrounded by the letter *om*. The seed letters of the four bodhisattvas of the four families become the center in their respective mandalas in the east, south, west and north. In the second version (No. 18), the iconography of the central large circle is repeated again. This time, however, the seed letters of the four bodhisattvas of the four families surround the letter *vaṃ* in the center of each family's mandala in the east, south, west and north.

⁴⁸ For example, in the central court are Vairocana's seed letter *āh*, taken from *Liqujing* 2 (*T. 243:784c5-7*, No. 20), and the seed letters of the Eight Bodhisattvas, which close *Liqujing* 3 to 10 (*T. 243:784c15-18; 784c28-785a2; a7-10; a20-23; a28-b2; b7-10; b18-20; b26-29*). In the four gates of the outermost court are Maheśvara's seed letter *tri*, which closes *Liqujing* 12; Mahākāla's *bhyo* from 13; Nārāyaṇa's *svā* from 14; and Tumburu deva's *haṃ* from 15 (*T. 243:785c15-17; c18-20; c21-23; c24-25*). The remaining seed letters are those of the Inner and Outer Offering Bodhisattvas and the Gathering Bodhisattvas from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*.

⁴⁹ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, pp. 794-797. The iconographies described in the *Yuqijing* are Rāgarāja in ch. 5 (see above, endnote 25), Mandala of Buddhalocanā in ch. 9 (*T. 867:263a16-27*) and Mandala of the Five Great Ākāśagarbha, also in ch. 9 (*T. 867:263b15-25*). The *Yuqijing* and the *Liqujing* and its commentary are listed in the inventories of the early Heian pilgrim-monks, known as the Eight Monks Who Went to Tang China 入唐八家, reflecting the popularity of the two texts there in the first half of the ninth century. See my Chapters Five and Six.

The iconography of the third appended mandala, that of Vikīrṃoṣṇīṣa 尊勝佛頂 (Sonshō butchō) No. 21, which is labeled Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa Mandala 大佛頂曼陀羅, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 796, is based upon the *Zunsheng foding xiuyujiafa guiyi* 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽法儀軌, which is published in *T.19.973*. I discuss this text in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

⁵⁰ The work, titled *Yugi sanbonshō* 瑜祇三品鈔 (Selections from Three Chapters of the *Yuqijing*), is listed under Genkaku's name in the Edo period catalogue, the *Shoshū shōshoroku* 諸宗章疏錄 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho, Bukkyō shoseki mokuroku*, vol. 1, p. 180b6). In small characters beneath the title of the compilation is a note, "the matter of Rāgarāja" 愛染王事.

The *Shoshū shōshoroku* that I consulted, was published by Kenjun 謙順 in 1790 (Kansei 寛政 2), and it is a revision and enlargement of earlier inventories. For example, the Shingon section of this catalogue is based on the *Shingonshū shoshi seisakuroku* 眞言宗諸師製作錄 by Eihan 恵範 of Rokuharamitsuji 六波羅蜜寺. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1222b. However, the *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku* 日本古典籍総合目録, an online catalogue provided by the Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryō kan 国文学研究資料館 (<<http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~tkoten/about.html>>), records a manuscript of this work dated 1739 (元文 4) in Sanmitsuzō of Hōbodai'in 宝菩提院三密藏.

⁵¹ The Rāgarāja rite was an important secret rite of the Ono subschool, which further corroborates the relative date of execution of the Kanchi'in set, as well as its attribution, if not to Genkaku, at least to someone in his immediate circle.

Works that date after Genkaku's time provide evidence of this rite's significance for this school. One example are passages recorded in the Tendai monk Shōchō's 承澄 (1205-1282) *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄. Shōchō states in his scroll on Rāgarāja (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [], p. 1b6/1591b6) that, according to an old monk of Reizan 靈山老僧說, the Rāgarāja rite was performed exclusively by the monks of Daigoji and seldom by the monks of Ninnaji 此法醍醐專行也. 仁和寺邊疎也. Shōchō continues in an entry titled "an early precedent" 先蹤 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [], p. 1b7/1591b7-2a11/1592a11) to stress the importance of this rite for the monks of Tōji because of its awe-inspiring results 憚尤多. His source is again the old monk of Reizan, who is here identified as a disciple of Jakuen (d. 1065 治曆 1) of the Ono subschool 小野流寂圓入道弟子. The old man of Reizan relates the Ono monk Seison Sōzu's (1012-1074) 小野成尊僧都 performance of this Rāgarāja rite for seven days, which resulted in the sudden death of the monarch Goreizei 後冷線天皇 (1025-1068, r. 1045-1068) and the enthronement of Gosanjō 後三条天皇 (1034-1073, r. 1068-1073). This ritual success 法驗 (also 靈驗) contributed to both Gosanjō's and his successor Shirakawa's 白河天皇 (1053-1129, r. 1072-1086, In 1086-1129) profound faith in Rāgarāja. See Kurimoto Noriko "Shirakawa'in to Ninnaji – shuhō kara miru Inseiki no seishin sekai," *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū*, vol. 286 (Kanagawa kenritsu Kanazawa bunko, 1991), pp. 12-30, esp. p. 13 and Kojima Yuko ("Inseiki ni okeru Aizenō mishuhō no tenkai – Ninnaji Shukaku hōshinnō sōden *Kurenainousuyō* wo kiten toshite," *Shukaku hōshinnō to Ninnaji gyoryū no bunkengakuteki kenkyū* - Ronbunhen, Abe Yasuo and Yamazaki Makoto, eds. (Benseisha, 1998), pp. 319-387, esp. p. 333.

A second example is found in Yōkai's (1278-1347) *Shingonden*. In an entry on the Rāgarāja rite 愛染王の法 appended to the biography of Gonsōzu Hanjun 権僧都範俊 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 234a15-b8), Yōkai records that this rite was transmitted and performed by Tōji monks 東寺一門コレヲ相承シテ行イ来ル, and that it was an especially secret rite in the Ono lineage 殊ニ小野流ノ祕法タリ. Further, this rite was particularly powerful during the time of the Latter Days of the Buddha's Teachings 末法, which began in 1051 (Eishō 永承 6) during the reign of Goreizei. Thus, Seison's performance of this secret rite brought about the enthronement of the monarch Gosanjō 延久ノ聖主踐祚アリ and Hanjun's performances contributed to the long life of the cloistered sovereign Shirakawa 白河院久ク帝運ヲ持チ給ヘリ.

⁵² A colophon by the monk Kōzen 興然 (1121-1203) dated 1193 (Kenkyū 建久 3) at the end of the first scroll of the *Denjushū* (T.2482:232a4-18) identifies the transmissions as follows: scrolls one and two are from Rishubō Raishō 理趣房頼照, who lived in Kamidaigoji 上醍醐寺 and was a disciple of Jakuen 寂圓 (d. 1065); scroll three is from Ōtani Ajari Kakushun 大谷阿闍梨覺俊 (ca 1083), who lived in Daigoji's Ōtani Renge'in 大谷蓮華院; and scroll four is from Genkaku's older brother, Daikyōin Sōzu Kakui 大教院僧都覺意 (1052-1107), who lived in Ninnaji 仁和寺. See the *Shoshū shōshoroku* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, *Bukkyō shoseki moku roku*, vol. 1, p. 180b11), which lists this work under Kanjin's name. There is a second theory that scroll one is the transmission of Jakuen (see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, p. 1631a and Toganno, *Himitsu jissō*, p. 606). A work with a similar title, the *Denjushō* 傳受鈔 (Selection of Transmissions), is listed (ibid, p. 180b6) under Genkaku's name. The latter constitutes the notes that Genkaku made on his masters' transmissions and the former is the version that Kanjin assembled.

Each of Genkaku's masters transmitted a Rāgarāja rite. In the transmission of the Rāgarāja rite in scroll one (T.2482:229b7-c12), Rāgarāja's seed letter is the double *hūṃ*, and the double *hūṃ* is also the focus of the mandala that is composed from Rāgarāja's longer mantra: *hūṃ ṭaki hūṃ jah*, which is a variation of the mantra given in the *Yuqijing* ch. 5 (T.867:257a21-22: *hhūṃ ṭakki hūṃ jjaḥ*). A second Rāgarāja rite is given in scroll two (ibid, 229b3-c11). There are differences: for instance, in this rite the mandala is formed from the mantra: *om vajraraga ho*. However, common to both are the double *hūṃ* seed letter, the visualization practice based on *Yuqijing* ch. 5, and the *mudrā*. In Kakushun's Rāgarāja rite recorded in scroll three (ibid, 241a9-13), the mantra is *hūṃ ṭakki hūṃ jah*, but here Rāgarāja's seed letter is *hram*. Finally, scroll four opens with a passage giving the historical transmission of the *Yuqijing* 瑜祇經事 and a note on the Rāgarāja rite 此經傳受次第 (ibid, 248a26-b8), but a seed letter is not recorded. Further, a short entry on Rāgarāja in scroll four (ibid, 251c14-16) contains only information on the hearth and mandala with a twelve-armed Mahāvairocana. In *Yuqijing* ch. 8, Vairocana manifests a body with twelve arms. See Pol Vanden Broucke, "The Twelve-Armed Deity Daishō Kongō and his Scriptural Sources," *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, Richard K. Payne, ed. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006), pp. 147-277.

⁵³ Here (T.2482:233c26-234a15) the seed letter of the Five Mysteries pentad is *stvam*, the final letter of the mantra in *Liqushi* 1 (T. 1003:610a8). This short entry also contains such information as the symbolic form of the pentad, Vajrasattva's mudrā, the complete mantra from *Liqushi* 1, recorded in Chinese characters, and a description of the pentad that opens a series of mantras and mudrās in a phase of a ritual that I cannot identify.

⁵⁴ The *Yuqijing* is discussed at the end of scroll 2 (T.2482:236b19-c1: “The three mantras in the *Yuqijing*” 瑜祇經三種眞言) and at the beginning of scroll 4 (ibid, 248a26-b8: “About the *Yuqijing*” 瑜祇經事).

That the Rāgarāja rite was more important in the Ono subschool than the rites of the Five Mysteries or the *Liqujing* is also seen in compilations composed by Kanjin's contemporaries. Examples are Genkai's *Atsuzōshi* and Jichiu's *Hizō konpōshō*, *Gempishō* and *Shoson yōshō*. These works record detailed entries on Rāgarāja (T.2483:270c3-272c28, T.2485:353c22-357a2, T.2486:388c25-394b11, T.2484:298b22-300a16). In contrast, the Five Mysteries rite does not appear in these works. Instead, the *Atsuzōshi* (T.2483:278a16-20) and *Shoson yōshō* (T.2484:296a20-b2) contain very short entries on the *Liqujing* rite 理趣經法 and the *Hizō konpōshō* (T.2485:369c5-370a2) notes the mudrās and mantras of the scripture's 理趣經印 fifteen ritual phases.

⁵⁵ See these rites in scroll 1 (T.2482: Peacock Spell no. 8, p. 225b22-c1; Humane Kings, no. 9, p. 225c2-c17; Rain, no. 11, pp. 225c24-226c1; Northern Star, no. 30, p. 230b25-c12), scroll 2 (ibid, Humane Kings, no. 1, p. 232b10-c12; Northern Star, no. 11, pp. 234c2-235b27), scroll 3 (ibid, Peacock Spell, no. 8, p. 238a27-b2; Rain, no. 13, pp. 238c25-239a1) and scroll 4 (ibid, Peacock Spell, no. 6, p. 249a21-b10; Humane Kings, no. 9, p. 249c4-29; Rain, no. 10, p. 250a1-b16; Northern Star, no. 33, p. 254b9-28).

⁵⁶ Inscriptions on various copies attribute this work either to Ejū 慧什 (ca. 1129-after 1144) or to Yōgen 永嚴 (1075-1151). It is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006, pp. 1-56. The *Zuzōshō* is generally recognized as a work by Ejū and I discuss this in more detail in Chapter Five, endnote 61. See Tamura Ryūshō, “*Zuzōshō* seiritsu to naiyō ni kansuru mondai,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 43-52; Sawa Ryūken “Mikkyō ni okeru hyakubyōzuzō no rekishi,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 1-23, esp. pp. 11-12 (reprinted in “Mikkyō zuzō no kenkyū – Mikkyō zuzō no tokushitsu oyobi sono bunrui,” *Mikkyō bijutsu ron* (Kyoto: Seiridō, 1969), pp. 127-128 and in *Hyakubyōzuzō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982) pp. 19-20); Bernard Frank, *Dieux et Bouddhas au Japon*, (Paris: Editions Odile Jacob, 2000), pp. 222-225.

⁵⁷ As noted with the Rāgarāja rite, although they are repeated, the rites contain different information.

Genkaku's master and older brother Kakui lived in Ninnaji. I present examples of the importance of the Rāgarāja rite in the Hirosawa subschool in endnote 59 below.

⁵⁸ The importance of the *Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī sūtra* for the rain ritual explains the quotation from this text in the note on the Mandala of the Seven Mothers (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 832, No. 14 and endnote 7 above). Shingon sources record, for example, that in 1082 (Eihō 永保 2) Genkaku's master Shinkaku 信覺 (1011-1084) of Kajūji, twice performed the rite of *Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī* to induce rainfall – the first time in the Imperial pleasure garden, the Shinsen'en 神泉苑, and the second time at Tōji 東寺. In 1106 (Kajo 嘉承 1) Genkaku's master and older brother Kakui of Ninnaji 仁和寺覺意, carried out the same rite for rain in Tōji's Kanjō'in 東寺灌頂院. Genkaku assisted his masters on these occasions and was rewarded with the rank of Hōkyō 法橋 in 1082 and that of Hōgen 法眼 in 1106. In 1120 (Hōan 保安 1) Genkaku himself performed the *Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī* rite to induce rain in the Shinsen'en. See Genkaku's biography in *Shingonden 7 (Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 244a), *Honchō kōsōden 51 (Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 103, p. 214a) and *Kechimyaku ruijūki 4 (Shingon zenshū*, vol. 39, p. 101b); Shinkaku's and Kakui's in *Shingonden 6 (Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, pp. 224b and 233a, respectively).

⁵⁹ Moriyama Shōshin's *Shingonshū nenpyō* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, reprint 1973, original 1931) records the ceremonies observed throughout the centuries by the Court, the major temples and their officiating masters and influential monks. In addition to biographical sources such as the *Shingonden*, *Honchō kōsōden* and the *Dentō kōroku*, Moriyama consulted such temple records as the *Tōji chōja honin* 東寺長者補仁, *Kōya shunjū hennen shūroku* 高野春秋編年輯録 and the *Tōbōki* 東寶記 and such ritual sources as the *Kujyakkī* 孔雀記, the *Kiuki* 祈雨記, to name but a few. For the performance of the Rāgarāja rite during the time of Shirakawa and Genkaku, see the following listings: in

1070 the Dharma Prince Shōshin 性信法親王 (1005-1085) performed the Rāgarāja rite 愛染王法 in Ninnaji's Kita'in 仁和寺北院 (p. 126); in 1081 Shōshin performed this rite (p. 132); in 1110 Kakuō 覺法 (1091-1153) performed this rite in the Tobadono no Kaya gosho 鳥羽殿萱御所 (p. 154); in the fifth month of 1121 (Hōan 保安 2) the Tendai Zashu Ninryō 天台座主仁豪 performed this rite in the Imperial Inner Palace 内裏 (Dairi) (p. 163), also in the same month the Daigoji monk Shōkaku 勝覺 (1057-1129) performed this rite in the Anpuku den 安福殿 (Court Physician's Waiting Room) of the Inner Palace, and in the tenth month of 1121 Shōkaku again performed this rite in the Anpuku den (p. 163); in 1123 the Dharma Prince Kakuō 覺法法親王 performed this rite in the Shirakawa dono 白河殿 (p. 165); in 1126 one hundred and eighty figures of Rāgarāja 愛染王像百八十軀 were enshrined in Hōshōji's Kondō 法勝寺金堂 (p. 167); in the fifth month of 1128 Kakuō performed the rite of Rāgarāja in Accordance with the Rules 如法愛染法 in the Sanjō bōmon danjō 三条坊門壇所 (p. 169), and in the eleventh month of the same year Kakuō performed the rite of Rāgarāja in Accordance with the Rules in the Muromachi danjō 室町壇所 (p. 169).

There is evidence that there were exchanges between the Daigoji and Ninnaji ritual lineages concerning Rāgarāja rite in such works as Genkai's *Atsuzōshi* (T.2483:271c13-15) and Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* (T.2485:356a6-7, 356c27-28) and his *Gempishō* (T.2486:389b5-6). Kurimoto, "Shirakawain to Ninnaji – shuhō kara miru Inseiki no seishin sekai," *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū*, vol. 286, pp. 12-30, presenting documentation from the Kanazawa bunko, demonstrates that the Dharma Princes 法親王 (*hōshinnō*) of Ninnaji, for instance, Shōshin (1005-1085), Kakugyō 覺行 (1075-1105), and Kakuō 覺法 (1091-1153), frequently performed the secret Ono rite of Rāgarāja. Shōshin received direct transmissions of the rites of Rāgarāja (Kurimoto, *ibid*, pp. 15-16) from Ningai 仁海 (951-1046) and Seison (1012-1074). There is also documentation on Hanjun's transmission to Kakuō: in the tenth month of 1110 Kakuō performed this rite for the cloistered sovereign Shirakawa in the Tobadono [Kaya]gosho 鳥羽殿萱御所.

Entries on Hanjun in the Shingon biographies (*Shingonden* 6, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 234a10-13 and *Dentō kōrokukō*, *Zoku Shingonshū zenshū*, vol. 33, p. 489b5-7) record Hanjun's giving consecration to Kakuō, and thus instruction in the Ono ritual lineage. See also Moriyama, *Shingonshū nenpyō*, p. 153, according to *Shiryō sōran* 2, 史料綜覽二, on the seventh day of the tenth month of 1109 (Tennin 天仁 2) Kakuō 法皇の皇子行眞 received the teachings 受法 from Hanjun in his Toba meditation chamber 鳥羽禪室; *ibid*, p. 154, according to *Sanbō'in denpō kechimyaku ki* 三寶院傳法血脈 and *Kechimyaku ruishū ki* 4 血脈類集記四, on the ninth day of the twelfth month of 1110 (Tenei 天永 1) Hanjun granted Kakuō consecration as master of the [Esoteric Buddhist] transmission 傳法灌頂 in Ninnaji's Kannon'in. See also Kurimoto, "Shirakawa'in to Ninnaji – shuhō kara miru Inseiki no seishin sekai," pp. 19, 29 chart in the tenth month of 1109 (Tennin 天仁 2), whose sources are *Omuro sōshō ki* 4 御室相承記四 and *Kōya omuro* 高野御室.

Kojima ("Inseiki ni okeru Aizenō mishuhō no tenkai – Ninnaji Shukaku hōshinnō sōden *Kurenainousuyō* wo kiten toshite," *Shukaku hōshinnō to Ninnaji gyoryū no bunkengakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 319-387), consulting documents in Ninnaji's Scripture Repository 仁和寺御経蔵, presents the transmissions of the Rāgarāja rites that the Ninnaji Dharma Prince Shukaku (1150-1202) received from his masters, the Dharma Prince Kakushō 覺性法親王 (1129-1169) of the Hirosawa subschool's Ninnaji gyoryū ritual lineage 仁和寺御流, and Shōgen 勝賢 (1138-1196), the sixteenth Abbot of Daigoji, who belonged to the Ono subschool's Sanbō'in ritual lineage 三寶院流. Kojima reproduces Shukaku's careful studies of and compilations on the rites he inherited from these masters and, by focusing on Kakushō's performance of the Rāgarāja rite 愛染王法 for the prayers of the sovereign 天皇御祈 in the Inner Palace 内裏 in 1162 (Ōhō 應保 2) and Shukaku's performance of the rite of Rāgarāja in Accordance with the Rules 如法愛染王法 in 1195 (Kenkyū 建久 6) for monarch Gotoba's 後鳥羽展皇 consort's safe delivery of a child 中宮御産御祈, she retraces the origins, development and significance of these two secret rites from the time of Seison (1012-1074) and his disciples Gihan 義範 (1038-1088) and Hanjun 範俊 (1038-1112). Kojima (*ibid*, pp. 362-362) also provides circumstantial evidence that links Genkaku to the transmission of the Rāgarāja rite. This is Shukaku's *Nyohō Aizenō ruijū shō* 如法愛染王類聚抄 (Excerpts from Collected Works on Nyohō Aizenō), a copy in the Ninnaji Scripture Repository 仁和寺御経蔵 that the Sōjō Kenyō 顯誉僧正 made in 1320 (Genō 元応 2). Shukaku records in the colophon, which dates to 1195 (Kenkyū 建久 6), that, although he had received a secret transmission from his master Shōgen 勝賢, he compiled and collated into one work what various masters before him had recorded about this rite. The works that Shukaku has cited are those of such masters of the Ono ritual lineage as Genkaku 嚴覺, his disciple Kanjin 寛信 (1084-1153), Shōkaku 勝覺 (1057-1129), Jichiun 實運 (1105-1160) and Shōgen, and these masters cite in their collections the explanation of this rite that Toba Sōjō Hanjun 鳥羽僧正範俊 (1038-1112)

presented to the cloistered sovereign Shirakawa.

See also Goepper, *Aizen Myōō* (pp. 132, 134) who cites the performances that are recorded in such Shingon iconographical compilations as the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記, *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪抄 and *Byakuhō kushō* 百寶口鈔.

⁶⁰ The importance of the *Yujijing* in the Shingon school begins with Kūkai (774-835), who records this text in his *Shōrai mokuroku* 請來目錄 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 82), an inventory of religious articles that he collected in China. Most importantly, Kūkai included the text in his *Shingonshū shogaku kyōritsuron mokuroku* 眞言宗所學經律論目錄 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 106), a list of works that his disciples were required to study. Moreover, the name and program of the main temple complex that Kūkai begun on Kōyasan, Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺, was also based on the *Yujijing*. The transmission of Kakushun in the *Denjushū* (T.2482:246c) includes a description of the program of the Hondō of Kōyasan's Kongōbuji. The enshrined group of images are Samantabhadra as Life Extender 延命普賢, Acala 不動, Vajrasattva, Akṣobhya, Vajrarāja, Trailokyavijaya and Rāgarāja.

Ningai 仁海 (951-1046), a patriarch of the Ono subschool, wrote the first manual for the ritual of Rāgarāja. The *Shoshū shōshoroku* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, *Bukkyō shoseki mokuroku*, vol. 1, pp. 174b-175a) lists under Ningai's name such manuals for rites of Rāgarāja as the *Aizenō daishidai* 愛染王大次第 (Great Procedure [for the Rite] of Rāgarāja), *Ai[zēn]hō* 愛水[=染]法 (Method for Rāgarāja) and the *Raga hihō* 羅識祕法 (Secret Method of Rāga[rāja]), as well as the *Aizenō shō* 愛染王鈔 (Selection on Rāgarāja). As mentioned above, Seison 成尊 (1012-1074), Ningai's disciple, performed a Rāgarāja rite in order to help his patron, the then Higashi-no-miya 東宮 (heir prince), ascend to the throne, becoming the monarch Gosanjō 後三条天皇 (r. 1068-1073). This was a rite of wrathful subjugation 調伏法 (*ābhicāruka*) in which Seison prayed for the death of the monarch Goreizei 後冷泉天皇. Shōchō reports in his *Asabashō's* entry on Seison's performance (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [], p. 2/1592a9-11) that this rite had never yet been performed to fulfill the prayers of the nobility but had been performed solely by the practitioner for his own spiritual and material needs 昔打任テハ公家御[祈]ナトニ不修之。只自行ナトニソ修ケル。Seison's performance of this powerful rite marked the start of numerous performances that the monarchs Gosanjō and Shirakawa ordered for their own welfare. See also *Shingonden* 6 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 223b4-13, *Dentō kōrokū* in *Zoku Shingonshū zenshū*, vol. 33, p. 381a3-8, Genkai's *Atsuzōshi* (T.78.2483:272a22-23), Kojima, "Inseiki ni okeru Aizenō mishuhō no tenkai" *Shukaku hōshinnō to Ninnaji gyoryū no bunkengakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 336-337 and Iyanaga Nobumi, "Shinwa/Girei/Ōken," *Kōza Tetsugaku*, No. 13: *Shūkyō/Chōestsu tetsugaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shotenyō, 2000), pp. 1-27. The *Shoshū shōshoroku* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, *Bukkyō shoseki mokuroku*, vol. 1, p. 175b) lists under Seison's name the *Aizen daishidai kuketsu* 愛染大次第口決 (Oral Transmission of the Great Procedure of Rāgarāja).

The Rāgarāja rite was also important to Seison's disciples, Gihan 義範 (1023-1088) and Hanjun 範俊 (1038-1112), who was Genkaku's master. Both monks, and the successors of their lineages, used ritual expertise, especially the secret Rāgarāja rite, to vie for Imperial patronage. The Shingon biographies present a rivalry between Gihan and Hanjun and the result is what Kojima ("Inseiki ni okeru Aizenō mishuhō no tenkai," *Shukaku hōshinnō to Ninnaji gyoryū no bunken gakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 338-345) aptly terms the "construction of monks' histories" by "constructing ritual traditions of deities." For instance, no mention is made of Gihan's performance and transmission of the Rāgarāja rite in the short entry given in Yōkai's *Shingonden* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 227b2-9). Instead, he presents Gihan as the winner of the rain-making rite. Yōkai belonged to the Kajūji lineage, which was established by Genkaku's disciple Kanjin.

In contrast, Hanjun is given extensive coverage in Yōkai's *Shingonden* 6 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, pp. 233a-234b) and much is made of his performances of the Rāgarāja rite. Having secluded himself in Kumano's Mount Nachi in 1075 (Jōhō 承保 2) and made offerings to Rāgarāja for one thousand days, Hanjun carried out a Rāgarāja rite the following year for the ailing monarch Shirakawa 白河天皇 (1053-1129, r.1072-1086, *In* 1086-1129). Credited with curing the monarch, he gained Shirakawa's patronage, becoming his personal "protective monk" 護持僧. He received such favors as control of the Ono lineage and its main temple, Mandaraji 曼荼羅寺, as well as supervision of the Toba no Hōzō, to which he appointed Genkaku as caretaker. Hanjun's motive in presenting the sacred collection of Ono Mandaraji to Shirakawa (see endnote 10 above) can be seen as a political one. He sought to establish a connection between the might of the Buddha's teachings 仏法 and that of monarchs 王法. During the Insei period the Toba no Hōzō functioned as a symbol of the political authority of the cloistered sovereigns (Dharma Emperor 法皇) from the time of Shirakawa onwards, just as the Treasure Repository at Uji 宇治寶藏 had functioned

as a symbol of the power of the Sekkanke 撰闈家 (House of the Regents and Chancellors to the Throne) during their period of political dominancy. See Kojima, “Inseiki ni okeru Aizenō mishuhō no tenkai,” *Shukaku hōshinnō to Ninnaji gyoryū no bunkengakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 341-343, 374-383.

Hanjun performed the Rāgarāja rite 愛染王法 a number of times for Shirakawa. See, in addition to Yōkai’s *Shingonden* 6 given above, Hanjun’s biographies in the *Honchō kōsōden* 50 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 103, p. 212a-b; note the mistake in the date – Eihō 永保 2 should be Jōhō 承保 2) and *Dentō kōrokukō* 1 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 488a-489b). The *Shoshū shōshoroku* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, *Bukkyō shoseki mokuroku*, vol. 1, p. 90b) lists under Hanjun’s name a ritual manual for a Rāgarāja rite called *Nyohō Aizen shidai* 如法愛染次第 (Procedure for Rāgarāja According to the Rules). The Shingon biographies given above especially record Hanjun’s performances of this particular Rāgarāja rite for Shirakawa. For the procedures of the performances of the Rāgarāja rite 愛染王法 and this rite of Rāgarāja According to the Rules, see Goepper, *Aizen-Myōō*, pp. 135-151, and for their political and social significance, see Kojima, “Inseiki ni okeru Aizenō mishuhō no tenkai,” *Shukaku hōshinnō to Ninnaji gyoryū no bunkengakuteki kenkyū*, esp. pp. 319-333, 372-384.

⁶¹ I am grateful to Professor Yoritomi Motohiro, who kindly photographed the manuscript in the Shinren’in 心蓮院 collection at Ninnaji and sent the negatives to me. This work is in the Tatchūgura collection 塔中藏 at Ninnaji and its reference number in the Nara Bunkazai kenkyūjo catalogue, the standard catalogue for Ninnaji, is box 33, number 145 of this collection 塔中藏33箱145号. I thank Professor Brian Ruppert (email April 21, 2017) for the reference code of this work in the Ninnaji library.

According to his biographies in the *Honchō kōsōden* and the *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōrokukō*, Shinkaku took the tonsure and received the Buddhist precepts in Onjōji 園城寺 (or Miidera 三井寺), the center of the Esoteric Buddhist Jimon branch 寺門派 of the Tendai school. He lived for a time in a subtemple of Onjōji called Jōki’in 常喜院. He abandoned the Tendai school because he lost a round of theoretical discussions to Chinkai 珍海 (1092-1152) of Kōfukuji in Nara.

Having left the Tendai School early in his career, Shinkaku immersed himself in Shingon studies, first in Daigoji and then for years on Kōyasan. He was known as the Jōki’in Master 常喜院阿闍梨 and his transmission lineage came to be called either the Jōki’in branch 常喜院流 or the Ōjō’in branch 往生院流 of the Hirosawa subschool (his first residence on Kōyasan was also called Jōki’in). The inscription on a seed letter version of the *Liqijing mantuluo* that is in the possession of Kōyasan’s Kongōsanmai’in 高野山金剛三昧院 states “I copied the above from the version by Shinkaku of Jōki’in 常喜院.” (This work is illustrated in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3047, separate sheet 19 after p. 840.)

Biographical details on Shinkaku will be found in the *Honchō kōsō den* 12, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, p. 202a and the *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōrokukō* 6, *Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 288b-289a. The *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1123a-c (Jōki’in ryū 常喜院流) and vol. 1, p. 180a (Ōjōin ryū 往生院流) discusses his transmission, which is also called the Ōjōin ryū 往生院流. For secondary studies on his career and works, see Ono Gemmyō, “*Zuzōshō to Besson zakki*, Part 1,” *Bussho kenkyū*, vol. 19 (1916), pp. 4-7; Part 2 in No. 20 (1917), pp. 5-10; Ōmura Seigai, “*Besson zakki oyobi sakusha Shinkaku ajari nitsuite*,” *Bukkyōgaku zasshi* (1921), pp. 185-187; Manabe Shunshō, “Shinkaku to *Besson zakki* ni tsuite – Denki oyobi zuzō “watakushi kore wo kuwafu” no shomondai,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 67-100; Nishigori Ryōsuke, “*Besson zakki no kenkyū – sono seiritsu mondai o chūshin to shite*,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 82 (October 1971), pp. 47-67 and Bernard Frank, *Dieux et Bouddhas au Japon* (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, April 2000), pp. 221-267, esp. pp. 233-241.

⁶² The *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 佛教語大辭典, vol. 1, p. 69b defines *inmyō* 印明 as being an abbreviation of *insō* 印相 and mantra *myō ju* 明呪. *Insō* are the outer manifestations, such as mudrās and attributes, that reveal the attainment of enlightenment by buddhas and bodhisattvas and their fundamental pledges to assist sentient beings. See also the explanation under the title of Shinkaku’s work in the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 2260.

⁶³ Manabe Shunshō presents (“Shinkaku to *Besson zakki* ni tsuite,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 80-82) documentation from the Ninnaji collection that verifies the *Rishukō dandan inmyō shū* as a work by Shinkaku. In 1218 (Kenpō 6 建保六年) in Ōjōin’an 往生院菴 of Kongōbuji, Shungen, the Hōin of Ninnaji’s Shinren’in 仁和寺心蓮院俊玄法印, copied the contents of the Jōki’in inventory 常喜院自草目錄 (*Jōki’in jisō mokuroku*), which records Shinkaku’s writings.

The *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū* is listed under Shinkaku's name in such Edo period catalogues as the *Shoshū shōshoroku* 諸宗章疏錄, the *Shoshi seisaku mokuroku* 諸師製作目錄, and the *Sōjō sonhōtō mokuroku* 相承尊法等目錄 or *Honchō daiso senjutsu mitsubu mokuroku* 本朝台祖撰述密部目錄. For example, under the entry in the *Shoshū shōshoroku* 諸宗章疏錄 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol.1, p. 169b) is a note in small letters that states that this appears in the *Hyakkan shō* 百卷鈔 (Collection in One Hundred Scrolls), that is the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔.

⁶⁴ In this section on Shinkaku's work, I identify the Common and Ono Explanations. My choice of the translation "common" for Shinkaku's word 普通 should be understood as "common among the inheritors of the lineage of his master Kenni 兼意 (1072-1151)," that is ritual information that would have been shared by those who received Kenni's transmission. I thank Iyanaga Nobumi (personal communication, March 22, 2017) for explaining the use of this word in Buddhist texts, especially Esoteric Buddhist texts and rituals, as one that suggests something shared by or common to categories. The modern Japanese equivalent is *kyōtsū* 共通.

I have not been able to identify the Great Record (Great Teacher's Augustly Penned Record 大師御筆記). See Chapter Two, pp. 40-41 (and endnote 22 above) for Kakuzen's recording in his *Kakuzenshō* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 710c27-28) of a certain transmission that documents such a source. This is Hannya Sōjō's 般若僧正 (Kangen 觀賢, 853-925) transmission of mudrās and mantras for the stages of the scripture from a source that he called *Daishi gohitsu no hon* 大師御筆之本 (Book that the Great Teacher Augustly Penned). Possibly Kūkai did compose a ritual text for the *Liqijing* that Shinkaku could access.

⁶⁵ This discrepancy is not an issue for Shinkaku. He simply notes the information, offering neither comment nor correction.

⁶⁶ *T.243:784b22-24; T.1003:609b12-13; Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vajrasattva, T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p.777, No. 2.

⁶⁷ Fifth Stage

The mudrā in the mandala: his right [hand] holds a sword and his left holds a lotus on top of which is placed a jewel.

The scripture states: he fastens the vajra jeweled wig to his own head. [Shinkaku no. 3; *T.243:785a9; 1003:613a5; Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Ākāśagarbha, T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 781, No. 6.]

Seventh Stage

The mudrā in the mandala: [in] his right [hand he] holds a Sanskrit text and [in] his left [hand he] holds a lotus on top of which is a [vajra] staff.

The scripture says: with his own sword he brandished and conquered all the Tathāgatas. [Shinkaku no. 4; *T.243:785a29; 1003:613c13; Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Mañjuśrī*, fig. 5, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783, No. 8.]

⁶⁸ There is no disparity between the received text and image in three of Shinkaku's entries, those for the second, fourth, and sixth Stages. He also records the hand gestures of the central figures in the Daigoji Assemblies of the Guiding Principle of Mahāvairocana, Avalokiteśvara and Vajramuṣṭi, and these agree with scriptural prescriptions. The second Stage reads as follows:

Second Stage

The mudrā of the Venerable in the mandala [is] the usual Mudrā of the Wisdom Fist.

The scripture says: he formed the Mudrā of the Wisdom Fist [fig. 20, Shinkaku no. 2; *T.243:784c6; 1003:610c25; fig. 3, T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 778, No. 3].

Two other examples are the fourth and the sixth Stages:

Fourth Stage

The aspects of the mudrā [of the Venerable] in the mandala is as follows: his left holds a lotus flower, the small finger of his right fist is extended; imagine [that he performs] the attitude of opening the flower in the left [hand].

The scripture states: he formed the attitude of Opening and Spreading the Lotus Flower [Shinkaku no. 3; *T.243:784c29; 1003:611a2; T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 780, No. 5].

Sixth Stage

The mudra in the mandala is his left fist is placed on his thigh and on top he places his right fist. The scripture says: he maintained the Great Symbol of the Vajra Fist 金剛拳大三麼耶印 [Shinkaku no. 4; *T.243:785a21*; *T.1003:613b16-17*; *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 782, No. 7].

⁶⁹ The *Liqujing* does not give a mudrā for the Bodhisattva Gaganagañja but Amoghavajra was specific in the *Liqushi* (*T.1003:614c2-4*). Compare *T.243:785b18-19* and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 785, No. 10.

⁷⁰ Examples are the stages of Sarvamāra-pramardin, Maheśvara and the Four Sisters and the Daigoji Assemblies of the Guiding Principle of Sarvamāra-pramardin, Maheśvara, and the Four Sisters.

Tenth Stage of Sarvamāra-pramardin

The mudrā in the mandala: his left [hand] holds a lotus on top of which is placed a fang; his right [hand is placed on] his thigh. [Shinkaku no. 6; *T.243:785b27-28*; *1003:615a5-6*; *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 786, No. 11.]

Here, despite the fact that the *Liqujing* gives directions, stating that Sarvamāra-pramardin assumes the form of Vajrayakṣa and holds an adamantine fang (*T. 243:785b27*), Shinkaku does not record them.

Shinkaku does not describe the mudrā of the figure in the mandala for the eleventh Stage (Shinkaku no. 6), most likely because neither the *Liqujing* nor the *Liqushi* provide directions (*T.243:785c6-8*; *1003:615b219-21*; *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 787, No. 12).

For the following two mandalas, neither the *Liqujing* nor the *Liqushi* give instructions for the mudrā to be formed, while Shinkaku describes the corresponding mudrā in the Daigoji mandalas:

Twelfth Stage of the Chapter on the Outer Vajra Family 外金剛部品

The mudrā in the mandala: the [Mudrā] of Homage 金[剛合]掌 and placed at his heart. Mudrā of Maheśvara [Shinkaku no.7; *T.243:785c14-16*; *1003:615c25-27*; *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 788, No. 13].

Fifteenth Stage of the Chapter on the Four Sisters Goddesses 四姊妹女品

The mudrā in the mandala: the Venerable in the center [forms] the Mudrā of Meditation on the Buddhist Realm 法界定印 [fig. 21, Shinkaku no. 8; *T.243:785c24*; *1003:616b10, 12-14*; *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 790, No. 15].

⁷¹ See Chapter One endnote 11.

⁷² See fig. 20, Shinkaku no. 2; *T.243:784c16-17*; *1003:611c20-21*; and compare fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779, No. 4.

⁷³ Other examples are as follows:

Eighth Stage

The mudrā [of the Venerable in] the mandala: [he has] six arms and his first three [error for “two”] hands form the Mudrā of the Small Adamantine Circle (*vajracakra*) 小金剛輪印 and [the mudrā] is raised above his head.

The scripture says: [he] turned the [Mudrā] of the Vajracakra 金剛輪印 [Shinkaku no. 5; *T.243:785b8*; *1003:614a15-16*; compare *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9].

Thirteenth Stage

The mudrā in the mandala: Mahākāla, who is in the center, has three faces and six arms as always.

The *Liqujing* does not give directions for a mudrā (Shinkaku no. 7; *T.243:785c18-19*). In the *Liqushi* (*T.1003:616a25*) reference is made to the details given in the *Extended Scripture* 如廣經所說 (compare *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 789, No. 14).

Fourteenth Stage

The mudrā in the mandala: Nārāyaṇa holds a wheel in his left hand and his right [hand] is on his thigh; Maheśvara [forms] the Mudrā of Homage and it is placed at his heart; Brahmā has four faces and four arms.

The *Liqujing* does not furnish instructions for a mudrā (Shinkaku no. 7 and 8; *T.243:785c21-19*) and the *Liqushi* refers the practitioner to the *Extended Scripture* (*T.1003:616b5*; compare *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 791, No. 16).

⁷⁴ One unusual feature is that although Shinkaku gives the seed letter and mudrā that are to be ritually performed for the sixteenth and seventeenth Stages, he does not provide any information about the iconography of the mandalas that he consulted, which would have been the *Gobu gue* (Assemblies of the Five Families) and the Five Mysteries (see figs. 21, 22, Shinkaku no. 8 and 9).

⁷⁵ We learn from official biographies and lineage records that Shinkaku spent his career mastering certain liturgical branches of the Ono and Hirosawa subschools. For example, the *Honchō kōsō den 12* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, p. 202a) relates that after Shinkaku abandoned the Tendai school, he turned to the Shingon school and received the teachings of the Ono subschool 小野法流 from Preceptors Genkaku (1080-1156) and Jichiun (1105-1160) of Daigo[ji] 醍醐之賢覺實運二師. Then, after years of religious austerities on Mount Kōmyō in Yamato 和州光明山, he went to Kōyasan, and there under Master Kenni (1072-1145) 阿闍梨兼意 he mastered “the innermost mysteries of the three [a mistake for two] categories 三部奥玄 and received consecration into the dual world [mandalas] 兩界灌頂.” The *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōrokū 6* (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, p. 289a) records that Shinkaku began to study in the Hirosawa subschool, becoming Kenni’s disciple and attaining mastery of esoteric studies 密府 and *siddham* 悉曇, and that he also received the oral transmission of Shōken (1138-1196) of Daigosan 醍醐山勝賢之面決.

Information on Shinkaku appears in the *Kechimyaku ruijū ki 6* (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 161a) under his own name, the Great Dharma Preceptor Shinkaku 大法師心覺, as well as under the *Kechimyaku ruijū ki*’s entries for Genkaku 大法師賢覺, Kenni 大法師兼意 and Kakuin (1097-1164) 覺印阿闍梨. Shinkaku is listed (in a note on the back 裏書 in *Kechimyaku ruijū ki 4* (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 111b) as a disciple of Genkaku 賢覺, whose transmission established the Ono subschool’s Rishō’in branch 理性院流. But here a note in small letters beneath Shinkaku’s name records that Master Jōki’in received another consecration 重受 in Odawara 小田原 on Kōyasan on the thirteenth day of the sixth month of the second year of Eiryaku (1161) 永曆二年六月十三日於高野山小田原別所. Shinkaku is also listed (in a note on the back 裏書 in *Kechimyaku ruijū ki 5* (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 125a) as a disciple of Kenni and here the date (the nineteenth day of the fourth month of the first year of Hōgen 保元元年四月十九日 (1156) and the participants in the consecration that Shinkaku received from Kenni are recorded. Shinkaku is also listed (*Kechimyaku ruijū ki 6* in *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 145a) as a disciple of Kakuin, who received consecration from his brother Yōgen (1075-1151) 保壽院法師永嚴灌頂資, patriarch of the Hirosawa subschool’s Hoju’in branch, to which Kakuin belonged. Here it records that Shinkaku received consecration on the seventeenth day of the sixth month of the second year of Ōhō 應保二年六月十七日 (1162). A note on the back repeats the circumstances of the consecration he received from Kenni and records again his second consecration by Kakuin. Repeated in a note on the back of the entry for Shinkaku himself in *Kechimyaku ruijū ki 6* (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 161a) is the data concerning the consecrations that he received from Kenni and Kakuin.

⁷⁶ The absence of a description of the mudrās of the figures of the Five Mysteries in Shinkaku’s *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū* is all the more puzzling because the *Liqujing mantuluo* in the possession of Ms. Sorimachi contains the Assembly of the Five Mysteries, and because Shinkaku included a copy of the Five Mysteries Mandala whose iconography matches that of the Daigoji exemplar’s Five Mysteries in his entry on the Five Mysteries in his iconographic compilation, the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記.

The *Besson zakki*, which consists of 57 scrolls, is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, 3007 and the Five Mysteries Mandala is illustrated on p. 292. I consult this work in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

⁷⁷ Thus, Shinkaku does not include information about the mandala of the opening assembly that begins the Daigoji set and which Amoghavajra detailed in *Liqushi* 1. Shinkaku’s document begins with what Amoghavajra titled in *Liqushi* 1 (*T.1003:610b2*) the Stage of the First Assembly of Vajrasattva Who Is Infallible and [generates] Great Bliss. In this Stage of the *Liqujing*, Vairocana expounds the Seventeen Epithets of Purity, and the epithets compose the second of the eighteen mandalas that Amoghavajra prescribes in *Liqushi* 1.

⁷⁸ *T.243:785c26-786a4*; *T.1003:616b23-c11*, especially c10-11. Amoghavajra describes in this section of the *Liqushi* a mandala that Vajrabodhi had drawn on the wall of Jianfusi in Chang’an (*T.1003:616c9-10*: *Jianfu Daheshang jinni yuqie mantuluo* 薦福大和上金泥瑜伽曼荼羅).

⁷⁹ The mantra for the seventeenth ritual stage of the Five Mysteries is the double *hum* (fig. 21, Shinkaku no. 8), and we have already learned that this seed letter composes the Five Mysteries Mandala of the Kanchi'in set (fig. 17). Shinkaku, like Genkaku before him, offers no explanation for this difference between Amoghavajra's transmission of the rite and the execution of this rite by Japanese Shingon monks of the Heian period.

⁸⁰ Shōgutei'in is the name of the temple where Jichiun lived, and so he was called Shōgutei'in *sōzu* 勝俱胝院僧都. The *Shōgutei'in shō* 勝俱胝院抄, or the Shōgutei'in Extract as it is referred to here, is another name for Jichiun's *Hizō konpōshō* 祕藏金寶鈔. This is published in *T.78.2485*. See endnote 23 above.

⁸¹ The line reads as follows: 勝俱胝院抄之私云無終一印真言 [*siddham*] *hūm*. See *T.2485:370a2*.

⁸² *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3. See endnote 61 above for secondary studies on the *Besson zakki*.

⁸³ Kenni was a master of Shingon ritual traditions, having studied under Kani 寬意 (1054-1101) of Ninnaji and later, after Kani's death, on Kōyasan. Shinkaku inherited Kenni's lineage (*Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōrokukō* 6 in *Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, p. 288a-b for Kenni and for Shinkaku, pp. 288b-289a, and Bernard Frank, *Dieux et Bouddhas au Japon*, p. 236 for more on Kenni). Kanjo was an influential master within the Ninnaji ritual lineage, whose ritual transmission is called the Jōju'in branch 成就院流. He was famous for his collection of rituals, the *Betsugyō* 別行 (Separate Practices, *T.78.2476*). Information on Ejū, known for his iconographic collection in ten scrolls, the *Jikkanshō* 十卷抄, better known as the *Zuzōshō* 圖像抄, shows that he too was active in branches of both the Ono and Hirosawa subschools. See Chapter Five, endnote 61. Early in his career, Jichiun had been a disciple of Kanjin 寬信 (1084-1153), patriarch of the Ono subschool's Kajūji branch. Later, he received consecration from Genkai 元海 (1094-1157) of the Ono subschool's Sanbō'in branch. Jichiun authored works (which I mention in endnotes 23 and 30 above and 86 below) that were based on the ritual transmissions he received from these two masters.

⁸⁴ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, pp. 164b21-167a5.

⁸⁵ This work in twenty scrolls included Sanskrit names, symbolic (*samaya*) forms, mudrās and mantras, visualization practices, and illustrations of the Venerables. I have not been able to consult it, even though parts remain in Ninnaji (dated 1219) and Kōyasan's Kongōsanmai'in (dated 1229). See the entry in *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1216b-c (*Jōrenshō*) for the table of contents.

⁸⁶ This entry is published in *T.2485:369c5-370a2*, in particular, 369c18, 27, 29. The transmission that Jichiun received from Kanjin of Kajūji constitutes the contents of his *Hizō konpōshō*. See endnote 23 above. The transmission that he received from Genkai of Sanbō'in form his *Gempishō* 玄祕抄 and *Shoson yōshō* 諸尊要抄. Shinkaku consulted all three works to compose Jichiun's entry, 勝俱胝院, in his *Besson zakki*. See Manabe, "Shinkaku to *Besson zakki* ni tsuite," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 73-76.

⁸⁷ For example, under the *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū*'s entry for the eighth stage (Shinkaku no. 5) Shinkaku notes the slight difference between the Ono Explanation and that recorded in the Shōgutei'in Extract.

Eighth Stage:

The two hands form fists and [placing] the two fists side by side rotate them three times.

The Ono Explanation is as follows: [form] two vajra fists and join the two index fingers. [This is], namely, the Mudrā of the Mandala of [Sahacittotpādita-dharma-]cakra[-pravartin] 輪壇印. [note in small characters:] Index fingers extend and join 頭指舒合.

The Great Recording is similar to this, but it does not have the four characters of the note[, that is the four characters 頭指舒合]. The Shōgutei'in Extract says: the two winds [index fingers] hook together [*T.2485:369c18*].

⁸⁸ For instance, the Kanchi'in set has the following explanation for the eighth Stage:

Kanchi'in's Mandala of Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 827, No. 9):
Mudrā: left and right hands form vajra fists and the index fingers of both fists hook together, that

is, [they form] the Mudrā of the Mandala of the Wheel

A second example from both documents is:

Kanchi'in's Mandala of Sarvamāra-pramardin (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 829, No. 11):

Mudrā: the fingers of the right and left hand bend and are placed at the sides of the mouth; that is, they form fangs. Go back and forth in front of your mouth three times.

Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū's Tenth Stage (Shinkaku no. 6):

The two hands form fists and place the left fist on top of the right fist, and then at your crown disperse [the mudrā].

The Ono Explanation is as follows: the fingers of the left and right hands are bent and are placed at the sides of your mouth; that is, they form fangs. Go back and forth in front of your mouth three times.

⁸⁹ This is according to Shinkaku's biography recorded in the *Honchō kōsō den* 12 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, p. 202a). Manabe critically examines ("Shinkaku to *Besson zakki* ni tsuite," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 67-100) the biographical data that is given in official sources on Shinkaku, including the *Honchō kōsō den* and *Kechimyaku ruijūki* which I have consulted, and he corroborates the facts with those recorded in other historical sources, as well as inscriptions that Shinkaku recorded in his own works. The result is a clearer picture of Shinkaku's studies of the Shingon ritual lineages.

According to Manabe, (*ibid*, p. 71), Shinkaku's name is not recorded under Genkaku's 賢覺 name in the lineage record of the Rishō'in branch but it is recorded under Hōshin's 實心 (1092-1174) name, Genkaku's oldest disciple who inherited the Rishō'in branch (see also *Kechimyaku ruijū ki* 4, *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 111b). This explains the listing of Shinkaku as one of Genkaku's disciples (see endnote 52 and 53 above) in the *Kechimyaku ruijū ki* 4 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 111b). There a note in small letters states that Master Jōki'in received consecration 重受 in Odawara 小田原 on Kōyasan on the thirteenth day of the sixth month of the second year of Eiryaku (1161) 永曆二年六月十三日於高野山小田原別所. Genkaku had died in 1156 and that same year (see endnote 53) Shinkaku received initiation from Kenni on Kōyasan. Manabe (*ibid*, pp. 71-72) provides evidence, an inscription on Shinkaku's *Besson yōki* 別尊要記 in the Ninnaji collection, that corroborates the *Kechimyaku ruijū ki* entry: in 1161 Shinkaku received consecration to transmit the esoteric doctrine 傳法灌頂 from Hōshin 理性院阿闍梨御房 in Odawara on Kōyasan. His consecration from Hōshin gave Shinkaku access to the ritual lineages of the Ono subschool. Further, Manabe (*ibid*, pp. 72-76) furnishes documentation concerning Shinkaku's study of Jichiu's compilations, which was the result of his initiation into the liturgical tradition of the Rishō'in branch.

We have documented the importance of the *Hizō konpōshō*, Jichiu's recording of the ritual tradition that he received from Kanjin of Kajūji, in Shinkaku's *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū*. Kanjin was Genkaku's 嚴覺 disciple and Jichiu would have introduced Shinkaku to Genkaku's work on the *Liqujing* rite and mandala, which is the Ono Explanation in Shinkaku's *Rishukyō dandan inmyō shū*.

Nishigori Ryōsuke ("Besson zakki no kenkyū," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 82, pp. 60 and 65, endnote 18) shows that Shinkaku consulted Jichiu's works while he studied under Jichiu's disciple Shōken 勝賢 (1138-1196) on Kōyasan. Shinkaku's relationship with Shōken is recorded in the *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōrokū* 6 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, p. 289a). Shōken fled to Kōyasan due to internal factional fighting in Daigoji over the succession of the temple's chief abbot 座主. It is from Shōken that Shinkaku received the transmission of Jichiu's three works, the *Hizō konpōshō*, *Gempishō* and *Shoson yōshō*. Jichiu had compiled the *Hizō konpōshō* sometime between 1145-1151. The other two works, dated around 1156-1159 and 1158-1160, respectively, were compiled when Shinkaku had left Daigoji for Kōyasan. Shinkaku left Miidera and went to Daigoji, where he studied under Jichiu, but by the time Jichiu had completed his collections, Shinkaku had left Daigoji. It was not until Shinkaku went to Kōyasan and met Shōken that he obtained access to the complete transmission of Jichiu.

⁹⁰ Shinkaku does not, as we have seen, record the names of Kenni or Genkaku. (And I have not been able to identify the master who authored the Great Record.) Shinkaku's silence can only mean that these masters' transmissions of the *Liqujing* rite were by Shinkaku's time the most influential in the Shingon's Hirosawa and Ono subschools.

⁹¹ The transmission is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 712c-725c and *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 46, pp. 757-779. Under Kōzen's name in the *Shōshū shōshoroku* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 1, p. 91) is the title *Rishukyō hizōshō* 理趣經祕藏鈔. A note beneath states that this work appears in the *Hyakkan shō* 百卷鈔, that is, the

Kakuzenshō.

⁹² The entry on Ryōe in the *Dentō kōroku 7 (Zoku shingonshū zensho, vol. 33, p. 146)* only states that his characters 字 were Shinjō 眞乘, and that he was well known for his great virtue. Then it lists the names of his disciples, and Kōzen's name is not among them. *Kechimyaku ruijūki 6 血脈類聚記 (Shingonshū zensho, vol. 39, pp. 152a-b)* adds that Ryōe was the disciple of Master Shōken 聖賢 (1038-1149) of Daigosan's Kongōō'in 金剛王院 and that he was called Uchiyama Shinjōbō Ajari 内山眞乘房阿闍梨. The *Mikkyō daijiten, vol. 5, p. 2273* gives Ryōe's dates as 1097 - after 1131.

⁹³ The first colophon reads (*T. Zuzō, vol. 4, 3022, p. 725b26-28*):

On the twenty-second day of the fifth month of the second year of Ōhō (1162) I humbly received the transmission of this from the Master of Shinjōbō. However, on a later day I wrote it out and added to it [using] the Recording of the Administrator 法務. Kō[zen]

The second colophon states (*T. Zuzō, vol. 4, 3022, p. 725b29-c1*):

Around the first month of the third year of Shōji (1201) I humbly received [my master's] transmission of this. During the few days that I resided [in the Kajūji] he [Kōzen] bestowed this as a gift. Busshi Kakuzen.

The sources for information on Kōzen are *Dentō kōroku 2 (Zoku shingonshū zensho, vol. 33, p. 242a-b)*, *Kechimyaku ruijūki 7 (Shingonshū zensho, vol. 39, p. 169a-b)*, and *Shoshū shōshoroku* (see endnote 91 above). The entries on Kōzen in the *Dentō kōroku 2* and the *Kechimyaku ruijūki 7* state that Kōzen met Uchiyama Shinjōbō Ajari (Ryōe) and received an initiation 具支灌頂 from him in Ōhō 2 (1162).

Although Kakuzen is not listed among Kōzen's disciples in the entry on Kōzen in the *Dentō kōroku 2* or in the entry on Kakuzen in *Dentō kōroku 5 (Zoku shingonshū zensho, vol. 33, p. 123a)*, he is listed under Kōzen's entry in the *Kechimyaku ruijūki 7 (Shingonshū zensho, vol. 39, p. 169a)*, and the entry on Kakuzen in the *Shoshū shōshoroku (Dainihon bukkyō zensho, vol. 1, p. 91)* states that he was a disciple of Kōzen. For biographical information on Kakuzen see the following secondary studies: Sawa Ryūken, "Kontaibō Kakuzen zakkō," *Mikkyō kenkyū, vol. 82 (1942), pp. 32-46*; Nakano Genzō, "Kakuzen nenpyō," *Bukkyō geijutsu, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 150-161*; "Kakuzen-den no shomondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu, vol. 70, pp. 162-171*; "Kakuzenshō no mikōkan zuzō," *Bukkyō geijutsu, vol. 70, pp. 140-149*; and Shimizu Zenzō, "Kakuzenshō ni okeru kakukan no kōsei to sono seiritsu katei," *Bukkyō geijutsu, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 101-139*. See also the discussion of the above colophons in Sawa Ryūken, "Kontaibō Kakuzen zakkō," *Mikkyō kenkyū, vol. 82, pp. 32-46*, inscription on 41; Nakano Genzō, "Kakuzenden no shomondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu, vol. 70, pp. 162-171*; Shimizu Zenzō, "Kakuzenshō ni okeru kakukan no kōsei to sono seiritsu katei," *Bukkyō geijutsu, vol. 70, pp. 108-109* and Bernard Frank, *op. cit.*, p. 247-251.

⁹⁴ The *Kechimyaku ruijūki 5 (Shingonshū zensho, vol. 39, p. 119a)* records that Kanjin was called the *Hōmu* 法務 of Kajūji. Kanjin's biography in the *Dentō kōroku 2 (Zoku shingonshū zensho, vol. 33, pp. 248a-249b)* states that he also served as the *Hōmu* of Tōji.

⁹⁵ Information on Kanjin is found in the *Shoshū shōshoroku (Dainihon bukkyō zensho, vol. 1, p. 90)*; *Kechimyaku ruijūki 5 (Shingonshū zensho, vol. 39, pp. 118b-119a)*; *Shingonden (Dainihon bukkyō zensho, vol. 106, p. 160)*; *Honchō kōsōden 12 (Dainihon bukkyō zensho, vol. 102, p. 199)*; and *Dentō kōroku 2 (Zoku shingonshū zensho, vol. 33, p. 248a-b)*.

Kōzen's early discipleship under Kanjin is recorded in the entry on Kōzen in *Kechimyaku ruijūki 7 (Shingonshū zensho, vol. 39, p. 169a)* and in Kanjin's entry in *Kechimyaku ruijūki 5, (Shingonshū zensho, vol. 39, p. 119a)*.

⁹⁶ *Dentō kōroku 2* in *Zoku shingonshū zensho, vol. 33, p. 242b*.

⁹⁷ See the discussion of this collection on page 44 above and endnote 52.

⁹⁸ In the *Taishō Zuzō* this image, No. 90 (see fig. 23), is labelled as *Rishukyō mandara* 理趣經曼荼羅.

⁹⁹ The seed letter *āḥ* is the focus of the Kanchi'in mandala (fig. 18), and although this is the seed letter for

Mahāvairocana in the Shingon school's *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (see *T.39:788b4-6; Mikkyō daijiten*, vol 3, p. 1524a), it is also Mahāvairocana's seed letter in *Liqujing 2* (see *T.243:784c5-7*).

Notes in smaller, lighter characters record the Stages in which Mahāvairocana is the focus of mandalas. The version published in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 46, p. 270a does not have these notations.

¹⁰⁰ Genkaku has also documented this same identification between the figure of Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* and Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* and he, too, does this in his opening mandala, titled the Mandala of Mahāvairocana of the First Stage 初段大日 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 818, No. 1). The central seed letter in the Kanchi'in's opening mandala is *vaṃ*, which is the seed letter of Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1523b). Nevertheless, Genkaku records in the note appended to this mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 819a) that Mahāvairocana forms the Meditation Mudrā on the Buddhist Realm 法界定印, which is the mudrā of Mahāvairocana in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1523c-1524a) and, although Amoghavajra does not stipulate this mudrā in the *Liqushi*, it is, as we have seen (Chapter One, pp. 18-20), the hand gesture that Mahāvairocana of the Daigoji's Opening Mandala forms (fig. 1, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 776, No. 1). It would seem that Kōzen, like Genkaku before him, was well aware of the interpretative traditions that preceded him. One tradition, exemplified by the Daigoji's Opening Mandala, presents Mahāvairocana of the *Liqujing*'s opening Stage as Mahāvairocana of the *Vairocanābhdhisambodhi sūtra*. Another tradition is a mandala that has eighteen assemblies in a single composition 十八會曼荼羅. The First Assembly in the center is represented by Mahāvairocana from the matrix mandala 大日胎一 and Mahāvairocana from the mandala of the adamantine realm 大日金一. Kakuzen illustrates this work twice in his *Liqujing* scroll (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 724, No. 109, *ibid*, p. 708, No. 88), and records that the source of this iconography is the August Book of Ono 小野御本 (*ibid*, p. 725b17-20, p. 706a12-20) and that this diagram is in the *Atsuzōshi* 敦造紙. The *Atsuzōshi* was a collection of ritual materials that Ningai 仁海 (951-1046) compiled (see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 28c). This information and an identical diagram also appear in Kōzen's *Shikan* 四卷 (*T.78.2500*, pp. 792c26-793a). In a note Kōzen, a disciple of Kanjin 寛信 (1084-1153), links this iconography to his master.

¹⁰¹ Kōzen's Mahāvairocana Mandala (3) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 715, No. 92) is a mixture of *siddham* seed letters and Chinese characters. The seed letters of the central pentad are based on the Kanchi'in's Mahāvairocana Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3046, p. 821, No. 3). However, Kōzen replaced the seed letters of the Offering and Gathering Bodhisattvas in the Kanchi'in version with their names in Chinese characters.

¹⁰² In Kōzen's version of the Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses (14) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 721, No. 103) Chinese characters once again replace the seed letters of the Kanchi'in version (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 832, No. 14). Nevertheless, the iconography of Kōzen's Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses corresponds exactly to that of the Kanchi'in mandala. Brahmā, who is not mentioned in the *Liqushi*, is present in both versions, and the names of the goddesses are those that are given next to the *siddham* letters inside the mandala and in the note below the Kanchi'in mandala (see the translation of the Kanchi'in note in endnote 7 above).

¹⁰³ The seed letters are taken from mandala No. 18 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 835, No. 17 and 18) of the two versions that Genkaku depicts. There are a few exceptions that may be the result of errors at the time of copying. For discussions about the source and meaning of the Assembly of the Five Families, see endnote 47 above, Chapter Four, pp. 75-77 and Hunter, "Five Secrets Mandala" in *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 76a-76b.

¹⁰⁴ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 710a16; *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 46, p. 263a9.

¹⁰⁵ Thus, the iconography and orientation of the Mandalas of Ākāśagarbha (6), Vajramuṣṭī (7) and Gaganagañja (10) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 717, No. 95 and No. 96, p. 719, No. 99) now conform to the *Liqushi* (*T. 1003:612c19-23; 613b5-10; 614c2-7*). The *Liqushi* stipulates the "three-pronged vajra of wrath" recorded in the eastern gate of the Sarvamāra-pramardin Mandala (11) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 719, No. 100, *T.1003:615a24-25*) and the arrangement of the five figures of the Five Mysteries Mandala (18) (fig. 25, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 724, No. 107, *T.1003:610a15-20; 616c15-29*).

¹⁰⁶ See endnote 14 above, as well as Appendix A, Detailed Discussion of the Derivation of the Figures in the Daigoji

Exemplar for a discussion of this influence.

Another example is the Trailokyavijaya Mandala (4) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 716, No. 93). In accordance with the *Liqushi*'s directions (*T.1003:611b27-c3*) all the figures of this mandala are angry in aspect. Moreover, as specified in the *Liqushi*, and in contrast to the Daigoji mandala (fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779, No. 4), the Trailokyavijaya Mandala orients towards the east. And yet, there are two sets of gate symbols in the outermost court and this feature is also found in the Daigoji exemplar of this mandala.

One last example is provided by the Mañjuśrī Mandala (8) (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 718, No. 97). In this mandala the four Buddhas that Amoghavajra gives in the *Liqushi* (*T.1003:613c2-5*) are represented, however, contrary to the *Liqushi*'s directives but in accord with the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Mañjuśrī (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783, No. 8), the prescribed eight-spoked wheel is missing, and the "suit of armor" 甲 of Wisdom, rather than the sūtra box, is depicted in the four inner corners.

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter One, p. 32 for a summary.

¹⁰⁸ The iconographic features of the addition of the four Gathering Bodhisattvas in the Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin Mandala (9, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 718, No. 98), the eight gods of the Maheśvara Mandala (13, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 721, No. 102), the presence of Brahmā in the Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses (14, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 721, No. 103) and the arrangement of the figures of the Mandala of the Three Brothers (15, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 722, No. 104) are also common to the corresponding mandalas of the Daigoji and the Kanchi'in set of mandalas, which, as demonstrated, are based upon the Daigoji exemplar. See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 784, compare vol. 5, p. 827; vol. 5, p. 788, compare vol. 5, p. 831; vol. 5, p. 789, compare vol. 5, p. 832; vol. 5, p. 791, compare vol. 5, p. 833.

¹⁰⁹ Amoghavajra's mandala instructions in the *Liqushi* are not the iconographic source of these mandalas. Kōzen's opening mandala (1) has no source in the *Liqushi*; for the Mahāvairocana Mandala (3), see *T. 1003:610c24-611a6*; for the Mandala of the Seven Mother Goddesses (14), *T. 1003:616a24-25*; for the Assembly of the Five Families (17), *T. 1003:616c8-11*. Amoghavajra provides a minimal of iconographic instructions for mandalas 5 and 16 in the *Liqushi* and, as we have seen, the iconography of Kōzen's Avalokiteśvara Mandala (5) and the Mandala of the Four Sisters (16) correspond to these directives.

¹¹⁰ The influence of the Daigoji exemplar is also seen throughout in the format of Kōzen's mandalas, as well as in the exact reproduction of the iconography of mandalas 9, 12, 13, 14 and 15 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 718, 720, 721, 722; compare *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 784, 787, 788, 789, 791). Amoghavajra details the iconography of mandala 9 and 12, but he provides no information for mandalas 13, 14 or 15 (*T.1003:614a19-25, 615b23-c3; 616a5-7, 616a24-25, 616b4-5*). The influence of the Daigoji exemplar can be seen in Kōzen's transmission whether Amoghavajra supplies information or not.

¹¹¹ This work is listed under Dōhō's name in the *Shoshū shōshoroku 3* (in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho, Bukkyō shoseki mokuroku*, vol. 1, p. 91) as *Rishukyō shō* 理趣經鈔 in 6 kan 卷. It is published in *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho* 理趣經釋章疏, pp. 61-140. The colophon at the close of the work (p. 140a8-9) states:

The Secret Transmission 祕決 on the right is the Oral [Transmission] of Dōhō, the Prior Great *Sōjō* 前大僧正 of Kajūji. It is not to be transmitted except to the single disciple to whom the master has transmitted everything.

¹¹² There are mistakes in some of the mandalas, which is perhaps the result of copying, and Dōhō uses different forms of the seed letters, as seen for example in the seed letter *u* in the Vajramuṣṭi Mandala (compare the mandala on p. 108b with *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 825, No. 7).

¹¹³ Another example of modification is his Gaganagañja Mandala (p. 117a). In contrast to the emphasis given to the seed letter of Gaganagañja in the Kanchi'in's Gaganagañja Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 828, No. 10), Dōhō greatly enlarges the seed letters of the Offering Bodhisattvas in the outer court of his Gaganagañja Mandala. He also corrects the orientation of the Mandalas of Trailokyavijaya, Ākāṣagarbha and Samantabhadra/Trailokyavijaya (p. 95b, compare with *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 822, No. 4; p. 104b, compare with *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 824, No. 6; p. 123b, compare with *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 830, No. 12) to conform with the *Liqushi* (*T.1003:611b27-c3; 612c19-23*;

615b23-c3).

¹¹⁴ This change is strange because Dōhō was aware of the correct iconography. He states in a question-answer format the following (*Rishukō hiketsushō, Nihon daijōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 121a3-6):

Question: How are we to understand the placing in the inner four corners the emblems of the four fangs?

Answer: Because the inner four offerings are the rites that the Venerable on the central dais offers to the Four Families, the [one on] the present central dais is Vajrayakṣa, namely, Bodhisattva Vajradamṣṭra. Therefore [the emblems of the four fangs] are the symbols of Vajradamṣṭra [who] takes the symbol of his Inner Realization and converts the crowds of the Four Families.

Moreover, the order of the twenty-five types of gods from the Outer Vajra Family in the Samantabhadra/Trailokyavijaya Mandala (p. 123b) agrees with the *Liqushi*, but Dōhō disregards the requirement for outwardly turned heads (*T.1003:615c1-2*). The Mandala of the Three Brothers (p. 128a) does not have the bow format specified in the *Liqushi* (*T.1003:616b4*), and Dōhō places Brahmā in the center of the mandala, in contrast to the Kanchi' in version (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 833, No. 15), Kōzen's transmission (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 722, No. 104) and the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 791, No. 16), in which Nārāyaṇa is placed at the center.

¹¹⁵ See figs. 26 and 27, *Rishukyō hiketsushō, Nihon daijōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, pp. 72b, 73b (opening mandalas) and figs. 28a and 28b and *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, pp. 139a and 139b (closing mandalas). The relationship between the teachings of *ryōbu funi* and the *Liqūjing mandara* is admittedly problematic and will be investigated in greater depth in a later chapter of this dissertation.

¹¹⁶ One example of the Shingon school's concept of *ryōbu funi* evident in the Daigoji mandala is the figures of Mahāvairocana in the Assemblies of the Guiding Principle of the Venerable Mahāvairocana (figs. 2 and 3, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 776 and 778). Mahāvairocana forms the Meditation Mudrā (*jōin*) in the first mandala and the Wisdom Fist Mudrā (*chikenin*) in the second mandala. Although Amoghavajra does prescribe the Wisdom Fist Mudrā for Mahāvairocana in the mandala described in *Liqushi* 2 (*T.1003:610c24-26*), he does not specify the Meditation Mudrā in *Liqushi* 1 (*T.1003:607c12-14*). I discuss the iconography of these two mandalas in Chapter Three and give an iconographical analysis of them in Appendix A, Detailed discussion of the derivation of the figures in the Daigoji exemplar. See endnote 100 above for these two mandalas in the Kanchi' in set, whose notes record the mudrās of Mahāvairocana.

¹¹⁷ Kakuzen illustrates Ningai's version twice in his *Kakuzenshō* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 724, No. 109, *ibid*, p. 708, No. 88). Shinkaku's scroll is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3047, separate sheet 19 after p. 840.

¹¹⁸ The works of Ningai and Shinkaku depict a synopsis of the *Liqūjing*'s stages of the ritual process in a single hanging scroll that functioned as the main icon in the *Liqūjing* ritual. Kakuzen records (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 706a12-21) that Ningai's mandala was included in Ningai's own text, the *Atsuzōshi* 敦造紙. See endnote 100 above.

The *Taishō* editors have labeled Shinkaku's diagram "the mandala [depicted] in gold-on-[purple]-mud in the Jianfusi" 薦福寺金泥曼荼羅. This refers to the Assembly of the Five Families with the Five Mysteries pentad in this mandala's southeastern corner that Amoghavajra briefly describes in *Liqushi* 16 and 17 (*T.1003:616c9, 617a3-4*). This information has been written in the lower right corner of Shinkaku's diagram. See my Chapter Four for a discussion of *Liqushi* 16 and 17.

¹¹⁹ He explains as follows (*Rishukyō hiketsushō, Nihon daijōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 131a15-b5):

[There are] two kinds of mandalas. In the First [Stage] there are already two kinds of mandalas: one with nine Venerables and one with seventeen Venerables. If we classify them, then they form two types: those of mundane and those of excellent meaning 世俗勝義二種. The nine Venerables of the First Stage, as well as from the Second Stage to the Tenth Stage, are those of excellent meaning. The seventeen Venerables of the First Stage, as well as from the Eleventh Stage to the Fifteenth Stage, form those of the mundane [meaning]. The mundane is the Matrix [Mandala] and the excellent is the Adamantine [Realm Mandala]. However, the present Stage of the Five Mysteries is the mandala wherein the above two types of mandalas of the mundane and excellent meanings are nondual 上世俗勝義二種ノ曼荼羅不二曼荼羅也. The common lotus

dais [signifies] the Matrix [Mandala]. The common moon disc [signifies] the Adamantine [Realm Mandala]. Because of the common moon disc they always reside in emptiness and do not sink into *samsāra*. Because of the common lotus dais they always reside in mud and do not reside in *nirvāṇa*.

¹²⁰ See *T.243:784a20-23* and *T.1003:607c9-12*.

¹²¹ *Rishukyō hiketsushō, Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 72a4-8.

¹²² *Rishukyō hiketsushō, Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 72b3. Dōhō continues (*ibid*, 72b5-6) to tell us that the stūpa and the body of the practitioner are one and the same.

Now, this stūpa is the practitioner's own Substance [or body] 行者ノ自體, that is the Eternal Substance 本有薩埵, which is the Real Aspect of the Original Nature 天然之實相. Although we could directly draw a human image 人形, because we follow the symbols of the Buddhist teaching 法門之幟幟, we represent this shape [of the stūpa].

¹²³ *Rishukyō hiketsushō, Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 74a2-4.

¹²⁴ Amoghavajra does not explicitly state in the *Liqushi* a relationship between the mandalas of the adamantine realm and the matrix in his description of the setting of the *Liqujing*, nor in his explanation of the eight Great Bodhisattvas. Nor does Kūkai indicate this relationship in his discussion of the first section in his commentary on the *Liqujing*, the *Shinjitsukyō mongu* (*T.61.2237:612c-615c*; especially the discussion about the setting on 612c17-613a16).

The Buddhist dictionaries also associate the symbolism of the jeweled pavilion with the concept of *ryōbu funi*. For example, the *Mikkyō daijiten* (vol. 5, p. 2038c 寶樓閣) states that there are two types of pavilions, and the five-peaked eight-pillared type is based on Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding yuqiezhong luchu niansong jing* (*T.866:227a28-b6*). Further, it states that the five peaks are the Five Wisdoms of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and the eight pillars represent the eight-petaled lotus of the Matrix Mandala. The pavilion thus represents the nonduality of the two realities of the mandalas of the adamantine realm and the matrix. The *Mikkyō daijiten* gives no other sources. The Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten* (vol. 5, p. 4925a-b 瑜祇塔) notes that a five-peaked jeweled multi-storied pavilion 五峰寶樓閣 is described in the *Jingangding yuqiezhong luchu niansong jing* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Mochizuki cites the interpretation that Shōchō 承澄 (1205-1282) gives in his *Asabashō* 阿婆縛抄; namely, that the stūpa represents the nonduality of the Mandalas of the Adamantine Realm and the Matrix, and that the source of the term is from the title of the *Yuqijing*. See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, p. 857c2-6. Because both Dōhō's treatise and Shōchō's compilation date to the late Kamakura period, further research is needed in order to locate the earliest source for this interpretation of the jeweled pavilion in the Japanese esoteric tradition.

¹²⁵ The mantra has in fact seventeen letters but Dōhō has combined two letters (*sa* and *tva*) in order to adjust his new arrangement to the standard directional positions of the figures in a mandala.

¹²⁶ According to Dōhō's accompanying explanation (*Rishukyō hiketsushō, Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 130a17-b2), the Mandala of the Assemblies of the Five Families has a correct 順 (*anuloma*) and contrary 逆 (*patiloma*) form. The iconography of the two mandalas is still a puzzle.

¹²⁷ *T.1123, 1124, 1125*. See endnote 8 above.

¹²⁸ His full explanation runs as follows (*Rishukyō hiketsushō, Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 137b9-15):

Question: The five Venerables of this Five Mysteries Mandala are surrounded on the outside by twelve Venerables. One does not see this in the said section of either the *Sūtra* or the *Rishushaku*. Why should one place these Venerables?

Answer: Although they are not seen in the said sections, the seventeen Epithets of Purity that are explained in the beginning of the *Sūtra* are these seventeen Venerables. The Five Mysteries of the said section are the first five Venerables of the seventeen Venerables. [If] we now take the five

Venerables away, this does not mean that the remaining twelve Venerables go away. Therefore they surround them. Moreover, because Vajrasattva's mantra of seventeen letters [forms] one body, first we take the five syllables *om ma hā su kha* and use these as the seed letters of the Five Mysteries. Then you still have at your disposal the twelve remaining [letters] of *va jra sa tva jah hūm bam hoḥ su ra ta svam*. After all, together they form one mantra.

¹²⁹ Not only does he detail the positions, colors and attributes of the figures of Vajrasattva's retinue, for example, according to ritual manuals for the Five Mysteries that he does not name (*T.20.1123:529a26-b5; T.1124:534b8-15*) and the meaning of the figures as given in a specific ritual manual 儀軌 (*Jingangding yuqie Jingangsaduo wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五祕密修行念誦儀軌 (see *T.20.1125:538b14-15 and 132a9-11; 538b10-11 and 132a15-16; 538b11-13 and 132b5-6; 538b16-17 and 132b10-11; 538c19-21 and 132b17-133a1; 538b17-19 and 133a6-8*), but he continues as follows (*Rishukyō hiketsushō, Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 133a10-12):

Generally speaking, the present order of front, right, left and behind is the explanation [given in] the ritual manuals [see *T.1123 and 1125* given in endnote 8 above]. The *Rishushaku* [states that (*T. 1003:617a2-3*)] there are two Venerables at the left side [of Vajrasattva] and two Venerables at his right side. However, it is not possible to differentiate the form[al characteristics] and attributes of the Venerables, but merely the difference of direction and corner.

¹³⁰ For example, in the chapter on Mañjuśrī, Dōhō states that Mañjuśrī's form is that of a youth, as seen in the illustration of the mandala. The *Liqushi* stipulates (*T.1003:613c3*) that Mañjuśrī must be depicted as a youth. The passage in the *Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 111a7-9) is as follows:

Question: What about the meaning such that the form of this Bodhisattva is the form of a youth?

Answer: High and low, everyone, during the time of youth performs many things and [yet] do not go pass their own existence. Consequently, the Insight into Great Emptiness of this Mañjuśrī is a sign that he exists freely without obstacles. Therefore, his form is that of a youth [as in] the illustration of the mandala.

Mañjuśrī in the Daigoji exemplar (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783) is, however, a crowned figure.

Another example is Dōhō's account of the members and positions of the Outer Vajra Family in, for example, the Mandalas of Samantabhadra/Trailokyavijaya and the Outer Vajra Family (*Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, pp. 123b and 125b, esp. p.125a16-b5). This account does not correlate entirely with the *Liqushi*'s prescriptions (*T. 1003:615b26-29*), nor with the iconography of the Daigoji mandalas (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 787 and 788):

Question: What are the twenty-five types of gods?

Answer: They are identical to [those] in the court of the Outer Vajra Family of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. In the east [are] Nārāyaṇa, Kumāra, Vajrachinna, Brahmā and Śakra [small characters: arranged from north southward], in the south [are] Āditya, Candra, Vajrabhakṣaṇa, Ketu and Piṅgala [small characters: arranged from the east southward], in the west [are] Rākṣasa, Vāyu, Vajravāsī, Agni and Vaiśravaṇa [small characters: arranged from south northward], and in the north [are] Vajramukha, Yama, Jayā, Vināyaka and Varuṇa [small characters: arranged from the west eastward]. In the northeast corner is Acalanātha, in the southeast corner is Trailokyavijaya, in the southwest corner is Kuṇḍalī and in the northwest corner is Yamāntaka.

The names and positions of the twenty-five gods accord with those enumerated in the *Bizangji*. (See the account given on *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b15-24 and the illustration No. 3 titled the *Jingangjie damantuluo*). However, the figures of Acalanātha, Trailokyavijaya, Kuṇḍalī and Yamāntaka are not included among these figures that are listed in the *Bizangji* and they are not depicted in the central assembly 成身會 (*Jōjin'ne*) of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* of the Shingon school. These figures appear instead in a type of mandala of the adamantine realm that is referred to as the Mandala of the Eighty-One Venerables 八十尊曼荼羅. Although this type of mandala of the adamantine realm is recorded in the inventories of religious paraphernalia brought back by the pilgrim-monks Kūkai, Ennin and Enchin, it is most commonly found in the Tendai school. See Tanaka Ichimatsu, "Kongōkai hachijūichi son dai mandara no ikkōsatsu," *Kokka*, vol. 674 (May, 1988), pp. 117-123, (also published in *Nihon kaigashi ronshū* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron bijutsu shuppan, 1970), pp. 89-99); Kinshiki Ryōnosuke, "Gubodaisan nyohōji kyūzō ryōkai mandarazu – Kongōkai hachijūichi son mandara no issakurei," *Seinan chiikishi kenkyū* (1975), vol. 4, pp. 113-160.

¹³¹ In his discussion of the Mandala of the Seventeen Venerables, who compose the mandala described in *Liqushi* 1, Dōhō records the positions of the figures, noting that there are various arrangements (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, pp. 85a17-86a2):

As for these present seventeen Venerables, Vajrasattva becomes the central Venerable, Desire, Touch, Love and Pride become the Four Wisdoms of the four directions, and their consorts Desire, Touch, Love and Pride become the Inner Four Offering [Bodhisattvas], or they become the Outer Offering [Bodhisattvas]. In the four directions of the second court [are] the four Gathering [Bodhisattvas], and in the four corners are the Inner Four Offering [Bodhisattvas]. Generally speaking, among the Nine Assemblies [of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm] this mandala [corresponds to] the *Rishue* 理趣會. That assembly takes the Outer Offering [Bodhisattvas] and places them [in the position of] the Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas], and takes the Inner Four Offering [Bodhisattvas] and places them [in the position of] the Outer Offering [Bodhisattvas]. Generally speaking, there are about ten different explanations about the illustration of the *Rishue*.

Unfortunately, Dōhō does not record any explanations about the *Rishue* and so we do not learn the source of the iconography, but his description once again supports what we already knew, namely that the iconography of the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vajrasattva (fig. 2, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 777) is identical to that of the *Rishue*. See Hunter, “Five Secrets Mandala,” *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, p. 76b and, for the *Rishue* in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*, see for example Ishida Hisatōyō, *Mandara no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōkyō bijutsu, 1975), II [Plates], p. 113.

¹³² The passage in the *Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, p. 96b3-12) is as follows:

Furthermore, the *Murōju giki* 無量壽儀軌 clarifies the mandala. Avalokiteśvara is on the central dais and the eight Buddhas on the eight petals are Amitāyus [see *Wuliang rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* 無量壽如來觀行供養儀軌, T.19.930:71a11-18 and *Liqushi*, T.1003:612b10-11]. This illustration is in the Great Teacher’s Ritual Procedure on Buddha Amitāyus 大師阿彌陀佛次第. The explanation of Jichihan 實範 (?-1144) [whose work I cannot identify] is as follows: The eight Buddhas open the four Wisdoms and become eight Buddhas. The Great Teacher’s picture [depicts] Tathāgatas in the form of [Buddhas] with spiral hair on the eight petals. All reside in the Meditation Mudrā and they face Avalokiteśvara who is on the central dais. Because Avalokiteśvara is, namely, the Great Compassion of all the Buddhas, the eight Buddhas on the petals take refuge in the Great Vow of Great Compassion on the central dais. Moreover, there is a mandala in which Amitāyus is in the center and eight Bodhisattvas are on the eight petals. The present mandala wherein Avalokiteśvara is on the central dais and the eight Buddhas are on the eight petals [represents that which] is directed from fruition towards cause 從果向因. The cause, which is the Great Compassion of Avalokiteśvara, accomplishes the perfection of the Wisdom of Wondrous Observation (*pratyavekṣanājñāna*) of Amitāyus. Because this Wisdom of fruition turns towards the compassion of cause, one calls it [that which goes] from fruition towards cause. Here truth 實 is cause and the lotus is the fruit. Because the producer is the cause and what is produced is the fruit, the mandala with Amitāyus on the central dais and the eight Bodhisattvas on the eight petals [represents that which] is directed from cause towards fruition. Here the lotus becomes the cause and truth is the fruit...

¹³³ The passage in the *Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōsho*, pp. 111b13-112a12) is as follows:

Others use a cylinder as the fundamental Venerable. The ritual lineage of Genkaku 賢覺流 (1080-1156) (that is Rishō’in-ryū 理性院隆, a branch of the Ono subschool) regards this as extremely secret. In the Imperial reign years of Kōwa 康和 (1099-1103) [Emperor Horikawa] ordered Sōjō Hanjun 範俊僧正 (1038-1112) to perform this rite. He hung a mandala of Vajracakra 金輪ノ曼荼羅. Thus, the main Venerables seem to have such origins and Maitreya, Vajrasattva, Trailokyavijaya and so on, being all the same Buddha, one would be able to use them reciprocally. Shōkaku 勝覺 (1057-1129) [the master of Genkaku] said as follows: Consider the cylinder as central to this rite.

Question: How does one use this cylinder? Further, what is its appearance when made?

Answer: On the day of the senior rat of the second month construct [the cylinder] with gilt bronze. Or use *Melia azedarach* 苦練木 to make it. In length it is twelve fingers and in circumference it is eight fingers. [On] the circumference of the cylinder carve the sixteen Great Protectors, and carve each of their names in the same way. Above and below the cylinder carve eight-spoked wheels, and between the spokes also carve the ten-lettered mantra of Buddhōṣṇīṣa. But to that mantra you should add the [siddham] letter *bhrum*. Furthermore, in the navels of the [eight-spoked] wheels write the [siddham] letter *a*. [Note: the letter *a* is in the style of the old illustration. Moreover, you ought to inquire about the variations in the main text.] The top of the cylinder can be opened and closed. The bottom must be closed. During the time one has this made, as well as after it has been constructed, [magically] empower it, using the mantra of accomplishment 辨事明, that of Trailokyavijaya. You can use the ten-lettered mantra of Buddhōṣṇīṣa as well. The *Oral Tradition* says as follows:

Paste sheets of paper to make it as large as a human body, and draw the form of your enemy 怨家 (*śatru*). Between the breasts write the family name. That form need not be colored, but simply an ink drawing. Fold it up very minutely and place it inside the cylinder. Having done this, stand [the cylinder] behind the jar on the *homa* altar...

Question: What does it mean that one is to regard this cylinder as the fundamental Venerable?

Answer: This cylinder is the symbolic form of this Venerable. Consequently, it means that you bind the evil heart of your enemy, and [when] you enter into the *samādhi* of this Venerable, you cause his subjugation...

¹³⁴ The passage in the *Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daijōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyōshaku shōso*, p. 133a15-b6) is as follows:

The [ritual lineage of the] Daigo branch 醍醐流 states as follows:

In the center visualize the [siddham] letter *om*. This letter changes and becomes a single-pronged vajra. This vajra changes and becomes the Great Bodhisattva Vajrasattva. The color of his body is like the color of a quartz moon. His right hand holds the five-pronged vajra and his left [hand] holds the vajra bell. [He is] the perfection of the Thirty-Seven Wisdoms. In front [of him] visualize the [siddham] letter *ma*, and change it into a single-pronged vajra. The vajra changes and becomes Adamantine Desire. The color of her body is red and she holds an adamantine bow and arrow. At her right is the [siddham] letter *hā*. The letter changes and becomes a single-pronged vajra. The vajra changes and becomes Adamantine Touch. Her body color is white and she hugs the *samaya* [form] 抱三昧耶 [as if hugging the waist of Vajrasattva]. Behind [Vajrasattva] is the [siddham] letter *su*. This letter changes and becomes a single-pronged vajra. The vajra changes and becomes Adamantine Love. Her body color is blue and she holds the *makara* banner. At her left is the [siddham] letter *kha*. This letter changes and becomes a single-pronged vajra. This vajra changes and becomes Adamantine Pride. Her body is yellow in color and she forms two Adamantine Fists.

¹³⁵ The passage in the *Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daijōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyōshaku shōso*, p. 111b8-12) is as follows:

This [Bodhisattva] Dharma-cakra-pravartin 轉法輪 (Sahacittopādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin) is blue in color and angry [in aspect]. He has three eyes and his sidelocks and hair rise upwards like flames. He sits in the half-lotus pose on a jeweled lotus. He has six arms. His main left and right hands form the Vajracakra Mudrā, and he places [the gesture] on his crown of his head. His second hand on the right holds a three-pronged [vajra], and the left hand clasps a single-pronged [vajra] and the tip pierces the top of his seat. His third hand on the right is stretched open and clasps a sword. His third hand on the left holds a wheel.

There is also an iconographic description of this figure in the note on the Kanchi' in Sahacittopādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 827, No. 9). Although the wording differs somewhat, the contents of the two portrayals concur. Both descriptions refer to the figure in the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9).

¹³⁶ Dōhō inherited the Ono ritual lineages of Kajūji 勸修寺流 and Anjōji 安祥寺流, having first received consecration

from Yōzen 榮然 (1172-1259) of Kajūji and later from Ryōyu 良瑜 (1206-1267) of Anjōji. He held high official ecclesiastical ranks and administrative positions, such as *Sōjō* of Anjōji, Kajūji and Tōji, as well as *Bettō* of the Nara temples of Daianji 大安寺 and Tōdaiji 東大寺, and so he would have had access to the storehouses of these temples at the very least. Moreover, he was an accomplished and successful ritual master, performing such rites as the Rāgarāja ritual to alleviate the Emperor's fever, and the rainmaking rite in the Shinsen-en.

Biographical information on Dōhō is given in *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 12 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 270a-b); *Dentō kōroku* 2 (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 505b-506b); and *Honchō kōsōden* 55 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 103, p. 253a-b).

¹³⁷ The work is published in the *Toganoo korekushon kenmitsu tenseki monjo shūsei* (The Toganoo Collection: Compilation of Exoteric and Esoteric Documents and Books), vol 12 *Siddham Maṇḍalas* (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1981), pp. 222-276, esp. p. 276. The *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki* is in the possession of Jimyōin 持明院 on Kōyasan. There is a second inscription on it:

On the tenth day of the fifth month the year of the boar of the fifteenth year of Kyōhō 享保 (1730)

I copied this using Ihō's version. Kyōō Master of Jimyōin 持明院主恭翁, 60 years of age.

Biographical information on Ihō is given in *Mikyō daijiten*, vol. 1, pp. 99b-100a and Sawa, *Mikyō jiten*, p. 30.

¹³⁸ *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 225.

¹³⁹ The colophon on Dōhō's work states that it is the oral teaching of Dōhō, the former *Daisōjō* 大僧正 of Kajūji. See *Rishukyō hiketsushō* in *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyō shaku shōso*, p. 140a. Ihō calls (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 226) Dōhō the former *Hōmu* of Kajūji. Dōhō served as both *Daisōjō* and *Hōmu*. Ihō refers to Dōhō's work as Dōhō's Oral Transmission 道寶口決.

¹⁴⁰ See above, endnote 2. The layout differs somewhat; for example, in Ihō's copy of the Nan'in mandala the notes are written directly on the mandala, whereas in the Kanchi'in version the notes are at their sides.

¹⁴¹ For example, having quoted in detail the *Liqushi*'s explanation of the positions of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas (*T.* 1003:607c21-608a28 and *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 227-231), he states the following (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 232-233) concerning the Nan'in's First Stage of Mahāvairocana 大日初段:

I think that the [*Rishu*]kyō only explains the Eight Bodhisattvas, and it does not explain the Bodhisattvas of the four gates. The [*Rishu*]shaku [*T.* 1003:608a28-29] explains the phrase [in the scripture, *T.* 243:784a29] “[they] respectfully surround [Mahāvairocana],” saying that [they signify] the Eight Offering and the Four Gate Bodhisattvas. Therefore, the old illustration places the seed letters of the Four Bodhisattvas Hook, Rope, Chains and Bell in the four gates.

Ihō comments as follows (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 234) concerning Dōhō's depiction of the Eight Bodhisattvas on the eight petals of a lotus:

I think that Dōhō's Oral Transmission only gives the nine Venerables. He does not speak of the Bodhisattvas of the four gates. He writes the names of the Venerables, but there are no letters of the seed syllables. Also, he draws eight petals [of a lotus; see fig. 86, *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 73b and *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 227]. What was his original source like? The Explanation on the *Sūtra* [*Liqushi*, *T.* 1003:607c21] has already stated that, for instance, “Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi is in the moon disc in front of Vairocana.” The Eight Venerables all sojourn in moon discs. His oral transmission probably expresses the profound significance of the nonduality of the lotus and the moon [disc]...

¹⁴² In the entry on the Trailokyavijaya Mandala for example, he writes (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 240, fig. 108): The symbolic forms in the four gateways are the same as [in] Shūei's illustration [fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779]. The order in the *Rishushaku* [*T.* 1003:611c3] differs from this. Dōhō's Oral Transmission [*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 95b] is the same as the *Rishushaku*: in the east the bow and arrow; in the south the sword [note: the three pronged [vajra] in Doho's illustration is a mistake]; in the west, a wheel; and in the north, a vajra.

Then, after citing the *Liqushi*'s directives (*T. 1003:611b27-c3*) for the figures of this mandala, he notes that (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 241):

Trailokyavijaya who is in the center of Shūei's mandala is as always, but the Bodhisattvas in the four directions are not in their wrathful forms [fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779]. In the relevant section [of the *Liqushi*, *T. 1003:611b29-c1*] it says that all the Bodhisattvas are wrathful. The four Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas] in [Shūei's] illustration are not wrathful in form. The Outer Four Offering [Bodhisattvas] in his illustration are installed in their symbolic forms. In the said section [of the *Liqushi*] one is to install their wrathful forms. As for the symbolic forms of the Four [Bodhisattvas] in the four gates, in [Shūei's] illustration at the side of [Bodhisattva] Hook is the three-pronged [*vajra*], at the side of Rope are the bow and arrow, in the vicinity of Chains is the sword, and beside Bell is the wheel. Two symbolic [forms] are drawn side by side. The directions of the bow and arrow and the others in [Shūei's] illustration differ [from the Explanation 釋].

Ihō does not offer any explanation as to why the discrepancies occur but goes on to reproduce the contents of the notes on the Nan'in version of the Trailokyavijaya Mandala (fig. 16, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 822 and *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 242). As we have noted, the iconography of the figures that is detailed in these notes corresponds to that of those in the Daigoji exemplar of the Trailokyavijaya Mandala (see fig. 4). Furthermore, Ihō includes in this entry excerpts from Faxian's 法賢 Song Dynasty translation of the *Liqijing*, the *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, wherein a standing figure of Trailokyavijaya treads on Śiva and Uma. Ihō quotes Faxian's text as follows (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 242):

The Large Version of the Sūtra 大本經, Chapter 2, says [*T.8.244:790c 20-24*]:

In the center install the Wrathful Venerable. His body is like the color of the blue lotus and he possesses splendors of diverse sorts. He scowls his brows and manifests sharp fangs. He makes a frightful but subtle smile and he [stands] in the attitude as if pulling a long bow. [Although] these are the aspects of his subjugating the three realms, [they are] beneath both of his feet, [for] his left treads on Maheśvara and his right treads on the Celestial Queen [of Maheśvara].

This seven-volume translation dates to c. 999. For a discussion of Faxian's translation see Matsunaga, *Seiritsushi ron*, p. 218; Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 18-22. It is interesting to note that Ihō consults this Song translation, because the earlier authors we have studied did not.

Ihō does not, however, remark on the fact that the note on the Nan'in mandala describes a seated Trailokyavijaya, which is in marked contrast to Amoghavajra's prescriptions for this figure in the *Liqushi*.

¹⁴³ *T.1003:610a15-23*.

In Ihō's *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 234, Dōhō's illustration is titled the Mandala of Samantabhadra [containing in all] Seventeen Venerables (see *Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 85a16) and the Nan'in's version is titled the Vajrasattva Mandala (No. 2) (see fig. 15, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 820).

¹⁴⁴ *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 235:

The Explanation [on the scripture] says as follows [*T.1003:610a15-23*]: Next I will explain the order of installation and so allocate the positions in this mandala. In the center there are nine positions and add yet again one layer for an outer court. In the center install Vajrasattva. In front of Bodhisattva [Vajra]sattva place Desire Adamantine 欲金剛 (Iṣṭavajra), at his right side install Kelikilā 髻離吉羅, behind place Love-Bliss Adamantine 愛樂金剛 (Rāgavajra), and at his left side place Adamantine Pride 金剛慢 (Mānavajra). In the right front corner install Mind-Born Adamantine 意生金剛 (Manojavajra) and in the right back corner place Kelikilā 髻離吉羅. In the left back corner install Love Adamantine 愛金剛 and in left front corner place Pride Adamantine 傲金剛. Then, in the outer court, in the order as above, install in the four corners, first Spring Adamantine 春金剛 (Madhuvajra), next Cloud Adamantine 雲金剛 (Meghavajra), then Autumn Adamantine 秋金剛 (Śaradvajra) and then Winter Adamantine 冬金剛 (Śīśīrvajra). In the front of the outer court place Form Adamantine 色金剛 (Rūpavajra), on the right install Sound Adamantine 聲金剛 (Śabdavajra), at the back install Smell Adamantine 香金剛 (Gandhavajra) and on the left install Taste Adamantine 味金剛 (Rasavajra).

¹⁴⁵ The *Kongōo bosatsu giki* [*Jingangwang pusa yigui*] 金剛王菩薩儀軌 states (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 235-236 and *T.20.1132:573b22-c4*) as follows:

Next, in the moon circle on the lion seat in the center of the altar imagine the letter *om* and it [then] becomes the main Venerable [Vajrarāja]. In front of the main Venerable place the letter *ma*, and it becomes Mind-Born 意生金剛 (Manojavajra). On the right place *hā* and it becomes Keilikilāvajra 計理枳羅金剛. Behind place *su* and it becomes Love Bliss 愛樂金剛 (Rāgavajra). On the left place *ka* and it becomes Mind-force 意氣金剛 (Mānavajra). In the northwest corner place *va* and it become Mind-born 意生金剛女 (Manojnāvajriṇī). In the northeast corner place *jra* and it becomes Keilikilāvajriṇī 計理枳羅金剛女. In the southeast corner place *sat* and it becomes Love Bliss 愛樂金剛女 (Rāgavajriṇī). In the southwest corner place *tva* and it becomes Mind-breath 意氣金剛女 (Mānavajriṇī). In the east gate place *jaḥ* and it becomes Bodhisattva Form 色菩薩; in the south gate place *hūm* and it becomes Bodhisattva Sound 聲菩薩; in the west gate place *baṃ* and it becomes Bodhisattva Smell 香菩薩; and in the north gate place *hoḥ* and it becomes Bodhisattva Taste 味菩薩. In the west corner of the outer hall place *su* and it becomes Bodhisattva Spring 春菩薩; in the northeast corner place *ra* and it becomes Bodhisattva Rain 雨菩薩; in the east corner place *ta* and it becomes the Bodhisattva Autumn 秋菩薩; in the southwest corner place *stvaṃ* and it becomes Bodhisattva Winter 冬菩薩.

In *Liqushi* 1 (*T.1003:609c25-610a8, 610a18-23*) the position of *va* is in the southeast corner, *jra* is in the southwest corner, *sat* is in the northwest, *tva* is in the northeast. Moreover, the positions of the Bodhisattvas of the Four Seasons are reversed in the *Liqushi*; for example, Spring is installed in the southeast corner, Clouds is in the southwest, Autumn is in the northwest and Winter is in the northeast. The seed letters for this group are *jaḥ hūm baṃ hoḥ*. Further, in the *Liqushi* the figures in the four gates are the last group to be installed. The letters *su ra ta stvaṃ* are those of Form, Sound, Smell and Taste who are in the gates of the outer court. Ihō's diagram of this mandala (*ibid*, p. 234) follows that of Dōhō's *Rishukyō hiketsu shō*, p. 85b.

The names of the deities vary in the Chinese, Tibetan and Sanskrit texts, commentaries and ritual manuals; see, for example, the chart of the Seventeen Epithets of Purity in Toganoō, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 117-118, as well as the charts for the deities in the ritual manuals for Vajrasattva (*T.1123, 1124, 1125*) on page 136, and in the *Liqushi* and the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (*T.1003, 1004*) on page 139, as well as Hatta, *Himitsu Kyōten: Rishukyō*, charts on pp. 355, 356, and 361. However, the fundamental concept they embody can be inferred from all names and variations.

¹⁴⁶ Ihō also states (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 236) that the installation of the figures of the mandala Shūei introduced are the same as the installation detailed in the *Jingangwang pusa yigui*. This statement is surprising for two reasons. First, the iconography of the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Vajrasattva (fig. 2, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 777) does not compare to the placement of the Bodhisattvas that is given in the *Jingangwang pusa yigui*. For example, in the *Jingangwang pusa yigui* Spring is in the northwest corner of the second court, but in the Daigoji mandala Song is in that position. Secondly, Dōhō, as we have seen, notes in his *Rishukyō hiketsu* (pp. 85a17-86a2) that the iconography of the Daigoji mandala is identical to the *Rishue* of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*, and his observation is correct (see above endnote 131). Ihō does not seem to have read Dōhō's work.

The other sources that Ihō has explored (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 236-237) are the *Shengfoding yigui* 勝佛頂儀軌 (a source I have not identified yet), the *Shengchu gui* 勝初軌 (金剛頂勝初瑜伽經中略出大樂金剛薩埵念誦儀, *T.20.1120A*), the *Dale gui* 大樂軌 (大樂金剛薩埵修行成就儀軌, *T.20.1119*), Annen's *Bodai shingi* 菩提心義 (胎藏金剛菩提心義略問答抄, *T.75.2397:556b29*) and *Kyōji gi* 教時義 (眞言宗教時義, *T.75.2396*), the *Shengchu yuqiejing Puxian yigui* 勝初瑜伽經普賢儀軌 (金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法, *T.20.1123*), the *Yuqijing* (*T.867:254b14-28; 255b2-4*), as well as the *Saduo gui* 薩埵軌 (普賢金剛薩埵略瑜伽念誦儀軌, *T.20.1124*), *Wubimi gui* 五秘密軌 (金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五秘密修行念誦儀軌, *T. 20.1125*), *Liquhui gui* 理趣會軌 (金剛頂瑜伽他化自在天理趣會普賢修行念誦儀軌, *T.20.1122*).

We have documented above the identification of Vajrasattva with Vajrarāja (*T.1132*) and Rāgarāja (*T.867*), these two deities' connection with the Sixteen Bodhisattvas who surround Vajrasattva, and the borrowing of such elements as mandala, mantra and liturgy from Amoghavajra's *Liqujing*-related materials (*Liqushi* 1 and *T.1123, 1124, 1125*) for the rites of Rāgarāja and Vajrarāja.

¹⁴⁷ T.244:794a15-16.

¹⁴⁸ *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 249-250. Ihō refers here to Amoghavajra’s biography given in Kūkai’s *Himitsu mandara kyōfuhō den* 祕密漫荼羅教付法傳 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 24).

¹⁴⁹ See T.1003:612c19-23 and *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 245-246.

¹⁵⁰ The lotus, bell, *vajra* and jewel have not been placed in the east, south, west and north, as he says, but in the exact opposite order of west, north, east and south.

¹⁵¹ See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1393c.

¹⁵² First, he describes (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 250-252) how the iconography of Dōhō’s mandala (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 114b) and the Nan’in mandala (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 827, No. 9) do not match the *Liqushi*’s directives (T.1003:614a19-25):

It is difficult to understand why the Nan’in illustration does not have an eight-spoked wheel in the inner court.

It is hard to understand why Dōhō’s illustration, composed of a mandala with four courts, differs from the *Rishushaku*. Further, the four [Prajñā]pāramitā Bodhisattvas are illustrated in the second court, and the third court only has the Inner Four Offering [Bodhisattvas], and [again this] is difficult to understand. The illustration [I present] now is based on the Nan’in version.

Furthermore, although I illustrate the form of the [eight-spoked] wheel, the rest is entirely copied from the Nan[in] version.

Then, after giving the *Liqushi*’s instructions (ibid, p. 251), he states:

There are the variations of three or four layers in this mandala. As for the old version in the Nan’in (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 827, No. 9), [that of] Genpō of Tōji 東寺賢宝 [Tōji Genpō (1333-1398)] and [that of] Jōgon of Reiu[n]ji 靈雲淨巖 [Reiu[n] Jōgon (1639-1702)], they all give variations in the three-layered mandala. The text of the Explanation of the *Sūtra* is corrupt and not quite what we would want. Shūei’s diagram [T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9; in fact, the Daigoji mandala, like the Nan’in version, has three courts] and Dōhō’s diagram (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 114b) illustrate a four-layered mandala, but I do not know whether they have any reason for this 未知有其理. Moreover, neither the *Sūtra* nor the [*Rishu*]shaku have the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas. Why is it that the ancient illustrations [Shūei’s and the Nan’in] have drawn the Four Gathering [Bodhisattvas]? Dōhō’s illustration [also] differs from the scripture’s commentary. It is difficult to [understand] what they meant.

Now, I will give the meaning from the Teacher’s Transmission. The nine Venerables, who are inside the eight-spoked wheel, are in the center. In the innermost four corners install the four Pāramitā [Bodhisattvas]. They are like the four Pāramitā [Bodhisattvas who surround] [Mahā]vairocana in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm [see the Assembly of Four Seals, 四印会, for example, in Ishida Hisatōyō, *Mandara no kenkyū*, vol. II, p. 113]. In the text [the directive to] “install in the four corners of the inner court the Four Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas] [T. 1003:614a22]” refers to the second court. “Inner” is the same as ‘in the middle’. The second [court] is in the middle of the three layers. Therefore, here you install the Four Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas] Joy, Garland, Song and Dance. The [directive] that “you install in the four corners of the outer court the Outer Offering [Bodhisattvas] [T. 1003:614a22]” refers to the third layer, and this is the outermost court. Therefore, here you place the Outer Four Offering [Bodhisattvas] Incense, Flower, Lamp and Unguent. The [directive] that “in the four gates of the inner court install the Four Bodhisattvas [T. 1003:614a23]” explains, on the contrary, the second court. The Four Bodhisattvas, Bodhisattva Vajrasattva and the others, are, namely, the Bodhisattvas of the Four Wisdoms. They are not the four Gathering [Bodhisattvas] in the outermost four gates. Corresponding to the various stages of the [scripture], Vajrasattva and the others are the four Bodhisattvas of Adamantine Equality, and so forth, and so they are the four retinue Bodhisattvas [of the four Buddhas]. How can we call them the Four Gathering [Bodhisattvas] of the outermost four gates?

¹⁵³ Having recorded the seed letters of the gods of the Outer Vajra Family in Dōhō's version (*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 123b) and the Nan'in version (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 830, No. 12) of the Mandala of the Command Wheel of Trailokyavijaya, Ihō comments (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 256) as follows:

The two explanations that I have given above differ greatly from each other. I do not know which is correct and which is wrong. In the Nan'in illustration [the master] draws two layers [that is, courts] but [does] not [draw] the heavenly consorts. This differs from the [instructions in the] *Rishushaku*. The directions and the positions are also wrong. Dōhō's illustration is composed of three layers and he does install the consorts.

See Iho's illustration on *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 257. Once again, Ihō cites the *Liqushi* (*T. 1003:615b23-c3*), and then remarks (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 258) that:

Explanations as to the arrangement and positions of the twenty gods are not the same. There are also differing theories as to their seed letters. The twenty gods who have been installed in their symbolic [forms] in the central assembly of the *Genzu* [*kongōkai mandara*] 現因根本會 [The *Bizangji* records two names for the central assembly of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*: the Fundamental Assembly 根本會 and *Jōjin'ne* 成身會; see diagram in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 1a16] also differ.

Ihō then records (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 258-262) information from the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b15-24), a work by the Tendai monk Annen (金剛界大法對受記, *T.75.2391*, p. 159b27-160c27; 142c17-26) and the thirty-volume *Kyōkyō* 教王經 (the Song Dynasty complete translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, *T.18.882:373a14-b24*), which all give, he shows, different directions, positions, and names.

¹⁵⁴ In his entry on the Three Brothers Mandala Ihō notes the following (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 268) after citing the *Liqushi*'s directions (*T. 1003:616b4-6*):

The Nan'in illustration [*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 833, No. 15] has three circles but does not have a square mandala. Dōhō's illustration [*Rishukyō hiketsushō*, p. 128a] has a square mandala and inside he has drawn three circles. Both illustrations differ from the *Rishushaku*'s explanation. The text says that "the mandala is drawn like the shape of a bow." Why do they differ from this [explanation]?

See Iho's version, *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 267. The content of the notes inside the mandala are from the Nan'in version and the square format is based on Dōhō's version.

Because Amoghavajra refers the mandala-maker to the instructions in an Extended *Sūtra*, Ihō investigates (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 268) Faxian's translation of the *Liqujing*, whose instructions are as follows:

You must draw the outer mandala, which has four gates in the four directions. In the center again draw a half-moon-shaped mandala [*T.244:796c21-22*].

Ihō adds the following queries:

Is Dōhō's illustration of a square mandala based on this? Why is there no half-moon shaped mandala?

¹⁵⁵ Ihō also examines Faxian's *Liqujing* (*T.244:797a17-24*) in the entry on the Mandala of the Four Sisters because of Amoghavajra's directive (*T.1003:616b12-14*, *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 269-270) to look for the details of this mandala in the Extended Text. Unbeknown to Ihō, the extended text that Amoghavajra refers to in the *Liqushi* is not the translation of Faxian of the Song Dynasty. See my Chapter Four.

The problem that Ihō was wrestling with in this case concerned the seed letters for the gods in this mandala. Quoting the *Liqushi*'s explanation of the seed syllable *ham* (*T. 1003:616b17-18*, which states: "Place in the center of this mantra [that is, the syllable *ha*] the *anusvāra m̐*"), he states (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 270):

Therefore, place the letter *ma* in the center and place the letter *ha* in the four [directional] positions. They form the seed syllables of the four [Prajñā]pāramitā [Bodhisattvas]. [Ihō actually illustrates a mandala with this arrangement; see *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 269.] The old illustrations 古圖 [for example, the Nan'in, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 834 and Dōhō's version, *Rishukyō hiketsu*, p. 128b, which is copied on *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, p. 269] place the letter *om* [for] these four seed syllables, and this is difficult to understand.

¹⁵⁶ *T.20.1119:510b7-13* and *1125:527ba29-b23*.

¹⁵⁷ *Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 274-276, esp. p. 276.

¹⁵⁸ References to Shūei's illustrations occur in the sections on the Mandalas of Vajrasattva (*Hōmandara shosetsu fudōki*, pp. 236), Trailokyavijaya (ibid, pp. 240, 241), Avalokiteśvara (p. 244), Ākāśagarbha (p. 246), Mañjuśrī (pp. 249, 250) and Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin (pp. 251, 253). See my text, pp. 54-56 and endnotes 142, 146 and 152 above.

¹⁵⁹ This work has remained in the possession of Fudaraku'in 補陀洛院. Unfortunately, I was not able to study a copy of this set of mandalas. Instead, I have consulted the mandalas that are published in Toganoo Shōun, *Rishukyō no kenkyū* (Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku shuppan, 1930/1959). Toganoo did not publish the complete set, however. Because the Mandalas of Avalokiteśvara, Vajramuṣṭi, Maheśvara and the Seven Mother Goddesses are not illustrated, I have had to rely on Toganoo's statements concerning their iconography.

There is no biographical or lineage information on Shinkai in *Mikkyō daijiten* or Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*. However, there is evidence of Shinkai's scholarship. Shinkai of Kongōbuji's Fudaraku'in 金剛峰寺補陀洛院眞海 published the abbreviated version (one scroll) of the *Bizang ji* 祕藏記 in 1767 明和四年 (Meiwa 4). His publication served as the original text 底本 for the version in *Kōbō daishi zenshū* (see vol. 2, pp. 1-51, esp. pp. 50-51 for Shinkai's colophon). I thank W. J. Boot and H. van der Verre (personal communication, email dated February 17, 2011) for this information.

¹⁶⁰ Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 2.

¹⁶¹ See Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 19 and pp. 157-158 and *Liqushi*, T.1003:610c24-611a6. Another example is the Ākāśagarbha Mandala (6, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 27 and pp. 217-218). Although the iconography of the figures of this mandala is identical to that of the figures in the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Ākāśagarbha (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 781, No. 6), Shinkai places the gate symbols in accordance with the *Liqushi*'s instructions, and so corrects its orientation. Elsewhere, Shinkai alters the iconography of the Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin Mandala (9, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 37 and p. 271) to match the *Liqushi*'s directives (*T.1003:614a19-25*) by omitting the four Gathering Bodhisattvas that are seen in the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 784, No. 9). Perhaps because Amoghavajra does not specify the iconography of Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin in the *Liqushi*, that of the central figure corresponds to that of the figure in the Daigoji mandala. One more example is Shinkai's Gaganagañja Mandala (10, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 41 and p. 286). In contrast to the figure in the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 785, No. 10), the iconography of the central figure of Gaganagañja in Shinkai's Gaganagañja Mandala agrees with instructions in *Liqushi* 10 (*T.1003:614c2-7*). He holds a lotus topped with the action (*karma*) pounder in his right hand and his left hand forms the Vajra Fist Mudrā and is placed on his left thigh. Finally, in the Vajrapāni Mandala (12, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 48 and p. 316), Shinkai installs the gods of the Outer Vajra Family in an order that follows Amoghavajra's directions (*T.1003:615b26-c3*), and he turns the heads of the figures outwards, unlike these figures in the Daigoji mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 787, No. 12).

¹⁶² See Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 22 and p. 179.

Another example is the iconography of his Mañjuśrī Mandala. The replacement of the armor of the Daigoji Assembly of the Guiding Principle of Mañjuśrī (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783) with the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* is the only change that Shinkai makes here (8) (Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 34 and p. 254). Thus, in contrast with the *Liqushi*'s prescriptions (*T.1003:613c2-7*) but in agreement with the iconography of the Daigoji mandala, the crowned figure of Mañjuśrī and his retinue of the four youths, both iconographic features from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (see Chapter One, p. 31 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 642, fig. 7), remain unaltered and the eight-spoked wheel is still missing.

¹⁶³ *Liqushi*, T. 1003:607c10-608a29; Daigoji set: fig. 1, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 776. Vajrapāni holds a *vajra* in his right hand and a bell in his left hand; Ākāśagarbha holds a sword in his right hand and jewels in his left hand; Vajramuṣṭi's two hands form fists and the right fist covers the left; Mañjuśrī holds a book in his right hand and a lotus topped with a *vajra* in his left hand.

¹⁶⁴ Togano, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 8 and p. 102. An eight-spoked jeweled wheel hanging from Mahāvairocana's necklace is suspended just above his mudrā in the *Taizang jūtuyang* 胎藏旧圖樣 and *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. See Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, p. 16; *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2948, p. 633, No. 1 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2981, p. 480, No. 1. The iconography of the other figures in the same mandala is drawn from a variety of sources. For example, that of Vajrapāṇi is described in *Liqushi* 3 (*T.1003:610c26-28*). Amoghavajra states in the mandala instructions of *Liqushi* 7 that Vajramuṣṭi is to be represented in the form of the Buddha Amoghasiddhi (*T.1003: 613b6*; the figure in the *Liqushi* is the Bodhisattva of the Fists of all the Tathagathas, which is another name for Amoghasiddhi). Vajramuṣṭi forms the hand gesture of Amoghasiddhi in the central assembly of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 897, fig. 21). The iconography of Ākāśagarbha resembles that of the figure of Ākāśagarbha in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara's* *Kokūzō in* (Hall of Ākāśagarbha, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 721, fig. 123) and that of Mañjuśrī is taken from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara's* central hall (*Hachichū dai in*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 642, fig. 7). The iconography of these figures in Shinkai's version differ from those in the Daigoji Opening Assembly (fig. 1, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 776), but because the identical figures are the focus of the Daigoji mandalas of Ākāśagarbha, Vajramuṣṭi and Mañjuśrī (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, pp. 781, 782, 783), Shinkai most likely adopted these iconographic features from the Daigoji exemplar.

¹⁶⁵ Togano, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 15 and p. 138-139. Contrary to Amoghavajra's instructions in *Liqushi* 1 (*T. 1003:610a17-18*, which states that Love is to be placed behind Vajrasattva, and Pride at his left), Love, who holds the *makara* banner, now sits at Vajrasattva's left side and Pride, who holds a rope, is in the moon disc behind him. In Shinkai's version the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas of the Daigoji mandalas are now the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas and their order is altered: the Bodhisattva with an offering of flowers is in the southeast corner and the Bodhisattva who offers incense is in the southwest corner. The Daigoji mandala's Outer Offering Bodhisattvas become the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas in Shinkai's mandala, and the iconography of the four Inner Offering Bodhisattva is identical to that of the figures in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara's* *Jōjin'ne* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 898, figs. 26-29). The Outer Bodhisattvas' offerings (flowers, incense, a lamp and unguent) and the Gathering Bodhisattvas' attributes (hook, rope, chain and bell) correspond to those that Amoghavajra assigns to the figures of the Bodhisattvas of the Four Seasons and to the Bodhisattvas of the Four Aggregates of Form, Sound, Smell and Taste in his commentary on the Seventeen Epithets of Purity, the *Banro boluomiduo liqu jing Dale bukong sanmei zhenshi Jingangsaduo deng shiqi sheng damantuluo yishu* 般若波羅蜜多理趣經大樂不空三昧眞實金剛薩埵十七聖大曼荼羅義述 (*T. 1004:618a2-29*). Amoghavajra concludes this short commentary with the statement (*T.1004:618b2-4*) that he has given the gist of the teachings of the Thirteenth of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga of Adamantine Crown. According to Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T.869:287a7-20*) the theme of the Thirteenth Assembly is the seventeen-syllable mantra which becomes the seventeen-figure mandala. Samantabhadra explains this seventeen-figure configuration, and its conflation into a pentad seated upon a common lotus within a common moon disc. See my discussion in Chapter Four, pp. 73-74.

The iconography and positions of the Bodhisattvas Love and Pride remain, however, a problem. In the same commentary Amoghavajra explicates the meaning of Love Bodhisattva as follows (*T.1004:617c8-11*):

That is the fourth, the so-called Bodhisattva Compassion Vajra, who, because of compassion, uses a rope of loving thoughts and universally binds the sentient beings who have not yet reached enlightenment. When he has finished [binding them], he does not release or abandon them.

Moreover, similar to the giant fish, the *makara*, which devours whatever it meets, when, once it has put the whole thing in its mouth, there is no escape at all, he holds this *makara* fish banner...

Thus, according to Amoghavajra, the rope and the *makara* banner are the attributes of the Bodhisattva Love, not those of Bodhisattva Pride. Nevertheless, in Shinkai's Five Mysteries Mandala (18, Togano, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 67 and p. 406) Love holds the *makara* banner and sits at Vajrasattva's left side and Pride, who holds a rope, is at his right side. Shinkai reproduces exactly the iconography of the Daigoji Assembly of the Five Mysteries (fig. 7, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 793) but for the single detail of the rope held by Pride.

¹⁶⁶ Togano, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 60 and pp. 373-374. See also Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, vol. 2, p. 111. Togano, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, p. 373 quotes a text by Enchin who says that the deities' positions in this mandala should be similar to the ones in the Central Assembly (*Jōjin'ne*) of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. I discuss Enchin's text and this mandala in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

¹⁶⁷ This replacement of the four Buddhas by the four main Bodhisattvas occurs also in the moon disc in the east of both the Kanchi'in version of the Assembly of the Five Families (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 835, No. 17 and 18) and

Kōzen's transmission (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 723, No. 106), which is based on the Kanchi'in mandala.

¹⁶⁸ See endnote 1 above for references in these scholars' works and mandalas 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 and 18 in Kōzen's transmission (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 724) and 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12 in Shinkai's set (Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plates 19, 22, 27, 34, 37, 41, 48).

¹⁶⁹ This is seen in mandalas 2 (fig. 24), 4 and 8 in Kōzen's transmission (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 715, 716, 718) and 4 (fig. 32) and 8 in Shinkai's set (Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plates 22, 34). *Liqushi* references for mandalas 2, 4 and 8 are: *T. 1003:610a15-23; 611b27-c4; 613c2-7*.

¹⁷⁰ Except for one mandala, the Ākāśagarbha Mandala (6) (Kōzen, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, p. 717; Shinkai, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plate 27), the monks do not make the same iconographic changes. Moreover, although Shinkai alters the iconography of two mandalas that Kōzen did not change (9 and 12, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 718 and 720; Shinkai, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plates 37 and 48), Shinkai omits iconographic motifs in mandala 12 that Amoghavajra had stipulated (*T.1003:615b23-c3*).

¹⁷¹ *T.1004*. See endnote 165 above.

¹⁷² For example, the iconography of the Daigoji set is reproduced exactly in mandalas 9, 12, 13, and 15 of Kōzen's transmission (Daigoji set, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 784, 787, 788 and 790; Kōzen, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, 3022, pp. 718, 720, 721 and 722) and in 5, 7, 13 and 14 of Shinkai's version (Daigoji set, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 780, 782, 788 and 789; Shinkai, Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū* does not have plates for these mandalas). Although Toganoo states (*Rishukyo no kenkyū*, pp. 199 and 239) that the iconography of the mandalas of Avalokiteśvara and Vajramuṣṭi (5 and 7) are identical to that of the mandalas in the Daigoji exemplar, he says nothing about the iconography of Mandalas of the Maheśvara and the Seven Mother Goddesses (13 and 14). I am assuming that the lack of information means that the iconography is identical to that of these Daigoji mandalas.

¹⁷³ Because Amoghavajra seldom furnishes specific directions for the anthropomorphic representation of the figures, Shinkai resorts to the Daigoji exemplar. The figures of Mahāvairocana in the Mandala of the Opening Assembly (1), Ākāśagarbha in the Mandala of Ākāśagarbha (6), Mañjuśrī and his retinue of youths in the Mañjuśrī Mandala (8), Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin in the Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin Mandala (9), Sarva-māra-pramardin in the Sarva-māra-pramardin Mandala (11), the three Brothers Maheśvara, Brahmā and Nārāyana in the Mandala of the Three Brothers (15), Tumburu and his four Sisters in the Mandala of the Four Sisters (16), the Five Mysteries pentad in the Five Mysteries Mandala (18) and the opening figure of Rāgarāja have their source in the Daigoji exemplar. See Toganoo, *Rishukyo no kenkyū*, plates 8, 27, 34, 37, 44, 55, 58, 67 and 2 (fig. 30); Daigoji set, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 776 (fig. 1), 781, 783 (fig. 5), 784, 786, 791, 790, 793 (fig. 7) and 797 (fig. 10).

¹⁷⁴ For example, Dōhō states (*Rishukyo hiketsushō*, pp. 85b17-86a1) that the iconography of the Mandala of the Seventeen Epithets of Purity is based on that of the *Rishue* in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Genkaku and Shinkaku show that the iconography and descriptions of Trailokyavijaya, Mañjuśrī and his retinue of four youths, Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, the gods of the Outer Vajra Family, Mahākāla and the Seven Mother Goddesses, to name but a few, match that of these figures in the Daigoji exemplar. See Kanchi'in set Nos. 4, 8, 9, 12, 14, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 822 (fig. 16), 826, 827, 830, 832; Shinkaku, no. 2, no. 4, no. 5, no. 7; Daigoji set, figs. 4, 8, 9, 12, 14, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779 (fig. 4), 783 (fig. 5), 784, 787, 789. Details of Daigoji exemplar's iconography, such as the orientation of the mandalas, the gate symbols, and the number of courts can be gleaned from Kōzen's version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* and Ihō's comparative treatment of the mandalas in his *Shuhōmandara shosetsu fudōki*.

¹⁷⁵ I use the phrase "motivated by tradition" to indicate the scholar-monks' attribution of texts to the earliest figure possible, perhaps more as a gesture of respect and a mark of trust than as a statement of objective truth. This is still a problem to be investigated.

Chapter Three: The Relationship Between the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* and the Mandalas of the Matrix and Adamantine Realms (*Genzu mandara*) of the Shingon School

¹ The proof rests on two main lines of argument: iconographic comparison between Amoghavajra's commentary, the *Liqushi*, and the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* that Shūei is said to have introduced, and examination of the revisions and reinterpretations made to this set of mandalas.

² As one of a number of possible examples, the notes on the Mandalas of Trailokyavijaya, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Sahacittopādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, the Seven Mother Goddesses and the Three Brothers contain (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, pp. 822, 823, 826, 827, 832, 833, No. 4 (fig. 16), 5, 8, 9, 14 and 15) the following descriptions:

In the mandala Trailokyavijaya is blue in color... He sits on a white lotus.

Avalokiteśvara is flesh colored...

Vimalaprabha is yellow in color and holds in his left hand a blue lotus flower...

In the mandala Mahācakra is blue-black in color...

In the mandala Mahākāla's body is blue-black in color.

Brahmā is light flesh-colored...

Further, the notes on the Kanchi'in Mañjuśrī Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 826, No. 8) provide two descriptions of the figures of Jālinīprabha 光網 and Ratnakūṭa 寶冠:

Bodhisattva Jālinīprabha is yellow in color, holds a blue lotus in his left hand and he has the form of a youth.

[In] a certain illustration 或圖 (*aruzu*) he has three topknots on his head. He turns the palm of his right hand upwards and, lowering his fingers, he turns them outwards. He slightly bends the tips of his fingers and spreads his thumb. His four fingers are bound with a rope. In his left hand he holds a blue lotus.

Bodhisattva Ratnakūṭa is yellow in color, he holds a blue lotus topped with a jeweled crown in his left hand and has the form of a youth.

[In] a certain illustration he turns the palm of his right hand upwards, places it at his heart and hold a jewel. He raises the elbow of his left arm, turns his palm upwards, slightly bends his four fingers and holds a blue lotus that has a jeweled crown on top.

³ See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2924, p. 162a12, 161c28-29. Information about the compiler Shunnyū and the date of compilation is given in an inscription on the *Taižōkai shichishū* at *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2924, p. 171c.

Shunnyū's work is known as the *Ishiyama shichishū* 石山七集, which includes the *Taižōkai shichishū* 胎藏界七集 and the *Kongōkai shichishū* 金剛界七集. See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2925, pp. 137-189 and pp. 191-203. Although the *Taižōkai shichishū* is accepted as Shunnyū's work, some doubt that the *Kongōkai shichishū* is his (see *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 111).

For the reading of this monk's name, see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1108b-c and Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 370. His transmission founded the Shingon school's Ishiyama ritual tradition 石山流 (see Sawa, *ibid*, lineage chart in Appendix VI, p. 137).

⁴ This is the part beginning with the phrase "in a certain illustration." Compare *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2922, p. 67c3-4 and 67c21-23. The *Taishō* publication (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2922, pp. 17-134) of Shinjaku's work is a copy that was made from the manuscript in Tōji's Kanchi'in. See Matsubara Chibi ("Shosetsu fudōki no aruzu to Taimitsu no Taižōzu," *Bijutsushi kenkyū*, vol. 28 (1990), pp. 25-43, especially footnote 2 on page 42) gives this copy a date of 1335 建武二年 (Kenmu 2) and Sawa Ryūken (*Mikkyō jiten*, p. 399) cites a colophon on the Kanchi'in manuscript with the date of 1367 貞治六年 (Jōji 6).

⁵ See the *Ishiyama shichishū*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2924, pp. 140b26-29 (Shunnyū's order of description differs but the content matches, cf. fig. 16, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 822, No. 4), 158c5-6 (content matches but not its order, cf. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 824, No. 6) and 168a17-18 (cf. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 833, No. 15); and the *Shosetsu fudōki*, *T.*

Zuzō, vol. 1, 2922, pp. 79c13-17 (cf. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 824, No. 9) and p. 127b8-22 (cf. *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 832, No. 14).

⁶ For example, the description of Avalokiteśvara have been simplified, but the *Ishiyama [taizōkai] shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2924, p. 138b25-26 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 823, No. 5) was the source.

Another example of Genkaku's use of these earlier sources occurs in his note for the Gaganagañja Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3046, p. 828, No. 10, see Chapter Two, endnote 7). Here he describes Gaganagañja's mudrā in a certain illustration 或圖. Genkaku's use of the phrase "a certain illustration" does not point to Shinjaku's *Shosetsu fudōki*, wherein this phrase is common (I discuss this phrase in this work below), but to the figure of Bodhisattva Vajrakarma 業菩薩 in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Genkaku cites the description of this Bodhisattva's iconography from Shunnyū's *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2925, p. 194a13-14). Shunnyū has quoted the *Bizangji* 祕藏記 (Record of the Secret Treasury, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2921, p.12b2-3), an early compilation on the Shingon mandalas. See endnote 12 below.

⁷ Genkaku's citations from the *Shosetsu fudōki* are taken from Shinjaku's descriptions of figures in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. See the examples in endnote 2 and 5 above.

⁸ This is because Shinjaku states in the entry on the figure of Buddhlocanā in scroll 3 of his work that "In the *Hieizan* illustration her whole body is gold" (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 44, p. 39).

⁹ Ono Genmyō in "Hieizan Chishō daishi to Engakuji Shūei Sōjō no shōraisheshi Daihi taizō daimandara no kenkyū," *Mikkyō*, vol. 3/3 (1913), pp. 77-87 and vol. 4/1 (1914), pp. 69-81 (reprinted in *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan kabu shiki gaisha, 1937) argues that the "certain illustration" was the Engakuji illustration that Shūei (809-884) brought back to Japan from China and that the "mountain illustration" was the Hieizan illustration that was introduced either by Ennin (794-864) or by Enchin (814-891). Ono links the Engakuji illustration to Shūei because of three main arguments:

- 1) Shūei, who was known as the *Sōjō* of Engakuji, returned from China in Jōgan 7 (865);
- 2) In Shūei's inventory, the contents of a note at the side of a matrix mandala corresponds to the note that is recorded under the Engakuji illustration in Shinjaku's *Shosetsu fudōki*;
- 3) Ono Genmyō correlated a *kōhon* 後本 that is described in Shunjū's *Ishiyama shichishū* with that of the "certain mandala," taking as evidence a note beside a *kōhon* in the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記, scroll 1, wherein the author Shinkaku states that this version of the mandala was brought back by the monk who was the last to go to China – which is the way Shūei was known within the Shingon school, as *Gonittō sōjō* 後入唐僧正.

Further, Ono stated that if Shūei was associated with the *kōhon*, it would be logical to link the *zenbon* 前本 to Kūkai. However, later scholars have questioned Ono's conclusions. For instance, Sasaki Susumu ("Ōmi - AshiuraKannonji no ryōkai mandarazu – Taimitsukei ryōkaimandara no issakurei toshite," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 163 (November 1985), pp. 77-78) is dubious about correlating the "certain mandala" with the "Engakuji mandala," because both are mentioned separately in the entry on Vairocana in scroll 2 of the *Shosetsu fudōki*. Moreover, the "Engakuji illustration" is colored. Because Shūei records in his inventory a line drawing of a mandala that is to be spread on the altar (*shiki mandara*), Sasaki doubts that Shinjaku would compare two different types of mandalas. Matsubara Chibi in "*Shosetsu fudōki* no aruzu to Taimitsu no Taizōzu" (*Bijutsushi kenkyū*, vol. 28 (1990), pp. 25-43), states that there is no evidence to support either Ono Genmyō's association of the *zenbon* with the version that Kūkai introduced, or a connection between the *kōhon*, which differs from the *zenbon*, and the "certain mandala," which belongs to the same lineage as the *kōhon*, with Shūei.

¹⁰ See *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 44, pp. 19-20:

As for the positions in the mandala that the Great Teacher Kūkai brought back, in its very center is a large red lotus flower with eight petals. Between the petals appear half vajras that are three-pronged. There are detailed fruit and bearded pistils. On the lotus flower calyx is Tathāgata Mahāvairocana and the lotus petals in the four [cardinal] directions are the [seating positions] of the four Buddhas. On the four petals in the four intermediate directions are the four Meditation Bodhisattvas. The positions of the two Venerables, Avalokiteśvara in the northwest direction and Maitreya in the northeast direction, differ from [the positions that] the main [text] expounds.

When I come to this below, I will clarify this in detail.

The placement of Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya in the mandala that Kūkai brought back differs from that given in the mandala that is described in the *Vairocanañhisambodhi sūtra*. In the text Avalokiteśvara is in the northeast and Maitreya is in the northwest, but in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* that Kūkai introduced their positions are reversed: Avalokiteśvara is in the northwest and Maitreya is in the northeast. The positions are given in the chapter titled *Ru bimi mantuluo fa pin* 入祕密漫荼羅法品 in *T.18.848:36c11-12*.

¹¹ In a memorial entitled the *Shōrai mokuroku* 請來目錄 (Catalogue of Imported Items, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 69-104), which Kūkai presented to Emperor Heizei 平城 upon his return to Japan in 806, the mandala are listed as follows (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 94):

大毘盧遮那大悲胎藏大曼荼羅一鋪 七幅一丈六尺

金剛界九會曼荼羅一鋪 七幅一丈六尺

Dapiluzhena dabeī taizang damantuluo (Great Mandala [Born from] the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion of Mahāvairocana), one [painting]. In seven widths, 1 *jo* (3.03 m) 6 *shaku* (181.8 cm).

Jingangjie jiuwei mantuluo (Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm), one [painting]. In seven widths, 1 *jo* (3.03 m) 6 *shaku* (181.8 cm).

The mandalas are not listed side by side in the *Shōrai mokuroku*, but are given according to topic. Three types of matrix mandalas are listed first. The figures of these mandalas are represented in their physical forms 大曼荼羅 (*mahāmaṇḍala*), with seed letters 法曼荼羅 (*bīja-maṇḍala*) and by means of their symbolic forms 三昧耶曼荼羅 (*samaya-maṇḍala*). Two types of mandalas of the adamantine realm then follow. One is composed of nine assemblies of figures that are depicted anthropomorphically 金剛界九會曼荼羅 and one is composed of a single assembly of eighty-one figures, who are also depicted anthropomorphically 金剛界八十一尊大曼荼羅. The anthropomorphic forms of the figures of the mandalas cited above, and their identical measurements, suggests they were a pair.

As we have seen (endnote 2 above), in the text of the note on the Kanchi'in's Mañjuśrī Mandala (fig. 46, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 826, No. 8) the term *aruzu* 或圖 ("a certain illustration") also appears. Genkaku uses this term to refer to the figure in the *Monju in* (Hall of Mañjuśrī) of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*, and Shinjaku uses it in the *Shosetsu fudōki* to indicate a specific, but as yet unidentified, example of the matrix mandala.

¹² Ishida Hisatōyō states in his *Mandara no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōkyō bijutsu, 1975, p. 8, footnote 1) that the correct name of this set is the mandala of the lineage of Huiguo-Kūkai 慧果空海系曼荼羅.

There is also no reference to any *Genzu mandara* in the *Bizangji*, a work that the Shingon school has traditionally attributed to Kūkai himself. Up to the Edo period, there were two theories concerning the authorship of the *Bizangji*. One maintains that it was the transmission of Amoghavajra that Huiguo passed on to Kūkai. Another considers it to be the notes that Kūkai took at the time he received Huiguo's transmission of the teachings on the two mandalas. The attribution to Kūkai was the most widely accepted. Contemporary scholars have questioned these theories and have suggested other possible authors. See the discussions by Katō Seishin, "*Hizōki no chosha ni tsuite*," *Mikkyō*, vol. 1/3 (1969), pp. 297-317; Mukai Ryūken, "*Hizōki seiritsu kō*," *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 15 (1983), pp. 53-67; and Yoneda Kōnin, "*Hizōki no seiritsu nendai*," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 186 (March 1994), pp. 67-93. The *Bizangji* is discussed on pp. 68-69 of this chapter.

¹³ The orthodox lineage of the *Genzu mandara* begins with the set that Kūkai brought back from his trip to China, now in the possession of Tōji 東寺 in Kyoto. Copies of the original colored set, officially noted in temple records such as the *Tōji chōsha honin* 東寺長者補任 and the *Tōbōki* 東寶記, were made in Kōnin 弘仁 12 (821), Kenkyū 建久 2 (1191), Einin 永仁 2 (1294), and Genroku 元禄 6 (1693). Kūkai directed the reproduction of the colored set of mandalas that he had brought back from China in Kōnin 12 at Takaosanji 高尾山寺. See Takada Osamu, "Jingoji to Takao mandara," *Bukkyō bijutsushi ronkō* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1969), pp. 346-368. See also the prayer for the ceremony that was held before the undertaking of this project in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 476-477. I discuss this document in endnote 76 below.

The Kōnin set is now lost. For discussion of later copies of the *Genzu mandara*, see Tanaka Osamu, "Tōji seikei *Genzu mandara no sōshō*," *Bijutsu geijutsu*, vol. 24 (1955), pp. 3-18 and Ishida, "Genzu mandara saikō," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 78 (1970), pp. 18-33.

However, the *Genzu mandara* category also includes copies that are generally faithful to the type, though unmentioned in the direct line of transmission. Thus, the oldest extant example of the category is the *Takao mandara* 高尾曼荼羅, done in gold and silver paint on purple silk, dated to the latter part of the Tenchō 天長 reign period (829-833). This is in the possession of Jingoji 神護寺 in Kyoto. This set is as accurate a reproduction of the iconography of the version that Kūkai introduced as was the copy that was made in Kōnin 12 (see *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 489 and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3459-3460). There are, however, some changes. For example, the originals were colored and were composed of seven widths of silk, but the Takao set is painted in gold and silver. Its *Taizōkai mandara* consists of eight widths of silk and its *Kongōkai mandara* has seven. See Takada, “Jingoji to Takao mandara,” *Bukkyō bijutsushi ronkō*, p. 350.

The *Takao mandara* served as the source for a copy in line drawings in black ink on paper 百描本 (*hyakubyō hon*). Remnants of this monochrome version are in Hasedera and Daigoji. The circumstances of this copy’s creation and its author are unclear. See Ōmura in his *Sanpon ryōbu mandara shū* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1913/1973, p. 5), Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. p. 3459, *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 1551-2, the *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 489, and Takada Osamu (“Tōji to seikei *Genzu mandara* no sōshō,” *Bijutsu geijutsu*, vol. 24, footnote 2 on pp. 17-18).

This monochrome copy of the *Takao mandara* was the one that the monk Hōun 法雲 (1835-1889) used as the basis for a woodblock printed copy of the *Takao mandara* known as the Omuroban 御室版 in Meiji 2 (1869). See Ōmura, *Sanpon ryōbu mandara shū*, pp. 5-7. This set, which is in the possession of Ninnaji 仁和寺, is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2948, pp. 633-815, no. 2958, pp. 893-1004, respectively. It is also known as the Ninnaji printed version. Both the monochrome copy and Hōun’s wood-block edition belong to the *Genzu* lineage because they are faithful reproductions of the *Takao mandara*, itself a copy of the colored version that Kūkai introduced from China.

¹⁴ Takada Osamu, “Tōji seikei *Genzu mandara* no sōshō,” *Bijutsu geijutsu*, vol. 24, pp. 12-13.

¹⁵ The description of the figures of Jālinīprabha and Ratnakūṭa, which Genkaku quoted in his notes on the Mañjuśrī Mandala of the Kanchi’in set, may serve as an example.

¹⁶ Matsubara Chibi, “*Shosetsu fudōki* no aruzu to Taimitsu no Taizōzu,” *Bijutsushi kenkyū*, vol. 28, pp. 30-31.

¹⁷ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 627-815, 887-1004.

¹⁸ The descriptions are found on *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2921, pp. 12-14 and the illustrations are Nos. 3 and 4.

¹⁹ See endnote 6 above for one example.

²⁰ These mandalas are listed in Ennin’s inventories, which are published in *T.55.2165:1076a2-3*, *2166:1077c26-27* and *2167:1084b29*, and in Enchin’s inventories, *T.55.2171:1096c26-27*, *2172:1098c16-18* and *2173:1104a16-18*.

²¹ See Kakuchō’s 覺超 (955-1037) *Taizōsoni hei bonkan mitsugō shuji sanmaya gyōshiki shuintō ryakki* 胎藏尊位并梵漢密号種子三昧耶形色手印等略記 (hereafter, *Taizō mandara ryakki* 胎藏曼荼羅略記), Chūjin’s 忠尋 (1065-1138) *Eizanbon kongōkai daimandara* 叡山本金剛界大曼荼羅 and *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* 叡山本大悲胎藏大曼荼羅, and a second tenth-century Taimitsu work entitled the *Jōtei mandara zu* 調定曼荼羅圖.

The *Taizō mandara ryakki*, in the possession of Tōji, is published in the *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2998, pp. 953-977. Although an inscription at the end of the first scroll (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, 2998, p. 964), written when repairs were done in Enkyō 5 (1748), states that this work is either by Kenpō 賢寶 or by Kakuchō, scholars such as Matsubara Chibi (“*Shosetsufudōki* no aruzu to Taimitsu no Taizōzu,” *Bijutsushi kenkyū*, vol. 28, pp. 35-36, 43, note 22) accept it as a text by Kakuchō. The entry on the *Taizō mandara ryakki* in the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 7, p. 186, concurs. See references to a *zenbon* and *kōhon* in Kakuchō’s entries on Mañjuśrī 文殊師利菩薩 and Agni 火天 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, 2998, pp. 954a4-6, 972a12-13), for example.

The *Eizanbon kongōkai daimandara* and *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* are in the possession of Daigoji. They have been published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2983, pp. 691-714 and no. 2982, 573-687, respectively. The *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* consists of an upper register of line drawings of figures and a lower register of text that describes the iconographical features of the figures. Originally the text and figures were transmitted separately. An inscription on the first scroll of the *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, 2982, p. 636) gives details about

the composition of this work. It states that the Tendai monk Chūjin 忠尋 (1065-1138) used oiled paper to copy the figures of the version that belonged to the Tendai master Kakukei 覺慶 (died 1138 [Matsubara, *ibid*, footnote 24, p. 43-44]) and the textual explanations from Master Inshō 院昭 (11th-early 12th century). See references to a *zenbon* and *kōhon* in entries on Īsāna 伊舍那天 and Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏菩薩] (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, 2982, pp. 603b16-18, 650b3-5), for example.

The *Jōtei mandara zu* is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2992, pp. 777-796 and is in the possession of Kanchi'in of Tōji. The date of the composition of this work is not known. There is a theory that it was the work of a person called Jōtei'in 調定院, the disciple of the Tendai monk Sonni 尊意 (868-940). In any case, it is a Tendai compilation that dates to the 10th century. For a discussion of the compilers of these works see Matsubara Chibi, “*Shosetsu fudōki no aruzu to Taimitsu no taizōzu*,” *Bijutsushi kenkyū*, vol. 28, pp. 35-40, and footnotes 22-24. See references to a *zenbon* and *kōhon* in entries on Hayagrīva 馬頭觀世音菩薩] and Sahasrabhuja-Ārya-Avalokiteśvara 千手千眼觀自在菩薩 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, 2992, pp. 783, 788), for example.

²² Matsubara Chibi suggests that the terms *zenbon* and *kōhon* indicate the names of the Tendai temples where these mandalas were kept. In fact, a temple on Hieizan, where the paintings, texts and implements that Ennin returned with were stored, was called Zentō'in 前唐院, and a temple in the Onjōji complex, where the works brought back by Enchin were stored, was called Kōtō'in 後唐院. Because the *Taizō mandara ryakki*, *Eizanbon kongōkai daimandara*, *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* and *Jōtei mandara zu* are Tendai works, Matsubara Chibi (“*Shosetsu fudōki no aruzu to Taimitsu no Taizōzu*,” *Bijutsushi kenkyū*, vol. 28, p. 41) suggests that the *zenbon* and *kōhon* should be taken as the matrix mandala of the Tendai school. He questions Ono Genmyō's use of a note in Shinkaku's *Besson zakki* to link the *kōhon* to Shūei, and proposes instead an examination of the Tendai school. If this is so, *zenbon* and *kōhon* could indicate the Tendai monks who went to China in the 9th century. Ennin, who returned in Shōwa 4 (847), brought back a matrix mandala that is recorded in his inventory *Nihonkoku shōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* (*T.55.2165:1076a2*), and Enchin, who came back in Tenan 2 (858), also recorded a matrix mandala in his inventory, *Nihon biku Enchin nittō guhō mokuroku* (*T.55.2172:109816-17*). See also the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1364, *Zentō'in* on Hieizan and vol. 2, p. 625, *Kōtō'in* in Onjōji.

The fact that the Shingon monk Shinnyū uses the terms *zenbon* and *kōhon* in his *Ishiyama shichishū* is a problem. See Matsubara, *ibid*, chart 1 and data chart 3 on p. 37. Moreover, in the entry on Bodhisattva Mahācakra 曼荼羅菩薩] in the *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara*, a note in small characters relates that (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 648) the term *kōhon* refers to the mandala in Sannō'in 山王院. This was, and still is, a temple at the foot of Hieizan. The relationship between the Sannō'in and the *kōhon* requires further research.

²³ For example, Mañjuśrī has five topknots and he holds a Sanskrit sūtra box in the *Genzu* and *zenbon*, but in the *aruzu* and *kōhon* he has a transformation Buddha on his head and he holds a sword; Bodhisattva Mahācakra 曼荼羅菩薩 appears in the *Genzu* and the *zenbon*, but not in the *aruzu* and the *kōhon*. Matsubara, “*Shosetsu fudōki no aruzu to Taimitsu no Taizōzu*,” *Bijutsushi kenkyū*, vol. 28, p. 39, Chart 2.

²⁴ For example, Dōhō 道法, whose version of the *Liqujing mantuluo* is examined in Chapter Two, cites the description of the iconography of Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin in his *Rishukyō hiketsushō* (*Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 9, *Rishukyōshaku*, p. 111b8-12) from Kakuchō's entry on Bodhisattva Mandala (Mahācakra) 曼荼羅菩薩 in his *Taizō mandara ryakki* 胎藏曼荼羅略記 (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, 2998, p. 969b17-19).

²⁵ See Hunter, “The Five Secrets Mandala,” *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 111-124, esp. p. 115.

²⁶ For more on this, see Appendix A, Detailed Discussion of the Derivation of the Figures in the Daigoji Exemplar.

²⁷ The seated figure of Trailokyavijaya in the Trailokyavijaya Mandala (fig. 4, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 779, No. 4), the figure of Ākāśagarbha who holds a flaming sword in the Mahāvairocana Mandala (fig. 3, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 778, No. 3) and the Ākāśagarbha Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 781, No. 6), and the crowned figure of Mañjuśrī in the Mañjuśrī Mandala (fig. 8, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 783, No. 8) differ markedly from Amoghavajra's *Liquishi* prescriptions and are based upon the iconography of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. Although Amoghavajra provides no information on the iconography of the focal figures of the Mandalas of Mahācakra, Sarvamāra-pramardin and the

Seven Mother Goddesses (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 784, 786, 789, No. 9, 11 and 14), these are found in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. The *Genzu taizōkai mandara* is the iconographic source of the retinue figures in the Mañjuśrī Mandala (fig. 8, No. 8), the guardian figures of the Maheśvara Mandala (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 788, No. 13), and the figure of Brahmā in the Mandalas of Sarvamāra-pramardin, the Seven Mother Goddesses and the Three Brothers (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, pp. 786, 789, 791, Nos. 11, 14 and 16).

²⁸ For example, the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* provides basic information about Avalokiteśvara, stating only that he wears a white robe and has a figure of Buddha Amitābha in his crown (*T.848:6c29-7a2*). See Appendix A, Detailed Discussion of the Daigoji Exemplar, endnote 14.

²⁹ See *T.866:227b24-236c18* and *T.865:208b9-216a11*, respectively. Amoghavajra's work in the *Taishō* is titled *Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshishe dacheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經.

³⁰ See *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 244, 251; chart for *Jōjin'ne* on pp. 245-248; chart for *Genzu taizōkai mandara* on pp. 249-250 and “*Genzu mandara saikō*” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 78 (1970), pp. 18-33, esp. p. 33; charts on pp. 20-23, 28, 32-33. The key feature of the mandalas described in the *Shewuai yigui* and the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* is the arrangement into a single composition of figures from mandalas depicting the teachings of texts from different lineages, the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. These texts present the teachings and ritual practices of different lineages of Esoteric Buddhism that developed in different areas of India at different times. (For a discussion of this point, see Matsunaga Yūkei, *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsu shiron* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1981), pp. 164-198.) When these scriptures were first translated into Chinese, by Śubhākarasiṃha in 724-725 and by Vajrabodhi in 723 respectively, they were regarded as separate but equally important. Ishida attributes the conflation of the iconographies of these two traditions to Amoghavajra, stating that this feature was a unique characteristic of the Buddhism of his time (*Mandara no kenkyū*, p. 251, “*Genzu mandara saikō*,” p. 33). This mixing is clearly visible, he says, in the iconography of Shingon's *Genzu mandara* (Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 244-251, “*Genzu mandara saikō*,” pp. 33).

³¹ Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 4429b, *Fudaraku kaie ki*.

³² *T.2120:839-840*.

³³ *T.50.2157*. This catalogue is dated to the sixteenth year of Zhenyuan (800). See *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, Bekkan, p. 612.

³⁴ Other Japanese scholars date the composition of these two ritual manuals after Amoghavajra's time. For instance, Osabe Kazuo, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō* (Kobe: Kobe Shōkadaigaku keizai kenkyūjo, 1971), pp. 70-7 and Kobayashi Taiichirō, “Tōdai no Daihi Kannon,” *Kobayashi Taiichirō chosaku shū*, vol. 7 (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1974, pp. 83-186), p. 149 date the *Shewuai yigui* to the Song Dynasty. I thank Iyanaga Nobumi for recommending this article (May 21, 2006). Mukai Ryūken's reservations concerning the attribution of the *Shewuai yigui* are found in his “Fukū yaku *Shōmuge kyō* wo meguru mondai,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 30/2 (March 1982), pp. 801-804 and “Fukū yaku *Shōmugekyō* to *Bizangji* to no kankei ni tsuite,” *Buzan kyōgaku daikai kiyō*, vol. 9 (Septemehr 1981), pp. 13-24, esp. pp. 13, 20. On the other hand, the attribution to Amoghavajra is accepted by both the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* (vol. 5, pp. 415c-416a) and the *Mikkyō daijiten* (vol. 3, pp. 1205a-b and 1356a-37b).

Osabe (*Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 192) suggests that the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* dates to the mid-late Tang Dynasty and Misaki (“*Jōju myōhokkekyō ō yuga kanchi giki* ni tsuite,” *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū*, vol. 14/6 (1975, pp. 17-47), p. 45) argues that this work dates to long after Amoghavajra's time, because it is described as a newly imported text in Japanese ritual compilations such as the *Kakuzenshō* and the *Asabashō*. See also Lucia Dolce, *Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren's Interpretation of the Lotus Sutra* (PhD Dissertation, University of Leiden, 2002), ch. 6, pp. 245-246.

³⁵ These texts do not have the phases of the rite but only of a detailed description of the iconography of the figures of the mandala that is to be visualized during its performance. The *Shewuai yigui* and *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* both contain standardized formulas for the deities' iconographic prescriptions. These passages give information concerning the deities' crowns, colors, mudrās and attributes, jewelry, clothing, and seats. There are minor

differences, such as omissions and shortening of passages, which suggest copying errors. These standardized directives are not seen in Amoghavajra's ritual manuals. One good example for comparison is a ritual manual for the rite of Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara, the *Jingangding yuqie qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經 (T.20.1056), which is listed in Amoghavajra's memorial (T.2120:839c8 as *Jingangding yuqie qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa niansong fa*: I discuss this manual in Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission, pp. 185-187.)

The *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* gives the details of the figures of the mandala that is to be envisioned in a rite described in a separate text, the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyuqie guanzhi yigui* 成就妙法蓮華經王瑜伽觀智儀軌 (T.19.1000). The *Chengjiu miaofa lianhuajing wangyuqie guanzhi yigui* is listed in Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2157:880b8).

The *Shewuai yigui* can, on the other hand, be divided into two parts. The first is an introduction that discusses principle 理 (*li*) and wisdom 智 (*zhi*), rites for the Venerables of the Five Families 五部尊法, the Lords and Mothers of the Five Families 五母部室主, the angry forms of the Five Buddhas 五智忿怒相配 and the Thirty-Seven Venerables 三十七尊 of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The second, the main body of the manual, is about the construction of the Mandala for Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara 千手千眼觀音. The second part on the details of the mandala is given much greater emphasis.

The title of the *Shewuai yigui* makes it clear that this work has been extracted from a larger text. (See also Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 636.) Further, a note appended beneath the title of the manuscript version published in the *Taishō* states that "it is best to consult the larger ritual manual for the liturgical procedure and its *dhāraṇīs* and praises" (T.1067:129b13). The *Shewuai yigui* belongs to a group of ritual manuals (for example, T.20.1056, 1057, 1058, 1060 and 1065) that were composed for the cult of the Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara. For a presentation of this cult in the Tang and early Song Dynasties, see Kobayashi Taichirō, "Tōdai no Daihi Kannon," *Kobayashi Taichiro chosaku shū*, vol. 7, pp. 83-186.

³⁶ The *Shewuai yigui* describes a Mandala of Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara. Included among the one hundred and twenty-one figures arranged in five courts are the Four Directional Buddhas, Four Pāramitā Bodhisattvas, Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas and the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. Ishida shows that the iconography of these figures corresponds, on the whole, to those in the Shingon school's *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (see Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, chart on pp. 245-248). Amoghapaśa, Bhṛkuṭī, Ekādaśamukha, Krodhāṅkuśa, Cintāmanīcakra, Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Padmakulobhava, and Acalanātha are also present, to name but a few in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (Ishida, *ibid.*, chart on pp. 249-250).

Ishida follows Ōmura Seigai, whose statement that various deities from the two major mandalas (*taikon ryōbu shoson*) have been arranged together (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 637, Ishida, *ibid.*, pp. 224, 251), suggests some sort of systematic combination of the figures from the two *Genzu mandara*. (See also *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1205a.) In the *Shewuai yigui* mandala, there are groups composed of deities from the *Genzu mandara*. In the second court Bodhisattvas from the *Genzu taizōkai* and *Kongōkai mandara* attend on Buddhas from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. For example, Bodhisattva Vajrapāramitā from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* and Bodhisattva Tārā from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* attend on Akṣobhya, the Buddha of the east in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (T.1067:131b23-28, 132a9-18). In the mandala's third court, Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*Kokūzō in*, Hall of Ākāśagarbha) is attended by Vajraratna, Vajrateja, Vajraketu and Vajrahāsa, the four attendant Bodhisattvas of Ratnasambhava, the Buddha of the south in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (T.1067:132c14-133a4, 134a16-27).

All the same, there is no consistent pattern in the pairing of figures from the *Genzu mandara*. A combination of material from the two mandalas is evident in the second court, where the four Buddhas of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* sit in the four gateways in the four cardinal directions, the four major Bodhisattvas from the central court of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* are in the intermediate directions of the court, and the subgroups are composed of figures from these two mandalas who attend on one of the four Buddhas (T.1067:131b23-132b23). It is much more difficult to see any pattern in the third court (four figural groupings composed of four of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas who attend on multi-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara and Ucchuṣma), the fourth (configurations containing a form of Avalokiteśvara, a Vināyaka and a ṛṣi) and the fifth (the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas and thirty-two of the thirty-three transformation bodies of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara).

In the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing*, the Buddhas Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna are in the center of a mandala that is composed of forty-two figures arranged in three enclosures. According to Ishida (*Mandara no kenkyū*,

p. 251), in this mandala, figures from the *Genza mandara* are arranged in alternating courts. The innermost court (T.1001:603a25-b18, 604a4-11) contains figures from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra), the second court (T.1001:604a16-b14) has ones from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas and the Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas) and the third court (T.1001:604c16-605c25) draws on the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (Acalanātha, Trailokyavijaya as Vajrahūṃkara, Indra, to name but a few; see Ishida's charts, *ibid*, pp. 244-245, 247-248, 249-250). The result, concludes Ishida, is a combination of deities from the two mandala traditions (*ibid*, pp. 244, 251). Ōmura came to a similar conclusion (*taikon ryōbu no omoi*; see *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 631).

All the Bodhisattvas in the central court, including Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, appear in the *Lotus Scripture*. Links can be established with figures in the *Genzu mandara*, but some are tenuous; for example, that between Bodhisattva Akṣayamati 無尽意菩薩 and one of the Sixteen Venerables of the Present *Kapla* 賢劫十六尊 proposed by Asai Endō ("Hokkei mandara no kenritsu" 法華曼荼羅の健立 in *Jōko Nihon Tendai honmon shisō shi* (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1973), p. 462). Links can also be suggested for some of the eight Bodhisattvas in the mandala's second court, but they are similarly uncertain. Five of the Bodhisattvas in the second court are from chapters in the *Lotus Scripture*, and there are similarities with figures in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (for example, Mahāsthāmaprāpta and Ratnapāṇi). There also seems to be a connection between Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and Buddha Śākyamuni in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. But the reasoning behind the selection of Bodhisattvas Ratnaketu and Maghānakṣatra 星宿王 as deities for this *Lotus* mandala is unclear – although these two can be matched with figures in the *Genzu mandara*, the identification is tentative at best. (For example, Asai (*ibid*, p. 463) suggests Buddha Ratnaketu in the east of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* as a match for Bodhisattva Ratnaketu, but Misaki (in his "Jōju myōhokkekyō ō yuga kanchi giki ni tsuite," *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū*, vol. 14/6, p. 27) nominates the Bodhisattva Ratnaketu from the Hall of Ākāśagarbha in the Ācārya Transmitted Mandala [T.39.1796:638d]). Finally, Acalanātha appears in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* and a three-faced, eight-armed Trailokyavijaya is found seated in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*, but the ferocious, multi-armed figures of Uccuṣma and Kuṇḍalī are absent from the *Genzu mandara*. See Dolce's description of this mandala and discussion of the figures' relationship with the Tiantai Lotus rite in *Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren's Interpretation of the Lotus Sutra*, p. 246 (T.1001), and pp. 235-239 (T.1000).

³⁷ Further, Mahāvairocana is described as forming the Mudrā of Meditation (T.1067:132a19-24). This mudrā signifies Mahāvairocana of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*.

There are other examples that contradict Amoghavajra's known positions. For instance, the names of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas and the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas that are given in the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* do not match the names given to these groups of figures in other works by Amoghavajra. For example, see the *Ba dapusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼荼羅經, the *Lueshu jingangding yuqie biesheng xiuzheng famen* 略述金剛頂瑜伽別聖修證法門, the *Jingangding lianhuabu xinniantong yigui* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦儀軌 and the *Jingangding yuqie jingang saduo wubimi xiuxing niantong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩五秘密修行念誦儀軌, which are enumerated in his inventory of translations and compositions (T.20.1167:675b14-c16, T.870:288c19-290a1, T.873:305b6-17, c1-11 and T.20.1125:528b29-c16, respectively).

Moreover, the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing*'s group of Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas include the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas and the Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas, who do not belong to this group. Amoghavajra, who composed a short commentary on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the *Lueshu jingangding yuqie biesheng xiuzheng famen* 略述金剛頂瑜伽別聖修證法門, wherein information about the thirty-seven figures of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm is provided, could not have made such a mistake.

Finally, the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing*'s directives for the order of installing the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas and the Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas into the mandala contradict Amoghavajra's instructions in his *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. This order differs, thus changing the original functions of these deities. For example, in the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* (T.1001:602c6-8) the order of installation of the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas into the mandala begins with Vajrasphoṭa in the east gate and ends with Vajrapāśa in the north gate. In Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865:215b21-216a9), the order begins with Vajrāṅkuśa in the east gate and ends with Vajrāghanta in the north gate.

³⁸ The text states (T.1067:129c18-19) that the Gem Family controls the rite of augmentation, and a note provides specific results that are linked to the four Bodhisattvas of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Gem Family. In the second court of this mandala (T.1067:131b23-132b23), used for the rite of augmentation, the Bodhisattvas of the Gem

Family are not present. Instead Buddha Ratnasambhava (*T.1067:131b29-c4*), the parent Buddha of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Gem family sits in this court's southern gate and the Buddhas who head the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s other families sit in the other gates of this court. Also present in this second court are the Four Pāramitā Bodhisattvas from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*, the Bodhisattvas Maitreya, Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara (who appear in the central court of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*), and the Bodhisattvas Tārā, Mahāsthāmaprāpta and Padmakulodbhava from the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s *Kannon in* (Hall of Avalokiteśvara), as well as Tathāgata Mahāvairocana, who forms the Meditation Mudrā. Because Amoghavajra championed the methods of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and its Five Families in memorials to the Chinese emperors he served (*T.2120:827c27-828a1, a13-14; 840b1-4*), as well as in his last testament (*T.2120:844a23-27; a28-b2*) and his farewell letter to Emperor Daizong (*T.2120:846b14-16*), it is doubtful that he would have tolerated such inconsistencies.

³⁹ The index of the Esoteric Buddhist section of the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (sakuin, mikkyōbu, vol. 10, 11) does not list any work by Amoghavajra that employs these terms as a pair. The ritual manual *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* contains a *li/zhi* (*T.1001:605c16*), but its attribution to Amoghavajra is questionable. The allocation of Principle and Wisdom to the two hands is also found in the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* (*T.1001:605c16*). Here it is used to describe the primary mudrā of Trailokyavijaya, who makes the Mudrā of Saving the World 理智求世印 with his two hands Principle and Wisdom, as he does in the *Shewuai yigui* (*T.1067:133b24*).

I present the relevant passage in the *Shewuai yigui* (*T.1067:129b17-c2*) as follows:

At that time the Bhagavan resided in the concentration of the power of sovereignty of the Great Dhāraṇī of the Essence of Great Compassion Without Obstacles. He spoke, explaining the aspects of the Holy Great Mandala and the rites of the majestic forms and colors of the Venerables of the Five Families. [If] you want to know the aspects of the Seals (hand gestures) of the Venerables of this ocean-[like] assembly 海會, first you should know the names of the fingers. As for the [Mudrā of] Adoration of the Lotus Flower 蓮華合掌, the lotus flower is, namely, Principle. In Principle there is certainly Wisdom. Therefore, we call the left and right hand Principle and Wisdom [respectively]. Because the left hand is quietude, we call it Principle; it is the [Assembly] of the Ocean of the Matrix Repository 胎藏海會. The right hand discerns all things; we call it Wisdom, and it is the Adamantine Ocean [Assembly] 金剛海會. The five fingers of the left hand are the Five Wisdoms of the [Assembly] of the Ocean of the Matrix Repository, and the five fingers of the right hand are the Five Wisdoms of the Adamantine Ocean [Assembly]. The left hand is meditation and the right hand is insight. The ten fingers are, then, the ten perfections (*pāramitās*), or they are called the ten worlds of essences or the ten thusnesses (*tathātas*). [When] they are contracted, then they are collected up into one, and [when] they are extended, then they have innumerable names.

This passage clearly indicates that the two hands, conceived of as a cosmological system in miniature, represent the Cosmic Buddha Mahāvairocana in his aspects of Principle and Wisdom. Further, according to this manual the Assembly of the Ocean of the Matrix Repository and the Adamantine Ocean Assembly, in their turn, are understood as a visual representation of these two aspects of the Cosmic Buddha. Principle, the transformative reality, is visually manifested in the Assembly of the Ocean of the Matrix Repository and Wisdom, the ultimate vision of enlightenment, which is the reality of emptiness, is depicted in the Adamantine Ocean Assembly (The definitions of Principle and Wisdom are from Orzech, "Cosmology in Action: Recursive Cosmology, Soteriology and Authority in Chen-yen Buddhism with Special Reference to the Monk Pu-k'ung," [University of Chicago, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1986], p. 215). A pairing of the two mandalas, like the joining of the hands in the mudrā of adoration, symbolizes the union of these two separate worlds of transformative reality and visionary consciousness into the one body of Mahāvairocana, which is the universe itself.

Orzech gives examples ("Cosomology in Action," pp. 217–219) of Amoghavajra's use of the term *li* 理 that differs from the above use wherein there is a pairing of Principle and Wisdom.

⁴⁰ An examination of the iconographical prescriptions given in the *Shewuai yigui* reveals that the *Genzu mandara* was not the only visual source for its mandala. There are a number of prescriptions given for the deities that Ishida does not highlight in his charts. Examples include the animal mounts of the Five Buddhas (*T.1067:131b28, c4, 9, 14, 132a24*), a standing figure of Vajrahūṃkara who treads on Śiva and his consort (*133c4*), and Yamāntaka seated

upon a water buffalo (133b9). Ishida tries to account for these discrepancies in his “*Genzu mandara saikō*” (*Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 78, pp. 23-25), citing the omission or unclear depiction of attributes, the reversal of the figures and their attributes, and influences from the iconography of the *Wubu xinguan*, factors that seem to be present in fourteen of the figures in the *Shewuui yigui* mandala.

One motivation informing the iconography of the mandala in the *Shewuui yigui* is the creation of a mandala for the cult of Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara within the context of the families of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. However, the *Shewuui yigui* mandala is clearly a pastiche of material from a variety of sources, of which the *Genzu mandara* and *Wubu xinguan* were but two. This is particularly evident in the figures in the mandala’s fourth and fifth courts. As mentioned above, thirty-two of Avalokiteśvara’s thirty-three transformations from the *Lotus Scripture* are in the fifth court. In the fourth court are Gopika, Sudhana and Mārīci, and other figures, as well as eight groups composed of a form of Avalokiteśvara, a Vināyaka and a ṛṣi.

Tang Dynasty ritual manuals for the cult of Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara exhibit the pairing of this Bodhisattva and Vināyakas. See Zhitong’s 智通 translation, dated sometime between 627-647, the *Qianyan qianbei Guanshiyin pusa tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 千眼千臂勸世音菩薩陀羅尼神呪經 (T.1057:833c11-15), wherein this Bodhisattva assumes a form with one thousand arms and one thousand eyes in order to subdue Vināyakas and subdues various gods, demonic beings, *nāgas*, beasts, and so on, who become protectors of his special *dhāraṇī*. One is a group of eight classes of demonic spirits that includes gods and *nāgas*, and another is a group of twenty-eight classes of demonic spirits (see T.1057:85c28-86a13, 89a11-25 and Bodhiruci’s translation T.1058:99a16-22, 23-b3, 103a14-c1). Gavāṃdharmā’s 伽梵達摩 650-655 translation, the *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wuai dabei xintuoluoni jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經, enumerates the gods and demonic beings that Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara summons to protect the chanter of his *dhāraṇī* (T.1060:108b2-25). Included among these twenty-eight groups of protectors are vināyakas and ṛṣis, as well as Mārīci. The twenty-eight classes of gods and demonic protectors form the retinue of Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara in paintings from Dunhuang and copies of Tang Dynasty mandalas for Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara recorded in such Japanese iconographic compilations as the *Asabashō* 阿婆縛抄 (scroll 88) and the *Tōhon mandara* 唐本曼荼羅 in the Ninnaji collection (T. Zuzō, vol. 4, no. 3011, p. 11, No. 2 and also see Kobayashi, “Tōdai no Daihi Kannon,” *Kobayashi Taiichirō chosaku shū*, vol. 7, pp. 94-99.) Amoghavajra describes in his *Jingangding yuqie qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* (T.1056:75a27-28) a mandala for Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara wherein many gods and the eight classes of protectors form his retinue.

The *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujie guanzhi yigui*, a rite that Yuanzhao attributes to Amoghavajra (T.2157:880b9, a topic that I return to below in this endnote), has been characterized as a rite of combinatory practice 胎金合行 (*taikon gōgyō*) in which procedures from the rituals for the matrix and adamantite realm are performed (see for example Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 631 and Kambayashi, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 6, pp. 8-9). The contents of the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui* and the *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingsefa jing* demonstrate an intent to create an esoteric rite with an accompanying mandala for the cult of the *Lotus Scripture*. See Asai, “Hokkei mandara no kenritsu,” *Jōko Nihon Tendai honmon shisō shi*, pp. 460-471, Misaki, “*Jōju myōhokkekyō ō yuga kanchi giki ni tsuite*,” *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū*, vol. 14/6, pp. 17-47 and Dolce, *Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren’s Interpretation of the Lotus Sutra*, pp. 228-231. Misaki has shown that the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia Guanzhi yigui* is a complicated rite whose author has drawn on many sources, including *Lotus* ritual practices, for its liturgy (“*Jōju myōhokkekyō ō yuga kanchi giki ni tsuite*,” pp. 23-44 and Dolce, *Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren’s Interpretation of the Lotus Sutra*, pp. 231-234). The basic structure of the rite proper and its major liturgical elements, which derive from the ritual traditions of the matrix and adamantite realm, are also seen in Amoghavajra’s *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa* (T.19.972), a ritual manual included in his list of translations and compositions dated to 771 (see T.2120:839c11, *Foding zunsheng niansong fa*). For example, the mudrā-mantra pairs for the *Chengjiu miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui*’s ritual phases of purification and protection (pledge of All Tathāgatas T.1000:596c1-16, birth in the Dharmadhātu 596c17-597a3, Vajrasattva’s turning the wheel of the teachings 597a4-12, donning adamantite armor 597a13-21), of establishing boundaries and removing obstacles (T.1000:597b19-c3), of encounter with the deities (inviting the holy ones into the mandala, T.1000:598b7-14, offering sacred water 598b15-23 and lotus seats 598b24-29), and of offerings (fivefold offerings of smearing unguents, flowers, incense, lamps and food and drink; T.1000:599b21-600b10), which derive from the matrix rite (see for instance T.848:47a7-14, a15-26, a27-b12, b13-23, 48c24-49a8, 49a10-21, 49b5-8, b9-14, 50b5-20), correspond to the same ritual steps in the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa* (T.972:365a18-24, a25-b2, b3-8, b9-15, b16-24, 365b29-366a3, 366a10-14, 366a4-9, 366a15-b16). Following the ritual phase of offerings in the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa* is a series of mudrā-mantra pairs that are the practitioner’s preparation for the ritual phase

of identification with the deity. These are the practitioner's consecration (T.972:366c2-367a9), tying the wig (T.972:367a9-11) and donning armor (T.972: 367a12-21). Although the mantras are simplified in the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa*, these liturgical steps derive from Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm (T.873:302c16-27, 302c28-303a7, 303a8-25). The practitioner performs the identical series of ritual steps in the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui* (T.1000:601a15-20, a21-25, a26-b4), but here the ritual phase of preparation of the practitioner for the following phase of ritual union with the deity is elaborated by the addition of the ritual act of attainment of the buddha body through five aspects 五相成佛, also from the rite of the adamantine realm (T.873:301c17-302b29). In the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui* the attainment of the buddha body through five aspects (T.1000:600b28-601a10), which precedes the ritual acts of consecration, tying the wig and donning armor, is adapted from Amoghavajra's *Puxian Jingangsaduo lue yuqie niansong yigui* (T.1124:532b11-c3, *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa*), a ritual manual also included in his list of translations and compositions (T.2120:839c14). In short, the rite proper given in the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui* is based on two ritual handbooks that Amoghavajra recorded in his 771 A.D. memorial.

There is, then, a mixing of elements from the two major Esoteric Buddhist ritual traditions in Amoghavajra's *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa*, as well as in the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui*, a work attributed to him. The purpose of these handbooks was not to amalgamate these two ritual systems but rather to provide a rite with precise directions for the ritual phases of purification and protection, visualization of the sacred site, encounter with deities, offerings, and mergence with, and so transformation into, deities. In the former rite the practitioner becomes Bodhisattva Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa (T.972:367a22-368a1) and in the latter with Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (T.1000:601b5-c9), the focus of *Lotus* ritual practices. I discuss the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa* and other ritual handbooks that Japanese scholars have labelled rites of combinatory practice 金胎合行 / 胎金合行 (*kontai gōgyō* or *taikon gōgyō*) in Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission, of this dissertation.

The *Jingangding yujie qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* (T.1056, mentioned in endnote 35) attests to Amoghavajra's involvement with the cult of Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara. This Bodhisattva does not appear in the Matrix Mandala expounded in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*'s second chapter, nor in the earlier versions of the Chinese matrix mandalas, the *Taizang tuxiang* or *Taizang jiu tuiyang*, for example, but he is in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. Present in the same court of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* are the figures of the Ten Pāramitā Bodhisattvas who surround Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara in the mandala constructed in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yujie qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* (T.1056:75a11-28, see also Appendix B, esp. endnote 124 for the figures in the mandala). This suggests the influence of Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yujie qianshou qianyan Guanzuzai pusa xiuxing yigui jing*, a manual structured on his *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* (T.18.873, see Appendix B, pp. 185-187), on the iconography of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*, which was composed after his time.

There is, however, no documentation in Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangjin sanzang heshang biao zhiji* (T.2120), for example, indicating Amoghavajra had any special interest in the cult of the *Lotus Scripture*. I discuss Amoghavajra's religious concerns in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

The *Chengjiu miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui* is listed second in Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2157:880b9), right after his recording of the translations and compositions that Amoghavajra presented to the Emperor in his 771 A.D. memorial (see T.2157:879a27-880b6 and T.2120:839a28-840a11), suggesting that perhaps this work was composed by disciples within Amoghavajra's lineage in order to address concerns and needs that arose after their master's time. There is, for instance, a letter dated 778 (T.2120:856a28-b10) from Li Xiancheng 李憲誠, the Palace Commissioner for Overseeing Buddhist Affairs, in which he presents to the Emperor a copy of the *Lotus Scripture* written in gold characters. Amoghavajra describes his close relationship with his lay follower Li Xiancheng in his last testament (T.2120:844b21-26; for English, see Orlando, "Chinese Documents," pp. 119-120), and he had Li Xiancheng deliver his deathbed letter of farewell to Emperor Daizong (T.2120:846b3-29, esp. 846b25). Amoghavajra's disciples could have composed at Li Xiancheng's behest the *Chengjiu miaofa lianhuajing wangyujia guanzhi yigui*, taking the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa* and *Puxian Jingangsaduo lue yuqie niansong yigui* as their model.

⁴¹ See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1369a-1370b 金胎兩部 (*kontai ryōbu*) and Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 5, p. 756. Toganoo implies the two were a set from Kūkai's time because he received a set from Huiguo (*Mandara no kenkyū* 曼荼羅の研究, Toganoo Zenshū IV (Koyasan: Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1958), pp. 105-109, pp. 110-114), as does Ono Genmyō ("Daishi goshōrai no geijutsu" 大師御請來の藝術, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, pp. 557-8, 559-60, 561) and some contemporary Shingon scholars. See Takagi Shingen, "Kūkai no kai to fuhō ni tsuite,"

Mikkyō bunka, vol. 82 (1967), pp. 1-18, esp. pp. 12-13, and “*Goshōrai mokuroku*,” *Nihon meisō ronshū: Kūkai* (Wada Shūjō, Takagi Shingen, eds., vol. 3, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1982, pp. 226-243), esp. pp. 236-239; Horiuchi, “*Kōbōdaishi no ryōbu funi shisō*,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 23/1 (1974), pp. 98-105; Matsunaga Yūkei, “*Ri to chi*,” *Mikkyō shisō* (Tokyo: Shuchiin daigaku mikkyō gakkai, 1977), pp. 60-71, esp. p. 68, and “*Fuhōden no tenkyo to chosaku mokuteki*,” *Kōbōdaishi kenkyū*, ed. Nakano Gishō (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1978), pp. 1-31, esp. pp. 26-28; Katsumata Shunkyō, *Kōbōdaishi no shisō to sono genryū* (Tokyo: Sankobō busho rin, 1981), pp. 181-205; and Mukai Ryūken, “*Fukū yaku Shōmugekyō o meguru mondai*,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 30/2 (1982), p. 297 and “*Fukū yaku Shōmugekyō to Hizōki to no kankei ni tsuite*,” *Buzankyōgaku daikai kiyō*, vol. 9 (1981), p. 20.

⁴² These writings are the *Shōrai mokuroku* 請來目錄 (Catalogue of Imported Items), the *Himitsu mandarakyō fuhō den* 祕密曼荼羅教付法傳 (Legend of the Transmission of the Teachings on the Secret Mandalas, hereafter the *Fuhōden*), the *Shingon fuhōden* 眞言付法傳 (Legend of the Transmission of Mantras) and the *Bizangji* 祕藏記 (Record of the Secret Treasury). The *Fuhōden* is published in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol.1, pp. 1-49; the *Shingon fuhōden* in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 1-50; the *Shōrai mokuroku* in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp 69-104; and the *Bizangji* is in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 1-16.

⁴³ *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 69. I have followed with minor modifications Hakeda Yoshito’s translation of the *Shōrai mokuroku* in his *Kūkai: Major Works* (New York and London: 1972), pp. 140-150.

⁴⁴ *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 70. Refer to endnote 11 above for Kūkai’s recording of the mandalas in this work.

⁴⁵ *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 100.

⁴⁶ I want you to return to your country, taking these great mandalas [of the Venerables in their anthropomorphic forms] for the two categories 兩部大曼荼羅, the more than one hundred volumes of the teachings of the Adamantine Vehicle, as well as the objects and offering utensils that Master Tripiṭaka [Amogavajra] left me, and spread [the teachings] there. (ibid)

⁴⁷ The *Fuhōden* survives in two versions: an extended version in two scrolls, called the *Himitsu mandarakyō fuhō den*, and a simplified version in one scroll, called the *Shingon fuhōden*. The extended version has three parts: the first relates the origin and formation of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings; the second records the biographies of the Shingon patriarchs Mahāvairocana, Vajrasattva, Nārājuna, Nāgajñāna, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra and Huiguo; and the third is a casuistry 門答 (*montō*). The simplified version consists only of biographies of the Shingon patriarchs, but in this text the biographies of Śubhākarasiṃha and his disciple Yixing have been added to those of the above patriarchs. Although the exact date of the extended version is not known, Kūkai most likely composed it some time before 821. A note at the end of the biographies of Śubhākarasiṃha and Yixing in the *Shingon fuhōden* states that these biographies were compiled in the ninth month of the twelfth year of Kōnin 弘仁 (821), and so scholars such as Matsunaga Yūkei conjecture that the extended version preceded the simplified one (“*Fuhōden no tenkyo to chosaku mokuteki*,” *Kōbō daishi kenkyū*, p. 3). Kūkai composed the extended version sometime between Kōnin 6 (815), when he completed *Benkenmitsu nikyō ron* 辯顯密二教論, and Kōnin 12, the date of completion of the *Shingon fuhōden*. It is thought that it was produced to accompany a set of paintings of the Seven Shingon Patriarchs that Kūkai commissioned in 821, since its contents are identical to the eulogies written on the paintings of the Seven Shingon Patriarchs in the collection of Tōji (see *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 66-67, *Mikkyō daijien*, vol. 4, pp. 1961-2 and *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 611). Kūkai made significant changes in both the *Fuhōden* and the *Shingon fuhōden*, and I will introduce some of these alterations in this section. See also Matsunaga Yūkei, “*Fuhōden no tenkyo to chosaku mokuteki*,” *Kōbō daishi kenkyū*, pp. 3-31.

⁴⁸ The following passage is found in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 39:

Reaching the age of manhood, [Huiguo] received the precepts, studied concurrently the four divisions [of the *Vinaya*] and grasped the inner significance of the [texts on the teachings, rules of discipline and commentaries in the] *Tripiṭaka*. He received all of his teacher’s transmission on the rites of the Great Mandala of the Five Families [in their anthropomorphic forms as expounded in] the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the secret hand gestures and mantras of the teaching of the three mysteries [for the Venerables in the Great Mandala Born] of the Matrix Repository of

Great Compassion [as expounded in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*]. That is to say, [Amoghavajra] conferred [on him] the secret mudrās of the teachings of the fundamental and supreme transmission of Vairocana [and] the position of master (*ācārya*) of the great teachings of the two categories 兩部大法阿闍梨位 (*ryōbu daihō ajari i*). [Amoghavajra] the [Master of the] *Tripitaka* proclaimed [to Huiguo]: “One hundred years after me, you are to maintain this great teaching of the two categories 兩部大法 (*ryōbu daihō*), to defend the Buddha’s teachings, to protect the nation and to benefit and bring joy to sentient beings. In India, too, this great teaching is something exceedingly difficult to see. Even [instructions for] one Venerable [or] one part [of the teachings] are not easy to obtain. How much the more [difficult it is to obtain the teachings of] the two categories 兩部 (*ryōbu*)! Although the disciples that I have are many in number, some have obtained [instructions for] one Venerable and some have obtained [initiation into] one category [of the teachings]. Feeling compassion for your intelligence and diligence, I have granted you both categories 兩部 (*ryōbu*). Repay my favors by working hard and being diligent.”

Kūkai, who usually identifies the sources he consulted for the biographies of the Chinese patriarchs in the *Fuhōden*, does not give the source for the account of the transmission that Huiguo received from Amoghavajra. The same passage is found in the *Shingon fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 60).

⁴⁹ Here Kūkai identifies his sources. Both documents are collected in Yuanzhao’s *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biao zhiji*. Kūkai quotes from Amoghavajra’s last testament (*T.2120:844a17-b3*). He begins with the passage in which Amoghavajra briefly recapitulates his religious career, including his journey to India and his thirty years of propagating the new yoga teachings he returned with, and ends with the section where Amoghavajra lists the names of the surviving six of his eight gifted disciples. These, having studied and mastered his teachings and practices for the Five Families in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, were to be a guide for others. Huiguo is one of them. This passage appears in the *Shingon fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 60-61).

Huiguo’s memorial (*T.2120:852b23-c*) was his first to Emperor Daizong, to thank him for a gift of cloth. In it, Huiguo briefly summarizes his religious apprenticeship under Amoghavajra, and the transmission that he received from him. This transmission constituted, he writes, “the fundamentals of the secrets of the yoga [teachings]” 瑜伽祕密之宗 and “the essentials [concerning the practice of the generation of the mind] of universal goodness [of All the Tathāgatas] which is profound and wondrous” 普賢深妙之要 (*T.2120:852b226-27*). That is, Amoghavajra transmitted the teachings on yoga in his *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* to Huiguo, as well as its most important ritual practice, attaining Buddhahood in five steps. (See *T.865:208a4,5,9,b9-10*.)

Japanese scholars have other interpretations of the contents of the transmission that Huiguo received from Amoghavajra. For example, Takagi suggests that the second phrase in this memorial refers to the teachings and rites for Huiguo’s personal deity, the Bodhisattva Samantrabhadra (“Kūkai no kai to fuhō ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 82, p. 13). As supporting evidence he cites a letter from Emperor Daizong to Amoghavajra’s disciple Huisheng 慧勝, wherein the Emperor writes that the Bodhisattva Samantrabhadra was the personal deity of both men, given to them by their master Amoghavajra (*T.2120:850c16-21*; Takagi p. 17, footnote 20). In this case, the phrase might be translated “the essentials of the profound and wondrous [yoga rite for Bodhisattva] Samantabhadra.” See also Takagi, “*Goshōrai mokuroku*,” *Nihon meisō ronshū*: Kūkai, p. 239.

In the *Fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 41), Kūkai makes an important alteration to Huiguo’s description of Amoghavajra’s transmission. He substitutes “the essentials of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion” 大悲胎藏之要 (*daihitaijō no yō*) for the phrase concerning the Tathāgatas’ universal goodness (*saṃantabhadra*). Kūkai’s textual change emphasizes that Amoghavajra’s transmission to Huiguo contained the doctrine and practices of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, that is, the teachings in two categories. Huiguo’s memorial does not appear in the *Shingon fuhōden*.

⁵⁰ *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 40. This passage does not appear in Kūkai’s *Shingon fuhōden*. Amoghavajra makes no mention in his last testament of any exceptional status for Huiguo, nor of his receiving a special transmission. Kūkai’s description of the teachings that Huiguo received from Amoghavajra differs from that recorded in other Chinese works. For instance, in a Chinese biography of Huiguo dated between 826 and 830, the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhaogongfeng Dade xingzhuang* 大唐青龍寺三朝供奉大德行狀 (*T.50.2057*), the transmission that Huiguo received from Amoghavajra is described. This account differs from that presented by Kūkai in the *Fuhōden*. The unknown author of the biography records that Huiguo received a number of teachings from Śubhākarasimha’s disciple

Hyonchō [C. Xuanchao] 玄超. These included that on the great teachings on the great yoga of Vairocana of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion 大悲胎藏毘盧遮那大瑜伽大教, the methods for the great yoga of the accomplishment of special powers 蘇悉地大瑜伽法, and the rites for the yogas of the various deities 諸尊瑜伽等法 (T.2057:295a8-13). Amoghavajra initiated him into the Methods of the Scripture of the King of the Great Teachings of the Great Yoga of the Adamantine Crown 金剛頂大瑜伽大教王經法, and the secret hand gestures for the yogas of the various Venerables 諸尊瑜伽密印. This last statement tallies better with the information that Amoghavajra gives in his last testament (T.2120:844a29-b2).

⁵¹ The *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhaogongfeng Dade xingzhuang* records that Wu Yin was Huiguo's lay disciple (T.2057:295c10-11).

⁵² He [Huiguo] always spoke to his disciples, saying:

“The great teachings of the dual categories of the Adamantine Realm and the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion 金剛界大悲胎藏兩部大教 are the secret treasury of the Buddhas. That is to say, they are the path to becoming a Buddha in this body. I vowed to universally spread [these teachings] throughout the Law World and to save sentient beings. I have granted the rank of Master of the Matrix Repository 胎藏師位 to both Bianhong of Heling (Java) and Hyeil (C. Huirui) of Shiragi (Silla). To Weishang of Jiannan and Yiyuan of Hebei I have granted the great methods of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界大法. I have also granted to the Imperial Chamberlain Yiming the great methods in two categories 兩部大法. Now the monk Kūkai from Japan is here. Because he has come seeking the sacred teachings, I have instructed him in the hand gestures, the rites for [mandalic] altars and the secrets of the two categories 兩部祕奧壇儀印契. Undeterred by the difference between Sanskrit and Chinese, he has taken everything into his heart, and it was just like pouring [my teachings without spilling a drop] into a receptacle. These six are fit to transmit the lamp of my teachings. My vow has been satisfied...” (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 44.)

This biography, dated to the third day of the first month of the first year of Yuanhe (806) 元和元年正月三日, exists only in Kūkai's *Fuhōden* (see, for example, Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 5, p. 786.) The section given above is also found in the *Shingon fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 61).

⁵³ In the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhaogongfeng Dade xingzhuang*, for instance, Hyeil of Silla received from Huiguo the teachings on the Matrix, the Adamantine Realm and the *Susiddhi*, as well as the yogas of various Venerables, in all thirty books. Yiming received from Huiguo the teachings of thirty books, among which were those on Vairocana's Matrix and the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. Further, Huiguo bestowed upon Kūkai the teachings from fifty texts, including those of the Matrix of Great Compassion and the Adamantine Realm, as well as rites for the yoga methods of various Venerables (T.2057:295b19-21, b27-29, c23-26). According to this account, then, Hyeil received from Huiguo more than just the teachings and practices of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, and no mention is made of Yiming's initiation into the teachings of the Adamantine Realm.

⁵⁴ The Great Teacher devoted himself wholeheartedly to the affairs of the Buddha and did not concentrate on maintaining himself. He did not save one penny of the alms that he received. He would erect a mandala, vowing to spread the teachings and benefit beings. On the inner and outer walls of the Consecration Hall and beneath the Stūpa of the Buddha, he had illustrated the great mandalas of the dual categories of the Adamantine Realm and Matrix Repository of Great Compassion 金剛界及大悲胎藏兩部大曼荼羅, as well as mandalas of each one of the Venerables (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 44).

This passage does not appear in the *Shingon fuhōden*.

⁵⁵ Refer to endnote 41 above.

⁵⁶ T.2120:848b14-849c3. This is dated to the 6th day of the seventh month of the sixth year of Dali (774). In this passage, the name of the Indian master is Samantabhadra 普賢阿闍梨.

⁵⁷ There is discussion as to the restoration of the original Sanskrit name of the fourth patriarch. Recent research convincingly suggests the name Nāgajñāna or Nāgajñā. See Jeffrey Sundberg and Rolf Giebel, “The Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi as Chronicled by Lū Xiang (呂向): South Indian and Śrī Laṅkā Antecedents to the Arrival of Buddhist Vajrayāna in Eighth-Century Java and China,” *Pacific World. Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Third Series, vol. 13 (Fall 2011), pp. 129-222, esp. pp. 179-180, footnote 27, who use the name Nāgajñāna.

⁵⁸ *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 21, and Feixi’s stele biography given in *T.2120:848c9-14*. I have italicized the inserted sentence. One difference between the two works is that Kūkai has added “text composed in one hundred thousand verses.” See also Orlando’s English translation in “A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning Amoghavajra,” p. 163.

In the *Shingon fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 58), Kūkai describes Master Nāgajñāna’s transmission as consisting of the methods of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga 瑜伽十八會法, the secret repository of the Five Families 五部祕藏, and texts [Śākyamuni] bequeathed concerning the Three Vehicles [of the śravakas, pratyekabuddhas and bodhisattvas] 三乘遺典. Kūkai has taken the contents of Nāgajñāna’s transmission from the Eulogy and Preface written to accompany Amoghavajra’s Portrait, the *Datang Daguangzhi sanzang heshang yingzan bing xu* 大唐大廣智三藏和上影讚并序 (Eulogy and Preface [written to accompany] the Portrait of the Great Tang’s Preceptor [honorifically titled] Master of the Tripiṭaka [possessed of] Great Broad Wisdom), *T.2120:847a2-b7*, esp. 15-16) that was composed by Amoghavajra’s lay follower Yan Ying 嚴郢. This work is undated, but because it is found among the documents on Amoghavajra’s funeral in Yuanzhao’s *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji*, it most likely dates to Amoghavajra’s death in 774.

⁵⁹ A comparison of Kūkai’s *Fuhōden* and the Chinese sources he consulted reveals that Kūkai selected and rearranged facts from these sources (see also Matsunaga, “*Fuhōden* no tenkyō to chosaku mokuteki,” *Kōbō daishi kenkyū*, pp. 3-31). Another change that Kūkai made in Feixi’s biography was that he substituted the name Nāgajñāna for that of Samantabhadra. In the *Fuhōden*, Kūkai records the sacred lineage of his Esoteric Buddhist transmission, and because in these teachings Samantabhadra is another name for Vajrasattva, the second Shingon patriarch, Kūkai was forced to change it for one that would better accord with this transmission’s line of succession: this transmission began with Mahāvairocana, was passed on to Vajrasattva/Samantabhadra, then to the two semi-mythical Indian patriarchs Nārārjuna and Nāgajñāna and to the three historical Chinese patriarchs Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra and Huiguo.

The Chinese sources on Amoghavajra record both names for the master whom Amoghavajra studied under during his travels. For instance, in his Eulogy and Preface for Amoghavajra’s Portrait 影讚并序 (*T.2120:847a15*) and in his stele biography, the *Tang Daxingshansi gudade Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang beiming bing xu* 唐大興善寺故大德大辨正廣智三藏和尚碑銘并序 (*T.2120:860a8-c9*, esp. 860b8-9) dated to 781, Yan Ying records that during his travels through India and Sri Lanka 天竺師子等國 Amoghavajra received teachings from Nāgajñāna. Samantabhadra of Sri Lanka appears in Feixi’s stele biography (*T.2120:848c9-14*), which is dated to 774, and in Zhao Quian’s 趙遷 biography of Amoghavajra, the *Datang gudade zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Bukong sanzang xingzhuang* 大唐故大德贈司空大辨正廣智不空三藏行狀 (*T.50.2056:292c13-14, 293a6-9*), which is dated to the end of the eighth century.

Yan Ying (*T.2120:847a6-12* and *860b4-10*) and Zhao Quian (*T.2056:292b19-25*) record the lineage of the Esoteric Buddhist transmission from Vairocana to Amoghavajra. Kūkai connects the master whom Amoghavajra visited for instructions in these teachings with the Fourth Patriarch Nāgajñāna of this transmission. In the *Fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 9) and *Shingon fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 54) Kūkai begins the biography of the Fourth Patriarch Nāgajñāna by stating that this master sometimes lives and teaches in Southern India, and sometimes travels to Sri Lanka to teach. This statement accounts for the different places recorded in the Chinese sources. Further, at the close of Nāgajñāna’s biography in both works (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 9-10; 55), Kūkai records that when he was in Chang’an in 805, he heard from Indian monks such as Prajñā 般若 and Muniśrī 牟尼室利, as well as from Brahmins from Southern India, that Nāgajñāna was still teaching in that region. In the *Shingon fuhōden*, Kūkai adds a note in the section on the Fourth Patriarch Nāgajñāna stating that he was also known by the name Master Samantabhadra (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 54), thus accounting for the different names given in the Chinese sources.

Further, Kūkai emphasizes by means of this change of name that Amoghavajra too, like his Master Vajrabodhi before him, received instructions in the Esoteric Buddhist teachings from the aged Fourth Patriarch Nāgajñāna of Southern India. In substituting Nāgajñāna’s name for that of Samantabhadra in the *Fuhōden*, Kūkai is

putting forward a transmission of Esoteric Buddhist teachings that centered on patriarchs from the Southern Indian region, where the texts of the *Sarvathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* lineage were recovered from the Iron Tower. See Matsunaga, “*Fuhōden* no tenkyō to chosaku mokuteki,” *Kōbō daishi kenkyū*, pp. 24-26.

⁶⁰ This passage from the stele biography and the inserted sentence do not appear in Amoghavajra’s biography in the *Shingon fuhōden*.

⁶¹ Bibliographical material on Vajrabodhi is found in the ninth volume of Zhisheng’s 智昇 *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (T.55.2154:571b27-c13), Lu Xiang’s 呂向 account of the Vajrabodhi’s life in Yuanzhao’s *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.55.2157:875a29-876b26), and in Hunlunweng’s 混倫翁 stūpa inscription and preface for the Late Tripiṭaka Vajra[bodhi] of Daguangfusi in the Eastern Capital of the Great Tang 大唐東京大廣福寺故金剛三藏銘塔并序, also collected in the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2157:876b29-877a21). The sources that I examined for Amoghavajra’s biography were Yan Ying’s eulogy and preface for Amoghavajra’s portrait (T.2120:847a); his stele biography (T.2120:860a8-c9), which was included among documents recording the official history of the Tang Dynasty (ibid, 860c10); Feixi’s stele biography; and Zhao Quian’s *Datang gu dafu zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Bukong sanzang xingzhuang*; as well as the memorials that Amoghavajra and his disciples wrote to the Chinese Emperors, which are collected in Yuanzhao’s *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biao zhiji* and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*. I discuss the transmissions of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra that were recorded in these sources in Chapter Four.

⁶² The extended version is in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 1-16 and the abbreviated version is published in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 1-50.

⁶³ *T. Zuzō*, vol.1, p.15a.

⁶⁴ Despite this inscription, the authorship and date of the *Bizangji* have long been subjects of scholarly dispute. There have been a number of opinions as to the author of this work:

- 1) Huiguo recorded the oral teachings of Amoghavajra and this was transmitted to Kūkai;
- 2) Kūkai recorded the teachings of Huiguo;
- 3) Wenbi composed the *Bizangji* in two scrolls (the extended version) and the Japanese monk Engyō 圓行 (799-852) brought it back to Japan in 839;
- 4) the text is a Japanese composition because of numerous misunderstandings of characters and errors in writing, and thus it could be Engyō’s recording of the oral instructions of either Wenbi, Kūkai or Kūkai’s disciple Gōrin 果隣 (767-after 837).

Medieval Shingon monks such as Jinken 深賢 (?-1261) and Yūkai 宥快 (1345-1416), and the Edo period monk Ekō 慧光 (1656-1737), recorded (1) and (2), and their arguments are collected in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 71-73. Ōmura (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 5, pp. 795-796) proposes (3), and Katō Seishin favors (4) (“*Hizōki* no chosha ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō*, vol. 1/3 (1969), pp. 297-317, and his entry on the *Hizōki* in the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 9, pp. 104-105). Ōmura also notes the lack of refinement in the composition of the *Bizangji* and the mistakes in the use of characters, but he regards this as an indication of the author’s insufficient knowledge of writing, pointing out that such mistakes are also seen in the works of Huiyue and Haiyun, for example. Katō’s solution to the problem of authorship is much more complicated. He suggests that Engyō recorded the oral transmission of either Kūkai or Gōrin and then, when he went to China, gave the work to Wenbi. Wenbi gave Engyō in return the appended material, which he had set down.

More recent scholarship has avoided the problem of authorship, instead attempting to date the text by analyzing its contents. See Ōsawa Shōkan, “*Hizōki* no ikkōsatsu,” *Taishō daigaku daigakuin kenkyū ronshū*, Sōkangō (1977), pp. 95-108 and “*Hizōki* no seiritsu nendai saikō” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 47/2 (March 1999), pp. 623-627; Mukai Ryūken, “*Hizōki* seiritsukō,” *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 15 (1983), pp. 53-67 and “Fukū yaku *Shewuai yigui* to *Hizōki* to no kankei ni tsuite,” *Buzankyōgaku daikai kiyō*, vol. 9, pp. 13-24; and Yoneda Kōnin, “*Hizōki* no seiritsu nendai,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 186, pp. 67-93. The problem of authorship thus remains unresolved.

My present concern is more with the contents of this text than exactly who wrote it. I believe it reflects the thinking of Huiguo. Although it may not have been written by him, I accept it as an oral transmission within his doctrinal lineage.

For information on Yicao and Wenbi, see *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 274 (Gisō) and vol. 5, p. 2172 (Monbi). Yicao and Wenbi are also included in Haiyun's *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* 兩部大法相承師資付法記 and Xuanzao's *Xiangcheng xuemo* 相承血脈, according to which Yicao received the transmissions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanābhisambodhi* and *Susiddhi sūtras* from Huiguo, and Wenbi received only the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* from Yicao. I present Haiyun's work later in this chapter, and discuss Haiyun's and Xuanzao's works in Chapter Seven.

⁶⁵ **Matrix Mandala** (Mandala means that the [functions of the] three mysteries are perfect and complete.) Vairocana (This is the Venerable in [the center of Hall of the Eight-Petalled] Central Dais and is referred to as the Wisdom of the Dharma Realm.) Four Buddhas (These are Akṣobhya and the others, and they are the Four Wisdoms.) Four Bodhisattvas (These are Samantabhadra and the others, and are called the Bodhisattvas of the Four Practices.) The triangle above the central hall (This is [the Hall of Universal Wisdom and contains such Venerables as] Buddhacalanā.), as well as the family of Śākyamuni [above the central hall] and the five Great Wrathful Venerables below the central hall [in the Hall of the Wisdom Holders] (all [constitute] the Buddha Family.) [In the] southern direction (is the Vajra Family) [and in the] northern direction (is the Padma Family,) [and the remaining [hall] (is that of the Outer Vajra Family.) **Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.** The four Pāramitā [Bodhisattvas] issue from the Wisdom of the Dharma Realm[, that is Mahāvairocana]. These are the Meditations. The four Wisdoms [of the four Buddhas in the four directions] emanate from these Meditations. The thirty-seven Venerables are the so-called five Buddhas, four Pāramitās, sixteen Great Bodhisattvas and the twelve Offering [Bodhisattvas]. [If one represents] Fifty-three Venerables (add to the above thirty-seven Venerables the Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Present Age). [If one represents] Seventy-three Venerables (add the twenty gods of the Outer Vajra Family.) [And if one represents] One hundred and eight Venerables.... [text breaks off here]

The above is found in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2921, p. 1a. The manuscript for the abbreviated version collected in the *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 2 continues with a note as follows:

Add the five Uṣṇīṣa Cakravartins, the sixteen Vajra Holders, the ten Pāramitās and [the four gods] Pṛthivī (Earth), Varuṇa (Water), Agni (Fire) and Vāyu (Wind).

⁶⁶ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2921, p. 1a.

⁶⁷ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2921, pp. 12a-14c, and illustrations 3 and 4.

⁶⁸ See a chart of the iconographic matches between the *Bizangji* and the Shingon *Genzu mandara* in Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 244-247.

⁶⁹ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2921, p. 4c24-27.

⁷⁰ Two examples are:

- 1) Matrix Repository 胎藏 is Principle and Vajra 金剛 is Wisdom. Realm 界 is body 身. It is the body of one who possesses the Vajra. Body signifies collection. We say that one body collects [within itself] an infinite number of bodies. [It] also means holder. This Vajra[, that is Adamantine] Body firmly holds the thirty-five Buddhas and the one hundred and eight Venerables on up to an infinite number of Buddhas. (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2921, p. 2b29-c3.)
- 2) The reason why you first form the Lotus Gesture of Adoration is because the lotus flower is Principle. There is certainly Wisdom where there is Principle, and so we call the two hands Principle and Wisdom. The left hand is tranquility and therefore we call it Principle; it is the Matrix. The right hand discriminates all things and therefore we call it Wisdom; it is the Adamantine Realm. The five fingers of the left hand are the Five Wisdoms of the Matrix [Mandala] and the five fingers of the right hand are the Five Wisdoms of the Adamantine Realm [Mandala]. The left hand is meditation and the right hand is insight. The ten fingers are namely the Ten Perfections. Or they are the Ten Realms of Existence or the Ten

Thusnesses. [When] they are contracted, then they are collected up into one, and [when] they are extended, then they have innumerable names (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2921, p. 7b15-20).

The second entry is also found in the *Shewuai yigui* (*T.1067:129b22-c2*, see endnote 39 above). One difference between the two is that in the *Bizangji* the word Realm 界 replaces the word Ocean 海 found in the *Shewuai yigui*.

⁷¹ Mukai has concentrated his research on the relationship between the *Bizangji* and the *Shewuai yigui* because of eight passages in the *Bizangji* that are directly quoted from the *Shewuai yigui* (“*Hizōki seiritsu kō*,” 「*Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 15, pp. 53-67; “*Fukū yaku Shewuai yigui to Hizōki to no kankei ni tsuite*,” *Buzankyōgaku daikai kiyō*, vol. 9, pp. 13-24; and “*Fukū yaku Shewuaikyō o meguru mondai*,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 30/2, pp. 295-297). The *Shewuai yigui* is listed neither in the inventories of the eight pilgrim-monks who went to China nor in Annen’s *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*. This suggests that the text was introduced to Japan after the journeys of these eight pilgrim-monks. Mukai states that the first time the *Shewuai yigui* is mentioned in Japanese sources is in Kōzen’s 興然 (1121-1203) *Gojikkanshō* 五十卷鈔. A note in this work states that it was newly introduced by Chōnen 齋然 (938-1016) who returned from China in 987.

Yoneda has found a quotation from the *Shewuai yigui* in Myōtatsu’s 明達 (879-955) *Rikai shiki* 理界私記 (“*Hizōki no seiritsu nendai*,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 186, pp. 67-93). This work predates Chōnen’s return to Japan. Yoneda does not work with the *Shewuai yigui* because its date and authorship are not known. Instead, to date the *Bizangji*, he examined works by known authors that quote it. He concludes that the *Bizangji* was composed between 839, when Engyō brought back Yicāo’s *Taizang jingang jiaofa minghao* 胎藏金剛教法名号 (*T.18.864B*), and 903, when Ryakushin 益信, the author of *Enjōji hakkan shidai* 圓城寺八卷次第, died.

The *Bizangji* contains a passage that is based on Yicāo’s *Taizang jingang jiaofa minghao* introduced by Engyō in 839. The focus of Yicāo’s work is the Matrix Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm; he lists the special names of the deities from these two mandalas that disciples, who have undergone the rite of consecration into these two mandalas, take and use throughout their religious careers (see *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 11, pp. 246-247 and the example of Kūkai, whose special name 金剛名号 (*kongō myōgō*) was Henshō kongō 遍照金剛, the name of Mahāvairocana in the two mandalas). In an entry titled “The adamantine names of the Thirty-Seven Venerables,” the *Bizangji* cites the special names of the thirty-seven Venerables in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm from Yicāo’s *Taizang jingang jiaofa minghao* (see *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2921, p. 6a-b and *T.864:205b-c* and Yoneda’s chart, “*Hizōki no seiritsu nendai*,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 186, pp. 83-87). These new findings prove that authorship of the *Bizangji* cannot be attributed to Amoghavajra, Huiguo, or Kūkai.

⁷² See, for instance, Takagi, “Kūkai no kai to fuhō ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 82, pp. 15-16, and Misaki, *Taimitsu no riron to jissen* (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1994), pp. 300-301. Both scholars emphasize that the Shingon school does not attach any special importance to the transmission of the teachings of the *Susiddhikara sūtra* that Huiguo received from Hyonch’o, as recorded in the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhaogongfeng dade xingzhuan* (*T.2057:295a8-11*), as well as other Chinese works on the Esoteric Buddhist transmissions such as Haiyun’s 海雲 *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* 兩部大法相承師資付法記. The *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhaogongfeng dade xingzhuan* and Haiyun’s work date to ca. 830. These two texts and other documents that date to the mid-ninth century, which I shall discuss in Chapter Seven, make it imperative to put forward a new interpretation of the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist teachings in three categories 三部.

⁷³ *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 420-425 (see also *Sankyō shiki /Shōryōshū* 三教指歸 性靈集, Watanabe Shōkō and Miyasaka Yūshō ed. *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 71 (Tokyo: Iwanami shōten, 1965), pp. 196-207.) This is the earliest of Kūkai’s writings in which he describes his Chinese master’s religious concerns and transmission. In this eulogy, Kūkai does not define Huiguo’s religious career in terms of the propagation of specific texts or doctrinal interpretations. Instead he focuses on his master’s acquisition and performance of the powerful ritual and yogic practices that were the special feature of the Esoteric Buddhist teachings. For example, Kūkai presents Huiguo as a tireless and consummate practitioner of apotropaic rites that brought about miraculous results 靈驗 for the Emperor, the nation and its people (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 421-422). He records the practices that his master was in the habit of performing: “He visualized the Ocean Assembly of the Matrix [Mandala] while coursing through the Palace of the Law World; he entered the Adamantine Realm [Mandala] and worshipped the vast Assembly of [Tathāgatas of] Universal Wisdom; he retained in his mind hundreds of thousands of *dhāraṇīs*; he visualized billions of mandalas, spreading them out on his body” (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 422). Clearly the practices for the Matrix Mandala

and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm were important for Huiguo, but in this eulogy Kūkai does not seem to link them together in any significant way. However, Japanese scholars see these sentences as evidence for the concept of pairing the traditions of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (see Horiuchi, “Kōbōdaishi no ryōbu funi shisō,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 23/1, p. 102 and Katsumata, “Ryōbu funi shisō no keisei,” *Kōbōdaishi no shisō to sono genryū*, p. 195). In this eulogy Kūkai lists the names of Huiguo’s most advanced disciples and the transmission they received, which he describes as the teachings of the three mysteries 三密教, and the yogic practice of union with the deities in the mandala 入三昧耶学瑜伽 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 422). Kūkai also states that Huiguo constantly told his disciples that the esoteric doctrines are supreme among the Buddhist teachings, being their essence; that forming one hand gesture of one Venerable is the path to enlightenment; and that chanting one phrase of a mantra or one syllable of a seed letter is the fundamental cause that enables entry into the Buddha’s path (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 423).

Kūkai makes significant changes to Huiguo’s biography in his later writings in order to make it accord with the interpretation that pairs the two main Esoteric Buddhist texts and mandalas. This can be seen, for example, when comparing the passage in this eulogy that describes the teachings Amoghavajra conferred on the young Huiguo (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 421) and the material in the *Shingon fuhōden* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, 1:59-60). The eulogy records *dhāraṇī* practices for Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa 大佛頂 and Mahāpratisarā 大隨求 and the recitation of praises to Samantabhadra 普賢行 and Mañjuśrī 文殊讚. The *Shingon fuhōden* states that Amoghavajra orally granted Huiguo the *dhāraṇī* practices for Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa and Mahāpratisarā, as well as the Sanskrit versions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* 金剛頂瑜伽經 and the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* 大日經.

For a chronological re-creation of Huiguo’s life story and a discussion of his religious concerns, using Kūkai’s eulogy, as well as Wu Yin’s *Datang shendu Qinglongsi dongtayuan guandingguoshi Huiguo Asheli xingzhuang* and the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhaogongfeng dade xingzhuang*, see Katsumata’s “Keika Wajō den no kenkyū” 惠果和上傳の研究, *Kōbō daishi no shisō to sono genryū*, pp. 317-348.

⁷⁴ Kūkai’s record of this transmission in the *Shōrai mokuroku* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 99-100) centers on his consecrations 灌頂 first into the Matrix Mandala and then into the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. He receives from Huiguo a third, final consecration, which establishes him as a master who can transmit the Esoteric Buddhist teachings 轉教灌頂, but he gives no details about this rite or its mandala (see Hakeda, Yoshito, *Kūkai: Major Works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), pp. 147-148 and Abe Ryūichi, *The Weaving of Mantra. Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 122-124.) In the *Shōrai mokuroku* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 100), Kūkai also records that Huiguo ordered temple artisans to make mandalas for him to take back to Japan. Ten picture scrolls were made, but the only names given are the Mandalas of the Matrix and Adamantine Realm.

Kūkai refers in a number of his letters and votive texts to his study in Chang’an, and in every case he records the names of the Matrix Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm when describing the religious writings and paraphernalia that he copied to take back to Japan. Some examples of these writings are *Esshū no settoshi ni ataete naige no kyōsho wo motomuru kei* 與越州節度使求內外經書啓 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 457-460), *Hongoku no tsukahi to tomo ni kaeramu to kofu kei* 與本國使請共歸啓 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 460-461), *Shion no ontame ni nibu no daimandara wo tsukuru ganmon* 奉爲四恩造二部大曼荼羅願文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 476-477, esp. 476), *Takano konryū no hajime no kekkai no keibyakumon* 高野建立初結界啓百文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 529-531, esp. 530). We can conclude that Kūkai regarded the Matrix Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, as well as the texts and manuals that explained the mantras, mudrās and rites of the deities in these mandalas, as constituting the core of the Esoteric Buddhist transmission that he received from Huiguo.

⁷⁵ Numerous entries in the *Bizangji* express the pairing of the Matrix Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. See Katsumata, *Kōbō daishi no shisō to sono genryū*, pp. 189-193. However, Mukai Ryūken (“Shingon mikkyō no okeru richi no keifu,” *Buzan kyōgaku daikai kiyō*, vol. 10 (1982), pp. 17-26, esp. pp. 17-20) argues that Kūkai does not use the terms Principle and Wisdom to define the two mandalas but to construct his theory of a preaching Cosmic Dharma Body 法身說法 (*hosshin seppō*).

⁷⁶ Kūkai’s votive text on the occasion of the completion of copies of the original Matrix Mandala and Mandala of the Adamantine Realm that he brought back from China in 806 is the most important document to confirm his use of the

two mandalas as a set (Shion no ontame ni nibu no daimandara wo tsukuru ganmon 奉爲四恩造二部大曼荼羅願文 in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 476-477). In this text, dated to 821, Kūkai describes the sad condition of the mandalas after eighteen years of use and the need to make a new set. This task began on the third day of the fourth month of the twelfth year of Kōnin (821) and was completed on the last day of the eighth month of the same year. Included among the twenty-six paintings produced at the time, in addition to one painting of the Matrix Repository Mandala on eight widths of silk 大悲胎藏大曼荼羅一鋪絹八幅 and one painting of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm on nine widths of silk 金剛界大曼荼羅一鋪絹九幅, were also portraits of the Shingon Patriarchs Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna 龍猛菩薩 and Bodhisattva Nāgajñāna 龍智菩薩.

Some of Kūkai's writings on the reproduction of the two mandalas as a set (*ryōbu*) are *Kōshi senbishūki no tame ni ryōbu no mandara Dainichikyō wo zushashi kuyōshi kōsetsu suru hyōbyakumon* 孝子爲先妣周忌圖寫供養兩部曼荼羅大日經講說表百文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 502-503), *Kanjinshite buttō wo tsukuri-tatematsuru chishiki no sho* 勸進奉造佛塔智識書 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 516-517), and *Takano konryū no hajime no kekkai no keibyakumon* 高野建立初結界啓百文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 529-531, esp. 530).

The texts in which Kūkai uses the term *ryōbu* when referring to the two mandalas are *Bōdeshi Chisen ga tame no dasshin no mon* 爲亡弟子智泉達しん文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 499-501), *Chūenshi ga senbi no tame ni Rishukyō wo kōzuru hyōbyakumon* 爲忠延師先妣講理趣經表百文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 503-504, esp. 503), *Takanoyama mandōe no ganmon* 高野山萬燈會願文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 515-516, esp. 516), *Takano konryū no hajime no kekkai no keibyakumon* 高野建立初結界啓百文 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 529-531, esp. 529-530), and *Moto no zōsō Jōgonzō daitoku no ei no san* 故贈僧正勤操大德影讚 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 539-542).

⁷⁷ Kūkai records his plan for the temple complex on Kōyasan in two documents. The first is an undated work, the *Takano konryū no hajime no kekkai no keibyakumon* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 529-531), in which Kūkai addresses the Buddhas, the directional gods and the local mountain gods, informing them of his intent to construct a monastery on the site and asking for their protection. Here Kūkai states that he wants to erect on this mountain the great mandalas of the two categories in accordance with the mysterious teachings of the Adamantine Vehicle (*ibid*, p. 531). The second document in which Kūkai records his plans for Kongōbuji is a request for contributions to construct the temple, the *Kanjinshite buttō wo tsukuritatematsuru chishiki no sho* 勸進奉造佛塔智識書 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 516-517), which dates to 834 承和元年八月廿二日 (twenty-second day of the eighth month of the first year of Shōwa). He writes that he has decided to erect two stūpas at Kongōbuji that represent Vairocana's fundamental essence of the Dharma Realm 毘盧遮那法界體性塔二基 (*Birushana hokkai taishō tō niki*), as well as the mandalas of the dual categories of the Matrix Repository and the Adamantine Realm 胎藏金剛界兩部曼荼羅 (*taizō kongōkai ryōbu mandara*).

Because Kūkai's request for donations contains little detail on the iconography of the two stūpas and the type and placement of the mandalas (sculptural or painted) of the two categories, and Kūkai has left no other writings on this topic, scholars have interpreted his statement differently. A number have used materials that postdate Kūkai to reconstruct the original layout and programs of the structures in the Kongōbuji complex. For example, both Adachi Kō ("Kōyasan konpon daitō to sono honzon," *Adachi Kō chosakushū*, vol. 3, *Tōba kenchiku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1987), pp. 230-245, esp. 238-240 [first published in *Kenchikushi*, vol. 3/1, 1931] and Kanamori Jun ("Mikkyō jūin ni okeru Tahōtō no igi," *Kokka*, vol. 52/1 (1942), pp. 289-294, esp. pp. 290, 294 [footnote 5], and 292-293, continued in *Kokka*, vol. 52/11 (1942), pp. 321-328) understand Kūkai's plan as focused on two paired stūpas in which were installed sculptured images from the Matrix Mandala and the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, respectively. The problem is whether Kūkai would have installed in each stūpa sculptures of all the figures or just of the five Buddhas from each mandala. The studies listed above cite the *Kongōbuji konryū shugyō engi* 金剛峯寺建立修行緣起 (History of Construction and Practice on Kongōbuji), dated to 968, as the earliest work on the iconography of the stūpas. According to this, the five Buddhas of the Matrix Mandala were enshrined in the Eastern stūpa and the five Buddhas of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm were in the Western one.

Sawa Ryūken ("Kongōbujigaran no sōsō ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 88 (1944), pp. 1-20) suggests another interpretation of Kūkai's statement in 834. This is an arrangement of the Kongōbuji complex that focuses on two stūpas placed on either side of a lecture hall. According to Sawa (*ibid*, pp. 2-6), the stūpas were not sites for ritual and meditational practice but were physical manifestations of Shingon doctrine as symbolized by the two aspects of Mahāvairocana represented in the two mandalas. Although Sawa does not give any sources, he states that sculptures

of the five Buddhas of the Matrix Mandala were installed inside the Great (eastern) Stūpa and those of the five Buddhas of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm inside the Western Stūpa. A lecture hall, Sawa writes, was a center for religious practices, and so the mandalas of the two categories that Kūkai refers to in his request for donations would have been installed there.

Despite these differences in detail, scholars are agreed that Kūkai envisioned a temple complex to manifest the essence of Mahāvairocana in the form of paired stūpas and Mandalas of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realms.

For a more recent discussion of the interpretation of Kūkai's plan, see Tomishima Yoshiyuki, *Mikkyō kūkan shiron* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2007), pp. 63-74, esp. 65-66, 73-74. For a study in English, see David L. Gardiner, "Maṇḍala, Maṇḍala on the Wall: Variations of Usage in the Shingon School," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 19/2 (1996), pp. 245-279.

⁷⁸ Such contemporary scholars as Horiuchi ("Kōbōdaishi no ryōbu funi shisō," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 23/1, pp. 98-105) and Katsumata (*Kōbō daishi no shisō to sono genryū*, pp. 193-205) cite numerous quotations from other works by Kūkai wherein he uses the polar terms Principle and Wisdom, as well as concepts such as the seed letters *a* and *vaṃ*, the three mysteries and the five wisdoms, and body and mind to pair the two texts and their mandalas.

⁷⁹ The *Suxidi jieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯羅經 was translated by Śubhākarasiṃha in 726 and is published in T.18.893.

A Sanskrit original of this text does not exist, but both the Tibetan and Chinese translations provide evidence that the text was originally part of a much larger Sanskrit work whose title, reconstructed from the Tibetan, was *Susiddhikara mahātantra sādhanopāyika paṭala* (Section on expedient means for rites of accomplishment in the *Susiddhikara* Great Tantra). See Kōda Junnin, "Soshitsujikarakyō Shōmonbon no kōsatsu," *Mikkyō gaku*, vol. 32 (1996), pp. 109-128 and Rolf Giebel, "Soshitsujikarakyō genten kenkyū shotan," *Tōhō gaku*, vol. 99 (January 2000), pp. 105-91.

The *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* has published three versions of this text: a Korean version 高麗本, a Song version 宋本 and a Japanese version in Sanpōju'in 三寶壽院本. There are differences in, for example, the division of the scrolls, the order of some chapters, and the contents (only the Korean version contains separate chapters on the rites of *sāntika*, *pausṭika* and *ābhicāruka*), but these differences do not make understanding the scripture more difficult (see Kambayashi Ryūjō, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 7, pp. 9-12). I have consulted the Korean version, and all my citations are based upon this version. See the English translation of this text by Rolf W. Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sūtras* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2001).

⁸⁰ Osabe Kazuo, "Tōdaikōki taizōkei mikkyōgaku no niryūha to sanshu shiji hō," *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū* (Koyasan: Koyasan daigaku hen, 1965), pp. 237-254, esp. pages 237 and 251, and Misaki Ryōshū, "Tōmatsu no mikkyō to Soshitsuji," *ibid*, pp. 255-281.

⁸¹ The mantra of the inferior grade of *siddhi* is the five-syllable mantra *a ra pa ca na* of Mañjuśrī, based on ritual manuals translated by Vajrabodhi (*Jingangding jing Manshushili pusa wuzi xintuoluoni pin* 金剛頂經曼殊室利菩薩五字心陀羅尼品, T.20.1173, see T.2154:571b22-23) and Amoghavajra (*Jingangding jing yuqie Wenshushili pusa fa yipin* 金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩法一品, T.20.1171, see T.2120:839b5). The mantra of the median grade of *siddhi* is the five-syllables *aḥ vī ra huṃ khaṃ* given in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s sixth chapter, the *Xidi chuxian pin* 悉地出現品, and the mantra of the supreme grade of *siddhi* is the five-syllables *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ*, whose source is the fourth section *Chitong faze pin* 持誦法則品 of the seventh fascicle of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, but whose meaning spans both the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. See Matsunaga Yūkei, "Sanju shiji hajigoku giki no kenkyū," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 35 (1929), pp. 1-18, esp. pp. 7-9 and Misaki, "Tōmatsu no mikkyō to Soshitsuji," *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū*, pp. 268-270. I discuss these mantras in Chapter Seven.

⁸² The Shingon school regards the *Susiddhikara sūtra* as belonging to the lineage of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* because it expounds rites for the Three Families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra, but by the late Tang in China its teachings were applied to the Five Families of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* as well. See Misaki, "Tōmitsu no mikkyō to soshitsuji," *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū*, pp. 265-270.

⁸³ This work is dated to 834 and is published in *T.51.2081*. The information cited is found in *T.2081:786c24-787a3*. The description of Hyonch'o is found in sentence 786c17.

Haiyun's *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* consists of two parts. Scroll one recounts the transmission of the *Jingangjie dajiaowang jing* 金剛界大教王經 (Scripture of the King of the Great Teachings of the Adamantine Realm). Scroll two details the transmission of the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, which Haiyun refers to here as the *Dapiluzhena dajiaowang jing* 大毘盧遮那大教追王 (King of the Great Teachings of Mahāvairocana). The title of Haiyun's work (*Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji*) was most likely the creation of a Japanese copyist. The two scrolls are recorded separately in Ennin's catalogue, *Nittō shingū shōkyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄 (*T.55.2167:1081a24-27*), a list of texts and objects that he collected while visiting Chang'an in 847, and reported again as two scrolls in Annen's *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 諸阿闍梨眞言密教部類總錄 (*T.55.2176:1131b1-4*). It is, however, listed as a single scroll in the *Rokugai kyōtō mokuroku* 錄外目錄 (*T.55.2175:1113a9*), an inventory of items that the monk from Zenrinji, that is Shūei, did not record in his official inventory (*T.55.2174A*). I discuss Haiyun's work in greater detail in Chapter Seven. For a discussion on Haiyun and this work, especially Haiyun's agenda and biases, and the work's authenticity as a Tang Dynasty product, see Jinhua Chen, *Crossfire: Shingon-Tendai Strife as Seen in Two Twelfth-century Polemics, with Special References to Their Background in Tang China*, *Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series XXV* (Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2010), pp. 83-109, 131.

⁸⁴ *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 105-123, esp. p. 120. Kūkai presented this list to the Emperor Junna 淳和 in 823. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1410a-c and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, p. 3151b.

⁸⁵ *T.2081:786c14*.

Chapter Four: Amoghavajra's Transmission

¹ See *Mikkyō hattatsu shi* (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1918) vol. 4, pp. 606, 607, 613 621, for example.

² See Appendix B, Examination of Shingon Scholars' Method of Critical Analysis of Amoghavajra's Transmission, wherein I give these scholars' arguments and sources.

³ See his *The Rishukyō: The Sino-Japanese Tantric Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses — Amoghavajra's Version*.

⁴ This is the title of this work in *T.52.2120:839b14*, which is published in *T.18.869*. See Introduction, endnote 7.

⁵ In the *Liqujing* the main teachings of each Stage (except that of the first and seventeenth Stages) are presented in a fourfold formula of description. Each Stage's teachings conclude with a manifestation of Mahāvairocana who, for further clarification, forms a special mudrā or attitude and chants a summarizing mantra. In the *Liqushi* Amoghavajra also elucidates the contents of each Stage of the *Liqujing* in a fourfold method. He provides (1) commentary on each line of the text given in the *Liqujing*, allocating each line of teaching to the meditative concentrations (*samādhis*) (a) of specific deities (*Liqushi* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 17), (b) on mandalas (*Liqushi* 8), and (c) on the act of entering great mandalas (*mahāmaṇḍalas*) wherein the deities are depicted in their anthropomorphic forms (*Liqushi* 11, 16); (2) an explanation of the special letter 字 (*bīja*) that encapsulates the essence of the teachings in each Stage of the *Liqujing*; (3) prescriptions for a mandala; (4) instructions for the yogic practice with the deities of this mandala, as well as enumerations of the boons (*siddhi*), both spiritual and material, that this practice brings about. Information about the iconography of the mandalas can be ascertained from all the above points.

⁶ These are the mandalas prescribed in *Liqushi* 4, 5, 8, 10 and 11, which I discuss in this section and its accompanying endnotes.

Japanese scholars have also noted Amoghavajra's use of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* as a source for the content of his translation of the *Liqujing* and his commentary in the *Liqushi*. See, for example, Toganoo Shōun, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, Hatta Yukio, *Himitsu kyoten: Rishukyō*, pp. 336-352, Fukuda Ryōsei, "Rishukyō no jōbutsuron" 「理趣經」の成仏論, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1988), pp. 357-402,

and Tanaka Yūbun, “*Rishushaku* shosetsu mandara kō — Fukūshoden no *Kongōchō yuga* ni tsuite (3),” *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 10 (1991), pp. 43-54.

⁷ This (T.19.1004) is listed as *Damantuluo shiqisheng shi* 大曼荼羅十七尊釋 in Amoghavajra’s 771 memorial (T.52.2120:840a2) to the Chinese Emperor.

⁸ See Appendix C, References in the *Liqushi*, for the listing of the three types of references that I investigate.

⁹ Amoghavajra names a number of his sources throughout the *Liqushi*. See for example Tanaka Yūbun’s “Fukūshoden no *Kongōchō yugakyō* ni tsite (5) — *Rishushaku* seiritsu jūjō kanken,” *Chizan gakuō*, vol. 41, pp. 74-75, wherein he presents the sources that Amoghavajra cites only in *Liqushi* 1.

¹⁰ See Appendix C Amoghavajra’s List of References, first bullet, numbers 1-5.

Liqushi 8, the Guiding Principle of Bodhisattva Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin (T.1003:613c28-614b3) indicates Amoghavajra’s knowledge of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in four chapters (see Appendix C, first bullet, number 3). The theme of *Liqujing* 8 (T.243:785b3-10) is the exposition of the guiding principle of wisdom that enables the practitioner to enter into the great wheel of the guiding principle of insight 入大輪般若理趣. *Liqushi* 8 (T.1003:613c28-614a1) defines this great wheel as the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The expounder of this teaching (T.243:785b3) is Tathāgata Sarvatathāgata-cakrāntargata 一切如來入大輪如來, the Tathāgata of the great wheel into which All the Tathāgatas have entered. The *Liqushi* states that (T.1003:613c28-29) this Tathāgata is none other than Bodhisattva Sahacittotpādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin, who further clarifies the teachings of this Tathāgata. This is the Bodhisattva who presides over practices that bring about entry into the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, which is cosmically displayed in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*’s Chapter of the Adamantine Realm. In *Liqushi* 8 (613c28-614a14), as well as in *Liqushi* 1 (608a9-14), Amoghavajra extends this Bodhisattva’s governance and expertise to include all the mandalas in the four chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*: the six given in the Chapter of the Adamantine Realm, the ten in the Chapter on the Conqueror of the Three Worlds (*Trailoyavijaya*), the six in the Chapter of Universal Submission (*Sakalajagad-vinaya*), and the six in the Chapter of the Accomplishment of All Objectives (*Sarvārtha-siddhi*). Notes in small characters (T.1003: 614a2-11) refer the practitioner to the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* for information about these mandalas.

¹¹ See Appendix C, first bullet, numbers 1, 2, 4, and 5.

¹² T.1003:608b27-609a23.

¹³ T.1003:609c20-610a8. For a discussion on the many terms for bliss (delight, joy, pleasure, rapture, passion, etc), see Astley, “Dairaku/Tairaku,” *Hōbōgin*, vol. 7: Daijō-Daishi (Paris-Kyoto, 1994), pp. 931-946, esp. 940-942 for its tantic use and meaning.

¹⁴ T.1003:610a9-14:

–The seventeen letters of this secret mantra thus compose the seed letters of these seventeen bodhisattvas, creating a seed letter mandala 法曼荼羅. If one draws the true fundamental forms of each of the bodhisattvas, one then makes a great mandala 大曼荼羅. If one draws the symbols that the fundamental Holy Ones hold, then one creates a symbol mandala 三昧耶曼荼羅. [If] each of the letters of the seed letters as [given] above are written in the original positions [of these bodhisattvas], then one calls this a seed letter mandala. [If] one casts the fundamental form of each [bodhisattva] and places it in its original position, then one composes the action mandala 羯磨曼荼羅.

¹⁵ T.1003:610a15-23.

¹⁶ T.1003:610a23-b2. In this passage Amoghavajra records the title of the ritual manual (T.1003:610b1-2) from which steps were taken: the *Dale bukong zhenshi xiuxing yuqie yigui* 大樂不空真實修行瑜伽儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Yoga [whereby one] Practices the Reality of [He who is] Infallible [and generates] Great Bliss). This is an example

where Amoghavajra names his source (see Appendix C, first bullet, number 1). The name of this manual is similar to that of the Sixth Assembly he records in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (T.869:286b21-27): *Daanle bukong sanmeiye zhenshi yuqie* 大安樂不空三昧耶眞實瑜伽 (Yoga of the Reality of the Pledge of [He who is] Infallible [and generates] Great Bliss).

The steps of the abbreviated yoga rite given here correspond to those performed in the manuals that Amoghavajra translated for a rite of the adamantine realm and for three rites that focus on Vajrasattva. These are the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong hō* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on the Essence of the Lotus Family of the Adamantine Crown, T.18.873), *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法 (Method for Contemplation and Recitation on Bodhisattva Samantabhadra from the Supreme Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, T.20.1123), *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong hō* 普賢金剛薩埵念誦法 (Method of Contemplation and Recitation on Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva, T.20.1124), *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽五祕密修行儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Practice of the Five Mysteries from the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, T.20.1125). All these manuals are included in the list of translations and compositions (T.52.2120:839c7, 12, 14-15) that Amoghavajra presented to the Chinese Emperor in 771.

The *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong hō* is the liturgical template for the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa*, *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong hō* and *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui*. (I analyze and discuss in detail the structure of these ritual manuals in Appendix B.) And in this brief rite recorded here in *Liqushi* 1 the practitioner also performs steps that are found in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong hō*'s major phases of purification, construction, encounter and identification.

¹⁷ “*Rishukyō to Rishukyō*,” 「理趣經」と「理趣經法」, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, p. 75.

¹⁸ 金剛頂經第十三會大三昧耶眞實瑜伽 (T.1004:618b1-4). This is in Sanskrit the *Mahāsamaya-tattva-yoga* and is the second example (see Appendix C, first bullet, number 2) of the named sources we are investigating. Amoghavajra does not discuss this seventeen-letter mantra in his *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*.

Tanaka Yūbun (“*Rishushaku* shosetsu mandara kō,” *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 10, pp. 43-53) also refutes Fukuda’s claim of Amoghavajra’s originality, stating that the source of this seventeen-figure configuration is this Thirteenth Assembly.

¹⁹ Samantrabhadra is Vajrasattva in the Esoteric Buddhist tradition. This is the mantra given in *Liqushi* 1 (T.1003:609c20-610a8).

²⁰ T.869:287a7-16. For a complete translation of this passage (287a7-20) and a discussion of its contents, see Giebel, “The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch’ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation, *Naritanan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 18, pp. 185-191.

²¹ Themes and terms presented in Amoghavajra’s description of the Thirteenth Assembly in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* are also found in his *Liqujing* and its two commentaries. For example, Vajrasattva’s teaching of the Reality of the Pledge 三昧耶眞實教法 is the main theme of the Thirteenth Assembly. Likewise, in *Liqujing* 1 (T.243:784b21-24) Vajrapāṇi explains the essence of the pledge that is infallible, adamantine and [generates] great bliss 大樂金剛不空三麼耶心. This is the letter *hūm* which epitomizes the theme of this chapter. (See also Astley-Kristensen’s translation in *The Rishukyō*, p. 82.)

In the Thirteenth Assembly the mandala with seventeen figures is called one of rapture and infallibility 適悅不空. Rapture 適悅 is one of the *Liqujing*'s “seventeen epithets of purity” 適悅清淨句 (T.243:784b5-6) and in the *Liqushi* (T.1003:608c18-20) the practitioner attains by means of meditative concentration (*samādhi*) on this epithet the position of Bodhisattva Rapture Adamantine 適悅金剛菩薩位. In the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (T.1004:617c21) this is Bodhisattva Adamantine Rapture 金剛適悅菩薩. Further, Amoghavajra records in the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (T.1004: 617b26) that Vajrasattva, the focus of this seventeen-figure mandala, holds in his left hand an adamantine bell which signifies rapture 適悅. Unlimited rapture 適悅 is one of the many boons that the practitioner acquires upon successfully performing the teaching of *Liqujing* 1 (T.243:784b17-18, Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 82).

²² T.1003:608b27-609a15 and for this translation see Astley, *The Rishukyō*, p. 81.

²³ See T.1003:610a15-23 and endnote 15 above.

²⁴ Amoghavajra will provide a brief description of the iconography of the Five Mysteries Mandala in *Liqushi* 17, as we shall see.

²⁵ T.1004:617c1-3, 4-7. The central five figures are described 617a26-c16.

²⁶ This work was translated by the Chinese monk Shihu 施護 and is published in T.18.883. Sakai Shinten demonstrates (“*Kongōchōkyō* no daijūsan e ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32 (September 1955), pp. 34-41) the correspondences between the contents of the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing* and the themes of the Thirteenth Assembly as presented in Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*.

²⁷ T.883:457c11-459b8. The name of this rite is given on T.883:459a23. Sakai shows (“*Kongōchōkyō* no daijūsan e ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, pp. 35) that the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing* consists of two parts: a root tantra (*mūlatantra*, T.883:446a9-459b8) and an appendix, or supplementary, tantra (*uttaratantra*, T.883:459b9—462a15-16), which takes the form of questions and answers that further clarify the main theme of the root tantra.

The root tantra presents a section (T.883:446b12-448a22) on the teachings of the secret method of Vajrasattva 金剛薩埵祕密法門. All the Tathāgatas entreat Vajrapāṇi to explain his secret method that creates a state of great bliss. This rite has a special mantra and mandala 金剛薩埵祕密心明及曼荼羅 (447a27-b1). The mantra is *oṃ mahā sukha vajra amogha samaya prāveśa siddham vajrasattva jaḥ hūṃ bam hoḥ* (this is Sakai’s transliteration in “*Kongōchōkyō* no daijūsan e ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, pp. 36) and the mandala is called the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界大曼荼羅 (446c12-22, c25-457a1).

Then, Vajrapāṇi continues his teachings (T.883:457c11-459b8), introducing another special rite 金剛薩埵大樂法, its mantra (458a9-11, 25-27), mandala (458b13-c1) and ritual steps for the ācārya and disciple. This rite brings about many boons, but its main objective (see for example, T.883:458a12-21, 458c24-25, 459a25-b7) is to allow the practitioner, by means of Vajrapāṇi’s teachings on great bliss 金剛手大樂門, to enter the realm of wondrous bliss where the buddhas dwell.

In the appendix tantra the Tathāgatas question Vajrapāṇi, asking about the sounds of wondrous songs, the reality of the great pledge, its mandalic representation, and so on.

²⁸ This mantra is presented twice on the same page in the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing* (T.883: 458a10-11, a26-27; see Sakai, “*Kongōchōkyō* no daijūsan e ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, p. 38) and the description of Vajrapāṇi (T.883:458a22-25) as he is about to chant this mantra a second time resembles the description of Vajrapāṇi in the final passage of Amoghavajra’s *Liqijing* 1 (T.243:784b21-24). For example, in both texts Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi smiles subtly and, creating an attitude of advancing courageously, he forms with his left hand the adamantine fist (in T.883 and the mudrā of adamantine pride in T.243) and playfully brandishes in his right hand a great thunderbolt (the great adamantine thunderbolt that is victoriously supreme and [generates] wondrous bliss 勝初妙樂大金剛杵 in T.883, and the fundamental, great thunderbolt 本初大金剛 in T.243). The difference between the two texts is that Vajrapāṇi chants the syllable *hūṃ* in the *Liqijing* but a long mantra in the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing*.

²⁹ T.1003:609c20-610a8.

³⁰ T.883:458a25 and Sakai, “*Kongōchōkyō* no daijūsan e ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, p. 38.

This mantra is not named in the *Liqushi* but, as mentioned above, Amoghavajra records the name of the manual from which it came: Ritual Manual for the Yoga [whereby one] Practices the Reality of [He who is] Infallible [and generates] Great Bliss.

The same mantra appears in Amoghavajra’s manuals T.1124 and 1125. In the first manual this seventeen-letter mantra is called the “secret words of the reality of the pledge that is infallible and [generates] great bliss” 大樂 (see T.1124:535a13, note 12) 不空三昧耶真實密語 (T.1124:535a13-15). It is chanted during the ritual phase of identification (T.1124:535a13-16), wherein the practitioner merges with the deity 入我我入觀 and “resides in the great seal, being identical to Bodhisattva Samantabhadra.”

This mantra is chanted twice in *T.1125*. The first time the mantra appears in a shortened version (*T.1125:536c4*: *samaya hoḥ suratas tvam* Pledge! Hoḥ (Joy)! You are exquisite bliss), called “the words of the reality of the great pledge” 大三昧耶真實言. Performed together with its accompanying mudrā, the practitioner causes Vajrasattva to pervade throughout his body and mind (*T.1125:536c1-5*), making him a purified vessel worthy to perform the following ritual phase of attaining the buddha body and empowerment 成身加持分. The second time this mantra is recited is when (*537a29-b1-2*) the practitioner forms Vajrasattva’s great wisdom seal 金剛薩埵大智印 and chants the accompanying fundamental mantra 根本真言 (*oṃ mahāsukha vajrasattva jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ suratas tvam*). This ritual act signifies the end of the rite’s preparatory phase and the beginning of the ritual phases of encounter and identification with the deities. I discuss the ritual phases of these manuals in Appendix B, Shingon Scholars Analysis of Amoghavajra’s Transmission.

³¹ *T.883:459b8*. See Sakai, “*Kongōchōkyō no daijūsan e ni tsuite*,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, pp. 34-35, 39. Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of this work do not exist, but Sakai suggests (p. 35) that the Sanskrit title could be reconstructed as *Mahāsamaya-tattva-tantra-rāja* because the terms “great pledge” 大三昧耶 and “reality of the great pledge” 大三昧耶真實 appear throughout the text, constituting its main theme.

³² *T.883:459a24*. This mandala is also described in this text (*T.883:458b13-14*) as the “Great Mandala that is Secret, Adamantine and Wondrously Blissful” 妙樂金剛祕密大曼荼羅, and the names and iconographic prescriptions for its figures (*458b13-28*) resemble those in *Liqushi 1* (*T.1003:610a15-23*) and *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*. In the center is Vajrasattva and he is surrounded by Desire 意生金剛尊 in front, Touch 枳理枳羅尊 at his right, Love 念金剛大尊 behind him and Pride 欲自在聖尊 at his left. Four Offering Bodhisattvas Incense 香, Flower 華, Light 燈 and Unguent 塗 are in the central court’s four inner corners and in the four outer corners of the second court are the deities Form 色, Sound 聲, Smell 香 and Taste 味. In the four gates are the figures of Hook 鈎, Rope 索, Chain 鎖 and Bell 鈴.

The four Offering Bodhisattvas installed in this Mandala of Adamantine, Wondrous Bliss appear in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* [*T.865*]’s Mandala of the Adamantine Realm as the four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas. The Gate (Gathering) Bodhisattvas are also seen in this Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, but the four deities Form, Sound, Smell and Taste are the last four of the seventeen epithets expounded in *Liqujing 1* (*T.243:784b9-11*). In Amoghavajra’s commentaries on the *Liqujing* (*T.1003:610a22-23*, *T.1004:618a18-29*), the four deities Form, Sound, Smell and Taste are placed in the gates of the outer enclosure of the mandala and, according to the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*, Form holds a hook, Sound a rope, Smell a chain and Taste a bell. See Sakai’s discussion of the mandala is in “*Kongōchōkyō no daijūsan e ni tsuite*,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, pp. 38-39.

³³ *T.883:458b16-18*, 23-26. In the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing*’s mandala prescriptions the iconography of the central pentad is briefly described. The other deities are only mentioned by position and name. The attitudes 勢 and distinctive external characteristics 相 stipulated for the five central figures in the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing*’s mandala correspond to those given in Amoghavajra’s *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (*T.1004:617b21-c16*).

³⁴ A seventeen-figure mandala that functions as the focus of a rite for Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva is also described in two ritual manuals translated by Amoghavajra. Prescriptions are given in his *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong hō* (*T.1124:533a15*[note 16], 533a24-b10, 534a1-b26 [see 534b26 which refers to note 24, wherein the installation of the deities into the mandala is given in the correct order]), and in his *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* (*T.1123:529a25-b5*, 529b24-29, 529c14-19, 530a5-8). The iconographical prescriptions for the Five Mysteries pentad in the *Bimi sanmei dajiaowang jing*’s mandala also correspond to the central five figures in these two ritual manuals, and to the figures of the Five Mysteries Mandala prescribed in Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui*. The iconography for the figures of the Five Mysteries is given on *T.1124:534b6-26*, *T.1123:529a25-b5* and *T.1125:536c6-9*, 537b10-21.

³⁵ See Appendix C, first bullet, number 4.

³⁶ The final two chapters of the *Liqujing* elucidate the sphere of enlightenment (*Liqujing 16*, *T.243:785c26-786a4*) and the enlightened practitioner, “who has attained the stage of the Tathāgata, the Holder of the Vajra” (*Liqujing 17*, *T.243:786a5-b1-4*).

³⁷ T.1003: 616b26—27 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 161.

³⁸ T.1003: 616b25-c-6.

³⁹ T.1003: 616c8-11. This is a third example of a named source. See Appendix C, first bullet, number 4.

⁴⁰ In the *Zhubu tuoluoni mu* 諸部陀羅尼目 (T.903:899a9; this work is included in his 771 memorial on T.2120:840a4) Amoghavajra gives the title of this work (he does not call it an assembly) as the *Yiqie rulai jiaoji yuqie* 一切如來教集瑜伽 (Yoga on the Collection of the Teachings of All the Tathāgatas).

⁴¹ T.869:286b1-8. See also Giebel's translation in his "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation, *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 18, pp. 167-168.

⁴² See Amoghavajra's description of the First Assembly in T.869:284c18-286a25 and T.903:898c9-b6. See also Sakai Shirō, "Kongōchō no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71 (October 1939), pp. 117-147, Sakurai Munenobu, "Vajraśekharatantra no ikkōsatsu," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 34/1 (1985), pp. 387-384, and "Vajraśekharatantra no ikkōsatsu," *Chizan gakuō*, vol. 35 (March 1986), pp. 37-49, Tanaka Kimiaki, "Issai butsu shue dakini kaimō tantora to sono mandara ni tsuite," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3 (December 1984), pp. 59-71, esp. 67-70, Yoritomi Motohiro, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), esp. ch. 3, pp. 200-205, ch. 4, pp. 206-215 and ch. 5, pp. 238-249 and Inui Hitoshi, "Kongōchō tantora shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (I)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32 (February 1997), pp. 1-30.

⁴³ See Sakai, "Kongōchō no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 120-121.

This work is an explanatory tantra 釋怛特羅 (*vyākhyātantra*) on the *Sarvatathātaga-tatattva-saṃghra*, and it survives today only in the Tibetan canon. See Sakai, "Kongōchō no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 128-129, and Sakurai, "Vajraśekharatantra no ikkōsatsu," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 34/1, pp. 387-384 and "Vajraśekharatantra no ikkōsatsu," *Chizan gakuō*, vol. 35, pp. 37-49. Sakurai demonstrates ("Vajraśekharatantra no ikkōsatsu," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 34/1, pp. 387, 384, endnotes 1-3, "Vajraśekharatantra no ikkōsatsu," *Chizan gakuō*, vol. 35, pp. 37, 47, endnotes 5 and 6) the importance of the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* in the history of Indian Tantric Buddhism because passages from its appearance in works by later Indian and Tibetan scholar-monks.

⁴⁴ Sakai, "Kongōchō no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, p. 121. Here Sakai reconstructs the Sanskrit title of this text as *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* 一切教(議軌)集, that is, A Collection of All Teachings (in the *Kalpas*).

For the contents of the two parts, see also Sakurai ("Vajraśekharatantra no ikkōsatsu," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 34/1, pp. 387-384 and "Vajraśekharatantra no ikkōsatsu," *Chizan gakuō*, vol. 35, pp. 38-40). Sakurai shows that the two parts were originally separate texts that were amalgamated into the work's present form (a single text) at a later date.

⁴⁵ While there is not a one-to-one correspondence between the contents of the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* and Amoghavajra's description of the Third Assembly in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, Sakai demonstrates that ("Kongōchō no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 122-125) the two texts have common themes. The first chapter of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* contains questions and answers between the Buddhas and Bodhisattva Vajrasattva concerning a mandala for yoga and its ritual rules. The second chapter of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* has prescriptions for offering and ritual union with the deities, prescriptions for *homa* rites, and instructions for creating a Great Mandala of Five Families. These themes broadly correspond to the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*'s Third Assembly, with its questions and answers between the Tathāgatas and Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, a Great Mandala with Five Families, and one hundred and twenty-five types of hearths for *homa* rites. See also Sakurai, "Vajraśekharatantra no ikkōsatsu," *Chizan gakuō*, vol. 35, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁶ In addition to a parent Buddha and four attendant Bodhisattvas, there are in each family grouping four Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattvas, four Inner Offering Bodhisattvas and five figures (Five Mysteries) within a mandala 五祕密曼荼羅 in the corresponding intermediate direction.

The Tibetan translation of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* presents the features of this mandala. The mandala described in this work is not identical to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865)'s Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. For instance, in this Mandala of the Adamantine Realm Vairocana's immediate attendants are the four Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattvas, but in the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya*'s mandala he is attended by Buddha Akṣobhya's four Bodhisattvas Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrarāga and Vajrasādhu, who are depicted in their symbolic (*samaya*) forms. Further, the Vajra Family is depicted in its wrathful aspect. However, most importantly, each family has a Five Mysteries Mandala.

The compositions of the innermost court of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya*'s mandala and the Daigoji's Assembly of the Five Families (fig. 6, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 792, No. 17) are, on the whole, identical. Missing in the Daigoji mandala are the small circles for each family's four Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattvas and four Inner Offering Bodhisattvas. The *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya*'s mandala has an outer court, called the Outer Vajra Division, which is not depicted in the Daigoji's Assembly of the Five Families. See Sakai, "Kongōchō no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 124-126, 134-146, diagram on p. 147 and Inui, "Kongōchō tantora shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (I)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, pp. 2-4, 6-25.

⁴⁷ This mandala is not a part of the Ishiyamadera exemplar.

⁴⁸ Inui, "Shōe Kongōchōkyō no shidaibon to mandara no tokushoku," *Kōyasan daigaku ronbunshū: Kōyasan daigaku sōritsu hyakujū shūnen kinen* (Kōyasan daigaku: Kōyasan daigaku sōritsu hyakujū shūnen kinen ronbunshū henshū iinkai hen, September 1996), pp. 81-100, esp. pp. 83-86 and "Kongōchō tantora shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, p. 6 describes the basic shapes of the central court 宮殿 (or 中宮) of the Great Mandalas in the chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (Sanskrit text and T.882). For example, this court in the Great Mandala of the Chapter of the Adamantine Realm is circular in form, that in the Great Mandala for the Trailokyavijaya Chapter is square, that in the Great Mandala of the Chapter of Universal Submission has the shape of an eight-petaled lotus, and the central palace of the Great Mandala in the Chapter of the Accomplishment of All Objectives is made from glittering adamantine gems.

Mahāvairocana explains how to construct the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in the second chapter of Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865:216c21-217a22). In this exposition the terms altar 壇, circular altar 輪壇 and mandala 曼荼羅 are used interchangeably to refer to the five large circles wherein the families of this mandala are installed. Further, in this passage the term mandala refers also to the individual circle wherein a deity sits. Amoghavajra uses the term lunar disc 月輪 to refer to a deity's individual circle (see, for example, T.865:208c11) in his prescriptions for installing the deities into the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in this text's first chapter (T.865:208b9-216a14).

⁴⁹ In Amoghavajra's translation (T.865) there are four families but Vajrabodhi's translation (T.866) presents five. See Tanaka Yūbun, "Fukū shoden no Kongōchōyugakyō ni tsuite (2) — Kongōchi Sanzō shoden no Kongōchōkyō ni knsuru ikkōsatsu," *Chizangaku hō*, vol. 40 (1991), pp. 181-197, esp. 189-190, Inui Hiroshi, "Chūgoku ni okeru Kongōchō denshō," *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 8 (1994), pp. 1-27, esp. 11-17 and Inui, "Kongōchō tantora shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, pp. 2-4, 6-20.

⁵⁰ This is the fourth example of Amoghavajra's citing a specific work that I will discuss. See Appendix C, first bullet, number 5.

⁵¹ T.1003: 617a1-4.

⁵² See T.243:786a5-b14 and T.243:784b1-11.

⁵³ The opening and closing chapters of the *Liqijing* allude to the concept of the Five Mysteries. However, the iconography of the Five Mysteries is not described in this text. Instead, Amoghavajra develops the concept of the Five Mysteries and provides a brief description of their mandala in *Liqushi* 17.

Amoghavajra declares in *Liqushi* 17 that the closing stage of the *Liqijing* (T.243:786a5-b4) signifies "the *samādhi* of the five types of mysteries," and that this "*samādhi* of the five types [of mysteries]" is "the most secret of secrets." (T.1003:616c12-13, c29-617a1.) Further, in *Liqushi* 17 (T.1003:616c15-29) he identifies each line of the *Liqijing*'s teaching (T.243:786a7-17) with the five figures of the Five Mysteries. For example:

The sentence that “Bodhisattva, the Great Being, because of the most excellent accomplishment of Great Desire, attains the most excellent accomplishment of Great Bliss,” this is the *samādhi* of Bodhisattva Desire. (T.1003: 616c15-17, Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 162-163)

The order of installation into the mandala concurs with T.1003:617a1-4. Vajrasattva is in the center and two consorts are on either side. After the identification of Bodhisattva Consort Desire Adamantine 欲金剛明妃菩薩 (Iṣṭavajriṇī) comes that of Bodhisattva Consort Adamantine Touch 金剛髻梨吉羅明妃菩薩 (Kelikilāvajriṇī), Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, Bodhisattva Consort Love Adamantine 愛金剛明妃菩薩 (Kāmā(Rāga)vajriṇī) and Bodhisattva Consort Adamantine Pride 金剛慢明妃菩薩 (Mānavajriṇī).

These figures correspond to the first five epithets given in *Liqujing* 1 (T.243:784b2-5) and they constitute the focal pentad of the seventeen-figure mandala described in *Liquishi* 1 (T.1003:610a16-18).

⁵⁴ But we can reconstruct the iconography of the Five Mysteries by referring to Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui* (T.1125:536c19-21 and 538a24-25). Here four consorts 印 (*mudrā*) surround Vajrasattva and they all sit on a single lotus within a single lunar disc. There is also in this ritual manual brief iconographical descriptions of the five figures. Vajrasattva (536c6-8) forms adamantine fists with his left and right hands. His left fist is placed at his groin and his right, in the attitude of brandishing an adamantine staff, is held at his heart. Desire (537b10-11) forms two adamantine fists, and with her left fist holds a bow and with her right holds an arrow in the attitude of shooting. Touch (537b13) holds two crossed adamantine fists in front of her chest. Love (537b17-18) places her left adamantine fist under her right elbow and raises her right arm in the attitude of holding a banner. Pride (537b20-21) forms adamantine fists and places them on her thighs. See also Astley-Kristensen, “The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Passions and Enlightenment,” *Temenos: Studies in Comparative Religion*, vol. 24 (1988), pp. 7-27, esp. 9-10.

⁵⁵ Sakai, “*Kongōchō no daisan e ni tsuite*,” *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 134-142 and diagram on p. 147, as well as Inui, “*Kongōchō tantora shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite* (1),” *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, pp. 6-20.

A comparison of the descriptions of the four consorts given in Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui* with those in the Tibetan translation of the Third Assembly (Sakai, *ibid*, p. 143 and Inui, *ibid*, p. 18) shows basic iconographical correspondences between three (Touch who hugs her knees, Love and her banner, and Pride and her proud attitude) of the four consorts. The iconography of Vajrasattva, however, differs. In the Tibetan work Vajrasattva holds a vajra in his right hand and a bell in his left. This is the iconography for Vajrasattva in Amoghavajra’s *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (T.1004: 617b26-27), as well as in his *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong hō* (T.1124:532c1-3).

⁵⁶ See T.1003:617a1-3, as well as Sakai, “*Kongōchō no daisan e ni tsuite*,” *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, p. 143 and Inui, “*Kongōchō tantora shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite* (1),” *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, p. 18.

⁵⁷ See, for example, the title of T.20.1123(:528a7-8), as well as its in-text statement (*ibid*, 528a14-15). This manual prescribes a seventeen-figure mandala whose focus is the pentad of the Five Mysteries. I discuss the iconography of the mandala in this handbook, as well as in a related work (T.20.1124) in Chapter Four, pp. 86-88 and related endnotes.

⁵⁸ See T.1125:535b3-5 and in-text statement (*ibid*, 535b10).

⁵⁹ Subjugation by wrathful means is an important theme in *Liqujing* 3 and 10. I discuss *Liqujing* 3 (Trailokyavijaya, T.243:784c8-18) in Chapter One, pp. 24-29 and relevant endnotes. For *Liqujing* 10 (Sarvamāra-pramardin), see T.243:785b21-29. This theme of the subjugation of the Hindu gods is further expounded in *Liquishi* 3 (Trailokyavijaya) and 10 (Sarva-māra-pramardin). For my discussion of *Liquishi* 3 (Trailokyavijaya), see T.1003:611b9-612a9 and Chapter One as given above; for *Liquishi* 10 (Sarvamāra-pramardin) see T.1003:614c19-615b5.

In *Liquishi* 10 (T.1003:614c19-20) Amoghavajra declares that the Tathāgata who expounds the teachings of this stage of the *Liqujing* is in fact Bodhisattva Sarvamāra-pramardin, the One who Destroys All Demons. It is this Bodhisattva who, in order to further clarify the *Liqujing*’s teachings (T.243:785b26-28), takes the form of Vajrayakṣa and, holding the adamantine fang, terrifies All the Tathāgatas. Amoghavajra describes Sarvamāra-pramardin in *Liquishi* 1 (T.1003:608a22-25) as outwardly wrathful but inwardly compassionate, and as one who sweeps away the

practitioner's inner obstacles and crushes those like celestial Māra 王魔 (Deva-māra), ruler of the sixth heaven (Paranirmīta-vaśavartin) in the realm of desire, and Maheśvara, ruler of the highest heaven (Akaniṣṭha) in the realm of form and lord of the three realms of desire, form and formlessness (Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 295), who would hinder his attaining enlightenment. Amoghavajra also states in *Liqushi* 10 (T.1003:615a1-4) that Sarvamāra-pramardin is in fact Maitreya who, upon entering a *samādhi* of compassion, outwardly manifested a fierce form in order to convert and lead to enlightenment those gods who were difficult to control.

Amoghavajra equates (T.1003:614c20-615a1) the four aspects of *Liqujing* 10's (T.243:785b21-26) teachings on wrath to the angry forms of the four Buddha Families: entering into the *samādhi* of Trailokyavijaya of the Vajra Family subdues Māra of Paranirmīta-vaśavartin; entry into the *samādhi* of Kuṇḍalī, the wrathful form of the Ratna Family subdues Maheśvara; the *samādhi* of Hayagrīva, the Dharma Family's wrathful form, subdues Brahmā; and entering the *samādhi* of Ucchuṣma, the Karma Family's wrathful form, subdues Nārāyaṇa, the Hindu god Viṣṇu. The mandala prescribed for the practice on wrath in this stage (T.1003:615a19-27) includes the Hindu gods who are subjugated by this wrathful Bodhisattva.

As in *Liqushi* 3, this theme of battle occurs on two levels. One level is that of the Buddhist deities' conquest and conversion of the Hindu gods. Once converted, the Hindu gods were consigned to specific heavens of the Buddhist cosmology over which they rule. The second level is the practitioner's internal battle. Very early in Buddhism the heavens of the realms of desire, form and formlessness came to be considered levels of meditation that the practitioner must pass through in the process of detaching himself from his defilements. The practitioner conquers and thus transcends his inner obstacles, symbolized by the Hindu gods and their heavens, that prevent enlightenment. See Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 292-295 and W. Randolph Kloetzli, *Buddhist Cosmology. Science and Theology in the Images of Motion and Light* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1989), pp. 29-30.

⁶⁰ As I have mentioned earlier in this study's Introduction, a problem in Japanese scholarship has been whether Amoghavajra's citations in the *Liqushi* indicate *one* extended text, or a *number of different* extended texts, and whether the extended work(s) belongs to the textual lineage of the *Liqujing* or that of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Fukuda, for example, identifies one text, the *Paramādi [tantra]* 勝初瑜伽經 (see Fukuda's "*Shōshoyugakyō to Śrī-paramādi-tantra*" [勝初瑜伽經] と *Śrī-paramādi-tantra*, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 33-53; "Kongōsatta gikirui no kōsatsu" 金剛薩埵儀軌類の考察, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 54-67; "*Rishukyō mandara ni tsuite – tokuni Gohimitsu mandara wo chūshin ni*" 「理趣經」 マンダラ – 特に五秘密マンダラを中心に, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 425-430) as the source for all Amoghavajra's references to an extended work in his *Liqushi*. My problem with Fukuda's research is that he has not investigated the context of each of the seven citations he gives (see below endnote 61). Further, Fukuda does not discuss the *Liqushi* or *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* and their relationship to the Third and Thirteenth Assemblies.

Tanaka Yūbun, on the other hand, demonstrates ("Fukū shoden no *Kongōchō yugakyō ni tsuite*" (5) – "*Rishushaku seiritsu jijō kanken*," *Chizan gakuho*, vol. 41, pp. 78-82) that it is difficult to find one source for Amoghavajra's references to "extended" works. He concludes that the references do not indicate Faxian's translation (called the Extended *Liqujing*, T.244), as has formerly been indicated in Japanese scholarship.

In short, this text should be studied separately from the historical development of the various versions of the *Liqujing*.

⁶¹ There are nine references; see Appendix C, second bullet, numbers 1-9.

Fukuda Ryōsei ("*Shōshoyugakyō to Śrī-paramādi-tantra*," *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 33-53, esp. p. 35 and footnotes 11-13 on pp. 50-51; "Kongōsatta gikirui no kōsatsu," *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 54-67, esp. 55-56 and footnotes 23-29 on pp. 64-65; "*Rishukyō mandara ni tsuite – tokuni Gohimitsu mandara wo chūshin ni*," *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 425-430, esp. p. 425 and footnote 1 on p. 429), Tanaka Yūbun ("Fukū shoden no *Kongōchō yugakyō ni tsuite* (5) – *Rishushaku seiritsu jijō kanken*," *Chizan gakuho*, vol. 41(1992), pp. 73-85, esp. pp. 78-79) and Ian Astley-Kristensen (*The Rishukūō*, p. 21, footnote 88) give a list of references to "extended" works. There are differences between my list and those of these scholars. Fukuda records seven examples; he does not include my numbers 3 and 5, which do not have the characters 經 and 本. Tanaka's chart (ibid, pp. 78-79) has three more examples than I give because he includes references to "yoga teachings" 瑜伽教中. However, because this reference does not have the character "extended" 廣, I have included these references to yoga teachings under a third bullet in Appendix C, that is "references to forms of deities in unnamed [yoga] ritual manuals." Astley-Kristensen also records nine examples of "extended" works. He does not

include my number 5 but has instead a listing for *T.1003:616c15* 廣釋. I, however, read this passage differently and so do not consider this a reference to an “extended explanation.”

⁶² See Appendix C, second bullet, number 1, *Liqushi* 3 Trailokyavijaya (*T.1003:611c10-11*); and number 2 *Liqushi* 3 Trailokyavijaya (*T.1003:612a3-9*).

⁶³ See Appendix C, second bullet, number 3, *Liqushi* 4 Avalokiteśvara (*T.1003:612b10-15*); and number 4 *Liqushi* 4 Avalokiteśvara (*T.1003:612b27-c2*).

⁶⁴ See Appendix C, second bullet, number 5, *Liqushi* 6 Vajramuṣṭi (*T.1003:613a24-29*).

⁶⁵ See *T.865:209c16-210a17*, esp. 210a13-14. This is the adamantine name that Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha received when consecrated by All the Tathāgatas.

⁶⁶ *T.869:286b9-16*. See also Iyanaga’s translation and notes, “Récits de la Soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya - d’après les Sources Chinoises et Japonaises,” pp. 663-664, and Giebel’s translation and notes, “The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch’ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation,” pp. 170-172.

⁶⁷ The first manual is published in *T.20.1040*. See its listing in the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T.55.2157:880c15-16*). For the second work, see *T.2120:839b5* and *T.2157:879b8-9*. It is published in *T.20.1171*.

⁶⁸ The correspondences between these two ritual manuals and Amoghavajra’s description of the contents of the Fourth Assembly are numerous. In *T.1040*, for instance, the following points concur. Avalokiteśvara explains (1) his fundamental mantra 心眞言 that is found in the Assembly of the King of the Rites [given] in the Kalpa for the Conqueror of the Three Worlds 降三世儀軌法王會 (30c22-29); (2) his great mandala (31a3-9), as well as lotus (that is, *dharma*) mandala (31b4-7), symbolic mandala (31b8-11) and action mandala (31b12-13); (3) rites that the master performs within these mandalas (31a10-b3), for example rites whereby the master invites Avalokiteśvara into the sacred site (31a18-22) and rites whereby he draws his disciples into the mandala and bestows upon them special teachings (31a22-b3). Further, (4) rites of accomplishment (31b13-c15) are given. Finally, (5) an appended Chapter (*uttaratantra*) on Seals 印品 (31c16-32a13) describes various hand gestures (31c16-24), prohibitory precepts (32a1-5) and hand gestures for the four Inner Offering Bodhisattvas (32a6-13).

An example of a connection between the *Liqushi* and the *Jingangding Jiangsanshi dayigui fawang jiao* and so the Fourth Assembly occurs in *Liqushi* 4 (*T.1003:612b10-11*). Here Amoghavajra prescribes a visualization of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara sitting in the center of an eight-petalled lotus and surrounded by eight Buddhas 八佛 who sit on the eight petals. This iconography constitutes that of the great mandala that Avalokiteśvara describes (*T.1040:31a3-9*, esp. a6-8) in the *Jingangding Jiangsanshi dayigui fawang jiao*. (The same iconography appears in Amoghavajra’s translation of a manual for a rite centered on Amitāyus; *T.930:71a10-17*, esp. 16-17.) This iconography is repeated again in the *Jingangding Jiangsanshi dayigui fawang jiao* for the focal image of a rite of accomplishment (*T.1040:31b13-20*, esp. 14-15), wherein the practitioner, after having drawn Avalokiteśvara’s image on silk, entered into meditative concentration before this image and chanted this Bodhisattva’s special mantra, becomes Avalokiteśvara, and so views the world of utmost bliss 極樂世界. The iconography of this image is identical to that of the *Liqushi* 4’s visualization and the great mandala that Avalokiteśvara prescribes in the *Jingangding Jiangsanshi dayigui fawang jiao*: Avalokiteśvara sits on the summit of Sumeru, the site of the Fourth Assembly, and eight Buddhas surround him.

In *T.1171*, the following points agree with those in the Fourth Assembly. Mañjuśrī explains (1) his five-letter *dhāraṇī* 本五字陀羅尼 (705a10-18); (2) his great mandala (705a19-25), wherein he stipulates a youthful figure of Mañjuśrī with his hair done up in five topknots, who holds in his right hand an adamantine sword and in his left a Sanskrit text; symbolic 契印 mandala (705b11-13); seed letter 三摩耶 (*samaya* [but perhaps a mistake for *samādhi*, or *samāpanna*, because the seed letters of the deities are depicted]) mandala (705b14-17); and action mandala (705b18-20); (3) rites whereby the master draws the disciples into the mandala (705a27-29); (4) and rites of accomplishment and their boons (705b21-c6).

See Sakai Shirō, “*Kongōchō Gōzanze daigiki hōkyōchū Kanjizai bosatsu shinshingon issai nyorai renga daimandara bon ni tsuite*,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 12 (1950), pp. 16-22, wherein he gives the Tibetan version of this

chapter, showing that its contents closely correspond to those of *T.1040*, and his “*Monju bosatsu no goji juhō ni tsuite*,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 81 (1951), pp. 28-37.

⁶⁹ This work is published in 東北 482. See Sakai, “*Kongōchō Gōzanze daigiki hōōkyōchū Kanjizai bosatsu shinshingon issai nyorai renga daimandara bon ni tsuite*,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 12, pp. 16-22, esp. p. 16, p. 17 footnote 2, where he states that the contents of this text correspond to Amoghavajra’s description of the Fourth Assembly in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*.

⁷⁰ Kawashima Takeshi (“*Trailokyavijaya mahākalparāja no kenkyū — mūlatantra o chūshin ni shite*,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究, vol. 37, No. 2 (1989), pp. 828-826, esp. pp. 828-7) presents the contents of the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja*. This work is divided into root manual 根本儀軌 and appendix (*uttaratantra*, 外編儀軌). The root manual has much in common with the structure of the *Liqujing* and explanations given in the *Liqushi*. It contains chapters on (1) Vajrahūmkara, (2) Tathāgata, (3) Vajrapāṇi, (4) Avalokiteśvara, (5) Ākāśagarbha, (6) Vajramuṣṭi, (7) Mañjuśrī, (8) Vajracakra, (9) Gaganagañja, (10) Maitreya, (11) and the five types of gods. In *Liqushi* 8 (*T.1003:614a14-17, 18-20* and *T.243:785b7-8*) Bodhisattva Sahacittopādita-dharma-cakra-pravartin takes the form of Vajracakra and in *Liqushi* 10 (615a1-3) Bodhisattva Sarvamāra-pramardin is said to be a transformation of Maitreya.

The systematic order of the *Liqushi* and the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* is difficult to establish with certainty. The opinions of the scholars who have studied these works are also divided. Sakai Shinten concludes that the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* corresponds to the Fourth Assembly and that it was the precursor of the *Liqujing*. See Sakai, *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 12, p. 87 and “*Kongōchōgyō no daijusan e ni tsuite*,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 32, p. 39. Sakai’s criteria for dating the order of the Assemblies are based on the Five Mysteries Mandala and the concept of Great Bliss 大樂 (*mahāsukha*) that are found in the Third, Fourth, Sixth and Thirteenth Assemblies. Because the Five Mysteries Mandala is explained in the Third Assembly, again in the Fourth Assembly, where it is called the Great Wheel Mandala 大輪曼荼羅, and then both in the *Liqujing* and in Amoghavajra’s *Liqushi*, Sakai gives the order of development of the texts as the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* first, then the *Liqujing*, and finally the Thirteenth Assembly. Moreover, Sakai dates the Thirteenth Assembly after the composition of the *Liqujing*, which, he says, is the origin of the concept of Great Bliss and which corresponds to the Sixth Assembly of the corpus of Eighteen Assemblies.

Kawashima Takeshi, on the other hand, argues for a two-way influence between the two texts. Kawashima states that Amoghavajra wrote the *Liqushi* knowing the composition of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* and that the content of his *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* also influenced that of the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja*. He lists five points concerning the *Trailokyavijaya mahākalpa-rāja*: (a) its composition resembles the *Liqujing*; (b) it has descriptions that are common to the *Liqushi*; (c) it describes a Five Mysteries Mandala; (d) it explains the four types of mandalas and has points in common with the Sanskrit *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*’s Chapter on Trailokyavijaya (眞實攝經降三世品); and (e) partial translations (*T.1040, 1172, 1173*) by Amoghavajra exist. See *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, pp. 828-826, esp. 827. Moreover, he states (ibid, p. 828) that in the Tibetan Canon the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* is listed as the explanatory tantra 積儀軌 (*vyākyaṅtantra*) on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*’s Chapter of Trailokyavijaya.

⁷¹ Kawashima shows (“*Trailokyavijaya mahākalparāja no kenkyū — mūlatantra o chūshin ni shite*,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 37, No. 2, p. 828) that the first chapter of the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja* focuses on Vajrahūmkara’s subjugation of Maheśvara and the worldly gods, and the theme of its eleventh chapter is Maheśvara and the twenty-five gods.

⁷² According to Amoghavajra’s description of the Fourth Assembly in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T.869:286b9-16*), information about the subjugation and conversion of the Hindu gods and their initiation into Buddhist mandalas is found in the First Assembly.

In *Liqushi* 3 (*T.1003:611b9-21*; for a translation and discussion of this passage, see Chapter One), Amoghavajra provides a summary of the drama of subjugation of Hindu gods that occurs in the First Assembly’s Chapter on Trailokyavijaya. Amoghavajra also records this drama in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T.869:285a15- 27*; see Chapter One). The *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* continues (*T.869:285b7-22*), presenting rites of subjugation and the six mandalas of the Vajra Family.

⁷³ Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* provides the following description (T.869:286a26-29) of the content of the Second Assembly:

Next, the Second Assembly is explained. This Assembly is called the *Yiqie rulai bimi wang yuqie* 一切如來祕密王瑜伽 (Yoga of the King of Secrets of All the Tathāgatas), and it is expounded in the Akaniṣṭha, the highest Heaven of the realm of form 色究竟天. [This Assembly] consists of four main chapters [in which] the subtle principle of reality is explained in detail, and also the subjugation of Maheśvara is extensively explained. [Further,] the god Maheśvara responds in verse to Bodhisattva Vajra[sattva]'s questions.

See also Iyanaga's translation and notes, "Récits de la Soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya - d'après les Sources Chinoises et Japonaises," p. 663, and Giebel's translation and notes, "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation," pp. 165-167.

Sakai ("Kongōchō no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 121, 127-128) has shown that the themes of this Second Assembly, which Amoghavajra describes in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, can be found in the second half of the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* (Tantra on the Extensive Secret Yoga of the Adamantine Crown), the explanatory tantra on the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*), which was discussed above. This second part, titled *Yiqie rulai bimi yintuoluo gui* 一切如來祕密因陀羅軌 (reconstructed Skt. *Sarvatathāgata-guhyendra tantra*, Tantra on the Secret Sovereign of All the Tathāgatas), consists of four chapters and three of them contain explanatory information about the First Assembly's Chapter on Trailokyavijaya. For example, chapter two of the *Yiqie rulai bimi yintuoluo gui*, called the Explanatory Chapter titled The Family of All the Tathāgatas' Secret Sovereign [from the] Scripture of All the Tathāgatas 一切如來の經祕密帝王一切如來族と名づくる釋品, presents explanations about the *samaya*, *dharma* and *karma* mandalas expounded in the First Assembly's Chapter of the Adamantine Realm, and ends with an explanation of a visualization practice on *Hūṃ Kāra* (Trailokyavijaya) 吽迦羅觀修行. Also, in chapter three of *Yiqie rulai bimi yintuoluo gui*, the Explanatory Chapter titled Conqueror of the Three Worlds 降三世と名づくりの釋品, such topics as the subjugation of the gods, the exchange between Vajrasattva and the gods, the gods' mantras and the Great Mandala of the Wrath of the Vajra Family are explained. Sakurai ("Vajraśekharatantra no ikkōsatsu," *Chizan gakuho*, vol. 35, p. 38, endnote 14 on pp. 47-8) notes, however, that the theme of the subjugation of the gods in this third chapter differs distinctly from that given in the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*) and the Fourth Assembly (*Trailokyavijaya-mahākālpa-rāja*). Here Trailokyavijaya subjugates the deities by using his family members and bodies that emanate from his own body 自分の分身, whereas in the other two works Trailokyavijaya does the job himself.

⁷⁴ See Appendix C, second bullet, number 3, *Liqushi* 4 Avalokiteśvara (T.1003:612b11-15) states as follows: Another time imagine the letter *hūṃ* on another's body and [that] it becomes a five-pronged vajra. In its center, where it is grasped, imagine the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, and [then imagine that] the two bodies, [that of] your own vajra and [that of] the lotus, unite 以自金剛與彼蓮華二體和合, becoming meditation and wisdom 定慧 [two of the six *pāramitās*]. Thus, there is in the Extended Chapter of the Yoga 瑜伽廣品 a secret meaning which explains that [when] the two roots [sexual organs of a man and women] unite 二根交會, the five tainted objects [of the sense-fields of body, speech, smell, taste and touch] 五塵 become [instead] great acts of the buddhas 大佛事.

⁷⁵ See Appendix C, second bullet, number 5, *Liqushi* 6 Vajramuṣṭi (T.1003:613a24-29) goes as follows: [The *Liqijing*'s teaching that] "Forming the adamantine seal of All the Tathāgatas accomplishes the supreme achievements of All the Tathāgatas's functions of body, speech and mind" [means that] because the yoga practitioner attains the *samādhi* of Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi 金剛拳, he can successfully accomplish the practices of the three mysteries [that are explained] in all the teachings on mantras. For this reason, it is explained in the Extended Yoga 廣瑜伽中說 that the union of adamantine [states of] body, speech and mind is termed "fist" 拳 (*muṣṭi*). The bindings 縛 (*bandha*) [of the seals] of All the Tathāgatas are "adamantine fists" 金剛拳.

For instance, scholars give more than one source for Amoghavajra's reference to an extended work in examples at second bullet, number 3, the secret meaning of the union of "the two roots", and number 5, "the

adamantine union of body, speech and mind” given above. Sakai (“*Kongōchō* no daisan e ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 126-7) refers to passages about the “secret meaning of the union of the two roots” in the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*. The first passage is found in the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* (Collection of All Teachings)’s third chapter, called Explanatory Chapter titled Explanation of the Secret Meaning [concerning] the Great God of Tantra 怛特羅大天の密意釋と名づくる釋品. A second passage containing this “secret meaning of the two roots” appears in the *Sarvatathāgata-guhyendra tantra* (*Yiqie rulai bimi yintuoluo gui*)’s second chapter, called the Explanatory Chapter titled The Family of All the Tathāgatas’ Secret Sovereign [from the] Scripture of All the Tathāgatas. These works, as discussed above, correspond to the Third and Second Assemblies described in Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. Tanaka Yūbun, (“Fukūshoden no *Kongōchō yugakyō* ni tsuite” (5), *Chizan gakuhō*, vol. 41), p. 80, esp. p. 85 endnote 44) shows that this visualization is also found in the Song Dynasty translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (First Assembly).

Kawashima Takeshi (“*Trailokyavijaya mahākalparāja* no kenkyū – mūlatantra o chūshin ni shite,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 37, No. 2, p. 826, note 11) states that Toganoo (*Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 227) gives the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (First Assembly) as a source for second bullet, number 5, “the adamantine union of body, speech and mind is termed fist.” Kawashima (ibid, p. 827) also finds the same explanation for “fist” in the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalpa-rāja*’s Chapter on Vajramuṣṭi (6).

Further, in *Liqushi* 17 (T.1003: 617a4-6, see also Appendix C, second bullet, number 9, the practitioner is told he can investigate details of the Five Mysteries rite in the Extended Scripture:

The practitioner, having received consecration to become a master 阿闍梨灌頂 (*ācārya abhiṣeka*), can practice this rite of the Five Mysteries. The passages concerning the merits and benefits that will be obtained [due to the performance of this rite] are extensive and so I cannot explain them fully [here]. It is better if you can get hold of the Extended Scripture and try to investigate this yourself 所獨福利文廣不可具說。得廣經者自應尋見耳。

As we have seen above, Amoghavajra states in *Liqushi* 16 and 17 that the Five Mysteries mandala is a component of the larger mandala prescribed in the Third of the Eighteen Assemblies on the Yoga of Adamantine Crown. But the Extended Scripture that Amoghavajra refers the practitioner to in the example at second bullet, number 9 cannot be limited to the Third Assembly. According to his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and his *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*, in the Thirteenth Assembly Bodhisattva Samantabhadra further explains the secret whereby the seventeen figures of the mandala of rapture and infallibility conflate into a pentad of Venerables seated upon a single lotus dais. In sum, a single source for the Five Mysteries rite cannot be specified.

⁷⁶ See T.1003:616c8-10 and T.869:286b1-6. As mentioned already, this mandala is described in the Third of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown that Amoghavajra describes in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, and it correlates to the Tibetan version of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* (Collection of All Teachings).

⁷⁷ T.1003:611b27-c3, 611c27-29, T.243:784c15—8, Sakai, “*Kongōchōkyō* no daisane ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 136-137 and Inui Hitoshi, “*Kongōchō tantora* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1),” *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32 (1997), pp. 1-30, esp. pp. 10-12.

Amoghavajra does not provide iconographic information for the figure of Trailokyavijaya in the *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*’s outline of the First Assembly’s Chapter on Trailokyavijaya. He only records that (T.869:285a20-25) Vajrapāṇi, having entered a meditative concentration of wrath and manifested a great, majestic body (Trailokyavijaya), pinned Maheśvara beneath his leg. Here we learn that Trailokyavijaya assumes a standing pose and treads on Maheśvara.

The Song Dynasty translation of the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*)’s Chapter on Trailokyavijaya (T.882:376c17-22) describes the iconography of this wrathful figure in greater detail. Vajrapāṇi, taking the form of Vajrahūṃkāra/Trailokyavijaya, is blue in color, has slightly protruding fangs, an angry, grimacing face, and tramples on Maheśvara with his left foot and on the breasts of Umā with his right foot. Further, the bodhisattvas of his retinue are wrathful in appearance. (See also Inui, “*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1),” *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kinen*, vol. 9 (1995), pp.13-14 and “*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* no shidaibon to mandara no tokushoku,” *Kōyasan daigaku ronbunshū: Kōyasan daigaku sōritsu hyakujū shūnen kinen*, p. 88.) The iconography of this wrathful Vajrapāṇi/Vajrahūṃkāra/Trailokyavijaya surrounded by four wrathful figures concurs with prescriptions given in both *Liqijing* 3 and *Liqushi* 3. (See also Chapter One, Trailokyavijaya Mandala *Liqushi* Stage 3.) But, according to Inui (“*Shoe Kongōchōkyō* no shidaibon to mandara no tokushoku,” *Kōyasan daigaku ronbunshū*, p. 88 and “*Kongō tantora* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1),” *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, p.

11), this Song Dynasty translation does not describe Vajrahūmkāra/Trailokyavijaya as multi-armed or multi-faced. This suggests that the Sanskrit manuscript used for this Chinese translation belongs to a textual tradition different from the Sanskrit manuscripts that Amoghavajra consulted.

⁷⁸ See Appendix C, second bullet, number 1, *Liqushi* 3 Trailokyavijaya (T.1003:611c10-11).

⁷⁹ See Appendix C, second bullet, number 2, *Liqushi* 3 Trailokyavijaya (T.1003:612a3-9).

⁸⁰ See, for example, T.18.873:301a5-8; T.20.1056:73c18-20, 1124:532a16-18; 1133:575b3-6. All are recorded in the list of translations and compositions (T.2120:839c16, c8, c14) that Amoghavajra presented the Chinese Emperor in 771.

⁸¹ T.1133:575a20, in-text title.

⁸² T.1056:72, title, and see in-text 72a10 依瑜伽金剛頂經.

⁸³ There are four such examples in the *Liqushi*. See Appendix C., third bullet, numbers 1 -4.

⁸⁴ *Liqushi* 4 (T.1003:612a28-b5, Appendix C, third bullet, number 2, prescribes for the Mandala of Avalokiteśvara: [If] the practitioner maintains the heart mantra of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and [if] he seeks to accomplish [this scripture's] guiding principle of insight, he must construct [its] mandala. In the center draw Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, [making him] just like his fundamental ritual form 本儀形. In front of him install Vajradharma, at his right install Vajratikṣṇa, at his left Vajrahetu, and behind him install Vajrabhāṣa. In each of the four inner and outer corners install the Four Inner and Outer Offering [Bodhisattvas]. In the east gate depict the form of a goddess (*deva*). She represents desire. In the south gate draw the form of a snake, who represents hatred. In the west gate draw a boar who represents the form of delusion. In the north gate draw a lotus flower, which represents the form of *nirvāṇa*.

⁸⁵ *Liqushi* 5 (T.1003:612c17-23, Appendix C, third bullet, number 3, stipulates for the Mandala of Ākāśagarbha: Because the practitioner will perform a meditative concentration on Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha he must construct the fundamental mandala of this Bodhisattva. In the center of this mandala draw Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha in his fundamental form 本形. In front of him draw Vajraratna, to his right draw Vajrateja, to his left draw Vajrahetu and behind him draw Vajrahāsa. In the four corners of the inner and outer courts [of this mandala] arrange the four Inner and Outer Offering [Bodhisattvas], respectively. They [too] are [drawn] in their fundamental forms 本形. In the eastern gate place a vajra, in the southern gate a jewel, in the western gate a lotus and in the northern gate a bell.

⁸⁶ See T.869:285c8-10:

Next I will explain the Chapter on Universal Submission... The great mandala has thirty-seven [figures]. All are transformations of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. 次說遍調伏大品。。。第一大曼荼羅。具三十七。皆觀自在菩薩變現。

And see T.869:286a3, 20-21:

Next, I will explain the Great Chapter of the Accomplishment of All Objectives... All [in the mandalas described above] are, namely, the transformations of Ākāśagarbha, [himself a manifestation of] that Revered One who holds the Vajra. 次說一切義成就大品中。。。皆是則彼婆伽梵執金剛虛空藏變化。

Directives in these chapters of the First Assembly prescribe the same type of figural grouping that is seen in the Mandala of Trailokyavijaya in *Liqushi* 3, where Vajrasattva/Trailokyavijaya is surrounded by the four main bodhisattvas of the wrathful Vajra Family.

⁸⁷ T.1003:611a1-2.

⁸⁸ That is, the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*)’s first Chapter on the Adamantine Realm.

The practitioner must learn to contemplate the equality of all elements of reality, which are inherently pure in nature. This is the teaching of *Liqujing* 4 (T.243:784c19-20), and it is expounded by the Tathāgata who has attained the original state wherein self-nature is innately pure 得自性清淨法性如來. *Liqushi* 4 states (T.1003:612a11) that this Tathāgata is none other than Tathāgata Avalokiteśvara-rāja 觀自在王如來 (King of Self-Mastery of Vision). This Buddha is so named in Amoghavajra’s *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865:208b5) and its commentary (T.870:288b18-19, 291a14-15). Further, the *Liqushi* explains (T.1003:612a10-13) that this Buddha takes the form of Tathāgata Amitāyus 無量壽如來 when dwelling in his Pure Land, and that of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara when dwelling in our defiled world during the time of the five pollutions 雜染五濁世界.

In the *Liqushi* each line of the *Liqujing*’s teaching is assigned to one of the four bodhisattvas of the retinue of Tathāgata Avalokiteśvara-rāja. They are (T.1003:612a16-22) Vajradharma, Vajratikṣṇa, Vajrahetu 金剛因 and Vajrabhāṣa 金剛語.

⁸⁹ T.865:211a9-b9 and Chapter One. The *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865) further clarifies Avalokiteśvara/Vajradharma’s iconography in its section on the action seals 羯摩印 for the figures who appear in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, stating (T.865:222a7) that Avalokiteśvara/Vajradharma holds a lotus in his left hand and with his right hand forms the action of opening its petals.

⁹⁰ See the section on mudrās and mantras (T.18.873:305b12) for the deities of the Action Assembly 羯摩會 in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*, a manual for the performance of the rite of the adamantine realm, as well as ritual manuals for Avalokiteśvara in his transformations as Sahasrabhuja-Ārya-Avalokiteśvara (T.20.1032:7b17-19, esp.19; T.20.1056:74a9-11, esp. 10), as Ekādaśamukha (T.20.1069:143b27-29) and for his parent Buddha Tathāgata Amitāyus (T.19.930:71a10-15, esp. 13-14). All are listed in the memorial of 771 (T.2120:839c7, c22, c8, b12, c9, respectively).

Moreover, Amoghavajra’s ritual manuals for rites of Avalokiteśvara that do not belong to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* lineage, for instance, the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* 觀自在菩薩真言觀行儀軌 and *Guanzizai pusa zuisheng mingwang xinjing* 觀自在菩薩最勝明王心經, prescribe (T.20.1031:5a23-28, esp. a26-27, T.20.1033:14c21-2) that Avalokiteśvara hold a lotus in his left hand and open its petals with his right hand. Both manuals are recorded (T.2120:839c23, b4) in Amoghavajra’s list of translations and compositions presented to the Chinese Emperor.

In the Daigoji mandala (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 780, No. 5) the central figure of Avalokiteśvara holds a long-stemmed lotus in his left hand but his right hand does not form the gesture of opening its petals. The Ishiyamadera mandala (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 12, 3239, p. 959, No. 6) focuses upon a pentad configuration composed of a Bodhisattva cum Buddha and the four main members of Tathāgata Avalokiteśvara-rāja’s family. There are correspondences between the iconography of this mandala and *Liqushi* 4’s prescriptions, as well as the texts (T.865 and 870) that constitute the source of the *Liqujing*’s teachings and the *Liqushi*’s explanations. The first obvious correspondence is the name of the central figure, who is labeled Vajra Īśvara 金剛自在. The term *Īśvara* 自在, the ability to master something and so become sovereign (Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 171), signifies the ontological and soteriological essence of both Tathāgata Avalokiteśvara-rāja and Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara that is expounded in *Liqushi* 4, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865:211a9-b9) and its commentary (T.870:289b9-15, 291b6-7). A second correspondence is the epithet “Adamantine” 金剛 (*Vajra*) that precedes all the names of the mandala’s figures. This points to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865) wherein the names of all the figures in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm are prefixed with this term.

⁹¹ T.1003:610c28-29. This iconography does not correspond at all to that of the central figure of Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha in the Daigoji’s Mandala of the Guiding Assembly of Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏理趣會 (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 781, No. 6). This figure holds a flaming sword in his right hand and a long-stemmed lotus in his left hand. The mandala has been damaged and it is impossible to tell if there would have been a gem on top of the lotus flower. For instance, in the Daigoji’s Mandala of the Guiding Assembly of Venerable Mahāvairocana (fig. 3, T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 778, No. 3) Ākāśagarbha holds a flaming sword in his left hand and a long-stemmed lotus topped with flaming jewels in his right hand.

⁹² T.1003:612c8-13. These Bodhisattvas are Vajraratna 金剛寶, Vajrateja 金剛光, Vajraketu 金剛幢, Vajrahāsa 金剛笑.

⁹³ The passage wherein Vairocana/Vajradhara generates Bodhisattva Ākāśagarba for this Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm elucidates the particulars of this Bodhisattva's nature and function. While in a special meditative concentration associated with the pledge of Bodhisattva Ākāśagarba, Vairocana emits from his heart the mantra *vajraratna* (adamantine gem). Then, due to empowerment of All the Tathāgatas, the entire realm of empty space enters the heart of Vairocana and, becoming a repository of a realm composed of vast empty space, produces the form of a great adamantine gem. From this gem appears innumerable figures of Tathāgatas who, after performing the consecration of All the Tathāgatas in all the world systems, combine and become the figure of Bodhisattva Ākāśagarba. In a second concentration Vairocana places this adamantine gem in Ākāśagarba's hands and confers upon him consecration in the form of the adamantine gem. All the Tathāgatas then consecrate him with the adamantine name of Vajragarbha (Adamantine Repository). Having been consecrated by All the Tathāgatas, Bodhisattva Vajragarbha extols the adamantine gem that has been placed in his hands, saying that it is used by the Buddhas to consecrate the realms of sentient beings. See T.865:209c16-210a17 and an English translation in Giebel, *Two Esoteric Texts*, pp. 32-4.

⁹⁴ In Amoghavajra's reference source, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865), Tathāgata Mahāvairocana is described as having been consecrated with the great gem of Ākāśagarba (T.865:208a29-b1) and, further, that he has obtained the consecration of All the Tathāgatas' great gem, which was born from empty space (T.865:208b10-1).

⁹⁵ The *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865) does not give details of the anthropomorphic forms of Tathāgata Ratnasambhava's family for the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. However, from descriptions of Vairocana's generation of these bodhisattvas for this Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, and from the prescriptions for their representations in the seed letter, symbolic and action (*dharma*-, *samaya*- and *katsuma*-) mandalas in the section on the Four Seals, we can assume that Ākāśagarba/Vajraratna would hold a gem as his emblem, Vajrateja would hold a solar disc, Vajraketu a gemmed banner and Vajrahāsa a smile. See T.865:207b20, 221a8-12, b6-10.

⁹⁶ *Daxukongzang pusa niansong fa* 大虛空藏菩薩念誦法 is published in T.20.1146. See T.1146:603a14-15: 我今依瑜伽金剛頂經說寶部虛空藏菩薩真言教法. This manual is listed in Amoghavajra's 771 memorial (T.2120:839c21).

⁹⁷ T.1146:604a25-28.

⁹⁸ T.1146:604b4-6. The iconography of Bodhisattva Ākāśagarba is provided in a second ritual manual that its author states has been extracted from the First Assembly's fourth Chapter on the Accomplishment of All Objectives (T.20.1145:601c11: 出金剛頂經成就一切義品. This manual, attributed to Śubhakarasiṃha (see *Buśho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol.3. p. 240), directs (T.1145:602a3-6) that Bodhisattva Ākāśagarba holds in his left hand a lotus topped with the wish-granting gem and forms with his right hand the gesture of granting all wishes.

In another ritual manual translated by Amoghavajra, but which cannot be directly linked to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865) ritual lineage, Bodhisattva Ākāśagarba appears holding the gem in his left hand and forming with his right the hand gesture of granting wishes. See, for example, *Ba dapusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼陀羅經 (T.20.1167:675b23-26, which is listed (T.2120:839c1) in Amoghavajra's 771 memorial.

⁹⁹ In the mandala described in Ch. 2 (T.848:8c25-26) this Bodhisattva's attribute is a sword that produces fiery light and in that described in Ch. 11 (T.848:36a5-7) the emblem of this Bodhisattva is a great sword of wisdom that is placed on a great white lotus flower. In Ch. 8 (T.848:23c16-17) Bodhisattva Ākāśagarba has a sword (*khadga*) in his hand. See Yoritomi (*Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, p. 611), who gives surviving Indian examples of Ākāśagarba with a sword.

¹⁰⁰ *Liqijing* 11 (T.243:783c10-17) summarizes the teachings and practices of the Eight Bodhisattvas expounded in *Liqijing* 3 to 10. In *Liqushi* 11, Chapter on The Conqueror of the Three Worlds (Trailokyavijaya)'s Circle of Instruction and Command (T.1003:615b6-19), Amoghavajra's explanation is also one of summarization. He equates the *Liqijing*'s teachings with the attainments the practitioner has gained by his progress through the four mandalas of the four families. For example, entering into the Great Mandala of the Vajra Family enables the practitioner to awaken

to the fact that “all sentient beings possess an indestructible, adamantine buddha-nature”; entering into the Lotus Family’s mandala enables him to awaken “to the purity of the Dharma Realm, as pure as the lotus” [which, like the lotus, is not tainted by delusions (*moha*) 如蓮華不染諸惑]. (T.1003:615b9-11, 14-16; See also Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 155-6.) The mandala Amoghavajra delineates in *Liqushi* 11 (T.1003:615b21-c3) graphically depicts this theme of summation. The five types of Indian gods and consorts who appear in this mandala are the same five types of gods who constitute the Outer Vajra Family in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm that is expounded in the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*)’s first Chapter on the Adamantine Realm. Amoghavajra’s *Zhubu tuoluoni mu* (T.903:898c18-22) records that these five types of gods are installed in the outer enclosure of this Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. And, as we have seen, the drama of the subjugation of these gods, their conversion and entry into this mandala is the theme of the First Assembly’s second Chapter on Trailokyavijaya. See Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (T.869:285a15-b6).

However, the story of subjugation of the Hindu gods and their entry into the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm is not only found in the First Assembly’s Chapter on Trailokyavijaya. Maheśvara’s subjugation is, according to Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (T.869:286a26-29), also presented in the Second Assembly. Sakai (“*Kongōchōkyō* no Daisan e ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 121, 127-128) has shown that in the third chapter (Explanatory Chapter titled Conqueror of the Three Realms) of the Tibetan work (*Sarvatathāgata-guhyendra tantra*, Tantra on the Secret Sovereign of All the Tathāgatas), whose content corresponds to Amoghavajra’s description of the Second Assembly, the subjugation of the gods, their mantras and the Vajra Family’s Great Mandala of Wrath are explained. Further, the five types of gods and consorts appear in the outer court of the Mandala of the Five Families, which is expounded in the Third Assembly (Sakai, “*Kongōchōkyō* no daisan e ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, pp. 125, 146, diagram p. 147 and Inui Hitoshi, “*Kongōchō Tantra* shosetsu no mandara ni tsuite (1),” *Koyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32 (Feb. 1997), pp. 1-30, esp. pp. 22-25). Finally, this drama of conquest and conversion has separate chapters in the the Fourth Assembly. Kawashima records (“*Trailokyavijaya mahākālparāja* no kenkyū — mūlatantra o chūshin ni shite,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 37, No. 2, p. 828) that the first chapter of the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākālpa-rāja* focuses on Vajrahūṃkara’s subjugation of Maheśvara and the worldly gods, and the theme of its eleventh chapter is Maheśvara and the twenty-five gods.

¹⁰¹ T.1003:611c11, 612a9 and 612b14 and 28. I discuss Amoghavajra’s recording (T.2120:840a13-14, a15, and 844a21-23) of his travels to India later in Chapter Four.

¹⁰² In *Liqushi* 12, Chapter on the Outer Vajra Assembly (T.1003:615c10-25) Amoghavajra equates the *Liqujing*’s fourfold teachings (T.243:785c10-14) to the Four Buddha Wisdoms 四種智, and by extension, to each Buddha’s main attendant Bodhisattva, that is, Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva, Ākāśagarbha/Vajraratna, Avalokiteśvara/Vajradharma and Viśvakarman/Vajrakarma, respectively. In the *Liqujing* (T.243:785c14-17), those of the Outer Vajra Family, to further clarify the teachings, “raised their voices in joy and expounded the true essence of the adamantine natural existence.” (See Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 157.) For the mandala in *Liqushi* 12 (T.1003:616a3-7, listed in Appendix C, third bullet, number 4), Amoghavajra gives the following directions:

Therefore, in order to pacify those gods who are difficult to control and are transmigrating in the five paths of the wheel of life and death, construct the liberation wheel of the five kinds. Buddha Vairocana, for the sake of gathering and converting the same types of worldly [gods and] beings, explains the mandala of Maheśvara. In the center draw Maheśvara. He is identical to his fundamental form 来形 [footnote has 本形]. The eight gods 八種の天 surround him. Draw the four Offering [Bodhisattvas] and the four Gate [Bodhisattvas] in their fundamental forms 本形.

There is a problem with the iconography of Maheśvara. The critical annotation in the *Taishō* edition states that the Song, Yuan and Ming editions, as well as the copy of this text included in Kūkai’s *Sanjūjō sakushi* 三十帖冊子 contain the character “fundamental” 本, rather than the character 來. Is he, then, to have a tathāgata-like form 如来形, which he acquires in the drama recorded in, for example, the First Assembly’s Chapter on Trailokyavijaya (T.869:285a15-27, esp. a23-25), or is he to be depicted in the form prescribed in his fundamental ritual manual, which is not named? Toganoo (*Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 334), as does *Kokuyaku mikkyō*, vol. 4, p. 480, translate this phrase as “fundamental form”, and Astley-Kristensen, (*The Rishukyō*, p. 158) has “a Tathāgata form”. Neither scholar refers to this textual problem.

The Extended Chinese version of the *Liqujing* (T.8.244:796a25) does not describe the figure of Maheśvara either, but instructs the practitioner to draw his figure according to the rules 法.

¹⁰³ See Amoghavajra's references to an "extended" text in Appendix C, second bullet, numbers 6, 7 and 8.

The Stages of the Seven Mothers, the Three Brothers and the Four Sisters are not in every version of the *Liqujing*. In addition to Amoghavajra's translation (T.243), these Stages are found in the Chinese Extended Version (T.8.244), as well as in the Tibetan Extended and Abbreviated Versions (see Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 336). However, as Toganoo's research shows (ibid, pp. 339-341, 347-350, 356-358), the iconography for these figures stipulated in the Tibetan and Song Dynasty Extended Versions differs from the very brief directions that Amoghavajra gives in his *Liqushi*. There is, on the other hand, information in his *Liqujing* and *Liqushi* that links these Stages and their mandalas of the Indian gods to the lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

One example that points to Amoghavajra's source is the offerings made by these Indian gods and goddesses. In the *Liqujing* (T.243:785c18-19, 21-22, 24-25) the Seven Mothers, Three Brothers and the Four Sisters offered their heart mantra 自心眞言 to the Buddha. For instance, the seven mothers all offered the Buddha "the essence of the mantra of their pledge [whereby they] summon [with a] hook, draw in, can kill and can accomplish" 獻鉤召攝入能殺能成三摩耶眞言心. The First Assembly's Chapter on Trailokyavijaya expounds mandalas of instruction and command 教勅曼荼羅 and their associated rituals and rules that center on the subjugated Hindu gods, who have become members of the Vajra Family. These gods and their consorts perform the same act of offering their mantras to the buddhas. Amoghavajra's describes these acts in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (T.869:285b22-c8). The passage (T.896:285b27-29) on the Symbolic Mandala of Instruction and Command 教勅三昧耶曼荼羅 goes as follows:

Then, second, the Symbolic Mandala of Instruction and Command is explained. Each god and his consort offer their fundamental mantra. [Next], Buddha explains to [these gods] this mandala, which possesses thirty-seven [figures]. [Also Buddha] explains to the disciples the rites for mastering the yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs and elucidates in detail various ritual prescriptions.

(See also Giebel's translation and notes in "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yu-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation," *Naritan sanbukkō kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 18, pp. 150-154, esp. p. 152). And, as we have noted, the Tibetan works that correspond to the Second and Fourth Assemblies also contain chapters on the Hindu gods.

Further, Amoghavajra's provides in *Liqushi* 13, 14 and 15 numerous clues to his reference system. Here we will focus on the Stage of the Seven Mothers. There is in *Liqushi* 13 more explicit commentary about the offering made by the Seven Mothers and this clarification points to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865) as his source. He states (T.1003:616a13-15) that the "hook [for] summoning" 鉤召 is the seal of the adamantine hook 金剛鉤印 with which one "can summon all types of sentient beings, for instance all two-legged beings and many-legged beings." The "[act of] drawing in" 攝入 is the formation of the seal of the adamantine rope 金剛索印 whereby one "pulls sentient beings into the mandala and so draws them into the Buddhist path." These acts of "summoning and drawing in" are the functions of two of the Gathering Bodhisattvas 攝菩薩, who appear in the gates of the First Assembly's Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, as well as in the Third Assembly's Mandala of the Five Families, for example. (See Sakai, "Kongōchō no daisan e ni suite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71, diagram on p. 147 and Inui, "Kongōchō tantora shosetsu no mandara ni suite (1)," *Kōyasan daigaku ronsō*, vol. 32, p. 22, p. 25.)

There are variations in both the numbers and names of the mother goddesses (*mātrkā*s) in the Indian tradition, who came to represent the endowed energies (*śaktis*) of such Hindu gods as Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu, to name but a few. Therefore, in the Indian tradition the iconography of each mother is distinct, being characterized by the form, attributes and mount of her male counterpart. See, for example, Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 336-338 and Katherine Anne Harper, "The Warring Śaktis: A Paradigm for Gupta Conquests," *The Roots of Tantra*, Katherine Anne Harper, Robert L. Brown, eds. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), pp. 115-131, esp. pp. 115-121.) The *Devī Māhātmya*, dated between 400 and 600 C.E., is one of the first texts to specify the names and natures of the Seven Mothers, and this work includes Brahmānī in this group of seven (Harper, ibid, p. 117).

In the *Liqushi* (T.1003:616a27-8) Amoghavajra adds Brahmānī to the group of Seven Mothers in order to symbolize, he says, the Eight Offering Bodhisattvas 表八供養菩薩, deities present in both the First Assembly's Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and the Third Assembly's Mandala of the Five Families.

¹⁰⁴ See Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biao zhiji* (T.52.2120). I have consulted Osabe Kazuo's *Daisōchō zō Shikū Daibenshō Kōchi sanzō wajō hyōseishū* 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集, *Gokyūbu* 護教部, *Kokuyaku Issaikyō* 國譯一切經 (Tokyo: Daito shuppansha), vol. 98, pp. 476-604 and Raffaello Orlando, *A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch*

Amoghavajra (A.D. 705-774), (Ph.D. Princeton University, 1981), pp. XI-XII for a description of the contents in this official collection.

¹⁰⁵ See Robert H. Scharf, “Esoteric Buddhism in China” (Appendix 1), *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism. A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002) pp. 263-344, who, in questioning the historical status of Chinese Tantra or Vajrayāna, initiated a dialogue concerning the problems of scholars’ definitions and characteristics of an independent school of Esoteric, or Tantric, Buddhism in Tang China during the time of Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. Scharf argues (ibid, p. 268) there is no evidence that Chinese monks regarded the practices of these masters as other than a “state of the art” of Indian Buddhist ritual technology that was still within the perimeters of Mahāyāna. Moreover, he locates (pp. 269-273) the origins of the “Esoteric Teaching” with the tenth-century monk Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001), who used the terms “Wheel of Instruction and Command” 教令輪 and the “Great Doctrine of Yoga” 瑜伽大教 to describe the tradition of Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra and their descendants.

Two excellent responses to Sharf’s essay are Charles Orzech, The “Great Teaching of Yoga,” the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism, *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34 (2006), pp. 29-78, and Hendrik Sørensen, “On Esoteric Buddhism in China: A Working Definition,” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 155-175. The core of Orzech’s study is his examination of the context and significance of the terminology used by the Tang monks Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra and his immediate disciples, and the Song monk Zanning. He establishes (pp. 45-57) that Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, not Zanning, introduced the term “Great Doctrine of Yoga” to characterize their newly imported tradition of ritual practices, and that Amoghavajra coined the term “Wheel of Instruction and Command” (pp. 62-68) to demonstrate to his Chinese patrons the power wielded by the wrathful manifestations (*vidyārājas*) of bodhisattvas for State protection. Sørensen formulates a working definition of the term “Esoteric Buddhism” by tracing its earlier building-blocks, that of spells, *dhāraṇīs*, and ritual magic, for example, in the Chinese translations of Indic works from the early third through to the early eighth-century arrival of Śubhākarasiṃha with the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its complex, integrated system of rituals, iconography and hermeneutics. While both scholars concur with Scharf’s statement that these Tang masters did not found a school/sect of Buddhism, they argue convincingly that the eighth-century Indian masters did follow and propagate a separate and distinctive path of practice within Mahāyāna.

¹⁰⁶ T.2120:840b1-2.

¹⁰⁷ T.869:287c12 and T.1003:617a29-b1. In the *Liqushi* Amoghavajra explains that the *Liqujing*’s (T.243:786b10) use of the phrase “Adamantine Scripture” 金剛修多羅者 “indicates the methods of the Adamantine Vehicle’s teachings on yoga” 指瑜伽教金剛乘法也.

¹⁰⁸ This path was one Amoghavajra practiced and studied throughout his life. He recounts in this memorial that (T.2120:840a12-13) for some twenty-four years he served as Vajrabodhi’s disciple, receiving from him the “gateway to the yoga methods” 瑜伽法門. Then he describes his journey to India 五天 after Vajrabodhi’s death, where he sought teachings and practices as well as scriptures and commentaries that his master had not transmitted to him. He records (840a13-15) that he collected on this journey “Sanskrit scriptures and commentaries on mantras and yogas, five hundred odd works in all” 梵本瑜伽真言經論五百餘部.

He documents his activities under the three Tang emperors and all had to do with this path of yoga teachings. After his return to Chang’an in the fifth year of Tianbao 天寶五載 (746), Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-756) ordered Amoghavajra (840a16-18) to “erect a ritual arena [for esoteric rites] in the palace” 於內建立道場 and permitted him to translate the works he had brought back from his travels. Under Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756-762) he “set up (840a18-20) in the palace [a ritual arena for] the rites of fire oblations (*homa*) and consecration (*abhiṣeka*)” 於內建立護摩及灌頂法. He also carried out his translation work for the benefit of the state and for promotion of the Imperial Way. See Orlando, *A Study of Chinese Documents*, p. 70. He continued his translation activities and religious propagation (840a20-22, a27-b1) under Daizong (r. 762-779), receiving the order to check his master’s translations for missing words and characters and to translate what had not yet been translated.

See also Orlando, *A Study of Chinese Documents*, pp. 67-71. This memorial is recorded in Yuanzhao’s catalogues T.2156:749c20-750a21 and T.2157:888a11-b11.

¹⁰⁹ Because there is a debate about the authenticity of all of this work, I describe it as a list of translations and compositions.

¹¹⁰ T.2120:840a29-b1.

¹¹¹ T.2120:840b1-5. See also the translations of this passage in Orlando, A Study of Chinese Documents, pp. 69-70, and Orzech, The “Great Teachings of Yoga,” *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, p. 50 and “Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang,” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, p. 282. My translation, for which I have consulted Osabe, Daisōchō zō Shikū Daibenshō Kōchi sanzō wajō hyōseishū, pp. 46-50, esp. p. 50, differs slightly from those by the above scholars, but the key point of this passage is that Amoghavajra regarded the mantras of the yoga teachings to be in a category of their own.

¹¹² Evidence are the works that he translated and his memorials to the Tang Emperors wherein he records the fundamentals of his teachings, his transmission to his most gifted disciples, both monastic and lay, and his legacy to the Emperor and court. I refer to these translations and memorials throughout this section.

¹¹³ Amoghavajra’s *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* presents a formula for attaining enlightenment, which is the last step in the five-stepped process 五相成佛觀 (*pañcākārābhisambodhikrama*) whereby Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi (Prince Siddhārtha) becomes perfectly enlightened. This five-stepped process consists of five mantras chanted in tandem with specific contemplations and visualizations. See T.865:207c10-208a23, T.869:284c23-24 and Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras: The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra*, pp. 23-25. Enlightenment, achieved quickly by means by the manipulation of sounds (mantras) and symbols (lunar disc, vajra in a lunar disk, form of a buddha), does not require the strenuous endeavors 難行 made over the long period of three great incalculable eons that is characteristic of the bodhisattva path in such Mahāyāna scriptures as the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*. See Snellgrove’s *(Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan Successors* (London: Serindia Publications, 1987), pp. 121-120) discussion of this scripture’s method of attaining enlightenment as representative of a new phase in Mahāyāna teachings and practices, and Tsuda’s comparison (“A Critical Tantrism,” *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, vol. 36 (Tokyo: Tokyo Press, 1978) pp. 167-231 and “Vajrayoṣidbhageṣu vijahāra: Historical Survey from the Beginnings to the Culmination of Tantric Buddhism,” *Indological and Buddhist Studies: Volume in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*, (Australian National University, 1982), pp. 595-616, esp. pp. 595-605) of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and their contrasting Tantric and Mahāyānic goals, methods of accomplishment and mandalic representations.

The *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* also teaches the ritual performance of the acts of the four wisdom seals 四智印 (*catur-jñāna-mudrā*, also four seals 四印), that of the hand gesture (*samaya-mudrā*) of the deity, mantras and seed letters (*dharmamudrā*), which express the speech of the deity, and the actions (*karma-mudrā*) the deity. The result is a ritual transformation of the body and mind of the practitioner into its divine equivalent (*mahā-mudrā*), that is, the physical form of the deity as visualized or depicted in mandalas. See T.865:220a9-220c22; 220c23-221b24; 221b24-c23; 221c24-222b18 and Tsuda’s discussion (“A Critical Tantrism,” p. 206-207, “Historical Survey,” p. 603) of the tantric logic of symbolism whereby each symbolic act serves as a substitute for the deity it symbolizes.

The *Liqijing*, another important text in the corpus of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, as we shall see, and its related materials promote the five-stepped process for buddhahood that is expounded in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, as well as its method of union with, or transformation into, the deities in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm by means of the symbolic acts of the four wisdom seals. A comparison of the ritual phases in the manuals for rites for Samantabhadra (T.1123), Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva (T.1124) and the Five Mysteries (T.1125), works that belong to the ritual lineage of the *Liqijing*, with those in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* (T.873), a ritual manual that accompanies Amoghavajra’s *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, reveals that this manual provides the ritual template for the three Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals. There are differences between the four manuals (see Appendix B, Shingon Scholars Analysis of Amoghavajra’s Transmission, pp. 179-181), however, the correspondences of structure, the mudrā-mantra pairs of the ritual phases and the method of visualizing the mandalas in the three *Liqijing*-related manuals demonstrate their affiliation with the ritual lineage of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. In the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manual (T.1124:532b11-c3, T.873:302a13-b29), for instance, the practitioner performs a modified form of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*’s ritual acts of the five-stepped process for attaining enlightenment. The mantras are the same for the four steps of piercing the mind, entering the visualization of the mind of enlightenment, visualizing a five-pronged vajra in the lunar disc of the mind, and

visualizing the body as identical to this five-pronged vajra. The difference is that the mantra for the fifth and final step in the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva manual, where the practitioner is to visualize his own body as identical to that of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, accords with the process of union with Samantabhadra, the focus of this rite.

In the first and last chapters of the *Liqujing* (T.243:784b15-19, 786b1-2), for example, Mahāvairocana states that the practitioner can in this present life “by means of the lives of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas attain the stages of the Tathāgata and the Holder of the Vajra” 以十六大菩薩生。獲得如來及執金剛位。 *Liqushi* 1 explains (T.1003:609a29-b9) that the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas are the group that includes Vajrasattva and Vajramuṣṭī, that is the first and last of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*’s Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. The concept of the four wisdom seals appears throughout the *Liqushi* (T.1003:607b2-8, 608a9-14, 609a17-21, 609c20-610a14, 610a23-b2, to give a few examples), signifying the yogic techniques whereby the practitioner effects his transformation and union with the deities. The practitioner employs this system of the four wisdom seals in order to work his way through the “lives” of these sixteen bodhisattvas, accumulating their special wisdoms and merits while in union with them. See Fukuda (“*Rishukyō no jōbutsuron: tokuni jūroku daibosatsu wo megutte*,” *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 357-402, esp. 357-358, 367-372) who discusses the examples of this specific concept of accomplishing “the lives of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas” that are given in the *Liqujing* and *Liqushi*, and see also Astley-Kristensen’s discussion (*The Rishukyō*, pp. 105-108) of a life perfected through practice in this given body as opposed to a life as understood as an eon of time (*kalpa*). Further, the concept of attaining enlightenment after passing through the lives of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas 後十六生成正覺 appears in Amoghavajra’s ritual manuals T.1171:708c19-20 and T.1211:49a6-7.

¹¹⁴ In a memorial dated to the third year of Qianyuan 乾元三年 (760) the “Secret Great Vehicle” 祕密大乘 is presented as “the only method to rescue [sentient beings] from calamities and to prevent disasters” and its gateway is that of consecration. See T.2120:829b22-c5, esp. b24-25, which petitions Emperor Suzong to allow Amoghavajra to establish, for the benefit of the state, a ritual arena for consecration 灌頂道場 in Daxingshansi 大興善寺.

The fast path, again proclaimed in a memorial dated to the first year of Guangde 廣德元年 (763), is the path of the bodhisattvas who receive consecration from the buddhas into “a smooth [unhindered] path that leads to the apex [of the bodhisattva stages], the correct stage for entry into buddhahood.” See T.2120:830a12-27, wherein Amoghavajra petitions Emperor Daizong to allow him to establish, again for the benefit of the state, a ritual arena for consecration. In this memorial he contrasts the fast path of the bodhisattvas with the slow path of the disciples of the Small Vehicle. Although Amoghavajra does not identify the teachings of the Secret Great Vehicle or the fast path of the bodhisattvas in the above two memorials as that of the methods of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, other memorials, which I refer to below, substantiate that it was these particular teachings that formed the core of his transmission.

Consecration, a ceremony to access the esoteric system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, was a significant component of this path that Amoghavajra championed because it conferred lordship and its powers, both supramundane and mundane, and so appealed to his Chinese imperial and military patrons. In the rite of consecration presented in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the disciple acquires, for example, unsurpassed adamantine knowledge, innumerable powers (*siddhis*), the opening of the unsurpassed adamantine eye, and is transformed into an adamantine lord. See T. 865:218b2-219a10, Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras: The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra*, pp. 76-79.

Ronald M. Davidson (*Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 123-144, and “Abhiṣeka,” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 71-5) presents the origins and development of the consecration ceremony in medieval Indian feudal society, charts its appropriation into Indian Esoteric Buddhism and clarifies its explicitly imperial significance whereby the practitioner receives coronation and becomes an overlord (*rājādhirāja*) or universal ruler (*cakravartin*). Orzech (*Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture of the Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), pp. 141-150, 191-198 and “Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang,” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 263-285, esp. pp. 263-265, 281-3) details Amoghavajra’s new paradigm of religious policy for the Esoteric Buddhist teachings, elucidating his objectives of dual rulership by the emperor and the religious master (*ācārya*) and state protection. Consecration, that is bestowing upon the emperors the role of universal ruler, played an important role in the construction of this esoteric polity. See also Martin Lehnert’s (“Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism,” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 351-359) description of Amoghavajra’s role as ritual master in state-related rituals services. Jinhua Chen documents (“The Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* (2004), pp. 101-173, esp. pp. 130-132) the function and importance of the emperor’s palace chapels 內道場 as an arena of interaction between the

Buddhist community and the state. See his “The Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels,” pp. 130-135 for the probable sites of the chapels for Emperors Xuanzong, Suzong and Daizong and the functions Amoghavajra and his disciples carried out in them. See also Jinhua’s “Esoteric Buddhism and Monastic Institutions,” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 286-293 for information on the consecration arenas Amoghavajra had erected in Daxingshansi.

¹¹⁵ That Amoghavajra employed skillful methods to help his disciples understand and practice his teachings is seen in his writings. See his last testament (*T.2120:844b5-7*), and in ritual manuals he translated (*Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* 一字佛頂輪王念誦儀軌 (*T.954A:310a25-26*), for example, wherein he proposes a number of ways that the practitioner can carry out effectively certain ritual acts.

For an understanding of the concept of expedient means and its relationship to the term “esoteric teachings”, see Richard McBride’s article (“Is There Really “Esoteric” Buddhism?” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 27/2, (2004), pp. 329-356) wherein he clarifies medieval Chinese exegetics’ use of this term. According to McBride (p. 355), Śubhākarasiṃha and Amoghavajra did not redefine the term “esoteric teaching” but continued to use the term “in the same way it was deployed in earlier Mahāyāna literature and Sinitic Buddhist exegesis: that “esoteric” means “the best,” that it refers to advanced Mahāyāna teachings, that it is only intelligible to individuals with the spiritual capacity of bodhisattvas, and that it employs *upāya* (skillful means) as a means of causing the practitioner to obtain “the acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas” – which seems to be the great secret of the Mahāyāna.” McBride selects the *Zongshi tuoluni yizhan* (Encomium on a General Interpretation of the Meaning of Dhāraṇī, *T.902*) to represent Amoghavajra’s position, even though this work is not listed in the 771 memorial nor in Yuanzhao’s catalogues.

¹¹⁶ See Giebel, “An Annotated Translation,” pp. 108-109.

¹¹⁷ See Giebel, “An Annotated Translation,” pp. 107-114.

¹¹⁸ See my discussion of Sakai’s research above under the headings References to Specific Sources and References to Extended Scriptures and Yogas.

¹¹⁹ Tanaka continued the work of Fukuda (“*Issaibutsu byōdō yuga tantora no ikkōsatsu*” 「一切仏平等瑜伽タントラ」の一考察, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 486-502), who first investigated Sakai’s earlier suggestion (Tanaka, 1992, p. 401; 1994, p. 325) that Amoghavajra’s description of the Ninth Assembly corresponded to the appendix tantra (*uttara-tantra*) of the lost root tantra of the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-dākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra*. Examining such works related to the presumed lost root text as the appendix tantra, a supplement to the appendix tantra (*uttarottara-tantra*), Kukurāja’s commentary on the six families of this tantra, Indranāla’s commentary on the appendix tantra, as well as ritual manuals concerning the mandalas of this tantra and the visualization practice of the deity Heruka, Tanaka documented a connection between the *Śrīparamādya* textual lineage and that of the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-dākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra*, and also succeeded in identifying passages that correspond to Amoghavajra’s statement on “nine tastes” 九味 and their allocation to nine deities. See “*Sarvabuddhasamāyoga-dākinī-jālasaṃvaratantra to sono mandara ni tsuite*,” *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3 (1984), pp. 59-71, “*Issaibutsu shūe dakini kaimō yuga shosetsu ‘kūmi’ kō*,” *Tōhō 東方*, vol. 5 (1989), pp. 74-84, “*Issaibutsu shūe dakini kaimō yuga shosetsu ‘kūmi’ saikō*,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 41/1 (1992), pp. 402-397 and his English version of 1992 article, “*Navarasa Theory in the Sarvabuddhasamāyoga-dākinī-jālasaṃvaratantra Reconsidered*,” *Tōhō*, vol. 10 (1994), pp. 323-331, and Giebel, “Annotated Translation,” pp. 179-182.

For a discussion of the standard Tibetan schema of tantric classification and its doctrinal categories, see David Snellgrove, “Categories of Buddhist Tantras,” *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti, eds., Serie Orientale Roma, vol. 56, no. 3 (Rome, 1988), pp. 1353-1384. Jacob Dalton, in “A Crisis of Doxography: How Tibetans Organized Tantras During the 8th-12th Centuries,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 28/1 (2005), pp. 115-181, discusses the classification schemes of tantras in India and Tibet during the eighth to the eleventh centuries, the period prior to the the formation of the standard scheme of the four classes of tantra.

¹²⁰ Correspondences between Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and existent works in the Chinese and Tibetan canons are charted in Sakai (“*Mikkyōgaku e no Obogaki*,” *Mikkyō gakkai hō* (Koyasan daigaku: Mikkyō gakkai, 1964), pp. 26-30, esp. pp. 27-29 and Tanaka Kimiaki, *Mandara ikonoroji* (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha,

1987), chart p. 267 and *Ryōkai mandara no tanjō* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2004), chart p. 125. Giebel (“An Annotated Translation,” pp. 111-114) reproduces Tanaka’s chart and provides a good discussion of this research.

Amoghavajra’s description of the Fifteenth Assembly, *Bimi jihui yuqie* 祕密集會瑜伽 (Yoga of the Secret Assembly), in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (T.869:287a28-b7) discloses several interesting and suggestive correspondences with the present form of the *Guhyasamāja tantra* 祕密集會タントラ, which dates after his time. (This tantra was first translated into Tibetan in the eighth century, thus suggesting that its original Sanskrit form may date a century or so earlier. See David Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, p. 129. The Sanskrit text was translated into Chinese (T.18.885) by Shihu 施護 during the Song Dynasty). Common to all works are the assembly’s name, the setting and the main tenet whereby the Buddha uses crude language in order to reveal the significance of his teachings. See Matsunaga Yūkei, *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsushi ron* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1980), pp. 249-260, especially pages 250-253, and Giebel, “An Annotated Translation,” pp. 192-195. These common parallels suggest that in Amoghavajra’s time concepts fundamental to the present form of the *Guhyasamāja tantra* had been incorporated into the system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown in eighteen assemblies.

¹²¹ The last part of this statement comes from Tanaka (“*Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasamvaratantra* to sono mandara ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 70).

A problem in Japanese scholarship has been whether there existed during Amoghavajra’s lifetime a single, extended version of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in eighteen assemblies 金剛頂經十八會 and/or in one hundred thousand verses 十萬頌. Matsunaga (*Mikkyō kyōten seiritsushi ron*, pp. 187-198) summarizes past scholarship and denies the existence of a *complete* extended version of such a text at the time of Amoghavajra. He states that, instead of a single text of eighteen assemblies, there most likely circulated many ritual manuals for the rites and deities, some of which Amoghavajra outlined in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, and that these would eventually become the root tantras and their commentarial and ritual literature that exist today in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Song Dynasty Chinese versions. Giebel gives in “An Annotated Translation,” pp. 109-111 a summary of Japanese scholarship concerning such an extended version and Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. Further, Giebel (*ibid.*, pp. 111-114) summarizes more recent Japanese scholarship, including that of Tanaka, who argues that Amoghavajra’s arrangement of the eighteen assemblies may reflect a current, integrated corpus of Indian scriptures.

¹²² Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, pp. 145-146. There are a number of studies on the problems of defining Esoteric Buddhist movements in eighth-century India, their canons, in this case, an esoteric canon of eighteen works, and their spread throughout Asia. See Kenneth Eastman (“Mahāyoga Texts at Tun-huang,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Cultural Studies at Ryūkoku University*, vol. 22 (1983), pp. 42-69, esp. p. 44), who compared Amoghavajra’s eighteen assemblies to that of a collection of “Eighteen Tantras of the Māyājāla Class” in the Mahāyoga section of the Rnying ma pa’s canon, the *rNying-ma rgyud-'bum* (*Ancient Tantric Canon*). There are three works in common, including the *Śrīparamādya tantra*, but the principle texts of these collections differed: it is the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃghra* in Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and a group of *Māyājāla tantras* in the *rNying-ma rgyud-'bum*. Eastman concludes that there was in the eighth century a canon of Vajrayāna literature characterized by regional variation in the texts included.

Davidson (*Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, pp. 146, 152) suggests the concepts of a local esoteric canon (p. 146) identified according to “representative proponents...in specific locales or at selected times,” and that of a *canon in use* (p. 152) whose texts were identified “by acknowledged bearers of the culture at discrete points in the hermeneutic process...” Davidson gives an example (p. 152) of such an esoteric *canon in use* in the eighth century and many of the works included were (see p. 376, footnote 125) those translated by such Tang Dynasty masters as Śubhākarasimha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, and commented upon by Buddhaguhya, active during the second half of the eighth century (see p. 376, footnote 125 for a list of specific scriptures given in his *Vairocanābhisambodhi-tantrapiṇḍārtha* and p. 158 and p. 378, footnote 137 for a listing of scriptures he cited in his commentaries).

Fukuda (“*Kongōchōkyō toshite no Rishukyō*” 金剛頂經としての理趣經 – チュニャーミトラの註釈 を中心として and “*Issaibutsu byōdō yuga tantora no ikkōsatsu*,” *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 147-154, 486-508), Eastman (*ibid.*, p. 44), Davidson (*ibid.*, pp. 204, 242-3) also consider Jñānamitra’s (ca. 800) “canon of eighteen” 十八大部 that is recorded in his *Prajñāpāramitā-naya-satapañcāsātikā*.

¹²³ T.2120:839a28-29. This placement does not reflect the dates of translation. The *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經三卷 (T.865) was translated between the twelfth and thirteenth years of Tianbao 天寶 (753-754) while Amoghavajra resided in Kaiyuansi, a temple in the castle town of Wuwei in Hexi 河西武威城開元寺. Documentation about this translation is given in Yuanzhaoh's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 (T.2157:881b19-27). See also Chou Yi-Liang, "Tantrism in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no.3-4, pp. 293-4, note 47.

Toganoo (*Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 30) notes that the only documentation for the composition of the *Liqujing* is Yuanzhaoh's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2157:1010a28), where he lists this work among the translations that Amoghavajra made during the reign of Daizong (r. 762-779). This suggests a date after 762 but before 771, the date of Amoghavajra's memorial in which he listed his translations and compositions.

It is difficult to see a plan in the listing of the works in this memorial. Orzech (The "Great Teachings of Yoga," *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, pp. 49-50) notes that the list opens and closes with important works.

¹²⁴ T.869:284c18-285a14. Amoghavajra's translation is that of only the first part of the first of the text's four chapters.

¹²⁵ T.243:784a8-9. An interlinear note records that this work is the *Banruo boluomiduo liqu pin* 般若波羅蜜多理趣品 (Chapter on the Guiding Principle to the Perfection of Insight) (T.243:784a13). The manuscript title of the *Liqushi* in the *Taishō* is (T.1003:607a9-10) *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmeiye jing banruo boluomiduo liqu shi* 大樂金剛不空真實三昧耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣釋 (Explanation on the Guiding Principle to the Perfection of Insight [from the] Scripture on the Pledge of Reality of He who is Infallible, Adamantine and [generates] Great Bliss).

¹²⁶ Amoghavajra records in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (T.869:286b21-27) that the Sixth Assembly is called *Daanle bukong sanmeiye zhenshi yuqie* 大安樂不空三昧耶真實瑜伽 (Yoga of the Reality of the Pledge of He Who is Infallible [and generates] Great Bliss) and that

[this Assembly] is explained in the palace in the Paranirmita-vaśavartin Heaven. In this text the mandala of Samantabhadra is explained, and then the mandala of Vairocana is explained. After that, [the mandalas of] Bodhisattvas Vajragarbha and others up to Vajramuṣṭi, as well as [those of] the Outer Vajra Family, are explained. [Further, this text] explains the guiding principle to insight 般若理趣, and each one of the Venerables explains in detail four types of mandalas, and each also explains the methods for drawing disciples into [these mandalas]. [There the disciples] are given the methods of the guiding principle to insight 理趣般若波羅蜜多法 and also receive the methods for the four types of seals 四種印法. [In each] chapter each [Venerable also] explains methods for seeking mundane powers and supramundane attainments 求世間出世間悉地法.

See also Giebel's translation of this assembly in "An Annotated Translation," pp. 173-176, who has reconstructed the title as *Mahāsukha-amogha-samaya-tattva yoga*.

As I have stated in Chapter One of this study, Amoghavajra's *Liqujing* is a translation of a chapter from the above-named root text but it does not prescribe mandalas. His *Liqushi* is a separate composition, whose contents he based upon the same chapter from the same root text, as well as on other assemblies of the larger corpus on this Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. It prescribes mandalas for Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva, Vairocana, the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, for example, Vajragarbha/Ākāśagarbha, Vajramuṣṭi, and the members of the Outer Vajra Family, as well as yogic practices wherein the practitioners enter these mandalas. There they perform the deities' four wisdom seals 四智印 of body, speech, action and mind, bringing about union with the deities and acquisition of their special qualities. The boons (*siddhi*) that these practices generate are also enumerated.

The problem to date in Japanese scholarship has been which version of the *Liqujing* extant in the Chinese and Tibetan canons best corresponds to Amoghavajra's description of this assembly. Giebel (op. cit, pp. 173-176) presents the Japanese scholarship concerning the problem of identifying an extant text. Tanaka Kimiaki proposes that ("Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra to sono mandara ni tsuite," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3 (1984), pp. 67-70) an early form of Part 1 (P.119) of the extended Tibetan *Śrīparamādyā tantra* (P.119, 120) and the extended Chinese text (T.244) corresponds in content to Amoghavajra's description of the Sixth Assembly.

The extended Tibetan and Chinese versions contain materials that were originally separate collections of ritual manuals 儀軌 (*kalpa*). Part 1 of the extended Tibetan version, the *Śrīparamādyā-nāma-mahāyana-kalpa-rāja* (P.119), was translated in late tenth century by Śradhākara varman 信作鑿 and Rin chen bzan po 寶賢, and Parts 2 and 3, the *Śrīparamādyā-mantra-kalpa-kaṇḍa-nāma* (P.120), were translated in the late tenth-early eleventh century

by Mantrakalaśa 眞言瓶 and lha btsan po 天力和 Shi ba ḥod. See Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 31-32 and Matsunaga, *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsushi ron*, p. 199.

Fukuda compares (“*Kisshō saishō honsho toshite no Rishukyō*” 「吉祥最勝本初」としての「理趣經」, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 83-88, 88-104) the extended Tibetan and Song Dynasty Chinese versions. Material corresponding to Parts 1 (T.244:786b22-797c23) and 3 (T.244:797c23-824a20) constitute the extended Chinese version, the *Fushuō zuishang genben dale jingang bukong sanmei dajiaowang jing* 佛說最上根本大樂金剛不空三昧大教王經, which was translated by Faxian 法賢 at the end of the tenth century.) The source text for Part 1 of the extended Tibetan version is titled (Fukuda, *ibid*, p. 90-91) in reconstructed Sanskrit, the *Mahāsukhavajrāmogha-sarvasamaya-mahākālpa-rāja* 大樂金剛不空の一切三昧耶の大議軌王 (King of the Extensive Kalpa [concerning] All Pledges that are Infallible, Adamantine [and generate] Great Bliss). The title of the extended Chinese version verifies that this text also focuses on the “Pledge that is Infallible, Adamantine [and generates] Great Bliss” 大樂金剛不空三昧. The content of each chapter (or ritual manual) of Part 1 consists of Mahāvairocana’s exposition on a particular aspect of the *Prajñāpāramitā* teachings, which are summarized by a seed letter and followed immediately by descriptions of mandalas, ritual practices using the deity’s special seals (*mudrās* and *mantras*) inside mandalas, and resultant boons.

There are, then, similarities between Amoghavajra’s description of the Sixth Assembly, his *Liqujing* and *Liquishi* and Part 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions. One, the titles of these works are similar. Two, the contents of the root text (exposition in Part 1) of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions, agree, on the whole, with Amoghavajra’s *Liqujing*. (Not able to read Tibetan, I consulted Toganoo’s *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, wherein he provides the ten versions of this text. The short Tibetan text of the *Liqujing* also agrees with Amoghavajra’s version.) Sakai Shinten (Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, p. 11) and Tanaka Kimiaki (unpublished manuscript (2013), p. 156) suggest that a Sanskrit text close in form to the text Amoghavajra translated existed in seventh-century India. Mandalas and ritual acts were added to this root text, producing the source text for Part 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions.

The differences between Amoghavajra’s description of the Sixth Assembly, his *Liqujing* and *Liquishi* and Part 1 of the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions are complicated and I give an outline of them in Appendix D. There I show that Amoghavajra’s *Liqujing* and its related works, as well as the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions belong to an evolving system of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

¹²⁷ I have translated the titles according to their listing in this memorial (T.2120:839a28-840a11).

The titles of a number of works contain the terms *Jingangding yuqie* 金剛頂瑜伽 (Yoga of the Adamantine Crown), *Yuqie lianhuabu* 瑜伽蓮華部 (Lotus Family of the Yoga), and *Yuqie* 瑜伽 (Yoga). It is clear that these works provide ritual instructions for deities who belong to the Adamantine Crown lineage. However, they require further research in order to determine whether they would be classified under the First Assembly or, for example, under the Second and Fourth Assemblies.

¹²⁸ *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦法, T.18.873.

¹²⁹ See T.2156:766c23 and T.2157:879b5 which record that, according to the in-text title of this work, its contents have been extracted from a long *gāthā* in one hundred thousand verses from the *Jingangding yuqie nianzhu jing* (Scripture on [the Merit of Telling] Beads [for Recitation] on the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown) 金剛頂瑜伽念珠經於十萬廣頌中略出. A brief description of the contents of this work appears in *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 494c. See also *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 1080a 念珠 (*nenju*) and 念誦 (*nenju*).

¹³⁰ 理趣般若 (*nayaprajñā*). See Astley-Kristensen, “*The Rishukyō*,” p. 8, footnote 20.

¹³¹ *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*, T.19.1004.

¹³² *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa*, T.1123.

¹³³ T.20.1132.

¹³⁴ *Puxian jingangsaduo niansong fa*, T.20.1124.

¹³⁵ *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui*, T.1125.

¹³⁶ See Chapter Four, References to Specific Sources.

¹³⁷ See his “*Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra* to sono mandara ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3 (1984), pp. 59-71. By examining works belonging to the *Śrīparamādyā* (P.119, 120, see endnote 126 above) and the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantras* in the Tibetan canon, Tanaka elucidates the development that occurs from the Sixth to the Ninth Assemblies in Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. He proposes (ibid, p. 68 and Giebel, “Annotated Translation,” pp. 173-182) that Amoghavajra’s description of the Ninth Assembly (T.869:286c9-16) reflects his knowledge of the contents of an early ritual work that corresponded to the lost root tantra of the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinījāla-saṃvara tantra* and that this tantra, as the Ninth Assembly, shows an evolution in ideology and mandala construction from the ritual manuals that compose the present form of the Tibetan *Śrīparamādyā tantra*’s textual lineage.

Tanaka demonstrates this progression by examining the mandalas and the mantras for the deities in the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra*. For example, two types of mandalas are explained in this tantra (ibid, diagrams on p. 61). One mandala has six families centered on the Heruka Family へールカ族 (Heruka is a development from the figure of Trailokyavijaya/Vajrajvālānārka 金剛火焰日輪), and includes the Vajrasattva Family 金剛薩埵族, Vairocana Family 毘盧遮那族, Vajrasūrya Family 金剛日族 (a development from figures in the Gem Family), Padmanarteśvara Family 蓮華舞自在族 (a tantric form of Avalokiteśvara, he represents the Lotus Family), Paramāśva Family パラマーシュヴァ族 (Paramāśva is the wrathful form of Amoghasiddhi, Buddha of the Action Family in the north of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*). A second mandala is centered on Vajrasattva and his family. Here the five families of Vairocana, Heruka, Vajrasūrya and Padmanarteśvara are in the four cardinal directions and the members of the sixth Paramāśva Family are in the intermediate directions.

The chapters of Part 3 in the Tibetan *Śrīparamādyā tantra* (= second section of Chinese extended version) focus upon mandalas and ritual practices for Vajrasattva, All the Tathāgatas, Vajrajvālānārka 金剛火焰日輪 (Trailokyavijaya), Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha, respectively, resulting in a system of the five families of Vajrasattva, Tathāgata, Vajrajvālānārka (Vajra), Avalokiteśvara (Lotus) and Ākāśagarbha (Gem). The Action Family is not an independent family in the *Śrīparamādyā tantra*. These five families in the *Sarva-buddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra* correspond to the *Śrīparamādyā tantra*’s five families, but there are changes and developments. For example, the figures of the mandala of the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra*’s Vajrasattva Family, as well as their mantras, are identical to those of Vajrasattva and his retinue of seventeen figures described in the *Śrīparamādyā tantra*’s opening chapter (extended Tibetan version’s Part 3 ch. 1; ch. 14 of the extended Chinese version). The differences are that this seventeen-figure mandala becomes a twenty-one figure mandala in the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra* because of the presence of the four Offering Bodhisattvas of the Four Seasons 春雲秋冬四時供養菩薩, originally four of the *Liqujing*’s seventeen epithets of purity that were deified in the mandala described in *Liquishi* 1 (T.243:784b7-9, 1003:610a20-22), as well as the four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas 外四供養菩薩 of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*’s Mandala of the Adamantine Realm (ibid, p. 62, 64), and that the gate guardians are female and have animal heads (ibid, pp. 61-2, 64). The mantras and mandalas for the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra*’s families of Vairocana, Heruka, Vajrasūrya and Padmanarteśvara are taken from the *Śrīparamādyā tantra*’s Part 3, ch. 16, 17, 18, and 19, respectively, and the changes that are seen in the mandala of the Vajrasattva Family (twenty-one figures and animal-headed female gate guardians) are also seen in these families’ mandalas, indicating a development towards the system of the later female (wisdom) tantras (ibid, pp. 62-64).

Tanaka notes that (“*Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra* to sono mandara ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 70-71) the earliest evidence of reverence for the *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga-ḍākinī-jālasaṃvara tantra* in Tibet occurred in the Rnying ma pa (Ancient school). This dates this text’s contents to the early diffusion of Buddhist tantras from India, approximately from the eighth through the ninth centuries. See also Eastman, “The Eighteen Tantras of the *Tattvasaṃgraha/Māyājāla*,” *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan*, vol. 26 (1981), p. 95).

¹³⁸ T.869:286c5-8.

¹³⁹ A comparison of the iconography of the mandalas in Amoghavajra's *Liqushi* and its related ritual manuals (*T.1123*, *1124*, *1125*) with those in Part 2 and 3 of the extended Tibetan text and the second section of the extended Chinese text (= Tibetan Part 3) reveal three significant matches. The first match is the seventeen-letter mantra (*om mahāsukha vajrasattva jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ suratastvam*) that transforms into the seventeen figures of a mandala that symbolizes the seventeen epithets of purity. This is found in *Liqushi* 1 (*T.1003:609c20-610a23*), *T.1124:535a13-15*, where it is used in the ritual phase of identification whereby the practitioner becomes identical to Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, and in the extended Tibetan Part 2, ch. 1 (Fukuda, “*Kisshō saishō honsho toshite no Rishukyō*,” pp. 94-96), whose source is the *Mahāsukha-vajraguhya-mahākālpa-rāja*. Amoghavajra gives (*T.1004:618b1-4*) the Thirteenth Assembly of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, the *Dasanmeiye zhenshi yuqie* 大三昧耶眞實瑜伽 (**Mahāsamaya-tattva-yoga*), as the source of this mandala.

The seventeen-figure mandala presented in the extended Tibetan (Part 3, ch. 1) and Chinese (ch. 14, *T.244:799b1c15*) versions corresponds to the mandala described in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* (*T.1123:529a25-530a21*) and thus constitutes a second match. Identical are the mantras for the seventeen deities, their positions in the mandala, and their iconographic prescriptions. (There are slight variations between *T.1123* and *T.244*. The order of the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas who hold a flower and incense in *T.1123:529b24-26* is reversed in *T.244:799b22*; in *T.1123:530c16* Bodhisattva Smile of the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas is called Bodhisattva Garland in *T.244:799b29* but their mantras (*he rati-vajrahāse ha ha*) are the same and contain the phrase “adamantine smile”; again, although the mantras are the same, the Gathering Bodhisattva in the northern gate is called Chimes in *T.1123:530a8* and Bell in *T.244:799c9*.) Amoghavajra's *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* (*T.1124*) prescribes the same type of seventeen-figure mandala but the names of the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas are those of the four Seasonal Bodhisattvas Spring, Cloud, Autumn and Frost and Snow (*T.1124:534a19-b5*, correction on 534, note 24), who are placed in the four corners of the outer court in the *Liqushi* (*T.1003:610a20-23*; *T.1004:618a2-17*), and so their mantras differ from those of the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas in *T.1123* and *T.244*. I discuss Amoghavajra's two ritual manuals *T.1123* and *T.1124* below in endnote 150.) The Tibetan text records (see Fukuda, “*Kisshō saishō honsho toshite no Rishukyō*,” p. 92) its source as the *Śrīparamādya-mahākālpa-rāja*. In the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa*, Amoghavajra cites his source (*T.1123:528a16-17*) as the Supreme First Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, that is this yoga system's Eighth Assembly, called the *Shengchu yuqie* 勝初瑜伽 (*Paramādya yoga*).

The final match is that of the Five Mysteries mandala. The names of the five deities, the structure of their mandala and their positions in this mandala provided in the *Liqushi* (*T.1003:616c15-617a4*), as well as the iconographical descriptions given in the *Jingangding yuqie wubimi xiuxing yigui* (*T.1125:536c6-12*, *19-21*, *537b10-23*, *538a24-25*) are identical to the mandalas prescribed in the extended Tibetan (Part 3, ch. 8, see Toganoo, *ibid*, pp. 404-405) and Chinese (ch. 21, *T.244:812a20-b4*) texts, whose source text is given in the Tibetan text as the *Śrīparamādya-mahākālpa-rāja*. Amoghavajra records in his *Liqushi* (*T.1003:616c8-11*) the Third Assembly of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown as his source, that is the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie jing* 一切教集瑜伽經 (*Sarvakalpa-samuccaya*, a chapter in the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*) and in his ritual manual (*T.1125:538b29-c16*) he links each figure of the Five Mysteries to the buddhas and bodhisattvas of the First Assembly (*Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*)'s Mandala of the Adamantine Realm.

These iconographical matches verify that Amoghavajra and the later Tibetan and Chinese translators had access to common source texts. Fukuda Ryōsei's research links (“*Shōshoyugakyō to Śrī-paramādi-tantra*” 「勝初瑜伽經」と *Śrī-paramādi-tantra*, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 33-53; “Kongōsatta gikirui no kōsatsu” 金剛薩埵儀軌類の考察, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 54-67) the contents (seventeen-figure mandala, Five Mysteries ideology and mandala) of *Liqushi* 1 and 17, as well as that of manuals for a rite which focuses on Vajrasattva (*T.1119*, *A1120*, *1121*, *1122*, *1123*, *1124*, *1125*), to a work called the *Paramādi tantra* 勝初瑜伽經. Fukuda demonstrates that this work, an early root tantra whose contents survive only in the above works listed, as well as in Faxian's translation (*T.244*, ch. 14 and 21) and the extended Tibetan translation (Part 3, ch. 1 and 8), contained a ritual structure centered on the Five Mysteries and its mandala. Fukuda posits (“*Shōshoyugakyō to Śrī-paramādi-tantra*,” p. 33) the existence during Amoghavajra's lifetime of this text called the *Paramādi tantra* that had been composed by the mid-eighth century.

Tanaka continues Fukuda's line of research and establishes that Amoghavajra knew of early forms of this Indian text, versions of which were incorporated into the system he called the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown as the Seventh and Eighth Assemblies. Tanaka argues (“*Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra to sono mandara ni tsuite*,” *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 68) that Part 1 (*Prajñāpāramitā-naya sūtra*) of the extended Tibetan *Śrīparamādya*

tantra corresponds to Amoghavajra's Sixth Assembly; Part 2, whose source is the *Mahāsukha-vajraguhya-mahākālpa-rāja*, corresponds to his Seventh Assembly; and Part 3, whose source is the *Śrīparamādyā-mahākālpa-rāja*, to his Eighth Assembly. That is, slightly different, more evolved versions of this *Paramādyā tantra*, circulating separately during the eighth century, were appended to the *Prajñāpāramitā-naya sūtra*, resulting in the present forms of the extended Tibetan (and Chinese) versions, known as the *Śrīparamādyā tantra*. Corroborating evidence, according to Tanaka, is Amoghavajra's descriptions of the Seventh and Eighth Assemblies in his *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*. Here he records that (T.869:286b28-c8, esp. c7-8) the content of both assemblies is similar (for example, Bodhisattva Samantabhabra/Vajrasattva and so on up to Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi and the Outer Vajra Family explain their four mandalas), but that the Eighth Assembly is slightly more detailed. Tanaka states that (ibid, p. 68) this elaboration of content, the former being shorter than the latter, distinguishes the contents of Parts 2 and 3 of the present extended Tibetan *Śrīparamādyā tantra*. For examples of further evidence for this identification of the contents of the assemblies, see Tanaka, "*Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaratantra* to sono mandara ni suite," *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 68, and Giebel, "An Annotated Translation," pp. 176-179.

¹⁴⁰ In memorials and letters Amoghavajra uses, in addition to the terms "consecration" 灌頂 and "yoga methods" 瑜伽法, such terms as "Five Families" 五部, "Five Families of the Yoga" 瑜伽五部 (T.2120:844b17), "Five Wisdoms" 五智, "Yoga of the Eighteen Assemblies" 十八會瑜伽 and "Thirty-Seven Venerables" 三十七尊 (T.2120:828a13) when describing his use of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm for propagating the teachings and rites centered on this mandala. See endnotes 170-174 below for examples.

Where Amoghavajra uses the terms "ritual arena" 道場 (T.2120:840a17, a19), "consecration altar" 灌頂壇 (T.2120:828a11) and "consecration methods" 灌頂法 (T.2120:840a19), his disciples are more specific in their biographies, using the terms "consecration of the Five Families" 五部灌頂, the ceremony focused upon the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, and "Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm" 金剛界大曼荼羅, wherein the deities are depicted in their anthropomorphic forms. One example is Feixi's stele biography (T.2120:848c24-29). In the thirteenth year of Tienbao (754), Amoghavajra was ordered by Military Governor-General Geshu Han 哥舒翰 to Wuwei in Hexi 河西武威 where he "erected a large ritual arena and granted consecration of the Five Families and the methods of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm to the Indian monk Hanguang, his lay disciple, the Kaifu, Li Yuancong and the others" 大道場。與梵僧含光并俗弟子開府功德使李元琮等授五部灌頂金剛界大曼荼羅法。Zhao Qian presents (T.2056:293b2-6) much the same information about Amoghavajra's sojourn in Wuwei. See Orlando, *A Study of Chinese Documents*, pp. 164-5, 144 for details and slight differences. Further, Zhao Qian uses the term "consecration of the Five Families" when he describes Amoghavajra's erection of a mandala in the palace (T.2056:293a19-20), wherein he granted consecration of the Five Families to Emperor Xuanzong in the fifth year of Tienbao, as well as the term "Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm" when he describes (T.2056:292b28-29) Vajrabodhi's initiation of Amoghavajra into this mandala. See also Yuanzhao (T.2157:881b14-27), who records the translation of T.865 in Wuwei, Hexi.

Yuanzhao documents (T.2156:251a26-753a2 and T.2157:8841-886c18, which include Amoghavajra's request (T.2120:831b19-c20) for imperial permission to retranslate the *Renwang jing* and a letter thanking the emperor (T.2120:832a25-b12) for composing a preface for this new translation, as well as the emperor's reply) the retranslation of the *Renwang jing* and its ritual performances in his *Datang zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄 and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄. In both catalogues, he gives the greatest space to the retranslation of this text and its reception. Charles Orzech (*Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, 1998) presents in detail Amoghavajra's religious and political motives for retranslating and propagating the *Renwang jing*. Further, Orzech (ibid, and "The 'Great Teachings of Yoga,'" *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, pp. 29-78) demonstrates that the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* was the ideological factor underlying Amoghavajra's teachings, which focused on state protection.

¹⁴¹ See *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 94 and my Chapter Three, p. 61.

¹⁴² See Chapter One of this dissertation and Hunter, "The *Rishukyō mandara* Said to Have Been Introduced by Shūei," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, vol. 8, pp. 371-388.

¹⁴³ T.869:284c21-285a14. See Giebel, "An Annotated Translation," pp. 128-140.

¹⁴⁴ This is the seventh of nine independent mandalas that compose the program of this larger mandala. See Toganoo Shōun, *Mandara no kenkyū*, fig. 99. I document (“Five Secrets Mandala,” *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, p.76b) that the iconography of the Mandala of Vajrasattva in the Daigoji exemplar of the *Liqujing mantuluo* (T. Zuzō, vol. 5, p.777, No. 2) matches that of the *Liquhui* in the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo*.

¹⁴⁵ These are the eighth and ninth mandalas in the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo*. See T.869:285a15-285b10 and Giebel, “An Annotated Translation,” pp. 141-147.

¹⁴⁶ As mentioned above, the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* has been extracted from the *Shengchu yuqie (Paramādyā yoga)*, the Eighth Assembly of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. We have documented (endnote 139) the correspondences between the mandala prescriptions and mantras in ritual manuals T.1123 and 1124 and Faxian’s extended Chinese version of the *Liqujing*, whose source Tanaka Kimiaki demonstrates is the Eighth Assembly. Tanaka (*Mandara ikonorojī*, chart p. 267 and *Ryōkai mandara no tanjō*, chart p. 125) suggests a link between T.1121, a work not listed in Amoghavajra’s 771 memorial nor in Yuanzhao’s catalogues, the *Datang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu* and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, and the Seventh Assembly of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. T.1124’s mandala prescriptions and mantras (T.1124:533a24-b10, 534a1b26, note 24) are similar to those given in T.1121(:521b23-29, 522a3-c2), suggesting a link between T.1124 and the Seventh Assembly.

¹⁴⁷ See T.1123:529a25-b23, T.1124:534b6-26 and Toganoo, *Mandara no kenkyū*, illustration 99.

¹⁴⁸ T.1123:529b24-28 and T.1124:534a19-b5 and note 24.

¹⁴⁹ T.1123:529b24-c13, T.1124:534a19-b5 and note 24 and T.865:214b8-c26.

¹⁵⁰ T.1123:529c14-530a4, T.1124:534a1-18 and T.865:214c28-b20.

The prescriptions for the seventeen-deity mandala in T.1123 and T.1124 do not match those for the seventeen-deity mandala in *Liqushi* 1 or in the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu*. There are a number of discrepancies. First, in T.1123(:529b24-c13) the names of the Four Inner Offering Bodhisattvas indicate that they are the consorts of the four deities Desire, Touch, Love and Pride who surround Vajrasattva (T.1003:608c16-25, 610a18-20, T.1004:617c17-618a1), but their attributes (flower, censer, lamp and unguent) are those of the four Seasonal Bodhisattvas, Spring, Clouds, Autumn, and Winter (Frost and Snow) in *Liqushi* 1 (T.1003:608c25-609a7) and *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (T.1004:618a2-17), who reside in the four corners of the mandala’s outer court. Second, in T.1124(:534a19-b5, note 24) the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas have the names of the Seasonal Bodhisattvas Spring, Clouds, Autumn and Frost and Snow who, as mentioned, appear in the four corners of the outer court of the mandala in *Liqushi* 1 (T.1003:608c25-609a7), and they hold, in accordance with the prescriptions in the *Shiqisheng damantuluo yishu* (T.1004:618a2-17), a flower, censer, lamp and jar of unguent, respectively. Third, in T.1123(:529c14-530a4) and T.1124(:534a1-18) the Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas are Joyful Play, Smile, Song and Dance. These are the names of the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas in the First Assembly, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*’s (T.865:214b8-c26) Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and its commentary, *Leshu Jingangding yuqie fenbie shengwei xuzheng famen* (T.870:290a2-29), but for one exception. Bodhisattva Smile appears in the south-west corner of the mandala’s prescribed in T.1123(:529c16, c23-25), and T.1124(:534a2-3, a10-12). This is the position of Bodhisattva Garland in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm (T.865:214b21-c2, T.870:290a9-15).

¹⁵¹ See Toganoo, *Mandara no kenkyū*, illustration 99.

¹⁵² Yuanzhao lists ritual manuals T.1119 and T.1120A (T.2516:753b18-20, 768a20-23, T.2157:880b10-13) and T.1122 (T.2157:881a6-7) in his catalogues.

For a discussion of T.1119, see Ian Astley-Kristensen, “An Example of Vajrasattva in the Sino-Japanese Tantric Buddhist Tradition,” *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, vol. 1, pp. 67-87. The figures of the seventeen-deity mandala and their mantras prescribed in this manual correspond to those in T.1123 and T.1120A. Also, see Hunter, “Five Secrets Mandala,” *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 74b-75a for the iconography of the mandala prescribed in T.1119, and the tables in Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 136 and Fukuda, “*Shōshoyugakyō* to *Śrī-paramādi-tantra*,” pp. 45-48 and “Kongōsatta gikirui no kōsatsu,” pp. 58-59).

¹⁵³ See Appendix B, pp. 177-185.

¹⁵⁴ See T.1122:526c28-527b5 and the table in Toganoo, *ibid.*, p. 139. Moreover, this manual closes with a rite of disassociation (T.1122:527b20-c17) wherein the eight Inner and Outer Offering Bodhisattvas from the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm and their mantras are recorded. This information corresponds to the order and the mantras for these deities given in T.873(:306b16-20).

¹⁵⁵ Amoghavajra's translations and compositions provide the iconography of the individual mandalas that compose the iconographic program of the *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo*. We do not know if Amoghavajra had a hand in composing the structure of this mandala. Would it have been his idea to combine the individual mandalas into one large composition of nine mandalas? Henrik Sørensen makes the comment (email dated 2004/07/20) that "the vast majority of the Vajradhatu Mandala material in China shows the different, minor mandalas as individual mandalas, i.e. there is almost nothing in the Chinese material which shows the Vajradhatu in the fully developed form we have from Japan."

A composition of nine square panels is seen in the Indian Buddhist tradition. Nine square panels form a mandala-like configuration done in relief on the walls of the first floor of Cave 12 at Ellora that Geri H. Malandra ("Ellora: The "Archaeology" of a Maṇḍala," *Ars Orientalis* (1985), vol. 15, pp. 67-94 and figs. 2, 5 and 7) dates ca. 710-730 C.E. Here we see a central buddha, who forms the Mudrā of Meditation, surrounded by eight bodhisattvas. Amoghavajra prescribes such a mandala, although there are not one-to-one iconographical matches with the reliefs at Ellora, in the *Bada pusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼陀羅經 (Scripture on the Mandala of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, published in T.1167), a work recorded in the list of translations and compositions (T.2120:839c1) he presented to the emperor in 771. Clearly, such a configuration of a central deity surrounded by figures in the cardinal and intermediate directions and its ritual were constructed and practiced during the time of Amoghavajra's trip to India. Similar expressions of mandala-like representations of buddhas and attendant bodhisattvas on large, square stone panels have been discovered in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. Yoritomi (*Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, pp. 552-557 and illus. 5-13) and Tanaka (*Ryōkai mandara no tanjō*, pp. 74-94) demonstrate that this configuration of a central buddha and eight bodhisattvas is the precursor to the structure of the central courts of the matrix mandalas. See Yoritomi, *ibid.*, illus. 26 and Tanaka, *ibid.*, pp. 91-92. For an overview of Yoritomi's excavations in Orissa, see Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), pp. 50-51. See also Davidson's discussion (*Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, pp. 131-144) of mandala and its relationship to the feudal Indian concepts of "domain" (*kṣetra*) and lords and vassals, and "family" (*kula*) and direction and locality.

Other scholars suggest influences from Chinese indigenous traditions on the structure of this mandala. See, for example, Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, pp. 170-173 (Daoist cult of Taiyi 大一, the "Great Monad", and his Ming Tang 明堂, "Bright Hall" or cosmic palace), his earlier "Seeing Chen-yen Buddhism: Traditional Scholarship and the Vajrayāna in China," *History of Religions*, vol. 29, No. 2 (1989), pp. 87-114, esp. pp. 109-113, and Winfield, Pamela D, "The Mandala as Metropolis," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 719-743, esp. 731-737 (the Zhou dynasty *wang cheng* 王城, or emperor's city). See also ten Grotenhuis, *ibid.*, pp. 53-55 for more indigenous Chinese concepts and this mandala's structure.

¹⁵⁶ See T.1125:535b18-c3; T.1132:570c23-29. The mantra-practicing bodhisattva/practitioner is not striving towards an enlightened realm but is in an enlightened realm and must awaken to it. In Amoghavajra's *Liqujing*, this realm of enlightenment is manifested in our conditioned world by means of the practices and pledges of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. Performing their ritualized yogic practices of mantra and meditative concentrations (T.865:208b9-213c14, T.243:784b12-19, T.1003:609a24-b9, T.1125:538b29-c16), the practitioner acquires the special insights, qualities and powers of these bodhisattvas. He gains, for instance, insight into the ultimate nonduality of conditioned existence, which is, in fact, a realm of wondrous bliss wherein his own desires and impurities have been transformed and he resides in a state of absolute purity. Vajrasattva symbolizes this state of realization.

The path of great bliss presented in Amoghavajra's works foreshadows the meditative technologies of *śākta* (power), the ecstatic energies generated through sexual union that become a predominant characteristic of the path to enlightenment in the later tantras. This type of ritual technology is not overtly present in Amoghavajra's materials.

On great bliss, see Toganoo, "Dairaku no hōmon to mandara" 大樂の法門と曼荼羅, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, pp. 103-140 and "Dairaku shisō no shiteki kōsatsu" 大樂思想の史的考察, *ibid.*, pp. 417-440 and Ian Astley, "Dairaku/Tairaku," *Hōbōgirin*, vol. 7, pp. 931-946. For further discussion of this concept of great bliss that underpins

the Five Mysteries *samādhi* and icon, see Togano, “Jinmitsu no hōmon to mandara” 深密の法門と曼荼羅, *ibid.*, pp. 375-406 and Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 81-121, 162-183, “The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Passions and Enlightenment,” *Temenos. Studies in Comparative Religion*, vol. 24 (1988), pp. 7-27, “An Example of Vajrasattva in the Sino-Japanese Tantric Buddhist Tradition,” *Studies in Central and East Asian Religious Journal of the Seminar for Buddhist Studies*, vol. 1, pp. 67-87. For the development of ritualized sexual technologies after Amoghavajra’s time, see Dalton, “The Development of Perfection: The Interiorization of Buddhist Ritual in the Eight and Ninth Centuries,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 32, pp. 1-30.

¹⁵⁷ See endnote 171 below.

¹⁵⁸ See Stephen Hodge, who gives the tentative dates of 700-after 760 for Buddhaguhya, in his *The Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi Tantra with Buddhaguhya’s Commentary* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 11, 22-23. Davidson also presents information on Buddhaguhya’s career in *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, pp. 154-159, especially his syllabus, p. 158 and endnote 137 on p. 378.

¹⁵⁹ See Kitamura Taidō, “*Tantrārthavatāra no inyōkyōki wo megutte*,” *Daijōbukkyō kara mikkyō e — Katsumata Shunkyō Hakushi koki kinen ronshū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1981), pp. 431-442 and charts on pp. 433, 436, 438.

¹⁶⁰ Kitamura, *ibid.*, chart on p. 433 and discussion on pp. 434-435, 440. See endnotes 126 and 139 above for a discussion on the Tibetan *Śrīparamādyā tantra* and the *Paramādyā tantra*, respectively.

¹⁶¹ The research of Kawasaki Kazuhiro (“Tibetto ni okeru *Rishukōkyō* no mandara no denshō: Sharūji nandō no sakurei wo chūshin ni,” *Mikkyō zuzō*, vol. 20 (December 2001), pp. 49-61) provides a later example of the importance of the *Śrīparamādyā tantra* (P.119, 120) and the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* in Tibetan Buddhism. He presents the iconographic program in Sha lu temple, whose wall paintings were completed in 1335. The walls of the Southern Hall depict (Kawasaki, *ibid.*, pp. 50-54) fifty-one mandalas of the *Śrīparamādyā tantra* as prescribed in two commentaries on this tantra by the scholar-monk Ānandagarbha (active eighth-ninth centuries). These mandalas are a part of a larger program that includes nine mandalas from the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*.

¹⁶² See Chapter Four, References to Specific Sources and References to Extended Scriptures and Yogas.

¹⁶³ See Jacob Dalton’s article on the internalization of Buddhist ritual performance, “The Development of Perfection: The Interiorization of Buddhist Ritual in the Eight and Ninth Centuries,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 32 (2004), pp. 1-30, esp. pp. 5-7, and on Indian and Tibetan schemas of tantric classification, see Dalton, “A Crisis of Doxography: How Tibetans Organized Tantras During the 8th-12th Centuries,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 28/1 (2005), pp. 115-181, esp. pp. 121-124, Hodge, *The Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi Tantra with Buddhaguhya’s Commentary*, p. 23, and Shinichi Tsuda, “Classification of Tantras in dPal brtsegs’s lTa baḥi rim pa bśad pa and its Problems,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (1965), pp. 402-397.

¹⁶⁴ A number of other ritual manuals recorded in the memorial of 771 can be included in the category of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. There are manuals with titles prefixed with the phrase “Yoga of the Adamantine Crown” 金剛頂瑜伽 and contents derived from this source, as well as manuals containing an in-text statement that their contents are “based upon the Adamantine Crown Scripture’s Yoga” 依瑜伽金剛頂經. Examples are *T.1171*, *T.1056*, *T.1032* and *T.908*. As mentioned above, Sakai’s research (*Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 18, pp. 28-37) on *T.1171* establishes that Mañjuśrī’s mantra and four mandalas (*T.1171:705aa10-c6*) derive from the Adamantine Yoga of the Conqueror of the Three Worlds (Trailokyavijaya) 降三世金剛瑜伽, the Fourth of the Eighteen Assemblies outlined in Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui*, and an analysis of the structure of the accompanying rite (*T.1171:705c7-708c13*) identifies its source as the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* (*T.873*). The title, ritual structure and contents (see Appendix B, pp. 189-192) of *T.1056* (title 72a; 72a10: 依瑜伽金剛頂經) and *T.1032* (title 6c4 瑜伽蓮華部念誦法) are also based on *T.873*. Sakai (“*Kongōchō yuga goma giki no issetsu ni tsuite*” 金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌の一節について [Concerning One Passage in the Manual for the Rite of Homa in the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown], *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 19 (1952), pp. 1-12) demonstrates that the contents of the *homa* rite detailed in *T.908* and *909* are found in the Third Assembly and my analysis (Appendix B, pp. 188-189) of its ritual structure shows that *T.873* is its source.

Other manuals acknowledge their source as the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, and examples are *T.1133*(:575a20 依瑜伽金剛頂經), *T.1146*(:603a14 依瑜伽金剛頂經說寶部), and *T.1102* (*T.2157*:880a16 records an inner title of 金剛[頂經]多羅菩薩念誦法).

¹⁶⁵ Some examples for the *Uṣṇīṣa* cult are *T.2120*:839b3 (*T.953*) and b16 (*T.950*) and 839c11 (*T.972*), 839c17 (*T.955*), and 839c18 (*T.954*) and for *dhāraṇī* practice there are *T.2120*:839b9 (*T.1009*), b22 (*T.1163*), b26-29 (*T.1323*, 1324, 1313) and 840a6 (*T.1076*). Also see Orzech, The “Great Teaching of Yoga,” p. 50, notes 99 and 100 for comments on the works listed in this memorial, and Lehnert, “Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism,” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 357-359 for a categorization of Amoghavajra’s works in the 771 memorial, as well as those attributed to him.

¹⁶⁶ For example, see Chapter Two of this dissertation wherein I present interpretations of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* that date from the late Heian to the Edo periods.

¹⁶⁷ For a discussion of the *Liqujing*, see Appendix B, pp. 171-177.

¹⁶⁸ See Appendix B, pp. 177-185.

¹⁶⁹ See *Achu rulai niansong fa* 阿闍如來念誦法 (*T.2120*:839c10, *T.19.921*), *Yizi foding lunwang niansong yigui* 一字佛頂輪王念誦議軌 (*T.2120*:839c18, *T.19.954A*), and *Jenwang niansong yigui* 仁王念誦議軌 (*T.2120*:840a10, *T.19.994*) in Appendix B.

Important examples of Amoghavajra’s compositions are the ritual handbooks for the emperor cult. Orzech (“ Mandalas on the Move: Reflections from Chinese Esoteric Buddhism Circa 800 C.E.,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 19/2 (1996), pp. 209-244, esp. pp. 211, 213, 215-216 and *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, pp. 155, 175-191) argues that this rite as presented in *T.994* and *T.995* is based on the ritual template of his *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. The *Taishō* manuscript for *T.994* does contain a note beneath its title (*T.994*:514a15) recording that its contents “appear in the Scripture of the Adamantine Yoga” 出金剛瑜伽經, although Yuanzhao does not record this information in his catalogues (*T.2156*:768a9-10 or *T.2157*:880b6-7). Moreover, there are references within *T.994* (514a24-26, 518a) to information provided by a “Sanskrit book of the Scripture on the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown” 梵本金剛頂瑜伽經. See Tanaka Masayasu (“Fukūshoden no *Kongōchōyugakyō* ni tsuite (1),” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 39/1 (December 1990), pp. 114-116, esp. p. 116) who concludes that specific reference to this Sanskrit text and its five types of consecration rites (*T.994*:518b) indicates a Sanskrit work from a lineage that differs from that of Amoghavajra’s translation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T.865*). However, my analysis of this rite for the emperor cult reveals that its structure and content (*mudrā*-*mantra* pairs) are based on the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. See Appendix B for my analysis of *T.994* and 995 and the other manuals that belong to this group (*T.1085*, 921, 954A and 1211).

¹⁷⁰ In his last testament, dated the seventh day of the fifth month of the ninth year of Dali 大曆九年五月七日 (June 20, 774), Amoghavajra describes (*T.2120*:844a20) his master’s transmission as “methods in four thousand verses on the yoga” 瑜伽四千頌法. See also *T.2120*:840a12-13 and endnote 108 above.

Vajrabodhi’s translations, recorded in Zhisheng’s 智昇 *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (*T.55.2154*:571b19-26), and in Lu Xiang’s 呂向 account of Vajrabodhi’s life in Yuanzhao’s *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T.2157*:875a29-876b27) attest to his involvement with the very same yoga teachings that Amoghavajra documents in his works. The eight works listed in these catalogues are ritual manuals, and four belong to the system of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. Common to these four manuals are source texts for this yoga system that Vajrabodhi refers to in such ways as “King of the Teachings on the Great Yoga of the Adamantine Crown [excerpted] from [its] Hundred Thousand Verses” 百千頌中金剛頂大瑜伽教王 (*T.18.866*:223c12), “Adamantine Crown Scripture” 金剛頂經 (*T.20.1173*:710a3), “Scripture of the Adamantine Crown Yoga” 瑜伽金剛頂經 (*T.1087*:211b) and “Supreme Methods of Yoga” 瑜伽最勝法 (*T.18.876*:327a). Scholars (Takahashi Hisao, “*Ryakushutsu nenjukyō* to *Vajrodaya* – nyū mandara ni tsuite,” *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 14 (1982), pp. 55-78, Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, ch. 4, part 1, esp. 208-215, and chapter 5, part 1, esp. 238-249, Tanaka, “Fukū shoden no *Kongōchōyugakyō* ni tsuite (2) – Kongōchi Sanzō shoden no *Kongōchōkyō* ni kansuru ikkōsatsu,” *Chizan gakuho*, vol. 40 (1991), pp. 181-197 and “Fukū shoden no *Kongōchōyugakyō* ni tsuite (4),” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 40/2 (1992), pp. 868-865, Inui,

“Chūgoku ni okeru *Kongōchōkyō* denshō – *Ryakushutsukyō* wo chūshin toshite,” *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. 3 (1994), pp. 1-27) demonstrate that Vajrabodhi’s manuals belong to a textual lineage different from that of Amoghavajra’s translation of the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra* (T.865) and its associated ritual manuals because they contain concepts, iconography and practices that are not found in the core group of texts of this lineage.

Vajrabodhi’s *Jingangding yuqiezhong luchu niantong faljing* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦法[經] (Methods [the Taishō manuscript has Scripture] for Recitation and Visualization extracted from the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, T.866) is an important work, evidence that he brought to China in 720, and translated in 723, the latest of Indian Buddhism’s yoga and ritual technology. This work is not a scripture as such but a manual for rites of mandala construction, consecration and yoga with the mandala’s Venerables. Its contents focus on the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃgraha*’s first chapter (Chapter on the Adamantine Realm) and its six mandalas, with greatest attention given to its Great Mandala (*mahāmaṇḍala*), and the rites contain iconographic elements for mandalas and yoga techniques that are elucidated in a chapter (*Sarvakalpa-samuccaya*) of the explanatory tantra on the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra*, the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* (Tantra on the Extensive Secret Yoga of the Adamantine Crown) discussed above. The most important concept common to Vajrabodhi’s manual and the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* is the system of the five families, a development from the four families that are named in Amoghavajra’s translation of another version of the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra*. And, as we have discussed above, Amoghavajra refers in *Liqushi* 16 and 17 to a comprehensive Mandala of the Five Families from a version of the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya* that Vajrabodhi had had drawn on the wall of Chang’an’s Jianfusi.

Takahashi (“*Ryakushutsu nenjūkyō* to *Vajrodaya*,” *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 14, pp. 55-78) collates the correspondences between Vajrabodhi’s *Jingangding yuqiezhong luchu niansong jing* and the *Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalopāyikā Sarvavajrodaya nāma*, also a handbook for rites on the adamantine realm by the Indian scholar-monk Ānandagarbha, active eighth-ninth centuries (ibid, p. 56, note 6), that survives only in the Tibetan canon. Both works contain influences from works that postdate the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra*. Vajrabodhi does not cite his source text in his ritual manual but Ānandagarbha does, revealing that both works draw on common sources constituting predecessors of the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*, an early form for Vajrabodhi and a more developed form for Ānandagarbha.

Scholars (Kitamura Taidō, “*Tantrārthāvatāra* no inyōkyōki wo meguru,” *Daijō bukkyō kara mikkyō e. Katsumata Shūkyō Hakushi koki kinen ronshū*, pp. 431-442, for example) show how important the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*, in whatever its early forms might have been, in both the Indian and Tibetan tantric traditions. For example, as noted above, Buddhaguhya, active at the time of Amoghavajra, cites from the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra* in his *Tantrārthāvatāra*, when further elucidating the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra*. Buddhaguhya records, for instance, that (Yoritomi, *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū*, p. 201, Inui, “Chūgoku ni okeru *Kongōchōkyō* denshō – *Ryakushutsukyō* wo chūshin toshite,” p. 11 and note 46 on p. 23) the Action Family (*karma-kula*) is not discussed as a separate family in the *Sarvatathātagata-tattva-saṃghra* because it is included in the Gem Family (*maṇi-kula*), but it is discussed as an independent family in the *Vajraśekhara-mahāguhya-yoga tantra*, resulting in the system of five families.

For biographical material on Vajrabodhi, see the ninth volume of Zhisheng’s *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (T.50.2154:571b19-b13); Lu Xiang’s 呂向 account of Vajrabodhi’s life in Yuanzhao’s *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2157:875a29-876b27) and Hunlunweng’s 混倫翁 stūpa inscription and preface for the Late Tripiṭaka Vajra[bodhi] of the Daguangfusi in the Eastern Capital of the Great Tang 大唐東京大廣福寺故金剛三藏銘塔并序, also collected in the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2157:876b29-877a21). For secondary sources see Chou Yi-Liang, “Tantrism in China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8 (1944-5), pp. 241-332, esp. pp. 272-284, Charles D. Orzech, “Vajrabodhi (671-741),” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 345-350, and Jeffrey Sundberg and Rolf Giebel, “The Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi as Chronicled by Lū Xiang (呂向): South Indian and Śrī Laṅkān Antecedents to the Arrival of Buddhist Vajrayāna in Eighth-Century Java and China,” *Pacific World. Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Third Series, vol. 13 (Fall 2011), pp. 129-222.

¹⁷¹ Amoghavajra’s recordings of the materials he brought back from his trip to India in some of his memorials correspond with his statements (see endnote 108) in the 771 memorial. See the memorial (T.2120:827c24-828a17), dated the third year of Zhide 至德三年 (758), wherein he thanks Emperor Suzong for a gift of incense. He states that (827c28-828a1)

“wanting to spread the secret teachings, I traveled alone many thousands of miles. Studying throughout India... I investigated thoroughly [the teachings on] the Five Families and mantras

concerning Āmra[pālī's] garden..." 思弘密教。弧遊萬里。遍學五天。。專精五部窮奈苑之眞言。

In his last testament, dated 774, Amoghavajra writes (*T.2120:844a21-23*, Osabe, Daisōchō zō Shikū Daibenshō Kōchi sanzō wajō hyōseishū, *Gokyūbu, Kokuyaku Issaikyō*, vol. 98, p. 64, note 320, 321 and 322):

"Therefore, I travelled far to India ... Everywhere I studied yoga and I revered the sacred remains. I obtained the repository of [yoga] methods in one hundred thousand verses [and] the seal of [this] transmission." 是以遠遊天竺。。遍學瑜伽。親禮聖跡。得十萬頌法藏印可。

Amoghavajra also describes his journey in his farewell letter to Emperor Daizong, dated the fifth day of the sixth month of the ninth year of Dali 大曆九年六月十五日 (July 28, 774). He writes (*T.2120:846b1-16*):

I crossed the southern seas and travelled throughout India. [There] I inquired about what I had not yet heard and learned what I had not understood. What I obtained were one hundred thousand verses of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown, mantras of various categories, as well as scriptures and commentaries, and so forth, some five hundred thousand odd verses. 越度南海。周遊五天。尋其未聞。習其未解。所得金剛頂瑜伽十萬頌諸部眞言及經論等五十餘萬頌。

¹⁷² We have noted Amoghavajra's construction in the palace (endnote 108) and in Daixingshansi (endnote 114) of ritual arenas for consecration into the methods Yoga of the Adamantine Crown. An edit (*T.2120:846c15-20*, Orlando, *The Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra*, p. 77) announced by Li Xiancheng, Palace Commissioner for Overseeing Buddhist Affairs 內謁者監李憲誠, which orders his disciples to continue the yoga methods as taught and practiced by Amoghavajra during his lifetime, further testifies to the great influence his teaching of these yoga methods had upon the Court. See Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, pp. 147-159, 174-191 for his discussion of Amoghavajra's esoteric polity which centered on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and rituals for state-protection Buddhism.

In his last testament (*T.2120:844b16*), Amoghavajra mentions his sojourns in Hexi 河西 and Nanhai[jun] 南海[郡]. For the details of his religious mission in the provinces, his military patrons to whom he gave consecration into the teachings of Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and the accompanying miracles, see Feixi's stele biography (*T.2120:848c24-29*), Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (*T.2157:881b14-27*) and Zhao Qian's *Datang gudafu zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Bukong sanzang xingzhuang* (*T.2056:293b2-6*), and Orlando's *The Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra*.

¹⁷³ Amoghavajra records the transmission he gave to his most gifted disciples in his last testament. He writes (*T.2120:844a28-b3*):

It has been thirty odd years since I have received consecration. Disciples who have entered the altar [= mandala] and been given the [consecration] rite are extremely numerous. Eight [disciples] have thoroughly mastered [the methods of] the Five Families [of the Adamantine Realm], but two passed away, one after the other, [and so now] there are only six. Those who were given this [transmission] are, namely, Hanguang of Jinge [Monastery], Hych'o [Huizhao] of Silla, Huiguo of Qinglong [Monastery], Huilang of Chongfu [Monastery], and Yuanzhao and Quezhao of Baoshou [Monastery]. 吾當代灌頂三十餘年。入壇授法弟子頗多。五部琢磨成立八箇。淪亡相次。唯有六人。其誰得之。則有金闍含光新羅慧超青龍慧果崇福慧朗保壽元皎覺超。

¹⁷⁴ Amoghavajra describes what he had achieved in the Chinese capital in his last testament and farewell letter to Emperor Daizong. In both descriptions his achievements center on the teachings and practices of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown.

In his last testament, he records (*T.2120:844a24-27*) his transmission to the emperors and describes the practices at Court:

The Emperors have been taught all the mudrās and methods of the secret transmission of the Yoga. Here, since [the reign of] the present Emperor, [the ritual arena for practice of] the most profound Yoga in Eighteen Assemblies has been completely set up. There, the [ritual practices for the Adamantine Realm's] sacred group of Thirty-Seven are carried out one by one and[, further,] each time the ritual arena is entered, [the most important ritual acts of] visualization and recitation are performed according to the [proper] time. The Emperor constantly visualizes the mind of [Mahāvairocana, who possesses the] Five Wisdoms [of the Adamantine Realm's Five Tathāgatas]

and all the Court officials fully uphold [the practice of] the seals of the three esoterica[, that is, the mudrās, the mantras and visualizations of the deity’s body, speech and mind, respectively]. 人主尽授瑜伽密傳法契。爰自今聖弘教。最深十八會瑜伽尽皆建立。三十七聖衆一一修行。每入道場。依時念誦。九重萬乘恒觀五智之心。闕庭百寮尽持三密之印。

In his farewell letter to Emperor Daizong, Amoghavajra writes (T.2120:846b5): “I have spread the Gate to the Yoga Methods for some thirty odd years.” 三十餘年演瑜伽法門。The Emperor (846c1) acknowledges his having come from India to spread the Yoga [teachings] and its Sanskrit scriptures. 來自五天。敷演瑜伽。宜流梵夾。

Finally, Amoghavajra’s disciples continued his translation activities. For example, see Yuanzhao’s list of new translations in his *Datang zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2156:768a15-c24, 753cb16-754a20; T.2157:880b8-881a7), wherein works related to the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown are recorded. Examples, to give but a few (I have relied on the titles recorded in the catalogues and have given here the numbers as published in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*), are T.1120A, 1119, 1172, 957, 1175, 1176, 1040, 931, 1665, 1030, 1209, as well as 1122 (which is listed only in the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*).

¹⁷⁵ This is the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* 觀自在菩薩真言觀行儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Visualization Practice of the Mantra of Bodhisattva Aryāvalokiteśvara, T.19.1031), which is recorded in T.2120:839c23, as well as in T.2156:767c9-10 and T.2157:880a11-12. This manual’s ritual acts are found in the ritual performance outlined in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*’s appended seventh scroll, and in the *Dapiluzhena chengfu shenbian jiachi jing lue shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經略示七支念誦隨行法 (T.18.856), a manual that Yuanzhao attributes to his master in his *Datang zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* (T.2156:753c18-19, 768b22-23) and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2157:880c9-10). See Appendix B wherein I discuss the structure and content of T.1031.

¹⁷⁶ See T.2120:840a4, as well as T.2156:749c10, 767c29 and 2157:880a29, where Yuanzhao records the title as *Dubu tuoluoni mu* 都部陀羅尼目 and notes in the latter two entries that “the scripture’s inner title is Essential Points [from] Books [belonging to] the Teachings on *Dhāraṇī*” 經內題云 陀羅尼門諸部要目。We can substitute mantra for *dhāraṇī* in the title of this work because the texts discussed are mainly translations by Amoghavajra and Śubākarasiṃha that focus on the use of mantra technology. (See Richard McBride, II, “Dhāraṇī and Spells in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 28/1 (2005), pp. 85-114, esp. p. 110.)

The author’s concerns are the deities and mandalas, as well as major concepts, mantras and practices in such recently translated works as the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* 一切如來真實攝, the First of the Eighteen Assemblies that compose the Fundamental Scriptures on Yoga 瑜伽本經 (T.903:898c9-899a9), the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* 毘盧遮那成道經 (899a14-b9), the abbreviated version in seven volumes that has been translated in China, the *Susiddhikara sūtra* 蘇悉地經 (899b10-c11), the *Subāhupariṣcchā sūtra* 蘇婆呼童子經 (899c15-900a8) and the *Dali sanmeiye jing* 怛唎三昧耶經 (900a8-18). There is short mention of contents in two other esoteric works, the *Sarvakalpa-samuccaya yoga* 一切如來教集瑜伽 (Yoga of the Collection of Teachings of All the Tathāgatas, 899a10-14), a work that corresponds to the Third of the Eighteen Assemblies in the Fundamental Scriptures on Yoga, as already mentioned, and the *Ruixiye jing* 蕤[ふ]耶經 (899c11-15, *Guhya tantra*, T.897).

The order of presentation tells us that the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* is a significant work because in the *Zhubu tuoluoni mu* it is discussed first, perhaps because it is the most recent of the translations. Although the *Guhya tantra* (T.897) is not listed in the 771 memorial, it was a work introduced by Kūkai, appearing in his *Sanjūjō sakushi* 三十帖冊子 (see Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 187). Some form of this work could have been around during Amoghavajra’s time.

Nobumi Iyanaga questions whether the whole of the *Zhubu tuoluoni mu* was written by Amoghavajra (personal email communications dated June 4, 7 and 10, 2008). He accepts that Amoghavajra could have written the first section on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* but has doubts about the remaining sections. His main concern is the last section on the *Dali sanmeiye jing* (900a8-18), which has been identified as T.1201, a work that is listed in the 771 memorial. In addition to questioning the reliability of the authorship of the *Zhubu tuoluoni mu*, Iyanaga suggests that Amoghavajra’s disciples could have added works to the listing given in the 771 memorial. These are interesting problems for future research. See Iyanaga’s posting on kuden-ML Amoghavajra and the “Garbhadātu,” dated June 8, 2008, wherein he presents the many problems this document raises.

Iyanaga also notes in this posting on kuden-ML the texts wherein the term 大悲胎藏 occurs. His computer search of the Chinese translations of Indian Esoteric Buddhist works 密教部 in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, as well as the Chinese collection of histories and biographies 史傳部, catalogues 目錄部 and encyclopedias 事彙部, came up with the *Zhubu tuoluoni mu*, T.1000 (a work that Yuanzhao attributes to his master in his catalogues T.2156:751a22-23, 768a17-18; 2157:880b9), T.1067 (a work the *Taishō* editors attribute to Amoghavajra), as well as the biographies of Amoghavajra produced by his disciples. I discuss T.1000 and T.1067 in Chapter Three of this dissertation and I discuss Iyanaga's findings below.

¹⁷⁷ T.2120:844b4-7. It is difficult to know if Amoghavajra is referring to one deity among the Five Families in the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm or one deity in the Buddhist pantheon. See Kūkai's recording and rewriting of the transmission that his master Huiguo received from Amoghavajra in Chapter Three, pp. 66-67 and related endnotes. He interprets Amoghavajra's transmission from the perspective of the "two categories" 兩部的 paired *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanaḥisambodhi sūtra*.

¹⁷⁸ These are the *Darijing lue she niansong suixing fa* 大日經略攝念誦隨行法 (T.18.857) and the *Dapiluzhena chengfu shenbian jiachi jing lue shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* (T.18.856). See T.2156:768b21-23, 753c16-19; T.2157:880c8-10. Yuanzhao includes these two ritual manuals in a new listing of forty translations that were made after his recording of the works Amoghavajra enumerated in his 771 memorial. He begins this list of new translations (T.2156:768a15-16, 751a3-4; T.2157:880b8) with the *Dasheng Wenshushili Pusa focha gongde zhuangyan jing* 大聖文殊師利菩薩佛刹功德莊嚴經 (T.11.319) in three scrolls. This text is one of three works that Amoghavajra mentions in his last testament. Here (T.2120:844b27-c1) he requests his lay disciple Zhao Qian 趙遷 to present their final three jointly-worked translations to the emperor. These are the *Wenshu jing* 文殊經 (Scripture on Mañjuśrī), *Baoulouge niansong fa* 寶樓閣念誦法 (Rite for Visualization and Recitation of the Jeweled Pavilion) and *Rulaizang jing* 如來藏經 (Scripture on the Tathāgata's Repository), each in one scroll. Further, in his farewell letter to Emperor Daizong, written on the day of his death, Amoghavara records (T.2120:846b19-20) that he has recently presented to the Emperor for propagation a scripture on Mañjuśrī 大聖文殊佛刹經.

The two ritual manuals for the matrix rite appear in the middle of Yuanzhao's new list of forty works, suggesting that they are compositions made after Amoghavajra's death. We cannot know if Amoghavajra had a hand in the composition of these manuals, although the Avalokiteśvara rite mentioned above (T.1031) is evidence of his knowledge and practice of the matrix rite, or if his disciples required such manuals and so composed the manuals themselves. For a discussion of these two ritual manuals and their textual sources, see Osabe Kazuo, "Fukū yaku taizōhōki shokō," *Tōsō mikkyōshi ronkō* (1982), pp. 260-270.

¹⁷⁹ See T.2120 and Orlando, "A Study of Chinese Documents," ch. 2, pp. 38-93, which is his summary of the contents of this collection of documents.

¹⁸⁰ I have consulted the short biographies by his lay disciple Yan Ying 嚴郢 and his monastic disciple Feixi 飛錫, which are collected in Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biao zhiji*, as well as the *Datang gudade zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Bukong sanzang xingzhuang* 大唐故大德贈司空大辨正廣智不空三藏行狀, a separate biography written by his lay disciple Zhao Qian 趙遷. Further, I have examined Yuanzhao's catalogues, the *Datang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, dated 794, and the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, dated 800, which present, on the whole, much the same information on Amoghavajra's career that is given in his *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biao zhiji*. However, the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* includes new, as well as contradictory, information, which I take note of below.

The biographies differ in style, focus and length. Further, information concerning the events of Amoghavajra's life story in these biographies is often contradictory. For studies on these biographies, see Chou Yi-Liang, "Tantrism in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, pp. 284-307, Osabe, Daibenshō Kōchis anzō wajō hyōseishū kaidai, *Gokyūbu, Kokuyaku Issaikyō*, vol. 98, pp. 472-475, Katsumata Shunkyō, "Fukū Sanzō no hibun ni tsuite," *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 1/3 (1969), pp. 97-113, Orlando, A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra, pp. 131-171 and Orzech, The "Great Teaching of Yoga," the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism, *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, pp. 52-57.

There are also important variations in the recordings by Amoghavajra and his disciples concerning the destination of his westward journey and the name of the master whose transmission was brought back to China. Amoghavajra records that he went to the Five Indias 五天, 五竺 (see T.2120:827c28-828a1, 840a13-15, 846b14-16, for example), a term that signifies the regions in the north, south, east, west and center, but he does not specify a particular region. Further, he does not name the Indian master(s) under whom he studied. His disciples, on the other hand, record that their master travelled to India and Sri Lanka or just to Sri Lanka. The name of his Indian master also varies. I note these differences in the text and endnotes below.

These differences are significant and were used “creatively” by Kūkai in his histories of the Shingon patriarchs. See, for example, Ryūichi Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 220-234 and my discussion in Chapter Three of this dissertation. See also Sundberg and Giebel, “The Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi as Chronicled by Lū Xiang (呂向): South Indian and Śrī Laṅkān Antecedents to the Arrival of Buddhist Vajrayāna in Eighth-Century Java and China,” *Pacific World. Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Third Series, vol. 13, pp. 129-222, who, in presenting a biography that focuses on Vajrabodhi’s life before he arrived in China in 720, elucidate the political and religious circumstances of Southern India, Sri Lanka and Java in an attempt to trace the site and possible source of the latest Esoteric Buddhist teachings centered on the collection of yoga-works that Amoghavajra brought back to China in 746.

¹⁸¹ 大唐大廣智三藏和上影讚并序 (Eulogy and Preface written to accompany the Portrait of the Great Tang’s Preceptor [honorifically titled] Master of the Tripiṭaka [possessed of] Great Broad Wisdom). T.2120:847a2-b7. According to Katsumata (“Fukū Sanzō no hibun ni tsuite,” *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 1/3, p. 101), this work was composed shortly after Amoghavajra’s death.

¹⁸² 唐大興善寺故大德大辨正廣智三藏和尚碑銘并序 (Stele Inscription and Preface for the Preceptor [honorifically titled] Master of the Tripiṭaka [possessed of] True, Broad Wisdom and Great Discrimination, the Late Great Worthy of the Tang’s Daxingshansi). T.2120:860a8-c9. This stele biography, according to an attached note (ibid, 860c10), was included among the documents recording the official history of the Tang Dynasty.

¹⁸³ 大唐故大德贈司空大辨正廣智不空三藏行狀 (Account of Conduct of the Great Tang’s Late Great Worthy [posthumously] Bestowed [the rank title] Sikong [and the honorific title] Master of Tripiṭaka, The Infallible One (Amoghavajra), [possessed of] True, Broad Wisdom and Great Discrimination). T.2056:292b-294c.

¹⁸⁴ As Sundberg and Giebel (“The Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” *Pacific World. Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Third Series, vol. 13, p. 134 and footnote 27) have noted, it is in Lū Xiang’s biography of Vajrabodhi that a transmission link is made between Nāgārjuna, Nāgajñāna and Vajrabodhi. The authors date (ibid, pp. 133-134, 141 and footnote 17) Lū Xiang’s biography around 757-765 and so we can surmise that Yan Ying was not the creator of this new lineage, but that it was a topic important to a number of Amoghavajra’s disciples, and perhaps even for Amoghavajra himself.

¹⁸⁵ T.2120:847a6-12.

Long ago Buddha Vairocana transmitted to Vajrasattva the Teachings of Yoga of the Supreme, Secret and Greatest Vehicle. [And then,] Vajrasattva, after some hundreds of years, met Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna and transmitted [these teachings] to him. Nāgārjuna, too, after some hundreds of years, transmitted [these teachings] to Ācārya Nāgajñāna. Nāgajñāna, after some hundreds of years, again transmitted [the teachings] to Ācārya Vajrabodhi. Vajrabodhi, carrying his monk’s staff, came eastward and transmitted [these teaching] to our Teacher [Amoghavajra]. From the Tathāgata [Vairocana], the Law Body, until our Teacher only six have transmitted this path [of teaching]. 昔毘盧遮那佛以瑜伽無上祕密最大乘教傳於金剛薩埵。金剛薩埵數百歲方得龍猛菩薩而傳授焉。龍猛又數百歲乃傳龍智阿闍梨。龍智又數百歲傳金剛智阿闍梨。金剛智振錫東來傳於和上。自法身如來至于和上傳此道者六人而已矣。

Further, Yan Ying’s summary of this lineage (847b4-5) in this eulogy is: “The legitimate successors of the transmission [on the supreme and secret yoga] until now are six [in number].” 法化正嫡迄今六人。

¹⁸⁶ Yan Ying does not *specify* that Amoghavajra met Ācārya Nāgajñāna in Sri Lanka in his eulogy or stele inscription. He states in the eulogy (T.2120:847a14-15) that Amoghavajra crossed the seas to reach *such* countries as India and Sri Lanka. Then he describes Amoghavajra's meeting with Nāgajñāna. 先師既歿。和上遂泛海遊天竺師子等國。詣詣龍智阿闍梨。。。。 The same pattern is repeated in the stele inscription (T.2120:860b8-9) where Amoghavajra went westward to *such* countries as India and Sri Lanka 和尚又西遊天竺師子等國詣龍智阿闍梨。 In this stele inscription (T.2120:860b12-13), after recording that he cannot write about Amoghavajra's trip to India to visit the tree of enlightenment because his master did not speak about this trip, Yan Ying records that the event of taming a wild elephant occurred in a narrow alley in the Western Regions 西域隘巷。 Both Feixi (T.2120:848c15-18) and Zhao Qian (T.2056:293 c12-15) place this event in Sri Lanka.

¹⁸⁷ T.2120:847a14-17.

After his Teacher [Vajrabodhi] passed away, our Teacher again crossed the ocean and travelled to countries such as India and Sri Lanka. He visited Ācārya Nāgajñāna and received the methods of the Eighteen Assemblies of Yoga, the secret repository of the Five Families and scriptures [Śākyamuni] bequeathed [concerning] the Three Vehicles [of the śrāvaka, pratyekabuddhas and bodhisattvas]. Studying [these teachings] to their quintessence, there was nothing that he did not thoroughly master. 先師既歿。和上遂泛海遊天竺師子等國。詣詣龍智阿闍梨更得瑜伽十八會法五部祕藏三乘遺典。莫不究其精奧焉。

¹⁸⁸ T.2120:860b4-8.

Long ago, Vajrasattva personally received the import of the Superlative Vehicle of Yoga before Buddha Vairocana. After some hundreds of years [Vajrasattva] transmitted [these teachings] to Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna. Nāgārjuna, again after some hundreds of years, transmitted [these teachings] to Ācārya Nāgajñāna and Nāgajñāna transmitted them to Ācārya Vajrabodhi. Vajrabodhi came eastward and transmitted [these teachings] to our Teacher. 昔金剛薩埵親於毘盧遮那佛前受瑜伽最上乘義。後數百歲傳於龍猛菩薩。龍猛又數百歲傳於龍智阿闍梨。龍智傳金剛智阿闍梨。金剛智東來傳於和尚。

¹⁸⁹ T.2120:860b8-10. 和尚又西遊天竺師子等國詣龍智阿闍梨。揚[カク]十八會法。法化相承。自毘盧遮那如來迨於和尚凡六葉矣。

Further, Yan Ying records (860b20-21) that Amoghavajra's teachings were passed on to Huilang 惠朗 who became the seventh patriarch. 沙門惠朗受次補之記。得傳燈之旨。繼明佛日。紹六為七。 The stele biography ends (860b27-28) with this verse:

As for the Superior Vehicle of Yoga and its words of reality and secret [hand] gestures, six generations have imparted and received [these teachings], handing the lamp of transmission successively from one to the other. 瑜伽上乘 眞語密契 六葉授受 傳燈相繼。

¹⁹⁰ T.2056:292b19-25. 昔者婆伽梵毘盧遮那。以金剛頂瑜伽祕密教王眞言法印。付屬金剛手菩薩。垂近千載。傳龍猛菩薩。數百年後。龍猛傳龍智阿闍梨那。後數百年。龍智傳金剛智阿闍梨那。金剛智傳今之大師。雖源一流派分。蓋數十人違而已。家嫡相繼。我師承其六。

¹⁹¹ Yan Ying summarizes in his eulogy (T.2120:847b3-4) the character of his master's transmission in verse.

The gateway to the secrets of the Superior Vehicle of Yoga [enable its practitioners to] transcend various meditative concentrations and instantly enter the buddha's body. 瑜伽上乘祕密之門。度諸禪定頓入佛身。

In his stele biography (T.2120:860b1-3), he presents the contents and goal of Amoghavajra's teachings as that which prescribes the meanings of the letters of mantras and the liturgy for ascending the altar for consecration so that practitioners can access the fast track to buddhahood. 夫眞言字義之憲度。灌頂升壇之軌迹。則時成佛之速。

Yuanzaho's accounts of Amoghavajra's study in the west do not contradict those of Yan Ying. He records in his Preface (T.2120:826c22-23) to the *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji* that his master visited India and there investigated Sanskrit books on yoga. 大師歿後還詣五天。梵本瑜伽備皆披閱周遊遍覽。旋赴帝京。 He presents the information from his Preface (T.2120:826c19-28) to the *Daizongchao zeng*

Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biao zhiji again in both his catalogues. See T.2156:754a21-29, esp. 24-25 and T.2157:889c25-890a5, esp. 889c29-890a1.

In his *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2157:881a10-c18, esp. a28-b7) Yuanzhao describes in great detail what Amoghavajra studied in Sri Lanka and what he brought back to China. Again, although he does not name an Indian teacher, he records that Amoghavajra studied secret *dhāraṇīs* and thoroughly mastered such practices as protecting the body with the three esoterica, the mudrās of the Five families, methods [for making] mandalas and the Thirty-Seven Venerables, yoga and *homa* [rites]. Further, he documents that his master returned to China with the Sanskrit copies of the Scripture of the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown and philosophical treatises of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna.

¹⁹² T.2120:848b14-849c3. This is titled the *Datang gudade kaifuyitongsansi shihongluqing suguogong Daxingshansi Daguangzhi sanzang heshang zhi bei* 大唐故大德開府儀同三司試鴻臚卿肅國公大興善寺大廣智三藏和上之碑。

¹⁹³ Feixi records (T.2120:848b28-c2) that Vajrabodhi finally granted Amoghavajra, who wished to study the Treatise on Words and their Meaning and to thoroughly investigate the Yoga doctrine, instruction in the three mysteries and spoke about the Five Wisdoms [of the Buddhas of the Adamantine Realm] 欲學聲明論窮瑜伽宗。。。遂に授以三密。談於五智。

He details (T.2120:848c3-14, esp. 9-14) the teachings that Amoghavajra received from Ācārya Samantabhadra during his trip to Sri Lanka. (Note that Yan Ying's biographies (T.2120:847a14-15, 860b8-9) record this master's name as Nāgajñāna. In Zhao Qian's biography (T.2056:293a6-9), too, this master is called Samantabhadra.) These were “the Yoga of the Adamantine Crown in Eighteen Assemblies, as well as Vairocana's Matrix Repository of Great Compassion, secret texts [concerning] mantras and consecrations for the Five Families, and scriptures and scholastic discourses, about five hundred odd Sanskrit works [in all].” 國有普賢阿闍梨者。。。尋即授以十八會金剛頂瑜伽并毘盧遮那大悲胎藏五部灌頂真言祕典經論梵夾五百余部。僉以為得其所傳。

¹⁹⁴ The Esoteric Buddhist lineage recorded in Yan Ying's and Zhao Qian's works has such minor differences as names (Vajrasattva in the former as opposed to Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi in the latter) and times (“after several hundreds of years” as opposed to “close to one thousand years later”). See T.2120:847a8, 860b4-6 and T.292a20-21. The basic facts of Amoghavajra's story in Zhao Qian's biography derive from Feixi's stele inscription, but they are always embellished and sometimes reordered.

¹⁹⁵ This is the *Jingangding yuqie bimi xindi famen yijue* 金剛頂瑜伽祕密心地法門義訣 (T.39.1798), which I discuss below.

¹⁹⁶ T.2056:292c8-12. 為與傳授五部之法。灌頂護摩阿闍梨教。大日經悉地儀軌。諸佛頂部衆眞言行。The Buddhōṣṇīṣas figure in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* are members of the Buddha Family, one of the three Families in this text. See T.903:899b10, b15.

¹⁹⁷ T.2056:293a6-9. 他日尋普賢阿闍梨等。奉獻寶錦繡之屬。請開十八會金剛頂瑜伽法門毘盧遮那大悲胎藏。建立壇法。

Zhao Qian relates (T.2056:292c14-293a16) in detail Amoghavajra's trip to Sri Lanka (293a9-12): No longer needing a regular teacher, Amoghavajra travelled throughout Sri Lanka, inquiring about scriptures on mantra...fundamental emblems and secret mudrās of the deities, prescribed forms and colors of icons, altars, rites and banners, the intrinsic and extrinsic meanings of texts. There was nothing whose source he did not exhaust. 大師自爾。覺無常師。遍更討尋諸眞言經。并諸經論五百余部。本三昧諸尊密印。儀形色像。壇法標識。文義性相。無不盡源。He records his travels through the Five Indias in a single sentence (293a15-16): 又遊五天。巡歷諸國。

¹⁹⁸ T.2056:294b24-26. 是以有蘇悉地毘盧遮那金剛頂經諸眞言部。若戒定慧。頓漸半滿。大師之教也。Zhao Qian records in this passage that Amoghavajra's teachings included the standard Buddhist teachings on precepts, meditation and wisdom. Further, he gives a description of Amoghavajra's methods of teachings, that of “the middle [between] the sudden and the gradual.” See Orlando, *A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra*, p. 157.

¹⁹⁹ See Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), Appendix 1 On Esoteric Buddhism in China, pp. 264-278, esp. pp. 268-269 where he documents such historical facts as: Ch'an monks, particularly those of the Northern School, studied esoteric texts and participated in esoteric rituals; Yixing (685-727), Śubhākarasiṃha's student and co-translator of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*, was also a disciple of the seventh Northern School patriarch; and Kenneth Eastman's statement that Śubhākarasiṃha's and Yixing's work "might rightly be considered as belonging to the Northern School of Cha'an, whose members solicited it, recorded it, and seemingly disseminated it." This suggests that Amoghavajra's disciples must have felt the need to distinguish themselves from Chan monks and their appropriation of esoteric materials by specifying their master's expertise. See also Orzech's discussion of Amoghavajra's multiple transmission and his disciples construction of a unilinear transmission, their borrowing of language to describe this exclusive lineage from eighth-century Chan circles, and yet the uniqueness of their claims in his "Great Teaching of Yoga," the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism, *Journal of Chinese Religions*, vol. 34, pp. 52-57. See also Jinhua Chen's documentation of the lineages of Amoghavajra's disciples in his *Crossfire: Shingon-Tendai Strife*, pp. 103-106.

²⁰⁰ See Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, pp. 192-203 for his excellent analysis of the significance and purpose of this collection of documents, esp. p. 193.

²⁰¹ Orzech (ibid, pp. 203-204) has clarified the intents underlying Yuanchao's catalogues. The earliest, the *Datang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (T. 2156), served as "propaganda for the Esoteric school" because its concern was to present the *Renwang jing* as "the exemplar for a 'national protection' Esoteric Buddhism that was exported to Korea and Japan." The *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2157) is a "massive catalogue of Buddhist scriptures, though one that highlights scriptures of the Esoteric school."

²⁰² See T. Griffith Foulk, "The Ch'an *Tsung* in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?" *The Pacific World*, New Series, no. 8 (1992), pp. 18-31, esp. pp. 22-25, where he presents the activities of Shen-hui (d.758) and his dharma heirs, who were active at the same time as Amoghavajra and his disciples. Shen-hui established a claim to Bodhidharma's lineage and had built at his Ho-tse Monastery in Loyang a mortuary portrait hall wherein portraits of six generations of patriarchs were enshrined. High-ranking government officials composed the text for the stele and the preface to the portraits, signifying the recognition and financial support Shen-hui received for these activities. The Ch'an historian Tsung-mi (780-841) recorded instances of imperial support and so further legitimacy for Shen-hui's and his disciples during the later part of the eighth and early nine centuries. For example, in 763 the emperor had a monastery constructed at Shen-hui's stūpa site in Loyang; Emperor Daizong granted a doorway plaque for the monastery's patriarch's hall in 770 and an imperial plaque for the stūpa in 772; in 796, during Emperor Tezong's reign, Shen-hui was officially recognized as the seventh patriarch; a memorial stele written in 806 for his disciple Hui-chien (719-792) records that an imperial grant enabled the construction of a Kuanyin hall that housed portraits of the seven patriarchs.

Yuanchao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biao zhiji* contains many documents recording the numerous instances of imperial support that Amoghavajra received for his religious projects, as well as Emperor Daizong's support for his dharma heirs, such as contributions for the construction of a stūpa and portrait hall and the granting of special titles to Amoghavajra. See Orlando, *The Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra*.

²⁰³ Comparable is Shen-hui's teachings on "sudden enlightenment" in order to garner converts and patronage. See Foulk, "The Ch'an *Tsung* in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?" *The Pacific World*, New Series, no. 8, p. 24.

²⁰⁴ I have recorded the title as listed in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 93. Under this rubric Kūkai has also included, for example (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 92-93), Yuanzhao's *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biao zhiji* and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*.

Henrik Sørensen (personal communication August 18, 2017) writes that the *Jingangding yuqie bimi xindi famen yijue* is listed as a work by Amoghavajra in the Dunhuang manuscripts that documents the integration between the *Brahmajala* and Esoteric Buddhist ritualism.

²⁰⁵ The story goes that a great worthy, whose recitation of the mantra of Mahāvairocana resulted in a manifestation of this Buddha, was made to record this Buddha’s exposition, which was, “namely, the present [Chinese version of the] Essentials of the Methods of Contemplation and Recitation [Expounded] by Vairocana in one scroll 即今毘盧遮那念誦法要一卷.” See T.39.1798:808a29-b3 and Orzech, “The Legend of the Iron Stūpa,” *Buddhism in Practice* (Donald Lopez, ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 314-317. Although the contents of this work cannot be known from this title and brief passage, Orzech identifies it as a work within the *Vairocanābhisambodhi* lineage. This is T.18.849, a translation attributed to Vajrabodhi but not recorded under Vajrabodhi’s name in T.2154:571b19-27 or T.2157:875a4-13, 876b16-24.

²⁰⁶ T.1798:808b3-28 and Orzech, “The Legend of the Iron Stūpa,” pp. 316-317.

²⁰⁷ See his *Himitsu mandarakyō fuhōden* 祕密漫荼羅教付法傳 (Record of the Transmission of the Teachings on the Secret Mandala, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 1-49), for example. Yuanzhao’s works are listed in the *Shōrai mokuroku* (see endnote 204 above). See also Mukai Ryūken, “Fūkūanzō denki shiryō ikkōsatsu,” *Taishō daigaku daigakuin kenkyū ronshū* (Tokyo: Taishō daigaku shuppanbu, 1978), pp. 103-114, and Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, esp. pp. 117-118, 220-232.

An early description of the Esoteric Buddhist lineage and its transmission is recorded in Kūkai’s *Shōrai mokuroku* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 83) but no mention is made of an iron tower. Here mention is made of Amoghavajra’s visit to Nāgajñāna in southern India, his acquisition of the Yoga in Eighteen Assemblies 十八會瑜伽 and his thorough study of “the secret treasury that included such teachings as the Matrix Repository 胎藏等密藏.”

²⁰⁸ He authored the commentary based on Śubhākarasiṃha’s oral teachings. See Orzech, “Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang,” *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 276-278.

²⁰⁹ Zhisheng records in his *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (T.2154:571c4-6) that Yixing received consecration and instruction from Vajrabodhi. See also Yuanzhao’s *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2157:875a19-21).

²¹⁰ Kūkai records (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 95) that this rubric includes “images of buddhas, bodhisattvas and many devas of the Vajra [Family]” 佛菩薩金剛諸天等像, as well as “portraits of Dharma transmitting masters” 轉法阿闍梨等影.

²¹¹ The portraits, in the order listed (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 94-95), are those of Vajrabodhi, Śubhākarasiṃha, Amoghavajra, Huiguo and Yixing.

²¹² For example, in his *Shōrai mokuroku*, Kūkai writes that (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 69) under Huiguo he studied the great teachings of the two categories 兩部大法 (*ryōbu daihō*). See Chapter Three wherein I document Kūkai’s and Wuyin’s use of the term “great teachings in two categories.” We see discrepancies between Amoghavajra’s record of his transmission to Huiguo (T.2120:844a29-b2) and descriptions of his transmission in the works of Huiguo’s disciples Kūkai (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 100, 21, 39), Wuyin (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 44, 61) and an unknown biographer on Huiguo (T.2057:295a8-13).

²¹³ For the listing of these icons in the *Shōrai mokuroku*, see *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 94, as well as Chapter Three of this dissertation.

²¹⁴ See *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 99 for Kūkai’s consecrations, first into the Matrix Realm and then into the Adamantine Realm. See *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 44 and Chapter Three for a translation of this passage in Wuyin’s biography.

²¹⁵ See *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 82. The *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyue yuqi jing* 金剛峰樓閣一切瑜伽祇經 (T.18.867) and its relationship with the *Liqijing mantuluo* is discussed in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

²¹⁶ Two examples of new deities are Rāgarāja 愛染明王 (Aizen Myōō), presented in chapter 2 and 5, and the “Great Victorious Vajra” (Daishō Kongō) in chapter 8. See Goepfer, *Aizen Myōō: the Esoteric King of Lust, An iconological*

Study (Artibus Asiae Supplementum 39. Zürich: Artibus Asiae and Museum Rietberg, 1993) and Pol Vanden Broucke, “The Twelve-Armed Deity Daishō Kongō and His Scriptural Sources” in Tantric Buddhism in East Asia, pp. 147-159.

²¹⁷ Obvious examples of mixing of elements from such systems as the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa*, *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*, and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgrha*, for example, are found in chapters 2, 4 and 9. I discuss the contents of these chapters and others, as well as this mixing of esoteric Buddhist systems, in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

Chapter Five: Problem of the Ascription of the Daigoji *Liqujing Mantuluo*

¹ See Chapter One of this dissertation.

² T.2174A:1108b10-11, 1110b12-14, 1110c18.

³ T.55.2176:1113b26-29. Annen suffixes the names of these monks with the polite title 和上, which I have omitted in my translation. The Shingon and Tendai schools pronounce this title differently: *Kashō* in the Tendai school and *Wajō* in the Shingon. The contents of the second prefatory inscription are given in an endnote 7 below.

⁴ Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 4126a.

⁵ See Misaki Ryōshū, “Annen no *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 16/2 (1968), pp. 572-579, esp. pp. 572-574.

⁶ T.2176:1113c1-10.

⁷ T.2176:1114a2-12. This colophon begins as follows (T.2176:1113c14-1114a1):

For my own personal interest, I examined the inventories of the Esoteric Buddhist masters, as well [as Yuanzhao’s] *Jōgan roku* (*Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釈教目錄). I selected the scriptures and [ritual] methods that had been newly entered [in these works] and which I consider to be the gateway to the teachings of the one house of mantras 真言一家教門 (*shingon ikke kyōmon*). I did not select any of the *dhāraṇī* methods from old translations. Consequently, those who study [the doctrine and practices of this new teaching] may not be able to understand its origins and so will lack the deeper knowledge [acquired by a broader reading of scriptures].

Now, having relied upon the secret inventories 祕錄 of the eight monks [who went to China], I created twenty categories. And each of these categories I further divided into [sub-]categories of teachings 法類 (*hōrui*), wherein I include further categories for scriptures, commentaries, ritual manuals, additionally used methods 加用法, for example]. And in these categories I added as often as possible the old translations. [Further,] even though [not considered to be] secret spells [like mantras and *dhāraṇī*], I also included [such categories as] vows and historical accounts 願緣, which contain works of reverences and repentences, works of praises, as well as stele inscriptions and transmissions].

Moreover, among the inventories [of the eight who went to China], some relied upon the main inventory [of Yuanzhao], the *Jōgan roku*, when providing the titles of the scriptures and ritual manuals], and so I just give here abridged titles. And sometimes, following my own whims and fancies, I listed the long titles [of works when an inner title 内題 (*naidai*) has been recorded in Yuanzhao’s *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*]. Hence, [my method of recording] may cause those who come after me some difficulty in seeing the truth of the traces of the [Buddha’s] footprint 跡躡實. [Therefore] now, I have recorded at the end of the [entries on the] books their most significant points 名目 (*myōmoku*). And I also have indicated whether similarities and differences exist or have been omitted.

Further, the secrets of the Esoteric Buddhist masters may not have been recorded in their inventories, [and so] if I have seen or heard of any, I have also added them.

The secret inventories of the eight monks 八家祕錄 are: (1) the inventory of [Sai]chō of Hieizan, (2) the inventory of [Kū]kai of Kōyasan, (3) the inventory of [En]nin of Hieizan, (4) the inventory of [En]gyō of Reigan[ji], (5) the inventory of [E]un of Anjō[ji], (6) the inventory of [Jō]gyō of Oguri 小栗, (7) the inventory of [En]chin of Hieizan and (8) the inventory of [Shū]ei of Engaku[ji].

The twenty categories are: [see main text].

The colophon ends with the following (T.2176:1114a13-16):

The newly imported scriptures and [ritual] methods have been placed side by side and I have noted the names of those who brought [them] back. Because I dreaded a cumbersome text, I chose for each [Esoteric Buddhist master] a single posthumous name. As for the circumstances [by which I could gather information about] these teachings, I also present the name of the temple where a copy was obtained. If there was no copy, I did not mention it.

Recorded on the eleventh day of the fifth month of the second year of Engi.

⁸ T.2167:1131b5-1132c4.

⁹ T.2167:1131b25. The character 楨 is a mistake for 幘 [see Eun's catalogue T.2168B:1091c15-15, where 禛子 (*tōsu*) is used], the counter for paintings mounted on cloth or paper.

¹⁰ This is published in T.55.2165.

¹¹ See T.55.2166.

¹² See T.55.2167.

¹³ T.2165:1076b.

¹⁴ A colophon at the end of the catalogue (T.2165:1076a25-b6) states that:

As for the above said teachings, having arrived at the great regional commandery of Yangzhou 揚州 and having visited the many temples within the city, [I] Ennin made the copies as above.

Preceptor Zongrui 宗叡和尚 of Zhongnanshan 終南山 is a scholar whose learning is excellent. His understanding is extreme and profound in import, and he can explain [in both] Sanskrit and Chinese the wondrously refined sounds of *siddham*. [I] Ennin fortunately could meet him and got to study the Sanskrit *siddham* and also to learn both the Sanskrit and Chinese words. Moreover, I met Ācārya Quanya 全雅阿闍梨, who is the disciple who inherited the teachings from Master Bianhong 辯弘, who was the Imperial Chaplain 內供奉 of the Great Tang. I consulted with him and [then] received the secret teachings. The feelings of Ācārya [Quanya] are far-reaching and sincere. He transmitted [to me] the essence of the secret [teachings], and then finally he gave me the teachings of recitation, as well as the dual Mandalas of the Matrix and the Adamantine [Realm], many images of the altars [for the Esoteric Buddhist deities], and so on. After that I wanted to visit Tiantaishan 天台山 [but], because the road was distant and I would lose time in coming and going, the imperial order did not permit my going [there]. It is sad and regrettable. Although I do not fully possess the teachings that I seek and which are difficult to attain, still I have copied the books and have counted them as the above-mentioned items.

Concerning the relationship between Huiguo, Bianhong and Quanya, see the lineage charts of Zaoxuan's 造玄 *Xiang cheng xiema* 相承血脈 in *Shingon zenshū*, vol. 39, p. 28 and those in Sawa Ryuken, *Mikkyō jiten*, Appendix VI, p. 125.

¹⁵ T.2166:1078b16-24.

¹⁶ See *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 310-1.

¹⁷ For instance, the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* (T.2166:1078a1, 4-5, 7) includes the following iconographic materials, which are not listed in the *Nipponkoku shōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku*:

- *Jingangjie mantuluo weiyang* (Configuration of the Positions of [the Venerables] of the Adamantine Realm Mandala) one folded book 金剛界曼荼羅位樣 一帖
- *Guanyin tan yang* (Configuration of the Altar for Avalokiteśvara) one line drawing on paper 觀音壇樣 一張
- *Jingangmianzhutou pusa xiangyang* (Figures of Bodhisattva Vajramukha) line drawings on paper 金剛面豬頭菩薩像樣 一張 金剛面菩薩像樣 一張
- *Tiantai Zhizhe dashi ying* (Portrait of Tendai Chisha daishi) one [painting] three widths 天台智者大師影 一鋪三幅

Although not listed with the other images, two scrolls depicting the *Shiqi tan yang* 十七壇樣 and the *Taizang shouyin yang* 胎藏手印樣 (Mudrās of [the Venerables of the] Matrix Repository) were found in a sealed box (ibid, 1078b8-15). These works are listed in the *Nipponkoku shōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* (T.2165:1076a5, 9).

¹⁸ T.2167:1087b.

¹⁹ ibid, 1084c26-27.

²⁰ ibid, 1085b9-14.

²¹ ibid, 1087b13-16.

²² There are slight discrepancies in the images that are recorded in the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* (T.2167:1087a20-b11); for example, the *Shiqi tan yang* 十七壇樣, which is listed in the *Nipponkoku shōwa gonen guhō mokuroku* (T.2165:1076a5) and in the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* (T.2166:1078b12), is not listed here, and a portrait of the Tendai daishi 天台大師感得聖僧影, which is recorded in the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* (T.2167:1078a7), has been included here (T.2167:1087a28).

²³ T.2165:1076b3-4, 2167:1079b2-3, 5-6, 10-11.

The *Nipponkoku shōwa gonen guhō mokuroku*, the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* and Part three of the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku*, all of which list the works that Ennin gathered in Yangzhou, include (T.2165:1076a2-32, 2166:1077c24-1078a19, and 2167:1087a20-b11) the following mandalas and related iconographic materials:

- *Dapiluzhenafu taizang damantuluo* (Great Mandala of the Matrix Repository of Buddha Mahāvairocana) one [painting] five widths line drawing 大毘盧遮那佛胎藏大曼荼羅 一鋪 五副苗畫
- *Jingangjie damantuluo* (Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm) one [painting] seven widths colors 金剛界大曼荼羅 一鋪七副菜色
- *Shiqi tan yang* (Configuration of the Altar of the Seventeen [Venerables]) one scroll 十七壇樣一卷
- *Jingangjie sanshiqizun zhongzi mantuluo yang* (Drawing of the Seed Syllable Mandala of the Thirty-Seven Venerables of the Adamantine Realm) one line drawing on paper 金剛界三十七尊種子曼荼羅樣 一張
- *Jingangjie bashiyizun zhongzi mantuluo yang* (Drawing of the Seed Syllable Mandala of the Eighty-One Venerables of the Adamantine Realm) one line drawing on paper 金剛界八十一尊種子曼荼羅樣 一張
- *Fahua mantuluo yang* (Drawing of the Lotus Mandala) one line drawing on paper 法華曼荼羅樣 一張
- *Taizang mantuluo shouyin yang* (Drawings of the Mudrās of the [Venerables of the] Matrix Repository Mandala) one scroll 胎藏曼荼羅手印樣 一卷

There are slight differences in the manner of the recording of items; for example, in the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* (T.2166:1077c28-29) the character 鋪, a measure for paintings, twice replaces the character 張, the counter for a sheet of paper, which is used in both the *Nipponkoku shōwa gonen nittō guhō* (T.2165:1076a6-7) and the *Nitto shingu shōkyō mokuroku* (T.2167:1087a23-24). Further, the *Jingangjie mantuluo weiyang*, the *Guanyin tan yang* and two images of Bodhisattva Vajramukha, which are listed in the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* (T.2166:1078a1, 3, 4-5), are not given in the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku*.

The method of recording is much more precise in the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku*. For example, such information as “colors” 綵色 and “line drawing” or “outline drawing” 苗 has been added beneath the counters. I have listed the items according to this inventory.

Part one of the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku*, which lists the works that Ennin collected in Chang’an, contains (T.2167:1084b27-c26) some of the mandalas of interest and their related iconographic items:

- *Dabei taizang famantuluo* (Seed Syllable Mandala of the Matrix Respository of Great Compassion) one [painting] three widths line drawing 大悲胎藏法曼荼羅 一鋪三幅苗
- *Dabei taizang sanmeiye lue manuluo* (Abbreviated Symbol Mandala of the Matrix Respository of Great Compassion) one [painting] one width line drawing 大悲胎藏三昧耶略曼荼羅 一鋪一幅苗
- *Jingangjie jiuhui mantuluo* (Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm) one [painting] five widths line drawing 金剛界九會曼荼羅 一鋪五幅苗
- *Jingangjie damantuluo* (Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm) one [painting] five widths line drawing 金剛界大曼荼羅 一鋪五幅苗
- *Foding Zunsheng tanxiang* (Image of the Altar of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa) one [painting] two widths line drawing 佛頂尊勝壇像 一鋪二幅苗
- *Dabei taizang shouyin* (Mudrās of the [Venerables of the] Matrix Respository of Great Compassion) one scroll 大悲胎藏手契 一卷
- *Jingangpou zhuzun tuxiang yigui* (Manual of the Images of the Venerables of the Vajra Family) one scroll 金剛部諸尊圖像儀軌 一卷
- *Foyan ta bing ji* (Stupa for Buddhacānā and its History) one scroll 佛眼塔并記 一卷

²⁴ The *Nipponkoku shōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* (T.2165:1074a29-b5, 23-24), the *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* (T.2166:19-20, 23) and Part Three of the *Nitto shingu shokyou mokuroku* (T.2167:1085b29-5, 21-22) list the following *Liqujing* related materials:

- *Puxian pusa Jingangsaduo yuqie niansong yigui* 普賢菩薩金剛薩埵瑜伽念誦儀軌 (published as T.1124)
- *Jingangding yuqie Jingangsaduo wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五祕密修行念誦儀軌 (T.1125)
- *Jingangding shengchu yuqie jing zhong luechu Dale Jingangsaduo niansong yigui* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽經中略出大樂金剛薩埵念誦儀軌 (T.1120A)
- *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmeiye jing banruoboluomiduo liqushi* 大樂金剛不空真實三昧耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣釋 (T.1003).

The *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* has the characters “letters in both Chinese and Sanskrit” 梵漢兩字 before the titles of the first and third ritual manual listed above, and this inventory records that the *Liqushi* and *Wubimi yigui* 五祕密儀軌 were included within a sealed box (T.2166:1078b10-11,13).

Part One of the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* (T.2167:1079a17-18, 25-26, b3-6, 20, 22, c10-12, 18-19, 29, 1080b7-8) has the following *Liqujing* related materials:

- *Jingangding yuqie Tahuazizaitian liqhui puxian xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽他化自在天理趣會普賢修行念誦儀軌 (T.1122)
- *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansongfa jing* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽普賢菩薩念誦法經 (T.1123)
- *Jingangding shengchu yuqie jing zhong luechu Dale Jingangsaduo niansong yigui* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽經中略出大樂金剛薩埵念誦儀軌 (T.1120A)
- *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmeiye jing banruoboluomiduo liqushi* 大樂金剛不空真實三昧耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣釋 (T.1003)
- *Jingangwang pusa bimi niansong yigui* 金剛王菩薩祕密念誦儀軌 (T.1132)
- *Puxian Jingangsaduo yuqie niansong yigui* 普賢金剛薩埵瑜伽念誦儀軌 (T.1124)
- *Banruoboluomiduo liqujing Daanle bukong sanmeiye zhenshi Jingang pusa deng yishiqisheng damantuluo yishu* 般若波羅蜜多理趣經大安樂不空三昧耶真實金剛菩薩等一十七聖大曼荼羅義述 (T.1004)
- *Jingangding yuqie Jingangsaduo wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五祕密修行念誦儀軌 (T.1125)
- *Dale Jingangsaduo xiuxing chengjiu yigui* 大樂金剛薩埵修行成就儀軌 (T.1119)

- *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmeiye jing Banruoboluomiduo liqu pin* 大樂金剛不空眞實 三摩耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣品 (T.243).

In his *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, Yuanzhao adds T.1120A, 1122 and 1119 (T.55.2157:880b10-13, 881a6-7) to Amoghavajra's translations (T.52. 2120:839a29, c12-15, 840a1-2).

²⁵ T.55.2174A. The colophon (2174A:1111c1-6) states that:

From the sixth month until the tenth month of the sixth year of Xiantong 咸通 (865) of the Great Tang [Dynasty] in Fashiyuan[, where] the Japanese student monk Ensai 圓載 [resided], [and which is within] Ximingsi, which is in Chang'an's streets of the right, I sought out and copied miscellaneous [books of the] teachings. An inventory accompanied them as above.

On the twelfth day of the eleventh month of the seventh year of the Jōgan 貞觀 (865) reign era just past [upon my return to Japan], I again examined [the books and this inventory] in Tōji in Kyōto. The monk who sought instruction by going to Tang [China] and [who has] the position of Great Teacher of the Dharma.

²⁶ T.55.2174A:1111a.

²⁷ T.2174A:1108b10-11, 1110b12-14, 1110c18.

²⁸ T.2174A:1110c17, c10.

²⁹ 2174A:1111b6-7. The third part of Shuei's inventory closes with the following colophon (2174A:1111b18-19):

The above religious implements and relics are the provisions of *dhāraṇī* chanters 持念者之備. As for the success of the [Esoteric Buddhist] practices, [if] you do not depend on these [articles], [then] there will be no success.

The fourth part, where works on astrology and medicine are recorded, ends with the following colophon (2174A:1111c1):

Although the above miscellaneous books are not included in the methods of the Buddha 法門, they are necessary for daily life.

³⁰ The character should be 幀子 (*tōsu*), counter for scroll painting.

³¹ T.2174A:1111a11, 21-25, b2.

³² Yoritomi Motohiro ("Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō — tokuni *Liqujing mantuluo* wo chūshin toshite," *Naritanan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, No. 15, pp. 504-505) identifies this Preceptor Tianzhu as Zhihuijun 智慧輪 (Prajñācakra), who resided in Daxingshansi 大興善寺 in Chang'an and who also instructed Ennin and Enchin in Esoteric Buddhist rituals.

Takada Osamu ("Taimitsu no ryokai mandara ni tsuite," p. 632) and Kinshiki Ryōnosuke ("Gubodaisan Nyohōji kyūzō ryōkai mandara zu," p. 117) identify the iconography of this mandala as that of the Mandala of the Eighty-One Venerables of the Adamantine Realm. However, both Kokubo Keiichi ("Tōmitsu no jūhachiichi son mandara," *Yamato bunka*, vol. 7, pp. 1-16, esp. pp. 6-9) and Yoritomi ("Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō," pp. 505-506) furnish evidence that suggests that the iconography of this mandala differed from that of both the Mandala of the Eighty-One Venerables and the Mandala of the Nine Assemblies of the Adamantine Realm, and instead illustrated the Third Assembly.

³³ T.2174A:1111a22.

³⁴ T.2174A:1111a24. Shūei simply records that Preceptor Xuan[zao] made this work in three widths 玄和尚造之三副. Shūei's line drawing of this figure has not survived. Yoritomi ("Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō," p. 507) identifies this deity as Vajrarāja of the Eastern Buddha Akṣobhya's bodhisattva retinue in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha's* Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. However, given Shūei's concern to seek out new iconography, this figure could also be the four-armed Vajrarāja described in Amoghavajra's manual for the rite of Vajrarāja (T.20.1132).

³⁵ T.55.2174B:1111c27.

³⁶ T.2176:1131b.

³⁷ T.2176:1131b21-c1.

³⁸ T.2174A:1111b.

³⁹ See Yoritomi, “Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō,” *op. cit.*, pp. 508-509. A work that is regarded as corresponding to this Fourth Assembly is in the Tibetan Canon, and its Sanskrit title can be reconstructed as *Trailokyavijaya-mahākālpa-rāja* (King of [the Teachings in] the Extensive *Kālpa* for the Conqueror of the Three Worlds) 降三世大儀軌王 and is published in 東北 482. See Sakai Shinten, “Kongōchō Gōzanze daigiki hōkyōchū Kanjizai bosatsu shinshingon issai nyorai renga daimandara bon ni tsuite,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 12, pp. 16-22, esp. p. 16, p. 17 footnote 2 and my discussion of Amoghavajra’s use of this text in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

⁴⁰ See Chapter One. There are many articles on the iconography brought back by these pilgrim monks that was not recorded in their official inventories. The ones I found helpful were, for example, Ono Genmyō, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, pp. 717-730 and Sawa Ryūken, *Hyakubyō zuzō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982). I cite other, more specific studies in the following endnotes.

⁴¹ T.2176:1131b22-23: 會昌滅佛法日和上密屬手工令圖一本那邦無復異本. I could not find such a statement in Ennin’s *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki*, for example. Ennin commissioned Chinese painters to make copies of the Matrix and Adamantine Realm Mandalas during the first few months Huichang I (see endnote 23 above for the materials he collected in Chang’an). Moreover, he did visit the Jianfusi during this year (see *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 72, p. 251/83b), but he makes no mention of having seen this mandala painted on the temple’s wall.

⁴² The relevant entry in this work goes as follows:

Question: The gold-on-[purple]-mud mandala represents what Assembly?

Answer: [Amoghavajra’s] *Zhigui* 指歸 says [as follows]: “Next is explained the Third Assembly. It is called the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie jing* 一切教集瑜伽經. [small letters: It is expounded in the palace of the Dharma Realm.] This scripture explains the Five Families’ Great Mandala. Each of the families have Mandalas of the Five Families. Each [mandala] has Thirty-Seven [Venerables] and all [the mandalas] form one great mandala. Each Venerable explains his/her four seals, [that is,] the great seal, the symbolic seal, the seed syllable seal and the action seal and each explains his/her rite of accomplishment. The *Liqu[shi]* says: “From the Vajra Family up to the Karma Family, all [the Families] possess five families. Each one of the sacred multitude possesses unlimited mandalas. The four seals, and so forth, also are unlimited, etc, etc.” The vastness of the mandala in this [commentary] is like what the *Yiqie jiaoji yuqie jing* explains, and this is the Mandala for Yoga [depicted in] Gold-on-[purple]-Mud [drawn] by the Great Preceptor of Jianfu[si].

Question: What are the features of this mandala?

Answer: First you must set up a great circle and within it place five individual great circles. Within each one of these circles install the Thirty-Seven Venerables. The features of their seating positions are like that of the [figures in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm’s central] Perfected Body Assembly. In the square outer court install every one of the multitude of the Outer Vajra [Family]. By way of a metaphor, [this outer court] resembles the walls that surround the four sides of a castle and some [of the figures in this outer court] hold banners, some clutch clubs, some hold halberds and some carry great drums. The masters and attendants among them cannot be counted. Well now, you must simply draw the main illustration as in the Jianfu[si]! [A note in smaller letters states: In total place seventy-three Venerables in the five individual [circles]. If you include their consorts, [then] there are ninety-three Venerables.]

See *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, vol. 4, pp. 1071-1082, esp. pp. 1075b7-1076a3.

This work, in a question-and-answer format 問答 (*montō*), is a collection of notes wherein Enchin recorded his

Chinese masters' oral transmissions. The focus is mainly on the matrix tradition, for example, the structure, iconography and significance of elements of the Matrix Mandala, its use in ritual, and explanations according to its scriptural sources.

The title of the *Sanbu manda* has been taken from the first question about the format and families of the Matrix Mandala, but questions are posed and references are made to the contents and concepts in such Mahāyāna scriptures as the *Huayan shidi jing* 華嚴十地經, for example (p. 1071b3-7), as well as in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* and certain chapters of the *Liqushi* 般若理趣釋 and *Liqujing* (pp. 1074b9-1076a16). It is within this section that the above passage about the gold-on-[purple]-mud mandala appears. There is mention of the significance of the rite of the *susiddhi* 蘇悉地 (p. 1077a11-15) and of manuals for the rite of contemplation and recitation (如如意輪十八道念誦。是無量壽議軌亦然) that relate to the rite of the *susiddhi*. Also the contents of Enchin's dreams (p. 1072b1-11, 1076b1-11, 1078b13-15) are recorded. The work closes with a final series of short questions and answers (pp. 1078b16-1081a17) on such topics as mudrās, mantras for entry into the Matrix Mandala and *samādhis* to be performed with mudrās, explanations of words in mantras, etc.

The dated entries in this work are not in any regular order. It is thought that later copiers assembled the content of both sides of separated sheets of paper into a single work. Moreover, because of numerous questionable and missing characters and mistakes, this work is thought to be the original form of Enchin's note-taking as he received his oral transmissions or a fragment from his larger travel record. See Tajima Tokuon, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 108-109.

The above passage about this gold-on-[purple]-mud mandala is also found in the *Zakki* 雜記 (Miscellaneous Notes) in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1113a-1116b, esp. p. 1113a. This work contains a number of passages from works attributed to Enchin that were collected in Gōhō's *Rishushaku hiyōshō* 理趣釋祕要鈔. See also Ono Genmyō, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, pp. 496-497 and Sakai Shinten, "Kongōchō no daisan e ni tsuite," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 71 (October 1939), pp. 117-147, esp. pp. 118-119.

⁴³ These works are published in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 1005a-1035a and 1037a-1069b, respectively. These two versions, as well as smaller documents thought of as parts of drafts in various stages of Enchin's research and copying of this list of questions also exist. One example is the *Zakki*, mentioned above. See Tajima Tokuon, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 246-247 (疑門 *Gimon*), Taga Sōshū, *Nihon daizōkyō*, Kaidai 3, Suzuki gakujuutsu zaidan, eds. (Tokyo: Suzuki gakujuutsu zaidan, 1978), vol. 99, pp. 54-55, and Asai Endo, *Jōko Nihon Tendai honmon shisō shi*, p. 403, who describe the history and contents of this work.

⁴⁴ See *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 1010b3-5.

⁴⁵ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 1042b5-7.

⁴⁶ Enchin inquires about this mandala in a section of questions on a number of Stages of the *Liqushi*. He has specific problems concerning the elements of visualizations, the iconography of mandalas and terminology, for example, in this text's Stages on Avalokiteśvara 觀自在會 (4), Mañjuśrī 文殊會 (8), Vajracakra 金剛輪會 (9), Gaganagañja 虛空庫段 (10), Sarvamāra-pramardin 摧摩段 (11), the Wheel of Instruction and Command of Trailokyavijaya 降三世教命段 (12) and the Outer Vajra [Family] 外金剛品 (13). See *Sasagimon*, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 1042b1-1043a1 and *Gimon*, *ibid*, pp. 1009b4-1010b5. Although there are slight differences in the questions in these two works, the content of the questions correspond. However, Enchin's questions concerning the gold-on-purple-mud mandala do not occur in the proper sequence in the *Sasagimon*. If the correct order of the *Liqushi* was maintained, questions concerning this mandala should have come after Enchin's inquiries about the mandala of the Outer Vajra Family (13), not between questions about the stages of Avalokiteśvara (4) and Mañjuśrī (8). The sequence is correct in the *Gimon*.

Enchin's questions about passages in the *Liqushi* in the above two works differ from those posed in the *Sanbu manda* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1074b14-1076a3).

⁴⁷ See *Yohō hennen zasshū* 餘芳編年雜集 (A Chronological Miscellanea of Remnant Fragrances), *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1336a-1339a, esp. p. 1337a16-b5.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 1337b14, 15-16.

⁴⁹ 惺多僧藥囉五部心觀 (Mentally Visualizing [the Venerables] of the Five Families of the *Rṭasamgraha*, hereafter the *Wubu xinguan*). See Appendix A, endnote 2 for its history.

⁵⁰ See *Hikishū* 批記集 (A Collection of Commentarial Notes), *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1284a and Ōmura Seigai, “Gobushinkan,” *Bukkyōgaku zasshi*, vol. 3/8 (1922), pp. 661-666, esp. p. 661. The *Hikishū* is a collection of the contents of inscriptions, prefaces, colophons and notations found on the works and documents that Enchin returned with from his trip to China. The editor of the *Hikishū* records in a note (ibid, p. 1284a) following the entry on “the inscription on the *Wubu xinguan*” that the contents of this entry have been taken from the copy book of the Elder Teacher Kei 敬長師 and that the original and its copy 眞模二本 (*shinmo ni hon*) are secretly stored in the Sūtra Repository of Tō’in 唐院御經藏 (Tō’in Gokyōzō) in Miidera. Ono Genmyō (*Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, p. 499) identifies the compiler of this entry as the monk Naobayashi Keihan of Mii 三井の直林敬範師 who saw and copied the inscriptions on the original.

For the history and problems concerning the original Chinese work that Enchin returned with, its late Heian period (eleventh century) copy and other later copies, see, for example, Ono, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, 720-725, Takata Osamu, “Gobushinkan no kenkyū — sono kinyū bongo ni motozuku kōsatsu,” *Bijutsu kenkyū*, vol. 4 (1953), pp. 139-173 and Yoritomi Motohiro, “Chishō daishi shōrai no bukkyō zuzō,” *Chishō daishi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1989), pp. 489-516, esp. pp. 501-502. Two later copies of the *Wubu xinguan* are published in the *Taishō Zuzō* section. See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2974, pp. 75-148 for Elder Kei’s 敬長師 late Tokugawa period copy in Mii Hōmyōin 三井法明院 (see Ono, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, p. 721) and for an incomplete copy by Onjōji’s Zenkaku 園城寺法印禪覺 (1143-1213) that dates to the fifth year of Kenkyū 健久 (1194) and is in the collection of the Takefuji Family 武藤家, see *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2975, pp. 151-189 (esp. p. 189 for Zenkaku’s inscription).

⁵¹ A small note on a copy of this scroll in Daigoji states that this is Preceptor Faquan’s Buddhist title 法号法全和上. See Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, p. 425. This note does not appear on the original work in Onjōji (see *Hikishū*, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1284a). Enchin received Faquan’s transmission in 855, as recorded in Faquan’s postscript on Enchin’s *Shōryūji guhō mokuroku* (T.2172:1097a15-27), which he compiled on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the ninth year of Dazhong 大中 9 年十一月 (855). Enchin received from Faquan consecrations into the Matrix in the seventh month and the Five Families of the Adamantine Realm in the tenth month, as well as the consecration for the position of Great Master who Transmits the Great Teachings of the Five Families in the eleventh month. I discuss Faquan’s transmission to Enchin in Chapter Seven of this dissertation.

⁵² See *Hikishū*, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1284a. See also Yoritomi, “Chishō daishi shōrai no bukkyō zuzō,” *Chishō daishi kenkyū*, pp. 489-516, who gives an overview of the iconography associated with Enchin and of the problems and past scholarship concerning this iconography. See also this inscription on the original in *Hieizan to Tendai no bijutsu*: Hieizan kaisō issen nihyaku nen kinen (The Art of Tendai Buddhism to mark the 1200 anniversary of the founding of Mt. Hiei monastery, March-November, 1986), entry 38 on page 152.

⁵³ Misaki Ryōshū presents a number of problems concerning the contents Annen records and the inconsistencies in his method of recording in “Annen no *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* ni tsuite,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 16/2, pp. 572-579. Misaki documents instances (ibid, p. 579, endnote 2) in Annen’s catalogue where he includes some of his own works, as well as those by Kūkai, Ennin, Enchin and Saichō; he records works that are listed in “the *Jōganroku* (*Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*)” 貞元錄, those that “had not yet entered the [scriptural] repository [according to the] *Jōganroku*” 貞元不入藏, those listed “outside of the *Jōganroku*” 貞元錄外 or “outside the inventories” 錄外; he records titles of works but does not note who returned with them nor what scriptural inventory he consulted; he records that (ibid, pp. 572-573 and p. 579, endnote 3) he consulted temple inventories at such temples as Bonshakuji 梵釋寺, Engakuji 圓學寺 and Gacchirinnji’s Junna’in 淳和院月輪寺. These examples clearly show that Annen did not solely rely on the inventories of the eight monks who visited China.

There are problems (ibid, pp. 573-574) concerning such notations as “[the works that] Shūei returned with” 宗叡將來 and “[works] of [the monk from] Engaku[ji]” 圓學 that are recorded in different copies of this catalogue that date to different times.

Another major problem is that a great number of works that Shūei returned with are not listed in Annen's catalogue. For instance (ibid, pp. 574-575), the works recorded in Jōgyō's inventory (T.2163) and Annen's catalogue tally, but the number listed under Shūei's name in Annen's catalogue and the number Shūei lists in his *Shinshōsha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* do not tally at all. Further, the titles of the works listed in Shūei's and Annen's catalogues do not tally. Mizaki speculates that Annen might not have actually seen Shūei's inventory. Only seven works Shūei listed under the rubric "scriptures and ritual manuals" (T.2174A) correspond with those given in Annen's listing under Shūei's name. There are better relationships between scriptures and manuals that Annen listed and those listed in the second inventory attributed to Shūei (T.2174B) and in the Catalogue of Scriptures Etcetera [listed] Outside the [Official] Inventories 録外經等目錄 (*Rokugai kyōtō mokuroku*, T.2175:1112b6-1113c11) under "[works listed] outside the inventory of [the] Zenrin[ji monk]" 禪林録外. Because the manuscript of Shūei's inventory published in the *Taishō* has the character "New[ly]" 新 in its title and an appended note recording that "the works listed are those outside of the *Tōji hōmon roku*" 東寺法門録中以外之者, Misaki suggests that (ibid, pp. 574-575) Annen may have consulted such a catalogue as the *Tōji hōmon roku*, which no longer exists.

⁵⁴ Compare T.2176:1131b11, 15 and the *Shōrai mokuroku*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 94. Kūkai does list (ibid, p. 87) a scroll in Sanskrit letters of the Sanskrit Names of the Venerables in the Matrix Mandala 梵字胎藏曼荼羅諸尊梵名一卷.

⁵⁵ Compare T.2176:1131b10, 2167:1084b27 and the *Shōrai mokuroku*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 94. Kūkai does not give any particulars about this mandala other than to record that it was one painting on silk. Ennin, on the other hand, records that it was a line drawing on silk that was composed of three widths 一鋪三副苗. Annen also gives these details.

⁵⁶ Compare T.2176:1132a26-27 and the *Shōrai mokuroku*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 94-95.

⁵⁷ T.2176:1132a21-23 and 2167:1084c12-14.

⁵⁸ T.2174A:1111a19-20.

⁵⁹ T.2176:1124b1-2. Another example is the *Suxidijieluo gongyang fa* 蘇悉地羯羅供養法 一部二卷 (Methods of Offering in the *Susiddhikara*) that Shūei records in his *Shinshōsha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* (T.2174Aa23-24). Annen does not list Shūei's name (T.2176a11-15) under manuals with this title.

⁶⁰ For discussions about the endeavors of and reasons for the Japanese scholar-monks of the Shingon and Tendai schools to collect and compile ritual materials, see, for example, Sawa Ryūken, "Mikkyō ni okeru hyakubyōzuzō no rekishi," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 1-23 (republished in *Hyakubyōzuzō no kenkyū*, pp. 31-65), Tamura Ryūshō, "Zuzōshō seiritsu to naiyō ni kansuru mondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 42-6, esp. pp. 42-43, and Luca Dolce, "Taimitsu Rituals in Medieval Japan: Sectarian Competition and the Dynamics of Tantric Performance," Istvan Keul, ed., *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond*, (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter Publishers, 2001), pp. 329- 363.

⁶¹ The work, also known as the *Jikkanshō* 十卷抄 (Compendium in Ten Scrolls) and the *Sonyōshō* 尊容抄 (Compendium of the Venerables' Forms), is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006 and in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, Bekkan, vols. 1-10. The manuscript published in the *Taishō* is from the collection of Entsuji on Kōyasan and was copied by the Ninnaji monk Hōin Ingen 印玄法印 in 1309-10 (Enkyō 延慶 2 and 3). The *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*'s manuscript is from the collection of Naritaki Jōraku'in 鳴滝常樂院 and was copied in 1226 (Karoku 嘉祿 2) by Eison 叡尊, Genjō 嚴貞 and Zenchō 善長.

This compilation contains ten scrolls that are organized according to the deities' ranks and positions in the Shingon mandalas (*Genzu mandara*), beginning with the Tathāgatas in the center and extending to the worldly gods in the outermost court. For a description of this compendium's content and organization, see Raoul Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjūśrī*. A group of East Asian maṇḍalas and their traditional symbolism. (Society for the Study of Chinese Religions. Monograph No. 2, 1983), pp. 39-45. The *Zuzōshō* is the earliest Japanese ritual source that both records data for the performance of the deities' rites, and includes illustrations of the deities, in most cases one per

deity. See, for example, Sawa, “Mikkyō ni okeru hyakubyōzuzō no rekishi,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, p. 10, Tamura, “Zuzōshō seiritsu to naiyō ni kansuru mondai,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, p. 53 and Shimizu Zenzō, “Kakuzenshō ni okeru kakukan no kōsei to sono seiritus katei,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 101-139, esp. p. 110.

The original of the *Zuzōshō* does not survive but there are a number of copies, and it is the colophons 奥書 on these copies that record the compilers names as either Ejū or Yōgen 永嚴 (1075-1151). For instance, a colophon on a scroll of a copy dated 1510 (Eishō 永正 7) in the Daigoji collection records the inscription of a copy made in 1193 (Kenkyū 建久 4) which records an earlier inscription dated to 1139 (Hōen 保延 5). This inscription states that in 1139 the former *Gonshō sōzu* Yōgen 前權少僧都永嚴 produced the work for the ex-emperor 上皇 (*jōkō*). Scholars have interpreted this inscription (Sawa, “Mikkyō ni okeru hyakubyōzuzō no rekishi,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 11-12 (reprinted in *Hyakubyōzuzō no kenkyū*, pp. 19-20), Tamura, “Zuzōshō seiritsu to naiyō ni kansuru mondai,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 45-66, esp. p. 43) as referring to the fact that Yōgen, a monk from the Hirosawa subschool, was commissioned by retired Emperor Toba in 1139 to compile this ritual collection. The attribution to Ejū comes from a colophon on the Jōraku’in manuscript dated 1226 (see 二楞生 [Ono Genmyō], “Zuzōshō to Besson zakki (1),” *Bussho kenkyū*, vol. 18 (1916), pp. 5-8, esp. p. 6) and on a manuscript dated to c. 1264-1275 (Bunei era 文永頃) that is in the Daigoji collection (see Tamura, “Zuzōshō seiritsu to naiyō ni kansuru mondai,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 45-46). It records that “Byōdōbō’s [Yōgen’s Buddhist sobriquet] Compendium in Ten Scrolls 平等房十卷抄 states that in truth Master Ejū assembled this.”

The problem of attribution of the *Zuzōshō*/*Jikkanshō* is complex. See Tamura, “Zuzōshō seiritsu to naiyō ni kansuru mondai,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 43-52 and Sawa Ryūken (*Hyakubyōzuzō no kenkyū*, pp. 19-20). Sawa, for example, argues that Ejū was the compiler of this work because the Shingon monks Shinkaku and Kakuzen, who were active not long after Ejū and Yōgen, refer only to Ejū’s work. I present in the text and endnotes of this chapter Shinkaku’s use of Ejū’s transmission (“Ejū observes” 慧什曰 and [according to] “Shōjōbō” 勝定房, which was Ejū’s Buddhist sobriquet) in his *Besson zakki*. Kakuzen often refers to the *Ejūshō* 慧什抄 (Ejū’s Compendium) in his *Kakuzenshō* and, as I have noted in the text, examples are seen in his scroll of the Five Mysteries. See also this scroll (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 165c) for such headings as “Ejū’s image” 慧什圖, “Ejū’s seal” 慧什印, “Ejū’s Compendium states” 慧抄云, and (ibid, pp. 166c, 167a) “Ejū’s explanation” 慧什說.

On the other hand, Shōchō, the compiler of the *Asabashō*, records in his preface (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 8, pp. 743c29-744a9) under the heading “Works that I cited from among the compendia” 抄中所引書 that he consulted the *Jikkanshō* (ibid, 744a9), the compendium of Tōji’s Yōgen Sōzu 十卷抄東寺永嚴僧都抄. Examples of citations from Yōgen’s work are seen, for instance, in the *Asabashō*’s Five Mysteries scroll (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, p. 231c7-9 and 234a4, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [], p. 166a2, 166b17, 171b8). I present the first two citations in the text.

For works authored by these two monks, see *Shoshū shōsho roku*, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, *Bukkyō shoseki mokuroku*, vol. 1, p. 170b-171a (Ejū) and p. 167b (Yōgen). For Yōgen’s lineage and biography, see *Shoshū shōsho roku* (ibid, p. 167b); *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 血脈類集記, scroll 4, *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 103a); *Kechimyaku ruijūki* scroll 5 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, pp. 122a-123b); and the *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōroku kō* (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 293b-294a). For information on Ejū, see *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 4 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 90a) and *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōroku kō* (*Zoku shingonshū zensho*, vol. 33, pp. 277a-b).

⁶² This work is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007. Colophons on some of the oldest scrolls 古写本 have dates that range from 1162 應保二年 (Ōhō 2) to 1172 承安二年 (Jōan 2). The original work 原本 is housed in Ninnaji’s Shinren’in 心蓮院 and of the original 57 scrolls 10 were later additions. See Ōmura, *Bukkyōgaku zasshi*, vol. 2/6 (1921), pp. 185-187, who reported on the condition of manuscript found in Shinren’in, as well as Manabe, “Shinkaku to *Bessonzakki* ni tsuite – Denki oyobi zuzō “watakushi kore wo kuwafu” no shomondai,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 83-86 and Nishigori, “*Besson zakki* no kenkyū: sono seiritsu mondai wo chūshin ni shite,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 82, p. 48. Copies of these missing scrolls, which included the scrolls on the Five Mysteries and Rāgarāja (Aizen myōō), were taken from copies in other collections. The brushwork of the original is that of three different transcribers, showing that the recording of information was a collaborative effort. See Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 615-616.

Shinkaku, a monk from the Shingon’s Hirosawa subschool, based his *Besson zakki* on the collections of four previous scholar-monks, who belonged to both the Shingon Ono and Hirosawa subschools. Nishigori Ryōsuke (“*Besson zakki* no kenkyū: sono seiritsu mondai wo chūshin ni shite,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 82, pp. 47-67) discusses the Shinkaku’s masters, their works, and his method of presenting his predecessors’ information. I have presented

Shinkaku's biographical and lineage information in Chapter Two of this dissertation. For details on Shinkaku's career and his *Besson zakki*, see, in addition to Nishigori's study, Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 2009-2010, Manabe, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-100, and Bernard Frank, *Dieux et Bouddhas au Japon.*, pp. 238-241.

⁶³ This work is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3018. The *Taishō* publication is based on a manuscript in the collection of Daitsumi in Kyoto, and the reference manuscripts are in the collections of Kongōsanmai'in (Kōyasan), Ninnaji, and Kōmyō'in (Kōyasan). The format of each entry in the *Mandarashū* is simple, consisting of a pairing of a citation from a text and an image.

Kōzen of the Shingon's Ono subschool was the author of a number of iconographic treatises: for example, see *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2934 and 2935. See also Chapter Two of this dissertation for information on Kōzen's career and for the details about his transmission of the rite of the *Liqujing* that was recorded in Kakuzen's *Kakuzenshō*.

⁶⁴ This work, consisting of 136 scrolls, is published in *T. Zuzō*, vols. 4, no. 3022 (scrolls 1-56) and 5 (scrolls 57-136) and in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vols. 45-51 (128 scrolls). See Chapter Two of this dissertation for Kakuzen's relationship with Kōzen and for studies on this monk. Kakuzen lived first in Kannonji, spent his middle years on Kōyasan, and his later years in Jōdo'in, a subtemple of Kajūji. Kakuzen's career is detailed in Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 414, in Nakano Genzō, "Kakuzenshō no shomondai," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 162-171 and in Shimizu Zenzō, "Kakuzenshō ni okeru kakkān no kōsei to sono seiritu katei," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 101-139.

Kakuzen compiled a vast amount of information on the deities' rites, and carefully identified all past and current oral transmissions and written sources. His objective seems to have been to note all manner of textual and ritual variations he discovered both in the Tang transmissions and in the Japanese esoteric traditions. His sources present the major Shingon Ono and Hirosawa subschools of ritual traditions, as well as the traditions of such minor subschools as the Ishiyama. See Shimizu (ibid, pp. 117-125) who traces the lineages of the earlier ritual masters whose writings and oral transmissions Kakuzen consulted via their disciples and his contemporaries. These written and oral transmissions centered on the Ono subschool's Kajūji, Sanbō'in, Rishō'in, and Kongōmyōō'in branches. Kakuzen also sought the secret rites of masters outside of his own Ono subschool, and consulted the works and transmissions of masters of the various branches of the Hirosawa subschool. We see, for example, entries titled *Jikkanshō* 十卷抄云, 十卷抄有之, numerous citations from Shinkaku's *Besson zakki* (心覺抄, 心覺說, 心覺記, 以上心覺, 以上心覺記有之) and from Omuro Jōju'in Kanjo's 御室成就院寬助 *Betsugyō* and *Ojūhō* 御修法 and Jōrenbō Kenni's 成蓮房兼意, *Jōrenshō* 成蓮抄, as well as entries from the works of unnamed ritual masters who belonged to the Hirosawa subschool (仁和寺伝云, 御室御説, 廣澤云, 廣澤口伝). Kakuzen also consulted the works of Tendai esoteric masters, for example, Ōhara Sōzu Chōen (1016-1081) 大原記, 大原僧都長宴, Toba Sōjō Kakuyū (1053-1140) 鳥羽僧正覺猷, and a master called Sannō'in (三王院伝, 三王院記), whom I have not yet identified.

⁶⁵ This work is published in *T. Zuzō*, vols. 8, no. 3190 (scrolls 1-53) and 9 (scrolls 54-227) and in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vols. 35-41 (228 scrolls). According to colophons at the end of many of the scrolls, Shōchō composed this work between 1242 (仁治 Ninji 3) and 1281 (弘安 Kōan 4). See Kirihata Takeshi, "Asabashō: sono seiritu to sensha Shōchō," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 182-205, chart on pp. 193-205.

Shōchō, a scholar-monk of the Ōgawa ritual lineage 小川流, a sub-lineage of the Anōryū ritual lineage 穴太流, assembled this work of Tendai esoteric ritual transmissions, having consulted the collections of his predecessors who belonged to a number of ritual lineages of the Tendai Sanmon subschool 山門流. For example, he consulted his Ōgawa master Chūkai's 忠快 (ca. 1189) *Mitsudanshō* 密談抄 (Collection of Secret Discussions), Chōen's 長宴 (1016-1081) *Shijūjōketsu* 四十帖決 (Oral Transmissions in Forty Notebooks), his recording of the oral transmission of Ikegami Ajari Kōgei 池上阿闍梨皇慶 (977-1049), the founder of the Tani ritual lineage 谷流, of which Chōen's Ōhararyū 大原流 (also known as Sanmairiū 三昧流) was an off-shoot, as well as Jōnen's 静然 (dates unknown) *Gyōrinshō* 行林抄 (Compendium of the Forest of Practices), a recording of the oral transmissions of rites of the Hōman branch 法曼流, another off-shoot of the Tani lineage that was founded by Jōnen's master Sōjitsu 相實 (1081-1165). Chōen dated each of his entries, compiling this work between the Chōgen era of 1028-36, the earliest date when he received Kōgei's teachings, and 1049 (Eishō 4), when Kōgei died. See Tajima Tokuon, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 191-192 (*Shijūjōketsu*) and T.75.2408. The *Gyōrinshō*, published in T.76.2409, contains a colophon dated 1145-1153. See Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 388 (Jōnen). As mentioned above, Shōchō also consulted

Shingon works, for example Yōgen's compilation (see endnote 61 above), as well as the works of Ejū Ajari 慧十阿闍梨云 (*Jikkanshō*) and Shinkaku Ajari 心覺阿闍梨私云 (*Besson zakki*). See Kirihata, *ibid*, p.188.

For information on the *Asabashō*, see, in addition to Kirihata's work, *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 15, Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 2122, Tajima Tokuo, *Bussō kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 1, pp. 4-5, Sawa Ryūken, *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 4-5, and Lucia Dolce, "Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School," *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, Richard K. Payne, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 744-767, esp. pp. 762-764 and her "Taimitsu Rituals in Medieval Japan: Sectarian Competition and the Dynamics of Tantric Performance," *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in East Asia and Beyond*, pp. 336-338.

⁶⁶ The following articles were very helpful in developing this section: Sawa Ryūken, "Heianchō jidai ni yunyū sareta bukkyō eiga," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 6 (1950), pp. 26-38 (also reprinted in his *Hyakubyōzuzō no kenkyū*, pp. 99-123); Ariga Yoshitaka, "Hyakubyōzuzō sono denshōsei soshite shiryōsei to geijutsusei ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bijutsu daikan*, vol. 1, pp. 208-218; and Yoritomi, "Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō - tokuni *Rishukyō mandara* o chūshin toshite," *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, No. 15, pp. 495-539.

The *Zuzōshō* and *Asabashō* do not include the *Liqujing* in their scrolls of scriptures (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006, scroll 3 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, no. 3190, scrolls No. 70-82), but they do have material on the deities, especially the Five Mysteries, who are alluded to in *Liqujing* 17 and whose mandala is described in *Liquishi* 16 and 17.

⁶⁷ An inscription (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 165b-c) contains information concerning Kakuzen's compilation of this Five Mysteries scroll 77. On the eighth day of the fourth month of the third year of Juei 壽永 (1184) Kakuzen received the transmission of this rite from Dainagon ajari Obō [Ninsai 仁濟] 大納言阿闍梨御房 and then later he recorded additional information from other transmissions he received. In the sixth month of the same year (Genreki 元曆 1) he finished making a clean copy 清書 of this scroll. See Shimizu ("Kakuzenshō ni okeru: kakkan no kōsei to sono seiritsu katei," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70, pp. 102-110) who classifies and discusses Kakuzen's methods of collecting and arranging information for the scrolls, and see p.138, note 9 for the Five Mysteries scroll.

⁶⁸ *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 159c3-12. Annen records (*T.2176:1131b25*) that Shūei also returned with a set of the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo* but Kakuzen does not include Shūei in this entry.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 159c6-7. Note that Kakuzen changes the contents of Annen's note (*T.2176:1131b22-23*) in his own appended note.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 159c8-12 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3018, p. 182b28-c and fig. No. 45. The image that Kōzen includes after this citation is interesting because of the attributes of the figure of Pride at Vajrasattva's left side. A note in small letters describes Pride's hand gestures and these are the hand gestures of Dance, the Outer Offering Bodhisattva, that are prescribed in *T.1119(:511b24-25)*: "she forms a half-closed fist (*khatāka*) with her left hand and three flutters with her right, twirling and dancing them in accordance with the ritual. This is namely creating the attitude of striking with a flower." Kōzen records that the mudrās, as well as attitude of striking with a flower should be looked into. Pride's half-closed fist and attitude of "striking with a flower" reminds us of the figure of Rāgarāja, whose third set of hands holds "that" in the closed fist of his left hand and a lotus in his right hand. See also Hunter, "Five Secrets Mandala," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 116-117, illustration 4.

⁷¹ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006, p. 297, illus. no. 30. The compiler gives no information about this Five Mysteries Mandala but its iconography does not conform to the *Liquishi*. See Hunter, "Five Secrets Maṇḍala," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, p. 116.

The Five Mysteries rite is included in the fourth scroll, titled "Secret Rites" 祕法等 (*hihōtō*). The information concerning this Five Mysteries Mandala (see Hunter, *ibid*, p. 116) follows the set format for the Esoteric Buddhist process of visualization of the deity as a syllable, then as a symbol (for example, as a vajra, a bow and an arrow), and finally as an anthropomorphic form. The compiler's focus in this fourth scroll is to record for the practitioner the methods for the correct performance of the rites in order to obtain spiritual boons, as well as such promised material benefits as long life, fame and fortune.

⁷² Compare *T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, no. 3190, p. 231a20-25 and illus. 43. A lineage for this image is provided. Sōgen's version was copied from the version possessed by Ōhara Risshi (Chōen) 大原律師 who copied this image in 1046 (Kantoku 寛徳 3). Then Kensen 賢暹 copied the image in 1076 (Jōhō 承保 3).

⁷³ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [], p. 166a2. The *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* manuscript has the same information that appears in the the *Taishō* manuscript (see endnote 72), except in the entry a note has been added referring to the manuscript of Masanishi Keigu which does not have this illustration 正西雞俱此圖無之.

⁷⁴ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, no. 3190, p. 231c7-9, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [], p. 166b17-167a1 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006, p. 16c10.

⁷⁵ See endnote 61 above and Tamura, op. cit. pp. 45-48. A third reference to Yōgen's Compendium 永嚴抄云 in the *Asabashō*'s Five Mysteries scroll appears at *T. Zuzō*, vol. 9, no. 3190, p. 234a4, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [], p. 171b8).

⁷⁶ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 160b17-21. Here again Kakuzen focuses on an illustration of the Five Mysteries that was included within the *Liqujing shibahui mantuluo*. A note in small letters records that this set was listed outside of the Zenrinji monk's official inventory. See Annen (*T.2176:1131b25*) who records under the heading "secret mandalas [listed] outside the inventories" that this work was introduced by Ennin and Shūei.

⁷⁷ *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 160b18.

⁷⁸ See the *Nihon kōsōden yobunsho* 1, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 101, p. 14b-15b, esp. 15b9; the *Honchō kōsōden* 7, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, 131a-132a, esp. 132a1; *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 851-2; and Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 339-340.

⁷⁹ See Sawa, "Heianchō jidai ni yunyū sareta bukkyō eiga," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 6, p. 34 (reprinted in *Hyakubyōzuzō no kenkyū*, p. 115), who reads Kakuzen's passage as recording that the illustration of the Five Mysteries that Shūei brought back is the same as that which is illustrated in the *Ejūshō*. The problem is that the image paired with this entry is the same as the images included in the *Besson zakki* and *Mandarashū*. As we have noted, Kōzen records in his *Mandarashū* that the Zenrinji monk returned with this image. This suggests that the *Ejūshō* may not be the present-day *Zuzōshō/Jikkanshō*, but such a statement is too complicated for me to attempt to defend in this dissertation.

There is, however, one more piece of evidence that requires consideration with regard to the compiler of the presentday *Zuzōshō/Jikkanshō*. Nakano Genzō ("Kakuzenshō no mikōkan zuzō," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 70 (1969), pp. 140-149, esp. p. 148) presents copies of Kakuzen's entries on the Five Mysteries that have not been published. Copies in the Sainan'in 西南院, dated to 1323 (Genkō 元亨 3), include an illustration of the Five Mysteries and an accompanying note on the back. The illustration is similar to the one that Kōzen includes after his entry on the Five Mysteries in Master Ejū's Compendium of Icons (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3018, p. 182c and endnote 70 above) in his *Mandarashū*. The differences are that in Kakuzen's sketch Vajrasattava holds a bell in his left hand and Pride at his left does not hold a lotus in her raised right fist but a weapon of some kind. The accompanying note contains information that we see in Kakuzen's scroll on the Five Mysteries (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3002, p. 159c3-12), which I have given in the text. Here the note begins with the same statement that Kōzen records (see endnote 70 above) about the features of the Five Mysteries in the gold-on-[purple]-mud mandala that he cites from the Five Mysteries entry in Master Ejū's Compendium of Icons. Kakuzen then records that

My Teacher said that the Senpukuji (Jianfusi) mandala that Jikaku [Ennin] introduced is kept in the Scripture Repository at Ninnaji. Ejū made a drawing based on that version. Also he [my Teacher] added: Is the image that the Zenrinji monk [Shūei] introduced a drawing of the Senpukuji [mandala done in accordance] with the meaning of the *Liquishi*? Both [Ennin's and Shūei's] versions differ and one must inquire about this.

⁸⁰ *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 160 and illus. No. 43.

⁸¹ *Besson zakki*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007, p. 297 illus. No. 123 and *Mandarashū*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3018, p. 182 illus. No. 42 and reference illus. No. 44, p. 238.

Shinkaku records (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007, p. 294c18-296a9) in the beginning of his entry on the Five Mysteries a visualization which is identified with small letters as that of Jōren'in 成蓮院. This indicates the transmission of his master Kenni. The information he then records (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007, p. 296a10-c20) for the rite of the Five Mysteries is, with very minor changes, exactly the same information given in the *Zuzōshō*'s entry (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006, pp. 16a1-c10) on the Five Mysteries. The difference is the iconography of the illustration of the Five Mysteries pentad that is included in each compendium.

⁸² *Mandarashū*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3018, p. 182a10.

⁸³ Compare *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 160 and illus. No. 44 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3006, p. 16c and illustration No. 30.

⁸⁴ See Hunter, "Five Secrets Mandala," *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 111-124 for a discussion of the relationship between text and image.

⁸⁵ *Kakuzenshō*, scroll 113, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, no. 3022, p. 524b21 and illustration no. 372.

⁸⁶ See p. 101 above, *T.2174A:1111a11* and *T. 2176:1131b28*.

⁸⁷ *Kakuzenshō*, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [], pp. 27/1619-30/1622.

⁸⁸ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [], p. 28/1620.

⁸⁹ *Kechimyaku ruijūki 2*, *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, p. 52a-b, esp. b6.

⁹⁰ Kakuzen also supplies an illustration of the figure that Kūkai penned 大師御筆; see *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [], p. 27/1619.

⁹¹ See, for example, Genkai's *Atsuzōshi*, *T.2483:271c3-6* and Jichiun's *Gempishō*, *T.2486:389a20-23*. See also Goepper's discussion (*Aizen myōdō*, pp. 30-36) of the various attributes that Rāgarāja can hold in this hand and their meanings, which he cites from a number of ritual collections, including the *Asabashō*.

⁹² The *Taishō* compilers have labelled this the Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa Mandala 大佛頂曼荼羅 (*Daibutchō mandara*), but the iconography of this mandala corresponds to the prescriptions given in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefu guiyi* 尊勝佛頂修遊瑜伽法軌儀, which is published as *T.19.973*. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3174-5 (*Sonshō mandara*) and pp. 3391-2 (*Daibutchō mandara*) elucidates the textual and iconographical differences between these two mandalas. The titles Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa or Buddhoṣṇīṣa are used as a generic name under which a number of Buddhoṣṇīṣa are subsumed. See, Hubert Durt, *Hōbōgirin*, vol. 3, pp. 148-150 (Butchō) and vol. 6, pp. 596-598 (Daibutchō).

⁹³ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007, p. 125, illus. no. 27 and p. 126, illus. no. 28.

⁹⁴ See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3022, p. 531 and illustration no. 50, p. 533 for the Miidera version, whose iconographic source is *T.19.973*.

⁹⁵ See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, no. 3007, p.127a1-2 and *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3022, p. 527b7-8, entry on "the main deity" 本尊事. Shinkaku's reference occurs in his documentation of Shōgutei'in 勝俱胝院 (Jichuin)'s transmission. Kakuzen cites Jichiun's *Konpōshō* 金寶抄, that is, his *Hizō konpōshō* 祕藏金寶抄.

⁹⁶ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3022, p. 523b19-24, esp. 22-24 in entry titled "the figures of Mahoṣṇīṣa-cakravartin are not the same" 廣生佛頂像不同.

⁹⁷ See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, no. 3022, pp. 526a7-8, entry on "origins of this secret rite" 祕法由.

⁹⁸ T.2174A:1108a26-27. The note states that this was translated by Śubhākarasiṃha. I discuss this manual and its prescribed mandala in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

⁹⁹ See T.2176:1119a14.

¹⁰⁰ T.2174A:1111a25 and sixth bullet, p.100.

¹⁰¹ See T.2174A:1108b2 and T.867:259c26-264a29. I discuss this chapter of the *Yuqijing* in Chapter Six.

¹⁰² T.2176:1131b27 and 1119b20, where Annen credits the introduction of this ritual to Ennin and Engyō.

¹⁰³ T. *Zuzō*, vol. 4, p. 399c where Kakuzen records: “The transmission of the last [monk] to go to Tang [uses] five eyes inside of a circle of light.” 後入唐伝、圓光中五眼. See also Yoritomi’s “Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō,” *Naritasan bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō*, No. 15, p. 531.

Chapter Six: Characteristics of Ninth-Century Chinese Esoteric Buddhist Works

¹ On the concept of a “canon in use,” see Ronald Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, pp. 146, 152, and Kenneth Eastman (“Mahāyoga Texts at Tun-huang,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Cultural Studies at Ryūkyō University*, vol. 22 (1983), pp. 42-69, esp. p. 44).

² Yoritomi, “Shūei shōrai no mikkyō zuzō,” op. cit., p. 522 and Shibata Kenryū, “*Rishukyō* to Aizen myōō,” Shibata Kenryū mikkyō bunko (<http://www.ab.auone-net.jp/~badra20/rishumandara.html>, pp. 1-11, esp. p. 2) both give the *Damiao jingang daganlu Junnali yanman Chicheng Foding jing* (T.19.965) as this mandala’s source. This work presents eight Buddhōṣṇīṣas and, although the names correlate, their positions around Mahāvairocana do not.

³ T.55.2168A:1087c8, 2168B:1090a27. Eun’s inventory is dated to 847 (Jōwa 14 承和十四年). Kūkai was the first pilgrim-monk to return to Japan in 806 with a copy of the *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqia yuqi jing* (*Yuqi jing*). See his *Shōrai mokuroku, Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 82.

⁴ See Engyō inventory (T.55.2164:1072b6), which dates to 839 (Jōwa 6 承和六年). Engyō notes that this work is also called “the Scripture of the Five Eyes and that it has been extracted from the Scripture of the Peak of the Adamantine Crown 亦名五眼經出金剛頂峰經.”

⁵ See Ennin’s inventory (T.2167:1080c28), where the work is listed as a “chapter” 金剛吉祥大成就品 一卷, and Shūei’s (T. 2174:1108b2), where it is listed as a “method” 金剛吉祥大成就法 一卷.

⁶ Engyō lists (T.2164c2) the work as a “scripture” 經 and notes that it was translated by Śubhākarasiṃha. Eun records (T.2168B:1089b5) this work as a “ritual method” 法 that was translated by Śubhākarasiṃha, and Shūei records it as a ritual handbook 儀軌 (*kalpa*) also translated by Śubhākarasiṃha.

There are a number of reasons to suspect this attribution to Śubhākarasiṃha. One reason is that this ritual manual is not listed under Śubhākarasiṃha’s name in the two catalogues of Buddhist works that were composed during the mid Tang Dynasty, Zhisheng’s 智昇 *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (T.55.2154:571c27-572a3) and Yuanzhao’s *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.55.2157:874c1-9). It first appears in these mid-ninth-century Japanese inventories.

Annen records in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* that this ritual manual was introduced by Ennin, Engyō and Eun. He does not mention Shūei’s introduction of this work. See Chapter 5, p. 108 and endnote 99. Ennin lists in his catalogues a ritual manual for Vikīrṇōṣṇīṣa that was translated by Amoghavajra, as well as other manuals whose authors he does not give (see T.2167:1079b15,1080a28, for example), but he does not record a ritual manual for Vikīrṇōṣṇīṣa that was translated by Śubhākarasiṃha.

⁷ See *T.2167:1084c4,11; T.2171:1096c28, 2172:1098c20, 2173:1104a19; and T.2174:1111a11, 25*. See also my Chapter Five, pp. 107-109 and related endnotes. Yoritomi, “Chishōdaishi shōrai no bukkyō zuzō,” *Chishō daishi kenkyū*, pp. 489-516) esp. p. 494 identifies the mandala that Enchin records as one related to the rite of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa.

⁸ *T.867:259c27-260a6*.

⁹ The iconography of the figure of Buddha-Mother Buddha-Eye is described (*T.867:260a6-11*) as follows:

At that time Vajrasattva, in the presence of All the Tathāgatas, suddenly manifested the body of the Mother of All the Buddhas 一切仏母身. She resided on a great white lotus and her body produced a radiance [like] a white moon, and a subtle smile [lit] both eyes. With her two wings [hands] placed at her navel and [appearing] as if having entered a trance of concentration (*samādhi*), she produced from all her limbs buddhas, as numberless as the sands of ten Ganges, and every one of these buddhas paid reverence, venerating whom the principle had brought forth. In an instant all [of these buddhas] were transformed into Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rājas 一字頂輪王 (Kings of the Wheel of Uṣṇīṣa [generated] in One Syllable). They [all formed] the mudrā of holding the wheel and their heads emitted light...

¹⁰ The iconography of the mandala is (*T. 867:263a16- 21*) as follows:

Having spoken these words, then Mahāvajraśrī, the mother, whom the principle had brought forth, explained the rite of drawing the mandala with figures. “Take a clean cloth, equal to the size of your own body, and draw [the figures of the mandala]. As for all the figures in yoga, draw their bodies in a sitting posture and the same size. In the center you must draw three layers of eight-petaled lotuses. Draw my body in the center. In front of me draw Sarvabuddha-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja 一切佛頂輪王 on one lotus blossom. He holds in his hand an eight-spoked, jeweled, adamantine wheel.”

¹¹ The Chinese and Sanskrit names are, respectively: Sun, Taiyang and Āditya; Moon, Taiyin and Sōma; Mars, Huoxing and Aṅgāraka; Mercury, Shuixing and Budha; Jupiter, Muxing and Brhaspati; Venus, Jinxing and Śukra; and Saturn, Tuxing and Śanaīścara.

¹² Mahāvajraśrī, the Mother, continues (*T.867:263a21-26*):

“Then turning to the right install the emissaries of the Seven Luminaries 七曜使者 (Saptagraha). In the second lotus court draw Vajrasattva in front of Uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja 頂輪王 and then draw the Eight Great Bodhisattvas. Each holds his fundamental emblem. Next, in the third lotus court, turning to the right, draw the Eight Great Kings of Adamantine Spells (Vidyārājas) 八大金剛明王. And in the four directions outside of the lotus courts draw the emissaries of the Eight Great Offering [Bodhisattvas] and the Four Gathering [Bodhisattvas]. All are crowned with lion crowns. This we call the rite of drawing the figures, and the mandala is also [drawn] like this.”

Although the text states that the Eight Offering Bodhisattvas and Four Gathering Bodhisattvas in the outermost court are depicted in their anthropomorphic forms (“crowned with lion crowns”), only the symbolic forms of the Four Inner Offering Bodhisattvas are represented in the Daigoji Buddhālocanā Mandala. The Four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas and the Four Gathering Bodhisattvas have been omitted.

¹³ *T.867:263a26-27*.

¹⁴ *T.19.965*. This is a Tang Dynasty translation by Dharmasena 達磨栖那 and it is first recorded in Eun’s inventory (*T.2168B:1090b3-4*). While residing on Cock’s Foot Mountain 鷄足山 in Magadha, Vairocana enters a special *samādhi* and, among a number of supernatural feats, manifests the appearance of gathering all Buddhoṣṇīṣas into his own body. This feat thus accounts for the title this scripture is given in Master Dharma-General’s note. Further, Vairocana produces eight lotus seats for eight Buddhoṣṇīṣas who sit on these seats surrounding him. Vairocana then enters a second *samādhi* in order to expound a special ten-letter mantra, which so delights the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in the assembled crowd that they transform themselves into Eight Vidyārājas and each in turn expounds a special mantra. The Eight Great Bodhisattvas in this scripture are: Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī, Ākāśagarbha, Maitreya,

Avalokiteśvara, Kṣitigarbha, Sarvanivāraṇaṣkambhī 一切蓋障, and Samantabhadra. See *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 7, p. 497a-c. The group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas in this work is the same group that appears in Amoghavajra's *Ba dapusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼荼羅經 (T.20.1167).

The *Damiaio jingang daganlu Junnali yanman Chicheng Foding jing* gives the names of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas and Eight Great Vidyārājas but it does not supply any information about their figures. Unfortunately, we do not know the contents of the scroll on the Chapter of the Great Accomplishments of Vajraśrī that the pilgrim-monks listed in their inventories, that is, whether it was simply a copy of the ninth chapter of the *Yuqijing* or if it would have included more detailed directions for depicting the iconography of the figures in this mandala. The only mention of this independent version of the *Yuqijing*'s chapter nine is in Shōchō's *Asabashō* (T. Zuzō, vol. 9, p. 77b9-10). He records that this chapter is exactly like the text of which it is a part. However, further research in other Japanese ritual compendia is necessary to verify this statement.

¹⁵ Master Dharma-General's comment about the seven stellar gods suggests that there existed a ready source of information concerning their depiction. There are many works, both secular and Buddhist, for the Seven Luminaries, and the figures of these celestial bodies appear among the guardian gods in the outermost courts of the mandalas prescribed in numerous Esoteric Buddhist scriptures. See, for example, Shūei's inventory (T.2174:1111b21-23, c1), wherein he records, in addition to Faquan's *Gongyang hushi batian fa* 供養護世八天法 (T.21.1295), secular works concerning the Seven Luminaries and the Twenty-Eight Constellations. Hamada Ryū presents the Buddhist works on the gods that were introduced by Japanese pilgrim-monks, for example, Kūkai, Ennin, Enchin and Shūei, in his "Jūniten gazō no kenkyū (2)," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 49 (1962), pp. 17-34. See also Hamada, "Jūniten gazō no kenkyū (1)," *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 44 (1960), pp. 24-44, esp. his illustrations and charts of mandalas, beginning with Atikūta's 阿地瞿多 *Tuoluoniji jing* (T.901) and including a mandala based on Faquan's *Gongyang hushi batian fa*.

¹⁶ The Buddha Eye is one of Five Eyes discussed in the versions of the *Vajracchedikā* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 that were translated by Bodhiruci 菩提流志 (T.8.236) and Paramārtha 真諦 (T.8.237). See Senba Shōkan, "Butchōson to butsugen ni kansuru mondai – sono seiritsu wo chūshin toshite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 37/2 (March, 1989), pp. 626-629, esp. p. 627. See also *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 359a and *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 582c-582b.

¹⁷ For instance, she proclaims the efficaciousness of chanting her Fundamental King of Spells 根本明王, enumerating the acquisition of such boons as a body like Vajrasattva and his protection, good fortune like the seven jewels of Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja and the propitiation of the negative influences of the astral gods. See T.867:260a25-b14, esp. a26-27, b9, b10-11, b11-13.

Two of the mantras that Buddhālocanā teaches (263c5-264a4) are addressed to the astral gods. These are Vajraśrī's Accomplishment of All Spells 金剛吉祥成就一切明 and the Spell whereby Wondrous Śrī Destroys All Constellations and Luminaries 妙吉祥破諸宿曜明. A third mantra, the Mantra that Accomplishes All Spells 成就一切明真言 (T.867:264a5-27), calls on Vajrasattva to enable the practitioner to accomplish all spells, defeat all inner and external demons, and understand all matters, to name but a few of the boons he can bestow.

¹⁸ T.867:260b21-22.

¹⁹ The transmissions recorded in the *Kakuzenshō* and *Asabashō* are numerous and their contents are far more complicated than what I present here. This mandala requires a much more in-depth study based on this Japanese material. I acknowledge only those transmissions that allow the summary I have presented in the text. See *Kakuzenshō*, T. Zuzō, vol. 4, p. 394a 25-29, transmission of Ryōe 亮惠, and p. 398a21-23, transmission of Hōmu 法務 (Kanjin); and *Asabashō*, T. Zuzō, vol. 9, p. 68a25-b2, the Ōhara transmission 大原決 (Chōen) for the role of the Seven Luminaries, and p. 69c6-25 for an explanation of the meaning of the figural groups seated on this mandala's three tiers of lotus petals.

See also Lilla Russell-Smith, "Stars and Planets in Chinese and Central Asian Buddhist Art in the Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries," *The Worship of Stars in Japanese Religious Practice*, ed. Lucia Dolce, Special Double Issue of *Culture and Cosmos: A Journal of the History of Astrology and Cultural Astronomy*, vol. 10, no. 1 and 2 (Spring/Summer and Autumn/Winter 2006), pp. 99-124.

²⁰ The Eight Bodhisattvas and Eight Vidyārājas arise from Buddhālocanā's Dharma-Eye 法眼 and Wisdom-Eye 慧眼, respectively. The acumen of the Eight Bodhisattvas enables them to adjust the Buddhist teachings for sentient beings' comprehension in order to lead them to enlightenment. The Eight Great Vidyārājas, who perceive with their penetrating insight the non-substantiality of all elements of existence, manage and guide those beings who are difficult to subdue. See endnote 19 above for sources.

²¹ Pol Vanden Broucke ("On the Title and the Translator of the *Yugikyō* (T.XVIII no. 867)," *Kōyasan daigaku mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo kinen*, (March 1994, pp. 212-184), esp. p. 200) conjectured that the *Yujijing* might be a collection of fragments of Indian works that were translated into Chinese and compiled into one text, and that a guiding principle in the selection of these textual fragments was the concept of the non-duality of the matrix and the adamantine realm. In a second article ("The Twelve-Armed Deity Daishō Kongō and His Scriptural Sources," *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, Ed. Richard K. Payne (Boston: Wisdom Publication, 2006) pp. 147-159, endnotes pp. 270-277, esp. p. 149-150) Vanden Broucke writes that it is not known whether this text was a translation of a lost Indian original or was a forged Chinese work. Misaki Ryōshū also characterizes ("Butchōkei no mikkyō" 佛頂系の密教, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 114-117, 126, 137-140; first published as "Butchōkei no mikkyō – Tōdai mikkyōshi no isshiten," *Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū* – Yoshioka Hakushi kinen (1977, pp. 477-499) this work as a forged text that exhibits the mixing of the traditions of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* (T.18.848), the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.18.865) and the earlier *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* texts.

²² In the Preface (T.867:253c19-255c9) of the *Yujijing*, the Universally Illuminating Tathāgata of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界遍照如來 (Mahāvairocana), surrounded by the Four Directional Buddhas and the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas 十六大菩薩, Goddesses, who are the Messengers in the Four Gates 四門使者天女, and Eight Inner and Outer Offering Messenger-Goddesses 內外供養天女使者, states that he will explain the Adamantine Vehicle 金剛乘. In the following eleven chapters of the *Yujijing*, this Tathāgata introduces to Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva (as in the *Liqijing* and *Liqushi* these two are interchangeable) and, by extension, the practitioners, deities and their practices belonging to this system of the Adamantine Realm.

One difference between this version of the Adamantine Realm and that presented in Amoghavajra's *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* is seen in the figures of the gate guardians. Here these deities are female, whereas in Amoghavajra's work they are male.

²³ In ch. 2 (T.867:255c19-256a3) Vairocana teaches Vajrapāṇi and other Bodhisattvas the special mantra *om Mahārāga Vajroṣṇīṣa Vajrasattva jjaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ*. This mantra addresses the three deities Mahārāga, Vajroṣṇīṣa and Vajrasattva, calling on their powers, which quickly bring about the successful achievement of all yogic activities. This mantra is said to positively affect the mantras of the Six Families of the Buddhoṣṇīṣa, Tathāgata, Adamantine, Lotus, Gem and Action. Here the Buddhoṣṇīṣas, who belong to the Buddha Family in such works as the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, for instance, are grouped as a family along with the Five Families of the Adamantine Realm.

²⁴ A second example is ch. 7 (T.867:257c19-26). Here Vajrapāṇi expounds to an assembly of Bodhisattvas the mantra for the Yoga of the Essence of the Great Victorious [One], the Essence in One Letter that Accomplishes [the state of] Vajrasattva 成就金剛薩埵一字心大勝心相應 and describes the boons that this mantra practice brings about. The theme of this chapter is Fundamental Hindrance Born from Self-Nature 自性所生障 and it takes the form of Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, adorned with adamantine wheels 金剛輪 atop his head, beneath his feet, in both hands and at his heart. Vajrapāṇi explicates (258a14-28) the Method of the Adamantine Crown and [its relationship to] the Hindrance of Self-Nature 自性障金剛頂法. We learn that the only way to destroy Fundamental Hindrance is to keep intoning Rāgarāja's Fundamental Essence in One Letter 愛染王根本一字心. Constantly contemplating this letter *hūṃ* 一吽字, the master of mantra will reside firmly in the nature of vajra 堅住金剛性, completely become a substance of vajra 全成金剛體, his body firm [as a vajra] 同堅固身. I thank Nobumi Iyanaga for helping me understand this chapter.

²⁵ Ritual practices described in *Yujijing* ch. 11 (T.867:266c28-267b4, 267b5-21) serve as examples.

²⁶ In ch. 6 (T.867:257b18-c17) Vajrapāṇi explains the method for collecting [the infinite virtues of] the four practices 四行攝法 [of benevolence 慈 (*maitrī*), compassion 悲 (*karuṇā*), joy 喜 (*muditā*) and impartiality 捨 (*upekṣā*)]. This

method requires two mantras that are addressed to Vajrasattva and his powers. These four practices, when successful, will enable the practitioner to achieve many supermundane accomplishments (*lokottara siddhis*). Some are, for example, to realize supreme enlightenment, which is the ultimate of accomplishments, to dwell in the meditative concentration (*samādhi*) of Vajrasattva and so give benefits and happiness to all sentient beings, and to attain in this lifetime the Adamantine Nature of the Adamantine Vehicle 金剛乘金剛性 and the position of the Great Adamantine [One] 大金剛位.

²⁷ *T.867:257b3*. The medieval Shingon Ono school, citing this line of verse, considered Rāgarāja and Buddhālocanā to be transformations of Vajrasattva. See Chapter Two for Shingon sources.

²⁸ In addition to figuring in the *Vairocanābhīṣambodhi sūtra*, Buddhālocanā is one of three Buddha-Mothers in the *Susiddhikāra sūtra*. She is the Buddha-Mother of the Buddha Family (see *T.19.873:603c13-19*), whose members also include the Buddhōṣṇīṣas.

²⁹ Senba (“Butchōson to butsugen ni kansuru mondai – sono seiritsu wo chūshin toshite,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 37/2, pp. 626-629) presents passages from Atikūta’s 阿地瞿多 *Tuoluoniji jing* 陀羅尼集經 (*T.19.901*) that provide mudrās and mantras for such figures as Śākya, Buddha of the Golden Wheel 釋迦金輪佛 (also Golden Wheel Buddha, Crown-Buddha 金輪佛頂佛) and Śākya-Buddhālocanā 釋迦佛眼, who appear as separate deities in the mandala constructed in this work. Further, the association of Bodhisattva Buddhālocanā with the Buddha Crown [generated] in One Letter 一字佛頂 is also found in Atikūta’s work. Senba demonstrates that Atikūta’s work is the origin of the deification of Buddhālocanā and the pairing of Buddhālocanā with the Buddha Crown [generated] in One Letter, iconological changes that are said to have first appeared in Bodhiruci’s *Yizi foding lunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 (*T.19.951*).

Both Misaki (“Butchōkei no mikkyō,” *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 112-145, esp. p. 125) and Senba (*ibid*, pp. 628-629) discuss the chapters in Bodhiruci’s *Yizi foding lunwang jing*, which present Buddhālocanā and her powerful mantra, whose effectiveness resulted in her pairing with Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakra-rāja. Senba (*ibid*, pp. 628-629) cites Bodhiruci’s *Yizi foding lunwang jing* as evidence for the development of the role of Buddhālocanā and the power of her mantra. For instance, a passage in this scripture (*T.951:227a*) relates that the World Honoured One explained the Mother of Spells, the Great Vidyā of All the Buddha Eyes 一切佛眼大明呪母. This Spell, the Great Vidyā of Buddhālocanā 佛眼大明呪 can bring about subjugation and the successful accomplishment of the Spell of the Wheel [Turning] King of All Buddha Crowns 一切佛頂輪王呪, and it is also called the spell of the Mother of Families of All the Buddhas 一切諸佛種族母呪. This figure is the Mother who Bears and Raises All the Great Bodhisattvas 一切諸大菩薩生養育母.

³⁰ *T.19.954A:310a25-28*, see my Appendix B, Amoghavajra’s Transmission.

³¹ See *T.1003:612b11-15* and Chapter 4, endnotes 74 and 75.

The author of the *Yujijing* may have been influenced by works being composed or oral transmissions being circulated within the Adamantine Realm lineage in India during the mid-late eighth century that came to belong to the Mahāyoga tantras. These tantras, composed ca. 750-850 CE, contain early examples of ritualized sexual practices. See Dalton, “The Development of Perfection: The Interiorization of Buddhist Ritual in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 32, pp.1-30, wherein he outlines the gradual development of tantric ritual technologies and systems in India from the eighth century onwards.

³² See Misaki, “Butchōkei no mikkyō,” *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, p. 138), who sees a *śakti* relationship between the two deities as a development of the relationship that Bodhiruci presents in his *Yizi foding lunwang jing*. On the other hand, Senba (“Butchōson to butsugen ni kansuru mondai,” *op. cit.*, p. 628) sees a *śakti* relationship between these two deities in Bodhiruci’s work. Misaki also states that a *śakti* relationship between Rāgarāja and Vajrasattva is presented in *Yujijing* ch. 5. (Misaki reads this passage (*T.867:257b2-3*) as describing Rāgarāja as “the wife 妻 of Vajrasattva and the Mother of All the Buddhas.” The *Taishō* manuscript has the character for meditation 定 (see endnote 27) and so resulted in my reading of this passage.) According to Misaki (*ibid*, p. 138), these two examples are influences from what later came to be called the Supreme Yoga tantras, but this statement too requires further research.

³³ The Mandala Born of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion is outlined in the second chapter, *Ru mantuluo juyuan pin* 入漫荼羅具緣真言品第二之一 (Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala), of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*. The figure of this Mother is described (T.848:6c23-25) as residing in a deep meditative concentration (*samādhi*). See also *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, 2948, p. 646, No. 13. See Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 70-71, who traces the iconography of this deity to the figure of Bodhisattva Buddha-Mother, Eye of Emptiness 虛空眼佛母菩薩 who forms the Mudrā of Meditation and sits in *samādhi* in Bodhiruci's *Yizi foding lunwang jing* 不空罽索經 (T.20.1092:270b29-c1).

According to Yixing's *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*, this figure is called the Eye of Emptiness 虛空眼 (Gaganalocanā) and she is the Buddha Mother of Vairocana 毘盧遮那佛母. Yixing also states in his commentary that the origins of this figure is the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*'s chapter on the Buddha Mother. See T.1796:631c27-28, 28-29. Yixing is referring to Prajñāpāramitā, the deification of the teachings on the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*), the highest of wisdoms that brings salvation through enlightenment as to the unreality, that is the illusory character, of all factors of existence (*dharmas*).

This mother figure's understanding, or vision, of emptiness as the ultimate reality of all things is regarded as the source of all buddhas and bodhisattvas. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 1932c-1933a and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, pp. 4445b-4446b.

³⁴ T.867:260b25-263a4.

³⁵ This mantra is the first of the five that Buddhalocanā teaches in this chapter. See T.867:263b4-11 and Hatta Yukio, *Shingon jiten* 真言辭典, (Tokyo: Hiraikawa shuppansha, 1985), p. 4, no. 5.

Buddhalocanā also teaches the “King of Spells in Five Letters that Hooks and Invites the Vajrākāśagarbhas who successfully Manifest Wealth” 成就富貴金剛虛空藏鈎召五字明王, which is the mantra of the Five Ākāśagarbhas. Its five letters *vaṃ hūṃ trāḥ hrīḥ aḥ* are also the five seed letters of the Adamantine Realm's Five Buddhas. See T.867:263b11-14 and Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, p. 121, no. 891. A Mandala of the Five Ākāśagarbhas is appended to the Daigoji exemplar (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, 3044, p. 594, No. 19).

³⁶ T.61.2228:485a-504b.

³⁷ Scriptures and the *dhāraṇī* for this deity had become extremely popular in Tang China from the late seventh century onwards. Between 680 and 710 five Chinese translations of the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* (T.19.967, 968, 969, 970 and 971) were made of versions of the Sanskrit text, known as the *Sarvadurgatiparisodhana-uṣṇīṣaviṣaya-dhāraṇī sūtra*. I am grateful to Henrik Sørensen (personal communication, June 3, 2004) for alerting me to the significance of these earlier scriptures and for providing me with suggested readings.

³⁸ T.848:52b13-28.

³⁹ See T.973:368c19-369b24, ch. two, Vikīrṇa's Mantra and Procedure for Recitation 尊勝真言持誦法則品第二. In the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, the practitioner transforms the aggregates of his body and the elements of his surrounding world (the container world 器界) that have been produced through causation into those that are unconditioned, adamant and indestructible. This he does by first burning away the conditioned aggregates and elements of his body with the letter *raṃ* and then by recreating his body, visualizing the letters *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ* of the five Buddhist cosmic elements earth, water, fire, wind and space on five parts of his body from his groin to the top of his crown. In this rite (T.973:369b15-16) he becomes the “wisdom body without taints” 無漏智身. The sanctified practitioner then goes on to recreate his environment, this time visualizing the letters for the elements in a reverse order, beginning with *khaṃ* at the bottom on upwards to the letter *a*. The manual provides (T.973:369b7-24) a second summarizing explanation of these visualizations, as well as diagrams. In a subsequent ritual act 道場觀, the practitioner will visualize the sacred world of the mandala atop this stack of purified cosmic building blocks.

⁴⁰ Compare, for example, T.851:91b29-c14 (letter *raṃ*), 91c16-92b7 (recreation of body by means of the five letters of the five cosmic elements), 92b9-22, 92c12-93a6 (visualization of container world); T.852:110b16-22 (*raṃ*), 110b23-c10 (recreation and five letters), 110c11-14 (container world); and T.853:146b5-11 (*raṃ*), 146b11-c1 (recreation and five letters), 146c2-7 (container world). This visualization is performed before the ritual phase of visualizing the

sacred site, either in the ritual phase of establishing the altar in *T.851*, or at the opening of the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata's body in *T.852* and *T.853*.

⁴¹ See *T.973:371b19-c10*, ch. five, Chapter on Vikīrṃa's Mantra and Practice of Five Wisdoms Yoga 尊勝眞言修瑜伽五智品第五, *T.865:207c10-208a23* and *T.873:302a11-c5*.

⁴² *T.973:372a19-373b15*.

⁴³ The composer has broken up the original five steps of this ritual act by performing the mantra for the first step, penetrating one's true mind 通達本心, in the final act of the ritual phase of offerings. Here (*T.973:371b13-17*) the mantra enables the practitioner to do such things as protect the five spots of his body and understand and quickly accomplish the deeds of the buddhas. In this Vikīrṃṣṇīṣa rite, then, the first step (*ibid*, 371b19-24) in the act of attaining the buddha body in five steps becomes that of cultivating the mind of enlightenment 修菩提心, which is actually the second step in the original process. The practitioner then goes on to perform (*ibid*, 371b24-c10) the third and the final fifth steps of the original process, attaining the adamantine mind 成金剛心 and the buddha body perfected 佛身圓滿. The important fourth step of the original process, that of realizing the adamantine body 證金剛身, is missing. For the titles of these steps, see Amoghavajra's *Jingangding yuqie shibahui zhigui* (*T.869:284c23*), and for the significance of this fourth step, see Tsuda, "Critical Tantrism," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko*, vol. 36, pp. 201-203.

⁴⁴ The composer of this manual has allocated five wisdoms to each of the five steps but his method of allocation does not match the five wisdoms of the Five Buddhas of the Adamantine Realm, nor the mantras of the original process. See *T.869:284c21-23* for the equation of this five-stepped ritual act with the five wisdoms of the Five Buddhas in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm. First in order in this Vikīrṃṣṇīṣa rite (*T.973:371b22-c10*) is that of the wisdom of the great round mirror (the mantra is that of the original step two), then the wisdoms of the nature of equality (the mantra is that of the original step three), of the completion of actions (the mantra is that of the original step five), of wondrous observation and, lastly, of employing skillful means as the final aim. Further, the three Buddha Bodies have been assigned to the five steps of this ritual act. Step one signifies the *dharmakāya*, step two and four that of the *sambhogakāya* and step five that of the *nirmānakāya*.

⁴⁵ The mantras for the wisdoms of wondrous observation (*T.973:371c4*, see Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, p. 225, no. 1809) and skillful means as the final aim (*ibid*, 371c8, see Hatta, *ibid*, p. 218, no. 1750) are not in the original source.

⁴⁶ In this final step of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s formula for quick enlightenment (*T.865:208a12-22*), Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi realized himself as a Tathāgata, having visualized himself as a buddha figure while chanting a special mantra. Immediately after his empowerment and consecration as Tathāgata Vajradhātu by All the Tathāgatas (*ibid*, 208a21-b2), he, in the form of an "enjoyment body" (*sambhogakāya*; see Amoghavajra's *T.870:288a10-15* and *ibid*, 288b9-24), manifested the mandalic reality of the Adamantine Realm in a pavilion on the summit of Mount Meru.

⁴⁷ *T.848:1b25-c2*. I have followed, but slightly modified by eliminating the Sanskrit terms, Tsuda's translation in his "Critical Tantrism," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko*, vol. 36, p. 183. See also his discussion of the world of reality, the omniscience of Mahāvairocana, *ibid*, pp. 182-4.

⁴⁸ See *T.973:368b21-23* for reference to this story, and for this story in the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* (*T.19.967*), see Paul Kroll, *Dharma Bell and Dhāraṇī Pillar* (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, Epigraphical Series 3, 2001, pp. 46-48). Although different Sanskrit manuscripts served as the source for the Chinese translations, the characters and events of this story are identical in the five translations.

In addition to the reference to this story and its characters made in the preface of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*, there are other references to these characters and their story. I mention two below in endnotes 67 and 73. A third reference is in ch. seven (*T.973:376b12-25*), where a mandala is described, whose focus is the triad of Śākyamuni, Indra and Supraṭiṣṭhitā. This mandala also includes the Four Heavenly Kings and Yamarāja, characters who also appear in the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing*.

⁴⁹ In Amoghavajra's rite for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa, the *Foding zunsheng niansong fa* (T.19.972:366c2-367a21 and my Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission), for example, there is a single sequence of three mudrā-mantra pairs from the rite of the adamantine realm in a rite whose majority of ritual acts and mudrā-mantras sequences are from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*. These elements from the rite of the adamantine realm serve the purpose of allowing a consecrated practitioner to perform the ritual phase of identification with Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa. In a second example, the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* (T.19.954A:310a25-26, Appendix B), for instance, Amoghavajra proposes three methods that the practitioner can use for identification with *Ekākṣarabuddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravartī-rāja*.

⁵⁰ T.973:368b17.

⁵¹ For the five circles of liberation, see T.870:288a13-23), *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 581c and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 1168c-1169b.

A second statement of correlation (T.973:368b17) follows immediately upon the above: "The Five Wisdoms 五智 constitute the Body in Five Parts 五分身." The "body in five parts" is that of the Universal Body (*dharmakāya*) of Mahāvairocana formed by means of the five letters of the five cosmic Buddhist elements. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 636c.

⁵² These wisdoms are allocated to this mandala's Five Buddhas and their Families, as well as to the various levels of the practitioner's consciousness, and specific meditative practices transform the levels of the practitioner's consciousness into its corresponding wisdom. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1246c-1247c and *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 620c-621b.

⁵³ T.973:368b24-29.

⁵⁴ The one hundred and sixty minds symbolize the defilements that obscure the practitioner's innate mind of enlightenment. These defilements can be eliminated and the supramundane mind uncovered by overcoming the three erring attachments of the mundane world. This occurs in a process, also termed "crossing the three eons," whereby the practitioner eradicates layers of defilements from his mind by means of yogic practices. First he removes the layer of gross defilements and comes to understand the non-existence of self, then he gets rid of the layer of subtle defilements, which discloses the knowledge of the emptiness of all elements of reality, and finally the layer of extremely subtle defilements, whereby he abandons dualistic constructs that are ignorance based. See T.848:2a6-3b29 and Tsuda's explanation of the structure of the human mind and enlightenment according to the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* in "A Critical Tantrism," pp. 184-197.

⁵⁵ T. *Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 796, No. 21 and T.973:375c17-376b9. Absent also are the flying devas in the upper part of the mandala. Trailokyavijaya and Acala become important in other versions of this mandala, for example, the version that Enchin is said to have returned with (see *Besson zakki*, T. *Zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 126, No.28 and *Kakuzenshō*, vol. 4, p. 533, No. 50) depicts only Vairocana, Trailokyavijaya and Acala. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, p.3175b for a discussion of Enchin's mandala as a secret image and p. 3173a for a Shingon interpretation of the two figures of Trailokyavijaya and Acala.

⁵⁶ There are exceptions among the Daigoji figures of the Buddhoṣṇīṣas. The attributes and mudrās of all the figures to the right of the central figure of Mahāvairocana in the Daigoji mandala have been reversed for some reason. Vijayoṣṇīṣa 最勝佛頂輪王 should hold (T.973:376a6-10) a lotus topped with an eight-spoked jeweled wheel in his right hand, and Asnantasvaraghoṣa 無邊聲佛頂輪王 should hold (376a23-26) a lotus topped with a conch shell in his right hand. Jayoṣṇīṣa 殊勝佛頂輪王 on the left side of Mahāvairocana holds a vajra, but he should hold (376a18-20) a sword in his left hand.

The Buddhoṣṇīṣas' attributes correspond, on the whole, to the attributes of these figures in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* (T.18.848:35a) and in one of the most important of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* scriptures, Bodhiruci's *Yizi Foding lunwang jing* (T.19.951:247a-c). See Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, p. 133.

⁵⁷ See *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, no. 2948, p. 633), *Taizang tuxiang* 胎藏圖像 (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2977, p. 197) and *Taizang jiyutuyang* 胎藏旧圖樣 (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2981, p. 480).

⁵⁸ T.973:370b6 (ch. 2, Vairocana's mudrā in the visualization prescribed for inviting the deities into the sacred arena), 371c16-17 (ch. 5, instructions for forming this mudrā) and 376a2-3 (ch. 7, Vairocana's mudrā in the prescriptions for drawing the figures of the mandala). See *Genzu kongkai mandara* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, no. 2958, pp. 893 and 955) and *Wubu xinguan* (T. Zuzō, vol. 2, no. 2974, pp. 75, 93 and 110).

See also the preface (T.973:368b7-11), where homage is paid to the Adamantine Realm's four Buddhas, four Bodhisattvas, four Pāramitā Bodhisattvas and four Offering Bodhisattvas.

⁵⁹ See my Chapter Five.

⁶⁰ There are other examples of performances of the rite of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa wherein the mudrās and mantras for Vairocana derive from the two ritual traditions of the Matrix and the Adamantine Realm. For example, Kakuzen records in his *Kakuzenshō* the August Transmission of the Great Teacher in his entry on the "main deity" 本尊事 (T. Zuzō, vol. 4, p. 527a25-29). Here Vairocana's mudrā is the Wisdom Fist and his mantra is *a vi ra hūm kham*, a variation of the special mantra taught in chapter six, Manifesting Siddhi, of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*.

⁶¹ T.2174A:1108a27-28. And these reasons, as well as safety in childbirth, accounts for its frequent performance for the Court and aristocracy in the late Heian and medieval periods. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3172a-3174a for an overview of this deity's rite in the Japanese Shingon ritual lineage, and see for Tendai Esoteric school's *Asabashō*, *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. [], pp. 51c24-52a12.

⁶² The two monks present in their scrolls numerous versions of the visualization of the sanctuary 道場觀 that their earlier Japanese masters' transmitted, as well as the diverse icons that functioned as the focus of their rituals and the variant seed letters, mudrās and mantras of these deities that they ritually performed. See *Besson zakki*, T. Zuzō, vol. 3, p. 122a2-c20, the Jōju'in 成就院 (Kanjo 寛助) transmission's entry on "the differing explanations concerning the seed letters, symbols and pictorial forms" 種子三摩耶形等畏說. See also the entry in Kanjo's *Betsugyō* 別行 (T.78.2476:139b10-140b9) because the correlation of the Eight Buddhōṣṇīṣas in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* with the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in Amoghavajra's *Foding zunsheng niansong fa* (T.972) that Shinkaku gives in his *Besson zakki* entry is not in the original. See also *Kakuzenshō*, T. Zuzō, vol. 4, pp. 527a6-528b13, entry on "the main deity," and *ibid*, p. 530a15-22, a23-b28, entry on "the extremely different explanations concerning the main deity that is used in this rite" 今法用本尊頗有異說.

⁶³ See *Besson zakki*, T. Zuzō, vol. 3, p. 115c3, p. 117, the Jōrenbō 成蓮房 (Kenni 兼意) transmission, and *Kakuzenshō*, T. Zuzō, vol. 4, p. 529a22-23.

⁶⁴ See T. Zuzō, vol. 4, p. 528a25, p. 529b28-29 and *ibid*, p. 530b5-11.

⁶⁵ Examples of seed letter mandalas based on the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* are in: Kanjo's *Betsugyō* where (T.78.2476, p. 138a15) the "Illustration from Zemui's manual" 無畏軌圖 has the letter *vaṃ* for Mahāvairocana and (*ibid*, p. 138b1) "the Great Teacher's Augustly Penned Illustration" 大師御筆圖 has the letter *a* for Mahāvairocana (see also *Besson zakki*, T. Zuzō, vol. 3, p. 120c, the Jōju'in transmission); Jichiun's *Gempishō* where an illustration (T.78.2486:399c1-13) has the letter *a* for Vairocana; *Kakuzenshō* (T. Zuzō, vol. 4, p. 534) illustration no. 51 has the letter *vaṃ* for Mahāvairocana and Kakuzen records at the side this illustration that scroll three of the *Denjushū* states "this is the August Version in Yakuōji" 伝受集三云 藥王寺御本 (this image is in fact recorded in scroll 4 of the *Denjushū* (T.78.2482, p. 255c17-29), which is the transmission of Genkaku's master Kakui 覺意); and *Asabashō*, T. Zuzō, vol. 9, p. 54a, the letter *a* for Mahāvairocana.

Jichiun presents in his *Gempishō* (T.78.2486, p. 399c15-400a2) an explanation for the differing seed letters for Mahāvairocana. His explanation is based upon passages from two chapters (ch. 5 and ch. 7) of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* and the concept of the nonduality of Principle and Wisdom 理智不二. See also Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3172c-3173a.

⁶⁶ See Misaki, "Butchōkei no mikkyō," *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 135-136, who presents examples from chapters three through seven.

⁶⁷ See *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqie benzun zhenyan pin diliu* 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽本尊真言品第六 (The Venerable's Mantra for the Performance of the Yoga of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa, Chapter Six), T.973:373b21-375c4. The attention given to these thirty-four methods clearly indicates that ritual success and its attainments, in this case, worldly boons, were of paramount importance. These boons include, for example, the elimination of one's own present and future transgressions, as well as the transgressions of those sentient beings who have fallen into the Buddhist hells and of those who have been reborn as hungry ghosts, animals and devas; the settling of disputes, for example, between kings, officials and soldiers; the cure of diseases and protection from such disasters as epidemics, wars, torments of flying *rākṣasas*, demonic spirits 鬼神 and fierce animals, crop failure, floods and robbers; as well as the attainment of such felicitous boons as long life, love, wealth and honor, virtuous children, a harmonious marriage, the conversion of unbelievers and the subjugation of evil demons and poisonous dragons. Supraṭiṣṭhitā and Indra figure in a few of these thirty-four methods of accomplishments. See T.973:374b13-16, c8-17, 375a20-22.

The text states (T.973:373b20) that it will next clarify in detail the mandala and fire rite, but abruptly the description of these thirty-four methods begins. Scholars suggest that this section of chapter six is either misplaced or a separate work that was added to this manual. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4:3171c.

The ninth-century pilgrim-monks Ennin, Eun and Shūei copied and returned with scrolls whose titles contain reference to a separate set of rites for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa. Eun records in his inventory (T.2168B:1089a26-27) a scroll titled *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqienei biexing chengjiu sanshisi fa* 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽內別行成就三十四法 (Thirty-four Separate Rites of Accomplishments in the Yoga Performed for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa), and a scroll with a more simplified title, *Zunsheng biexing chengjiu fa* 尊勝別行成就法 (Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa's Separate Rites of Accomplishments), in his second inventory (T.2168A:1088a29).

Ennin lists in his *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* (T.2167:1083a11) the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni biexing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼別行 (Separate Rites on Buddhōṣṇīṣa Vikīrṇa's Heart *Dhāraṇī*), whose title is identical to the scroll published in the *Taishō* (T.19.974F). In T.974F there are thirty-eight rites, of which numbers one to thirty-four are identical to those in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*. The contents of T.974F, that is instructions for the method of drawing a painted image, the rite for setting up a three-dimensional mandala, as well as thirty-four of the thirty-eight separate rites of accomplishments are identical to material in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*. T.974E contains more elaborate versions of the method for drawing the painted image and constructing the three-dimensional mandala, but its thirty-five rites of accomplishments also correspond to those in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*. The difference in the number of rites can be accounted for. The contents of rite number 27 in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* appear as rites number 27 and 28 in T.973E. Manuscripts for T.974F and 974E are not found in any of the Chinese canons and the *Taishō* publications are based on Japanese manuscripts. These works attest to the popularity of Esoteric Buddhist masters' transmissions for Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa's *dhāraṇī*.

Annen records Ennin's introduction of the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni biexing* in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* (T.2176:1119a18). Further, he records (T.2176:1119a19) that Shūei returned with a work called *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni bing biexing fa* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼并別行法 (Buddhōṣṇīṣa Vikīrṇa's *Dhāraṇī* and [appended] Separate Rites). Shūei records in his inventory (T.2174A:1108a29) a scroll titled *Foding zunsheng xin tuoluoni* 佛頂尊勝心陀羅尼 (Buddhōṣṇīṣa Vikīrṇa's Heart *Dhāraṇī*) and he adds in a note that this was a translation by Vajrabodhi that instructs on how to do such things as extinguish transgressions, eliminate calamities, stop wind and rain and control evil doers, which are some of the themes of T.974E, 974F and the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s thirty-four rites of accomplishments. In a second inventory attributed to Shūei (T.2174B:1111c20), there is also a scroll titled *Foding zunsheng xin tuoluoni bing biexing fa lie* 佛頂尊勝心陀羅尼并別行法列 (Buddhōṣṇīṣa Vikīrṇa's Heart *Dhāraṇī* [in smaller characters] and Listing of Separate Rites).

For a discussion of these works and their dating, see *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 9, pp. 325-326, Hikata Ryūshō, "Butchō sonshō darani kyō shoden no kenkyū," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 68 (1938), pp. 34-72, esp. pp. 61-67 and Nasu Seiryū, "Butchō sonshō darani kyō no honyaku ni tsuite," *Taishō daigaku gakuho*, vol. 38, (1952), pp. 13-28, esp. pp. 26, 28.

⁶⁸ See the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi*'s ch. 9 on *Siddhi* (T.973:379c-12-380b3) and my Chapter Seven, endnote 83. In this chapter the compiler has set up a new system of ranked accomplishments whose contents are based on chapters of the *Susiddhikāra* and *Vairocanaḥhisambodhi sūtras*.

⁶⁹ T.973:377c26-28.

⁷⁰ T.973:378b18-20, b29-c3-5. I cannot cite a source for Yamāntaka 六足尊, also referred to as Daweide mingwang 大威德明王.

⁷¹ T.973:378c6-379b3 and compare T.893:623c27-624a8.

In the west of this consecration mandala's second court (T.973:379a6-8, a28-b3) are such figures as the Buddhas of the Ten Directions, Four Great Arhats and Four Pratyekabuddhas and a group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas to the left and right of the western gate. This group of Eight Great Bodhisattvas features in *Damiao jingang daganlu Junnali yanman Chicheng Foding jing* (T.965) and Amoghavajra's *Ba dapusa mantuluo jing* (T.1167). Samantabhadra is missing but there is a Bodhisattva Holding Earth 持地菩薩, whom I have not identified.

⁷² For example, Śākyamuni's family members include (T.973:378c19-23-379a1-3) Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Tathāgatorṇā, Tathāgatajihva, Tathāgatadaṃṣṭra, and so on. Although more research is required, compare the *Aduli suochuan mantuluo* in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* (T.1796:636-640).

⁷³ Indra and Supraṭiṣṭhitā reverently kneel to the left and right of Śākyamuni (T.973:378c6-7) and ask him how calamities can be avoided, one's lifespan extended and *karma* that would lead to a series of seven rebirths in the path of animals eradicated. Śākyamuni enters the *samādhi* of eliminating hindrances and from his crown emits the *jayā samādhi*, whose form is that of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa. The worlds in the ten directions shake six times and the evil *karma* of all the beings in the six paths of conditioned existence is extinguished. These beings attain rebirth in the heavens and in the purified lands in the ten directions. This vision of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa also results in the eradication of Supraṭiṣṭhitā's *karma* that would have led to his seven rebirths in the evil paths. See T.973:378c7-17.

⁷⁴ See T.973:379b3-23 and compare T.893:624a8-10, 10-14. While the identities of these gods correspond, their positions do not tally with the placement of these figures in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* or the *Aduli suochuan mantuluo*, nor with those illustrated in the *Taizang tuxiang*, *Taizang jiyutuyang* or the *Genzu mandara*.

⁷⁵ T.973:379b27-29. The five marchmounts and the four mighty rivers mark China's boundaries, delimiting the known universe. The mythical Five Emperors reside in these mountains, where they maintain registers of life and death. Holy scriptures are also hidden there and Daoist immortals take up residence there. Reference here is also made to the theme of the sovereign's tour of his empire to inspect its boundaries. His excursion quells wild forces, bringing order and civilized law and proclaiming imperial virtues. See Isabella Robinet, *Taoist Meditation: The Mao-shan Tradition of Great Purity*, Suny series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture, Norman J. Girardot and Julian F. Pas trans. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), pp. 180-185.

⁷⁶ T.973:379b29-c1.

⁷⁷ Indigenous Chinese motifs are also added to the rain-making mandala, which is explained in ch. 11 of this manual. See T.973:381b20-21, c14-17.

Hikata ("Butchō Sonshō daranikyō shoden no kenkyū," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 68, p. 60) suggests that this work is an assemblage of recorded oral transmissions.

⁷⁸ A new deity Ranai wang 染愛王 (addressed as Mahārāja in the mantra) is presented in Chapter 2 (T.867:255c12-256a320-25).

⁷⁹ Other examples of new deities are Rāgavidyārāja 愛染明王 (Aizen Myōō), presented in chapter 5 (and considered in the Shingon school to be the female version of Ranai wang who was introduced in chapter 2) and the twelve-armed Dazhuanlun wang 大轉輪王 in chapter 8. See Goepper, *Aizen Myōō: The Esoteric King of Lust, An iconological Study (Artibus Asiae Supplementum 39)*. Zürich: Artibus Asiae and Museum Rietberg, 1993) and Pol Vanden Broucke, "The Twelve-Armed Deity Daishō Kongō and His Scriptural Sources" in *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, pp. 147-159.

⁸⁰ In Chapter 8 the Tathāgata manifests Dazhuanlun wang 大轉輪王, the figure with twelve arms mentioned in the endnote above, whose fundamental mantra can destroy all Buddhoṣṇīṣas (T.867:258b10-17), and ends this chapter (T.867:259c1-13) expounding for Vajrapāṇi a secret rite called the Five Yogas.

⁸¹ T.2174A:1109c. This ritual manual is published in T.21.1295:380a-382c.

⁸² T.2176:1128c28-1129a-1.

⁸³ See Hamada Ryū, “Jūniten gazō no kenkyū,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 44 (1960), pp. 24-44 who, in his presentation of the historical development of the directional gods, has included diagrams of mandalas with the positions of these gods marked.

⁸⁴ T.2174A:1109c.

⁸⁵ T.1295: 380a12-28. These sections are not clearly distinguishable, because passages are repeated (T.1295:380c12-19, 381a15-23, 382a19-27, etc). Perhaps these repetitions are the result of frequent copying.

⁸⁶ T.1295:380b1-c11.

⁸⁷ T.1295:380c20-381a14, a24-b16.

⁸⁸ T.1295:381b17-c18.

⁸⁹ T.1295:382a5-18.

⁹⁰ T.2176:1128c28-1129a-1. See Hamada Ryū, “Jūniten gazō no kenkyū,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 49 (1962), pp. 17-34, especially pages 19-20.

⁹¹ Compare T.1295:380a11-12 and T.895:731b25. The manual’s opening statement is: The *Subāhupariṣcchā sūtra* states as follows: If the mantra practitioner daily performs offerings to the gods who protect the directions, then there will be no calamities.

⁹² T.1295:380a12-18 and 908:919a29-b8.

⁹³ T.1295:380a19-28 and 895:731b2-23. These are the eight gods of the four cardinal, Indra (Śakra), Yama, Varuṇa, Vaiśravaṇa, and four intermediate directions, Agni, Nirṛiti (Rakṣa), Vāyu, Īśāna, and the two gods of the zenith, Brahmā, and nadir, the earth-dwelling spirit-kings 地居所有諸大神王.

⁹⁴ T.1295:380b2-c11.

⁹⁵ Āditya is master of the Seven Luminaries and Candra of the Twenty-Eight Constellations. See T.1295:382b5.

⁹⁶ Hamada Ryū, “Jūniten gazō no kenkyū,” *Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 44 (1960), pp. 24-44, especially pages 27-40.

⁹⁷ See such examples as T.1295:380c21 for the mantra chanted when offering purified water and T.908:917c9-10 for the mantra of perfumed water for performing purification; T.1295:381a26 for using Indra’s mantra, which is from T.908:919b18-20, when offering perfumed water from a purified vessel on a leaf; and phrases for performing acts of offering in T.1295:381a24, 27-b9 that have been taken from T.908:919b8-17.

⁹⁸ For the gods and their mudrās and mantras, compare T.1295:380b2-c11, 853:160c3-163a5 and 848:7c-8a; for the offerings see 1295:380c22-381a14, 853:150b-c, 848:50b, 850:67b-68a and 851:97a-c.

⁹⁹ T.1295:381b17-c4 and 895:731a17-b25. In the *Subāhupariṣcchā sūtra* (ch. 10) the presentation of offerings to all the demons and spirits (731a17-b2) occurs first and then, on a separate day, the practitioner is to summon and perform offerings (895:731b2-23) to the ten directional gods. Faquan has changed the order of these two ritual performances. See endnote 90 above.

¹⁰⁰ See *T.1295:382a5-15* for this section of the manual, and compare *T.908:919b2-3* and *T.1295:382a6*. The description of *Acalanātha* is on *ibid*, 382a9-15.

¹⁰¹ *T.909:924a11-14*. *Annen* records this work in his catalogue (*T.2176:1129a16*) and notes that *Shūei* returned with it. There are inconsistencies in this section of the expanded version. The work prescribes the iconography (*T.909:923b4-29, 924a6-19*) of the eight directional gods but not for *Brahmā*, *Pṛthivī*, the Seven Luminaries or the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions. The description of a four-armed *Acalanātha* (*ibid*, 924a11-14) is inserted between the mantras for *Brahmā* and *Pṛthivī*. *Hamada Ryū* (*Bukkyō geijutsu*, vol. 49, p, 19) suggests that these descriptions in *T.909* were later additions.

¹⁰² See, for example, the ritual acts in *Vajrabodhi's Jingangding yuqiezhong luchu niantong jing* (*T.866:248b22-c6* and 251a9-29) wherein mantra offerings are made to the eight directional gods, and wherein directions for construction of the consecration altar are given using the names of the eight directional gods. See also the instructions for laying out the Mandala Born of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra's* second chapter (*T.848:6b24-c2*), wherein directions, for instance that of *Vāyu* in the northwest and *Agni* in the southwest, are also specified by using the names of the eight directional gods.

¹⁰³ *T.2176:1129a19*. An inscription at end of the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* manuscript published in the *Taishō* states as follows (*T.912:934c7-12*):

This manual is the composition of *Ācārya Faquan* [and it provides] the essential procedure for the *homa* [rite]. This was introduced by *Jikaku daishi* [Ennin]. (smaller letters: [Annen's] Secret Record says that it was not included in En[nin's official] Inventory.) Nevertheless, it is a copy and there are numerous mistakes. I have corrected the places that were missing, and this has taken a long time. I bring out [this ritual manual] and all those who possess knowledge should correct it again.

This is a day in the sixth month of the lunar calendar 季夏 of the reign era *Genbun* 元文 (1736), when the constellations are violently unsettled and unlucky events occur one after the other. The drought is extraordinary and it is just as though we are in a basket steamer.

During the day I lecture on *siddham* and at night I work on [manuscript] revisions. I do nothing but exert myself unsparingly, and this I do for the sake of [Buddha's] teachings.

Mutō 無等 of *Buzan's Hase[dera]* 豊山長谷 wrote [this].

¹⁰⁴ *T.2174A:1109b7*.

¹⁰⁵ *T.912:929a16-930b16*.

¹⁰⁶ *T.912:930b17-931b12*.

¹⁰⁷ *T.912:931b13-934a18*.

¹⁰⁸ *T.912:934a19-c5*.

¹⁰⁹ *T.912:929a16-930b16*. First there is a brief summary of the activities to be carried out during the seven-day period and then the activities of the first two days are detailed.

¹¹⁰ *T.848:4c1-8c6* and *T.1796:617a-635c21*.

¹¹¹ A number of texts describe this rite and all have variations but the basic steps are: (1) selecting and purifying a site; (2) coating the earth with scented mud and cow dung; (3) burying precious objects such as the five jewels and the five grains; (4) adorning the now sacred site; and (5) drawing the images of the figures of the mandala. See *Mochizuki, Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 1914.

One major difference, for example, is the day on which the mandala platform is to be constructed. The *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* stipulates that from the third day onward the practitioner begins to set up the mandala.

First he establishes its size and location and marks with sandalwood paste the positions of the Venerables in the mandala. Then he constructs this sandalwood mandala by making a circular altar and fixing the positions of Mahāvairocana and the surrounding eight deities. He visualizes them and makes offerings to them. See *T.1796:622a27-623b13*. According to the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 975b these activities are to be performed on the third and fourth days, respectively. From sunset of the seventh day the practitioner constructs the entire mandala, drawing the deities of the mandala in detail. See *T.1796:630a2-635c21*.

In the *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* (*T.912:929a17-19, 24*), on the other hand, the practitioner erects the mandala on the second day. On this day he is to establish the positions of the deities of the matrix mandala, and with sandalwood paste mark the positions of the five Buddhas and the four Bodhisattvas in the central court. The positions of the remaining deities are established on the evening of the sixth day.

¹¹² Compare *T.912:929b11-23* and *T.848:4c4-13*.

¹¹³ *T.912:929c2-24* and *T.1796:619a21-c25* and *23b2-4*.

¹¹⁴ *T.912:930b3-4, T.848:6c17-19*.

¹¹⁵ *T.912:930b6-10* and *T.1796:623a9-13*.

¹¹⁶ *T.848:42c25-44a8*. In the scripture, Vairocana enumerates for Vajrapāṇi's benefit the external *homa*'s twelve fires 十二火, the true nature of which he himself has only come to understand since his attainment of enlightenment. Vairocana's motive is to contrast these twelve Buddhist fires with the forty-four fires of the Vedic tradition. This chapter begins with Vairocana's discussion (*T.848:43b10-c4*) of the forty-four fires of the Vedic tradition and then he goes on to clarify the twelve fires of the Buddhist tradition. Michel Strickmann provides a detailed discussion of these fires in his "Homa in East Asia," *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar* (Frits Staal, ed. 2 vols. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), pp. 418-455, especially pp. 438-443.

Vairocana then elucidates the internal *homa*, a fire of a higher order than the twelve external fires because it is contemplated internally. This inner fire burns away all *karma*, discriminations and false perceptions, and so brings forth the pure mind of enlightenment. See *T.848:43c5-6, 44a1-8* and Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," pp. 438-443.

¹¹⁷ First he introduces (*T.912:930b26-c4*) the internal *homa*, furnishing his own definition of this *homa*:

What we call internal *homa* is, namely, the attainment of liberation when we eliminate *karma* from which all sentient beings have arisen. The ability to burn off this original *karma* is what we call the mind of enlightenment. This we designate internal *homa*. The worldly fire burns all things, turning them into ashes, but this [fire of internal *homa*] is not the same. Because of our exceedingly acute wisdom, [this internal fire] burns all defilements (*kleśa*), and like the fire [that occurs] during the *kalpa* of destruction 劫燒之火, nothing remains behind.

The author also gives an interpretation of Vairocana's declaration concerning the true meaning of the internal *homa*: "the three parts [deity, fire and practitioner] are united to form one." (See *T.848:43c6* and Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," *op. cit.*, pp. 443-444.) His interpretation of Vairocana's pronouncement includes the main points of the long explanation in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*.

The three parts [are of] the same body. The great [mandala] platform is, namely, the [hearth for] *homa*, and the *homa* [hearth] is our very body. Our body is, namely, Agni [god of the fire] and Agni is Mahāvairocana. The [mysteries of] body, speech and mind unite, [and forming] three equalities 三平等 [of deity, fire and practitioner], there are no differences.

Compare *T.912:930c5-8, T.848:43c6* and *T.1796:781c16-29*.

The author concludes his interpretation (*T.912:930c9-12*) of the internal fire rite with the statement that performance of this fire rite results in the practitioner's oneness with the Buddhist cosmos and Mahāvairocana.

¹¹⁸ For example, Vairocana's description (*T.848:43b17-18*) of the second of the twelve fires is as follows: The second [fire] is called Fullness of Action. Shining everywhere, [he is like] the light of the autumn moon. He is within an auspicious disk and has a pearl-adorned chignon and a pure white garment. I have consulted Strickmann's translation

in “Homa in East Asia,” p. 438.

Our author embellishes the portrait of the second fire with information from the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* (T.912:931a3-8 and T.1796:780c18-781a9):

The second is the Fire of the Fullness of Action. His form is like the autumn moon and his brilliance emanates everywhere. His body and robe are pure white in color, and [residing] within a mandala of a lunar disk, he holds a pearl and vase (*kuñḍikā*). He eliminates [disasters caused by] water, fire, insects and frost, diseases of the bodies of oneself and others, manifold evil calamities, [as well as] the unsettled minds that have continued until now. This fire can purge and eradicate [all these obstacles].

¹¹⁹ T.848:31b1-20.

¹²⁰ T.912:929b5-10.

¹²¹ T.848:31b14-18.

¹²² T.912:930c11-22.

¹²³ T.848:10a24-25, 20b10, 21a25-29, for example, and *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 17c.

¹²⁴ See, for example, T.848:31a25-29 and *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 593a-c, 651c.

¹²⁵ Examples are the shape and size of the hearth, and the disk that is placed at the bottom of the hearth (T.912:931c21-23 and T.18.893:621b26-27, 612c15-16); the use of Kuñḍalī’s mantra and mudrā of protection (T.912:932a3 and T.893:621c4-5); the injunction that the hearth for the fire rite is to be set up outside, but opposite, the mandala inside the ritual practice hall (T.912:932a11 and T.893:621b27-29); the placement of offerings of incense, flowers and wood on the right side of the hearth and the ladles, empty utensils and materials used in the fire rite (ghee, honey, oil) on the left side of the hearth (T.912:932b13-15 and T.893:621b29-c1 and T.908:917c4-8); and the invitation and mantra to Agni to descend into the hearth (T.912:932a25-b4 and T.893:621c6-13).

¹²⁶ T.912:934b1-c5 and T.18.895:726b20-c28. The author has paraphrased this passage from the *Subāhupariṣcchā sūtra*, enumerating sixty-three of the seventy-five auspicious signs given in this text.

¹²⁷ See Michel Strickmann’s “Homa in East Asia” for a discussion of some of these texts.

¹²⁸ These prescriptions include the shapes of the hearths and the objects that are to be placed on the bottom of the hearths, the times of performance of the rite, the directions that practitioner is to face and his poses, the colors of hearths and the practitioner’s garments, and the placement of offerings and utensils.

¹²⁹ Examples are the mudrā and mantra of the spade (T.912:930a10-12 and T.908:917b19-21), those of the water offered to Agni to rinse his mouth (T.912:932b9-12 and T.908:917c11-14) and the mantra to summon Agni (T.912:932a29-b4 and T.908:918a10-14), which is also found in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*’s chapter 25, *Homa* Prescriptions (T.18.893:621c9-13).

¹³⁰ T.912:933a19-24 and T.908:918b27-c2, and T.912:933c12-15 and T.908:918c14-16.

¹³¹ There are numerous differences between the two works. One example is that there are five types of fire rites (T.908:916a13, 18-19, 27-29) in Amoghavajra’s manual and, although the author of this manual names the same five rites (T.912: 931b17-19), he presents in detail only four. A second example is that Amoghavajra’s handbook divides the fire rite into the three sections of evocation of and homage to Agni, to the buddhas and bodhisattvas and to the worldly gods of the ten directions, whereas this manual has five sections, that of Agni, the astral gods (sun, moon, planets, stars and constellations), the main deity to whom the rite is dedicated, those beings in the paths of conditioned transmigratory existence who have extinguished evil 滅惡趣, and the gods of the eight directions.

¹³² See my discussion of Amoghavajra's handbook in Appendix B.

Chapter Seven: Faquan's Transmission

¹ See Misaki, "Taimitsu no *soshitsuji* ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 10/1 (1962), pp. 217-220, "Taimitsu no *jūhachidō* ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 11/2 (1963), pp. 445-450, "Tomatsu no mikkyō to *soshitsuji*," *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū* (Kōyasan daigakuhen, 1965), pp. 255-279. Most of these articles have been collected into the *Taimitsu no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988). See also Chen, *Crossfire: Shingon-Tendai Strife as Seen in Two Twelfth-century Polemics, with Special References to Their Background in Tang China*, *Studia Philologica Buddhica Monography Series 25* (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2010).

² Haiyun states that he documents the transmission of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* through eight generations of monks (T.51.2081:785b27-29) and that of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* through seven generations (T.2081:787a27-28). The first scroll contains an account of the transmission from teacher to disciple of the teachings of the *Jingangjie dajiaowang jing* 金剛界大教王經 (Scripture of the King of the Great Teachings of the Adamantine Realm), which he wrote on the twentieth day of the eighth month 仲秋 of the eighth year of Yonghe 永和 (834).

³ Haiyun does not give the title of this text, but because he continues to discuss the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* in the next paragraph, here he is referring to the extended version of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*. Haiyun explains earlier in his work that the extended versions of these scriptures consisted of one hundred thousand stanzas. See 784b26-c14 where he discusses the versions of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and 784c for his discussion of the versions of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*.

⁴ T.2081:786c2-14.

⁵ T.2081:786c23-787a10.

⁶ T.2081:787a25-29.

⁷ The concept of the teachings in three categories does not appear in the *Bizangji* 祕藏記, which is an oral transmission within Huiguo's lineage. See my discussion of this work (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 2a: the Three Families and the Five Families, 9a-b: mothers of the Three Families) in Chapter Three. For studies on the date of the *Bizangji*, see Chapter Three, endnotes 64 and 71.

⁸ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, p. 249b6 (the monk Huaiqing's 懷慶 report 249a15-b6 about those in the capital who are learned in secret methods 祕法), 256b3. See also Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary. The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1955), pp. 289, 315.

⁹ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, pp. 251a3-5, 252b16-253a1 and Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, pp. 294, 302.

¹⁰ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, pp. 254a6-12, 254b12-13, and Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, 306, 307-308.

¹¹ T.2081:787a1-10.

¹² *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, p. 249b2-3 (Huaiqing's report about those in the capital who are learned in esoteric studies), and Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, p. 289.

¹³ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, p. 255b6-7 and Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, p. 311.

¹⁴ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, p. 256b3-5 and Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, p. 315.

¹⁵ Ennin petitioned the court in Kajō 嘉祥 3 (850) to be allowed to establish on Hieizan the specialized studies of the

Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha and the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. See Fukuda Gyōei, *Tendaigaku gairon* (Tokyo: Nakayama shobō busshorin, 1954), p. 294, Shimizutani Kyōjin, *Tendai mikkyō no seiritsu ni hanasuru kenkyū* (Tokyo: Bunichi shuppan kabushiki gaisha, 1972), p. 118, and Kiuchi Gyōō, *Tendai mikkyō no keisei — Nihon Tendai shisōshi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Keisuisha, 1984), pp. 283-284. Ennin thus sought to enlarge the program of studies of Esoteric Buddhism on Hieizan that had first been set up by its founder Saichō. Saichō had petitioned Emperor Kanmu to allow him to introduce, along with the study of the *Mohezhiquan* 摩訶止觀 (*Makāshikan*), the specialized study of Vairocana 遮那業 (*Shanagō*), which focused exclusively upon the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*. See Fukuda, *Tendaigaku gairon*, p. 294, Hazama Jiko, “The Characteristics of Japanese Tendai,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 14/2-3 (1987), pp. 101-112. Moreover, Ennin wrote commentaries on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, the *Kongōchō daikyōkyō so* 金剛頂大教王經疏, in Ninju 仁寿 1(851) and on the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, the *Soshitsujikara kyō ryakuso* 蘇悉地羯羅經略疏, in Saikō 齊衡 2 (855) for these newly added specializations, as well as ritual manuals for the rites of the matrix, adamantine realm and *susiddhi*. There already existed a commentary on the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*: Yixing’s 一行 *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏.

¹⁶ Enchin’s inscription on the *Shōryūji guhō mokuroku* (T.55.2171:1097a5-9) is as follows:

As for the above scriptures, ritual [manuals], images of the Buddhas, and so forth, having requested books from Preceptor 和上 [Faquan], the Transmitter of the Teachings in Qinglongsi in Xinchangfang in the left section of the city of Chang’an in the Great Land of Tang, I extracted [the relevant parts], and then copied and compared them. Thus, my brief inventory is the above.

Recorded by Enchin, the monk in search of the *Dharma*, on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the ninth year of Dazhong of the Great Tang [Dynasty]

¹⁷ The Chinese reign era should be written as Daizhong 太中. This copiest’s mistake appears in many of Enchin’s documents that are examined in this chapter.

¹⁸ T.2171:1097a15-27, esp. 15-21. Faquan’s inscription (T.2171:1097a22-27) continues:

The said Great Virtuous Enchin has already been granted the *dhāraṇīs* and the Teachings of the Supreme Vehicle. His comprehension, together with his mastery [of both the *dhāraṇīs* and the teachings] and his discernment of the significance of what is asked and what is answered are difficult to exhaust. I think that he can transmit and maintain [these teachings] and can broadly effect causal relations. Now we will part from each other. I hope that we will meet in the Pure Land. Success! Success!

On the twenty first day of the tenth month of the ninth year of Dazhong [this] letter by the monk who transmits the teachings [in] Qinglong[si], Faquan, Great Virtuous 大德 (Bhadanta, Director of Monks), former *Dhāraṇī* Chanter in the Hall of Long Life, was given to Enchin. Success! Success!

Enchin also records the consecration ceremonies that he had received from Faquan in his travel account, the *Gyōryakushō* 行略抄. Here he does not mention Faquan’s instructions on the teaching of the *susiddhi*, but the order of consecrations that he received tally with those in Faquan’s colophon on the *Shōryūji guhō mokuroku*. Enchin states in this work that (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū* vol. 4, p. 1232a-b):

On the fifteenth day [of the seventh month] I entered [the matrix mandala and received] the Consecration of the Matrix Repository 胎藏灌頂. (note in small characters: On the tenth day of the eighth month I myself drew the matrix repository [mandala]...) On the third day of the tenth month I entered [the mandala of the adamantine realm and received] the Consecration of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界灌頂... On the fifth day of the eleventh month I was granted the Position of [Master who has undergone] Consecration [which authorizes] Transmission of the *Dharma* [to others] 傳法灌頂位.

¹⁹ This document is collected in the *Yohō hennen zasshū* 余芳編年雜集 (A Chronological Miscellanea of Remnant Fragrances) and published in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, vol. 4, esp. pp. 1310b13-1311a16.

²⁰ Enchin seems to have first procured a book of the rites that he sought, and then to have received the initiations and

instructions.

This colophon is included in a work entitled the *Hikishū* 批記集 (A Collection of Commentarial Notes), which is a compilation of the inscriptions that Enchin recorded on the texts and iconographic materials he assembled in China. This work is published in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, vol. 4, pp. 1282-1289, esp. pp. 1284-1285. The colophon on the second scroll of this work contains the same information as that recorded on the first scroll.

²¹ This document is included in the *Yohō hennen zasshū*, *Chishō Daishi zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 1332a-b.

²² This is the position that the *susiddhi* rite holds today in the Tendai school. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1410 (*Soshitsujikarakyō*), 1412 (*Soshitsuji hō*), 1414 (*Soshitsuji kanjō*) and *ibid*, vol. 2, p. 824 (*sanbu daihō*); Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3152-3 (*Soshitsuji kanjō*), 3153-4 (*Soshitsuji hō*), and *ibid*, vol. 2, pp. 1645-6 (*sanbu daihō*)

²³ The iconographic materials for Esoteric Buddhist practice that Ennin records in his *Nittō shingu shōkyō moku roku* verifies his study of and consecrations into the mandalas of the adamantine realm and matrix. He returned with a painting of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies 金剛界九界曼荼羅一鋪 (T.2167:1084b29), a Manual of the Icons of the Venerables of the Adamantine Family 金剛部諸尊圖像儀軌一卷 (*ibid*, 1084b7), and a scroll of the Mudrās of the [Venerables of the] the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion 大悲胎藏手契一卷 (*ibid*, 1084b6), whose title corresponds to the work he notes in his travel diary that he received from Faquan.

Ennin most often identifies the author or translator of the scriptures and ritual manuals that he collected in the temples of Chang'an, but he does not once record Faquan's name in his *Nittō shingu shōkyō moku roku*. It is Annen who records in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* that Ennin introduced Faquan's writings to Japan. He records (T.55.2176:1115b20-21, 25-26) under the rubric Extended Ritual Manuals [Recorded] Outside of the [Pilgrim-Monks'] Inventories 錄外廣儀軌 (*rokugai kōgiki*) Ennin's importation of two copies of Faquan's manual for the matrix rite (T.18.852), the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuluo guangda chengiu yigui* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏悲生曼荼羅廣大成儀軌. The difference is that the first copy is in two scrolls and the second in three scrolls. The second copy may be the Extensive Ritual Manual for the Matrix Repository that Ennin received from Faquan and recorded in his travel diary (see text p. 131 above). And, as I mention later in this chapter, the ritual manual that Ennin composed for the matrix rite was based upon Faquan's *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuluo guangda chengiu yigui*. Annen also lists (T.2176:1115c15) under the rubric Additionally Used Rites [Included] in the Official Inventories 加用本錄法 (*kayō honroku hō*) the scroll of Mudrās of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion that Ennin recorded (T.2167:1084c6) in his *Nittō shingu shōkyō moku roku*. And under the rubric Section of the Fire Oblation (Homa) 諸護摩部 (*shogoma bu*, T.2176:1129a19), Annen records that Ennin returned with Faquan's *Jianli mantuluo humo yigui* and that this work was not listed in Ennin's official inventory.

Enchin, like Ennin, does not record any of Faquan's writings in his official inventories of the articles that he brought back from China. It is the colophons that he wrote on his personal religious souvenirs that enables us to reconstruct the contents of the transmission he received from Faquan. Examples are the *Soshitsujikara kuyōhō hiki* discussed above, Faquan's own personal copy of the *Liduosengnieluo wubu xinguan* (see Chapter Five), and copies of Faquan's ritual manuals for the matrix rite, whose colophons I discuss in the following section of this chapter, Faquan's Manuals for the Matrix Rite.

Enchin records in his official inventories (T.2171:1096c26-27; T.2172:1098c16-18; T.2173:1104a16-18) only iconographic materials for the dual categories of the matrix and adamantine realm that he procured while studying under Faquan. These are: paintings of the Matrix Mandala 大毘盧遮那如來大悲胎藏曼荼羅 and the Adamantine Realm Mandala in Nine Assemblies 金剛界九會曼荼羅; one scroll of an altar mandala of the Seed Letter Mandala of the Eighty-One Venerables of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界八十一尊法曼荼羅壇面.

Annen records in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* under the rubric Extended Ritual Manuals [Listed] Outside of the [Pilgrim-Monks'] Inventories (T.2176:1115b27-28) that Enchin returned with a copy of Faquan's *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti zhuibiao zhi putong zhenyanchang guangda chengiu yuqia*, a manual for the matrix rite (T.18.853) in three scrolls. However, he does not record that Enchin also brought back Faquan's *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuluo guangda chengiu yigui* (T.852) in two scrolls.

²⁴ T.55.2167:1083a1.

²⁵ T.2176:1116c, 1117a16, 1117a12.

²⁶ T.2176:1117a11-12.

²⁷ This ritual manual is not listed under Śubhākarasiṃha's name in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* or in the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*. See Appendix B, endnote 102.

²⁸ T.2174A:1108a23 and 1111b5. Shūei, unlike Ennin and Enchin, does not document the Esoteric Buddhist transmissions that he received during his sojourn in China. There are, moreover, discrepancies in the information about the transmission that Shūei received from his Chinese masters in contemporary and later historical sources. For instance, according to Zaoxuan's 造玄 *Xiangcheng xuemai* 相承血脈 (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, pp. 14-15), which is dated to 865, Shūei received from Faquan consecrations into both the adamantine realm and matrix. His biographies in the *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳 (*Honchō kōsōden*, 7 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 102, p. 131a) and the *Shingonden* 眞言傳 (*Shingonden*, 3 in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 106, p. 160a), however, both state that he received consecration into the adamantine realm from Xuanqing during his stay in Bianliang and that while in Chang'an he received from Faquan consecration into the matrix. The Shingon school's *Kechimyaku ruijūki* 血脈類集記 records (*Kechimyaku ruijūki*, 2 in *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 39, pp. 15-16) that Shūei received the teachings of the adamantine realm from Faquan and the matrix from Farun.

Documentation of Shūei's transmission in later sources further confirms that he passed on to his disciples the teachings in the three categories of adamantine realm, matrix and *susiddhi*, thus perpetuating the esoteric transmission that he himself received in China. There are a number of medieval Shingon writings wherein discussion focuses upon the transmission of the *susiddhi* within the Shingon subschools. Among these works, two in particular elucidate Shūei's role in the transmission of the *susiddhi* category. These are the *Gambirashō* 儼避羅鈔 (Extracts on [the profoundness of the three letters] *Gaṃ Bi Ra*) by the scholar-monk Yōkai 榮海 (1278-1347) of the Ono subschool and the *Hōsakashō* 寶冊鈔 (Selections from Jeweled Volumes) by Gōhō 果實 (1306-1362), Yōkai's disciple. See *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 52, p. 311, pp. 318b-319c and T.77.2453:799c-800c. Misaki presents a detailed discussion of these works in "Tōmitsu ni okeru soshitsuji," *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 606-653.

In his *Shinshosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* Shūei lists ritual manuals for the rites of the adamantine realm, matrix and *susiddhi*. Some examples are (T.2174A:1108a16-17, 1108c24, 1108a18-20 and a21-22, 1108a23-24, 1108a): the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*, which he notes is a translation by Amoghavajra; the *Yuqie gongyang cidi fa* 瑜伽供養次第法, a translation by Vajrabodhi; the *Shedapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing rulianhua taicang haihuibeisheng mantuluo guangda niansong [yi]gui* and the *Dapiluzhena jing guangda yigui*, both of which he records are translations of Śubhākarasiṃha; and the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* that I have mentioned above. Shūei records in his official inventory (T.2174A:1109c14-15) only one of Faquan's works, the *Gongyang hushi batian fa* 供養護世八天法 (Method of Offerings to the Eight Gods of Protection).

Annen records in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* that (T.2176:1115b29-c2) Shūei introduced one of Faquan's ritual manuals for the matrix rite, the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti zhuibiao zhi putong zhenyanchang guangda chengjiu yuqie* (T.853), a work that was not listed in Shūei's official inventory, and that (T.2176:1115c15) Shūei, like Ennin, returned with a copy of Mudrās of the Matrix Repository of Great Compassion.

The iconographic materials listed in Shūei's inventory were works that his Chinese master Faquan possessed (see Chapter Five, p. 100). The works relevant to Shūei's study of and consecrations into the three categories of the esoteric teachings of his time are (T.2174A: 1111a21, a22, a23, a26, b2, b5): a line drawing on paper of the Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界大曼荼羅苗子一張; a line drawing on paper of the [Mandala for spreading on] the Altar of the Matrix Repository 胎藏壇面苗子一張; Images within Lunar Discs of the [Mandala for spreading on the] Altar of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界壇面月輪像等; a book of line drawings of the Karma Assembly of the Matrix Repository 胎藏羯磨會苗子一本; a book of the Images of the Trailokyavijaya Assembly 降三世會像樣一本; and lastly, the *Suxidi yigui qiying*. Of these works, only the *Suxidi yigui qiying* survives today in Kanchiin of Tōji.

²⁹ See Chapter One and relevant endnotes.

³⁰ T.2176:1117a11 (Enchin), 1117a12 (Ennin), 1117a13 (Engyō) and 1117a14-15 (Eun).

³¹ Annen organizes the Esoteric Buddhist materials of his time into the three categories of matrix, adamantine realm and *susiddhi*. See Chapter Five.

³² The *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* has published two versions of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa*. The first, a Korean version 高麗本 (T.894:692b-704b), consists of three scrolls and the second version, based on a manuscript kept in Kōzanji 高山寺 (T.894:704b-718c), has two scrolls. There are differences between the two versions (for instance, the mantras in the three-scroll version are transcribed into Chinese but are given in both Chinese and *siddham* in the two-scroll version, and each version includes series of ritual steps that are unique to that version), but they do not affect the fundamental prescriptions for this rite. See Kamabayashi Ryūjō's entries in the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 7, pp. 14b-15a for a listing of these differences. Manabe investigated the relationship between the two-scroll version of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* and the *Soshitsuji giki keiin* in his "Soshitsuji giki no keitō ni tsuite — josetsu," *Bukkyō shigaku*, vol. 12/4, pp. 13-45. Misaki ("Soshitsuji no genryū to tenaki" 蘇悉地の源流と展開, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, p. 586) states that the *Soshitsuji giki keiin* is based on the three-scroll version of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa*. I concur with Misaki's statement and have consulted this version of the ritual manual. A comparison of the mudrās depicted in the *Suxidi yigui qiyin* with those described in the three-scroll version of the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* reveals a close correspondence between text and image.

³³ This I demonstrate in my analysis of the six ritual manuals of group three given in Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission.

³⁴ See Zhao Qian's biography of Amoghavajra in T.50.2056:292c8-12 and 294b24-26. I discuss Zhao Qian's version of Amoghavajra's transmission in Chapter Four. Japanese scholars suggest that these references to the *susiddhi* teaching in Amoghavajra's biography could be later additions. See Takagi Shingen, "Kūkai no kai to futō ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 82 (1987), pp. 1-18, esp. p.16 and Misaki, "Soshitsuji no genryū to tenkai," *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 489-491.

Circumstantial evidence seems to indicate that Huiguo and Kūkai too studied the *susiddhi* teaching. In addition to Haiyun's *Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizi fufa ji* wherein he records, as we have seen, that Huiguo received and transmitted the teaching of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, there are passages in Huiguo's biography, the *Datang Qinglongsi sanzhaogongfeng dade xingzhuang* 大唐青龍寺三朝供奉大德行狀 (T.50.2057) which dates to 826-830, concerning the transmission that he received. This transmission (T.2057:295a8-11) included the *susiddhi* teaching. However, the transmission that Huiguo gave to Kūkai (ibid, 295c23-27) does not include any mention of *susiddhi* materials. According to the Chinese response, dated 839, to a letter that Kūkai's disciple Jitsue 實慧 (786-847) composed in 837 and had the pilgrim Engyō deliver, Kūkai had studied under Huiguo the Esoteric Buddhist teachings in three categories (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 99-101). See also Takagi, "Kūkai no kai to futō ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 82, pp. 8-18 and Matsunaga Yūkei, "Sanshu shijji to hajigoku," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 121 (1978), pp. 1-13, esp. pp. 12-13.

³⁵ T.55.2154:571c28-572a1 and 2157:874c3-6. Perhaps because of this Chinese classification, both Kūkai and Saichō regarded these texts as works that elucidated the precepts of the esoteric teaching. See Misaki, "Butchōkei no mikkyō — Tōdaimikkyōshi no ichishiten" 佛頂系の密教—唐代密教史の一視点, *Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū Yoshioka Hakushi kinen*, (1977), pp. 477-499, esp. p. 478.

³⁶ T.2154:571c29-572a1 and 2157:874c5-6 and Misaki, "Butchōkei no mikkyō," *Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū Yoshioka Hakushi kinen*, pp. 478-9 and his "Butchōkei no mikkyō," *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 112-3. The contents of the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* are based upon those of the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*.

³⁷ The relationship between the scripture (T.893) and this ritual manual (T.894) is the same as the relationship between the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgrha* and Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong yigui* (T.18.873) and the first six chapters of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and its seventh chapter. The scripture outlines the construction of the mandalas and its deities, whereas the ritual manual explains in detail the rites of offering 供養法 and recitation and

visualization 念誦法, which center on the deities expounded in the scripture, and provide the mudrās and mantras for the ritual performances.

³⁸ T.893:603a7-b13.

³⁹ T.893:603b13-16.

⁴⁰ T.893:603b21-25.

⁴¹ See Misaki's discussion of this problem in his "Taimitsu no *soshitsuji* ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 10/1, pp. 217-220.

⁴² T.893:604b23-25, Chapter Two, *Zhenyan xiang* 眞言相 (Characteristics of Mantras).

⁴³ T.893:614b12-13, Chapter 16, *Fenbie chengjiu fa* 分別成就法 (Distinguishing the Methods of Accomplishment). There is a note in small characters: also called *Xidi xiang pin* 悉地相品 (Chapter on the Characteristics of *Siddhi*).

⁴⁴ T.893:604b26-29.

⁴⁵ One text that predates the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and discusses three families 三部 is Atikūta's (active mid-seventh century) translation of the *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya* 陀羅尼集經 (*Tuoluoni jing*, T.19.901). The content of this text is presented by using the three families of the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and Vajra. See Osabe Kazuo, "Kanyaku sanshu shitsuji hō no keifu," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 77-78 (November 1966), pp. 57-78, esp. p. 58 (reprinted in *Tōdai mikkyōshi zakkō*, pp. 226-252, esp. p. 228).

⁴⁶ Texts that predate the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and expound the rites of the threefold *siddhi* as supreme, middling and inferior are Bodhiruci's (? -727) *Yizi foding lunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 (T.19.951) and *Wufoding samei tuoluoni jing* 五佛頂三昧陀羅尼經 (T.19.952). The first gives the most detailed account. Although a comparison of texts shows that the *Susiddhikara sūtra* is not based on the *Yizi foding lunwang jing*, clearly the authors of both texts consulted the same work for the rites of the threefold *siddhi* (Osabe, "Kanyaku sanshu shitsuji hō no keifu," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 77-78, pp. 59, 75-76). Moreover, the main difference is that the *Susiddhikara sūtra* allocates these three rites to the three families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra whereas the focus of the *Yizi foding lunwang jing* is the success of the rite of Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣa, a deity of the *Buddhoṣṇīṣa* textual tradition.

⁴⁷ The *Ketsuji sanshu shiji hō* is published in *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 985-986. In his discussion of this document in the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* (vol. 3, p. 136), Tajima Tokuo suggests that *ketsuji* refers to the oral transmission a master personally confers on his disciple 面授口決, and so dates this document to the time of Enchin's bestowal of the esoteric transmission on Henjō. See also Misaki's discussion of this document in "Ketsuji sanshu shiji hō," *Nihon daizōkyō*, Kaidai 3, vol. 99 (Tokyo: Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, 1978), pp. 72-73.

⁴⁸ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 985b2-11.

⁴⁹ See T.893:603c3-604b4, Chapter Two, *Zhenyan xiang*. See also Matsunaga Yūkei, "Sanshu shitsuji to hajigoku," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 121, pp. 1-13, esp. pp. 8-9.

⁵⁰ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 985a13-17, 936a12-c1. Enchin's own writings show that he was uncertain of the sources of these mantras. For example, in his *Sasagimon*, which scholars date to 882, Enchin records the following questions for his former Chinese master Zhihuilun (Prajñācakra) 智慧輪 (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 1039b11-13): [The letters] *a vaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ* [are] the supreme grade, *aḥ vi ra huṃ khaṃ* [are] the middle [grade] and *a ra pa ca na* are the lower accomplishment. These [mantras] appear in what text? Once when I visited the temples in Loyang, many had [these mantras] inscribed on stickers on their gates. What is the main significance of this?

Enchin addresses the problem of textual sources somewhat differently in his *Gimon* 疑問. Here (*Dainihon*

bukkyō zensho, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 1033a5-8) he asks for the textual sources of these mantras which, he records, correspond to the Three Buddha Bodies and the threefold accomplishments. Note that the correlation between the mantras of supreme and middling and the Buddha bodies are out of order in this work. The *Gimon* is considered to be a draft of the questions that he sent to Zhihuilun, whereas the *Sasagimon* is thought to be a more organized version, perhaps the final version, of his list of questions for his former teacher. For Enchin's letter to Zhihuilun, see (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, pp. 1336a-1339a), wherein Enchin refers to his list of questions as *Gishū* 疑集 (Collection of Questions), and *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 6, p. 5b-c, vol. 2, p. 4b and pp. 246c-247b.

⁵¹ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 985a4-8. Recorded in the *Kenkairon engi* 顯戒論緣起, for example, is the statement that Saichō received from Shunxiao the mantras for the pledges (*samaya*) of the three categories 三部三昧耶真言. See *Dengyō daishi zenshū* (Tokyo: Nihon bussho kankōkai, 1975), vol. 1, p. 279 and Misaki, “Dengyō daishi Saichō no mikkyō shisō,” *Firosafia*, vol. 56 (1969), pp. 41-66, esp. pp. 47-48. However, Ryūichi Abe (“Saichō and Kūkai: A Conflict of Interpretations,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, (1995), vol. 22, pp. 103-137, esp. pp. 105-106) interprets this phrase as “the pledges of the three families.” There are thus problems concerning the content of the Esoteric Buddhist transmission that Saichō received from Shunxiao, as well as the authenticity of the documents of this content. For instance, it seems that it was Enchin who made in his *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* a link between Shunxiao's transmission of the mantras of the pledges of the three categories and those of the threefold accomplishments. See Jinhua Chen, “The Construction of Early Tendai Buddhism: The Japanese Provenance of Saichō's Transmission Documents and Three Esoteric Buddhist Aprocrypha Attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha,” *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 21/1 (1968), pp. 21-76 and Paul Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), pp. 52-61.

⁵² *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 985a9-12. See also Enchin's *Gimon* (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 1033a6). In the transcription of the third mantra, the Chinese character for the syllable *ca* is written with the Chinese character for the syllable *ša*.

⁵³ There are other important topics contained in this short, but important document. For example, Enchin records that (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 985b13-17) a secret document of another master, either Saichō's disciple Ninchū 仁忠 (d. 824) or Ennin (see Misaki, Soshitsuji no genryū to tenkai, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, p. 522, and his entry on the *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō* in *Nihon daizōkyō*, *Kaidai* 3, p. 72, and Mizugami Fumiyoshi, “Taimitsu ni okeru sanshu shijjihō no denshō,” *Tendai gakuho*, vol. 30 (October 1989), pp. 87-91), includes a separate book of “essential selections” 一本要抄 (*ippon yōshō*) and therein is a five-letter mantra that is described much the same way that Faquan presented the special mantra of the supreme grade of accomplishment he taught Enchin. Further, Enchin issues a threat against those who slander his master, thus informing us of the sectarian purpose of this work because here he is referring to the polemic disputes between the lineages of Saichō and Kūkai. See Chen's “The Construction of Early Tendai Buddhism: The Japanese Provenance of Saichō's Transmission Documents and Three Esoteric Buddhist Aprocrypha Attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha,” *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 21/1, pp. 55-65.

⁵⁴ The four demons 四魔 that cause suffering are: (1) demons of passions (*kleśa-māra*); (2) demons of aggregates, that is the “five elemental aggregates of body, perception, conception, volition, consciousness” (*skandha-māra*); (3) demon of death (*mṛtya-māra*); and (4) the demon-king (*devaputra-māra*) of the sixth heaven (Paranirmīta-vaśavartin) in the realm of desire, who obstructs the good acts and intentions of Buddha and his followers. See *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary* (revised ed., Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1999), p. 310.

⁵⁵ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō Daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 985a13-14.

⁵⁶ T. 848:20a16-19.

⁵⁷ T.848:20a20-27.

⁵⁸ The discrepancy between the syllables of the mantra *āḥ vi raṃ huṃ khaṃ* and those of the five elements is not significant, it seems, for no explanation is given in the scripture. Enchin does, however, refer to this discrepancy in his

Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi (*Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1087a) by showing that the syllables are transformations of their fundamental syllables.

⁵⁹ T.848:20b7-c18.

⁶⁰ T.848:18c29-19a5.

⁶¹ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 985a15.

⁶² T.848:52b13-28.

⁶³ T.848:20b7-21a22, 31a24-29, ch. 11, *Bimi mantuluo* 祕密曼荼羅 (Secret Mandala), and T.39.1796:727c8-19, for example. See also Nasu Seiryū, “Sanshu shijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku ronshū—Miyamoto Seison kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, (Tokyo: Sanshōdō shuppan, 1954), pp. 441-442 for a number of interpretations based on oral traditions in the Shingon school.

⁶⁴ 攝大毘盧那成佛神變加持經入蓮華胎藏海會悲生曼荼羅廣大念誦儀軌供養方便會 (The Offerings, Expedient Means and Assemblies [contained] in the Extensive Ritual Manual for the Visualization and Recitation [Practice] on Entry into the Mandala Born from the Compassion of the Ocean Assembly of the Lotus Matrix Repository [that is] Included in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*), hereafter the *Sheda yigui*, T.18.850.

⁶⁵ T.850:83c18-84a2, esp. mantra on 83c15, and 848:31a25-29.

⁶⁶ 大毘盧那經廣大儀軌 (Extensive Ritual Manual [based on the] *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*), hereafter the *Guangda yigui*, T.18.851.

⁶⁷ T.851:91c15-92b7 and 848:52b13-29 and 20b7-21a22.

⁶⁸ T.18.852:110b22-c10, 853:146b11-29.

⁶⁹ 大毘盧那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏悲生曼荼羅廣大成就儀軌供養方便會 (The Offerings, Expedient Means and Assemblies [contained] in the Extensive and Perfected Ritual Manual for the Mandala Born from the Compassion of the Matrix Repository of the Lotus [as expounded] in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*) is published as T.18.852, and 大毘盧那成佛神變加持經蓮華胎藏菩提幢標幟普通眞言藏廣大成就瑜伽 (The Extensive and Perfected Yoga of the Repository of Universal Mantras and Symbols and Banners of Enlightenment for the Matrix Repository of the Lotus [as expounded] in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*) is published as T.18.853. I discuss these two manuals in Chapter Seven.

⁷⁰ T.18.912:930c20-21. In this manual the practice is called the attainment of the Buddha body by means of the letters of the five circles [of the five cosmic elements] 五輪字成佛身.

⁷¹ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 985a16-b1, 936a12-b2. For example, Enchin records the *Wuzi tuoluoni song* 五字陀羅尼頌 (ibid, p. 985a16, published T.20.1174), which Yuanzhao lists as one of Amoghavajra’s translations in his *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.55.2157:880b20), and the *Jingangding Wenshushili pusa wuzi tuoluoni pin* 金剛頂文殊師利五字陀羅尼品. (ibid, 936a12, published T.20.1173), which is listed as one of Vajrabodhi’s translations in entries in both the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* and *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.55.2154:571b22-3 and T.2157:875a8-9).

⁷² See Chapter One, endnote 106.

⁷³ See Chapter One, endnote 101. Versions of these forty-two letters with different meanings and contemplations appear also in texts and ritual manuals of the *Avatamsaka* textual lineage. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 999-1001, Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, pp. 1945-6 and Sawa *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 310-311.

⁷⁴ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 986a12-b1, esp. 986a12-13. In Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding jing Manshushili pusa wuzixin tuoluoni pin* 金剛頂經曼殊室利菩薩五字心陀羅尼品 (T.20.1173:710b2-9), Mañjuśrī expounds the meaning of each letter and then he reverses the process of this contemplation, beginning from *na* and returning to *a*, in order to negate the substantiality and thus reality of all elements of reality, which is the essence of the teaching of the texts of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* lineage.

Passages almost identical to Vajrabodhi's *Jingangding jing Manshushili pusa wuzixin tuoluoni pin* concerning the significance of this five-letter mantra and the special boons it brings about are found in the *Jingangding chaosheng sanjie jingshuo Wenshu wuzi zhenyan shengxiang* 金剛頂超勝三界經說文殊五字真言勝相 (T.1172:709b15-c5), which Yuanzhao attributes to Amoghavajra in his *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2157:880b18-19). Japanese scholars have cited only the *Jingangding chaosheng sanjie jingshuo Wenshu wuzi zhenyan shengxiang* as the source for the mantra of the inferior grade of *siddhi*. See, for example, Matsunaga Yūken, "Sanjushijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 35, p. 8, Nasu Seiryū, "Sanshu shijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū," *Miyamoto Seison kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, pp. 439-40, and Matsunaga Yūkei, "Sanshu shijji to hajigoku," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 121, pp. 1-13, especially p. 9.

⁷⁵ T.1173:710b9-11.

⁷⁶ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, p. 936a14-b1, T.1173:710b13-18.

⁷⁷ T.1173:710b18-20.

⁷⁸ See Raoul Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī*. A group of East Asian mandalas and their traditional symbolism, Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, Monograph No. 2, 1983.

⁷⁹ See the *Daizongchao zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangjin sanzang heshang biaozihi* (T.52.2120:839b5, c27) and the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2157:879b8-9, 880b8, 18-20, 22, c12-14, 17-18).

⁸⁰ This work is listed in T.2120:839b5 and published in T.20.1171:705a16-18, b3-9.

⁸¹ Faquan incorporated a hymn to the Three Bodies of the Buddha in his matrix rite (T.853:150c-151a). However, the mantras that Faquan records in this ritual manual differ from the mantras of the threefold accomplishments that Enchin documents in his *Ketsuji sanshu shijji hō*. For a discussion of the mantras of the three bodies and the threefold accomplishments in Tendai, see Mizukami Fumiyoshi, "Sanshu shijji to sanshin shingon," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 73 (1988), pp. 253-257.

⁸² The only other documentation that corroborates Enchin's textual identification and clarifies the mantras and their associations is that of the *Podiyu yigui* (Manuals for Destroying the Hells). Faquan's oral instructions as documented in Enchin's *Ketsu sanshu shijji hō* correspond, albeit with a few minor changes, to the revelation of the significance of the mantra of the supreme grade that is given in these three manuals. These manuals have a common theme: the practitioner can, by means of the three mantras of accomplishment 三種悉地, destroy his personal hells 煩惱 (*kleśa*), and so release himself from the hindrances of his past actions (*karma*). The three manuals exhibit many similarities, most significantly that of the mixing of elements from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and *Susiddhikara sūtras* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, as well as the application of Chinese medicine and medical cosmology to the three mantras.

The problem is the date and provenance of the *Podiyu yigui*. Japanese scholars all accept these manuals as works that date to the mid or late Tang Dynasty. See, for example, Matsunaga Yūken, "Sanshu shijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū," *Mikkyō kenkyū*, vol. 35 (1929), pp. 1-18, Kambayashi Ryūjō, "Hajigoku sanshu shijjihō kaidai," *Kokuyaku issaikyō*, *Mikkyōbu*, vol. 3, pp. 80-94, Nasu Seiryū, "Sanshu shijji hajigoku giki no kenkyū," *Miyamoto Seison Kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, pp. 431-444, Osabe Kazuo, "Kanyaku sanshu shijji hō no keifu," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 77-78, pp. 57-78, and his "Tōdaikōki taizōmikkyōgaku no ryūha to sanshu shijji hō," *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū* (Koyasan, 1965), pp. 237-254, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, "Gorin kuji hishaku to dōkyō gozōkan," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 69/70 (1964), pp. 77-97, Matsunaga Yūkei, "Sanshu shijji to hajigoku," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 121 (Feb. 1978), pp. 1-13 and Misaki's *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 499-507. The scholar Jinhua Chen, however, makes a convincing argument that

these are Japanese works composed by Tendai monks, who were active after Enchin, in order to substantiate the transmission Saichō received from Shunxiao and so compete with Kūkai's lineage of the dual categories 兩部 (*ryōbu*). See his "The Construction of Early Tendai Esoteric Buddhism: The Japanese Provenance of Saichō's Transmission Documents and Three Esoteric Buddhist Aprocrypha Attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha," *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 21/1, pp. 21-76.

⁸³ T.19.973:379c12-380b3. Amoghavajra's manual for the rite of Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa (T.972:368a13-21) ends with a brief description of four rites of pacification, increasing benefits, wrathful subjugation and emotional subjugation that produce accomplishments. The concept of accomplishments is elaborated upon in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefā guiyi* and comprises a separate chapter, as is seen in the *Susiddhikāra* and *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtras* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. Further, an amalgamation from differing sources in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefā guiyi* results in two types of accomplishments. The *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefā guiyi*'s chapter 9, the *Zunsheng zhenyan zheng yuqie xidi pin dijiu* 尊勝真言證瑜伽悉地品第九 (Accomplishments [concerning] Yoga Realized [by means of] Vikīrṇa's Mantra), first presents the threefold accomplishments of inferior, middling and supreme grades (T.973:380a7-a17), a concept that derives from the *Susiddhikāra sūtra*'s chapter 16. Also explained in the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefā guiyi*'s chapter 9 is the concept of the threefold accomplishments with aspects (T.973:380a7-21) and without aspects (T.973:380a21-b3), which are graded as inferior, middling and supreme, and the source is chapter 28 of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* (T.848:44a16-25) and chapter 5 (T.848:54c16-23) of this scripture's seventh fascicle. The contents of the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefā guiyi*'s new system of accomplishments also exhibit influences from both the *Susiddhikāra* and *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtras*. Examples are seen in the middling grade of accomplishments (T.973:380a10, T.873:614a22-23, b1-2) and the supreme grade of accomplishment without aspects (T.973:380a29-b3, T.848:3a28-29, b8-9, b28-29). I discuss the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefā guiyi* in Chapter Six of this dissertation. See also Misaki, "Bucchōkei no mikkyō," *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 136-137 and Osabe, "Kanyaku sanshu shitsuji hō no keifu," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 77-78 (November 1966), pp. 57-78, esp. pp. 64-66 and his "Tōdaikōki taizōkei mikkyōgaku no niryūha to sanshu shitsuji hō," *Mikkyōgaku mikkyōshi ronbunshū* (Kōyasan: Kōyasan daigaku, 1965), pp. 237-254, esp. 238 (both reprinted in *Tōdai mikkyōshi zakkō*, pp. 226-252 and 209-222, respectively).

⁸⁴ T.2081:786c12-13.

⁸⁵ The mantras are written in the *siddham* script. The character for *ca* is written as *sa*.

⁸⁶ T.848:9b16-18. Yixing's *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* states (T.1796:646b-c) that this is one of two *gāthās* that clarify the true meaning of enlightenment. Kambayashi Ryūjō notes in his Japanese translation of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* (*Kokuyaku issai kyō, Mikkyōbu*, vol. 1, p. 74, note 3) that this passage indicates the truth of the mind of enlightenment by means of the five letters *a va ra ha kha*. Further, in his discussion of the *Podiyu yigui* 破地獄議軌 (Manuals for Destroying the Hells), Kambayashi states ("Hajigoku sanshu shijji hō kaidai," *Kokuyaku issaikyō, Mikkyōbu*, vol. 3, pp. 93-94) that this *gāthā* from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* is the textual basis for the theory of the five cosmic elements 五大説, earth, water, fire, wind and space, which are allocated to the phrases of the *gāthā*.

⁸⁷ Kiuchi Gyōō identifies (entry on the *Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi* in *Nihon daizōkyō, Kaidai* 3, vol. 99, pp. 65-66, esp. p. 66) this passage from the *Niansong jiehufa putong zhubu* 念誦結護法普通諸部 (T.904), which is attributed to Vajrabodhi, but notes the phrase 金剛頂經云 does not appear. However, Kambayashi identifies ("Hajigoku sanshu shijji hō kaidai," *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 國譯一切經, *Mikkyōbu* 密教部, vol. 3, p. 94) this text as the *Jingangdingjing yuqie xiuxi Piluzhena sanmodi fa* 金剛頂經瑜伽修習毘留廬遮那三摩地法 (T.18.876), also attributed to Vajrabodhi. This *gāthā* is found in both texts' (T.904:903a, T.876:331a) rite of recitation and identification 正念誦法, during which the practitioner visualizes the wheel of letters 字輪觀, called in these two texts the *dhāraṇī* of the revolving five letters 五字旋陀羅尼, in order to merge his mind with that of Mahāvairocana. The *Niansong jiehufa putong zhubu* is composed from a variety of sources, not all related to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (see Tsuboi Tokko, "Nenju ketsugo hō futsū shobū kaidai," *Kokuyaku issaikyō, Mikkyōbu*, vol. 2, p. 27 and the same article in *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 8, p. 414). The *Jingangdingjing yuqie xiuxi Piluzhena sanmodi fa* is a manual of prescriptions for a rite of union with Mahāvairocana of the Adamantine Realm that belongs to a different textual

lineage than that of Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabu xinniansong yigui* (T.873) and *Jingangding yiqie zhenshishe dacheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* (金剛頂一切真實攝大乘現證大教王經, T.874). Thus, because of its content, the *Jingangdingjing yuqie xiuxi Piluzhena sanmodi fa* seems the most likely textual source for the quote in Enchin's document.

The five syllables of this visualization are not given in the texts, and Shingon scholars differ on what they were. Tsuboi, in his study of the *Niansong jiehuifa putong zhubu* (*Kokuyaku issaikyō, Mikkyōbu*, vol. 2, p. 38 footnote 18), gives the five syllables as *a ra pa ca na*. In his discussion of the *Jingangdingjing yuqie xiuxi Piluzhena sanmodi fa*, Okuda Keisho (*Kokuyaku issaikyō, Mikkyōbu*, vol. 2, pp. 76-77 and footnote 73 on pp. 90-91) presents them as *a va ra ha kha*. Kambayashi in his discussion of the *Jingangdingjing yuqie xiuxi Piluzhena sanmodi fa* (*Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 481) also records the five syllables as *a va ra ha kha* and states elsewhere (*Kokuyaku issaikyō, Mikkyōbu*, vol. 3, p. 94) that this *gāthā* and these syllables represent the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s concept of the five cosmic elements 五大説. Further, Kūkai also cites these two *gāthās* from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Jingangdingjing yujia xiuxi Dapiluzhena sanmodi fa* in his *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 508-9), using them as textual evidence for his theory of the six cosmic elements 六大説 (*rokudai setsu*). Kūkai allocates the five syllables *a va ra ha kha* to the elements earth, water, fire, wind, and space, respectively.

⁸⁸ I have not yet been able to identify this source.

⁸⁹ Enchin does not give any information from this Commentary, which I have not been able to identify.

⁹⁰ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1087a-b. See also Tajima Tokuo's entry in *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 278c-d and Kiuchi's discussion of this document in "Kyōji ryōbu hiyōgi," *Nihon daizōkyō, Kaidai* 3, vol. 99, pp. 65-66.

⁹¹ The Japanese Shingon school has named these manuals after the temples where Faquan lived while writing them. Hence, they are known respectively as the *Genpōji giki* 玄法寺儀軌 and the *Shōryūji giki* 青龍寺儀軌. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p.1531 and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3317-18. Hereafter, I use the Chinese version of the Japanese names for Faquan's manuals.

⁹² Enchin documents in an inscription (*Hikishū, Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p.1288a-b) on a copy of Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui* in three scrolls that:

An inscription on the last scroll of the *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang puti chuangbiaozhi putong zhenyanzang guangda chengjiu yuqie* [from] the collection of the monk Faquan of Qinglongsi states as follows: 'On a day in the seventh month of the ninth year of Dazhong I requested the original book of the Master Faquan of Qinglongsi and I extracted [passages] and copied [them]. I will return to Japan with it and I will eternally devote myself to its transmission and perpetuation.'

Moreover, this yoga has a book in two scrolls and one in three scrolls. This is the final collated book. I will transmit [it] to Japan for the first time. Or perhaps henceforth I could transmit them together?

Monk Enchin of Hieizan's Enryakuji recorded this in Chang'an.

⁹³ See for example, Murase Kōshi, "Genpōji giki no senshūsha," *Mikkyō ronsō*, vol. 13 (1938), pp. 57-70. Murase attributes the *Xuanfasi yigui* (T.852) to Amoghavajra or one of his close disciples (ibid, p. 63, pp. 66-70). However, Misaki Ryōshū ("Taizōkai no nenju giki to mandara" 胎藏界の念誦儀軌と曼荼羅, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 298-301) refutes Murase's argument and assigns the differences seen in these two manuals to Faquan's reconsiderations made after the passage of time. I agree with Misaki's conclusion, as I shall demonstrate in this section.

⁹⁴ See Chapter Three.

⁹⁵ See his *Shōrai mokuroku* in *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 94.

⁹⁶ *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 14b.

⁹⁷ Toganoo Shōun, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū* (Koyasan: Koyasan Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1935), p. 72.

⁹⁸ I have only consulted the commentaries of Shingō (*T.61.2231*) and Gōhō (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25), and have set aside the others for future study. Dale Todaro briefly summarizes the focii of the major commentaries made on the matrix rite in his “A Study of the Earliest *Garbha Vidhi* of the Shingon Sect,” *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 9, No. 2 (1986), pp. 109-146, especially page 116. More contemporary studies include those of Ōmura Seigai, Ueda Reijō and Misaki Ryōshū. Of these scholars, Ōmura was the first to critically discuss these manuals in his *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 5, pp. 812-20. Here he focuses on the ritual inconsistencies that he found in Faquan’s manuals. These contradictions can be explained, however, once the textual sources of Faquan’s works are uncovered. Ueda traces the sources of the mudrā and mantra pairs of Faquan’s rite in his “Daishi gosaku taizōshidai no kōsatsu,” *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 146 (1984), pp. 1-11. Misaki presents the content of five matrix ritual manuals in his “Taizōkai no nenju giki to mandara,” *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 271-300 by comparing the mudrā-mantra pairs in the rites of Śubhākarasiṃha, Faquan, Enchin and Annen.

Despite the importance of these handbooks in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, the only discussion in English of Faquan’s manuals is in Ulrich Mammitzsch’s *Evolution of the Garbhadhātu Maṇḍala* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1991), pp.76-79. Here Mammitzsch provides a very brief summary of the main features of the focal mandala.

⁹⁹ For information on these two ritual manuals, see Appendix B, Amoghavajra’s Transmission, text p. 183 and accompanying endnote 101.

¹⁰⁰ *T.55.2176:1115b-c*.

¹⁰¹ Enchin records in an inscription on his copy of Faquan’s *Xuanfasi yigui* in two scrolls (*Hikishū, Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō Daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1284) that:

The *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lianhua taizang beisheng mantuluo guangda chengjiu yigui* two scrolls [from] the collection of the monk Faquan of Xuanfasi. An inscription [on this work] states as follows:

Xuanfasi was in the Anyi Ward of the city of Chang’an’s streets of the right [note in smaller characters: in this country we would say ‘the Western [part of the] Capital’] since the Kaicheng reign era (836-840), [but] it was destroyed during the Huichang era (841-847) and there is no temple [anymore]. During the Dazhong era (847-860) the Heshang belonged to the temple called Qinglongsi [note in smaller characters: The *Xingcichao* says that the *Yuqialuechao* says that originally [this temple] was called Huguosi and during the seventh month of the ninth year of Dazhong (855) its original [name] was restored and it was called Qinglong], [where] he raised its halls and transmitted the teachings. As for the halls, [while Faquan was] in Jingtuyuan 淨土院, which is in the south-west corner of Qinglongsi, Enchin and others received the teachings there. Moreover, there is a [matrix] *yoga* in three scrolls [wherein] the Great Teacher Fa[quan] assembled variant [versions that] he heard and [wherein] he explained the first and last [of these versions]. It is not that there are no discrepancies.

Enchin recorded [this].

¹⁰² See Ueda, “Daishi gosaku taizōshidai no kōsatsu (1),” *Mikkyō gakkaihō*, vol. 23 (1984), pp. 49-58, especially p. 50.

¹⁰³ *T.61.2231*.

¹⁰⁴ See the explanation given under the rubric “[Placement of] the Nine Seals Before [or] After” 九印前後事 (*kūin zengo no koto*) in *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 158a15-b17.

¹⁰⁵ There were appended notes on the copies of Faquan’s manuals that the pilgrim-monks returned with. Annen records in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* under the *Xuanfasi yigui* brought back by Ennin’s disciple Yuijō 惟正 [whose second character should be 尚] (*T.2176:1115b22-24*) that the manuscript had notes in various places. Further, he records under the *Qinglongsi yigui* introduced by Shūei (*T.2176:1115b29-c2*) that the presence of notes made it different from the manuscript that Enchin returned with.

There are notes that record the mudrās that the practitioner is to form in the handbooks attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, but they are extremely few in number. However, Annen does not mention in his *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* whether the copies of Śubhākarasiṃha’s manuals brought back by the pilgrim-monks contained notes.

¹⁰⁶ *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 13b-14a.

¹⁰⁷ This refers to the Tathāgata’s great sword of insight.

¹⁰⁸ T.853:146c8-23.

¹⁰⁹ T.853:147a25-26.

¹¹⁰ Another example of the discrepancy in the amount of information given in Faquan’s two manuals is seen in the ritual phase of the mandala’s assemblies. There are few notes in the *Xuanfasi yigui* and they only furnish a deity’s Sanskrit name and occasionally instructions for forming a deity’s mudrā. The notes in the *Qinglongsi yigui* are, in contrast, numerous and extensive in content, providing the Sanskrit names of the mandala’s figures, clarifying their significance and the formation of their mudrās. For instance, the *Xuanfasi yigui* records in its note for the figure of Tārā in the Hall of Avalokiteśvara the deity’s Sanskrit name as Tārādevī, but the *Qinglongsi yigui*’s note contains, in addition to her Sanskrit name, the significance of this figure (T.852: 115c9, 853:153c5):

[She] is like a boat that ferries people across the great ocean [of *samsāra*] and places [them] on the other shore [of *nirvāṇa*] [where they] attain sovereignty of existence.

Most often, however, the *Xuanfasi yigui* does not have a note that explicates the deities of the rite’s mandala. Faquan has rectified this shortcoming in the *Qinglongsi yigui* by providing information for almost every figure of the mandala. Furthermore, Faquan also includes instructions for the formation of the ritual mudrās of the deities in the mandala but, once again, these notes are few and far between in the *Xuanfasi yigui* and numerous in the *Qinglongsi yigui*.

¹¹¹ For instance, the figures of the monks Gāyakāśyapa and Uruvilvākāśyapa are present in the *Qinglongsi yigui*’s Hall of Universal Wisdom and the figures of Lotus Flower, Lamp, Unguent and Incense [and] the four Gathering and Inner Offering [Bodhisattvas], whom Ōmura (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 5, p. 820) says are the Offering and Gathering Bodhisattvas from the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, and “family members, such as the lotus messengers, as numerous as the Buddha lands” 蓮華使諸眷屬佛刹微塵衆, appear in the Hall of Avalokiteśvara, but these figures are not found in the *Xuanfasi yigui*’s mandala. See T.853:152c18-19, 153a29-b1.

¹¹² T.853:153a21.

¹¹³ T.853:157b2.

¹¹⁴ T.852:115a28, b 3, 116a20, 119a9.

¹¹⁵ T.853:157b5, 8.

¹¹⁶ T.853:154a29.

¹¹⁷ There are a number of other differences to be noted between the two handbooks, but they do not alter the rite in any way. The introductory passages differ; compare T.852:108c8-15 and T.853:143c27-144a24. A ritual of accomplishments during the six moons is appended to the *Xuanfasi yigui*. The source for this rite is the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*’s fifteenth chapter (T.848:126a23-c6). The *Qinglongsi yigui* contains some mudrā-mantra pairs and a few passages of text that are not found in the *Xuanfasi yigui*; see, for example, T.853:144c21-145a13, 145c22-24, 146a10-19, 151b29-c152a1. Finally, occasionally the formation of mudrās may vary. Ueda gives three examples in his “Daishi gosaku taizō shidai no kōsatsu,” *Mikkyō gakkaihō*, vol. 23, p. 54-5 and *ibid*, *Mikkyō bunka* 146, p. 4.

¹¹⁸ Neither the *Sheda yigui* nor the *Guangda yigui* are listed under Śubhākarasiṃha's name in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* and the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, catalogues of Buddhist works that date to 730 and 800, respectively. Thus, Misaki (Taizōkai no nenjugiki to mandara, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, p. 272) suggests that these manuals were produced after Huiguo's death by his disciples sometime between 839 and 847, because they are not listed in Kūkai's *Shōrai mokuroku* but are included in the inventories of Ennin, Enchin and Shūei. Moreover, although Ōmura states in his *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, p. 388 that the *Guangda yigui* is simply a different transmission of the *Sheda yigui*, these ritual manuals display marked differences in structure and content and thus require further research to substantiate the Shingon school's attribution of both to Śubhākarasiṃha. Differences are seen not only in the actual text of the rite but also in such ritual phases as the placement of the Assembly of the Tathāgata's Body, the visualization of the container world, as well as the order of the installation of the deities into the mandala. Although the majority of the figures of the focal mandala and their mudrās and mantras in this manual correspond, on the whole, to those in the *Sheda yigui*, and are based on the mandala descriptions given in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, I have not found some of the figures, as well as the textual passages of such ritual phases as the visualization of the container world, for example, in the *Vaircanābhisambodhi sūtra*. A comparison with the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*, the commentary on the *Vaircanābhisambodhi sūtra*, may perhaps help to identify the source of these new elements in the *Guangda yigui*, but this is a project for future research.

¹¹⁹ T.848:45a-46a; T. 850:65a28-b18; T. 853:143c27-144a24. The introductions of the *Sheda yigui* and the *Qinglongsi yigui* are taken from the first two chapters of the *Vaircanābhisambodhi sūtra*'s seventh fascicle, although the authors have chosen at times different lines from the scripture.

Four and a half lines of the opening passage of the *Xuanfasi yigui* (T.852:108c8-12) has been taken from the *Dapiluzhena Foshuo yaolue niansong jing* 大毘盧舍那佛說要略念誦經 (T.18.849:55a11-15), a translation of the *Vaircanābhisambodhi sūtra*'s seventh fascicle that is attributed to Vajrabodhi.

¹²⁰ T.848:45a-47c, 850:65a-67a, 852:108c-109c and 853:143a-144c, 145a-b. These mudrā-mantra pairs and their explanatory textual passages have also been taken directly from the first two chapters of the seventh fascicle of the *Vaircanābhisambodhi sūtra*.

¹²¹ T.848:48a-b, 850:67b, 852:112b-c, 853:148c-149a. Although these manuals' mudrā-mantra series for this ritual phase are based upon different chapters of the scripture, the visualization of the mandala's central palace is identical. This visualization is from the third chapter of the *Vaircanābhisambodhi sūtra*'s seventh fascicle.

¹²² The figures of the mandala's courts are described in the chapters titled *Ru mantuluo juyuan zhenyan pin* (Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala) and *Bimi mantuluo* (Secret Mandala) in the first and fifth fascicle of the *Vaircanābhisambodhi sūtra*, respectively, but no mantras or instructions for the formation of the figures' mudrās are provided. Mantras and instructions for the formation of the mudrās are furnished in the ninth chapter, *Miyin pin* (Secret Seals), from the text's fourth fascicle and in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of fascicle five of the text, entitled *Ru bimi mantuluo wei pin* (The Stage of Entering the Secret Mandala) and the *Bimi bayin pin* (Secret Eight Seals). The deities of the mandala's central hall and their mantras are based on the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of the scripture and the ninth chapter is the source for the mantras and mudrās of the deities in the mandala's other halls. See T.848:36b-c, 36c-37b, 24a-30a and 850:84b-85b, 852:125b-126a and 853:151c-152b.

¹²³ The figures of Susiddhikara and Padma, for example, do not appear in the *Vaircanābhisambodhi sūtra*'s Hall of Ākāśagarbha but are present in this hall in all of the ritual manuals (T.848:8b-c, 28a-b, 36a36b-c, 36c-37b, 850:74c-75a, 851:102c, 852:118a-b and 853:156b-c).

¹²⁴ Two examples are the figures and mantras for Bodhisattva Prajñāpāramitā and Yamāntaka in the Hall of the Vidyāharas (T.851:106b, 100c-101a, 852:120a-b, 853:158c). Prajñāpāramitā does not have a mantra in the *Guangda yigui* but she is given a mantra in Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui*.

¹²⁵ The figures and mantras of the ten Prajñāpāramitās are one example (T. 852:118b-c and 853:156c-157a). Slight differences are also seen in Faquan's two manuals. For instance, the *Xuanfasi yigui*'s Hall of Avalokiteśvara has eight mantras that are also found in the *Sheda yigui* but the *Qinglongsi yigui* contains two more mantras: "a mantra that the bodhisattvas expound" and "a mantra for the ones who revere the teachings" (T.853:154a1-3, 8-10).

¹²⁶ T.850:69b-81a, 84c. The order of the installation of the figures into the courts of the mandala in the *Guangda yigui* (T.851:98c-107b) differs from that in the *Vaircanābhisambodhi sūtra* and in the *Sheda yigui*. In this manual the order of installation is: the figures of the Halls of Universal Wisdom, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, the Vidyādhara, Mañjuśrī, Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhī, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha, Śākyamuni, the protective deities, and the central hall.

The order of installation of the deities in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* does not conform to that given in the various chapters of the *Vaircanābhisambodhi sūtra*. The order of installation in the scripture's (Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala) is as follows: after establishing Mahāvairocana's position in the central court, the figures of the Hall of Universal Wisdom, which is located in the east directly above the central court, are installed, followed by Avalokiteśvara and his attendants in the court on the north side of the central hall, Vajragarbha (Vajrapāṇi) and his retinue in the court on the south side of the central court, and the figures of Acala and Trailokyavijaya in the court directly below the central court; in the first gate in the north are placed Śākyamuni and his retinue, the protective deities follow and then come the halls of Mañjuśrī, Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhī, Kṣitigarbha and Ākāśagarbha (T.848:6c-8c). The eight figures which surround Mahāvairocana in the central hall are the last to be installed and their installation is described in the thirteenth chapter (T.848:36c) of fascicle five, The Stage of Entering the Secret Mandala. The order of installation described in the eleventh chapter of fascicle five, the Secret Mandala (T.848:34a-36c), is identical to that given in the the Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala.

¹²⁷ Also common to both Faquan's manuals and the *Sheda yigui* is the ritual of accomplishments during the six moons which serves as a closing for these matrix rites.

¹²⁸ The placement of this assembly is the same in the manuscripts for the *Xuanfasi yigui* and the *Qinglongsi yigui* that the editors of the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* consulted. However, there seems to have been a version of the *Qinglongsi yigui* in which this assembly came after the ritual phases of the visualization of the sacred sanctuary and the offerings and before the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala. Shingō consulted (T.2231, p. 579a-580c) just such a version to write his commentary on Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui*.

¹²⁹ This ritual pattern, according to Gōhō (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 454b3-6), is based upon that given in the seventh fascicle of the *Vaircanābhisambodhi sūtra*. The second chapter of the scripture's seventh fascicle, the *Zengyi shouhu qingjing xing pin* 增益守護清淨行品 (Increasing and Protecting Pure Conduct), explicates the ritual phase of the preliminary expedients. Its third chapter, the *Gongyang yishi pin* 供養儀式品 (Offering Ceremony), details the establishment of the altar, the visualization of the sacred sanctuary and the offerings to be presented to the deities. The fourth chapter of the seventh fascicle, the *Chisong faze pin* 持誦法則品 (Rules of Recitation), explains the ritual phase of recitation and identification. Descriptions of the mandala and its figures are, as discussed above, taken from the scripture's chapters on the Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala and the Secret Mandala. See also Togano, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 72 and Todaro, "A Study of the Earliest *Garbha Vidhi* of the Shingon Sect," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 9/2, pp. 114-115.

¹³⁰ These emblems of the physical and spiritual attributes of the Tathāgata are also assigned to the Hall of Universal Wisdom of the *Asheli suochuan mantuluo* described in chapter six of the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* (T.1796: 636a-637a). Here the *ācārya* declares (ibid, 641a) that the hook, armor, and so on which appear in this hall of the mandala, are all symbolic forms of the Tathāgata Mahāvairocana. Further, he instructs the maker of a figural mandala (*mahāmaṇḍala*) to depict these emblems of the Tathāgata in the form of goddesses who sit on lotus blossoms and hold in their hands a lotus topped with their particular attribute.

¹³¹ In the *Guangda yigui* this assembly of the Tathāgata's body has been divided into two parts (T.851:95b-97a, 98a-b): the first part, which begins with the mudrā-mantra pair of the great sword of insight and ends with that of the repository of the Tathāgata 如來藏, comes immediately after the visualization of the sacred sanctuary and before the ritual phase of offering; the second part, which comprises the mudrā-mantra pairs from the Tathāgata's *uṣṇīṣa* to the wish-fulfilling gem of universal goodness 普賢如意珠, follows the ritual phase of offering but precedes the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala.

¹³² *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 454a2-3. Gōhō also says that (ibid, p. 454a7-9) in other ritual manuals this assembly is performed after the installation of the deities into the mandala and prior to the ritual phase of recitation and

identification.

Gōhō, like Shingō, documents two versions of Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui*. This same passage in his *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki* continues (p. 454a3-7) as follows:

In the first [explanation] again there are two [variations]. In one [variation] one performs it before the visualization of the sacred sanctuary. The *Qinglongsi yigui* [the version that] Chishō [Enchin returned with], the *Xuanfasi yigui* (...) are [examples of] this explanation. In another [variation] one performs it after the visualization of the mandala's assemblies. The *Guang[da yi]gui*, Shūei's manual and the *Qinglongsi yigui* are [examples of] this explanation. Then, as for performance of [this ritual phase] within the [ritual phase of the] assemblies [of the mandala], in the *She[da yi]gui*, (...), for example, one performs it in the Hall of Universal Wisdom [which is] performed during[the ritual phase of the] assemblies [of the mandala].

¹³³ T.2231:579a, 580c.

¹³⁴ *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 453b13-16.

¹³⁵ The practitioner realizes a union with Mahāvairocana in the manuals wherein this ritual phase comes after the ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala and prior to the ritual phase of recitation and identification.

¹³⁶ Although not in disagreement with Gōhō's clarification of the meaning of this assembly of the Tathōgata's body, there are other interpretations in other Japanese commentaries. See Todaro, "A Study of the Earliest *Garbha Vidhi* of the Shingon Sect," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 9/2, p. 126. For discussions of the significance of this assembly, see also Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 496-510 and Ueda, *Shingon mikkyō jisō gaisetsu* (Kyōto: Dōmeisha, 1986), p. 408.

¹³⁷ I have discussed the purposeful combining of elements of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Sarvathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in such ritual manuals as the *Shewuai yigui* (T.20.1067), *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhuajing wangyuqie guanzhi yigui* (T.19.1000) and *Fahua mantuluo weiyi xingshifa jing* (T.19. 1001), *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqia yuqi jing* (T.18.867), and the *Zunsheng foding xiuyuqiefa guiyi* (T.19.973), for example, in Chapters Three and Six of this dissertation.

¹³⁸ T.853:145c18-19, 852:110a10-11.

¹³⁹ In his *Renge taizōkai giki kaishaku* (T.2231, p. 571c16-21) Shingō explains that the ground of the ritual site, which is transformed into a pure land when the practitioner performs this mudrā-mantra pair, is formed by means of the seed letters of the five elements of space, wind, fire, water and earth. He then provides the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*'s elaboration of this yogic process which involves the practitioner's visualization of and union with these five elements and their seed letters. Gōhō corroborates Shingō's clarification of the purpose of this mudrā-mantra pair in his *Taizōkai nenju shidai yōshūki* (*Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 25, p. 82a2-b10). He also includes the exposition of this mudrā-mantra pair that the Tendai monk Annen gives in his study of the matrix rite, the *Taizōkai daihō taijuki*. According to Annen, the practitioner creates three grounds with the performance of this mudrā-mantra pair: the first is that of the ritual site, the second is that of his own mind and the third is that of the minds of all beings.

¹⁴⁰ See T.912:929b23-26. Works translated, or composed, by Amoghavajra are the *Wuliangshou rulai niansong yigui* 無量壽如來念誦儀軌 (T.2120:839c9, published as *Wuliangshou rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* 無量壽如來觀行供養儀軌, T.19. 930) and the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* (T.20.1123). An example attributed to Amoghavajra is the *Dale Jingangsaduo xiuxing niansong yigui* (T.20.1119 and listed in T.2157:880b12-13). See Hatta Yukio, *Shingon jiten*, p. 96, No. 640.

¹⁴¹ T.19. 930:69a27-b5. The ritual structure of this manual compares to that of Amoghavajra's *Ruyilun niansong fa* 如意輪念誦法 (T.2120:839c20, published as T.20.1085, *Guanzizai pusa ruyilun niantong yigui* 觀自在菩薩如意輪念誦儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Contemplation and Recitation of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara-Cintamanicakra), whose main mudrā-mantra pairs have been drawn from the ritual tradition of the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. See Appendix B, pp. 188-189, and Orzech, "A Tang Esoteric Manual for Rebirth in the Pure Land: Rites for Contemplation and Offerings

to Amitāyus Tathāgata” *Path of No Path: Contemporary Studies in Pure Land Buddhism Honoring Roger Corless*, ed. R. K. Payne (Berkeley: Institute of Buddhist Studies and Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2009), pp. 31-55.

¹⁴² See T.852:112a5-6 and 853:148c3-5 for this mantra. For this ritual phase, see T.852:110b-c, 112b-c and 853:146a-c, 148c-149a.

¹⁴³ T.852:112b10-16, 18-20 and 853:148c10-16, 18-20. Faquan has taken this passage of his rite from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*’s eleventh chapter of the Secret Mandala (T.848: 34a4-13).

¹⁴⁴ T.18.873:303b24-c11.

¹⁴⁵ T.851:93a6-20, T.873: 303c1-3.

¹⁴⁶ T.852:112b7-9 and 853:148c6-9.

¹⁴⁷ T.2231:574c27-575a12.

¹⁴⁸ See passage in endnote 143 above and T.848:48a20-b5, 852:112b20-c6 and 853:148c20-149a6.

¹⁴⁹ Some works are: T.18.865, 866, 873, T.20.1123, 1119 and 1122 (see T.2157:881a6-7). See Gōhō, *Taižōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*, *Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, p. 525a15-17 and Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, p. 31, No. 155.

A final element from the ritual tradition of the adamantine realm that is performed only in Faquan’s *Qinglongsi yigui* is the series of mudrā-mantra pairs of the four immeasurable minds (*catvāri apramāṇāni cittāni*, T.853:144c27-145a13), which Faquan has inserted immediately after the nine expedient means in the ritual phase of preliminary expedients and prior to the mudrā-mantra pairs of the series of the entering of the pledge, the birth of the Dharma Realm and the turning of the wheel of the teaching. Although an ancient Buddhist concept that is found in both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts, an Esoteric Buddhist version, called the contemplation of the four immeasurable minds, appears in Amoghavajra’s ritual manuals. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol.3, pp. 2101a-2102c, *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1033-4, Oda, *Buddkyō daijiten*, pp. 761-762 and Gōhō, *Taižōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*, *Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, pp. 56a-57b. The nine expedient means, the entering of the pledge, the birth of the Dharma Realm, and the turning of the wheel of the teaching are ritual acts fundamental to the rite described in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*’s chapter of the Increasing and Protecting Pure Practices. See T.848:46a-47b, Gōhō, *Taižōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*, *Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, pp. 60b-67b and Ueda, “Daishi gosaku taižō shidai no kōsatsu,” *Mikkyō gakkai hō*, vol. 23, p. 52.

¹⁵⁰ The mudra-mantra pair of the procedure of holding the earth deities is inserted between the mudrā-mantra pair of surprising the earth deities and that of purification by sprinkling water. See T.852:109c24-110a9, 110a12-16; 853:145c8-17, c25-29. The ritual acts of surprising the earth deities and purifying the site are performed in the ritual phase of the construction of the altar and are based upon the instructions given in the scripture’s chapter of the Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala. See T.848:4c-5a and Gōhō, *Taižōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*, *Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, pp. 77b-78b and 84a-b. The mudrā-mantra pair of the great ocean comes after that of the consort whose powers are without hindrance 無能害力明妃 and is followed by that of the lotus held by Vajrapāni which, as discussed above, establishes the realm of the flower repository. See T.852:112a27-b2, b7-9; 853:148b25-29, c6-8. Both Shingō in his *Renge taižōkai giki kaishaku* (T.2231:581b10-11) and Gōhō in his *Taižōkai nenju shidai yōshūki* (*Shingon zensho*, vol. 25:510b10-11) cite the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*’s explanation of the meaning of *munōgai* as that of “without hindrance” 無障礙. The mudrā-mantra pair of the consort whose powers are without hindrance is expounded in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*’s eighth chapter, the *Zhuanzilun mantuluoxing* 轉字輪曼荼羅行品 (Practice of the Mandala of the Revolving Wheel of Letters). See *Taižōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*, *Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, pp. 510b7-9. According to the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*, which both Shingō and Gōhō quote in their exegeses, this mudrā-mantra pair allows the practitioner to enter the enlightened realm of the Tathāgata and so to assume the same virtuous qualities as the Tathāgata. See *Renge taižōkai giki kaishaku*, T.2231:581b6-14 and *Taižōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*, *Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, p. 510b10-15. Faquan thus uses this mudrā-mantra pair to conclude the ritual phase of the assembly of the Tathāgata’s body and to precede the ritual phase of the visualization of the sacred

sanctuary. The mudrā-mantra pair for sending off the deities is not embedded in ritual acts from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and this is because this act concludes Faquan's rite.

¹⁵¹ *Taižōkai nenju shidai yōshūki*, *Shingon zensho*, vol. 25, p. 16a13-b5.

¹⁵² The deities and their mantras, and thus the mandalas, in the *Sheda yigui* and the *Guangda yigui* are, for the most part, identical. There are a few exceptions; see endnote 118 above.

¹⁵³ Although Shingō notes in his *Renge taižōkai giki kaishaku* that some figures who appear in the mandala do not have a mantra, he offers no explanation. Ōmura (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 5, pp. 812-813), too, noted this discrepancy between the number of figures and mantras in Faquan's manuals.

¹⁵⁴ T.850:72b9-73a19; 852:115a28-b9; 853:153a21-b1.

¹⁵⁵ These figures are not the Offering and Gathering Bodhisattvas from the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, as stated by Ōmura (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 5, p. 820) but are the small attendant figures that can be seen in the *Genzu taižōkai mandara*.

¹⁵⁶ For an investigation of the iconographic sources of these figures, see Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 719-720, 467-468, 547, 690-691 and 589-590, and Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 29-45.

¹⁵⁷ T.850:74c9-75a28; 852:117c19-118c19; 853:156a17-157a16.

¹⁵⁸ See Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 103-114.

¹⁵⁹ See *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 12a-14c and illustrations no. 3 and 4. I discuss the *Bizangji* and its significance in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

¹⁶⁰ One small variation is the different placement of the group of figures of Tumuburu, Jaya, Vijaya, Ajita and Aparajita in the Hall of Mañjuśrī and of the figure of Bodhisattva Mahācakra in the Hall of Ākāśagarbha (fig. 34). See also T.852:116a18-19, 118a10; 853:154a26-27, 156b1. A second small difference is seen in the *Xuanfasi yigui* (T.852:125c9, 11). The positions of the figures of Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara in the central court of this mandala do not correspond to the placement of these figures in the *Genzu taižōkai mandara*'s central court. The positions of these figures in the *Qinglongsi yigui*'s central court (T.853:151c15) do, however, agree with those in the *Genzu taižōkai mandara*.

¹⁶¹ See Ishida's *Mandara no kenkyū* for a thorough discussion of the textual sources of the figures in the *Genzu mandara*. An instance of the presence of the iconography of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Faquan's focal mandala is evident in a note under the mantra of Trailokyavijaya in the *Xuanfasi yigui*'s ritual phase of the assemblies of the mandala (T.852:120a24). This note states that this figure is the same as the figure of this deity who appears in the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm 金剛界降三世也.

¹⁶² Despite the fact that the *Sheda yigui*'s focal mandala and the *Taižang tuxiang* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2977) include in their Halls of Universal Wisdom the numerous personifications of the virtues of the Tathāgata, which suggests a relationship between these two works, the striking differences of composition and the names and numbers of figures in the other courts of these mandalas argue otherwise. Ishida discusses both works in detail in his *Mandara no kenkyū*.

¹⁶³ See my discussion of the mandalas that Kūkai introduced in Chapter Three and related endnotes.

¹⁶⁴ I discuss the *Bizangji* and Huiguo's transmission in Chapter Three and related endnotes.

¹⁶⁵ The Shingon school attributes a number of matrix rites to Kūkai which they have collected in their *Kōbō daishi zenshū*. The scholar Ueda Reijō has analyzed these rites and has convincingly attributed the original forms of the *Taižō bonji shidai* (Ritual Procedure [with] *Siddham* Letters for the Matrix Repository, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp.

247-90) and the *Taizō ryaku shidai* (Abbreviated Ritual Procedure for the Matrix Respository, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 291-341) to Kūkai. It is to these two ritual manuals that I refer when I discuss Kūkai's matrix rite. See Ueda, "Daishi gosaku taizō shidai no kōsatsu," *Mikkyō gakkaihō*, vol. 23, pp. 50-5, and Todaro, "A Study of the Earliest *Garbha Vidhi* of the Shingon Sect," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 9/2, pp. 110-12.

¹⁶⁶ See endnote 129.

¹⁶⁷ A number of manuals for the rite of the adamantine realm have also been attributed to Kūkai but, because at present scholars accept only the *Kongōkai ōshi shidai* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 199-243) as a work composed by Kūkai, I have consulted this ritual manual. See Ueda, "Daishi gosaku taizō shidai kōsatsu," *Mikkyō gakkaihō*, vol. 23, p. 49. Amoghavajra's rite is the model for the Shingon school's rite of the adamantine realm; see Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 590 and Togano, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 54.

¹⁶⁸ Togano, (*Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 44), for example, states Kūkai took these elements from Amoghavajra's *Ruyilun niansong fa* (T.1085). See Appendix B, Amoghavajra's Transmission, endnote 199.

¹⁶⁹ *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 218-230; T.18.873:305a-308c.

¹⁷⁰ *Taizō bonji shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 255-283 and the *Taizō ryaku shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 297-335.

¹⁷¹ *Taizō bonji shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 282 and the *Taizō ryaku shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 334.

¹⁷² *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 216; T.873:304c-305a. The contents of the mantras of the gathering deities in Kūkai's matrix rite differ slightly from those in his rite of the adamantine realm.

¹⁷³ Ueda argues ("Daishi gosaku taizō shidai no kōsatsu," *Mikkyō gakkaihō*, vol. 23, pp. 55-6) that, because the author of the *Taizō bonji shidai* and the *Taizō ryaku shidai* has relied exclusively on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its commentary to compose the rite, the original forms of these manuals were written by Kūkai.

¹⁷⁴ See Ueda, "Daishi gosaku taizō shidai no kōsatsu," *Mikkyō gakkaihō*, vol. 23, pp. 52-5 and Todaro, "A Study of the Earliest *Garbha Vidhi* of the Shingon School," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 9/2, pp. 120-32.

¹⁷⁵ *Taizō bonji shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 247; *Taizō ryaku shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 291; *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 201; T.873:299b.

¹⁷⁶ *Taizō bonji shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 249; *Taizō ryaku shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 292; *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 205 (金剛眼, *kongōgen*); T.873:300b.

¹⁷⁷ *Taizō bonji shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 252-3; *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 211-212 and in an appended visualization of the sacred site on pp. 236-7; T.873:303b-c.

¹⁷⁸ *Taizō bonji shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 286; *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 234.

¹⁷⁹ See T.893:616a26-b8 and these four mudra-mantra pairs appear in an expanded rite in T.894:699b28-700b8. These mudrā-mantra pairs enable the practitioner to establish the sacred site by putting vajra poles in the ground and constructing a vajra wall and then, once the deities have been invited to enter this sacred area, to seal off and protect the site from the outside world by spanning a vajra net above and a wall of fire around it.

¹⁸⁰ *Kongōkai ōshi shidai*, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 205, 217.

¹⁸¹ *Taizō bonji shidai, Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 249, 255 and the *Taizō ryaku shidai, Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 293, 297.

¹⁸² Enchin's documentation of Faquan's teachings on the mantras of the threefold accomplishments disclose what some of the Japanese Tendai esoteric lineages came to consider the special mantra of the accomplishment category that had not been given in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*. For thorough discussions of this problem, see Misaki, "Taimitsu no soshijji wo meguru shomondai," *Mikkyō bunka*, vol. 149, pp. 79-95, esp. pp. 80-84, "Taimitsu no soshijji ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 10/1 (1962), pp. 217-220 and his *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, pp. 521-524, 536-37; Mizugami Fumiyoshi, "Shoki Taimitsu no soshijji sōjō ni tsuite," *Tendai gakuho*, vol. 24 (November 1982), pp. 163-166 and Kitagawa Shinkan, "Keiran shūyō shū ni okeru mikkyō kyōsetsu no tenkai — kakkān no kōsei to soshitsujū wo chūshin toshite," paper presented at the 43rd Conference of Doctrinal Studies of the Tendai school (2002), pp. 4-8.

¹⁸³ His disciples Ennin, Enchin and Shūei also based their matrix rites upon the ritual tradition of the *Vairocanaśambodhi sūtra*. An examination of the ritual manuals of Faquan's disciples discloses, on the one hand, a faithful perpetuation of their master's teachings and, on the other hand, the focuses and concerns unique to each disciple. Ennin has patterned his *Taizōkai koshin ki* 胎藏界虛心記 (Record [of the rite] for the Realm of the Matrix Repository [beginning with the mudrā of the] Empty Mind in *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 41, *Tendaishū mikkyō sōsho* 1, pp. 181-230) after Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui*. Enchin has based the structure and content of the rite and mandala in his *Daihizō yuga ki* 大祕藏瑜伽記. (Record of the Yoga of the Great Secret Repository in *Nihon daizōkyō*, vol. 41, *Tendaishū mikkyō sōsho* 1, pp. 553-565) on Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui*. Three ritual handbooks for the matrix rite are attributed to Shūei and his circle of immediate disciples; these are the *Taizō furai gosan shidai* 胎藏普禮五三次第 (Ritual Procedure for the Matrix Repository [beginning with the steps] Universal Reverence for the Five [Families of the Adamantine Realm] and for the Three [Families of the Matrix Realm]), the *Sarai hōben shidai* 作禮方便次第 (Ritual Procedure [for the Matrix Repository that begins with the step] Expedient Means of Paying Reverence), and the *Taizōkai nenju shidai* 胎藏界念誦次第 (Ritual Procedure for Visualization and Recitation [Practice on] the Realm of the Matrix Repository) in *Kōbō Daishi zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 342-394, 396-453, 454-491. Faquan's *Qinglongsi yigui* has served as a model for both the *Taizō furai gosan shidai* and the *Taizōkai nenju shidai*. The *Sarai hōben shidai*, on the other hand, is closely patterned after Faquan's *Xuanfasi yigui*.

¹⁸⁴ See Chapter Four, where I demonstrate that Amoghavajra's translations of portions of the first and second chapters of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Liqūjing*, as well as these scriptures' accompanying commentaries and ritual manuals resulted in the template for the iconographic program of Great Mandala of the Adamantine Realm in Nine Assemblies.

¹⁸⁵ See Chapter Five for the relevant materials recorded in the inventories of Ennin, Enchin and Shūei.

¹⁸⁶ See Chapter One.

¹⁸⁷ See T.243:784c8-18, T.1003:611b9-21. For Amoghavajra's presentation of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s second chapter on Trailokyavijaya, see his *Jingangding yuqie jing shibahui zhigui* (T.869:285a15-c8) in Chapter One, pp. 15-16.

¹⁸⁸ See T.848:7b22-25 (Mandala Born from Great Compassion) and 34c14-15 (Secret Mandala).

Conclusion

¹ Some examples of this evidence are: Zhao Qian's biography of Amoghavajra, which records that Vajrabodhi's transmission contained "manuals on *Susiddhi*, and many mantra practices for the Family of Buddhōṣṇīṣas" and that Amoghavajra's transmission included "the categories of mantras and scriptures of the *Vajroṣṇīṣa*, *Vairocana* and *Susiddhi*"; the unknown author of Huiguo's biography, dated ca. 826-830, who records that (T.2057:295b19-21, b27-29) Huiguo also transmitted books on the *Susiddhi*, but he makes no mention (T.2057:295c23-26) of Kūkai receiving the *Susiddhi* teachings; and the *Jingangfeng louke yiqieyuqie yuqi jing*, a work that was not listed in any Tang Dynasty catalogue but was composed by the time of Kūkai's journey to China.

² Jinhua Chen, “The Construction of Early Tendai Esoteric Buddhism: The Japanese Provenance of Saichō’s Transmission Documents and Three Esoteric Buddhist Aprocrypha Attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 21/1 (1998), pp. 21-76.

³ See Chapter Two where I document Kakuzen’s reference to Ningai’s icon in his *Kakuzenshō*, *T. Zuzō*, vol. 4, p. 706a12-21 and its illustration on p. 708, No. 88.

⁴ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 27, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 3, pp. 1042b1-1043a1.

Appendix A

¹ Allowance must be made for the fact that the figures of the Daigoji *Liqujing mantuluo* are line drawings in black ink. For example, the Daigoji Mahāvairocana is much simpler than the elaborately ornamented figure of Mahāvairocana in the *Genzu mandara*. The head and body haloes of the figures are common to both the Daigoji exemplar and the *Genzu mandara*. Compare, for example, the *Omuro* printed edition 御室版 of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 633, No. 1) and the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 893, No. 1).

² This is not the only way to approach the categorization of these figures. In his *Mandara no kenkyū* (pp. 63-65), Ishida Hisatōyō defines two types of the Vajrasattva figure that appear in the Sino-Japanese tradition of the mandala. Ishida’s first type, which is represented by the Vajrasattva figure who holds a *vajra* in his right hand and forms a fist with his left hand (my type 3), is the oldest and stems from the earliest Chinese version of the Mandala of the Adamantine Realm, the *Liduosengnieluo wubu xinguan* 哩多僧藥囉五部心觀 (Mentally Visualizing [the Venerables] of the Five Families of the *R̥tasamgraha*). The Tendai pilgrim-monk Enchin returned to Japan with a copy of the *Wubu xinguan* that he had received from his Chinese master Faquan in 855. Enchin’s original copy, line drawings in black ink on paper, is in the possession of Onjōji 園城寺 in Shiga. The inscriptions on this scroll are published in *Hikishū* 批記集 (A Collection of Commentarial Notes), *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1284a. See also Ōmura Seigai (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, pp. 424-245) who records the inscriptions on a copy of the *Wubu xinguan* in the possession of Daigoji. I present the contents of these inscriptions in Chapter Five of this dissertation. An Edo period copy in the possession of Onjōji’s Hōmyoin is published in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, no. 2974, pp. 75-148.

The *Wubu xinguan* depicts the Venerables of the six mandalas that are expounded in the first chapter of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, as well as their emblems (*samaya*), *mudrās* and mantras. Tradition has it that Indian Esoteric Buddhist master Śubhākarasiṃha 善無畏 (637-735) drew the original of this mandala in accordance with a Sanskrit version of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*. (For a discussion of the relationship between text and image, see Ono Genmyō, *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, pp. 507-524.)

Despite differences in the way of grasping the *vajra* with the right hand and the position of the left fist, Ishida states that the type that most closely resembles the figure in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*’s *Kongōshu* in 金剛手院 (Hall of the Vajrapāṇis) is that of Vajrasattva in the assemblies of the *Wubu xinguan*. Compare the figure the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 673, No. 52) to that in the *Wubu xinguan* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 77, No. 6. The figure of Vajrasattva, who holds a *vajra* in his right hand and a bell in his left hand (my type 1), is a new type that Amoghavajra introduced to China when he returned from his trip to India in 746. Amoghavajra had gone to India after the death of his master, Vajrabodhi, in 741 to collect Esoteric Buddhist materials that were not yet available in China (see Chapter Four). This figure type was the result of new influences on Indian Esoteric Buddhism initiated by the mid-eighth-century monk Padmasambhava (Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 63-65 and 236-237. Ishida’s second type of Vajrasattva, who holds a *vajra* and bell, is common in the Tibetan tradition). Ishida thus categorizes the Vajrasattva figures according to the date of their reception into Chinese Esoteric Buddhism.

³ This type also appears as a retinue figure in the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (No. 12).

⁴ See the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 894, No. 7, p. 924, No. 142, p. 956, No. 283, p. 963, No. 296). The iconography of the figure of Vajrasattva in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin’ne* (Perfected Body Assembly) is also described in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 12a21-22) and this iconographic

prescription agrees with Amoghavajra's mandala instructions in *Liqushi* 2 (T.1003:610c27-28), a work which predates both the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* and the *Bizangji*. The difference is that the *Bizangji* prescribes a five-pronged instrument, whereas Amoghavajra simply calls it a pounder. See also Amoghavajra's translation of a related Vajrasattva ritual manual, the *Puxian Jingangsaduo lue yuqie niansong yigui* 普賢金剛薩埵略瑜伽念誦儀軌 (T.20.1124:532c2-3), wherein such a Vajrasattva figure-type is described.

⁵ This type is seen in mandalas 3, 4, 9, 10 and 12 of the Daigoji exemplar.

⁶ A likely candidate for the source of this influence is Trailokyavijaya, a fierce manifestation of Vajrasattva, who appears in another Chinese version of the matrix mandala called the *Taizang juituyang* 胎藏旧圖樣 (T. Zuzō, vol. 2, pp. 480-565). This predates the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. (A colophon at the end of this scroll links this work to Enchin; see T. Zuzō, vol. 2, p. 563. The colophon is also published in *Hikishū, Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, no. 4, p. 1283a. See also Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, p. 387-388, and Yoritomi Motohiro, "Chishō daishi shōrai no bukkyō zuzō," *Chishō daishi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1989), pp. 489-516, esp. pp. 504-505.) The figure of Trailokyavijaya in the *Taizang juituyang* (illustrated in T. Zuzō, vol. 2, p. 492, No. 20) holds a *vajra* in the same characteristic horizontal manner, but in his right hand.

On the other hand, in the oldest Chinese version of the matrix mandala, the *Taizang tuxiang* 胎藏圖像 (T. Zuzō, vol. 2, pp. 195-302) said to have been drawn by Śubhākarasiṃha, a figure who is labeled Vajradharmagarbha 執金剛藏 heads the Vajra Family, and although Vajradharmagarbha does not hold the *vajra* in this characteristic horizontal manner, he does have it in his left hand (T. Zuzō, vol. 2, p. 226, No. 96). The two scrolls of line drawings in black ink on paper are an early Kamakura copy of the original that Enchin had made during his stay in Chang'an in 855. (See also *Hikishū, Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 28, *Chishō daishi zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 1283b, Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, p. 387 and Yoritomi, "Chishō daishi shōrai no bukkyō zuzō," *Chishō daishi kenkyū*, pp. 496-504.) It is in the custody of the Nara National Museum.

A figure called the Holder of Adamantine Wisdom 持金剛慧, also called Vajragarbha 金剛藏, who holds a *vajra* in his left hand, heads the Vajra Family in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*. This information is also given in a ritual manual attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, the *Sheda piluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing rulianhua taizang haihui beisheng mantuluo guangda niansong yigui gongyang fangbian hui* 攝大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經入蓮華胎藏海會悲生曼荼羅廣大念誦儀軌供養方便會 (T.18.848:7a23-29 and T.18.850:75b). It is also found in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏, Yixing's 一行 commentary on Śubhākarasiṃha's *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* (T.39. 1796: 632c17-633a5; see also *Shosetsu fudōki*, T. Zuzō, vol. 1, pp. 49c-50a). In the *Asheli suochuan mantuluo* 阿闍梨所傳曼陀羅 (Acarya-Transmitted Mandala), whose description and list of figures appears in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu*'s commentary on the second chapter of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, this figure is called Vajradhara 執金剛 (T.1796:637, column c).

In the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* the mandalas described in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* are called "abbreviated versions" – the "longer versions" were to be provided by the Master himself. One such "long version" is the Acarya-Transmitted Mandala. Ōmura Seigai describes and reproduces this Acarya-Transmitted Mandala in his *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, pp. 391-393. Ishida (*Mandara no kenkyū*, p. 48) found the iconographical descriptions that correspond to this figure in Bodhiruci's two texts T.19.951:230b, 248a and T.20.1092:270a.

Thus, the name of the figure who heads the Vajra Family in the *Taizang tuxiang* is no more than a combination of the two appellations given in the relevant textual sources. Vajradharmagarbha, Vajragarbha and Vajradhara are different names for the figure who heads the Vajra Family and holds a *vajra* in his left hand. This figure seems to be the most likely prototype for the Daigoji *Vajrasattva* Type (2). Further, Vajradhara is also known as Vajrapāṇi 金剛手 (*Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 861). In the *Taizang juituyang*, the figure who heads the Vajra Family and who holds the emblems of Vajrasattva, a *vajra* in his right hand and a bell in his left, is labeled Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (see the illustration in T. Zuzō, vol. 2, p. 495, No. 27). In accordance with the mandala prescriptions in *Liqushi* 11 (T.1003: 615b24-25), this figure, who holds a *vajra* in his left hand, is the focus of the Vajrapāṇi Mandala (No. 12) in the Daigoji exemplar.

⁷ The *Bizangji* precisely stipulates this iconography for Vajrasattva, who heads the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* Kongō (Vajra) Family, and the Shingon and Tendai writings on the *Genzu mandara* and the *zenbon* agree. See the descriptions in the *Bizangji* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 13a), *Shosetsu fudōki* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1:49b-50c, esp. 50c), *Ishiyama shichishū* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, pp. 146c28-147a12), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (T. Zuzō, vol. 2, p. 958a13-15), *Eizanbon daihi*

taizō daimandara (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 657, No. 298) and the *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 781 [turn page upside down] left side). The only difference in these descriptions is that the *vajra* is either one-pronged, three-pronged, or five-pronged.

⁸ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 77 (No. 6).

⁹ T.8.243:784b22-23. This Vajrasattva type is also prescribed in Amoghavajra's translation of a Vajrasattva Ritual Manual titled the *Jingangding yuqie Jingangsaduo wubimi xiuxing niansong yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽金剛薩埵五秘密修行念誦儀軌 (*T.20.1125: 536c6-8*).

¹⁰ See the illustrations of these figures in the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 896, No. 17) and *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 650), as well as the descriptions in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 12a28 and 12c17-18), Shinjaku's *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 24a18-20), Shunnyū's *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 193c2) and his *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 142a10-11), Kakuchō's *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 955b17), Chūjin's *Eizanbon kongōkai daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 700, No. 21) and *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 668, No. 333) and the *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 782 [turn page upside down] right side).

¹¹ *T.1003:611a1-2*.

¹² The figure of Avalokiteśvara in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*'s *Chūdai hachiyō in* that is described in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12c8), Shinjaku's *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 31c16-18), Shunnyū's *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 138b25), as well as the Avalokiteśvara in the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 643, No. 8), whose iconography corresponds to the textual descriptions in the *Bizangji*, *Shosetsu fudōki* and *Taizō shichishū*, holds the lotus in his right hand. The Tendai works, *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 954a9), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 684, No. 376), as well as *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 793), also describe a figure of Avalokiteśvara holding a lotus in his right hand, with his open left palm at his chest.

¹³ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 202, No. 10.

¹⁴ For instance, in the second chapter of Śubhākarasiṃha's *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, the *Ru mantuluo juyuan zhenyan pin* 入曼荼羅具緣真言品 (Mantras Necessary for Entering the Mandala), the source for the mandala that depicts anthropomorphic forms, Avalokiteśvara's attributes are not specified (*T.848:6c29-7a2*). Yixing explains in the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* the Buddhist meaning of Avalokiteśvara and elaborates on the significance of his white color, without mentioning his attributes (*T.1796:632a19-27*).

¹⁵ Ono Genmyō made the first detailed iconographic study of the *Taizang tuxiang* in his *Bukkyō no bijutsu to rekishi*, pp. 388-487. The *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* outlines the basic features of a number of mandalas, but the text has only condensed descriptions of these mandalas. In *Mandara no kenkyū* Ishida thus set out to identify those figures in the various versions of the matrix mandala who cannot be identified by means of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* (*T.848*), its commentary (*T.1796*) and the associated ritual manuals (*T.18.850, 851, 852, 853*). He concludes that the textual source of many of the figures in the *Taizang tuxiang* is neither Śubhākarasiṃha's translation of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* nor its related texts, but two works translated by the Indian monk Bodhiruci 菩提流志 (?-727), the *Yizi Foding lunwang jing* 一字佛頂輪王經 (*T.19.951*) and *Bukongjuansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羼索神變真言經 (*T.20.1092*). However, although Ishida points out a close connection between Śubhākarasiṃha's mandala and Bodhiruci's texts, he does not explain the reason behind this connection.

In English, Ulrich Mammitzsch provides an examination of the mandalas described in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*, its commentary, and related ritual manuals in his study *Evolution of the Garbhadhatu Mandala* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1991). See his chapter 4, "The Pre-Genzu Mandalas," pp. 80-173.

The description of Avalokiteśvara is found on *T.951:230b*.

¹⁶ It is interesting to note that this Avalokiteśvara Type (2) is also seen in the Buddhacānā Mandala 佛眼曼陀羅 (fig.

8) that is appended to the Daigoji exemplar (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 5, p. 795, No. 20). The iconographic source of the Buddhalocanā Mandala is the *Jingangfeng louke yiqie yuqie yuqi jing* 金剛峰樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 (hereafter, the *Yuqijing*, *T.18.867*). However, the passage that gives the features of this mandala in *Yuqijing* ch. 9 (*T.867:263a22-23*) simply states that the eight Great Bodhisattvas, who encircle Buddhalocanā and of whom Avalokiteśvara is one, hold their emblems (*samaya*). I discuss this chapter of the *Yuqijing* in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

¹⁷ See Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 925 (No. 147) and 957 (No. 284), respectively.

¹⁸ The *Liqushi* (*T.1003: 610c29*) states that Ākāśagarbha holds in his right hand the adamantine jewel and forms with his left hand the gesture of granting wishes. This prescription corresponds with that given for the figure of Vajraratna in the *Kongōkai Jōjin'ne* in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12a25) and in Shunnyū's *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 193a21-22). The figure of Ākāśagarbha in Amoghavajra's *Bada pusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼陀羅經 (*T.20.1167:675b25-26*) makes the same mudrā with his right hand and holds the jewel in his left hand.

¹⁹ See Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 721, No. 123), as well as the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 13b27-28), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 75b1-3), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 158c5-6), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 967b18), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 650, No. 279) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 787).

²⁰ This collection is attributed to Eju 慧什 (ac. 1129-after 1144). See Chapter Five, endnote 61. This work is published in the *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3 and the illustration is No. 47 on page [illegible].

²¹ *T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 22. In 717, Śubhākarasiṃha translated the text for this rite (*T.20.1145*), whose focus is Ākāśagarbha in the form of the morning star Venus. The following year, this text was brought to Japan. In this practice the practitioner is said to attain the ability to remember all that he has seen and heard. It was undertaken in order to memorize the sutras (for a discussion, see Sawa Ryūken, *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 150). This rite was practiced in Japan during the Nara period, and Kūkai had performed it before he journeyed to China in 804 in search of instruction in the tantric methods. The *Besson zakki* by Shinkaku 心覺 (1117-1181) includes two illustrations of this type of Ākāśagarbha. On one, there is the following inscription:

[illegible]命僧以之本尊大師又 以之修求聞持法。The Monk [illegible]myō used this [figure] as the main image. The Great Teacher [Kūkai] also used this [figure] to perform the rite of the Gumonji. [*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 252, illustrations No. 102 and 103.]

The inscription is on No. 103. Shinkaku copied the information about this figure and the rite from the *Zuzōshō* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 3, p. 254).

²² See Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 699, No. 85). Shinjaku states in his *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 60c7-8) that the figure of Trailokyavijaya in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* has three faces, whereas the figure in the *aruzu* has four faces. In the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 13a29), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 960a19), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 677, No. 363) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 779) this figure has four faces. Shunnyū's *Ishiyama shichishū* records a four-faced figure under the rubric 'seal aspects' 印相 (*insō*; *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 40b19) and a three-faced figure under the rubric 'illustration' 圖 (*zu*; *ibid*, p. 140b26).

²³ See *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b4-5), *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 194b28-29), which quotes the *Bizangji*, and Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 897, No. 25).

²⁴ See prescriptions in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12c7) and *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 31b14-17), which state this figure holds a three-pronged vajra. The figure in the Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 642, No. 7) holds a three-pronged vajra. The *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 138c8-9) and *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 954a4) record a five-pronged vajra, the *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 683, No. 375) records that the vajra is either a three- or a five-pronged vajra, and the *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 793) notes a five-pronged vajra and records that the *Bizangji* gives a three-pronged vajra.

²⁵ See Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 727, No. 134), *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 13c10-11), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 77a22-25), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 159b21-22; hands and attributes are opposite to those recorded in *Bizangji*), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 969a5; hands and attributes correspond to those given in *Ishiyama shichishū*), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 650, No. 280; illustration corresponds to Omuro image and *Bizangji* prescriptions, but hands and attributes correspond to those given in *Ishiyama shichishū* and *Taizō mandara ryakki*) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 787; same description as in *Ishiyama shichishū*, *Taizō mandara ryakki* and *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara*).

²⁶ See Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 732, No. 147), *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 13c8-9; mistakenly labeled as Bodhisattva Susiddhikara), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 79c12-17), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 158c9-12), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 969c17-19), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 648, No. 274) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 786).

²⁷ See Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, 1: 897, No. 22). The iconography of Vajrakarma is the same in the *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b2-3), and in the *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 194a13-14), which quotes the *Bizangji*.

In *Liqushi* 9 (*T.1003:614c2-4*) Amoghavajra prescribes the iconography for the figure of Gaganagañja. He holds in his right hand the double vajra 羯磨杵 (*katsuma sho*) and his left hand forms a vajra fist that is placed on his left thigh. See Hunter, “The *Rishukyō mandara* Said to Have Been Introduced by Shūei,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie*, vol. 8, pp. 371-388, esp. p. 382.

²⁸ See Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 959 (No. 286). This is the iconography that Amoghavajra stipulates for Gaganagañja in *Liqushi* 9. In the Daigoji Opening Assembly Mandala (No. 1) this figure holds in his right hand a long-stemmed lotus topped with the double vajra.

²⁹ *T.1003:615a19-27* and *T.243:785b26-29*. Sarvamāra-pramardin is also called Vajrayakṣa in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (*T.865: 213a16-b12*) and his emblem is the fang. Subjugation by means of wrath is the theme of this chapter of the *Liqujing* (*T.243:785b21-29*), and there are numerous passages in both the *Liqujing* and the *Liqushi* that would argue for the depiction of Sarvamāra-pramardin as a wrathful Vajrayakṣa. See *T.1003:608a22, 614c20-615a1* and Chapter Four, endnote 59.

³⁰ The hand gestures and attributes of these two figures of Sarvamāra-pramardin are the reverse of each other.

³¹ Although the *Bizangji* states (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 13a24) that the Vajradamṣṭra in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kongōshu in* holds a lotus topped with a fang in his left hand, the figure of Vajradamṣṭra in the Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 690, No. 69) holds in his left hand a lotus topped with a half of a three-pronged vajra. Shinjaku’s description of the Vajradamṣṭra of the *Genzu mandara* in his *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 55c24-27) corroborates the iconography of the Omuro figure. (See also the *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 150b26-27), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 959a16), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 664, No. 319) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 781), whose descriptions correspond to that of Shinjaku and the Omuro illustration.) However, in the *Kongōshu in* of the Mountain illustration that Shinjaku describes in his *Shosetsu fudōki* (ibid, 27-28), the figure of Vajradamṣṭra holds a lotus topped with two fangs, like that of Sarvamāra-pramardin in the Daigoji exemplar. (This type of Sarvamāra-pramardin also appears in the Buddhālocanā Mandala (fig. 8) appended to the Daigoji exemplar). Thus, the *Bizangji*’s record of the figure of Vajradamṣṭra holding a lotus topped with a fang in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kongōshu in* and the depiction of the same figure in the Mountain illustration’s *Kongōshu in* suggests that the common source for the iconography was a Chinese matrix mandala.

³² See *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 14a2-4), Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 704-706, Nos. 94-97; Candraprabha’s attributes are opposite those given in the *Bizangji*), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 67a28-68a26; Candraprabha’s attributes correspond to the figure in the Omuro illustration), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 161b20-162a13; iconographic prescriptions for these figures match on the whole, although there are some discrepancies when compared to the above three works), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, pp. 965b13-966a3), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, pp. 619-620, Nos. 197-200) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, pp. 784-785).

³³ For Mahākāla's iconography, see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 804, No. 374), as well as the *Bizangji* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 14c15-16; no specific attributes are mentioned), *Shosetsu fudōki* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 127b7-c12), *Ishiyama shichishū* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 171c7-9), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 977a7-9), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 592, No. 86) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 792). The descriptions in the Tendai works correspond to the information given in *Ishiyama shichishū*.

For Brahmā's iconography, see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 810, No. 392), *Bizangji* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 14a26-27; prescribes four hands but only specifies the three attributes), *Shosetsu fudōki* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 131a17-b24), *Ishiyama shichishū* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 169a17-18), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 971b5-6; corresponds to description in *Ishiyama shichishū*), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 597, No. 107; corresponds to prescriptions given in *Ishiyama shichishū* and *Taizō mandara ryakki*) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 805; corresponds to information in *Ishiyama shichishū*, *Taizō mandara ryakki* and *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara*).

³⁴ In the Daigoji Three Brothers Mandala, Nārāyaṇa holds his symbol, an eight-spoked wheel, in his left hand and forms a fist with his right hand, but in the Sarvamāra-pramardin Mandala (No. 11) this figure holds the wheel in his right hand and makes a fist with his left hand. This is the iconography for Nārāyaṇa prescribed in the *Bizangji* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b18), the *Kongōkai shichishū* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 198b25-c3) and seen in the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 902, No. 39 *Jōjin'ne*, No. 189 *Misai e*).

In *Liqushi* 11 降三世教令輪品 Amoghavajra instructs the practitioner to create a mandala (T.1003:615b21-c3) whose two outer courts contain the five types of gods of the Outer Vajra Family 五類外金剛諸天 and their consorts 五種天之妃后. He states (T.1003b26-c3):

In the first court draw the five types of gods of the Outer Vajra Family. [These are] the so-called rulers of the Heavens of the Upper Spheres, such as Nārāyaṇa and the four others. Also draw the sky-roving [gods], such as Āditya and the four others. Draw also the four Vināyaka, who dwell in space, placing each in the four gates in the four directions. Also draw the four earth-dwelling [gods], such as [He who is] Head of the Storehouse 主藏. And draw the four spirits who reside within the earth, such as Vajramukha 豬頭. Make a circle, proceeding from the northeast corner and turning right, and so arrange [the gods] as given above. Turn all their heads outward. The third court has the consorts of the five types of gods given above. Allocating each to her main god, they face each other.

The five types of gods and the story of their subjugation by Trailokyavijaya is related in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s Chapter of Trailokyavijaya. Amoghavajra briefly presents this story and lists the five types of gods, citing the name of a member of each group, in his *Jingangding yuqie jing shibahui zhigui* (T.869:285a15-b8). See a discussion of this story in Chapter 4.

In the Daigoji's Vajrapāṇi Mandala the five types of gods in the Outer Vajra Family are labeled. The order of the gods and their iconography correspond [an exception is the presence of Bṛhaspati 歲星 instead of Ketu 彗星 (also 計都星) to that given for the Outer Vajra Family in the *Bizangji* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b15-24, the positions of Rākṣasa 羅殺天和 Śukra 太百天 are not correct), the *Kongōkai shichishū* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 198b-200b19) and the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (T. *Zuzō*, vol. 1, pp. 902-905, No. 39-58).

Toganoo (*Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 242-255) correlates textual (The First Assembly of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* and the *Bizangji*, for example) and visual sources (*Genzu mandara*) in a chart of the five types of gods. In the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* the name Dhana-da 守藏 appears; perhaps this is who Amoghavajra refers to when he gives the name [He who is] Head of the Storehouse in his *Liqushi* mandala prescriptions. For a discussion of these gods in Tibetan and Japanese sources, see Mori Masahide, "Kongōkai mandara no Hindū shin," *Kūkai no shisō to bunka*: Onozuka Ikusumi Hakushi koki kinen ronbunshū (Taishō daigaku shingongaku Buzan kenkyūshitsu, ed., Tokyo: Sonburusha, 2004), pp. 523-543.

³⁵ In his directions for the Mandala of the Outer Vajra Family in *Liqushi* 12 (T.1003:616a4-7), Amoghavajra states that the central figure of Maheśvara is to be surrounded by "the eight kinds of gods" 八種天, but he does not provide any information about these gods. In *Liqujing* 12 (T.243:785c14-17) the Outer Vajra Family appears to further clarify the teachings and, according to the *Liqushi* (T.1003:615c25-28), this family is composed of the five types of gods, twenty in all, who are headed by Maheśvara. These are the same figures Amoghavajra prescribed for the mandala in *Liqushi*

11. Amoghavajra specifically states in *Liqushi* 12 (T.1003:616a3-4) that the purpose of the mandala of the Outer Vajra Family is that of pacification. Reference is made, once again, to the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*'s second Chapter of Trailokyavijaya and its theme of subjugation. Vajrapāni, in the form of Trailokyavijaya, brings the five types of conquered and converted Indian gods into the mandala, giving them appropriate Buddhist names and stations.

The figures in the Daigoji Maheśvara Mandala (No. 13) are labeled, and these are the Vedic-Brahmanic deities who were brought into the Buddhist pantheon as the protectors of the eight directions (*astadikpālas*). The names, as well as their quarters of jurisdiction were stereotyped in Puranic mythology. They are: Indra in the east, Yama in the south, Varuṇa in the west, Kubera (Vaiśravaṇa) in the north, Ísana in the northeast, Agni in the southeast, Nirṛti in the southwest and Vāyu in the northwest. See Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1956), pp. 519-529. The Esoteric Buddhist tradition adopted unaltered this group of guardians; for example, the *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* 5 (T.39.1796:634a-c) enumerates the same names and stations. These figures occupy the four cardinal and four intermediate positions of the outermost court of the Chinese matrix mandalas. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, p. 1816a 八方天; Marie-Therese de Mallmann, Introduction a l'iconographie du tantrisme bouddhique (Paris: Bibliotheque du Centre de recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute Asie, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 157-158; Toganoo, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 186-188; Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 149-204.

In *Liqushi* 12 (T.1003:616a4-6) Amoghavajra provides scant information for the iconography of Maheśvara. The iconography of the figure of Maheśvara in the Daigoji's Maheśvara Mandala (No. 13), as well as in the Three Brothers Mandala (No. 16), is a problem, which I return to in Chapter Four.

Although there are numerous forms of Maheśvara in the Esoteric Buddhist tradition, the three types most commonly depicted are: Ísānamaheśvara who dwells on the summit of the Realm of Desire; Śaṃkaramaheśvara who resides in the First Dhyāna Heaven of the Realm of Form; and Piśācamaheśvara who resides at the summit of the realm of Form. Textual sources furnish various iconographic descriptions, but the common denominator of Ísānamaheśvara is a three-eyed, two-armed figure who holds a trident; that of Śaṃkaramaheśvara is a one-headed, two-armed figure with a trident and a bull mount; and Piśācamaheśvara, considered the oldest form in Buddhism, is three-headed, eight-armed who rides a bull. See Toganoo, *Rishukyō no kenkyū*, p. 334; Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 178-180; *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 1465a-1466a; Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, pp. 3229a-3231c (Daijizaiten), and vol. 3, pp. 2562b-2563a (Shokatsuraten); Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, pp. 462-463 and *Butsuzō zuten*, pp. 146-147 (Ísāna), pp. 151-152 (Makeishuraten).

The Daigoji version does not, however, depict Maheśvara in any of these forms. He resembles the *deva* figures found in the outermost courts of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*. Moreover, Maheśvara makes the hand gesture of homage, a gesture that indicates this god has been subjugated and converted.

³⁶ For Agni, see *Bizangji* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 12b23-24), *Kongōkai shichishū* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 199c27-28), and Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (T. Zuzō, vol.1, p. 904, No. 52 *Jōjinne*, p. 936, No. 202 *Misai e*); for Varuṇa, see *Bizangji* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 12b17-18), *Kongōkai shichishū* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 200b18), and Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 905, No. 58 *Jōjin'ne*); and for Vāyu, see *Bizangji* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 12b23), *Kongōkai shichishū* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 199c9), and Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 904, No. 50 *Jōjin'ne*).

³⁷ The *Bizangji* gives Yamarāja's attribute for both mandalas (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, pp. 12b16, 14b13) and his bull mount for the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 14b13) but does not describe his hand gesture. See Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 773, No. 240), *Shosetsu fudōki* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, pp. 103c27-104a1), *Ishiyama shichishū* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 169b1), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (T. Zuzō, vol. 2, p. 973a10), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (T. Zuzō, vol. 2, p. 610, No. 159), *Jōtei mandara zu* (T. Zuzō, vol. 2, p. 791 right side).

³⁸ For Indra's attribute, see *Bizangji* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, pp. 2b20, 14c9-10), *Kongōkai shichishū* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 199a5), and Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 905, No. 43 *Jōjin'ne*); and for his appearance (crown, clothing, attribute), see *Shosetsu fudōki* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 123a27-b1), *Ishiyama shichishū* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 171a22), Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 798, No. 351), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (T. Zuzō, vol. 2, p. 976b17), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (T. Zuzō, vol. 2, p. 586, No. 64) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (T. Zuzō, vol. 2, p. 791 left side).

For Nirṛti's appearance and hand gesture, see Omuro printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (T. Zuzō, vol. 1, p. 905, No. 47 *Jōjin'ne*, p. 937, No. 199 *Misai e*, p. 987, No. 374 *Gōzanze e*); and for his sword as

attribute, see *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 14b20), *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 108b24-25), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 169c9), *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 779, No. 271), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 974a7), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2: not depicted), *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 790 right side).

³⁹ For Vaiśravaṇa, see *Bizangji* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 12b24), *Kongōkai shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 200a7) and the *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 904, No. 53 *Jōjin'ne*, p. 936, No. 203 *Misai e*, p. 953, No. 276 *Gōzanze e*), as well as *Shosetsu fudōki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 114b17-19), *Ishiyama shichishū* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 171b6), *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 799, No. 357), *Taizō mandara ryakki* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 977a7), *Eizanbon daihi taizō daimandara* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 588, No. 70) and *Jōtei mandara zu* (*T. Zuzō*, vol. 2, p. 791 left side).

⁴⁰ By means of a stylistic analysis of features such as the halo patterns and garments, Ishida dates the *Taizang jūtuyang* to the early part of the eighth century. See *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 251-252.

⁴¹ As mentioned earlier, we find many correspondences between the iconography of the figures in *Taizang tuxiang* and the two ritual texts that were translated by the Indian monk Bodhiruci. Perhaps Śubhākarsimha, or someone in his immediate circle, relied upon then-existing visual versions of the *Yizi foding lunwang mantuluo* 一字佛頂輪王曼荼羅 and the *Amoghapasa Mandala* 不空羼荼觀音曼荼羅 described in Bodhiruci's ritual texts when he composed the *Taizang tuxiang*.

In the *Taizang jūtuyang*, we find a figure of Avalokiteśvara in the *Taizang jūtuyang*'s central hall that resembles that of Vajradharma in the *Wubu xinguan Shiin'ne* (Four Mudra Assembly), and the iconography of an unidentified figure in this matrix mandala's Hall of Kṣitigarbha 地藏院 corresponds to that of the figure of Vajrakarma in the Four Seals Assembly of the *Wubu xinguan* (Ishida, *Mandara no kenkyū*, pp. 236-238).

The *Genzu mandara* also displays a number of influences from earlier mandalas: the figure of Vajrasattva is seen in the *Taizang jūtuyang*, and the iconography of Akṣobhya 阿閼, Vajrasādhu 金剛喜, Vajradharma 金剛法, Vajrahetu 金剛因, Vajrabhāsa 金剛語, Vajramuṣṭi 金剛拳, Vajrāṅkuśa 金剛鉤 and Vajrapāśa 金剛策 in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* corresponds, on the whole, to that of the same figures in the *Wubu xinguan* (Ishida, *ibid*, p. 249).

⁴² The four retinue Bodhisattvas of Akṣobhya in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 894, Nos. 7-10), now attend on the figure of Trailokyavijaya, who appears in the form of Vajrahūmkara of the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. The figures of Avalokiteśvara's retinue, who are the attendant Bodhisattvas of Amitāyus in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*, correspond to the same figures in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne* (see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 896, Nos. 17-20). The figure of Ākāśagarbha, whose iconography is that of the figure of Ākāśagarbha in the *Genzu taizōkai mandara Kokūzō in* (Hall of Ākāśagarbha), is surrounded by the retinue Bodhisattvas of Ratnasambhava from the *Genzu kongōkai mandara*, and the iconography of these retinue figures corresponds to these figures in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Misai e* (see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 925). The exception is the Vajraratna in the retinue, and his iconography has been discussed above.

⁴³ There is one exception to this pattern, namely the Vajramuṣṭi Mandala (No. 7). The iconography of the central Bodhisattva Vajramuṣṭi is not based on the *Genzu taizōkai mandara*. Instead Vajramuṣṭi forms the hand gesture of Amoghasiddhi, his parent Buddha in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* (see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 897, No. 21). Nevertheless, the iconography of the retinue of surrounding Bodhisattvas is identical to that of the figures who attend Amoghasiddhi in the *Genzu kongōkai mandara Jōjin'ne* and *Kuyō e* 供養會 (Offering Assembly). The iconography of the figure of the retinue Vajramuṣṭi is seen in the *Jōjin'ne* (see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 897, No. 25) and that of Vajrakarma, Vajraraksa and Vajrayakṣa are found in the *Kuyō e* (see *Omuro* printed edition of the *Genzu kongōkai mandara* in *T. Zuzō*, vol. 1, p. 943, Nos. 230, 231, 232).

Appendix B

¹ *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 100; vol. 1, p. 39.

² *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 627.

³ *Gakan mikkyō hattatsu shi* 我觀密教發達史 (Tokyo: Heigo shuppansha 丙午出版社, 1925), p. 178.

⁴ *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō* (Kobe: Kobe Shōkadaigaku keizai kenkyūjo) pp. 3, 187. Osabe's methodology continues in the critical tradition of that of Ōmura Seigai, although Ōmura used the term “combined rite” 合法 (*gōhō*) to define some of Amoghavajra's rituals.

⁵ Osabe does state that (*Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 11 footnote 11, 191) the number of rites wherein Amoghavajra employs the rite of the adamantine realm as the main theme and the matrix rite as a secondary, ancillary theme are the most numerous.

⁶ Yixing cited the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* in order to explain Esoteric Buddhist terms, mudrās, specific mandalas, etc. We do not know if he considered the two scriptures to be a pair.

⁷ “Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite — *Jisen mokuroku* yori no ikkōsatsu,” *Taishō daigaku daigakuin ronshū*, vol. 3 (1979), pp. 1-33. Onozuka classifies the translations that Amoghavajra listed in his memorial of 771 into the following categories: (i) 30 texts and ritual manuals of the miscellaneous lineage of esoteric teachings 雜部密教系の經典儀軌; (ii) 23 texts and ritual manuals that belong to the lineage of the Adamantine Crown 金剛頂經系の經典儀軌; (iii) 10 ritual manuals of combined practice 合行の儀軌; (iv) 6 exoteric texts 顯教. See “Fuku no kyogaku ni tsuite — *Jisen mokuroku* yori no ikkosatsu,” p. 16. Onozuka gives two more categories: (v) one work whose content is unique; (vi) and one work whose source is unknown.

⁸ See Chapter Three of this dissertation.

⁹ See Matsunaga, “Ri to chi,” *Mikkyō shisō*, pp. 68-69 and Mukai, “Fukūyaku *Shomugekyō* o meguru mondai,” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 30/2, p. 297 and “Fukū yaku *Shomugekyō* to *Hizōki* to no kankei ni tsuite,” *Buzankyōgaku daikai kiyō*, vol. 9, p. 20.

¹⁰ A vast number of the works in the volumes of the esoteric texts of the Chinese Buddhist Canon are attributed to Amoghavajra. See the *Taishō shinshū daijōkyō*, vol. 18, 19, 20 and 21. Amoghavajra's disciple Yuanzhao attributes to his master one hundred and eleven translations, which he lists in his *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.55.2157:879a-881a). Kūkai includes in his *Shōrai mokuroku* (*Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 81-82) thirteen new translations by Amoghavajra which, he notes, had not yet been entered in Yuanzhao's catalogue. For a discussion of the number of Amoghavajra's translations and the catalogues of Yuanzhao and Kūkai, see Onozuka, “Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite — *Jisen mokuroku* yori no ikkōsatsu,” pp. 4-13 and Mukai Ryūken, “Fukusanzō yakkyōki rui ichiran,” *Buzan gakuhō*, vol. 21 (1976), pp. 93-114.

¹¹ T.2120:839a29, c12, 14-15, 840a1. The ritual manuals are published as T.20.1123, 1124 and 1125, respectively.

¹² *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 106, 107, 110. The Shingon school's interpretation of the *Liqujing* and the *Liquishi* and its mandalas cannot be attributed to Kūkai. Kūkai regarded Amoghavajra's translation of the *Liqujing* as the Sixth of the Eighteen Assemblies in the Scripture of the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle 金剛頂瑜伽經. See his *Liqujing kaidai* 理趣經開題, T. 61.2236:611a24-27, 612b9-10.

¹³ *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 596-604.

¹⁴ *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 189-190 (*Liquishi*), pp. 135-139 (T.1119, 1124, 1125, 1132, as well as 1119, 1120A, 1121, 1122).

¹⁵ “Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite,” p. 17. Onozuka categorizes Amoghavajra's works but he does not analyze them in his article.

¹⁶ *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 603-604. See *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, pp. 519-522 and vol. 4, 609-610 for Ōmura's discussion of the *Yūqijing*'s contents, date of composition and author.

¹⁷ *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 189.

¹⁸ T.19.1003:612b10-11.

¹⁹ See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol.4, p.1817b (*hachiyō kuson*); Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 567a (*hachiyō rengo*) and T.848:17, 19a22-23 (fascicle 3, ch. 6), 21c23-29 (ch. 7), 34a2-15 (fascicle 5, ch. 11), 36c1-12 (ch. 13), and 48a11-20 (fascicle 7, ch. 3).

²⁰ T.893:623c7-18 (ch. 31).

²¹ One of the manuscripts of the *Sādhanamālā* is dated to the Newari Era 285; see Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1968), p. 2. The eight-petaled lotus is visualized, for example, in the *Vajravārāhīsādhanam* (Invocation of the Adamantine Sow), which was composed by the tenth-century pandit Advayavajra:

The practitioner, having imagined the interior of Indra's palace, which is furnished with all marks, beginning with a square and so forth, he should see within [that palace] an eight-petaled lotus, which has been produced from the red [syllable] *paṃ*. In the seed vessel of that [lotus] in the middle of a red and white colored glow that has been transformed from all the Sanskrit syllables, he should see a light [sky], beautiful in nature, and a red syllable *vaṃ* that is within a red thunderbolt. The practitioner should allow himself to become the Blessed One, Vajravārāhī... Then on the four petals [in the cardinal directions] the practitioner should cause himself to become, in succession and turning to the left, Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā and Rūpiṇī... On the petals in the intermediate directions the practitioner should imagine four skulls (*kāpala*) that are filled with the Mind of Enlightenment, and so on.

Sādhanamālā, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 41 (vol. 2), B. Bhattacharyya, ed. (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1968). I have used the transcription in R. O. Meisezahl, "Die Göttin Vajravaraḥi. Eine Ikonographische Studie nach einem Sadhana Text von Advayavajra," *Oriens*, vol. 18-19 (Leiden, 1967), pp. 252-253.

²² The eight-petaled lotus forms the core of the *Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara Maṇḍala* (Mandala of the Lord of Speech of the Dharma Realm):

In the center of Indra's palace on a lion that is standing on the pericarp of a double lotus and in a lunar disc on that double lotus Mañjuḥoṣa [sits] in the *vajraparyāṅka* pose [wherein his legs are firmly locked with both soles visible]... On lions standing on the eight petals [of the central lotus] and in lunar discs on that lotus, beginning in the east, are the Uṣṇīṣa [deities] Mahoṣṇīṣa, Sitāpatra, Tejorāṣi and Vijaya. And [on the petals] in the intermediate points of the compass, beginning in the north-east, [are the figures of] Vikīraṇa, Udgata, Mahodgata and Ojaś...

Niṣpannayogāvalī, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 109, B. Bhattacharyya, ed. (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1972.) I have followed the transcription in Marie-Therese de Mallmann, *Etude Iconographique sur Mañjuśrī* (Paris: Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient, 1964), pp. 229-230.

²³ See, for example, T.873:302b20-25 and 1132:7b7-19 and 1056:75a11-29 (as given in endnote 124 below).

²⁴ T. 1003:612b5-15.

²⁵ Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 5036b-c, *Mikkyō daijiten*, p. 718a.

²⁶ T.1003:612b15-20.

²⁷ T.1003:613b27-c2.

²⁸ See Chapter Four and relevant endnotes, as well as Appendix C, References in the *Liqushi*, examples at second bullet, numbers 3 and 4.

²⁹ T.1003:609c14.

³⁰ This is written as a dot at the top right of the syllable and is represented in transliteration as *m̄*. It signifies that the vowel sound is nasalized.

³¹ T.1003:609c10-17.

³² See, for example, T.848:10a24-25 (fascicle 2, ch. 2/2), 22c5-15 (fascicle 3, ch. 8), 38a24-b6 (fascicle 5, ch. 16), 41b29-c3 (fascicle 6, ch. 22), 41c29-42a8 (fascicle 6, ch. 23), 48a11-b14 (fascicle 7, ch. 3), 52a1-4, 52b6-14 (ch. 4).

³³ I have taken this and the following examples from Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol.1, pp. 1-2.

³⁴ T.295.

³⁵ T.1092.

³⁶ T.187, 397, 468. These and the following examples and their textual sources are given in Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 1.

³⁷ T.375.

³⁸ T.1523.

³⁹ *Tōdai mikkyōshi zakkō*, p. 190.

⁴⁰ T.1003:614b23-c1.

⁴¹ T.243:785b11-17 and T.1003:614b5-23.

⁴² See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 1646 (*sanbu daihō*), *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1411, Sawa, *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 450.

⁴³ See Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 105, 137, 141, 191.

⁴⁴ See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 730b and vol. 4, p. 3151b-c *Soshitsujikara kuyō hō*.

⁴⁵ T.1003:608a25-27:

These Eight Bodhisattvas, whom I have explained as above, bring together the threefold Dharma.

These are Mind of Enlightenment, Great Compassion and Skillful Means.

However, Amoghavajra continues to say that these bodhisattvas also embrace the paths of both esoteric and exoteric Buddhism (608a27-28):

And the Bodhisattvas, whom I have explained as above, contain in themselves the gate to the mantras in all the teachings of the Buddhas, as well as in the revealed Great Vehicle.

⁴⁶ Ōmura's discussion is not easy to follow. He does not specify (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 605-606) what elements in the Five Mysteries manual are from the *Yugikyō*. He lists its ritual acts and states that this rite is not the same as that of the adamantine realm but is a combined rite based on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865) and *Yugikyō*.

Next (ibid, pp. 606-607) he lists the ritual acts performed in T.1122, and labels it a rite wherein elements from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (T.865) and *Yugijing* are combined. He then (ibid, pp. 607-609) lists the ritual acts in manuals T.1123, 1120A, 1124 and 1119, stating that, despite some differences, these rites are simialar to

T.1122. Further, as a group, he links their contents (Vajrasattva and the Five Mysteries) to that of the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Assemblies.

For Ōmura's thoughts on the *Yuqijing* and its relation to the system of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*, see *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 609-610 where he discusses Amoghavajra's ritual manual for Vajrarāja 金剛王 (T.1132).

⁴⁷ *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 136, 139.

⁴⁸ "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite," p. 7.

⁴⁹ T.1124:531b6-7.

⁵⁰ *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 138.

⁵¹ T.1124:531b5-12.

⁵² See *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s (T.893:613a4-5) chapter on the *pauṣṭika* rite and Amoghavajra's rite for Amṛtakunḍali (T.1211:42c12-13).

⁵³ T.848:13a8-19 (fascicle 2, ch.2), 50a25-b20 (fascicle 7, ch.3).

⁵⁴ See T.850:67c21-68a23 and 851:97a4-10, a26-b29. The *Dapiluzhena chengfojing shu* (T.39.1796) elucidates the symbolic meaning of these five types of offerings. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 703b.

⁵⁵ *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 138.

⁵⁶ T.1003:539a15-17.

⁵⁷ T.1003:535b.

⁵⁸ T.1003:538c.

⁵⁹ T.1003:539a.

⁶⁰ T.1125:535b3-4, b10.

⁶¹ T.1123:528a7-8. Further, Amogavajra states in the opening section of this manual (528a14-15) that the rite is based upon the teachings of the *Jingangding Shengshi* [yuqie] 金剛頂勝初 (Supreme First [Yoga] of the Adamantine Crown).

⁶² See, for example, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 594-596 (T.869), 612-613 (T.1040), 621 (T.908), 634-635 (T.1031, 1085).

⁶³ Fukuda Ryōsei, "Shōshoyugakyō to Śrī-paramādi-tantra," *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 33-53.

⁶⁴ See Chapter Four of this dissertation where I present a discussion of the correspondences between the extended Tibetan and Chinese versions of the *Liqijing* given in Fukuda Ryōsei, *Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai*, pp. 21-26. See also Matsunaga Yūkei, *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsushi ron*, pp. 198-231 and Ian Astley-Kristensen, *The Rishukyō*, pp. 12-22.

⁶⁵ Fukuda also analyzes the other Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva rites that Yuanzhao attributes to Amoghavajra in his *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (T.2157:880b10-13, 881a6-7), which are published as T.20.1120A, 1119, and 1122. Concerning the Samantabhadra/Vajrasattva ritual manuals and their textual sources, see Fukuda, "Shōshoyugakyō to Śrī-paramādi-tantra," "Kongosatta gikirui no kosatsu" and "Rishukyō to Rishukyō hō" that are collected in his

Rishukyō no kenkyū: sono seiritsu to tenkai, pp. 33-53, 54-67 and 68-80; Matsunaga, *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsushi ron*, especially pp. 217-218; Astley-Kristensen, “The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Passions and Enlightenment,” *Temenos. Studies in Comparative Religion*, vol. 24 (1998), pp. 7-27 and “An Example of Vajrasattva in the Sino-Japanese Buddhist Tantric Tradition,” *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, vol. 1 (Autumn 1988), pp. 67-87.

⁶⁶ T.1125:535b10.

⁶⁷ T.1124:531b1-2.

⁶⁸ T.18.873.

⁶⁹ T.2120:839c7. See Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 590; Togano, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 54. This work could also be his own composition.

⁷⁰ The following is summarized from Togano, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 44-84, and Richard Karl Payne, *The Tantric Ritual of Japan. Feeding the Gods: The Shingon Fire Ritual*. (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1991), pp. 88-94.

⁷¹ See Togano, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 54-58. In my bulleted arrangement (pp. 178-179), I have placed Gengō’s classifications within a five-part structure of purification, construction, encounter, etc.

⁷² For example, in one mudrā-mantra pair the mantra is lengthened by the addition of seed syllables and the order of the performance of another mudrā-mantra pair has been changed.

⁷³ Togano, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 60-61.

⁷⁴ Togano, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 60.

⁷⁵ Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, p. 165; see also pp. 220-223.

⁷⁶ Togano, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 60-61.

⁷⁷ The name of a mudrā-mantra pair and its significance differ slightly in the ritual manuals. For example, the adamantine fist mudrā (*vajra-muṣṭi mudrā*) in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* is called the pledge fist mudrā (*samaya-muṣṭi mudrā*) in the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and the mudrā of the pledge of the adamantine fist (*vajra-muṣṭi-samaya mudrā*) in the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui*. While the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* does not label this mudrā-mantra pair, it does explain its significance. For a discussion of the explanations given in the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui* see an Astley-Kristensen, “The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Passions and Enlightenment,” *Temenos, Studies in Comparative Religion*, vol. 24, pp. 7-27, especially pages pp. 13-16.

⁷⁸ The mantra is (T.1123:528b27):

suratastvaṃ You are exquisite bliss!

⁷⁹ The mantras in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* are (T.1124:532a5 and 14):

oṃ vajra samayastvaṃ Oṃ You are the adamantine pledge!

oṃ vajra samaya hoḥ suratastvaṃ Oṃ Adamantine pledge!

Hoh You are exquisite bliss!

In the latter two texts the mantras are (T.873:300c23 and T.1125:536c4):

samayastvaṃ You are the pledge!

samaya hoḥ suratastvaṃ Pledge! Hoh You are exquisite bliss!

⁸⁰ Togano, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 62-63.

⁸¹ T.873:303a8-18.

⁸² The *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*'s mantras for the crown of the Five Buddhas and the adamantine wig are (T.873:302c22-27 and 303a3-7):

oṃ sarva-tathāgata-iśvarya-abhiṣeka hūṃ oṃ vajrasatta abhiṣiñca mām hūṃ oṃ vajraratna abhiṣiñca mām trāḥ oṃ vajrapadma abhiṣiñca mām hrīḥ oṃ vajrakarma abhiṣiñca mām aḥ Oṃ
Consecration of all Tathagatas who are sovereign! Hūṃ Oṃ Vajrasattva! Consecrate me! Hūṃ
Oṃ Vajraratna! Consecrate me! Trāḥ Oṃ Vajrapadma! Consecrate me! Hrīḥ Oṃ Vajrakarma!
Consecrate me! Aḥ

oṃ vajrasattva-mālā abhiṣiñca mām vaṃ oṃ vajraratna-mālā abhiṣiñca mām vaṃ oṃ vajrapadma-mālā abhiṣiñca mām vaṃ Oṃ Vajrasattva
[of] Wig! Consecrate me! Vaṃ Oṃ Vajraratna [of] Wig! Consecrate me! Vaṃ Oṃ Vajrapadma
[of] Wig! Consecrate me! Vaṃ Oṃ Vajrakarma [of] Wig! Consecrate me! Vaṃ

and in the Vajrasattva manuals these mantras are (T.1124:532c13-14, 533a2 and 1125:537a19-20, 25):

oṃ sarva tathāgata ratnābhiṣekha aḥ Oṃ The gem consecration of all the tathagatas! Aḥ
oṃ vajramālā abhiṣiñca mām Oṃ Vajra wig! Consecrate me!

The *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* contains the mudrā-mantra pair of the adamantine wig (T.1123:528c21) but for the crown of the Five Buddhas it gives the names of the Five Buddhas (T.1123:c3-c15).

⁸³ Astley-Kristensen in his “The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Passions and Enlightenment,” *Temenos*, pp. 12-19 has identified two distinct ritual phases that compose the Vajrasattva rites given in the ritual manuals T.1119-1125. The first phase – the general – establishes affiliation with the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* ritual lineage and the second phase – the particular – specifies the Five Mysteries teachings.

The mudrā-mantra pairs for the pentad of Vajrasattva, Iṣṭavajriṇī, Kelikilāvajriṇī, Kāmāvajriṇī and Mānavajriṇī are the same in the three Vajrasattva ritual manuals. The mudrās and mantras of the four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas and Gathering Bodhisattvas given in the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* are identical, but those of the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas in the former manual are found in T.1119 and those in the latter text are unique.

⁸⁴ T.1123:529a24-530a21 and 1125:536c6-9, 19-21, 537a29-b23. The entire process is reversed in the *Puxian Jingangsaduo niansong fa* (T.1124:533a24-b10, 534a1-b26) and begins with the Gathering Bodhisattvas, proceeds to the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas, the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas and on to the central pentad. Nevertheless, the order of visualization of the central pentad – center, east, south, west and north – is the same as in the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie Puxian pusa niansong fa* and the *Wubimi xiuxing yigui*.

⁸⁵ Onozuka, “Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite — *Jisen mokuroku yori no ikkōsatsu*,” p. 17. I have listed the works as they appear in Amoghavajra's listing (T.2120:839a-840a).

⁸⁶ T.20.1056, *Jingangding yuqie qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經.

⁸⁷ T.19.921.

⁸⁸ T.19.972, 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼念誦議軌法.

⁸⁹ T.19.954A.

⁹⁰ T.19.994, *Xinyi jenwang banruo jing tuoluoni niansong yigui xu* 新訳仁王般若經陀羅尼念誦儀軌序 (Preface and Ritual Manual for the *Dhāraṇī*, Contemplation and Recitation of the Newly Translated Scripture of the Wisdom of the Humane Kings).

⁹¹ T.19.995.

⁹² T.20.1085, *Guanzizai pusa ruyilun niantong yigui* 觀自在菩薩如意輪念誦儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Contemplation and Recitation of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Cintamanicakra).

⁹³ T.20.1031, *Shengguanzizai pusa xinzhenyuan yuqie guanxing yigui* 聖觀自在菩薩心真言瑜伽觀行儀軌 (Ritual Manual for the Yoga and Visualization Practice of the Heart Mantra of Bodhisattva Āryāvalokiteśvara).

⁹⁴ T.21.1211.

⁹⁵ T.19.908.

⁹⁶ Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 46-50. Osabe also states (ibid, p. 47) that, because elements from the *susiddhi* ritual tradition 三種悉地法 (*sanshu shijji hō*), which was a part of the matrix ritual tradition, are present in the *Ruyilun niansong fa*, it as a rite wherein elements from the ritual traditions of the matrix, adamantine realm and *susiddhi* are present 胎金蘇合行 (*taikonso gōgyō*) and so concludes (ibid, p. 50) that it was produced during or directly after Amoghavajra's lifetime. In any case, the matrix rite is the main theme (ibid, p. 47).

⁹⁷ “Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite,” p. 28.

⁹⁸ Onozuka, “Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite,” p. 28 and *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 259a and 24b.

⁹⁹ *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 107, 108, 111, 114.

¹⁰⁰ Amoghavajra's disciple Yuanzhao attributes the *Shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* and the *Darijing lue she niansong suixing fa* to Amoghavajra in his catalogues, the *Datang zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄 and the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 (T.55.2156:768b21-23, 753c16-19; T.2157:880c8-10). They are published as T.18.856 and 857.

¹⁰¹ The works attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha are published as T.18.850 and 851. Scholars, for example Misaki (*Taimitsu no kenkyū*, p. 272), question this attribution. Despite the problems of authorship and date, I have used these two works as representative of a Tang Chinese version of the matrix rite because their content and mudrā-mantra pairs are based upon the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and its appended seventh scroll. Osabe states in “Fukū yaku Taizōhōki shōkō,” *Tōsō mikkyōshi ronkō* (Kobe: Kobe joshi daigaku Tōsai bunka kenkyūjo, 1982), p. 266 that the basis of the Chinese matrix rites are the translations of this scripture that were made by Śubhākarasiṃha (T.18.848) and Vajrabodhi (T.18.849). A seven-scrolled translation of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* is listed under Śubhākarasiṃha's name in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (T.2154:571c27) but this catalogue does not list (T.2154:571b19-26) such a translation under Vajrabodhi's name.

¹⁰² T.18.893 and 894. The *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (T.2154:571c29) lists the *Susiddhikara sūtra* under Śubhākarasiṃha's name. This catalogue does not list the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* under Śubhākarasiṃha's name, but this work is considered to be a direct disciple's presentation of his oral teachings. See Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 3, p. 417, Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 3153c-3154a, *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 1411c and Manabe Shunshō, “*Soshijji giki* no keitō ni tsuite — josetsu,” *Bukkyō shigaku*, vol. 12/4 (1966), pp. 13-45, esp. p. 13. This ritual manual has long been associated with Śubhākarasiṃha. An inscription at the end of the first of the three-scrolled version published in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (T.894A:697a22-28) states that a close examination of this ritual manuals reveals that it is not a forged work, and for this reason the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and this ritual manual appear together under Śubhākarasiṃha's name in the Buddhist canon produced by the Kitan Tartars sometime between 907 and 1115 CE. See Manabe, ibid, p. 13.

The *Susiddhikara sūtra* provides instructions and mantras for the ritual acts presented in its chapters but directs the practitioner in the formation of mudrās only in a very few cases. Instead, it is the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* that gives precise instructions for the formation of the mudrās.

¹⁰³ Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, pp. 621, 613, Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 187, 67-68, Onozuka, “Fuku no kyōgaku ni tsuite,” p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 187.

¹⁰⁵ T.908:916a13-c19.

¹⁰⁶ T.908:916c16-17. See Okada Keishō's chart of the iconography of the five mandalas in "*Kongōchō yuga Jingangding yuqie humo yigui kaidai*," *Kokuyaku issai kyō*, Mikkyōbu (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1935), vol. 2, pp. 58-59.

¹⁰⁷ T.908:916b21-917b12.

¹⁰⁸ T.908:917b13-c19. For example, Amoghavajra gives such information as descriptions of the hearths, mudrās and mantras for empowering the utensils and offerings, the placement of these utensils and offerings, and the colors of the main images, hearths, robes of the practitioner and offerings, as well as the practitioner's seated poses.

¹⁰⁹ T.908:918a1-4, 873:302a12-b29, 303c12-17, 304c18-305a3.

¹¹⁰ T.908:918a5-919a27.

¹¹¹ T.908:919a27-29 and 873:309b26-c11. The order of the steps in this ritual phase differs slightly in the two manuals. In the *homa* manual the practitioner is to form the action (*karma*) and pledge (*samaya*) mudrās of the Holy Crowd, to chant their praises and to utter vows (*hatsu gan*), then to form the mudrā of Trailokyavijaya and so dissolve the boundaries, and finally to send off the deities.

¹¹² 919a29-920a18.

¹¹³ Okada Keishō, "*Kongōchō yuga Jingangding yuqie humo yigui kaidai*," *Kokuyaku issai kyō*, Mikkyōbu, vol. 2, p. 61 says that this is because the rite is performed on behalf of those who are reborn in the lower realms of hungry ghosts 餓鬼 (*preta*) and beasts 畜生 (*tiryagyōru*), who cannot enter the sacred arena.

¹¹⁴ T.908:919a29-b5. The practitioner has a number of choices. He can physically mark the directions outside of the practice hall with reeds, lotus leaves or other green grasses; he can paint a circular mandala and so allocate ten positions; he can create ten positions in a purified spot in front of the practice hall. In any case, this rite takes place outside of the practice hall and a mandala that is divided into ten positions is constructed.

¹¹⁵ 919b18-920a16.

¹¹⁶ *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 621 and *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 187. Both cite the offering rite to the twelve guardian gods 十二天供養 as an example of the matrix rite.

¹¹⁷ See Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 519-529; Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Mainly Based on *The Sādhnamālā* and Cognate Tantric Texts of Ritual (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1968), pp. 367, 381; Mallmann, *Introduction a l'Iconographie de Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 157 (*dikpāla*), pp. 276-279 (*navagraha*), pp. 273-274 (*nakṣatra*); Yoritomi Motohiro and Shimoizumi Zengyo, *Mikkyō butsu zō zuten* (Kyoto: Jinbun shoin, 1994), pp. 286-306.

¹¹⁸ See Karel van Kooij, "Fabelachtige doeken uit India en nepal," *Kunstschrift*, vol. 6 (1995), pp. 21-27; see illustration 26 of the lunar mansions from Toyuk, Central Asia, which date to the seventh century.

¹¹⁹ Mallmann, *Introduction a l'Iconographie de Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 41.

¹²⁰ See Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, p. 191 and Ariane Macdonald, *Le Maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1962), pp. 116-125. There are eight planets and twenty-seven lunar mansions in this mandala.

¹²¹ See *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, ed. (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1972), p. 64, and Mallmann,

Introduction a l'Iconographie de Tantrisme Bouddhique, pp. 62, 73.

¹²² T.1056:72a10.

¹²³ T.1056:74a26-b24.

¹²⁴ The visualizations of the container world, the multi-storied pavillion and the mandala form the ritual phase of the construction of a sacred sanctuary for the deities. See *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, p.1660 道場觀 (*dōjō kan*) and vol. 1, p. 263 器界觀 (*kikai kan*). The visualization of the container world and the mandala in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* (T.873:303b24-c11) is as follows:

Then you should imagine a great ocean [whose] waters [consist of] the eight meritious virtues. Imagine on top [of this ocean] a golden tortoise and seven golden mountains surround [this tortoise]. Imagine that there are rivers among the mountains and that all consist of the waters of the eight virtues. Imagine the seed letters [of the wind [which has not been mentioned H.H.], water and golden tortoise] and at the same time chant [their seed letters] *ham vaṃ pra*. Say the mantra as follows:

oṃ vimalodadhi hūṃ (oṃ stainless ocean hūṃ)

Then imagine Sumeru, which is entirely composed of four jewels. Say the mantra:

oṃ acala hūṃ (oṃ mountain hūṃ)

On top [of Sumeru] imagine a jeweled, multi-storied pavilion and then form the mudrā of the Vajra Wheel. Due to the imposing power of this mudrā you form the circular altar. Your two wings (hands) [form] Vajra Fists and then hook [together] endeavor, power, charity and insight (your index and small fingers). Within [this mudrā] you should visualize a circular altar like that [described] in the fundamental teaching. Then within the multi-storied pavilion visualize the mandala. Say the mantra as follows:

oṃ vajracakra hūṃ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ (oṃ adamantine circle hūṃ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ)

Then you should recite [the mantra] of invitation. Without changing the aspects of the previous mudrā, imagine that you say to the sacred Venerables “[Kindly] descend into this mandala.”

The passage in the *Guanzizai niansong fa* (T.1056:75a11-29) is:

Then in the space in the lower regions imagine the letter *ham*. This letter is deep black and, gradually expanding and gradually becoming bigger, it becomes the great wind circle. On top of the wind circle imagine the letter *vaṃ*. It is white in color and it gradually expands and gradually beomes bigger, and [when] it matches the wind circle [in size] it changes and becomes the water circle. On top of the water circle imagine the letter *pra*. It is gold in color and [when] it matches [the size of] the water circle it becomes a golden tortoise. On the back of the tortoise imagine the letter *su*, which changes and becomes a wondrously high mountain. [This mountain] is composed of four jewels. Imagine the letter *kham*. Changing, it becomes golden mountains that surround [Sumeru] in seven layers [of ranges]. Then in the space above those wondrous gold mountains imagine Vairocana. From the hair pores of his entire body flows a rain of scented milk and, flowing among the seven mountains, it thus forms the seas of scented milky waters of the eight merits. On the summit of that wondrous high mountain imagine that there is a large eight-petaled lotus flower and that on the lotus flower there are eight large adamantine pillars, forming a jeweled, multistoried pavilion. In the calyx of the lotus flower imagine the letter *hrih*. From this letter issues an immense light and it completely illuminates the worlds of all the buddhas. [When] the sentient beings, who are suffering, encounter the illuminating touch of this light, they all attain liberation. Within this immense light Bodhisattva Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara wells up. He possesses the innumerable major and minor characteristics [of a bodhisattva] and majestic merits in abundance. The ten Prajñāpāramitā Bodhisattvas surround him. The Eight Offering Bodhisattvas reside in their respective fundamental positions. In the four corners of the jeweled, multistoried pavilion are the four Great Bodhisattvas, Paṇḍaravāsini[-Avalokiteśvara], Mahāpaṇḍaravāsini[-Avalokiteśvara], Tārā and Bhṛkuṭi, together with an unlimited crowd of Lotus Family members, who encircle them front and back, and heavenly beings and [other members of the] eight groups thereby form their retinues. Visualize the fundamental Venerable and his immense sacred crowd in this way. It is absolutely necessary that you make [them]

extremely clear. Do not allow yourself to forget the procedure.

¹²⁵ *T.1056:75a25* and their mudrās and mantras are given on 76b4-77a18.

¹²⁶ *T.873:302b17-19* and *T.1056:74b8*, 13, 16. The *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa*'s mantras *om tiṣṭha vajra-padma* (Stay! Vajra-Lotus!) and *om sphara vajra-padma* (Extensive! Vajra-Lotus!) become *om tiṣṭha padma* (Stay! Lotus!) and *om sphara padma* (Extensive! Lotus!) in the *Guanzizai niansong fa*.

¹²⁷ Compare *T.873:302c11-15*, 302c22-27, 303a3-7 and *T.1056:7428-29*, c6, 13.

¹²⁸ *T.873:304c18-305a3* and *T.1056:75c12-76a26*.

¹²⁹ *T.1056:76b-77a*.

¹³⁰ *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 613.

¹³¹ See *T.18.852:118b20-c19* and *853:156c11-18*, c22-157a16. The titles of these manuals are, respectively, the Offerings, Expedient Means and Assemblies [contained in the] Extensive and Perfected Ritual Manual for the Mandala Born from the Compassion of the Matrix Repository of the Lotus [as based on the] *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* and the Extensive and Perfected Yoga of the Respository of Universal Mantras and Symbols and Banners of Enlightenment for the Matrix Respository of the Lotus [as based on the] *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*.

Toganoo uses Gengō's *Taizokai nenju shiki* 胎藏界念誦私記 as an example of the Shingon school's matrix rite. See his *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 400-514 and 461-463 for the mudrā-mantra pairs of the Bodhisattvas of the Ten Perfections.

¹³² See Ariane Macdonald, *Le Maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, pp. 107-108 and Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, p. 193.

¹³³ See endnote 124.

¹³⁴ *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 67.

¹³⁵ *T.1056:74b4-16*. For examples of this visualization in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* ritual tradition, see *T.1056:75a19-23* (discussed in endnote 124 above), *T.873:299c16-20* (homage to Amitāyus), and *T.1003:612b5-15*.

¹³⁶ *T.1056:81a2-4*.

¹³⁷ *T.1056:81a2-b25*.

¹³⁸ 81b26-c17.

¹³⁹ 81c17-82a11.

¹⁴⁰ 82a11-12.

¹⁴¹ 82a21-23.

¹⁴² Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattasushi*, vol. 4, pp. 634-635, Onozuka, "Fuku no kyogaku ni tsuite," p. 28 and Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 78-79.

¹⁴³ *T.1031:4c*.

¹⁴⁴ *T.850:66a24-c4*, *T.851:94c16-95a12*, *T.856:174c19-175a17*.

¹⁴⁵ Although the *Shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* does not explain the significance of this mudrā-mantra pair, the passage in the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* (T.1031:5a29-b8) does:

You will be able to immediately fulfill the vows of practice of the ten stages (*bhūmi*) [of spiritual progress] and the ten perfections (*pāramitās*). You will often be able to see the stage of the tathāgatas and will be able to transcend the realm of the path of the *dharmas* 法道界; that is you will transcend the stages of supreme liberation 勝解地 (*adhimuki-carya-bhūmi*), of purity of thought 淨心地 (*śuddh-asaya-bhūmi*) and of the tathāgatas (*tathāgatha-bhūmi*). [A note adds: We call these transcending the realm of the path of the teachings.]

For an explanation of these stages of the bodhisattva's career see Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978, 3rd ed.), pp. 50-54, 270-291.

¹⁴⁶ The *Shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* (T.18.856:174c25-175a5) explains the meaning of this mudrā-mantra pair as follows:

You will purify your actions of body, speech and thought... Imagine that the impurities within your body become identical with space.

And the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* (T.1031:5b9-17) states that:

Above your head imagine the letter *raṃ* and that from that letter issues a white colored light that pervades throughout your body inside and outside. Then visualize that your own body is identical with the *dharmadhātu*.

¹⁴⁷ Having made this this mudrā-mantra pair, the *Shiqizhi niansong suixing fa* (T.856:175a6-17) states:

Clearly imagine that the image of your own body is that of Vajradhara.

The passage in the *Guanzizai pusa zhenyan guanxing yigui* (T.1031:5b18-27) is:

Visualize that your own body is like that of Bodhisattva Vajrasattva and in your left hand you hold an adamantine bell that is held above your left thigh. In your right hand you hold a five-pronged staff. Place it on your heart, forming the attitude of brandishing [this staff]. Your body is like the color of the white moon, your head is crowned with a Five-Buddha crown and you sit within a lunar disc.

¹⁴⁸ See T.848:12c19-13a2 (fascicle 2, ch. 2/2), 47a3-b12 (fascicle 7, ch. 2), for example. See also Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, pp. 306-307 and Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2005), pp. 61, 239-241 for the chapters of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* wherein this series occurs.

¹⁴⁹ See T.1031:5c2-3, c5-6. On the letter *a* and its significance, see p. 174 of this Appendix and endnote 32 for references in the scripture. The mantra *āḥ vī ra hūṃ khaṃ* appears in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra*'s sixth chapter (T.848:20a16-19), the *Xidi chuxian pin* 蘇悉地出現品 (Manifestation of Supernatural Accomplishments). For this mantra's application and significance, see T.848:20a19-21c4 and Hunter, "Faquan's Transmission of the *Susiddhi* Category of the Esoteric Buddhist Teachings," *Journal of the International College for advanced Buddhist Studies*, vol. 8 (2004), pp. 43-93, esp. pp. 75-77.

¹⁵⁰ Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 79 and Ōmura, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 634.

¹⁵¹ T.1031:6a20-24.

¹⁵² T.873:305a-b; 306a-b.

¹⁵³ This rite, which is included in Amoghavajra's list of translations (T.2120:839c22), is published as T.20.1032.

¹⁵⁴ T.873:301a20. The mantra is *om vajra-padma samayastvaṃ* Om You are the pledge of the Thunderbolt Lotus! The same mudrā-mantra pair appears in the *Guanzizai niansong fa* (T.1056:74a5-8).

¹⁵⁵ There is no mudrā-mantra pair for Avalokiteśvara, who heads the Hall of Avalokiteśvara, in the *Sheda yigui*. The *Guangda yigui* does not describe Avalokiteśvara's mudrā and the mantra that it does give differs.

¹⁵⁶ See T.893:607c24-25.

Amoghavajra uses this mantra in another ritual manual, the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*. Here (T.954A:307c20-23) he pairs the pledge mudrā of the Lotus Family 蓮華部三昧耶印, which is the same as Āryāvalokiteśvara's fundamental mudrā, with a simpler version of his fundamental mantra, called a heart mantra, which is *om ālolik*. Amoghavajra begins this text with the statement that (T.954A:307c9) this rite is based the scripture that was explained in the palace of Trāyastriṃśa 忉利天宮. The Trāyastriṃśa, or the Thirty-Three Heavens, is the second of the six heavens of the Realm of Desire 欲界 (*karma-dhātu*) and it is on the summit of Mount Meru. A note in the *Kokuyaku himitsu giki*, vol. 23, p. 111 identifies this text as the *Yizi qite fuding jing* 一字奇特佛頂經. Published as T.19.953, it is recorded in Amoghavajra's list of translations and compositions (T.2120:839b3) as *Qite fuding jing*.

¹⁵⁷ Because the names of the mudrā-mantra pairs slightly differ in some of the group three manuals, I have listed those given in the *Ruyilun niansong fa*.

¹⁵⁸ This protective phase also contains another mudrā-mantra pair unique to each rite but whose import is common to all the rites of group three. These are the mudrā-mantra pairs of the guardian of the site. This is Hayagrīva in the *Ruyilun niansong fa*, Sarva[]buddhoṣṇīṣa 一切辦事佛頂 in the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* and Trailokyavijaya in the *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa*. The *Achu rulai niansong fa*, the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang niansong fa* simply have a mudrā-mantra pair for warding off evil. The manual of the fourth group, the *Foding zunsheng niansong fa*, uses the mudrā-mantra pair of Acala.

¹⁵⁹ Moreover, the contents of Amoghavajra's rite of the adamantine realm and that of the matrix rites attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha differ because the textual sources, the focuses and the mudrā-mantra pairs also differ.

¹⁶⁰ T.893:615b18-619c14. Despite the abundant detail given in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* for the performance of various rites, it is not exhaustive in its instructions for an offering rite. The *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* (T.18.894) prescribes the rules for an offering rite to the three families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra.

¹⁶¹ The ritual phases in the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa* are recorded in such a brief manner that not all the mudrā-mantra pairs are given. Nevertheless, these manuals possess nine of the mudrā-mantra pairs (plus a mudrā without a mantra) that are common to the rites of this third group and so their ritual structure matches that of the other rites of group three. There are mudrās for the phase of protection of the sacred site 辟除印及金剛方隅寶界印 but no mantras are given.

¹⁶² See T.1211:43b3-4 and T.994:516b3-4 and 995:520a23-24. The *Foding zunsheng niansong fa* (T.972:365a4-5) also has this mantra.

¹⁶³ T.1085:203c26.

¹⁶⁴ T.1211:43b16-17, c2-3, c13-14, T.1085:204a27-28, b9, c19-20 and T.921:16b25, c4-5, c13.

¹⁶⁵ T.893:615c13-18.

¹⁶⁶ T.954A:307c19, c23, c27 (the closing word *svāhā* is omitted in the mantras), T.994:516b12, c21, c1, T.995:520b3,b12, b21 and T.893:615c19-25 and 607c21-27.

¹⁶⁷ T.1085:205b13 (first part).

¹⁶⁸ An exception is the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* (T.954A:308a29-b11) whose mudrā-mantra pairs for establishing of the boundaries of the ritual site with adamantine stakes and an adamantine fence are performed after, and not before, the visualization of the sacred sanctuary.

¹⁶⁹ Whereas the *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* mentions some of the nine expedient devices but does not give the mudrā-mantra pairs (T.954A:307c14-15), the *Achu rulai niansong fa* details this sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs (T.921:15c24-16ab15).

¹⁷⁰ See Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 77-78, Ulrich Mammitzsch, *Evolution of the Garbhadhatu Mandala*, p. 63.

¹⁷¹ T.848:46a21-c22, 850:65b19-66a23 and 851:90c28-91b25.

¹⁷² Indian Esoteric Buddhist texts that predate the *Susiddhikara* and *Vairocanaābhisambodhi sūtras* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* also need to be examined. An example is the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. Here the heart (*hṛdaya*) mantras of the three Families of the Buddha, Padma and Vajra are *jinajik*, *āroliku* and *vajradhrk*, and these mantras are used, as we have seen, in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui*, the *Jenwang niansong yigui* and the *Jenwang banruo niansong fa*. See Macdonald, *Le Mandala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, pp. 44-45.

¹⁷³ T.1085:205a12-13, 205c10-14, 206a9-17. Compare the stanza of the three powers on T.848:19a2-3 and 48b4-5, T.850:67b24-25, T.851:97c14-15; water offering on T.848:13a20-21, 49b2-8, T.850:68b4-9 and note 18, T.851:97a1-3; universal offerings on T.848:19a2-11, 48b4-11, T.850:67b24-c3, T.851:94c3-8.

¹⁷⁴ T.1085:203a26 *om svabhāva-śuddho'ham* (I am pure of self-nature) and T.873:299b18-19 *svabhāva-śuddhāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ* (All factors of existence are pure of self-nature).

¹⁷⁵ T.1085:203c14. See *Kokuyaku himitsu giki*, vol. 12, pp. 156-157. One theory identifies this text as the *Lianhua sanmei wuzhangai jing* 蓮華三昧無障礙經 (*Renge sanma mushōge kyō*) and another as the larger version of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha*.

¹⁷⁶ *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 635. Ōmura gives but one example that seems to point to the matrix rite as its source. In contrast to Vajrabodhi's rite wherein the practitioner faces west, this rite has him face east.

¹⁷⁷ *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 47. Osabe notes that there are elements found in the *susiddhi* rite but he does not explain. See Onozuka, "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite," p. 28.

¹⁷⁸ T.893:613a4.

¹⁷⁹ T.894:693b20-c9.

¹⁸⁰ *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 128-129, *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 630, "Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite," p. 28.

¹⁸¹ T.954A:307c9-10.

¹⁸² Ōmura, *ibid*, p. 630, *Kokuyaku himitsu giki*, vol. 12, p. 111. A description of this text is in *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 82b-c.

¹⁸³ *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 82c, *Kōbō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 106.

¹⁸⁴ T.954A:307c14-15 and 308a18-23. See T.848:19a1-11 (fascicle 3, ch. 6, no mudrā), 48b6-11 (fascicle 7, ch. 3) for the consort who transforms the treasury of empty space.

¹⁸⁵ See endnote 169 above for the nine expedient devices given in the *Achu rulai niansong fa* (T.921:15c24-16ab15) and, for the consort of the treasury of empty space, see T.850: 67b26-c3 and 851:94c6-10. The mantra for the the consort of the treasury of empty space is the same in the scripture and the two matrix ritual manuals but has been abbreviated in T.954A.

¹⁸⁶ Compare *Ruyilun niansong fa* (T.1085:14-20, mantra a18), *Achu rulai niansong fa* (T.921:17c2-4, mantra c2), *Ganlu junchali yuqie niansong fa* (T.1211:45a24-b1, mantra a28) to *Yizifoding lunwang niansong yigui* (T.954A:308a18-23, mantra a21-23).

¹⁸⁷ T.954A:310a25-26.

¹⁸⁸ See T.848:20b7-21a22 (fascicle 3, ch. 6), 52b13-28 (fascicle 7, ch. 3). This is most likely the visualization which the Shingon school refers to by a number of names. It is called the visualization of adorning the body with the five letters 五字嚴身觀, the visualization of attaining the [buddha] body by means of the five great elements 五大成身觀 or the visualization of attaining the [buddha] body by means of the five circles 五輪成身觀. In this visualization the practitioner imagines and places the letters of the five Buddhist elements (Sawa, *Shingon jiten*, p. 211, p. 595 gives the letters *a*, *va*, *ra*, *ha*, *kha* and Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, pp. 417-418 lists the letters *a*, *vaṃ*, *raṃ*, *haṃ* and *khaṃ*), which represent Mahāvairocana, on his groin, navel, chest, between his brows and on the crown of his head. He then imagines that his body transforms into a stūpa, which is the symbolic form of Mahāvairocana.

¹⁸⁹ Ōmura (*Mikkyō hattasushi*, vol. 4, p. 630) notes that there are ritual acts that do not agree with the rites of the matrix and adamantine realms and cites the visualizations prescribed (see T.954A:310a26-28) as examples where Amoghavajra constructs and instructs according to his own ideas 隨其意樂.

¹⁹⁰ T.954A:308a12-17.

¹⁹¹ See Murakami Ryōkai, “Mikkyō kyōki ni okeru kikai konryū kan,” *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 15 (December 1983), pp. 105-116.

¹⁹² The visualization occurs on T.848:47c28-48a16 (fascicle 7, ch. 3). See endnote 193 for the visualization in the *Sheda yigui*.

¹⁹³ Compare this visualization in Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* that is given above in endnote 124 to that given in the *Sheda yigui*. The passage in the *Sheda yigui* (T.850:67a22-b7) is as follows:

First think of the wind circle at the lowest level where the letter *haṃ* dwells. A black blaze of light flows outward from it. Then say its mantra as follows:

namaḥ samanta-buddhānaṃ haṃ Homage to the universal buddhas!

Then visualize on top [of the wind circle] the water circle. Its color is just like that of snow and milk and it is where the letter *vaṃ* resides. [This letter] has flames [which are the colour of] quartz and the moon and lightening. Then say its mantra as follows: *vaṃ*. Further, visualize the *vajra* circle on top of the water circle and imagine that you place [within this circle] the letter of the fundamental beginning. It is square and is entirely yellow in color. Then say its mantra as follows: *a*. This [earth] circle is like the *vajra* and is called Mahendra. It’s blaze of light is pure gold in color and issues everywhere in all directions...

¹⁹⁴ See T.851:92c9-93a7. The letters for the wind, water and earth do not change and are *haṃ*, *vaṃ* and *a*. According to Murakami Ryōkai (“Mikkyō kyōki ni okeru kikai konryū kan,” *Mikkyōgaku kenkyū*, vol. 15, pp. 110-111) the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra* only explains the visualization of the container world composed of three circles, but the *Dapiluzhena chengfo jingzhou* [Commentary on the *Vairocanābhisambodhi sūtra*] gives, in addition to the visualization with three circles, a visualization with five circles.

¹⁹⁵ T.954A:308a12-17 and 851:93a10-20. The mantra of the great ocean in *oṃ vimalodadhi hūṃ* (Stainless ocean!) and that of Mount Sumeru is *oṃ acala hūṃ* (Mountain!).

¹⁹⁶ See, for example, the visualization of the sacred sanctuary in T.894:697c13-698a5. The elements are a great ocean, a jeweled mountain, a lion throne, a lotus dais and a jeweled, multi-storied pavilion and their mantras.

¹⁹⁷ *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 629-630, 642.

¹⁹⁸ “Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite,” p. 28.

¹⁹⁹ The structure and content of the *Ruyilun niansong fa* presages the later Shingon rite of the eighteenfold practice 十八道 (*jūhachidō*). This rite, which is structurally the simplest of the Shingon rites, is so named because it contains

eighteen fundamental mudrā-mantra pairs that are divided into the six ritual phases of purification of the practitioner, establishment of the ritual boundaries, creation of the sacred sanctuary, invitation of the deities, establishment of protections and ritual offerings that characterize the *Ruyilun niansong fa*. The *Jūhachi geiin* 十八契印 (T.18.900), which the Shingon school considers to be Kūkai's documentation of Huiguo's oral teachings, records the above method of parsing the rite. The evidence that supports the Shingon school's attribution is the fact that on the back of the ninth sheet of Kūkai's *Sanjūjō sakushi* 三十帖冊子, which he wrote while in China, the ritual steps of the *jūhachidō* are listed, and on the twenty-ninth sheet of this work the mantras for a *Bonji jūhachidō* are written. Moreover, the Shingon monk Raiyu 頼瑜 (1226-1304) recorded in his *Jūhachidō kūketsu* 十八道口訣 that Faquan told Ennin that the *jūhachidō* belonged to the oral teachings of Huiguo. See Toganoo, *Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 44, Sawa, *Shingon jiten*, p. 352.

According to Toganoo (*Himitsu jisō no kenkyū*, p. 44), Kūkai excerpted the essential parts of the rite of the eighteenfold practice in the *Jūhachidō geiin* from Amoghavajra's *Ruyilun niansong fa*. Ōmura (*Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, pp. 649-650) regards Amoghavajra's *Wuliangshou rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* 無量壽如來觀行供養儀軌 (T.19.930) as the model for the Shingon school's eighteenfold practice. This manual's number and names of the mudrā-mantra pairs, their significance and thus the ritual structure are identical to those of the *Ruyilun niansong fa*. It is listed in Amoghavajra's memorial (T.2120:839c9) as *Wuliangshou rulai niansong fa* 無量壽如來念誦法.

The ritual divisions in the *Jūhachi geiin* are (T.900:782a2-783b25) identical to the *Ruyilun niansong fa*. Further, the names and contents of the mudra-mantra pairs of the *Jūhachi geiin* match, on the whole, those of the *Ruyilun niansong fa*. The exceptions, which do not signify a change in meaning, are the mantras of the purification of the practitioner's three actions, the invitation of the deities to descend into the sacred site, and the universal offerings. The first and third of these mantras differ only in length and the second in focus. For example, in the *Ruyilun niansong fa* the practitioner summons with the mantra *om alolik* Gentle one! only the Lotus Family to enter the sacred site but in the *Jūhachi geiin* he invites the three Families of the Buddha, Lotus and Vajra with the mantras *om jinajik om alolik om vajradhrk āgaccha āgaccha svāhā* Victorious Vanquisher! Gentle One! Vajra Protector! Come! Come!

Amoghavajra has clearly based the ritual format and contents of his *Ruyilun niansong fa*, as well as the other rites of group three, on the offering rite given in the *Susiddhikara sūtra* and elaborated in the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa*. Certain mudrā-mantra pairs are performed two and three times in the *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa*, producing extensive and repeated rites of purification of the practitioner and the site that are given in the *Susiddhikara sūtra*'s ch. 18. The *Suxidi jieluo gongyang fa* has almost ninety mudrā-mantra pairs whereas Amoghavajra's rites are much shorter in length.

²⁰⁰ For T.921, see *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, pp. 104-105 and for T.1211, see *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 159. Osabe's analysis is predicated upon his understanding of the *susiddhi* elements as belonging to the ritual lineage of the matrix. I discuss Osabe's position on the *susiddhi* in Chapter Seven.

²⁰¹ *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 1, pp. 24b, 259a.

²⁰² T.921:15c22-16b15 and endnote 171.

²⁰³ Compare T.921:18b21-19a 24, T.850:67c21-68a23 and 851:97a4-10, a26-b29. The mantras of this series, however, are not the same as those given in the manuals attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha.

²⁰⁴ T.921:17b9-20 and endnotes 190-196.

²⁰⁵ T.1211:43b5-7. This verse is given immediately after the mudrā-mantra pair of purification of the practitioner's three actions and just before that of the pledge of the tathāgathas is performed.

²⁰⁶ The mudrā-mantra pair for Vajracakra occurs at the end of the purification phase and prior to the visualization of the container world (T.1211:44a18-b8). Vajrahetu's mudrā-mantra pair is performed after the visualization of the sanctuary and prior to the sending off of the jeweled carriage to fetch the deities (T.1211:45b9-21).

²⁰⁷ The source of the mudrā-mantra pairs of these bodhisattvas has not been identified. They are not found in Amoghavajra's *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* nor in the ritual manuals attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha.

²⁰⁸ T.1211:44b8-c11.

²⁰⁹ T.1211:43a, 45a22-23, 47b7-19 and endnote 213.

²¹⁰ T.1211:46b29-47b6 and endnote 203.

²¹¹ *Mikkyō hattatsu shi*, vol. 4, p. 631.

²¹² Osabe, *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō*, p. 32, Onozuka, “Fukū no kyōgaku ni tsuite,” p. 28 and the *Mikkyō daijiten*, vol. 4, p. 1941a.

²¹³ T.972:365a18-b15, 366a15-25. Compare for the purification phase T.848:12c19-13a2 (fascicle 2, ch. 2/2), 47a3-b12 (fascicle 7, ch. 2); 850:66a24-c14; 851:91b26-28 (collapsed), 94c16-95a25 and, for the offering phase T.848:13a8-19 (fascicle 2, ch. 2), 50a25-b20 (fascicle 7, ch. 3), 19a1-11 (fascicle 3, ch. 6), 48b3-11 (fascicle 7, ch 3); 850:67c21-68a23, 67b23-c3; 851:97a4-10, a26-b29, 94c2-10.

²¹⁴ T.972:366c2-367a21.

²¹⁵ T.972:367a8-9.

²¹⁶ I have summarized the significance of this sequence of mudrā-mantra pairs from Amoghavajra’s *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* (T.873:303a8-11) and *Guanzizai niansong fa* (T.1056:74c3-75a10).

²¹⁷ T.873:302c28-303a25. The *Foding zunsheng niansong fa*’s mantra of tying the wig is simply *om vajra-abhiṣiṅca* “Vajra consecrate!” whereas that in the *Jingangding lianhuabuxin niansong fa* contains a mantra for each of the Buddha Families.

²¹⁸ Amoghavajra instructs that the practitioner can perform the bathing rite (T.972:364c20-21) as stipulated in the *Susiddhi*.

²¹⁹ See my discussion of these works in Chapter Three of this dissertation.