

THE RISHUKYŌ:

A Translation and Commentary
in the
Light of Modern Japanese
(Post-Meiji) Scholarship

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a translation of and commentary on the Tantric Buddhist Master Amoghavajra (705-74)'s Li-ch'ü Ching 理趣經 (Japanese: Rishukyō, Taishō: 243), the Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses. Whilst there are some remarks of a historical and text-critical nature, the primary concern is with the text as a religious document, in the context of the scholarship and practice of the modern Japanese Shingon Sect.

The Sūtra occupies a central position in this sect, being an integral part in its daily worship and in the academic and practical training of its priests.

The Rishukyō is extant in ten versions: a Sanskrit/Khotanese fragment (?150 verses), a Tibetan 150-verse version and six Chinese versions, one of which is a lengthy, so-called Extended Version. This last is paralleled by two Extended Versions in Tibetan, and, although an examination of the Tibetan sources lies outwith the scope of this study, the thesis sketches some of the possibilities for historical research into the Buddhist Tantric tradition in Central and East Asia which these three longer recensions open up. The Chinese versions -beginning with Hsüan-tsang's (T.220(10))- show varying degrees of esoteric influence. This fact has significance for our understanding of Amoghavajra's version, which is a well co-ordinated ritual text.

The systematic philosophical and symbolic expression of traditional Buddhist teachings which is inherent in Tantric ritual intent is the focus of this thesis. To this end, modern Japanese studies of the text have been consulted, as have the commentaries by Amoghavajra and Kūkai, to which modern Shingon exponents consistently trace their ideas. The thesis thus gives a general picture of an unbroken tradition which stretches back some twelve centuries, even though the abundant commentarial literature on the Rishukyō up to the Meiji period has not been used.

The section of the Bibliography dealing with works on the Rishukyō comprises a list which is considerably more comprehensive than those found elsewhere.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Full references for these works will be found in the Bibliography, where there is none listed here.

- Abhidharmakośa: Vasubandhu's work, as translated by LA VALLÉE POUSSIN and indexed by HIRAKAWA Akira.
- BGJT: Bukkyō-gaku Jiten, edited by TAYA Raishun et al.
- BHSD: Franklin EDGERTON: Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary.
- BTI: Edward CONZE: Buddhist Thought in India.
- Fukuda/RK: FUKUDA Ryōsei: Rishukyō no Kenkyū: Sono Seiritsu to Tenkai.
- Gijutsu: Amoghavajra's explanation of the seventeen-deity mandala, Jūshichi-shō-daimandara-gijutsu, T.XIX/1004.
- Hastings: HASTINGS, J.: Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, 13 vols., Edinburgh: Clark, 1908-26; New York: Scribner, 1961.
- Index: HATTA Yukio's Index to the Ārya-Prajñā-Pāramitānaya-Śatapañcaśatikā.
- Jussan: K'uei-chi's Commentary on Hsüan-tsang's version of the Rishukyō (T.VII/220(10)), the Hannya-rishubun-jussan (T.XXXIII/1695).
- Kaidai: Kūkai's commentary on the Rishukyō, the Rishukyō-kaidai.
- Mathews: MATHEWS' Chinese-English Dictionary.
- MDJT: The Mikkyō-daijiten, edited by SAWA Ryūken et al. (6 vols.).
- MJT: Mikkyō-jiten, edited by SAWA Ryūken (1 vol.).
- Monku: Kūkai's prime commentary on the Rishukyō, the Shin-jitsukyō-monku (T.LXI/2237).
- MVS: The Mahāvairocana Sūtra, T.XVIII/848.
- MW: MONIER WILLIAMS' Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
- N: NAKAMURA Hajime's Bukkyōgo-daijiten (3 vols.)
- PTS Pāli Text Society. (Abbreviation used mainly in conjunction with references to their editions of the Pāli Canon.)
- PTSDict: RHYS DAVIDS, T.W., & W. STEDE: Pāli-English Dictionary, London: PTS, 1921-25).

- RK: TOGANOO Shōjun: Rishukyō no Kenkyū.
- SPT: Edward CONZE: The Short Prajñāpāramitā Texts.
- STTS: Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha ("Compendium of Truth"), the basic text for Vajraśekhara (Jap.: Kongō-chōkyō, q.v.) lineage texts. Refs. are to Isshi YAMADA's edition, in the following format: Part (I).Chapter (1): Page no. (1), and to Shih-huo (Dharmapāla?)'s Chinese translation, T.XVIII/882.
- T. The Taishō edition of the Buddhist Canon (Taishō-shinshū-daizōkyō), in the format, T.Volume (Roman numerals)/Serial number (Arabic numerals): page|section|column (e.g. T.VIII/243: 785a24). Once a work has been quoted, I generally omit the volume number (e.g., T.243: 785a24).
- IBK Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu (Tokyo).

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P A R T I

INTRODUCTORY

1. Methodology and Previous Research

The Western scholarly world was first introduced to the Rishukyō through the work of Ernst Leumann, a German scholar active at the beginning of this century. In 1912 he published a small volume on North Aryan language and literature, which contained a short section on our text.¹ In 1930 he then published a German translation of the eight Khotanese sections of the fragment -which incidentally was discovered in East Turkestan- along with a short glossary.²

West of Japan, there was nothing on this Sūtra between Leumann's work and Conze's 1965 translation of this short version in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and there has been little more than odd snippets since then. We can, however, mention a resumé of the contents of the Rishukyō, written by Kanaoka Shūyū and published in the Sri Lankan Encyclopedia of Buddhism.³ This gives a useful basic outline of the text, with reconstructed Sanskrit titles for those sections not extant

1. LEUMANN, Ernst: Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur. Vorbemerkungen und vier Aufsätze mit Glossar. Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg, 10. Heft. Strassburg: Trübner, 1912, pp. vii + 147. The essay of particular relevance here is: "Die Adhyardhyaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā in der mit nordarischen Abschnitten durchsetzten Sanskrit-Fassung aus der Gegend von Khotan", pp. 84-99.

2. LEUMANN, Ernst: "Die nordarischen Abschnitte der Adhyardhyaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā. Text und Übersetzung mit Glossar", Journal of the Taishō University, Vols. 6/7 (Joint issue in commemoration of the 60th birthday of Prof. Unrai Wogihara), Part II (European Section), 1930, pp.47-87.

3. KANAOKA Shūyū: "Adhyardhyaśatikā", in MALALASEKERA, G.P. (ed.): Encyclopedia of Buddhism, Vol. I, 2 (fasc.: Acala-Ākañkheyya-Sutta), Colombo: Govt. of Ceylon, 1963, pp. 209-11.

in the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions.

As a first step in giving the reader an idea of where the present Sūtra fits into the Far Eastern Buddhist tradition, I shall give a brief outline of the basic texts used in the Shingon tradition and the more important secondary literature. It is not my intention to give a full bibliographical survey of Shingon studies as a whole, since this has been done to a reasonable extent by others.⁴ Here I shall recap, with some additions which seem apposite.

The three main texts in the Japanese Shingon tradition - Kongōchōkyō 金剛刺經,⁵ Dainichikyō 大日經⁶ and Rishukyō - are represented in varying degrees in Japanese scholarship. An overview of the most important works can be obtained from a survey written by one of the best known Buddhist scholars in Japan, Nakamura Hajime.⁷ There is little on the Kongōchōkyō in European languages: Snellgrove

4. I am thinking primarily of the bibliographical information in Tajima's two major works, and the annotated Bibliography in Kiyota's Shingon Buddhism, all of which I quote below.

5. Vajrasekhara-sūtra. I use this term here and elsewhere in the manner in which it is used in Japan, i.e. to indicate the cycle of teachings and rituals which relate to the Vajradhātu, and which are traditionally said to have been transmitted in a version in 100,000 śloka. We shall examine the historical doubts surrounding this belief below, when we set out the teachings and literature of this facet of the tradition in broad outline. The principal extant text of this lineage is the Sarvatathāgata-Tattvasaṅgraha (STTS), which is the first and most basic of the Vajrasekhara-sūtra Assemblies.

6. The title Mahāvairocana-sūtra is simply a reconstruction of the popular Japanese title of Sūtra. When I use it in the course of this study it is in this vein, analogously to "Kongōchōkyō". The full reference to this Sūtra is Daibirushana-jōbutsu-jinben-kaji-kyō 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經, T.XVIII/848; (Sanskrit title derived from the Tibetan colophon): Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-vikurvitādhiṣṭhāna-vaipurya-sūtreḍrarāja-nāma-paryāya. Extensive bibliographical information can be obtained from TAJIMA Ryūjun's Étude sur le Mahāvairocana-sūtra (Dainichikyō), avec la Traduction Commentée du Premier Chapitre, Paris: Maisonneuve, 1936, pp. 141-8.

7. NAKAMURA Hajime: Indian Buddhism. A Survey With Bibliographical Notes, Hirakata (Osaka): Kansai University Of Foreign Studies <Kansai-Gaikokugo-Daigaku>, 1980, Ch. VI ("Esoteric Buddhism"), pp. 313-43, 377-9.

and Chandra's facsimile reproduction of the Sanskrit text of the STTS has a good Introduction, which I have made use of,⁸ but otherwise we must by and large take recourse to the primary and commentarial materials in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese, and modern Japanese scholarship.

On the Dainichikyō, the reader is still best referred to Tajima Ryūjun's study.⁹ The same author's Les Deux Grands Mandālas et la Doctrine de l'Esoterisme Shingon,¹⁰ is also still the best and most comprehensive exposition of Shingon doctrine in a Western language, although it can tend towards the apologetic. Kiyota Minoru has also translated the first chapter of the Dainichikyō into English, though since it lacks extensive notes, it adds little to the Japanese scholar's efforts.¹¹ Kiyota is probably better known for his introductory work on Shingon Buddhism,¹² but this should be used with discrimination -the sections on the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra background to the esoteric tradition are particularly weak.

On the Rishukyō, the situation is even more bleak for those without a knowledge of Japanese: apart from the items by Kanaoka Shūyū and Conze, there is only one other item of any note, a doctoral thesis by Wayne Gelfman on the Rishukyō

8. CHANDRA, L., and D.L. SNELGROVE: Sarva-Tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha, Śata-Piṭaka Series, no. 269, New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1981. There should also by now be a doctoral thesis on the Sanskrit text, with interpretations from the Sino-Japanese standpoint, by Dale Todaro of Columbia University.

9. Quoted above, p. 2.

10. TAJIMA Ryūjun: Les Deux Grands Mandālas et la Doctrine de l'Esoterisme Shingon. Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1959.

11. KIYOTA Minoru: "The Mahāvairocana-Sūtra (1st. Ch.): An Annotated English Translation", in: Daijō-Bukkyō kara Mikkyō he (Festschrift for Prof. Katsumata Shunkyō), Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1981, pp. 1318-1292 <reversed pagination>.

12. KIYOTA Minoru: Shingon Buddhism: Theory and Practice, Los Angeles and Tokyo: Buddhist Books International, 1978.

and Kūkai, but this is regrettably rather thin.¹³

2. Materials

2.1. Primary: The Ten Versions of the Rishukyō

The Buddhist Scriptures designated in the Sino-Japanese tradition by the term rishu-hannya 理趣般若 (naya-prajñā) are generally regarded as including one Sanskrit-Khotanese fragment, three Tibetan texts and six Chinese versions.¹⁴ Two of the Tibetan and two of the Chinese texts are relatively long, but the remaining versions are all approximately 150 śloka in length, which is in broad agreement with the title of the Sanskrit-Khotanese text, Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra.¹⁵ A full listing of these versions, along with the commentarial literature which we shall make most use of in this study, furnishes us with the following information:¹⁶

A. SANSKRIT

1) Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra (Skt150)

This is generally referred to as the original version¹⁷

13. GELFMAN, Wayne T.: The "Rishukyō" and its Influence on Kūkai: The Identity of the Sentient Being and the Buddha, unpublished PhD. thesis, Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison, 1979 (Order no.: 79-27172). Approximately half of this 400-page thesis covers the general characteristics of Prajñāpāramitā thought - basically by summarising Conze's translation of the Aṣṭa- or is repetitive summary and description of the text. There is also precious little treatment of Japanese secondary sources - not even Toganoo's Rishukyō no Kenkyū, the standard work since 1930, is mentioned.

14. Fukuda/RK: 5 adds a text by Jñānamitra, thus making eleven in all.

15. The title of the corresponding Tibetan text states the same: hpags pa śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshul brgya lña bcu pa.

16. After the respective titles, I give the abbreviation which will be used in this study.

17. "Original Scripture" (gen-ten 原典), to use the Japanese appellation. See KANAOKA Shūyū: "Rishukyō no genbon ni tsuite", Bukkyō Shigaku, Vol. 12/4 (Oct. 1966), pp. 1-12, for some tentative suggestions as to the original version of the text. Fukuda/RK: 21-80 is a collection

of the Rishukyō, though as yet no detailed and generally accepted theory of the precise development of the text has emerged -should such ever in fact be possible.

The history of the appearance of this text in the form of a modern edition is not a smooth one: it was only by coincidence that the two sets of leaves which went to make the final version came together in an array of bark leaves given to Ernst Leumann for inspection in October 1907. Otherwise the fifteen leaves in the Petrovsky Collection in St. Petersburg -some of them rather badly damaged- would have remained separate from the two part leaves in the possession of Hörnle in Oxford.¹⁸ Further, had it not been for the fortuitous presence of Watanabe Kaikyoku in Strassburg at the time, the identification of the text as an early version of the Chinese Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Śloka would have been appreciably more difficult. Apart from the material given in the two articles quoted above, Leumann's groundwork is available in two Japanese publications of the full Sanskrit-Khotanese version: one published in 1917,¹⁹ and a reprint in Hatta Yukio's Index to the Sūtra.²⁰ There is also a reasonable amount of literature on the Khotanese passages available in Japanese, published by Leumann's above-mentioned friend and colleague, Watanabe Kaikyoku, and by Watanabe Shōkō.²¹

of Fukuda's researches on the subject.

18. See Leumann, Zur nordarischen Sprache, p. 84f.

19. IZUMI Hōkei and TOGANOO Shoun (eds.): Bon/zō/kan-taishō Hannya-Rishukyō, Chizan Gongakuin, 1917.

20. HATTA Yukio: Bon/zō/kan-taishō Rishukyō Sakuin, Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1971 (English title also given: Index to the Ārya-prajñā-pāramitā-naya-śatapañca-śatikā). This edition also numbers the individual lines in both the Sanskrit and Tibetan short texts, and it is these references I have used throughout this study.

21. WATANABE Kaikyoku: "Arata ni hakken-seraretaru seiki-kogo-seiten

Another work from Japan which dates from around this period -this time focussing entirely on the Sanskrit portions of the text, along with a comparison with Amoghavajra's Chinese text, T.243- is a translation by Hasebe Ryūtei. This short piece contains a historically interesting conclusion which deals with a number of important themes in the text.²² To complete this circle, Wogihara Unrai -in whose honour Leumann's 1930 article on the North Aryan fragments was written- has three articles on the translation of the Rishukyō into Japanese to his credit.²³

Concerning the actual text itself: as we have seen, it consists of a mixture of Sanskrit and Khotanese passages. The two languages are not, however, mixed at random, but show a definite pattern: the Sūtra's teaching -that is, the overtly philosophical aspects- are in Sanskrit, whilst the passages which extol the virtues of the Sūtra and enumerate the benefits due to one who performs even the simplest of practices related to it are in Khotanese. This would indicate that the Sūtra was used as a liturgical text, it only being necessary to translate into the vernacular those

no kenkyū", Watanabe Kaikyoku Ronbunshū, Tokyo, 1936, pp. 474-85. Another Japanese scholar who built on Leumann's work was Watanabe Shōkō, three of whose articles are of interest here: WATANABE Shōkō: "Rishukyō Uten-bun wayaku", Seigo Kenkyū, No. 3 (July 1935), pp. 83-93; "Rishukyō Uten-bun narabi ni goi", Chizan Gakuhō, New Series, No. 7/8 (Oct. 1935), pp. 174-204; "Rishukyō-kotan-go santan-bun no fukugen-wayaku", Mikkyō-gaku, No. 13/14 (n.d.), pp. 34-42. R.E. Emmerick also has some remarks on this text in his Guide to the Literature of Khotan, Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library, 1979.

22. HASEBE Ryūtei: Bon/kan-taishō Hannya-Rishukyō Wayaku, Kōyasan: Kōyasan Daigaku, 1920. The concluding essay is on pp. 54-75, and includes thoughts on the epithets of purity and the seventeen-deity mandala (R.1), as well as on the formation of the text.

23. WOGIHARA Unrai: "Hannya-Rishukyō wayaku-hihyō", Wogihara Unrai Bunshū, no ref., pp. 992-1008; "Hasebe-shi no bakuron ni kotafu", Wogihara Unrai Bunshū, no ref., pp. 1008-1017; "Rishukyō no wayaku no mon-dai", Wogihara Unrai Bunshū, no ref., pp. 1017-1020.

passages of direct appeal to the laity. Despite this possible liturgical use, and even taking into account the appreciable gaps in the Sanskrit text, there does not appear to have been a specific cycle of rituals associated with the Sūtra, for not even the parallel text in Tibetan can be said to be such. It is only with the translation of the text which Amoghavajra had at his disposal after his trip to Sri Lanka in 744-6, and which is regarded in Japan as the Rishukyō par excellence, that we can clearly discern such systematic ritual intent. But more of this later.

Edward Conze made an English translation²⁴ of this version of the Rishukyō -or more precisely a translation based on the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts. It does, however, contain a number of errors (Conze himself was far from satisfied with his efforts), and in the Introduction to his translations of the short Prajñāpāramitā texts, he wrote that the only way to avoid a mechanical translation such as his own would be to find oral traditions among Shingon priests or Tibetan refugees.²⁵

24. Originally published in: Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism, ed. and publ. by Kōyasan University, Kōyasan, 1965, and reprinted in his The Short Prajñāpāramitā Texts, London: Luzac, 1973, pp. 184-95 (hereafter: SPT). I gather also that Professor Gnoli of Rome has made an Italian translation, but I have not as yet been able to locate this.

25. SPT: vi. There is certainly a living tradition behind the text in Japan, though the average temple priest regards the Sūtra as something of a mystery, having a grasp of little more than the basic import of the text. He is unlikely to have any substantial understanding of its inner import, or be initiated into the ritual cycles based on it. Further up the hierarchy, though, there are priests who have been initiated into aspects of the cycles which go beyond those which cover the daily practice of the text, which is recited at the morning service in Shingon temples throughout Japan as well at a variety of special occasions. (At the festival for the 1150th anniversary of the passing of Kōbō Daishī Kūkai 弘法大師寂滅 into samādhi held in Kōyasan in the spring of 1984, for example (Go'nyūjō-senhyakugoju'nen-go'onki 御入定千五百十年御遠忌), this Sūtra was recited daily throughout the fifty day festivities.) For this reason, much of the literature on the Rishukyō is directed to the laity -as its Central Asian predecessor apparently also was. As for the

One final point about the Sanskrit version is the fact that it is quoted in Candrakīrti's Prasannapadā as an authoritative Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra.²⁶ Some years ago, Professor Sakai of Kōyasan mentioned two quotations of the same passage of the Rishukyō in Candrakīrti's work, which he surmised is an indication that the explanation of emptiness as being devoid of self-nature (mu-jishō-kū 無自性空),²⁷ quoted verbatim from the Rishukyō, was well known at the time of composition of the Prasannapadā. Placing Candrakīrti in the first half of the seventh century, Sakai gave this period as the lower limit for the existence of the Rishukyō as a well established text.²⁸

B. TIBETAN

- 2) Hphags-pa śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-paḥi tshul brgya-lna-bcu-pa (Tib150)

This text -whose translator is unknown- was edited by Toganoo and published in Tibetan script in his Rishukyō no Kenkyū in 1930.²⁹ It is this version which Conze used to

Tibetans, I doubt whether there is any extant ritual cycle connected with their version of the text -not even the extended versions. I have had no positive response from scholars or students of things Tibetan, or from an ordained Tibetan colleague (to whom key passages in the Sūtra seem something of a curiosity!)

26. Conze, loc. cit., lists these references as Prasannapadā 238, 278, 444, 500, 504. He also lists a reference in the Abhisamayālaṅkāralokā (132). The former quotations can be easily located in English translation in Mervin Sprung's Lucid Exposition of the Middle Way, London: RKP, 1979.

27. This is from the seventh chapter of the sūtra (R.7/3, in the Dharma-Gate of the Wheel of Characters): "Śūnyāḥ sarva-dharmā niḥsvabhāva-yogena" (Skt150: 5.15; see Index: 218 for cross-references).

28. SAKAI Shirō: "Hannya-Rishukyō ni okeru kakusho", Kōyasan Jihō, No. 1553 (Oct. 1959), p. 6, §2. He also remarked that the phrase in question here refers to the first of the four kinds of the bīja which go to form the rotating wheel of characters in R.7 (aji-shishu-senten 阿字四種 旋轉).

29. Full reference, TOGANO Shōun: Rishukyō no Kenkyū, Collected Works, Vol. V, Kōyasan: Kōyasan Daigaku Shuppanbu Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyū-sho, 1959, 1972 (orig. publ. 1930). It also appeared -in Roman script-

translate the Khotanese passages and to fill in the gaps in the Sanskrit before him when he prepared his translation. The text is generally listed in both the Prajñāpāramitā and the Tantra (rGyud) sections of the various editions of the Tibetan Canon, thus giving a further indication of the character of the Sūtra as encompassing these two major phases in the development of Buddhist thought and practice.³⁰ In the sTog Palace Kanjur there are two versions of this shorter text listed, though for this study I have not consulted the various Tibetan editions in either the sTog or the previously published catalogues.³¹ Broadly speaking, both this and the Sanskrit-Khotanese fragment correspond well with Amoghavajra's version (T.243), thus forming a triangular nucleus to the Rishukyō tradition.

3) dPal mchog dañ po žes bya ba theg pa chen poñi
rtog rgyal po (TibExt)
(Śrī-paramādyā-nāma-mahāyāna-kalpa-rāja)

This is one of the long versions of the Rishukyō, called

in the edition prepared by Toganoo and Izumi, q.v. For his edition, Toganoo used the Peking, sDe-dge and sNar-than editions. As mentioned above, Toganoo's edition was reprinted in Hatta's Index, with the individual lines numbered, and it is to this form that the references in this study relate. Until the publication of Fukuda's study this year (May 1987), this was the standard work on our text, forming the starting point for all recent studies on the Rishukyō, including the present one. In fact, much of the groundwork done by Toganoo is basically reliable and can only be polished, not superceded. That Gelfman's study (q.v.) ignores it is rather strange.

30. The extended versions, on the other hand, only appear in the Tantra section.

31. In Tadeusz Skorupski's Catalogue of the sTog Palace Kanjur, Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, Series Maior IV, Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1985, the following short versions of the Rishukyō are listed: sTog 21: 252a1-262b5, Ḥphags pa śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pañi tshul brgya lña bcu pa/Ārya-prajñāpāramitā-nayārdhaśatikā (sDe-dge 17, Peking 121, Ulan Bator 18); sTog 23: 265b3-269b1, Ḥphags pa bcom ldan ḥdas ma śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa lña bcu pa/Ārya-bhagavatī-prajñāpāramitārdhaśatikā (D18, P740, U20); sTog 448: 171b4-182a4, Nayaśatapañcadaśaka, Ḥphags pa śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pañi tshul brgya lña bcu pa/Āryaprajñāpāramitā-naya-śatapañcadaśaka (D 489, P 121, U 515). Skorupski's work also includes the colophons in romanised form.

"extended scripture" (kōkyō 廣經) in the Sino-Japanese tradition, in contrast to the shorter versions, which receive the appellation "shortened scripture" (ryaku-kyō 略經),³² The translators are Śraddhākaravarman and Rin-chen-bzañ-po, and the work corresponds to the first thirteen parts (plus the beginning of the fourteenth) of Dharmabhadra's extended version in Chinese.³³ In the present text, parts 14 to 25 form a distinct passage, both the translators and the title being different.³⁴ Thus in contrast to the Chinese extended version, the Tibetan is composed of two distinct texts, though as we shall see, the Tibetan version forms a complete unit in its own right, containing substantial material not found in the Chinese version.

There is no English translation or study of either this or the remaining Tibetan version, though in his Rishukyō no Kenkyū Toganoō did translate portions of the text dealing with the maṇḍala, in parallel with the corresponding passages from T.244. In Japanese, however, there has been research on both Tibetan extended versions, particularly with reference to the so-called śrī-paramādyā (dpal-mchog-dañ-

32. References are: sTog 446, 99:1b1-35a2, D 487, P 119, 120, U 513. There is a reference in Jñānamitra's commentary on the Tibetan version in 150 śloka (Peking 3471) that a long original version formed the basis from which the short version was composed, for the benefit of the prince Śakrabhūti (cf. KANAOKA Shūyū: "Kukurāja", IBK, 15/1, No. 29 (Dec. 1966), pp. 467-4 (reverse pagination)). This in turn was then expanded into the Śrīparamādi text now extant. It is not, however, clear to what extent this is apocryphal, or even to which specific text Jñānamitra was referring. Cf. MATSUNAGA Yūkei: Mikkyō-kyōten Seiritsu-shiron, Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1980 (Hereafter: Ron), p. 201f.

33. That is, to T.244: 786b20-797c25. We shall be dealing with Dharmabhadra's text presently.

34. There are three co-translators named in the colophon: Mantra-kālaśa, Lha-btsan-po and Śi-baḥi-ḥod. The title changes to: dPal mchog dañ poḥi snags kyi rtog-paḥi dum bu žes bya ba, Skt. Śrī-paramādyā-mantra-kalpa-khaṇḍa-nāma (sTog 447, 99:35a3-171b2).

po)³⁵ strand of the tradition, which has relevance for ritual cycles explaining the Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva.³⁶ This has particular significance for the thought contained in the final chapter of the Rishukyō, and we shall be examining this in the appropriate place.

- 4) dPal rdo-rje sñiñ po rgyan žes bya bañi rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po (TibAlam)
(Śrī-vajra-maṇḍalālaṃkāra-nāma-mahā-tantra-rāja)

Part of this text -the final section- is available in Chinese translation, namely Shih-huo's 施護, Jap.: Segō) Bussetsu-kongōjō-shōgon-hannyaharamittakyō-chū-ichibun 佛說金剛場莊嚴般若波羅密多教中一分.³⁷ The translators of the Tibetan text are given as dPal-ldan chos-rje and dpal-ldan Blo-gros-brtan-pa. Whilst the previous version developed into the Śrī-paramādi, the present text developed the concept of rishu-hannya 理趣般若 (*naya-prajñā) into the teaching found in the title, Śrī-vajra-maṇḍalālaṃkāra, and presents it in 16 sections.³⁸ This twofold development

35. Lokesh Chandra's Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1959, Vol. 2, p.1464, lists some references.

36. In particular, see the following articles by FUKUDA Ryōsei: "Kichijō-saishō-honsho-chushaku (vr̥tti) ni tsuite", Tōyō Daigaku Gakuin Kiyō, Vol. 1 (1964), pp. 143-50; "Shōsho-yugakyō to Sriparamādi-tantra", Chizan Gakuhō, Vol. 20 (cum. no. 35; Mar. 1972), pp. 17-42; "Srivajra-maṇḍalālaṃkāra-nāma-mahātantra-rāja no kōzō", Tōyōgaku Kenkyū, Vol. 2 (1967), pp. 49-56; "Rishukōkyō zō/kan-hikōjō no ikkadai", Mikkyō-gaku, no. 13/14 (1977), pp. 77-90. This scholar's research on this problem has now been collected and revised in his new Rishukyō no Kenkyū, Rishukyō no Kenkyū -Sono Seiritsu to Tenkai. Foreword by Nasu Seiryū. Tokyo: Kokusho Kangyō-kai, 1987, Ch. 2 (Rishukyō no Tenkai 理趣經の展開). There is a good summary of the research on this aspect of the tradition in Matsunaga, Ron, pp. 198-218. For a description of one of the Vajrasattva rituals (T.XVIII/1125), along with some introductory remarks, see my article, "The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Tantric Buddhist View of the Passions and Enlightenment", Temenos, Vol. 22 (1986), forthcoming (early 1988).

37. T.XVIII/886: 511b-514b. The references to the various Tibetan catalogues are: sTog 449, 99:182a4-291b6; D 490; P 123; U 516; sTog 450, 99:291b7-405a5 (U 517), does not have a counterpart in the other collections.

38. The Chinese equivalent given by Fukuda throughout his research,

of the original Rishukyō tradition is one of the particularly interesting points in research into the origins and development of this text, though the limitations of this thesis do not permit anything more here than references to some of the Japanese research into the question.

The first section of this Śrī-vajra-maṇḍalāṃkāra, which deals with all the Tathāgatas, corresponds to the first chapter in the shorter versions of the Sūtra. The final section in this Tibetan text is found in Chinese, courtesy of Shih-huo (as noted above), whilst the intervening fourteen sections are extant only in Tibetan. These treat of maṇḍala pertinent to the title of the text, mudrā and maṇḍala related to the various gods, goddesses and Bodhisattvas, as well as sādhana. As a whole it has the same broad themes as the other Tibetan extended version, though various different rituals have been added.³⁹

C. CHINESE

The Chinese versions -six in all- are (in roughly chronological order) as follows:

5) **Hsüan-tsang**: Hannya-rishu-bun 般若理趣分 (T.220)

This text is the tenth assembly of the sixteen which form Hsüan-tsang's translation of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra (Dai-hannya-kyō-jūroku-e 大般若經十六會), and the full reference is: T.VII/220(10): 986a-991b. Matsunaga gives the date of translation as between 660-663, this being the

and largely backed up by Shih-huo's Chinese title, is kichijō-kongōjō-shōgon 吉祥金剛場莊嚴。

39. See Fukuda Ryōsei's "Srīvajra-maṇḍalāṃkāra-nāma-mahātantra-rāja no kōzō", Tōyōgaku Kenkyū, Vol. 2 (1967), pp. 49-56, for a full account of this text.

period when he was engaged in the completion of his magnum opus. Toganoo quotes the Kaigen-shakukyō-roku 開元釈教錄 to the effect that the famed scholar-monk and traveller resided at the Yü-hua-kung-ssu 玉華宮寺 from New Year's Day in 660 to the twelfth day of the tenth month in 663 - a span of nearly four years.⁴⁰ During this time he translated the six hundred volumes of the Prajñāpāramitā, which would also imply that our present text also belongs to this period.

Hsüan-tsang's translation is the first appearance of the Rishukyō which can be dated with reasonable reliability. For it to have been included in the recension of the Prajñāpāramitā which he translated and transmitted, it must have been fairly well established prior to his journey to India. This would indicate a date before the turn of the seventh century, a reasonable lower limit being the middle of the sixth, with the actual date of composition falling a fair while before that. This concurs reasonably with the observations made above concerning the quotations in the Prasannapadā. There is a substantial commentary on the Hannya-rishu-bun, written by Hsüan-tsang's disciple, K'uei-chi 窺基 (632-82), also known as Jion Daishi because of his residence at the Da-tz'u-en-ssu (Dai-jion-ji) 大慈恩寺 in Lo-yang.⁴¹

Both the Hannya-rishu-bun and K'uei-chi's commentary are classed as exoteric, there being no indication of mudrā and

40. T.IV: 555b, quoted in RK: 28. Both Matsunaga (Ron: 198) and Fukuda/RK: 10 accept this without comment.

41. The commentary is entitled: Dai-hannyaharamitta-kyō-hannya-rishu-bun-jussan 大般若波羅密多經般若理趣分疏, T.XXXIII/1695: 25a-63a (hereafter: Jussan).

mantra as expressions of the essential points in the various teachings of the Sūtra. The teachings themselves are broadly the same, showing a clear line between this early stage in the development of the text and the fully developed ritual intent we have by Amoghavajra's time. In the case of Vajrabodhi's translation -dated around 741- there is even exact correlation of terminology at key points, a circumstance which is hardly attributable to coincidence.⁴²

6) **Bodhiruci:** Jissō-hannyaharamitsu-kyō

實相般若波羅密經 (T.240)

The date for this translation is generally agreed on as being 693.⁴³ There was an early theory that this was a different translation of the same source as T.220, but this is now generally discredited. It is primarily remarkable for the appearance of mantra to summarise the teaching of the various chapters. However, lacking the presence of explanations of relevant mudrā, it cannot be said to be any more esoteric than, say, Hsüan-tsang's rendition of the Heart Sūtra, with its gate gate ending.

7) **Vajrabodhi:** Kongōchō-yuga-rishu-hannya-kyō

金剛節伽理趣般若經 (T.241)

There is some doubt as to Vajrabodhi's authorship of this translation,⁴⁴ as Matsunaga writes: "It is thought that it was translated from a separate scriptural source by a

42. This is especially noticeable in the case of the Epithets of Purity (shōjō-ku 清淨句), which we shall deal with in Chapter Two, below.

43. Again, RK: 28, Ron: 198 and Fukuda/RK: 10. Since these three works, which form the most reliable nucleus of modern research, differ little in their accounts, I shall not refer to them again in the course of the following account. Toganoo's work, however, has the most detail, and it is he who should receive the credit for discovering the basic auxiliary materials.

44. Found in T.VIII/241: 778b-781c.

later generation, consulting the Hannya-rishu-bun and the Jissō-hannya-kyō.⁴⁵ This doubt stems from Toganoō, who pointed out that the Scripture is first found in the Ming edition of the Canon, and surmised further that the text is actually based on a Sanskrit naya-prajñā manuscript taken to China in the Sung or Yüan dynasty, and translated with reference to the versions by Hsüan-tsang and Bodhiruci.⁴⁶

8) **Amoghavajra:** Dairaku-kongō-fukū-shinjitsu-sanmaya-kyō
大樂金剛不空真実三摩耶經 (T.243)

This is the text generally referred to in the Shingon tradition when the Rishukyō is mentioned, since it is this text which has come to form an integral part of the philosophy and practice of the Japanese Shingon-shū.⁴⁷ The immediate reasons for this are readily apparent: it is short enough to be recited in its entirety during ceremonies, but yet has sufficient philosophical weight to stimulate creative thinking. Ritually, it was the first version of the Sūtra to achieve completeness, in the sense that it forms a co-ordinated cycle of ritual and symbolic meanings. Further—and perhaps most importantly—the Tantric additions to the text have been integrated so well that the Prajñāpāramitā and Tantra aspects exist harmoniously side by side, such that both the awkward presence of mantra in Bodhiruci's version and the unbalanced addition of maṇḍala cycles en

45. "Kōdai ni Hannya-rishu-bun to Jissō-hannya-kyō wo sanshō-shitsutsu, bekkō no genten kara yaku-sareta mono to kangaerarete-iru 後代に「般若理趣分と『実相般若經』を参照して、別国の原典が訳されたものと考えられている)" (Ron: 198).

46. RK: 30. To facilitate the comparison of these three texts, Toganoō places them in succession in the comparative listings of the various versions with which he begins each chapter in his RK. The traditional date given for Vajrabodhi's translation is 741, though Fukuda still offers the period 720-741.

47. The Taishō reference is VIII/243: 784a-786b.

masse (such as is found in the Extended version) are avoided.⁴⁸

Of the manuscripts with which Amoghavajra returned from Sri Lanka in 746, this text is one of the last to be translated. The date of translation is generally placed three years before the Master's death, which occurred in 774. Amoghavajra himself wrote two commentaries connected with the text, the Dai-raku-kongō-fukū-shinjitsu-sanmaya-kyō-hannya-haramitta-rishushaku 大樂金剛不空真實三摩耶經般若波羅密多理趣釈,⁴⁹ which deals with the whole text and was also a key element in kūkai's dispute with Saichō,⁵⁰ and the Jūshichishō-daimandara-gijutsu 十七聖大曼荼羅義述.⁵¹ The latter is said to be taken from the thirteenth assembly of the Kongōchō-kyō (Vajrasēkhara-sūtra), and examines the seventeen Epithets of Purity (shōjō-ku 清淨句) in the first chapter of the Sūtra (R.1), explaining them in terms of the samādhi of the seventeen Holy Ones in the maṇḍala of the title.⁵²

The Gijutsu is most remarkable for its analysis of the structure of the seventeen positions in the maṇḍala, an analysis which is still followed in modern Japan: around the central principle -Vajrasattva, representing true enlightenment- there are four groups of four. The first two are the

48. This is not to detract from the interest of the latter, merely to indicate the central character of Amoghavajra's translation in the Rishukyō tradition.

49. T.XIX/1003: 607a-617b, hereafter Rishushaku.

50. A concise account of this dispute is to be found in MATSUNAGA, Alicia and Daigan: Foundation of Japanese Buddhism, Vol. I, Los Angeles and Tokyo: Buddhist Books international, 1974 (hereafter Foundation), pp. 144-7.

51. T.XIX/1004: 617b5-618b6, hereafter Gijutsu. Cf MDJT/IV: 1838c for concise information on this short commentary.

52. T.1003: 617b15.

Wisdom and Samādhi Bodies (chi-shin 智身 / sanmai-shin 三昧身) respectively, the third is Worship (or Offering, kuyō 供養, pūja), whilst the final group is concerned with gathering sentient beings and drawing them into the Buddhist fold.⁵³

This pattern -derived from the Kongōchōkyō- is also evident in Rishushaku, of which we shall be examining relevant extracts as we progress through the text itself. It is generally thought that Amoghavajra composed these works himself, and did so after completing his translation of the Rishukyō. They thus represent a mature statement of this important figure's thought.⁵⁴

The other traditional commentary of which we shall be availing ourselves in this study is by the monk Kūkai (774-835).⁵⁵ Called the Shinjitsukyō-monku 眞實經文句,⁵⁶ it consists of a minute analysis of each section of the

53. Shōrai no koto 攝來の事. From the standpoint of one performing the ritual they have a slightly different meaning, namely that the Assembly of Bodhisattvas which is addressed is contacted and drawn into the maṇḍala. We shall be looking at this in the context of the chapter on the Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss (Dairaku no Hōmon 大樂の法門, R.1).

54. In my translation and commentary, I have supplied a copy of the Taishō text at the head of each chapter, and numbered each phrase. References are then given to the recognised chapters of the Sūtra and to the phrase number according to my division (e.g. R.1/5 refers to the Rishukyō, chapter 1 (Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss, phrase number 5, issai-jizai-shū 一切自在王 ...). In my translation, I have added superscripted numbers immediately prior to the relevant phrase in the text, to facilitate both reference to the original and reading of my comments.

55. Shamon Kūkai 沙門空海, posth. Kōbō Daishi 宏法大師. For a brief survey of his life in the context of Heian Japan, see Matsunaga, Foundation I, pp. 171-180. There is a fuller description in Y.S. Hakeda: Kūkai: Major Works, New York: Columbia University Press, 1972 (hereafter, Hakeda, Kūkai), Part One (pp. 13-60). In Japanese, the best readily available studies are: Watanabe Shōkō and Miyasaka Yūshō: Shamon Kūkai, Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1967; Miyasaka Yūshō and Umehara Takeshi: Seimei no Umi: Kūkai, Bukkyō no Shisō 9, Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1968. Matsunaga Yūkei: Mikkyō no Rekishi, Sāra Sōsho 19, Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1969, pp. 164-88, has a shorter, general account.

56. T.LXI/2237: 612c-615c, hereafter Monku. All the references in this study are to the Taishō edition, contained in T.LXI; thus for example: Monku: 613c22.

Rishukyō. The divisions and their associations are largely based on the Rishushaku, the only differences being minor ones in the choice of vocabulary. Kūkai does, however, supply terms of his own invention to indicate the content or purpose of the items he analyses. In this study, I have given a schematic representation of Kūkai's interpretation of each chapter, this in my opinion being far more helpful than a mere translation.

Also by Kūkai are three pieces, collectively and individually entitled Rishukyō-kaidai 理趣經開題, ⁵⁷ which yield valuable information on Kūkai's view of the Sūtra as a whole. We shall be making only limited use of these, since they contain several passages the reading of which is so problematical that we cannot afford to be detained by them.⁵⁸

9) Dānapāla: Bussetsu-henjō-hannyaharamitsu-kyō

佛說偏照般若波羅密經 (T.242)

There are many points in this version which differ from both Amoghavajra's and the other translations, thus making it something of the odd one out. There is no real attempt in the existing secondary literature to place the text, though Dānapāla's translation of the STTS is standard in the Shin-gon tradition.⁵⁹ One of the few definite dates we have for

57. T.LXI/2236: 611a-612c. Hereafter Kaidai.

58. KATSUMATA Shunkyō (ed./tr.): Kōbō Daishi Chosaku Zenshū, Vol. II, Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1970, pp. 292-322, contains an annotated modern translation of both the Kaidai and Monku, though the readings given should -as ever- be regarded as suggestions.

59. Bussetsu-issai-nyorai-shinjisshō-daijō-genshō-sanmai-daikyōō-kyō 佛說一切如來真實攝乘現證三昧大教王經, 30 chūan, T.XVIII/882: 341a-445b. Translated between 1012 and 1015. This version accords best with the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the STTS. Cf. Matsunaga, Ron: 191-4; YAMADA Isshi (ed.): Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha-nāma-Mahāyāna-sūtra, New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1981, p. 6, lists the various references for the Chinese and the Tibetan, though he does not take into consideration

Dānapāla is 980, second month, which is when this native of Udyāna arrived in Sung China.⁶⁰ The date for his version of the Rishukyō is generally given as 990.

10) **Fa-hsien:**

Bussetsu
Saijō-konpon-dairaku-kongō-fūkū-sanmai-daikyō-kyō
佛說最上根本大樂金剛不空三昧大教王經 (T.244)

This is the latest Rishukyō text and dates from the Sung dynasty, ca. 999.⁶¹ Its translator is Fa-hsien 法賢 (Jap.: Hōken), original name T'ien Hsi-tsai 天息災, an Indian monk who arrived in China in 980 C.E. He took the name Fa-hsien⁶² in 987 and translated several important texts as a Master at the Imperial translation bureau, before his death on the 4th September, 1000. Among the most important of the Scriptures for which he was responsible are the Udānavarga, this extended version of the Rishukyō and the Hevajra-tantra.⁶³

Whilst T.244 clearly belongs to the Rishukyō literature,

the remaining -and earliest- Chinese version, that by Vajrabodhi (T.XVI-II/866: 223c-253c). The text has also been edited by HORIUCHI Kanjin, Sho'e-kongōchōkyō, Kōyasan: Kōyasan University, 1981, an edition which contains useful information, though the layout can be confusing.

60. In all, he has some 111 works to his credit, and received the title of Great Master Who Transmits the Dharma (Denpō Daishi 依法大師) in 982. Cf. Soothill: 303b; RK: 31.

61. The date is Matsunaga's (Rekishi, p. 75, Ron, p. 199), though Fukuda gives the possible date as lying between 985 and the Master's death in 1001 (Fukuda/RK: 10).

62. The Sanskrit would have been Dharmabhadra.

63. The work of Charles Willemen is of importance in connection with the first and last named of these three texts: cf C. WILLEMEN: The Chinese Udānavarga, Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, Vol. XIX (1977), Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1978 (esp. p. -XVIIIf); idem: The Chinese Hevajra Tantra, Orientalia Gandensia VIII, Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1983. The introduction to the latter work contains much useful information on the later history of Tantrism in China. As for the date of Fa-hsien's death, it would appear that Fukuda et al. (see above) are unaware of the research of JAN Yün-hua: "Buddhist Relations Between India and Sung China", History of Religions, Vol. 6/1 (Aug. 1966), esp. pp. 34ff, which put the death of Fa-hsien in the year 1000.

on account of its length alone it is to be clearly distinguished from those versions of the text which have more or less 150 śloka. It spans some 39 pages in the Taishō edition⁶⁴ and consists of some twenty-five parts, each representing a ritual or group of rituals. The first thirteen parts constitute a unit which -along with the first part of part XIV- corresponds largely with the rest of the Rishukyō literature. However, the latter half, consisting of the remainder of part XIV through to part XXV, has no correspondences there.⁶⁵ This latter half, consisting almost entirely of ritual instructions, otherwise exists only in Tibetan. The latter version -as we have seen- is in turn even longer than T.244, this being due to the presence of a passage which begins where T.244's version of R.17 finishes (i.e. 797c25). In his research into the various components which go to make up the extended versions of the Rishukyō, Fukuda Ryōsei discovered three distinct ritual cycles. These are -in the order in which they appear in TibExt- (1) bde ba chen po rdo rje don yod pañi dam tshig (mahāsukha-vajr-āmogha-samaya), (2) bde ba chen po rdo rje gsañ (mahāsukha-vajraguhya), (3) dpal mchog doñ po (śrīparamādyā).⁶⁶ The

64. T.VIII/244: 786b-824a (7 chüan).

65. It would be prudent to indicate here how T.244 corresponds to the final passages of the Rishukyō, lest the cross-references given below for each chapter puzzle the reader. All is well up to the end of R.16 (which in T.244 is the first half of part XIII, i.e. T.244: 797a29-797b11). T.244: 797b11-21 (i.e. the second half of part XIII) constitutes the Eulogy of the Teaching (R.18), which appears as the final item in the other versions. The beginning of part XIV in Fa-hsien's text (T.244: 797b22-c25) then corresponds to R.17, the climax of the Sūtra and the final chapter of its actual teaching. In tabular form, taking the order in T.243 as standard, we arrive at the following:

R.16	T.243: 785c26-786a4	T.244: 797a29-b10 (XIII, 1st half)
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R.17	T.243: 786a5-b4	T.244: 797b22-c25 (XIV, beginning)
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R.18	T.243: 786b5-14	T.244: 797b10-21 (XIII, 2nd half)
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66. All these three titles are found in TibExt, P 119/120: 179a3, i.e. the point where the second of the cycles begins (corresponding to T.244:

first cycle is clearly related to the cycle which is our main concern, i.e. that contained in Amoghavajra's version and the corresponding material as set out above.⁶⁷ That which distinguishes this -i.e. the Tibetan Śrī-paramādya-nāma-mahāyāna-kalparāja and the first half of T.244- from the earlier Rishukyō literature is the addition of instructions for constructing mandala specific to each section, as well as directions for ritual worship.⁶⁸

The second is extant only in Tibetan, whilst the opening section of the third contains the basic pattern for the so-called Five Mysteries⁶⁹ strand of the tradition, explaining as it does the mandala and mantra of Vajrasattva and his four consorts, along with the eight Worshipping and four Gathering Bodhisattvas who surround them. After this it contains a good deal of material which simply deals with rituals for mundane ends, such as inducing and stopping rain and the avoidance of disasters.⁷⁰

We might present the respective structures of the two versions -Chinese and Tibetan- in tabular form as follows:⁷¹

797c25). The text reads: "bde ba chen po rdo rje don yod pohi dam tshig <mahāsukha-vajrāmogha-samaya> dpal mchog don po <śrī-paramādya> las/de bzin gsegs pa thams cad kyi bde ba chen po rdo rje gsañ baḥi <mahāsukha-vajraguhya> śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin paḥi sgo//" (quoted in Fukuda/RK: 103; the emphasis and Sanskrit additions are mine).

67. This can be clearly seen if we reconstruct the Sanskrit title of T.243: dairaku 大樂 = *mahāsukha/bde ba chen po, kongō 金剛 = *vajra/-rdo rje, fukū 不空 = *amogha/don yod, (shinjitsu 眞實), sanmaya 三摩耶 = *samaya/dam tshig.

68. See Matsunaga, Ron, p. 214.

69. Go-himitsu 五秘密, *pañcaguhya, gsaṅ lña. The Sanskrit term is a reconstruction, and not actually attested to.

70. An exception is part XXI (T.244: 811b26-814a19), which also deals with the Five Mysteries. Tellingly, the Consorts as enumerated there (in a section consisting of transcriptions from the Sanskrit: 812a3-10) all have the epithet Mahārata-śrī-vajrāmogha-rati-samaya common to their appellations. I am preparing an annotated translation of this section of T.244.

71. There is a good summary of the research in this area in Matsunaga, Ron, pp. 198-231, esp. pp. 213-218. The references for this table have

<u>Cycle</u>	<u>Tibetan</u>	<u>Chinese</u>
	Peking 119-120	T.VIII/244
1. Mahāsukha- vajrāmogha-samaya	(153b8-179a4)	Part I-start of XIV (787a20-797c25)
2. Mahāsukha-vajra- guhya	(179a4-209b1)	<not found>
3. Srī-paramādya	(209b1-277a5)	Parts XIV (cont.) to XXV (797c27-824a20)

Although Amoghavajra refers to an extended version in his commentary,⁷² it is highly unlikely that it was the same as the version now known under that name. It would appear, though, that Amoghavajra was nevertheless aware of the existence of a broader ritual context into which the Rishukyō fitted. Matsunaga concludes thus:

The extended version of the Rishukyō was not extant in its present form at the time of Amoghavajra, but a Scripture called the Srīparamādya-sūtra, centred on the concept of the Five Mysteries, was. We may imagine that the consecrations, oral teachings and mantra in the various rituals related to the Rishukyō were collected and gradually formed the extended version.

(Ron, p. 218)

Whilst it is as yet difficult to unravel precisely the various strands of tradition which the Rishukyō literature touches upon, this much would appear to be certain: at some time in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries C.E. there developed what is now known as the Five Mysteries, as a clearly definable -but not wholly independent- strand of the esoteric tradition. In the course of the period leading

been taken from Fukuda Ryōsei, "Rishukōkyō zōkan-hikōjō", pp. 78ff (reprinted in Fukuda/RK: 90ff). The Sanskrit titles in the first columns are of course reconstructions, their main use lying in that they give a title for the ritual cycle contained in the relevant portion of the text.

72. There are nine references in all in his Rishushaku. These are: 611c11, 612a9, 612b14, 612b28, 616a25, 616b5, 616b14, 616c15, 617a6. These passages refer to either a kōkyō 廣經, kōbon 廣本 or kōshaku 廣釈.

up to Fa-hsien's activities at the end of the tenth century, the ritual activity of the various monks and priests proliferated, making composite works such as T.244 readily conceivable. Whence precisely the specific mandala structure found in these sources was derived we cannot yet say with certainty.

There is also internal evidence in Amoghavajra's digest of the eighteen assemblies of the Vajraśekhara-sūtra, the Kongōchōkyō-jūhachi-e-shiki 金剛前經十八會指歸.⁷³ Amoghavajra mentions mandala relating to Samantabhadra and Vairocana, then to Vajragarbha (Kongō-zō 金剛尊), through the sequence of the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas to Vajramuṣṭi (Kongō-ken 金剛拳)⁷⁴ and on to the exterior Vajra section (ge-kongō-bu 外金剛部). The teaching explained is specifically identified as hannya-rishu 般若理趣 (prajñā-naya), and to each figure in the Assembly four mandala are assigned.⁷⁵ For each mandala there are rituals for introducing the neophyte, instructions for conferring the Prajñā-pāramitā as it relates to this rishu/naya cycle, and instructions for conferring the four Seals. Finally, there are directions for mundane and supra-mundane siddhi.

73. T.XVIII/869: 284c-287c. The passage on our Assembly, the sixth, is 286b21-27.

74. Kongōzō (Vajragarbha, sometimes also called Kongō-zōō 金剛尊王, Vajragarbha-rāja, though MDJT also gives Aṣṭottara-śata-bhuja vajradharaḥ) appears in various places in the Shingon scheme of things, the most relevant identification here perhaps being that with Vajrasattva, since the context here would indicate that he is intended as the first in the series. If Vajramuṣṭi is the last, then the reference here would be to the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, headed by Vajrasattva. Cf. MDJT/II: 703b. It is unlikely that he is intended as a Garbhakośa figure here (cf. MDJT/II: 702c) or as the penultimate member of the set of sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Bhadrakalpa (gengō-jūroku-son 賢劫十六尊, cf. MJT: 167bf).

75. I.e. mahā-, samaya-, dharma- and karma-mandala.

Whilst this sounds very much like a well-constructed and co-ordinated cycle, it is certainly not possible to relate it directly to the extended version we know. Neither can we say to precisely what extent the cycle described by Amoghavajra actually existed at his time. Matsunaga again:

According to the traditional explanation, this Sixth Assembly is regarded as summarising the contents of the extended version of the Rishukyō, but the content of the passage in the Jūhachi-e-shiki has no such direct relationship to the extant extended version. Accordingly, just on this count it is not possible to posit the existence of an extended version. (Ron, p. 216)

There is thus a goodly number of gaps in our present knowledge of this aspect of the esoteric tradition -and some of them will doubtless never be filled. The foregoing does underline, however, the historical importance of the various extended versions of the Rishukyō. The main purpose of this study is to give a reasonable idea of the way in which Amoghavajra's text is regarded in the modern Shingon tradition of Japan, so purely historical matters must take second place.⁷⁶ They cannot, of course, be ignored and this discussion is partly intended to form the background of our examination of the two most important chapters of the Rishukyō, the first and the last of the Sūtra proper (R.1 and R.17).

1. Modern Writings on the Rishukyō

The main concern of most of the modern material on the Sūtra is to give a line by line explanation of the meaning of the text, and this is the approach adopted in this study, too. The first complete study on the text which took into account the historical and affiliatory problems connected

76. Not least because such study requires intimate acquaintance with the Tibetan sources.

with the Sūtra was Toganoo's Rishukyō no Kenkyū (q.v.), but until the research of Fukuda Ryōsei, from the early sixties onwards, there was little other than isolated items on one or other aspect of the problems raised by the text. The three studies -besides Toganoo's- on which I have mainly drawn for my commentary on the text, whilst containing a good deal of original material, are not really studies in the vein of Rishukyō no Kenkyū (though they do point out errors or argue against viewpoints in the earlier scholar's work). The recent (May 1987) publication of Fukuda's Rishukyō no Kenkyū (q.v.) has corrected this situation, and it is hard to see this offering -basically a collection and revision of Fukuda's studies over the last twenty years- not coming to occupy the position which Toganoo's has enjoyed for over fifty years.

It will be of benefit to give an outline of the general character of each of the main commentaries selected for use in this study, and then give a short survey of other items which have been used here in varying degrees. I will deal with them in rough chronological order.

1) **TOGANO** Shōun: Rishukyō no Kenkyū 理趣經の研究 .77
First published in 1930 by one of this century's leading figures in Shingon scholarship (a high-ranking priest and principal of Kōyasan University), this work has been the standard piece in studies on the Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Śloka since its publication. All work on this text since then has taken its starting point here, not simply because there was

77. Full references for these works -including the Japanese characters- will be found in the Bibliography. Abbreviations used in my narrative will be found in the List of Abbreviations, above.

nothing comparable in scope and depth prior to the recent publication of Fukuda's work, but also because much of the groundwork done by Toganoo is basically reliable.

At the head of his 500-page book is a well set out edition of Amoghavajra's text, with furigana additions showing the Japanese readings for the Chinese. Under this is Toganoo's own modern Japanese translation of the Sūtra. After a brief section on the peculiar characteristics of the Rishukyō, we have the ten versions of the Scripture set out, with some useful references to traditional literature on the history of the esoteric tradition, and Toganoo's deliberations on the formation of the text, which have now been superceded. There is also basic information on the transmission of the text in Japan and the mandala connected with it.

The actual text is dealt with in the following way: each chapter in the Sūtra is dealt with in a separate chapter in Toganoo's study. He gives the texts of the ten versions side by side -and this includes the extended versions in Tibetan- followed by an account of the main thrust of the particular chapter. One of the impressive things about the material we are offered here is the concern to place the Rishukyō within the broader context of the Buddhist tradition, as well as a readiness to investigate other avenues -mainly the Tibetan Canon- which were still in their infancy in the 1930s. After a detailed exposition of the themes dealt with by the Sūtra in each chapter, we are given basic information regarding the pertinent mandala. This pattern constitutes the basic characteristic of the book, which is rounded off with a section dealing with miscellaneous topics arising from the

study of this Sūtra.⁷⁸

In summary, we may say that though a number of detail points in Toganoo's study are ideas and suggestions which have not yielded fruit, or are simply errors,⁷⁹ Rishukyō no Kenkyū is nevertheless an impressive piece of work, the inspiration for much of subsequent scholarship.

2) **KAMBAYASHI Ryūjō**: Rishukyō Kōgi 理趣經講義 80

Published shortly after Toganoo's work, in 1933, this is another major scholarly achievement. The lectures are planned to follow the lines of Kūkai's Monku, and Kambayashi's Introduction gives an account of the structure of the text and a reasonably detailed resumé of the various versions of the Sūtra before going on to analyse Amoghavajra's text item by item. Generally, Kambayashi gives the Chinese text -again with furigana- along with a Japanese translation, followed by his commentary on the important terms and the overall significance of the respective chapters.

Kōgi is less adventurous than Rishukyō no Kenkyū, keeping very much to the traditional commentaries by Amoghavajra and Kūkai, and as such is an excellent source for the commonly accepted interpretation of Amoghavajra's Rishukyō. The task of commenting in detail and consistently on the text has been accomplished well.

3) **NASU Seiryū**: Rishukyō Tatsui 理趣經達意.

78. These topics are: some historical considerations on Great Bliss (dairaku 大樂, mahāsukha, bde ba chen po; pp. 417ff), a study of the relationship between Vajrapāṇi and Vajrasattva (pp. 441ff), and an excursus on Borobodur as a mandala of Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva (pp. 461ff).

79. There is a number of errors in his reading of the Tibetan texts, for example.

80. For this scholar's name, I have departed from the method of romanisation adopted here, because this form has gained some acceptance in the secondary literature.

Born in 1894 and a scholar of the Chizan-ha 智山派,⁸¹ Nasu Seiryū is a much-respected figure in Shingon studies. This study of the Rishukyō is much in the style of Kōgi -in fact, like the former work and the next one we shall describe (Horiuchi's Hanashi) it was originally a series of lectures. We have an Introduction which deals with themes we have met in the other works -the special characteristics of the Rishukyō, contents and structure, textual history and the mandala. Again, the main body of the book is composed of a recension of the Chinese text, a Japanese translation, followed by a detailed analysis of the text, item by item. Like Kambayashi, Nasu is indebted to Amoghavajra and Kūkai, and the main value of the work -as in the case of Kōgi- is as a systematic amplification of the ideas implicit in the two ancient commentaries.

4) **HORIUCHI Kanjin:** Rishukyō no Hanashi 理趣經の語。

First published in 1978 as a fifty-page transcript of a course of lectures given for the laity under the auspices of the Kōyasan branch of the Shingon sect, this book was supplemented in 1981 by the transcripts from three further series, given in 1978 and 1979. Whilst the four series as a whole cover all the chapters of the text and give a good deal of incidental information on various aspects of the text and the thought implicit therein, the work is a word for word transcription of the lectures and is hence quite conversational in tone, not to mention erratic in places.

81. One of the two major branches to develop from the breakaway movement known as Shingi-Shingon 新義真言, instigated by Kakuban 覚鑊 (1094-1143) and his successors in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The other is Buzan-ha 豊山派. Cf. MDJT/III: 1248; Matsunaga, Foundation II, pp. 297ff.

Despite the lack of system, though, and the difficulty of translating the often colloquial passages into English, it does yield a wealth of information on how the text is viewed and used in the modern context. This is of especial interest -and this applies to the lectures by all three authors- because this modern context is quite clearly and quite consciously connected with the commentarial tradition transmitted by Amoghavajra and Kūkai.

A very useful feature of Hanashi is that there is a photographic reproduction of a calligraphed version of Amoghavajra's text⁸² included in the volume. This has the divisions found in Monku in the margins, along with other helpful notes, and is an extremely useful study tool (not least because the mantra are written out in the shittan /siddham script).

5) **HATTA Yukio:** Himitsu Kyōten: Rishukyō 秘密經典-理趣經

Born in 1927, Hatta brought this book out fairly recently -1982, in fact. This work largely replaces his earlier one on the Rishukyō, which gave an outline of esoteric thought with reference to the Sūtra in addition to a modern Japanese translation.⁸³ The present work, however, contains a reasonably informative Introduction, dealing, among other things, with the place of the Rishukyō as a practical ritual text, and with the structure of the Sūtra. The commentary section itself, though, adds little to what can be gleaned from the other works. There are also several linguistic errors and points where the interpretation is a little forced. It is

82. In the Sūtra-copying (shakyō 写經) tradition!

83. Hatta Yukio: Rishukyō no gendai-iyaku to mikkyō-kyōri, Kōyasan: Kōyasan Shuppansha, 1965.

very useful for the mandala, however, containing as it does illustrations of the most important versions of the mandala for each chapter, along with some discussion. The final section contains a useful analysis of Rishushaku and of the Five Mystery rituals related to the Rishukyō.

6) **FUKUDA Ryōsei**: Rishukyō no Kenkyū 理趣經の研究:
Sono Seiritsu to Tenkai その成立と展開.

Like Nasu Seiryū,⁸⁴ Fukuda Ryōsei is of the Chizan-ha and Taishō University. He has -as noted above- been publishing research on the Rishukyō for over twenty years now, and the present volume represents the fruit of a study to which the gentleman has devoted his life. The title echoes Togano's earlier work and the content echoes the former's spirit of adventure: there is now little to add to the detailed commentaries on the text itself, which characterise the foregoing works, and Fukuda's study takes up the historical questions raised by the presence of the Tibetan materials which Togano first indicated, but which have largely lain neglected since then.

The study is divided into five main parts, the formation of the text,⁸⁵ its development, Indian and Tibetan materials,⁸⁶ Fukuda's own commentaries on important aspects of the text⁸⁷ and finally a section dealing with miscellaneous problems connected with the Rishukyō.⁸⁸

84. Who, incidentally, wrote the foreword to Fukuda's study.

85. Inter al. the question of the extended and shorter versions and the place of the rituals related to the Rishukyō, the Five Mysteries texts known also as the Rishu-hō 理趣法.

86. Here Fukuda deals with commentaries by Jñānamitra, Ānandagarbha, Praśāntamitra and Bu-ston.

87. Basically the Vajrasattva and Trilokavijaya chapters (R.1 and R.3) and the theory of the sixteen lives through which the Bodhisattva passes for the attainment of Buddhahood (jūrokusei-jōbutsu-ron 十六生成佛論).

88. Unfortunately, this book came into my possession too late (July

This concludes our survey of the main secondary literature used in this thesis. While a good proportion of it was written for a lay audience, this is not to detract from its value for the academic study of the Sūtra. On the contrary, as we have seen, it is a valuable source of information on a commentarial tradition which can be positively identified at least back to the middle of the eighth century -and in fact, of course, further. In an attempt to relate this commentarial tradition to the broader context of Tantric Buddhist thought, I have availed myself of several reference works in general use in centres of Buddhist Studies in Japan. These are as follows:⁸⁹

1) **MOCHIZUKI Shinkyō:** Bukkyo Daijiten (**Moch:**)

Dating from 1933-6, and revised in 1954-7, this is one of the standard Buddhist encyclopedias.

2) **NAKAMURA Hajime:** Bukkyōgo Daijiten (**N:**)

A more recent work (1974), not as comprehensive as the former one, but still standard. Although some of the definitions given are circular, there is still a plethora of essential information contained here.

3) **MOROHASHI Tetsuji:** Daikanwa Jiten (**DKWJT**)

The standard Japanese dictionary of Chinese.

4) **TAYA Raishun et al.:** Bukkyōgaku Jiten (**BGJT**)

A small dictionary and consequently of more limited use, but a useful supplement nevertheless.

1987) for me to make full use of it for this thesis. However, since much of it has been published before, the problem is not too acute, though I may well come to make statements which ignore Fukuda's revisions.

89. Again, full references will be found in the Bibliography. I have inserted the abbreviations I shall use in my text in bold script in parentheses.

5) **ŌMURA Chōkaku** et al.: Mikkyō Daijiten (MDJT)

An encyclopedic dictionary of Sino-Japanese Tantrism, the standard work in the field. For specifically Tantric terminology I have relied most heavily on this and the following item.

6) **SAWA Ryūken** et al.: Mikkyō Jiten (MJT)

A useful supplement to the foregoing: it contains a good deal of historical material and helpful summaries of traditional groupings of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, etc.

7) **SAWA Ryūken** (ed.): Butsuzō Zuten (BZZT)

Sets out the whole array of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and lesser divinities, along with illustrations, short summaries and references to and some translations of extracts of ritual source material.

8) **HATTA Yukio**: Bon/zō/kan-taishō Rishukyō Sakuin (Index)

Taking Tib150 as his indexing standard, Hatta splits up the text into just short of a thousand items of vocabulary and cross-indexes them with Skt150 and the six Chinese versions. The units into which Hatta divides the text are inconsistent in places and there are minor errors in the arrangement of the entries, sometimes making the Index difficult to use. On the whole, though, it is a useful tool to consult.

9) **HATTA Yukio**: Shingon-jiten (SJT)

A recent (1985) publication, it capably fills a gap in research tools for Sino-Japanese Esoteric Buddhism. In the systematic acumen displayed, it is a marked improvement on the previous publication. This dictionary of mantra (shingon 真言) and dhāraṇi lists the vast majority of items from the most important texts in the esoteric Canon, thus facili-

tating the systematic study of the rituals and thought of this branch of the Tantric tradition.⁹⁰

10) **HEINEMANN, Robert: Chinese-Sanskrit/Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary (Heinemann:)**

Not as comprehensive as Hatta's work, but it can supplement the latter in some cases.⁹¹

This concludes our survey of the primary and secondary materials upon which this study is based. Before proceeding to the text itself, it will be appropriate to examine some basic themes which pertain to the Sūtra in general, or which recur frequently in the course of the Tathāgata's exposition.

4. Themes

4.1. The Meaning of the Term Rishu 理趣 (naya, tshul)

Leumann⁹² used the word "Lehrabschnitt" to translate naya. This is some way from the etymology of the word, which lies in the Sanskrit root nī, a very common word, meaning "to lead". Hence Leumann was using Lehrabschnitt in the sense that the teaching of the Buddha is something which leads one from the profane state to the holy. Bearing in mind the diversity and complexity of the Buddhist teaching, it is no surprise that it (Lehre) should be split into

90. I have reviewed both this and Heinemann's publication (next item), in: "Two Sino-Japanese Dhāraṇi Dictionaries", Temenos, Vol. 22 (1986, but due out early in 1988).

91. Other reference works I have used will be rather better known: Edgerton's Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary and Grammar (**BHSD**), Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary (**MW**), Jäschke's and Das' Tibetan-English Dictionaries, and Lokesh Chandra's Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary in 2 volumes, Soothill's Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms (**Soothill**) and Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary (**Mathews**). Full references will be found in the Bibliography.

92. Op. cit., passim.

separate divisions (Abschnitt) in accordance with the needs and dispositions of sentient beings. That this teaching requires effort on the part of the one who receives and practices it becomes clear from the Tibetan: tshul is used to indicate the manner in which one conducts⁹³ one's life, one's way of acting, in a more extended sense the religious life, religious duty, even monastic vows.⁹⁴

The Chinese lends itself to interpretation in similar ways: the character chü 趣 (Jap.: shu/michibiku, to guide, lead) would, one supposes, be sufficient, but the presence of the first element⁹⁵ emphasises that this leading is done on the basis of a principle (li/ri 理) which is the enlightenment attained and embodied by the Buddha himself. It is in this sense that I have generally translated rishu 理趣 as "guiding principle", there being a transcendental aspect implicit in the term.

4.2. The General Character of the Rishukyō

When I say, "The knowledge of the essential nature of the Dharmadhātu," it indicates the very truth at the base of the activity of this universe. That, in fact, is that very body which Śākyamuni perfected in enlightenment and that is what we revere as the body of the Buddha. The Rishukyō is regarded as being explained by that Mahāvairocana.

This quotation, taken from a leaflet included in a readily available recording of the chanting of the Rishukyō,⁹⁶ reflects the type of view of the Sūtra which is current on all levels of the Shingon sect, and to be found in conversation with its adherents just as much as in their academic

93. Here, Tajima: "conduite", Les Deux Grands Mandalas, p. 206 ("la véritable 'conduite' (naya) de l'univers").

94. Cf. Jäschke: 449bf.

95. Perhaps forced by the often necessary Chinese predilection for compounds?

96. Ninwaji Kyōgaku-bu: Shingon-shū: Rishukyō/Shingyō/Kannonkyō, Pony Cassettes, No. 21P 5018.

writings.

In Matsunaga's view, the Rishukyō represents a change from the via negativa approach of the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras, a change to an affirmative attitude to the phenomenally existent. This implies that the fundamental passions with which human beings are endowed, even the sexual passions, are boldly stated in this Sūtra to be the pure stage of a Bodhisattva.⁹⁷ In its ideas, the Rishukyō draws on the pattern of the STTS, its particular characteristic being the esoteric transformation of the doctrine of emptiness as found in the Prajñāpāramitā. This reformulation is most strongly seen in the teaching of Great Bliss, which expresses the process of striving towards and finally experiencing enlightenment in terms often blatantly sexual.⁹⁸

This sexuality -less dramatically, the Tantric concern with the union of the active and passive aspects of the human constitution- is given expression in this Sūtra in the presence of teachings from both the ri 理 and the chi 智 sides of the exoteric teachings. The former is the innate

97. "Seiyoku sae shōjō na bosatsu no kurai dearu to daitan ni hyōmei-sarete-iru
MATSUNAGA Yūkei: Mikkyō no Rekishi, Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1969, p. 73, of which these statements are a paraphrase.

98. There was, however, no place in the Japanese tradition for the unorthodox views of the Tachikawa Branch (Tachikawa-ryū 立川流), which did not recover from the attacks that followed in the wake of Yūkai's 有快 (1385-1416) decisive denunciation of degeneracy. This movement, which combined Taoist Yin-Yang teachings with Buddhist esotericism, is the only instance of the so-called left-handed practices in Japan, and counted the Rishukyō and the Yugikyō (T.XVIII/867) among its favoured scriptures. It developed in the late Heian period as a offshoot of the Sanbōin-ryū 三宝院流, though it never endeared itself to its traditional origins. Cf. MDJT/III: 1558, MJT: 488a; short reference in Matsunaga, Foundation I, p. 299. One of the best studies is that by MIZUHARA Gyōei: Jakyō-Tachikawa-ryū no Kenkyū, Mizuhara Gyōei Zenshū, Vol. 1, Kyoto: Dōhōsha Shuppansha, 1981 (orig. publ. 1922), pp. 75-239. He also published a short article, "Tachikawa-ryū seiten-mokuroku to genzon-shōkyō no naiyō ni tsuite", Mikkyō Kenkyū, No. 4, though I have no further details of this.

principle which is to be realised, the latter is the active seeking and penetration of the former. The successful union of the two is the goal of the Tantric teachings.⁹⁹

In summary, we should bring together some of the relevant characteristics of this Sūtra: on a purely practical level, it is short enough to be included in liturgical contexts attended by a wide variety of practitioners, both lay and ordained, and short enough also for it to be committed to memory fairly readily.¹⁰⁰ In its content, it is substantial enough to provide a sure basis for the study of a wide variety of Shingon teachings, not least because its primary affiliation is with the philosophy of the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras.

By the time Amoghavajra came into possession of the text, however, the two facets of the text -the Mahāyāna and the Vajrayāna, as it were- had become fused into a coherent unit, a coherence which has guaranteed its position as one of the key items in the Shingon tradition ever since Kūkai returned to Japan with it at the beginning of the ninth century. In addition to this basically religious function, the comparative study of the various versions of the text

99. On these two concepts, see MATSUNAGA Yūkei: "Ri to chi", Mikkyō-gaku, No. 13/14 (Joint issue, 1977), pp. 60-71. (Also published as a Festschrift for TAKAI Ryūshū, q.v.) See also the works published in Western languages, referred to above, passim. The following are examples of Western pieces which deal with male/female polarity: GUENTHER, H.V.: Yuganaddha: The Tantric View of Life, Chowkambha Sanskrit Series, No. 36, Delhi, 1956?; WAYMAN, Alex: "Female Energy and Symbolism in the Buddhist Tantras", History of Religions, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Summer 1962), pp. 73-111 (reprinted in his The Buddhist Tantras, New York: Weiser, 1973, pp. 164-201); "Male, Female and Androgyne -per Buddhist Tantra, Jacob Boehme and the Greek and Taoist Mysteries", Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, 1983, pp. 592-631.

100. In fact there are many Shingon priests capable of reciting it at will.

promises to furnish us with important information on the history of the esoteric tradition in China and Japan.¹⁰¹

In his Rishukyō-kaidai, Kūkai states there to be four basic ideas in the Sūtra: dai-san-hō-katsu 大・三・法・髻.¹⁰² That is, the same ideas which underline the Shingon teaching of the four maṇḍala: mahā-, samaya-, dharma- and karma-maṇḍala. The first indicates the Body of the Great Maṇḍala,¹⁰³ the absolute aspect of the Sūtra's teaching, that is without beginning or end, non-generative, beyond the vicissitudes of time, and immanent in the six visaya (roku-jin 六塵). As such it covers all the manifestations of the central Tathāgata, that is the four Buddhas (Akṣobhya, etc.), the seventeen Bodhisattvas of the Rishukyō and the lives of the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas.¹⁰⁴

Sanmaya 三摩耶 is the Body of the Samaya Maṇḍala¹⁰⁵ and indicates the various emblems held by the figures in the Sūtra and its maṇḍala. These are described in the relevant sections of the Sūtra. Hō 法 indicates the Body of the Dharma Maṇḍala,¹⁰⁶ and refers to the bīja found at the end of each chapter in the Sūtra and to the "Gates to Samādhi" (sanmaji-mon 三摩地門) which they constitute. Dharma here embraces both the major meanings of the term. On the

101. This detailed historical work, however, lies outwith the particular scope of this thesis.

102. Kaidai: 611c23. San 三 in these contexts is often used as an abbreviation for sanmaya 三摩耶 (Skt. samaya).

103. Dai-maṇḍara-shin 大曼荼羅身 (mahā-maṇḍala-kāya), Kaidai: 612a5f.

104. Shibutsu 四佛, Jūshichi-son 十七尊, Jūroku-daibosatsu-shō 十六大菩薩生; Kaidai: 611c26ff.

105. Sanmaya-maṇḍara-shin 三摩耶曼荼羅身 (samaya-maṇḍala-kaya), Kaidai: 612a28ff.

106. Hō-maṇḍara-shin 法曼荼羅身 (dharma-maṇḍala-shin), Kaidai: 612b2. Taishō reads hokkai-maṇḍara 法界曼荼羅 here, which is obviously a mistake.

one hand, dharma is a single element of existence -in our case here it indicates a single distillate of an aspect of the absolute (in the form of sound). On the other, dharma is nothing less than that which the Fully Enlightened One embodies, the totality of the teaching. Through the practice of the one (i.e. contemplation on and recitation of the bīja), one gains entry¹⁰⁷ to the other. That these two aspects are intimately connected was expressed particularly well by Th. Stcherbatsky:¹⁰⁸

But, although the conception of an element of existence has given rise to an imposing superstructure in the shape of a consistent system of philosophy, its inmost nature remains a riddle. What is dharma? It is inconceivable! It is subtle! No one will ever be able to tell what its real nature (dharmā-svabhāva) is! It is transcendental!

In the Shingon tradition, the places normally occupied by the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are taken up in the dharmamandala by bīja, calligraphed in the shittan (siddham) style.

Finally, katsuma 羯摩 is the Body of the Karma Mandala.¹⁰⁹ This means the actions of the various protagonists in the ritual drama which the Rishukyō represents, that is the mudrā, the bodily postures adopted by them when they expound the Additional Explanation (jūsetsu 重説) at the end of each step in the ritual. This comes out clearly in Kūkai's text:

Next, "karma": that is, Vajrapāni's left hand forming the Seal of Adamantine Pride (kongō-man-in 金剛握印), Mahāvairocana holding the Seal of the Wisdom Fist (chiken-in 智拳印), Trilokavijaya abiding in his rampant, subjugatory

107. Hence the term mon 門, mukha.

108. Th. Stcherbatsky: The Central Conception of Buddhism, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970, p. 75.

109. The text (Kaidai: 612b3ff) has only katsuma-mandara 羯摩曼荼羅 (karma-mandala), though we should of course understand -shin (kāya), by analogy with the other three.

aspect (kōfuku-rissō 降伏文相), Avalokiteśvara generating the vigour which opens the lotus flower: in this manner, the grandeur (igi 威儀) and the actions (jigō 事業) of the Exalted Ones' hands and feet¹¹⁰ is called the karma-mandala.

(Kaidai: 612b3-7)

This fourfold analysis, which is based on the teaching of the four Families,¹¹¹ runs throughout the Sūtra. It is of course also found in Amoghavajra's commentaries, and we shall be looking at representative passages from these in the course of our treatment of the text.

This pattern of four differentiated aspects revolving around a central, undifferentiated principle is the kernel of the Rishukyō, the key to any understanding of the thought and practice contained within its ritual framework. The number of chapters -more precisely stages-¹¹² is determined by this idea, as is the number of Bodhisattvas in the basic mandala. That is, we have the central principle -here represented by Vajrasattva- surrounded by four cycles each of four Bodhisattvas, giving seventeen in all. Precisely how this works in the text, and the various permutations which occur, will become apparent as we progress through the text itself.

The fact that five kula are dealt with indicates that the basic affiliation of the Sūtra is to the Vajraśekhara-sūtra

110. I.e. the actions they perform with their hands and feet, since the term mudrā is only restricted to hand movements in its narrower sense.

111. More commonly five (gobu 五部, pañca-kula), since the Tathāgata Family of the centre is implicit in the scheme.

112. The term dan 段 one of the most common designations found in the secondary literature which are used to refer to those units of text which I have called "Chapter" and referred to in abbreviation as "R." (R.1, etc.). Dan 段 may be translated as "step", "stage", "station", implying steps in a series of ritual enactments whose purpose extends from the raising of the bodhicitta to the consummatory experience of enlightenment and expression as action for the benefit of sentient beings. Shō 障 -used by Kūkai- is also found frequently.

(Kongōchō-kyō 金剛前經). This Sūtra is described by Kūkai as a differentiated manifestation of the true Sūtra, the latter being said to encompass the vastness of the Dharmakāya itself:

That is to say, "Vajraśekhara", then, is of three kinds: first, the dharmā; second, the adumbration;¹¹³ third, the person. First, the dharmā: this Vajra-yoga-sūtra¹¹⁴ has two versions, the extended version (kō-hon 根本), that is the dharmā-mandala which the Dharma-buddha perpetually explains. Next, the differentiated version (bunryū-hon 分流本), that is the Sūtra in 100,000 verses which was transmitted by Nāgārjuna. Further, this version has a Sūtra in eighteen Assemblies. This Sūtra <i.e. the Rishukyō> is in fact the sixth of the eighteen assemblies. Then again, in "dharmā" there are four aspects.¹¹⁵ First, the dharmā of teaching (kyō 教) -the ten thousand verses actively explain the Sūtra. Second, the dharmā of the principle (ri 理) -that which is explained by the ten thousand verses. Third, the dharmā of practice (gyō 行) -actively contemplating the Three Mysteries. Fourth, the dharmā of the fruit (ka 果) -the attainments of active practice.¹¹⁶

(Kaidai: 611a23-29)

That this Vajraśekhara-sūtra ever existed as an actual text is highly doubtful, and Amoghavajra's digest of its eighteen Assemblies -dealt with above- is the only proof we have of its existence.¹¹⁷ The only texts which would seem to

113. Yu/tatoeru 喩, analogy, intimation, similarity, resemblance. The idea is that this aspect of the Sūtra is more readily perceptible to the less enlightened, and has something in common with the idea behind the shadows in Plato's cave. I have only quoted Kūkai's explanation of the dharmā, the material on the adumbration and the person not being strictly relevant here.

114. Kongō-yuga-kyō 金剛瑜伽經.

115. Literally, "dharmā-in/four."

116. The text has nō-gyō no ku 能行の句. Nō is contrasted in this passage with sho 所, which means that a translation should bring out the contrast between active and passive verbal meanings. Gyō 行 is commonly used to indicate the practice of the Buddhist Path in the most general sense. Finally, I suspect that ku 句 is used in the sense of the shōjō-ku 清淨句 later in the Rishukyō: that is, there is an ambiguity which has been carried over from the Skt. pada. This ambiguity consists in its reference to degrees of spiritual attainment in addition to the more prosaic meaning of phrase, sentence or metre. (See below, Chapter Two, §3.2, on the Epithets of Purity).

117. That is, all the references to the Vajraśekhara-sūtra ultimately lead back to Amoghavajra. For a succinct account of the eighteen assemblies and the problems which Amoghavajra's text raises, see Matsunaga, Ron: pp. 187-91 (where there is a table setting out the Assemblies in Jūhachi-e-shiki).

be identifiable from the information supplied in the Jūhachi-e-shiki are those corresponding to the first (Tattvasaṅgraha), sixth (Naya, i.e. the Rishukyō), thirteenth (Dai-sanmaya-shinjitsu-yuga 大三摩耶真実瑜伽),¹¹⁸ and fifteenth Assemblies.¹¹⁹ For our purposes here, though, it is sufficient to state that the five Family pattern of the Tattvasaṅgraha is typical of the Thunderbolt aspect of Shingon teachings,¹²⁰ and it is this aspect which is pre-eminent in the Rishukyō.

Pre-eminent, however, does not mean exclusive, and this is the key to the popularity of the Rishukyō in the Shingon tradition, among clergy and laity alike. For although the most marked affiliations of the Rishukyō are to the Thunderbolt aspect of the esoteric transmission, the text contains important indicators that this not entirely the case. As we shall see presently, there are three important points in this Scripture which indicate that the two basic realms are both present: first, in the opening Assembly of the Rishukyō Mahāvairocana sits in the posture of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, despite the fact that the remaining indications are to the Vajraśekhara-sūtra. Secondly, the following two chapters (R.1 and R.2) -i.e. the first teachings in the Sūtra proper- give respectively a statement of the state of enlightenment (the principle which is to be attained or penetrated) and the active realisation of that enlightenment (the wisdom which enables the attainment of enlightenment).

118. *Mahā-samaya-tattva-yoga, referred to in Gijutsu, q.v.

119. The fifteenth Assembly (Himitsu-shūe-yuga 秘密集会瑜伽) would seem to correspond with the Guhyasamāja-tantra.

120. That is, teachings relating to the Vajradhātu, Kongōkai 金剛界, in contrast to the Womb aspect, Taizō 胎藏, Garbhakośa, which is explained in the Dainichikyō 大日經, *Mahāvairocana-sūtra.

Finally, the last chapter (R.17) is an exposition of the consummate attainment of the Adamantine Being (Vajrasattva), abiding in his fourfold samādhi.

It would be appropriate now to take a brief look at the essential themes in the thinking behind the concept of the Five Families (go-bu 五部, pañca-kula), and the related concepts of the Five Buddhas (go-butsu 五佛, pañca-buddha)¹²¹ and the Five Wisdoms (gochi 五智, pañca-jñāna).

4.3. Five Buddhas, Five Families, Five Wisdoms

There is a fine passage on the Five Wisdoms in the writings of Kūkai, where he likens each of them to a quality of water:¹²²

The nature of water being clear and quiescent, one likens its manifesting all forms and characteristics to the Great Mirror Wisdom; the equality with which all the ten thousand things are reflected in that water, without higher or lower, one likens to the Wisdom of Equality; bringing forth cognizance of differences and distinctions of all forms and characteristics in that water one likens to the Wonderful Wisdom which Contemplates Distinctions; that water as a sphere quite without limit one likens to the Wisdom of the Essential Nature of the Dharmadhātu; and bringing about prosperity and growth in the manner of water, one likens to the Wisdom which Perfects that to be Done.

The order in which Kūkai gives these wisdoms is slightly different from the usual one, so let us take them each in turn, beginning with that which is regarded as absolute.¹²³

121. Or Go-nyorai 五如来 (pañca-tathāgata); the term dhyāni-buddha, commonly encountered in Western language materials, is not attested to in our sources.

122. Hizōki, Kōbō Daishi Zenshū II, p. 10, quoted (in Japanese translation) in KANAOKA Shūyū: Mikkyō no Tetsugaku, Sāra Sōsho 18, Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1969, p. 169.

123. I shall use material written by contemporary Japanese scholars here, not because other material is lacking in any way, but because the vocabulary used, and the manner of explaining things fits in with the literature we shall be examining in conjunction with our commentary below. This touches on a general point of methodology for this thesis, in that I have felt it necessary to restate perfectly orthodox Buddhist teachings in the Japanese manner, in order to give a coherent and cohes-

1) Hokkai-taishō-chi 法界体性智 (dharmadhātu-sva-bhāva-jñāna): this is the wisdom possessed by Mahāvairocana in his absolute aspect, free from all distinctions and differentiated functioning. It is the power of Mahāvairocana's wisdom as a whole, the summation of the virtues of all the wisdoms.¹²⁴ In the Yogācāra analysis it refers to the transformation of the amala-vijñāna, the ninth consciousness.

2) Daienkyō-chi 大円鏡智 (ādarśa-jñāna): this is the first movement of transformed consciousness and its function is simply to reflect phenomena as they are, without any further reaction, in the manner of a mirror. In the original scheme formulated by the Yogācārins, ādarśa-jñāna was the basic wisdom, and the position it has come to occupy in the esoteric tradition is a later development.¹²⁵ Finally, it corresponds to the turning of the ālaya-vijñāna.

3) Byōdōshō-chi 平等性智 (samatā-jñāna): this refers to the essential sameness or equality (byōdōshō) of dharma, in that they are all non-substantial in their true nature. This identity is seen as identical with the postulate that all sentient beings are endowed with the Buddha-nature, and therefore are all of equal worth.¹²⁶ Samatā-jñāna relates to the seventh consciousness, mano-vijñāna.

ive account of the corpus of Shingon teachings centred on the Rishukyō.

124. "Dainichi-nyorai no zenchi no nōryoku (issaichi-sha 一切智者) wo arawashita mono de, mukashi kara gochi no sōtoku to iwareru no wa kono tame dearu 大日如來の全智の能力をあらわしたもので、昔から、巨智の総徳といわれたのは、このためである。(Kanaoka: Tetsugaku, p. 169).

125. Cf. Kanaoka, Tetsugaku, p. 169f.

126. We frequently meet the word kachi 価値, value or worth, in writings on this wisdom and the related Buddha, Ratnasambhava.

4) Myōkanzat-chi 妙觀察智 (pratyaveksana-jñāna): the Chinese rendering reads literally, "Wonderful-contemplation-border-wisdom", and indicates that the Bodhisattva who has attained this wisdom is capable of discriminating between dharma with complete purity of perception, and that this is the basis of his ability to formulate and execute skilful means for the benefit of sentient beings.¹²⁷ Purity identifies the emblem of the western direction, namely the lotus flower, and dharma identifies the major characteristic of this stage in the process of emanation from the central principle. On the one hand it is dharma in the sense of the individual elements of existence which the Bodhisattva contemplates in their interrelatedness. On the other it is dharma in the sense of the truth of the Buddha's teaching, which lends the aspect of radiance or illumination to this phase of the unfolding of the central wisdom, and which ensures that the specific actions in the next step are well-founded. Pratyaveksana-jñāna corresponds to manas, that which co-ordinates the input from the sense-data.

5) Jōshosa-chi 所作智 (kṛtānuṣṭhāna-jñāna): jō 成 occurs in a wide variety of contexts in Sino-Japanese Buddhism, with the meaning of to complete, attain, accomplish, perform adequately. Shosa 所作 is passive in meaning and indicates that which is to be done (as a duty incumbent upon one in the position of a Bodhisattva). This wisdom is thus that which enables the Bodhisattva to perform actions which are of benefit to sentient beings, whether these benefits are of a mundane or a supramundane nature. As we saw in the

127. This activity belongs to the next, final stage in this process.

previous paragraph, the basis on which he performs these tasks is the correct perception of the workings of the things of the world, without which it would not be possible to act properly. In line with the practical, concrete nature of this wisdom, it is aligned with the first five consciousnesses in the Yogācāra analysis, namely the sense-consciousnesses.

We have mentioned that the first and central wisdom is connected with Mahāvairocana, and that samatā-jñāna is connected with Ratnasambhava. All these wisdoms have their associated Buddha, and these are assigned in the following order, beginning with ādarśa-jñāna: Akṣobhya-Ratnasambhava-Amitābha-Amoghasiddhi. Akṣobhya is associated with the bodhicitta, both innate and generated through practice, and his family is connected with the raising and nurturing of this essential connection to the Buddha's enlightenment (hotsu-bodai-shin 發菩提心). Ratnasambhava is that gem innate in sentient beings, namely identity in their innermost nature with Buddha-nature itself. This raw gem, however, must be refined before it can manifest unhindered enlightenment, so there is the further association with the cultivation of the bodhicitta (shugyō 修行) through the practice of the three mysteries (sanmitsu 三密).¹²⁸

This cultivation then of course leads to the attainment of enlightenment (bodai 菩提), which is associated with the third position after the central wisdom, the domain of Amitābha. In line with the Mahāyāna ideas of the duty of the Bodhisattva to share his insight with the rest of sentient

128. I.e. the yogic practices related to body (mudrā), speech (mantra) and mind (samādhi).

creation, the subsequent stage is then entry into nirvāna (nehan/nyū 涅槃/入), a nirvāna which is not static, for there is a final stage, designated hōben 方便 (upāya), which is the "ultimate extent" (kukyō 究竟) of the Shingon teachings, and which makes it incumbent upon one to fulfil the Bodhisattva vow through skilful means: "In addition to having oneself attained the wonderful fruit of the esoteric teachings, it means the stage where one begins the work of transforming and leading others."¹²⁹ It will be helpful to summarise these as related teachings and correspondences in tabular form:

129. "Jibun ga mikkyō no myōka wo eta ue wa, hoka wo kedō-suru hataraki wo hajimeru kurai wo iu 自分が密教の因果を得た上は、他を化導引導を始めよう." MJT: 221b, upon which much of the foregoing is based.

TABLE I.1: CORRESPONDENCES TO THE FIVE FAMILIES¹

Families	Tathāgata	Vajra	Ratna	Padma	Karma
Buddhas:					
<u>Vajra-dh.</u>	Mahā-	Akṣobhya	Ratnasambh.	Amitābha	Amoghasiddhi
<u>Garbha-k.</u>	vairocana	Ratnaketu	Samkusu- mitarāja	Amitāyus	Dundubhi- nirghoṣa
Bīja ²	Vaṃ	Hūṃ ⁵	Traḥ	Hrīḥ	Aḥ
Directions	Centre	East	South	West	North
Jñāna	Dharmadhātu	ādarśa-*	Samatā-*	Pratyavekṣ.	Kṛtyānuṣṭh.
Vijñāna	Amala-*	ālaya-*	mano-*	manas	five senses
Vṛtti	<u>upāya</u>	raising the	cultivating	realising	entering
		<u>bodhicitta</u>	<u>bodhicitta</u>	<u>bodhi</u>	<u>nirvāna</u>
Elements	Water	Fire	Earth	Space	Wind
Colours	White	Blue	Yellow	Red	Green/Black
Vidyārāja ³	Acala	Trilokavij.	Kuṇḍalin	Yamāntaka ⁸	Vajrayakṣa
Āsana	Lion	Elephant ⁶	Horse	Peacock	Garuḍa
Emblem ⁴	Stūpa	<u>Vajra</u> ⁷	Gem	Lotus ⁹	<u>Viśvavajra</u> ¹⁰

1. This table is largely drawn from MJT: 220, with a few additions and amendments in line with the particular material we are dealing with here. Tajima Ryūjun: Les Deux Grands Mandalas, p. 266, also has a useful table.

2. In the Vajradhātu. Of the bīja in the Garbhakośa, only that pertaining to Mahāvairocana (a) is relevant in the Rishukyō.

3. Also known as kyōryōrin-shin 教令輪身, a term which indicates the body which manifests in the disc where sentient beings are transformed through wrath. One should note that the particular form in our Sūtra is that of Trilokavijaya, who belongs to the same Family as Akṣobhya and Vajrasattva.

4. The vajra-ghaṇṭā (reisho 鈴杵), being a unification of the two major aspects, Thunderbolt and Lotus, is regarded as summarising the teachings as a whole.

5. This is the most important bīja in the Rishukyō.

6. Also the āsana of Samantabhadra, who figures strongly in sources and secondary materials related to the Rishukyō.

7. The five-pronged type.

8. See Hōbōgirin VI: 652-670.

9. Or single vajra.

10. Or three-pronged vajra.

4.4. The Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas in the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala

This group of divinities, known as the jūroku-daibosatsu 十六大菩薩 in the Sino-Japanese tradition, is primarily known from the innermost Assembly in the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, the Jōjin-ne 成身会.¹³⁰ The group does not appear in the Rishukyō, but since it is implied in the teachings in R.3 to R.6, given by the first four -i.e. the primary four- Bodhisattvas of the Sūtra, I shall deal with them here for future reference.

Let us first look at the context in which they properly appear, the central Assembly of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, that which shows the complete body (jōjin 成身) of Mahāvairocana, thus making it the paradigm of the Vajradhātu.¹³¹ There are three enclosures in this central maṇḍala, and it is the central temenos which is of greatest significance.¹³²

The central divinities arise on the background of a lunar disc (gachi-rin 月輪), in esoteric thought a ubiquitous symbol for the luminosity of mind, the basis of the development of the five knowledges. There are five main figures, namely the Five Tathāgatas we have just dealt with.

130. They also occupy a significant place in the STTS, constituting the epiphany which is the first major event there (STTS I.1: 11-42; T.882: 342b29-348c26). However, as Snellgrove remarked in his Introduction to his and Lokesh Chandra's facsimile edition of the STTS, this occurrence is actually out of its proper context: "As observed above the main rationale of these nine sections seems to consist in their more or less equal length. Owing to their considerable importance, there may be some justification in dealing with the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas in a separate section (I), but this division breaks up the set of divinities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala" (op. cit., p. 10).

131. Talking of the Jōjin-ne, Tajima writes: "Celui-ci est le maṇḍala central et le plus important; il est, pourrait-on dire, le Vajradhātu-maṇḍala par excellence" (Les Deux Mandalas, p. 161). I shall say little here which is not dealt with on pp. 161-90 of Tajima's work.

132. The outer one contains twenty protective deva and the middle enclosure has the thousand Bodhisattvas of the Bhādrakalpa in addition to the four Outer Offering and four Gathering Bodhisattvas.

These are the Buddhas primarily referred to by the term issai-nyorai 一切如來 (sarva-tathāgata), which occurs with great frequency. Mahāvairocana in the centre is surrounded by the four pāramitā Bodhisattvas, each of whom pertains to one of the Families, beginning with Vajrapāramitā in the East and finishing with Karmapāramitā in the North. The four Buddhas surrounding Mahāvairocana each abide in lunar discs within the central disc, and are surrounded by the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, there being four of the latter assigned to each Buddha. The order in which these sixteen Bodhisattvas emanate is determined by the position nearest Mahāvairocana. The set is completed by the presence of eight Bodhisattvas whose primary function is offering or worship (kuyō 供養, pūja), and four who are responsible for presiding over the gates to the mandala and gathering sentient beings outside its bounds into the supra-mundane realm. These last are known as Sangraha-bodhisattva (shō-bosatsu 攝菩薩). Altogether, this gives us a total of thirty seven divinities, known collectively in the Japanese tradition as kongōkai-sanjūshichi-son 金剛界三十七尊, the "Thirty-seven Divinities of the Vajradhātu".¹³³ If we set them out in tabular form, we shall have a better picture of the context in which the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas are found.¹³⁴ Table I.2 follows.

133. On these thirty seven Worthy Ones and their context, in addition to the passage by Tajima referred to above, see Snellgrove, Tattvasaṅgraha, Introduction, passim; Kanaoka: Tetsugaku, pp. 127ff; NAKAGAWA Zenkyō: "Shingon-kyōgaku kara mita ryōbu-mandara", in Matsunaga Yūkei, ed.: Mandara -iro to katachi no imi-suru mono-, Asahi Culture Books, No. 19, Osaka: Osaka Shoseki, 1983, pp. 33-84, esp. pp. 70-84; HORIUCHI Kanjin: "Kongōkai sanjūshichi-son no sonmei ni tsuite", Mikkyō Bunka, No. 69/70 (Nov. 1964), pp. 152-8.

134. Cf. SJT: 357f and 563bf.

TABLE I.2: THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE JÖJIN-NE

<u>CENTRE</u> (Mahāvairocana, Dainichi 大日)				
Vajrapāramitā	Kongōharamitsu	金剛波羅密		East
Ratnapāramitā	Hōharamitsu	宝法		South
Dharmapāramitā	Hōharamitsu	法		West
Karmapāramitā	Katsuharamitsu	羯磨		North
<u>EAST</u> (Akṣobhya, Ashuku 阿閼)				
Vajra-sattva	Kongō-satta	薩		West
Vajra-rāja	Kongō-ō	王		North
Vajra-rāga	Kongō-ai	愛		South
Vajra-sādhu	Kongō-ki	喜		East
<u>SOUTH</u> (Ratnasambhava, Hōshō 宝性)				
Vajra-ratna	Kongō-hō	宝光		North
Vajra-teja	Kongō-kō	幢		East
Vajra-ketu	Kongō-dō	笑		West
Vajra-hāsa	Kongō-shō			South
<u>WEST</u> (Amitābha, Amida 阿彌陀)				
Vajra-dharma	Kongō-hō	法		East
Vajra-tīkṣṇa	Kongō-ri	利		South
Vajra-hetu	Kongō-in	因		North
Vajra-bhāṣa	Kongō-go	語		West
<u>NORTH</u> (Amoghasiddhi, Fukūjōju 不空成就)				
Vajra-karma	Kongō-gō	業		South
Vajra-rakṣa	Kongō-go	護		West
Vajra-yakṣa	Kongō-ge	牙		East
Vajra-saṃdhi	Kongō-ken	等		North

INNER OFFERING BODHISATTVAS

These Bodhisattvas manifest for the purpose of Mahāvairocana's worship towards the four Buddhas.

Vajra-lāsī	Kongō-ki	嬉	Joy	SE
Vajra-mālā	Kongō-man	鬘	Wig	SW
Vajra-gītā	Kongō-ka	歌	Song	NW
Vajra-nṛtā	Kongō-bu	舞	Dance	NE

Vajralāsī's offering is towards Akṣobhya, Vajramālā's towards Ratnasambhava, Vajragītā's towards Amitābha and Vajranṛtā's towards Amoghasiddhi.

OUTER OFFERING BODHISATTVAS

These Bodhisattvas manifest for the purpose of directing the Four Buddhas' worship back towards Mahāvairocana.

Vajra-dhūpā	Kongō-kō	香	Incense	SE
Vajra-puṣpā	Kongō-ge	華	Flower	SW
Vajra-lokā	Kongō-tō	灯	Lamp	NW
Vajra-gandhā	Kongō-zukō	塗香	Unguent	NE

The direction of worship for these Bodhisattvas is: Vajra-dhūpā receives from Akṣobhya, Vajra-puṣpā receives from Ratnasambhava, Vajra-lokā from Amitābha, and Vajra-gandhā from Amoghasiddhi.

5. Some Points on Methods and Conventions

Before we proceed to the text, there are a couple of points concerning the formal appearance and framework of the present thesis which ought to be clarified.

First, the question of Sanskrit equivalents in the Chinese texts, which can be a thorny one, due in the main to the considerable linguistic problems encountered in the translation of the Buddhist Canon into Chinese.¹³⁵ Whilst many terms can be positively identified, many again are really far too removed from the original context for us to be able to use the term "equivalent" unreservedly. In this work, I have given Sanskrit equivalents where possible, but with differing degrees of authority and always with this caveat in mind. Where I have artificially reconstructed a Sanskrit term, for the benefit of a measure of standardisation and the benefit of those without a knowledge of Japanese and Chinese, I have marked my suggestion with an asterisk, thus: *mahābhiḥkhu.

Many Japanese periodicals include articles written both in Japanese and in European languages. In such cases, the two types of writing are arranged at opposite ends of the publication, sometimes resulting in two different forms of pagination, or in a reversed page reference (e.g., "pp. 66-54"). In such cases, I have indicated the unorthodox pagination with the words, "reversed pagination", or the abbreviation, "rev. pag."

¹³⁵. These problems were rather more pronounced than those encountered by the Tibetans, for example.

Where technical terms, names of historical personages and the like occur, I have incorporated the relevant Chinese and Japanese characters into the body of the thesis. However, in the case of references to secondary literature, mainly modern Japanese works, I have not done so, but have merely included them in the Bibliography. Neither have I repeated the characters every time they occur in my text, but only on the first occurrence in a chapter, or when doing so contributes to clarity. Readers wishing to be reminded of specific characters may refer to the Glossary at the back of the thesis, which also gives a page reference to the first occurrence of a term.

Finally, I should summarise here the essential points of the methodology for this thesis and make its limitations clear.

In dealing with material of the present sort, it is almost impossible to obtain a sufficiently full picture of the subject in question if one restricts one's investigations to materials contemporary with the object of research. Further, restricting an inquiry in this manner runs the risk of remaining an exercise in historical curiosity: my concern is to examine the present, living tradition, in order to obtain as coherent and relevant a picture of the religious significance of the text in question as possible. The basic standpoint of the present thesis is that of Religious Studies and I do not, therefore, attempt to make firm historical or philological assertions, not least because of the very

basic work necessary on the Tibetan sources.¹³⁶

Taking the Rishukyō in the context of a contemporary tradition -i.e. the Shingon sect in Japan, centred on Kōyasan in Wakayama Prefecture- as my starting point does however give a firm basis for further study of the Sūtra. It also makes clear that an integral part of the contemporary tradition is the fact that the interpretations now current at all levels of the life of the Shingon sect can be traced back with certainty to Amoghavajra in the middle of the eighth century and to Kūkai at the beginning of the ninth. That this tradition is both unbroken and admits of creative re-interpretation is a further impressive aspect of the Sūtra's position in Mikkyō.¹³⁷

The various historical and philological questions which arise during a detailed study of this text will have to await another day, but it is hoped that the present study will help form the groundwork for such research.

136. Whilst I have studied the short Tibetan version (Tib150), for the other Tibetan texts I have merely followed the secondary work available in Japanese and detailed in the course of my text. Whilst I do make some textual comments arising from the reading of the Tib150, these are not central to my main concerns.

137. And, of course, Mikkyō itself.

P A R T I I

CHAPTER ONE

THE PRELIMINARY SECTION (jo-bun 序分 : R.P)

1. Text

(1) 文義巧妙。純一圓滿清淨潔白。

(2a)

大菩薩衆。恭敬圍遶而爲說法。初中後善。

如是我聞。一時薄伽梵成就殊勝一切如來金剛加持三摩耶智。已得一切如來灌頂寶冠。爲三界主。已證一切如來一切智智。瑜伽自在。能作一切如來一切印平等種種事業。於無盡無餘一切衆生界。一切意願作業。皆悉圓滿。常恒三世一切時。身語意業金剛。大毘盧遮那如來。在於欲界他化自在天王宮中。一切如來常所遊處。吉祥稱歎大摩尼殿種種間錯鈴鐺繒幡微風搖擊珠鬘瓔珞。半滿月等。而爲莊嚴。與八十俱胝菩薩衆俱。所謂金剛手菩薩摩訶薩。觀自在菩薩摩訶薩。虛空藏菩薩摩訶薩。金剛拳菩薩摩訶薩。文殊師利菩薩摩訶薩。三藐發心轉法輪菩薩摩訶薩。虛空庫菩薩摩訶薩。推一切魔菩薩摩訶薩。與如是等大菩薩衆。恭敬圍遶而爲說法。初中後善。

(12)

如是我聞。一時薄伽梵成就殊勝一切如來金剛加持三摩耶智。已得一切如來灌頂寶冠。爲三界主。已證一切如來一切智智。瑜伽自在。能作一切如來一切印平等種種事業。於無盡無餘一切衆生界。一切意願作業。皆悉圓滿。常恒三世一切時。身語意業金剛。大毘盧遮那如來。在於欲界他化自在天王宮中。一切如來常所遊處。吉祥稱歎大摩尼殿種種間錯鈴鐺繒幡微風搖擊珠鬘瓔珞。半滿月等。而爲莊嚴。與八十俱胝菩薩衆俱。所謂金剛手菩薩摩訶薩。觀自在菩薩摩訶薩。虛空藏菩薩摩訶薩。金剛拳菩薩摩訶薩。文殊師利菩薩摩訶薩。三藐發心轉法輪菩薩摩訶薩。虛空庫菩薩摩訶薩。推一切魔菩薩摩訶薩。與如是等大菩薩衆。恭敬圍遶而爲說法。初中後善。

784a12

No. 243 (Nos. 220(10), 210, 241, 242, 214)

大樂金剛不空眞實三摩耶經

開府儀同三司特進試鴻臚卿肅國公

食邑三千戶賜紫贈司空諡大正監號大

廣智大興善寺三藏沙門不空奉詔譯

般若波羅蜜多理趣品

1.1. Cross-references

T.220: 986a24-b24	T.242: 781c12-	Skt.150: 1:1-12
T.240: 776a3-17	782a2	Tib.150: 12:1-13:9
T.241: 778b18-c17	T.243: 784a12-b1	
	T.244: 786b21-c8	

1.2. Translation

1Thus 2did I hear 3at a certain time: 4a the Lord 4b who has accomplished the most excellent sacramental wisdom of the adamant grace of all the Tathāgatas; 5who by dint of his attainment of the consacratory gemmed diadem of all the Tathāgatas is ruler of the three spheres; 6who has attained the unified, natural existence which derives from all the Tathāgatas' wisdom of all knowledges, 7who is capable of performing the various actions of the sameness of all the Seals of all the Tathāgatas, 8thereby bringing to complete

satisfaction all the functions of desire in all the spheres of sentient beings, inexhaustible and without remainder; ⁹who at all times in the three worlds is perpetually adamant in his functions of body, speech and mind, ¹⁰Mahāvairocana, ¹¹was residing in the palace of the paranirmita-vaśavartin heaven in the sphere of desire: ¹²a great jeweled hall, which they always praise as blessed when sojourning there.¹

¹³It is variously ornamented, ¹⁴with bells large and small and banners, striking and fluttering in a soft breeze; with gems, wigs and necklaces like a full moon ¹⁵and, furthermore, resplendent.

¹⁶He was attended by a throng of eighty myriads of Bodhisattvas, namely ¹⁷Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva, the Great Being, ¹⁸Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, the Great Being, ¹⁹Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva, the Great Being, ²⁰Vajramuṣṭi Bodhisattva, the Great Being, ²¹Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, the Great Being, ²²Sacittotpada-dharmacakra-pravartin Bodhisattva, the Great Being, ²³Gaganagaṅja Bodhisattva, the Great Being and ²⁴Sarvamāra-pramardin Bodhisattva, the Great Being.

²⁵Thus attended by this throng of Great Bodhisattvas, surrounded and revered by them he expounded the teaching: ²⁶good in the beginning, the middle and the end; exquisite in its words and their purport; of pure unity; perfectly satisfying; pure and integral.

1. Conze: "When Tathagatas visit it, they all laud it as full of blessings" (SPT: 184). "Abide" translates yu 住 (viharati), which N: 1379b gives as: "Exist, be; be doing, reside, travel, wander around, traverse; temporarily stop at a place and relax." Cf. also Hanashi: 141, "A place where the Buddhas come and go."

2. Commentary

2.1. The Structure of the Preliminary Section

On the pattern established early in the Buddhist tradition, our Sūtra exhibits the format of most scriptures, from the earliest written sources onwards, and is in its outer form hence part of the mainstream tradition. In the Sino-Japanese tradition a Sūtra is divided into three main sections, as follows:

- 1) The Preliminary Section (jo-bun 序分, josetsu-bun 序說分 or engi-bun 緣起分) in which the scene of the scripture is so to speak set.
- 2) The Main Section, the "True Teaching Section" (shōshū-bun 正宗分) or "Main Discourse" (honron 本論), where the particular teaching of that Sūtra is given.
- 3) The Final Section (literally, "The section which flows and penetrates" (ruzū-bun 流通分)), in which laudatory verses and other edifying material are found.²

The Preliminary Section, which interests us here, is further divided into so-called "accomplishments" or "fruits"³ -five, six or seven, according to the relevant school of thought.⁴ The commonest division, however, is usually given along the following lines:⁵

2. This way of dividing the Sūtras is traced back to Tao-an (312-85, Eastern Ch'in), who compiled and catalogued a vast amount of the Buddhist literature extant in the China of his day (cf. K. Ch'en: Buddhism in China, Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1964, p. 94ff). The final section is "that which flows and penetrates" in the sense of the Buddha's teaching flowing out from the point of the discourse and being disseminated throughout the cosmos (cf. N: 1433b).

3. Jōju 成就, siddhi. I prefer the translation "fruition" in the context here in order to distinguish the strictly Tantric usage of the term. It is of course closely related to that usage, but the emphasis is different. In this case, it is the fruition of the karma produced in spiritual effort, the ripening of seeds which enables the person concerned to hear and understand the exposition at a certain time, in a certain place, by a certain expositor and accompanied by a certain retinue, the whole of which is received with the appropriate measure of faith. Mochizuki specifically mentions karmic causes as an important factor: "If the six karmic factors are not present, the teaching will not in fact take place. There must necessarily be six of these; accordingly one calls them 'fruits'" (Moch: 5066a).

4. I have not investigated this further.

5. Cf Moch: 5066a; BGJT: 463a.

- 1) Fruition of faith (shin-jōju 信成就) -corresponding to nyo-ze 如是
- 2) Fruition of hearing (mon-jōju 聞成就) -corresponding to ga-mon 我聞
- 3) Fruition of time (ji-jōju 時成就) -corresponding to ichi-ji 一時
- 4) Fruition of the expositor (shū-jōju 主成就) -corresponding to bagabon 婆伽梵
- 5) Fruition of place (sho-jōju 處成就) -corresponding to zai-o 在於..
- 6) Fruition of the assembly (shū-jōju 衆成就) -corresponding to yo-hachi-ju 與八十..

This is the explanation given by Tsung-mi 宗密 (779-840) in his Bussetsu-urabonkyō-sho 佛說于羅盛經鈔,⁶ though it is deviated from in various ways -by Yüan-tse 円則, for example.⁷ It will be useful to take a look at his analysis, since it brings out some important points connected with the exposition of Sūtra teachings in general:

- 1) Nyoze 如是 shows how the Sūtra was heard (shomon no hō 所聞之法), i.e. in the subsequent, specific way, in which the speaker has faith.
- 2) Ga 我 indicates the person capable of hearing (nōbun no hito 能聞の人), i.e. the one whose karma is such that he is able to hear the teaching directly. This becomes more crucial in esoteric texts because they take place in specific realms removed from the mundane sphere. We will see below in our specific account of the Rishukyō's expositor how important this detail is.
- 3) Mon 聞 shows the hearer to be familiar with the purport of the sounds (onshi 音指) of the Sūtra: i.e. in exoteric texts the ability to understand and remember what is said, in esoteric texts the ability to understand the profounder meaning of sound.⁸
- 4) Ichi-ji 一時 shows the opportune nature of the teaching,⁹ i.e. everything happens according to the fruition of one's past actions¹⁰ and hence the opportunity of hearing a Sūtra

6. T.XXXIX/1792: 505a-512c. Material can also be found in his Kongō-kyō-sōron-sanyō 金剛經疏論算要, T.XXXIII/1701: 155c (cf. also N: 1433d). See also de Visser, Ancient Buddhism in Japan, Vol. I, p. 61, for brief information on Tsung-mi.

7. One might combine the expositor and the place into one fruition, or separate the hearer and his having heard, which is the case in Yüan-tse's Commentary on the Sūtra for Benevolent Kings (Ninnōkyō-sho 仁王經鈔, T.XXX/1708: 359a-427c). Cf. also Moch: 5066b.

8. Kūkai, as we shall see presently, refers to this aspect of the receipt of a Sūtra as mon-ji, "hear and hold/grasp". Horiuchi in turn describes this as "hold in the mind (tamotsu)", etc. (Hanashi: 74).

9. Mochizuki: "It corresponds well with time and occasion (yoku ji-ki ni kai-suru 能く時分に会する。)", loc. cit.

10. Ijuku 異熟, vipāka (N: 36a).

expounded indicates the reward for past wholesome action, an opportunity which in the context of the uncertainty and transience of this existence must be taken seriously and earnestly.

5) Shū 主 brings forth the Buddha as the Master capable of expounding the teaching (nō-setsu no shi 能宗師).

6) Sho 處 shows where the exposition takes place.

7) Shū 衆 shows that not only the hearer was present, but that the exposition was also witnessed by an assembly of spiritually accomplished beings, either great monks (dai-biku, *mahābikkhu), or in the case of the Rishukyō an assembly of Great Bodhisattvas (dai-bosatsu-shū 大菩薩衆).

This whole is described by Yüan-tse as the opening up of truth (shintai wa kai-shite 真諦は開して).¹¹

2.2. Kūkai's Analysis of the Preliminary Section

It will be useful to give an account of how Kūkai divides the Rishukyō into various sections, not only for its intrinsic value, but also because it forms the basis of the interpretations in some of the modern commentators we shall be examining.¹²

2.2.1. This analysis occurs in the Shinjitsukyō-monku 真実經文句¹³ and begins by designating the Preliminary Section as: "The Arising of Conditions Section",¹⁴ thereby bringing out what has been pointed out above concerning the fruition of past deeds, which gives rise to certain persons coming into contact with the exposition of a given

11. The above explanation is based on Mochizuki, *loc. cit.*

12. The following should be read in conjunction with Table 1.1, which sets out the salient features of Kūkai's analysis in tabular form.

13. T.LXI/2237: 612c-615c; also Zenshū II: 308-22; hereafter I shall use the abbreviation Monku. Kūkai's analysis is also given as a peripheral addition to Horiuchi Kanjin's edition of the text. This is appended to his Hanashi (hereafter: Hanashi/Text, followed by a page reference to the appendix), and forms a very useful study tool.

14. Engi-bun 縁起分, more specifically (if rather more freely): "the section where conditions arise, determined according to the law of conditioned co-arising (pratītya-samutpāda)". Cf. N: 118c, s.v. engi. Nakamura's usage is derived from the Kegon understanding, but is no less useful: "Initiating an exposition according to a person's suitability (hito no soshitsu no yoshi-a shi ni o-jite, setsu wo okosu koto 人の素質のよしおしに依りて説を起すこと)."

Sūtra in certain circumstances.

After saying that the Rishukyō's opening section consists only of the so-called "standard preliminary",¹⁵ Kūkai states there to be seven items (shichi-ji 七事) in this section:

- 1) the essence of the teaching (hōtai 法体) in what was heard (R.P/1);
- 2) the hearer and retainer (monji¹⁶ no hito 持持人) of the teaching (R.P/2);
- 3) the time, corresponding to the actual hearing and retention of the Sūtra, and to no other (R.P/3);
- 4) the personage according to whom the exposition is given (R.P/4-10);
- 5) the place of the hearing and retention (R.P/11-15)
- 6) those present at the exposition (R.P/16-25)
- 7) the excellent virtues of the teaching (R.P/26).

Kūkai further analyses items four to seven as follows: the fourth (the Expositor) is divided into three, the central section being the most important: an analysis of the Lord Mahāvairocana's virtues in terms of the Five Wisdoms.¹⁷ The Place of the Exposition is described in terms of its

15. As distinct from a particular preliminary (betsu-jo 別序), a standard preliminary (tsū-jo 通序) only gives information in the standardised form on the hearer, time, etc. (i.e. five or six fruitions), from "Thus did I hear..." to the description of the Assembly. A particular preliminary contains material specific to any given Sūtra, but our text is regarded as having none. It may be noted, though, that Mitsui remarks that the seven goodnesses (R.P/26) may possibly be regarded as such. (MITSUI Eikō: Rishukyō no Kōwa, Kōyasan, 1969, pp. 56ff; Toganoo, RK: 78, differs; cf. also BGJT: 68a).

16. I.e. "hear and retain/grasp": we must remember that the tradition was originally oral, and that the term mon-ji 持持 implies concentration and insight sufficient to both grasp and retain all details of the scenario.

17. These and their correspondences have been dealt with in the Introductory Chapter and will be given further detailed treatment below. Kambayashi (Kōgi: 319) contends that Kūkai was the first to attribute these lines in the Rishukyō to the Five Wisdoms, a traditional assertion which has been adhered to throughout the history of the Tōmitsu lineage. However, since the STTS exhibits a similar pattern, this assertion is of doubtful historical validity. Further, the Tibetans have precisely the same tradition, which indicates a widespread hermeneutic tradition within Tantrism. (The Tōmitsu tradition is that branch of esoteric Buddhism in Japan at the head of which Kūkai stands, and is so called because of his affiliation to the Tōji 東寺 in Kyoto. It stands in contrast to the Tamitsu 曇密 tradition, within the Tendai Sect, headed by Saichō 善導, who transmitted the T'ien-t'ai teachings to Japan; cf Matsunaga, Foundation, pp. 160ff.)

location (hōsho 妙處) and the bliss received there (sho-
juraku 妙樂)¹⁸ on the one hand and the manner in which
this palace is adorned on the other. The Assembly is descri-
bed on three levels: the number and type of Bodhisattvas
(eighty koṭi of Great Bodhisattvas), the specific naming of
the representative eight Great Bodhisattvas (retsumyō 八聖),¹⁹
and the majestic impression these Bodhisattvas give
when they encircle the Lord (igi 依止). Finally, the seven
goodnesses are enumerated without comment.²⁰ In summary, we
may present Kūkai's analysis of this chapter in tabular
form:

18. This would refer to the characteristic bliss of the Parānirmita-
vaśavartin heaven, where one enjoys blisses created by others. See
below, section on Parānirmita-vaśavartin-deva, §2.3.2.

19. Kūkai gives their respective directions in terms of the trigrams
of the I Ching 麗-兌-離-坎-巽-坤-乾-艮. The order in which the
Bodhisattvas emerge is thus E-W-S-N-SE-SW-NW-NE, and not the usual E-S-
W-N-SE-SW-NW-NE order found in STTS lineage texts.

20. Kambayashi (Kōgi: 341f) relates them to the five wisdoms.

TABLE 1.1

Kūkai's Analysis of R.P (Monku)

- 1. Essence of the Teaching Heard (shomon no hōtai 多門 法體) R.P/1
- 2. The One Who Hears and Grasps It (monji no hito 聞持 一人) R.P/2
- 3. The Appositeness and Uniqueness of the Time of the Hearing and Grasping (monji-wagō shikamo hi'i-ji 聞持 相合 非 尋 常) R.P/3
- 4. That Followed in the Hearing and Grasping (Expositor) (monji no shoju; kyōshu 聞持 所 從 教 主) R.P/4-10
 - 4.1. The Lord's Designation (songō 尊 命)
 - 4.2. The Excellent Virtues (shōtoku 殊 德; the Five Wisdoms)
 - 4.2.1. Great Perfect Mirror Wisdom (daienyō-chi)
 - 4.2.2. Wisdom of Equality (byōdōshō-chi)
 - 4.2.3. Wondrous Wisdom of Contemplative Discrimination (myōkanzats-chi)
 - 4.2.4. Wisdom Which Perfects That Which is Done (jōshosa-chi)
 - 4.2.4.1. Perfection of one's own practice (jigyo-jōben 自 修 成 就)
 - 4.2.4.2. Satisfaction of transforming others (keta-manzoku 化 他 滿 足)
 - 4.3. Further Designation (betsu-gō 別 号)
- 5. The Place of The Hearing And Grasping (monji no sho 處) R.P/11-15
 - 5.1. The Location (hōsho 處)
 - 5.2. The Adornment of the Place (sho-shōgon 處 莊 嚴) R.P/13-15
 - 5.2.1. General Indication (sōhyō 總 論)
 - 5.2.2. Particular Enumeration (betsu-ritsu 別 論)
 - 5.2.3. General Summary (sō-ketsu 結 語)
- 6. Those Present at the Hearing and Grasping (monji no tomo 聞持 所 在) P/16-25
 - 6.1. Indication of Number and Kind (kyō-sū/hyō-ruī)
 - 6.2. Listing of the Names (retsu-myō)²¹ R.P/17-24
 - 6.2.1. East
 - 6.2.2. West
 - 6.2.3. South
 - 6.2.4. North
 - 6.2.5. South-East
 - 6.2.6. South-West
 - 6.2.7. North-West
 - 6.2.8. North-East
 - 6.3. Splendour (igi 威 儀) R.P/25
- 7. The Excellent Virtues of the Teaching (kyō-shōtoku 教 莊 嚴) R.P/26

21. The eight Great Bodhisattvas. These follow the pattern of Mahāvairocana's Lunar Disc (dainichi-nyorai-gachirin 大 日 如 來 月 輪 命 ; 613a13).

2.3. Analysis of the Text

2.3.1. Faith, Auditor, Expositor

R.P/1-3: The opening of our Sūtra is of course the standard, traditional one, but it will nevertheless be useful to note one or two points which arise from it. Nyoze/kaku no gotoku 是くの如く raises few difficulties, translating the Skt. evam, and the "I" which "heard" (ga-bun/ware ga kiku 我が聞く) has been discussed above, in the way in which it differs in its esoteric implications in contrast with the exoteric referent (i.e. Vajrasattva rather than Ānanda). Of more interest and importance is ichi-ji/hito-toki 一時. John Brough discussed the problem of the opening of Buddhist Scriptures in his paper, "Thus Have I Heard...",²² and came to the conclusion that the punctuation in the modern Pāli-based tradition -usually translated as: "Thus have I heard; at one time the Lord..." is actually incorrect, and that it should be punctuated: "evaṃ mayā srutam ekasmin samaye | Bhagavān...", and not: "evaṃ mayā srutaṃ | ekasmin samaye Bhagavān...".²³ Brough's findings are, I think, correct and have been substantiated by Wayman.²⁴

This seemingly minor point assumes more importance when we examine texts such as ours, from the Tantric phase of Buddhist development. From a Sūtra being a teaching

22. J. BROUGH: "Thus Have I Heard...", Bulletin of the SOAS, Vol. XIII/2 (1950), pp. 416-26.

23. Op. cit., pp. 416-21. Regarding the punctuation of our texts it may be noted that Tib150 breaks after "at a certain time", Sktl50, T.220, 240, 241, 242, 243 and 244 before this. However, for the reasons given by Brough, this need not affect our findings here. Further, the texts on which the Taishō edition is based are of course relatively late, and Taishō itself is notoriously unreliable in its punctuation.

24. Cf. A. WAYMAN: "Regarding the Translation of the Buddhist Terms sañña/samjñā, vinñāna/vijñāna", in: Malalasekera Commemoration Volume (ed. O.H. de A. Wijesekera), Colombo: The Malalasekera Commemoration Volume Editorial Committee, 1976, pp. 325-35.

expounded at a certain time and in a certain place -that is a historical situation in which certain karmic factors played a decisive role and which therefore serves as an article of faith²⁵- it becomes a teaching perceived directly on a certain plane, and hence esoteric in that only beings with the requisite degree of spiritual accomplishment are capable of receiving and transmitting it. Toganoo states in this connection: "If one regards it from the standpoint of Mahāvairocana's perpetual exposition of the teaching, because Vajrapāṇi is the auditor, then the 'I' of 'Thus did I hear' concerns Vajrapāṇi and 'at a certain time' must be time without limit" (RK: 79). In the same vein -though in fact mistakenly on two counts- Hatta writes: "Atha <sic>: That time when the eye was opened to the eternal world."²⁶ This is typical of the tendency in the esoteric tradition to give even the smallest items in a text a figurative or symbolic meaning.²⁷

Amoghavajra's commentary, Rishushaku, falls somewhere between these extremes. He gives an account well attested to from the earliest texts onwards, though the esoteric implications will be clear:

25. See above, §2.1, on shin-jōju.

26. HATTA Yukio: Himitsu-kyōten -Rishukyō. Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1982, p. 61. Hatta not only gets his Sanskrit quotation wrong here, he also reads ichi-ji with Bagabon... (p.50), against our findings, above.

27. Cf. S.B. DASGUPTA: An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, Berkeley and London: Shambala, 1974, pp. 110-3, for an example of this detailed interpretation of otherwise quite unremarkable words. Dasgupta does not think that there is anything in the texts themselves to justify these interpretations: "It is needless to say that many of these derivations and interpretations are merely arbitrary and they are introduced to demonstrate some purely sectarian view" (op. cit., p. 112).

Corresponds to the time of the exposition of the Sūtra. The earth shook in the six ways²⁸ and masses of flowers rained down from the sky. Other times of course do not have these characteristics. The seeds of enlightenment²⁹ in the three vehicles completely attain the holy fruit. Accordingly one says: "At a certain time."

(T.1003: 607a12-14)

This should of course serve to remind us that esoteric texts do not contradict the earlier works, but expand and elaborate the various themes and accounts given there.

In summary, then, we may say that the signification of the opening line, though traditional in form and implication, indicates an exposition by the Tathāgata Mahāvairocana, mediated by a being of higher spiritual awareness and accomplishment.

R.P/4-10: These lines were described by Kūkai as the "excellent virtues (shō-toku 勝徳)" of Mahāvairocana, that is the "virtues of the Five Wisdoms (gochi no toku 五智の徳)".³⁰ Before going on to a detailed examination of these in turn, it will be as well to simply list these correspondences:

- R.P/4b: Daienkyō-chi (Great Perfect Mirror)
- R.P/5: Byōdōshō-chi (Equality)
- R.P/6: Myōkanzat-chi (Contemplative Discrimination)
- R.P/7f: Jōshosa-chi (Perfection of Functions)
- R.P/9: Shōjō-hokkaishō-chi (Pure Dharmadhātu)

Bagabon 薄伽梵 (Skt. bhagavant) requires no comment, except perhaps to say that it is in line with the esoteric character of the text that we receive a detailed description of his attributes -which we shall examine presently (R.P/4b-10)- before finding out where he in fact resides when he delivers this teaching: not the North Indian villages and

28. Cf. N: 1453d.

29. Cf. N: 643d: shushō 種性 means the "seed of enlightenment (satori no tane 悟の種)" not literally, but by extension.

30. Monku: 612c25f.

townships associated with the ministry of Siddhartha Gotama some 2500 years ago, but one of the heavens in the Buddhist cosmology (R.P/11-15).

R.P/4b: Of interest first, then is jōju 成就.³¹ We have of course encountered this term above in our examination of the so-called "six fruitions",³² and the meaning here, though syntactically different, is similar. The term combines both an active aspect -that of attaining a certain degree of spiritual awareness by dint of consistent practice- and a passive aspect -that of being endowed with the same through the fruition of wholesome seeds created in this process. Hence it means: "to possess in one's body", "to attain, perfect, complete", "to complete the vow (to attain this enlightenment)", "to attain the goal" (N: 744d). In the context of this Preliminary Section it means to accomplish "the most excellent sacramental wisdom of the adamantine empowerment of all the Tathāgatas", which is in fact the Great Perfect Mirror Wisdom (daienkyō-chi, Skt. ādarśa-jñāna). We have examined the significance of this wisdom and its place in the structure of the text,³³ so we will now analyse the individual terms in the text itself to see just how Amoghavajra's translation expresses this.

Issai-nyorai 一切如来, Skt. sarva-tathāgata: although this term literally indicates innumerable Enlightened Ones, in esoteric texts it signifies a specific number, namely the

31. Skt. #sidh, siddha, siddhi. The other Chinese texts give the following: T.220, 241: myōzen-jōju 如善~ ("wonderfully and well accomplished"); T.240: izen-jōju 以善成就 (similar meaning); T.242: toku 得 ("attained"); T.244: anjū 安住 (Skt. supratisthita, "abiding at ease <in a given meditative state>"). For the last, cf. N: 24a.

32. §2.1., above.

33. See the Introductory Chapter, §4.2, pp. 41-7.

pentad discussed above in the Introduction. Since these Buddhas govern all the essential -one might almost say archetypal- functions of the human psyche, they receive the appellation, "All the Tathāgatas". Further, in the sense that each of the Buddhas is endowed with all the virtues of the others, they can be seen as the basic elements of the infinite permutations of Buddhahood.³⁴ The term is commonly encountered in this sense of the five archetypal Buddhas, and is not merely relevant to the wisdom which the Lord has attained in this first line describing his virtues.

Kongō 金剛 (vajra) might be translated as either "diamond" or "thunderbolt", the latter being the weapon peculiar to Indra from Vedic times onward, both of which are covered by the adjectival translation here. There are naturally many ramifications of this ancient symbol, the most relevant for our purposes being that it represents that which is so hard as to be unbreakable by anything else, the most compact and highly-powered form of energy, likened to a diamond because that precious stone is the most compact form which the earth can assume. Being thus, it is capable of smashing through all delusions, through the web of false perception, and thereby realising the true, non-substantial nature of all phenomena, whether gross or subtle. In this sense, then, Nakamura defines it as: "Diamond (unchangeable and unbreakable) power. The Buddha's wisdom radiates and opens up the eternal mind" (N: 418c). The general principle

34. Cf. Kambayashi, Kōgi: 328. Amoghavajra's commentary is also instructive here: "These are, then, the five Buddhas of the yoga teaching. These five Buddhas themselves encompass innumerable and remainderless Buddhas of the all-pervading Dharma-sphere of space. Gathering together, they become these five bodies" (T.1003: 607a17-19).

underlying the idea of vajra is fairly clear, though of course this is not to say that the subtle ramifications and the practical reality which informs it are so readily understood. But kaji 加持 (adhīsthāna), the second component of the compound under discussion here, is less accessible. Sometimes translated as "grace", sometimes as "empowerment", it indicates a process of interaction between the secular and the divine, between Buddha and man, the enlightened and that which is in the process of becoming enlightened. I have avoided the use of the word "grace" because of the marked monotheistic connotations of the term, even though in contrast to "empowerment" it can have the necessary connotations of a two-way process which the latter does not immediately have.³⁵

Kambayashi gives a rich image of the workings of kaji, which is nevertheless typical: ka 加 is seen as the sun of the Buddha (butsu-nichi 佛日) shining into and being reflected in the water of the believer's faith (shinzui 信水); ji 持 then becomes the aspect of the latter holding this sun, this enlightenment, and not losing it (Kōgi: 320). This whole process may thus be seen as the sentient being realising (kantoku 感得) the penetrative power of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and the response of the latter in their bending down towards them (fu-ō 俯応). In this way the Path intertwines (dōkō 道交) between those who have realised and those in the process of this realisation.³⁶

35. The many and conflicting ways in which grace is defined and explained in the Christian traditions also militates against its use.

36. Cf. kan'ō/kannō (dōkō), MDJT/I: 255b; N: 190a.

Amoghavajra gives some indication of the range of this action of empowerment in his commentary, when he describes vajra in the following way:

"Adamantine empowerment" indicates the ten suchnesses, the ten dharma-kāya and the ten stages of the Tathāgatas. Accordingly, this becomes the ten-pronged (upper and lower) abode of the adamantine wisdom of great emptiness.

(T.1003: 607a19-21)

The significance of the number ten in this context is taken from the double-ended five-pronged vajra, the ritual instrument or symbol most commonly associated with the Five Tathāgatas we are dealing with here. "Upper and lower" in Amoghavajra's text refers to the two five-pointed ends of the vajra, thus giving the total of ten. In turn, there is a complex symbolism relating to well-known features of Buddhist teachings.³⁷

It will be seen, then, that the term kongō-kaji 金剛加持 has very wide-ranging implications, fitting in firstly with the basic idea of the penetrative, active aspect of the attainment of Buddhist enlightenment, secondly with the interaction between sentient beings and the enlightened and finally with an insight stressed constantly in the esoteric Shingon tradition: that of the interpenetration of all

37. The ten Suchnesses (jū-shin'nyo 一真如) are listed in Soothill (p. 52a), together with a short explanation, but BGJT: 283c, s.v. shin'nyo is more explicit and helpful; BGJT: 227aff is detailed on the ten stages (jūji 一地, daśa-bhūmi); as for the ten dharma-dhātu (jippōkai 十法界), this refers to the division of hokkai 法界 as the highest of the ten destinies (Skt. gati, expanded to ten on the basis of a tradition most commonly found around the Kegon-kyō 華嚴經, Avatamsaka-sūtra) being in turn divided into ten (BGJT: 222b). The ten stages of the Tathāgatas (jū-nyorai-ji 十如來地) are sometimes equated with the stages of the Bodhisattva's career (cf. Soothill: 48b), but in Shingon there is the further tradition of the ten stages in the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, which forms the basis of Kūkai's Jūjūshinron 十住心論, Zenshū I: 125-414 (a translation of Kūkai's digest of the ideas in the Jūjūshinron, the Hizōhōyaku ("The Precious Key to the Secret Treasury"), Zenshū I: 417-73, can be found in Hakeda, Kūkai, pp. 157-224).

phenomena both with each other and with the enlightened realm.

The final element -though in explaining this we are still some way from an understanding of the whole epithet- is sanmaya-chi 三摩耶智. The Skt. term samaya -of which the Sino-Japanese term is a transliteration- has as many as eight or nine meanings, depending on the context. Those which are of interest here are: "equality", "vow or pledge", "sacrament", even -and this seems to be an esoteric development- "mandala". Mochizuki gives a full treatment of the various alternatives,³⁸ the salient features of which are as follows: first, the meaning is given as "equality or original vow".³⁹ This may seem puzzling at first sight, but when looked at more closely, a consistent pattern emerges: since the essence of this teaching is the innate ability of all sentient beings to become Buddha (jōbutsu 成佛), enlightenment entails a profound perception of this tenet. On attaining this enlightenment, the Tathāgata sees all beings as endowed with this quality and hence essentially of the same nature, i.e. equal (byōdō 平等). Then, by dint of his innate compassion he resolves that he will work to effect this realisation in all sentient beings. Pronouncing this vow is thus the first stage in this process and hence vow and equality are two necessarily intertwined aspects of the work of the Tathāgata. Since this vow or pledge is an incursion of the holy into the profane state, an incursion which

38. Cf. Moch/II:1679bf. His account is based on the Rishushaku, the Dainichikyōsō 大日經疏 and Kūkai's Hizōki 秘藏記. See also PTSDict, s.v. samaya.

39. Honsei 本誓, distinct from hongan 本願, often also translated as Original Vow, but referring to the Original Vow of Amitābha in the context of Pure Land teachings.

has as its goal the sanctification of the latter, I have elected to translate samaya by "sacrament/al".⁴⁰

Also puzzling is perhaps the development of the term samaya in the esoteric tradition to mean mandala.⁴¹ Amoghavajra's commentary is quite explicit in identifying samaya as mandala: "'Sacramental wisdom' is the vow, or again the mandala" (607a23f). Toganoō for his part (RK: 84) regards the phenomenon as a development from one of Buddhaghoṣa's definitions of samaya, namely as "gathering, assembly" (shū-e 集会). If we consider the mandala, though, as a sphere of sacred space, to enter which requires a certain degree of spiritual attainment and the guidance of an initiated personal master,⁴² then it becomes less puzzling. By dint of this initiation one is already bound (by the empowerment of the relevant object of worship) to the task of communicating the benefits of this realisation to sentient beings.⁴³ Further, the elements of the mandala itself must necessarily partake of the Tathāgatas' pledge and represent the equality of man and Buddha.⁴⁴

40. Cf. the entry, "Sacrament" in Hastings/X: 897ff. The Skt. original, incidentally, is derived from sam + #i, "to go, come, proceed together", hence: "pact, covenant, agreement," etc. (cf. MW: 1164a).

41. Not to be confused with samaya-mandala, either as one of the four kinds of mandala in Shingon Buddhism (mahā-, samaya-, dharmā-, karmā-, cf. Hakeda, Kūkai, p. 90f), or as the samaya-mandala which is one of the nine Assemblies in the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala. While the implications may overlap, the several types are nevertheless distinctive.

42. Cf. Catherine L. ALBANESE: "The Multi-Dimensional Maṇḍala: A Study in the Interiorisation of Sacred Space." Numen, Vol. XXIV (1977), pp. 1-25; and of course, Giuseppe TUCCI: The Theory and Practice of the Mandala, London: Rider, 1961.

43. Cf. the principle of jiri-rita 自利利他, literally "self-benefit/-benefit others", one of the practices of a Bodhisattva, to which we shall frequently have occasion to refer, and which Nakamura defines as: "Naturally attaining benefits and also benefitting other people; seeking enlightenment oneself and, with regard to others, saving them and practising giving benefits" (N: 559d).

44. Two further important meanings of samaya are: "eliminating hindrances (joshō 除障)" and: "shocking into enlightenment (kyōkaku 驚覺)"

To bring together these various elements and attempt to relate them as a whole to the epithet, we must first recall that this first description of Mahāvairocana's virtues refers to adarśa-jñāna, i.e. the wisdom involved in the deepest turning of the ālaya-vijñāna. Since this wisdom reflects all things without any distortion whatever, it will be clear that the equality which we examined above is to be understood in this context in the way outlined above. It is also known as "adamantine wisdom (kongō-chi 金剛智)" because: "being the wisdom of Akṣobhya's Thunderbolt Family, and having the diamond-like nature of the hardness of the mind of enlightenment (bodaishin-kengo 菩提心堅固), it ably destroys the legions of the four demons."⁴⁵

We may now move on to an examination of the second element in the description of the Tathāgata's virtues.

R.P/5: The most important element here is kanjō-hōkan 灌頂寶冠, the consecratory jewelled diadem (of all the Tathāgatas)", on which account Mahāvairocana has assumed his position as ruler of the three spheres of desire, form and the formless.

(cf. N: 241a). Whilst interesting in themselves, they add little to what we have already said on the significance of samaya in this context. Cf. Moch: 1680a,b.

45. Cf. MDJT/II: 620c; MJT: 220f, s.v. gochi. A further point to be noted here is that Hsüan-tsang's version (T.220) has at this point byōdōshō-chi (i.e. samatā-jñāna). Although Toganoo (RK: 78) states this to be a clear parallel, it must be pointed out that it is not used in the same way as in the following epithet in our text, where this wisdom indicates the turning of manas, the seventh stage in the Yogācāra analysis of consciousness, and over which the Buddha Ratnasambhava presides. As we shall see presently, although the two usages are very close they do in fact represent distinct phases in the evolution of mind. This may be seen as proof that the respective traditions surrounding the text were different in Hsüan-tsang's time -despite perhaps his Yogācāra affiliations- and at the time of Amoghavajra, and that the latter's text presents a more clearly articulated system of esoteric teaching and practice.

Kanjō 灌頸 (Skt. abhiseka, abhi + #sic) means "initiation, consecration", and is generally traced back to the ancient Indian custom of anointing kings on their accession to the throne.⁴⁶ Water taken from the "four great seas" of the Indian cosmology was poured on the head of the monarch to express felicitation and to seal the accession.⁴⁷ Simultaneous sovereignty over a mundane realm and the spiritual sphere is a theme common in attitudes to the sovereign in many cultures and the Indian practice was taken over into Buddhism in line with the latter's view of the Buddha as one who -as this description of his qualities indicates- has attained mastery over the mundane and supra-mundane spheres. In the esoteric tradition as preserved in present day Japan, there is a full range of initiatory procedures, from those for the laity to highly specialised ceremonies for the highest orders of the priesthood.⁴⁸

This kind of abhiseka is actually specifically described in the tradition as that which takes place when a Bodhisattva finally progresses to the stage of dharma-megha (hō-un 法雲), the tenth and final bhūmi of his career. Here, all the Buddhas respond to his attainment by pouring water (i.e. water from the "Cloud of the Teaching (dharma-megha)") upon his head, simultaneously recognising and sealing his attainment of the state of dharma-rāja (hō-ō 法王), i.e. King of

46. Cf. N: 193d, et al. MW: 71a gives: "...anointing, inaugurating or consecrating (by sprinkling water), inauguration of a king, royal unction; religious bathing, absolution." J.C. HEESTERMAN: The Ancient Royal Indian Consecration, 's-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1957, contains a wealth of detail on the theme of consecration in the Vedic period.

47. Cf. on this topic D.L. SNELLGROVE: "The Notion of Divine Kingship in Tantric Buddhism", in: The Sacral Kingship. Studies in the History of Religions, Vol. IV, Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1959, pp. 204-18.

48. Cf. N: 193d again, and MDJT/I: 409c.

the Teaching. Again, the simultaneity of supra-mundane and mundane sovereignty is quite explicit.⁴⁹

Hōkan 宝冠, the consecratory diadem, is the next item which deserves our attention. Concerning the use of the term "diadem" as opposed to "crown":

"However, those names have been from ancient times confounded, yet the diadem strictly was a very different thing from what a crown now is or was; and it was no other than a fillet of silk, linen or some such things. Nor appears it that any other kind of crown was used as a royal ensign...."

The Greek diadema, Latin diadema, was a fillet of linen or silk, sometimes adorned with precious stone, or occasionally a flexible band of gold. This was the true emblem of royalty, the basileias gnorisma...or insigne regium.⁵⁰

Since the text is concerned with rulership, sovereignty, in the religious sense, it becomes clear that we should prefer the translation "diadem" over the more usual "crown". However, it should be noted that in the iconographic tradition which relates to our present topic, there are two main types of adornment for the head, the first covering the whole and the second covering only a part of the respective deity's head. Mahāvairocana and Amitābha Tathāgatas are represented sometimes with the former, sometimes with the latter type.⁵¹ With reference to the Gem Family (hōbu 宝部),

49. Cf. N: 192d; Har DAYAL: The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1932, 1970, p. 291.

50. Hastings/IV: 337a. During a stay on Jiu Hua Shan 九华山 in the Chinese province of Anhui in the spring of 1982, I was able to observe esoteric rites of the Chinese tradition, and the headdress worn by the priests there was of this nature: a thin strip of cloth or paper, worn on the front of the head and adorned in this case with five pentagonal pieces representing the Five Buddhas and their wisdoms.

51. Cf. N: 1244b; further, the Skt. mukuta denotes: "a tiara, diamond, crown (said to be crescent-shaped...), a crest, point, head." The usage is generally secular, i.e. a king's crown or diadem, but also refers to the gods (MW: 819b; cf. also Mahāvastu i.153, ii.29, ii.136, iii.178). While the distinction may not hold in all contexts, it is as well at least to keep the implications in mind when reflecting on this question. Incidentally, in a ritual centred upon Vajrasattva (T.XX/1119), part of the preliminary visualisation is concerned with visualising the Five Buddhas atop one's head, as a kind of variation on the usnīsa. In this sense they would then be a crown, insofar as they cover the whole of the

this distinction would not necessarily apply, so despite the various possibilities and ambiguities, I think we are justified in keeping the distinction outlined above and referring to hōkan 宝冠 as "diadem".

Bodhiruci's text has: "The consecratory diadem whose various marvels are sovereign over the three spheres" (T.240: 776a4f), and hence indicates: "The dharma-king who has mastery over the three spheres of delusion" (RK: 82). The three spheres here are those of desire, form and the formless, which together comprise the whole of the conditioned, mundane sphere in Buddhist cosmology.⁵² Hence the significance of this particular epithet is that the Tathāgata has gained mastery over all forms of karmic activity, gross and subtle, from the lowest hells to the highest heavens, and is thus free and sovereign in the simplest and most profound way possible. A further, implicit consequence is that having received the consecration described above, he is in the position to grant the same -through his faculty of empowerment- to sentient beings of lesser attainment.

This epithet corresponds to Ratnasambhava (Hōshō-nyorai 宝性如来), and his wisdom, that of Equality or Sameness (samātā-jñāna, byōdōshō-chi 平等性智). This perceives dharma as being ultimately the same, despite their apparent differences, in that they are all of the same, non-substantial

crown of one's head (itadaki). I have a detailed summary of this Vajrasattva ritual along with an account of its context in the esoteric tradition in an article entitled: "A Set of Six Sino-Japanese Vajrasattva Rituals" which is awaiting publication in early 1988.

52. Sangai 三界, tridhātu, viz.: yokkai 欲~, kāma-dhātu (desire), shiki-kai 色~, rūpa-dhātu (form) and mu-shiki-kai 无色~, arūpa-dhātu (the formless). Cf., e.g., Moch/II: 1467b. The place of the Rishukyō in this cosmology and the attendant significance will be examined below, when we examine the "fruition of place", in §2.3.2, pp. 82ff.

nature, this being their true nature as Suchness (shin'nyo-jissō 真如実相). When manas -the corresponding phase of consciousness- is turned towards the passions, it gives rise to all manner of foolish and perverted views, but when turned towards enlightenment, it leads to detachment from them and hence to the direct perception of this sameness of all dharma. It is attributed to the southern direction, opening up the path to full enlightenment and ascending to the status of the dharma-rāja of the three spheres; being endowed with the consecration of the cakravartin, it is also called kanjō-chi 灌頂智.⁵³

R.P/6: Issaichi-chi 一切智智 has two aspects, knowing (shiru 知了) and wisdom (chi 智), which corresponds in some degree to the Skt. sarva-jñā-jñāna. Certainly, in the Sino-Japanese tradition two distinct modes of perception are indicated, the chi of issaichi being regarded as the correct understanding of the various processes in the sphere of dharma.⁵⁴ It is related to samvṛtti-satya (relative truth) in the Mādhyamaka analysis, and accordingly has to do with the correct understanding of the workings of phenomenal existence. In the secondary literature, this chi is often glossed or replaced by chi/shi-ru, to know or understand in a conventional way. On the other hand, the second chi is nothing other than perfect insight into the true nature of things, the paramārtha-satya of the Middle Way philosophers.

53. The above is drawn from MDJT/II: 621a. Cf. also MJT: 220b: "It is the wisdom which has turned the seventh, manas, consciousness; with the attainment of this fruit one leaves discriminatory views and contemplates <things> equally." S.B. Dasgupta, Introduction, p. 160, makes the connection, too, but in the context of a different system of consecrations.

54. That is, as constituents of existence in samsāra, the interaction of mutually related events.

This twofold cognition gives us the basic lead in our inquiry into the meaning of the epithet: "...who has attained the unified, natural existence which derives from all the Tathāgatas' wisdom of all knowledges." In contrast to the foregoing two epithets -which describe those aspects of the Tathāgata's attainment which are concerned solely with illuminating the true nature of existence- this one and the following epithet have a quite distinct two-way nature. Whilst they do not lose sight of this basic perception, they are quite clearly directed towards the phenomenal world and are concerned with the correct and most effective way of using this absolute wisdom amongst sentient beings. We shall now see how this comes out in the secondary literature.

Nakamura describes issaichi-chi as (literally): "The wisdom of all known things (issaichi-sha no chi 一切智者の智), ...wisdom which knows everything exhaustively (subete wo shiri-tsukusu chi 全てを知尽くす智)" -in short a different term for Buddha Wisdom (butchi 佛智). According to I Hsing: "Knowing everything pertinent to all worlds is all-knowledge (issaichi 一切智); not only is it knowing all things but it is the wisdom which knows how things exist ultimately and in truth, as diamond-like, neither increasing nor decreasing."⁵⁵ We can see here that this wisdom is quite clearly directed towards the phenomenal world and concerned with both seeing the world as it is and with understanding it in its own terms. In this sense it is intermediate

55. N: 60b. KAWASAKI Shinjō: "Issaichi to issaichi-chi", Mikkyōgaku Kenkyū, No. 13 (Mar. 1981), pp. 1-14, gives a detailed discussion on these concepts, though his accounts are based on I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (Dainichikyō-sō 大日經疏, T.XXXIX/1796).

between the non-differentiating Wisdom of Equality and the final element in this fourfold process of differentiated wisdom, which is expressly active or functional in nature. Hence the inclusion of the term issaichi-chi connects this line with pratyaveksana-jñāna, the wonderful Wisdom which Contemplates the Distinctions <between phenomena>, to paraphrase the Sino-Japanese myōkanzai-chi, and with the Tathāgata Amitābha and his prime emanation, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.⁵⁶ Through pratyaveksana-jñāna, the Bodhisattva perceives the manifold situations in which sentient beings find themselves, expounds the Dharma accordingly and eliminates their feelings of doubt.⁵⁷

Yuga-jizai 瑜伽自在 occurs quite frequently in esoteric texts, and both elements of the term are closely related in meaning. Yuga is of course the Sino-Japanese corruption of the Skt. yoga, and the basic meaning in this tradition revolves around the aspect of being joined or united (yukta) in the following manner: "Mutual correspondence (sō-ō 相应), conforming the practitioner's functions of body, speech and mind to those of the Buddha" (N: 1380b). According to Nakamura, the meaning of yuga-jizai as a single term is: "Perfect freedom of body (shintai 身体) and mind (shin 心). The sphere where mind blends with mind." (N: 1380d) A closer look at the concept of jizai will clarify

56. The character kan 観, "contemplate" is common to both the name of the wisdom and the name of the Bodhisattva (Kanzeon).

57. MDJT, s.v. gochi, loc. cit. This wisdom corresponds to the mano-vijñāna and to the Lotus or Dharma Family. Because it has the virtue of eliminating doubts by expounding the Teaching, it is called: "The Wisdom which Turns the Wheel of the Teaching (tenbōrin-chi 轉法輪智)." Note the ambiguity of the term dharma again: the sense of "factor" is implicit in the Bodhisattva's contemplation of the things (dharma) of the world, that of the truth of the Buddha's teaching is implicit in the aspect of expounding it to sentient beings.

this. Originally the translation of Iśvara, meaning Lord, Sovereign, in the esoteric literature, the idea of interpenetration and its concomitant -natural, spontaneous and free existence- is what is intended.

The various meanings of jizai encompass acting at will, freely doing one's will, being able to do this, the realm where this is possible. Further, it is existence in accord with oneself, one's true self, independence from that which binds. Again, it has connotations of things which human beings desire, even the actual act of desiring itself. Body and mind work freely and at ease, without being fettered. From here it is a small step to indicate the powers possessed by the innumerable Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, powers which indicate their freedom of action, gained through their true perception of the world and for the weal of all sentient beings. These are generally supernatural powers, which enable the Bodhisattva to make natural phenomena conform to his will, to control them in such a way that sentient beings are benefitted.⁵⁸

R.P/7: Issai-in-byōdō 一切印平等, "the sameness of all the Seals of all the Tathāgatas", indicates the four so-called "wisdom-seals" (Skt. jñāna-mudrā), namely: great (dai 大), sacrament (sanmaya 三摩耶), dharma (hō 法) and action (katsuma 羯摩).⁵⁹ These four taken together are

58. Cf. N: 551c. The Tibetan dbañ, of dbañ-phyug (Iśvara, Avalokiteśvara) also indicates power of this nature (Das: 906a; Jäschke: 386a). Moch: 1774b lists various explanations of jizai, mostly derived from Avatamsaka-sūtra materials, the main one being a ten-by-ten explanation of the various kinds of jizai, all of which indicate that this kind of self-existence is in no way intended as "small self" or "ego-existence", but self-consciousness based on true wisdom and activity for the benefit of sentient beings. Perhaps "natural" would be closer to the intention of the character ji 自 (i.e. read mizukara).

59. Mahā-, sanmaya-, dharma- and karma-, which are parallel to the four

a complete expression of the actions of an enlightened one, actions which are based on an equal, non-discriminating love for sentient beings.⁶⁰ Individually, the effects of practising them are as follows:

- 1) dai-chi'in 大智印: by means of the five characteristics (goso 五相) one attains union with the object of one's devotion (honzon 本尊). This meditation is known as: "The contemplation whereby one attains the body (of truth) through the five marks (or characteristics).⁶¹ The deity in this case is Vajradhātu Mahāvairocana, and the wisdoms involved are called: "The Five Unlimited Wisdoms (go-musai-chi 五無量智)".
- 2) sanmaya-chi'in 三摩耶智印: Mochizuki describes this as follows: "Joining both hands one perfects the Seal, generating it from the Thunderbolt Bond."⁶² It is the Wisdom of the inner attainment of the equality of the Tathāgata's great merciful Pledge, that is the Seals practised by the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas and by the practitioner.
- 3) Hō-chi'in 法智印: This refers to the seed syllable (bīja) of the Lord, and indicates thus the samādhi of the dharma-kāya; it is the marvellous dharma-wisdom (myōhō-chi 妙法智) of the purity of original nature, which the seed-syllables (shuji 種子, bīja) of the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas represent in compressed form.⁶³

kinds of mandala observed above (p. 70, note 41). For material on the seals as found in later Indian Tantric Buddhist literature, cf. Per KVAERNE: "On the Concept of Sahaja in Indian Buddhist Tantric Literature", Temenos, Vol. 11 (1975), pp. 88-135, esp. p. 115ff.

60. Cf. N: 58a: "All practices being in accordance with equal love (byōdō na ai ni yoru koto 平等な愛によること)." Further: "The three qualities of body, speech and mind which are the expression of all seals (issai no in-gen-taru 一切の印現たる...)". Mochizuki is more detailed (Moch: 3549b) and also lists some alternative terms for issai-in 一切印: shi-in 四印, shi-chi-in 四智印, shishu-chi-in 四柱智印.

61. These five are: (i) tsutatsu-bodaishin 透達菩提心, "the thoroughly penetrating mind of enlightenment"; (ii) shu-bodaishin 修菩提心, "cultivating the mind of enlightenment"; (iii) jō-kongōshin 成金剛心, "becoming the adamant mind"; (iv) shō-kongōshin 恆金剛心, "realising the adamant mind"; (v) busshin-enman 佛心円満, "the perfect satisfaction of the Body of Buddha". These are, it will be seen, attributes of the central Buddha Mahāvairocana, and through meditation upon these attributes or characteristics, the practitioner attains identity-union, yuga 瑜伽 / yoga- with the object of his devotion (honzon 本尊).

62. Kongō-baku 金剛結, vajra-bandha or vajra-bandhana, a reference to one of the six fundamental hand clasps in use in Shingon Buddhism; cf. MDJT/II: 717c.

63. One might note in this connection that the dharma-mandala (hō-mandara 法曼荼羅) consists of depictions of these syllables. In the Japanese tradition these are usually in the calligraphic style based on and developed from the Indian siddham script. Hence each deity in a given mandala is not depicted in his or her iconographic form: the relevant space is filled by a bīja, drawn in the style just described. On the siddham script, see R.H. van GULIK: Siddham: An Essay on the

4) katsuna-chi'in 羯摩智印: this is the wisdom-function (chi-yō 智用) of the activity of self-benefit and benefitting others (jiri-rita 自利利他). As such it is the formal mark⁶⁴ of the majesty (igi 威德) of the Tathāgata. This is expressed concretely in the mudrā of the two Thunderbolt Fists (vajra-musti, kongō-ken 金剛拳), which represents action on the basis of the realisation of the true, adamant nature of all things.

Jigō 事業 refers most simply to the Sanskrit karman, the most important aspects here being: (i) functioning (hataraki 勤怠), action (shigusa 為種) or work (shigoto 仕事), the performing of a deed in the broadest sense; (ii) actions which are to be done,⁶⁵ in the sense that it is incumbent upon the Bodhisattva to seek enlightenment. It also refers to the concrete practice of mudrā, the Mystery of Body, and refers then as a whole to the first part of the jiri-rita scheme of Bodhisattva practice.⁶⁶

R.P/8: This line is the second aspect of the final major stage in the evolution of the Five Wisdoms, where the insight gained is finally turned towards concrete tasks in the spheres of sentient beings. Accordingly, Kūkai calls this epithet: "Transforming others and fulfilling them."⁶⁷ That is, the task is seen as one of transformation, of bringing about in others the aspiration towards enlightenment, the same profound disposition which informs much of

History of Sanskrit Studies in China and Japan, Sarasvati-Vihara Series, ed. Raghu Vira, Vol. 36, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1956; TAKUBO Shūyo: Bonji-Shittan, Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1981; TOKUYAMA Kijun: Bonji-tebiki, Tokyo: Mokujiisha, 1976. The last is mainly intended as a practical guide, though it does contain useful information in addition.

64. I.e. an outwardly visible characteristic, form, (gyōsō 行相, N: 246d).

65. Cf. N: 566c, "nasu-beki koto 為事也, ...nasu-beki shigoto ~仕事."

66. Kūkai gives the appellation jigyō-jōben 自行成弁, lit.: "self-practice, become discernment", i.e. one attains true discernment, true understanding through one's own practice of the mystic way (Monku: 613a5).

67. Take-manzoku 他化満足; Monku: 613a6.

the way of the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas. Whilst the fulfilment of desires or wishes (igan 意願) refers to those of a more mundane nature, too, it has its more elevated aspect of the desire for enlightenment, for advancement beyond the merely mundane and the material -and the attendant suffering. It is the function of the Bodhisattva at this stage to turn the benefits of his own practice and realisation (jiri 自利) over to other sentient beings, thereby benefitting them (rita 利他). That this activity of salvation is not limited in scope is shown by the phrase: "in all the realms of sentient beings" (issai-shujō-kai 一切衆生界), which are held to be infinite in their permutations ("inexhaustible and without remainder" (mujin-mujo 無盡無除).) ⁶⁸

R.P/9-10: The final line in this long description of the Tathāgata's virtues represents the absolute aspect of wisdom, shōjō-hokkaishō-chi 清淨法界性智, the original wisdom of Mahāvairocana himself. ⁶⁹ The predominant theme is

68. Cf. N: 631c, where shujō-kai 衆生界 is given as a composite name for the nine spheres outside the sphere of the Buddha (bukkai 佛界), with which it is contrasted. These nine spheres are of course not definitive in number, but merely the major permutations of the spheres of sentient beings. Their significance in the esoteric tradition depends on their being identical with the Buddha, in the sense of being perfectly interpenetrated with it. (Nakamura bases this observation on a line in the Avatamsaka-sūtra, "The mind, Buddha and sentient beings are three distinctions which do not exist" <T.IX:466c>) One final point concerning this line is that sagō 作業, though meaning simply action or function, also has the connotation of ascetic practice for the purpose of attaining satori (cf. N: 437c).

69. Daibirushana-nyorai 大毘盧遮那如來 is a different signification (betsugō 別号) for the Lord, in Kūkai's division, and grammatically the whole of the passage from R.P/4-9 should be seen as qualifying this title. R.P/4 and 10 identify the Sūtra as esoteric (preached by the Dharmakāya Buddha himself), emanating ultimately from that which is everlasting radiance (to freely paraphrase Mahāvairocana). The whole section encompasses the whole of the basic teaching, on the basis of which the following chapters will form the particular teaching of the Rishukyō.

the timeless nature of the Tathāgata and the consequence of this: namely that he is essentially adamantine in all three of his functions (of body, speech and mind, shingoi-go-kongō 身語意金剛). Sanze 三世 refers to the three stages of past, present and future, that is, the progression of time to which we are subject as long as we are unable to live fully in the present moment. Horiuchi distinguishes between two types of time, objective and subjective, the former determined by movements in the world about us, the latter being determined by subjective impressions, and thus part of our suffering nature.⁷⁰ It is the subjective aspect which is to be overcome by ascetic practices and the empowerment of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. When one is able to live, so to speak, at the cutting edge of time, then one has mastery over past, present and future. Then one is perpetually (jōkō 常恒), at all stages of the three "worlds" or "generations" (sanze), adamantine -that is, the esoteric term for the indestructible state of enlightenment.

2.3.2. Locus

R.P/11: All the versions of the Rishukyō are unanimous in placing the events in this Sūtra in the paranirmita-vaśavartin heaven (yokukai-take-jizai-tennō-gu 欲界他化自在天王宮), which is of course an integral part of the Buddhist cosmology. It therefore occurs in various places in the Canon, and Toganoo quotes the Avatamsaka-sūtra and Hsien-shou as examples.⁷¹ Mochizuki states further that it is

70. In his article on the structure of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala ("Kongō-kai-mandara no kōsei"), in MATSUNAGA Yūkei, ed.: Mandara -iro to katachi no imi-suru mono-, Asahi Culture Books, No. 19, Osaka: Osaka Shoseki, 1983, p. 179.

71. RK: 90. Cf. also the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha (Compendium of Philosophy), Pt. 5 (PTS ed., pp. 137ff), which gives the classification of

frequently given as an example when Sūtras give a description of the Pure Land of the Buddhas.⁷²

Before we proceed to an examination of the nature of this heaven and an analysis of the text, it will be helpful to place it in its cosmological context.

2.3.2.1. The Paranirmita-vaśavartin Heaven in the Buddhist Cosmology

The most basic division of the conditioned sphere as conceived by the Indian Buddhists is threefold: the spheres of desire (kāma-dhātu, yoku-kai 欲界), of form (rūpa-dhātu, shiki-kai 色界) and the formless (arūpyadhātu, mushiki-kai 無色界).⁷³ Put briefly, these spheres represent stages in the meditational process, from being governed by desire, through a sphere of pure forms, then through stages where one's mental processes become increasingly refined, to the point in fact where all perception ceases. This last stage is that of naiva-samjñānāsamjñā (hisō-hihisō-jo 非想非非想地), the uppermost reach of the conditioned sphere.⁷⁴ It is here that one becomes confronted most immediately with the paradox of reaching nirvāna, for it lies even beyond this refined point, a point which is as far as one's efforts can take one. The Rishukyō, for reasons which underline its importance as a widely used ritual text in the Japanese Shingon tradition, is concerned with less austere realms, to which we shall now turn.

the whole cosmology. Paranimitta-vasavartin is translated there as: "The gods who make others' creation serve their own ends."

72. Moch/IV: 3467b.

73. H.V. GUENTHER: Buddhist Philosophy in Theory and Practice, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972, p. 48, gives a full enumeration of the various stages, though the tradition upon which he bases his description is slightly different to the one here.

74. Cf. N: 1125c.

2.3.2.2. The Structure of the Sphere of Desire

The kāmadhātu contains all beings dominated by the force of desire, that is, desire as an integral part of the cause of one's prolonged entanglement in samsāra. Significantly, this includes not only those beings which are obviously thus dominated -us humans, for example- but also the first six classes of gods in the Indian system we are dealing with here. These are known as the six heavens of the sphere of desire (yoku-kai-roku-ten 欲界六天).⁷⁵

The nature of desire in this sphere undergoes a change as one progresses upwards, though it is always related to the five physical senses.⁷⁶ The Abhidharma-kośa gives us the clearest indication of this change, as can be seen in de la Vallée Poussin's translation:⁷⁷ "Il y a des êtres à la disposition desquels se trouvent placés des objets désirables (kāmaguṇa); ils disposent de ces objets." This includes unenlightened man and the first four classes of gods, and means effectively that happiness in these spheres is

75. For the sake of completion, the whole of the kāma-dhātu may be listed thus: (1) the hells (eight in number); (2) the titan, hungry ghost, animal and human spheres; (3) the heavens, of which there are six in the kāmadhātu: (i) four Guardian Kings (shi-tennō 四天王, caturmahārāja); (ii) the Heaven of the Thirty-three (sanjūsan-ten 三十三天, trayastrimśa); (iii) Yāma-deva (Yama-ten); (iv) Tuṣita-deva (toshita-ten 兜率天 / Tosotsu-ten 兜率天); (v) Nirmāna-rati-deva (raku-henka-ten 樂變化天); (vi) Paranirmita-vaśavartino-deva (Take-jizai-ten 化乐天). There are various minor differences in the Buddhist traditions; the one here is that found in the Abhidharma-kośa, a text which is still -after nearly a millenium and a half- a basic part of the curriculum in the training monasteries and universities of Japan. Cf. also N: 1396d; Hanashi: 138; for a slightly different scheme, Soothill: 356b. The so-called "Wheel of Life" (more correctly, the "Wheel of Generation", bhāvacakra), most commonly known from Tibetan depictions, is probably the best known graphic representation of the six destinies (roku-shu 六趣, sadgati) of the kāmadhātu.

76. Hence the term go-yoku 五欲, "the five desires", which is often found in the secondary literature.

77. Abhidharmakośa, III, §71a-b (translation: VALLÉE POUSSIN, Louis de La: L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, Mélanges Chinoises et Bouddhiques, Vol. XVI (1971), Tome II, p. 166).

dependent on the circumstances in which one finds oneself being in accord with what one desires. One is thus exposed to the karmic vicissitudes of the world, which to the unenlightened mind of this stage seem arbitrary.⁷⁸ The second phase in the process of change in the nature of desire is that where: "Il y a des êtres dont les objets désirables sont créés par eux-mêmes: ils disposent de ces objets qu'ils créent." This describes the nature of the nirmāna-rati heaven, where one has the ability to control the object upon which happiness depends, by creating them oneself. The final stage in the process is thus a logical step: "Il y a des êtres dont les objets désirables sont créés par d'autres et qui disposent de ces objets créés par d'autres." In this topmost stage of the sphere of desire, then, one neither needs to depend on the vicissitudes of the world nor has one to expend any effort in satisfying one's desires. Thus various ways in which the term paranirmita-vaśavartin has been defined stand in need of revision.⁷⁹ Har Dayal, however, is quite accurate: "The name may mean: 'who control or exercise power over the creations of the gods immediately below them on the list'." Edgerton gives: "Controlling (enjoyments) magically created by others" (BHSD: 319a), which also gives the basic implications accurately. A further point to come out of this last definition is that the enjoyments are magical. The explanation for this, which is

78. We shall see presently that insight into conditioned co-production (pratītya-samutpāda, engi 緣起) arises at the stage related to the paranirmita-vaśavartin heaven.

79. Har Dayal, op. cit., p. 370 (note 479 to Ch. 5, whence the following quotation in my text is taken), gives summaries of various explanations which are at variance with our findings here.

borne out by the Sino-Japanese term kesa 化作, ⁸⁰ is that the enjoyments of which the gods of this heaven avail themselves are created in spheres more rarified than that of this material world, and while they are regarded as perfectly natural in the Buddhist view, they seem miraculous only from our standpoint.

2.3.2.3. Description of the gods of the Paranirmita-vaśavartin heaven

The first point to be noted in this connection is that there is no clear distinction between "gods" and "heaven", the same word being used for both (deva, ten 天). This has significance when we come to examine the relationship between the inhabitants of this sphere and the abode itself.⁸¹ Whilst they are overtly distinguished in our text (ten-nō-gu 天王宮), they are interpreted as being two aspects of the same reality. If we regard this in the light of what was said earlier concerning siddhi (jōju 成就), then it becomes clearer: as one accumulates merit one finds oneself in spheres which correspond to the new levels of insight gained in the various practices, and one's surroundings are thus regarded as an integral part of one's degree of attainment. Thus the inhabitants of the paranirmita-vaśavartin heaven are not only the god Takejizaiten and the rest of the

80. Toganoo (RK: 90) says that these gods absorb the pleasures which derive from the magical transformations of the gods in the lower heavens (ge-ten 下天). Cf. also MJT: 487a. N: 291c refers to supernatural powers quite clearly: "To create supernatural power (jinzū-riki 神通力)." The Tibetan gshan-hphrul-dbañ-byed brings this out, too.

81. Cf. TODARO, Dale: "An Annotated English Translation of the Tenth Stage of Kūkai's Jūjūshinron", Mikkyō Bunka, Vol. 147 (Sept. 1984), p. 83: "'Palace' clarifies that the body and mind mutually are the dwellers and the dwelling." Todaro's short introduction contains some useful information and observations on Kūkai's synthetic intent and the controversies which it has caused in the course of the history of Buddhism in Japan.

assembly there (tenshu 天衆), but also the Tathāgatas sojourning there and the Bodhisattvas of the sixth stage (bhūmi, ji 地). This last point is the most significant here, so we will turn to this now, before giving a short description of the permanent occupants.⁸²

The Sixth Bodhisattva-bhūmi,
abhimukhi (genzenchi 現前地)

Amoghavajra's commentary gives the first indication that this heaven corresponds to the sixth bhūmi. He interprets the palace as being the rank of Bodhisattvas of the sixth stage, in which they abide in the contemplation of the prajñāpāramitā (T.1003: 607c3ff). Toganoo mentions the Ninnōkyō 仁王經⁸³ and other texts as being the basis of this manner of assigning the stages of the Bodhisattva's career to the ten heavens (six in the sphere of desire, four in that of form), and states further that this heaven is particularly suited to the exposition of the Sūtra, though he does not articulate on this point (RK: 90).

From N: 338d we learn that the true workings⁸⁴ of pratītya-samutpāda are revealed before one's eyes at this stage. This brings out the import of the character zen 前, "before, in front of", and this stage's association with the pratītya-samutpāda formula: "Parce qu'on y comprend que la nature des choses est semblable à un reflet, parce que les bodhisattvas dans la sixième terre s'appuient sur la vérité du chemin, parce qu'elle est tournée vers le principe des

82. "Permanent" in the sense that they are there as the result of the workings of karma, and not as part of a pattern of attainment which transcends the limits of this heaven.

83. The Benevolent Kings Sūtra, T.VIII/245; Conze has translated this in SPT: 165-183.

84. Nakamura uses sugata (form, shape) here.

parfaits Buddhas, cette terre s'appelle Abhimukhī."⁸⁵ From the Sanskrit, the term abhimukhī becomes clear: it denotes a facing towards (mukhī) something higher (abhi), namely enlightenment. From the Japanese secondary literature being consulted here, we can see that the significance of the stage has more to do with the Bodhisattva being poised between samsāra and nirvāna, at a point where the respective natures of the two spheres are perceived clearly. This is in fact one of the most stressed points in the Rishukyō, with its teaching of Great Bliss (mahāsukha) and the taints of the passions (samkleśa) as a way to enlightenment. We shall be turning to this in the following chapter. Nasu Seiryū states the surface meaning of the location in the sixth stage to be that this heaven attracts sentient beings (on a hedonistic basis, through the effortless bliss experienced), and they are then transformed by the preaching of the prajñāpāramitā there.⁸⁶

The God Takejizaiten

Originally this god was one of the horde of Māra, which obstructed Śākyamuni on the night of his enlightenment, but was overcome when the latter called the earth to witness and subdued the horde. He is known by various names, among them: Takeraku-ten 他化樂天, Takejiten-ten 他化自在天, Keōshō-ten 化乐天, Jizai-ten 自在天, Take-ten 他化天

85. Candrakīrti, quoted by Dayal, *op. cit.*, p. 289. There is little in the material mentioned by Dayal to suggest an immediate connection here, and one can only assume that -as elsewhere in the Buddhist schools- it is due to the desire common in Buddhism to fabricate numerologically significant systems.

86. Tatsui: 44. The term shōke 摄化 is important here, and means: "To attract and transform," i.e. to attract sentient beings -in this case with the blissful delights of the place of exposition- and then to transform their tendency to further entanglement into a progression towards the goal of enlightenment; cf. also N: 738d.

and Dairoku-ten 第六天 . Kambayashi refers to the demon-kings of the sixth heaven.⁸⁷ Takejizaiten has a flesh-coloured body, carries an arrow in his right hand (which is in the praying position, añjali), and a bow in his left. His left arm is bent at the elbow, and the bow is held with the small, ring and middle fingers, the index finger pointing outwards. He is found in the Exterior Thunderbolt section (ge-kongō-bu 外金剛部) of the Garbhakośa Maṇḍala, eastern quarter, under Indra (Teishaku-ten 帝釈天).⁸⁸

2.3.3. The Meaning and Implications of the Term Paranirmita-vaśavartin

We have seen that the term is generally translated into Chinese as take-jizai-ten 他化自在天 . We will take the elements of this phrase separately.

Take 他化 : ke 化 has already been mentioned above. Its primary meaning is "to change, transform", with further meanings of "to bewitch, enchant; influence, transform (someone, morally)". Both the meanings of (magical) transformation and improvement in the context of the Buddhist code are applicable here, the former in the sense of the pleasures of the lower heavens -which as we have seen are supernatural in nature- the latter in the sense that the change in the nature of desire and its satisfaction takes its significance from the upward progress of the Bodhisattva

87. Kōgi: 329 (Dairoku-ten no maō 第六天の魔王).

88. Cf. Moch/IV: 3467c; his bīja are given variously as pam, pā, ro; the bow and arrow are his samaya (as also for Rāgarāja, Aizen Myōō). The arrow points downwards, which is the orthodox direction (in the representations of Aizen in the heterodox Tachikawa Sect, for example, the arrow is held pointing upwards), and the bow and arrow together are said to indicate sovereignty in the sphere of desire (yokukai no jizai 欲界の自在). In the Garbhakośa Maṇḍala, position 330, he is accompanied by two attendants, who hold lotuses, the symbols of his family. Cf. MJT: 487a; BZT: 152a.

through ever more refined stages towards full enlightenment.⁸⁹

Take may thus be said to have the primary meaning of "the transformations of others", meaning the pleasures which the lower gods have created. In some interpretations of the nature of this heaven there is the overt implication that these pleasures are forcibly taken by those who abide there, but this is not necessarily so. If we think of the nature of spiritual attainment, then it becomes clear that when a particular stage, a particular type of spiritual exercise has been mastered, then one is in full possession of it, it becomes an integral part of one's whole make-up, and one's subsequent actions are a spontaneous expression of this. In this sense of possessing a spiritual benefit, the overriding characteristic of the gods in this heaven may also be interpreted as absorbing, reaping the benefits of past wholesome merit (though the fact that the gods -the permanent dwellers- are consistently described as demon-kings (maō 魔王) or an assembly of demons (mashu 魔衆) does not of course mean that the less pleasant alternative is ruled out.

These considerations lead us on naturally to the next element in the term, namely jizai 自在. Plainly, it means "naturally, spontaneously existent", and the import should now be clear from the foregoing. The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas exist in this manner because they have overcome the various barriers which come between the individual and freedom from suffering. (For this reason, the additional qualifier jiyū 自由, "freedom", is often found in the

89. Cf. T.1003: 607c28f; Hanashi: 244.

secondary literature.)⁹⁰

In Mochizuki's definition of this heaven, there is an implicit connection between desire and bliss on the one hand, and the function of receiving/sensation (juyō 受用, vedanā) on the other: he states that it is so called because they naturally (jizai ni 自在に) receive (juyō-shi 受用) ^()⁹¹ the sphere of desire that has been magically created by others.⁹² Again, this theme -the relationship between desire and bliss and the importance of the vedanā aspect in descriptions of nirvāna and the path towards it- will be taken up in more detail in the following chapter.⁹³

2.3.4. Exoteric and Esoteric Explanations of paranirmita-vaśavartin

The secondary literature in the Shingon tradition differentiates between two levels of interpretation, the shallow (sen 浅, senryaku 浅略) and the profound (shin 深, shinpi 深秘); alternatively the exoteric (kengyō 觀教) and the esoteric (mikkyō 密教) explanations. The former

90. Cf., e.g., Hanashi: 140.

91. I.e. perform the function of receiving (in the manner that one receives sensory impressions in the sphere of ordinary human experience, for example, juyō 受用 being the term for vedanā).

92. "Hoka no kesa-seru yoku-kyō wo 他の化作了破境を..." Moch/IV: 3467a.

93. It may be useful, as a confirmation of the above findings, to give a short analysis of the Sanskrit term paranirmita-vaśavartin: para simply means "other(s)" here; nirmita comes from nir + #mā, "create, form", in the sense of giving a process concrete form. (#mā is also the root of māyā, often translated "illusion", but which more accurately indicates that which is "meted out, measured", in contrast to the immeasurability which is the very nature of Brahman; similarly, these transformations are formal indications of a certain level of spiritual activity.) Vaśa is derived from #vaś, "to will, command, wish for", and vartin from #vrt, "to subsist, be in any condition or state, abide". Hence vartin means one who is in a state of command over something, one who exists freely in a given state (an inkling of which may be seen in the German innehaben). Hence -in the light of what has been said above- the Sino-Japanese jizai is a faithful expression of this idea. The Sanskrit title may thus be translated, "One who has command over that which is created by others <in the lower sectors of the cosmology>."

(shallow/exoteric) refers to the correspondences to the bodhisattva-bhūmi examined above. Toganoo equates the difference between the two ways of regarding the text to the great differences between individuals, and singles out K'uei-chi's commentary on T.220 as typical.⁹⁴

The esoteric explanations given in the literature we are dealing with vary. Nasu points out that in the upper two spheres there is no suffering, a point echoed by Horiuchi, who states that though desire has largely disappeared in the sphere of form, there are nevertheless still traces of substantiality, and hence only the uppermost sphere -that of the formless- is truly spiritual. Nasu states also that the paranirmita-vaśavartin heaven is a preparatory stage for entry into the spheres of non-suffering, since although the five desires are still present, they have been purified. Kambayashi makes the same point, in that he describes this heaven as the sphere where the five desires reach their consummate (pure) nature, the highest ground of bliss (saijō no raku-do 最上の樂土).⁹⁵

In a similar vein, Toganoo comments that this heaven symbolises the teaching of the purity of great desire (dai-yoku-shōjō 大欲清淨), and the excellence of the five

94. RK: 90; K'uei-chi 頌基 (Jion-daishi 慈因大師)'s commentary is the Jussan, see above, p. 13, n.41. Cf also Tatsui: 44; MDJT/III: 1555c.

95. Kōgi: 329. Nasu's explanation is in Tatsui: 44. The latter also mentions the principle of intai-soku-ka 因体即果, "the essence of the cause is itself the fruit", a fundamental idea in the Tantras, and present -arguably- in Buddhist writings as a whole. One might explain it as taking the energy which is bound up with desire and reversing its downward, binding tendency, forcing it upwards towards the sphere of the spiritual. This is the same basic idea as bonnō-soku-bodai 煩惱即菩提, "the passions themselves are enlightenment", which is a more common expression in the Tantras. Horiuchi's comments are in Hanashi: 138. He characterises the three spheres here as: yoku no sekai 欲の世界 (desire), busshitsu no sekai 物質の世界 (form), busshitsu mo nai sekai 物質もない世界 / seishin no sekai 精神の世界 (formless).

desires (goyoku no shūshō 五欲の殊勝). For one who has opened his consciousness to an awareness of the actual, but hidden nature of the world (and perceives with the secret eye, himitsu-gen 秘密眼), the five desires hold no fear, since their basic nature is pure and beyond the opposition of good and evil. He warns of the dangers inherent in this approach, which can cause serious spiritual injury if taken wrongly. The heaven is thus neither more nor less than a mandala, a locus within the confines of which an individual works with the forces latent in his or her own psycho-physical complex, in order to sever the bonds to samsāra (RK: 91). We will now examine this idea more closely.

2.3.5. The paranirmita-vaśavartin heaven as a mandala

Amoghavajra describes this heaven specifically as a mandala, more precisely as the mahā-mandala of Mahāmoghavajrasattva.⁹⁶ It is the "great and wonderful gemmed palace of the adamantine peaks adorned with the five adamantine gems".⁹⁷ It has four directions and eight pillars, which are the eight pillars occupied by the eight Great Bodhisattvas (hachi-dai-bosatsu 八大菩薩); in common with the majority of mandala schemes found in this tradition, it also has four gates. Occupying the central position is Vairocana, and the whole mandala explains salvation through the wisdom of inner attainment.

This mandala is, then, an altar to the Buddha (butsu-dan 佛壇), which is constructed now, in this conditioned sphere, and of which Kambayashi also speaks. A further point

96. Dai-fukū-kongō-satta 大不安金剛薩埵; T.1003: 607c9.

97. Daimyō-kongō-go-hōshojō-kongōbu-hōroraku 大妙金剛五雲所成金剛峰室樓閣.
T.1003: 607c11f.

which the latter makes, and which is of paramount importance for our understanding of this Sūtra, is that this mandala combines elements of the two primary Shingon scriptural sources, the STTS and the MVS. The five peaks represent the five peaks of the Diamond Peak Sūtra, and the eight pillars are explained as the eight petals of the central assembly of the MVS: "That is, the meaning that it is the palace wherein resides the dharmakāya of principle and wisdom (ri'chi-hosshin 理智法身) -the two aspects, Thunderbolt and Womb (kon'tai-ryōbu 金胎两部) - is expressed as self-evident."⁹⁸

2.3.6. The Transformation of Desire

This theme, central to Tantric thought in general, comes out most explicitly in two aspects of this Sūtra: in the location of the drama in this particular heaven, and in the stress on the importance of Great Bliss. Since it will be more fruitful to examine the theme of the transformation of desire in the next chapter, we will simply draw together the relevant points from the foregoing and add some observations.

We have seen the importance of the position of the heaven at the topmost point of the sphere of desire, where desire has been purified and the Bodhisattva stands between sam-sāra and the path to nirvāna -immediately prior in fact to entry into the first dhyāna. In this context, the fact that Māra and his horde have been overcome indicates not that the Bodhisattva is free from performing this task himself when he finally ascends to the locus of enlightenment (bodai-jō

98. Kōgi: 330; cf. also RK: 91 and above, p. 41.

菩提場, bodhi-manda), but that the possibility exists for this. It may thus be seen as a concrete indication of the possibility of enlightenment, a possibility which forms a focal point for the Bodhisattva to develop his faith in the path he is treading as an effective means to liberation. Further, the fact that this task has been achieved by Śākya-muni serves as a constant reminder that the reversal necessary to sever the karmic bonds is possible.

In this context, we will draw attention to a question raised by Kambayashi, namely why should Vairocana, who embodies the Absolute, be present in this heaven? It belongs after all to the sphere of desire, in which mortals such as ourselves exist. His answer is that Vairocana manifests himself in this heaven, where the Bodhisattvas of the sixth stage are engaged in the subduing of the gods, in order to ensnare beings still under the influence of the five desires.⁹⁹ To accomplish this task, he abides in the form of Vajrasattva in the samādhi of "the great taint of greed, which is great bliss".¹⁰⁰ Further, one must not forget that Vairocana is engaged in the wonderful activity (myō-gō 妙業) of transforming others (keta 化他; Kōgi: 329).

99. This is in apparent contradiction to the idea in the previous paragraph, and the explanation in my opinion lies in the fact that in the late stage of Buddhist thought to which this material belongs, the different instances of overcoming Māra and his retinue are not simply the same reality, but are to be explained in their separate contexts. It will be clear now that this heaven is not simply a stage of the Buddhist cosmology, but does in fact have a number of different but interlocking interpretations. The most crucial point is perhaps that the various processes are two-way, man/Buddha-Buddha/man, which is of course also how the various patterns of the Two Maṇḍala are to be interpreted. On the concept of "ensnaring beings", see above, p. 88, n. 86, on shōke 攝化。

100. Dairaku-daitonzen 大衆大負染; cf. MDJT/III:1546a.

2.3.7. Description of the Individual Adornments

We now come to the description of the palace itself. Apart from the reference to the five gems,¹⁰¹ there is no mention in Rishushaku of any particular way of interpreting the various adornments as corresponding to specific points in esoteric doctrines. Kūkai for his part gives only two basic divisions -the name of the heaven and its adornments- but offers no details as to how the enumeration is to be read.¹⁰² We will see how the modern interpreters read and interpret the text at this point, and leave aside for the moment the question of when the tradition began to interpret the simple description in the Sūtra in an overtly symbolic way.

The first point of interest is the description, dai-maniden 大摩尼殿. MDJT/III:1540a indicates that the palace derives this epithet as a consequence of its being adorned with gems, but the significance of these ornaments only becomes clear from reference to the other Chinese versions of our text. From T.220, 240 and 241 it is clear that the gems in the hall function in a way reminiscent of Indra's net, namely that the different colours of light reflected through them intermingle in a manner which gives an immediate image of the interpenetration of all dharma, and the implied revelation of the dharmakāya. Specifically, these gems are fivefold, in line with the pentad of the central Buddhas, and are named by Kambayashi and Nasu as follows:¹⁰³

101. T.1003: 607c11.

102. The adornments are split into three groups, (1) general description (sōhyō 総接), (2) specific examples (betsurei 別列), (3) general conclusion (sōketsu 総結): Monku: 613a6-10.

103. Kōgi: 330, Tatsui: 46. N: 375c gives a different group, based on the Daranishū-kyō 荼羅尼集經 (T.XVIII/901), and remarks that there are

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| 1) <u>sui-shō</u> | 水精 | (quartz) |
| 2) <u>me-nō</u> | 瑪瑙 | (agate) |
| 3) <u>nyoi-hō</u> | 如意宝 | (wish-fulfilling gem) ¹⁰⁴ |
| 4) <u>ko-haku</u> | 琥珀 | (amber) |
| 5) <u>ru-ri</u> | 瑠璃 | (lapis lazuli) |

In line with our earlier remarks on the consonance of one's level of attainment and one's surroundings, the distinction between dwellers and dwelling is often vague.¹⁰⁵ This is valid also for Mahāvairocana himself, insofar as he resides in this heaven, in the samādhi of dairaku-daiton-zen.¹⁰⁶ One development of this idea has been to regard R.P/12 as corresponding to the four subordinate divisions of the Five Families, a classification which pertains to the STTS lineage. This gives the following analysis:¹⁰⁷

- | | | |
|------------------------|---------|-------------------|
| 1) <u>issai...sho</u> | diamond | <u>kongō-bu</u> |
| 2) <u>kichijō</u> | gem | <u>hō-bu</u> |
| 3) <u>shōtan</u> | lotus | <u>renge-bu</u> |
| 4) <u>dai-mani-den</u> | action | <u>katsuma-bu</u> |

It is difficult to see any compelling reason why the description of this heaven ought to be analysed in this way. It is doubtless more a question of a tradition building up around a text through people seeing in the individual phrases meanings which simply suggest themselves from the whole corpus of the teachings.

no consistent lists. MJT: 226b makes the same point, by give several alternatives. Notably, gold and silver are missing from the list here, possibly in line with the heaven being a part of the sphere of desire, and not one of the higher spheres. Kūkai avails himself of this image in his Sokushinjōbutsu-gi: "Infinitely related like the meshes of Indra's net are those which we call existences" (quoted in Hakeda, Kūkai, p. 227).

104. Cintāmani, Kambayashi: mani (loc. cit.).
 105. Cf. the remarks on deva/ten 天, above, p. 86.
 106. *Mahāsukha-mahārāgakleśa?
 107. Cf. Tatsui: 46.

R.P/13: Kensaku 間錯 means "adorned, decorated", and is described by Kūkai as the general description (sōhyō).¹⁰⁸ Hence it would appear that the original understanding of this phrase was simply this, and that the implications of the emission of various kinds of light were drawn out later. Nasu states that through the centuries scholars have taken only Amoghavajra's version into consideration, and regarded the adornments from the bells onwards as being the emblems of the Five Buddhas, and the locus of the exposition as it is as the wonderful body of the central Buddha, Mahāvairocana (Tatsui: 46f).

R.P/14: The individual items to be found in this hall are described by Kūkai as: "specific examples", and have been interpreted in the Shingon tradition in various ways.¹⁰⁹ We will now give a brief resumé of the various ideas contained in the secondary literature being used here.

Nasu (Tatsui: 46) explains the adornments in the following five groups:

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|--------|
| 1) <u>reitaku</u> | Mahāvairocana's explanation of <u>dharma</u> | Centre |
| 2) <u>zōban</u> | <u>bodhicitta</u> , Akṣobhya | East |
| 3) <u>shuman/</u>
<u>yōraku</u> | jewelled ornaments of a diadem, crown or clothing. The <u>shuman</u> is a wig inlaid with gems, the latter is a necklace made with gold, silver or precious stones; they indicate the manifold virtues which derive from the attainment of Ratnasambhava. | South |

108. Monku: 613a9. On kensaku, see Index: 814, Tib. spras-pa, "adorned" (Tib.150: 12.9). Hatta also gives Skt. pratyupta, ("fixed into, inlaid"), which is one meaning of Chinese ts'o/錯. Ōbunsha's Wakan-jiten (Tokyo: Ōbunsha, 1980) gives saku 錯 specifically as "adorn (kazaru), decorate with gold" (p. 1075a), in addition to the more common meaning of "mix, penetrate".

109. Betsu-rei 別列, loc. cit. Toganoō gives a summary of K'uei-chi's exoteric explanation of the symbolism (RK: 90).

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|-------|
| 4) <u>hangatsu</u> ¹¹⁰ | the wisdom which expels doubts, Amitābha ¹¹¹ | West |
| 5) <u>mangatsu</u> | the twofold wisdom which follows enlightenment, ¹¹² | North |

Finally, Nasu interprets tō 等 as indicating the numberless emblems (sanmaya 三摩耶) of the deities of the three- and five-fold Families,¹¹³ in addition to the foregoing. This is indicative of the tendency in the Japanese tradition to read tō 等 as Japanese nado ("et cetera"), rather than in the sense of "<class of things:> like, as identical to", which is how the Tibetan version reads.¹¹⁴

Kambayashi (Kōgi: 330) gives the following explanations:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1) <u>kensaku</u> | the intermingling of the myriad colours (<u>shūshiki-kōei</u>), that is the various permutations of the five colours. |
| 2) <u>reitaku</u> | small and large bells, and the consummate sound they produce. |
| 3) <u>zōban</u> | banner made of the five different kinds of coloured thread (representing the Five Buddhas). |
| 4) <u>shuman</u> | a wig with various kinds of gems sewn in. |
| 5) <u>yōraku</u> | jewelry worn on the body or neck. |
| 6) <u>hanmangatsu</u> | a jewelled ornament, with a half- or full moon shape. |

However, Kambayashi makes no attempt to relate these to the Buddhas or the Families. His description of the last item is interesting, because this indicates -as does

110. Nasu reads han/man-gatsu here as han-gatsu/man-gatsu, "half- and full moons, which represent different aspects of wisdom (chie 智慧).

111. Nasu mentions in connection with this that the half-moon (according to an unspecified traditional explanation) corresponds to the wind disc (fū-rin 風輪) of the five discs (go-rin 五輪), and accordingly represents movement. However, movement is not associated with the Lotus Family -to which Amitābha belongs. Rather, it belongs to the Karma Family, as will become clear when we deal with the Chapter on True Movement (jitsudō no hōmon, R.6), which is the domain of Vajramuṣṭi and Amoghasiddhi. Cf. MJT: 220 (table), MDJT/II: 650c; N: 377c is not wholly clear on this point.

112. Shōgo-ni'chi 証後二智: cf. MDJT/III: 1144b, and the analysis of Amoghasiddhi, above, p. 78f. This is related of course to the principle of jiri-rita, explained above, loc. cit.

113. Sanbu 三部 / gobu no shoson 五部の諸尊.

114. lTa-bu, Tib.150: 12.10. Hence Conze's translation, "all as beautiful as the moon" (SPT: 184). Tibetan zla-ba is neutral in respect of our problem here.

Horiuchi's explanation- the decorative mirrors seen in Shingon and other Japanese temples, and which in some senses are seen as symbolically identical to the moon.¹¹⁵ We turn now to Horiuchi.

Horiuchi (Hanashi: 141f) reads kensaku simply as "inlay (chirabameru)", the ornaments being inlaid in various ways. The bells and banners are of the type generally seen in Japanese temples, thus underlining the immediacy of the Sūtra in daily worship. He relates little of special note in connection with the jewelled items, but mentions the tradition of regarding the two types of moon as mirrors, though he does not attempt to expand on the correspondences with the four wisdoms.

R.P/15: This short phrase is described by Kūkai as the general conclusion,¹¹⁶ and simply rounds off this section on the locus of the exposition of the Rishukyō, the background against which the drama of the Sūtra unfolds.

In summary, then, we should underline the importance of this heaven as the "fruition of place": it is a meeting point for the common man on the one hand -drawn by the prospect of effortless bliss- and the Buddha -who manifests himself in the guise of apparently being fettered by desire- on the other. It is a crucial point in the Buddhist cosmology, a point where the transformation of gross desire has progressed as far as possible, and the Bodhisattva stands on

115. In the Japanese context of course they are also significant because the mirror is one of the three primary implements in Shintō.

116. Sōketsu 総結; Monku: 613a10.

the brink of entry into the spheres of non-suffering. In its stress on the overcoming of the retinue of Māra it represents also the concrete possibility of treading the path to its end, and is thus a significant stage in the development of faith.

2.3.8. The Assembly

R.P/16-25: This section is the fruition of the Assembly, shūjōju, and enumerates the Bodhisattvas who not only accompanied the Buddha on this occasion,¹¹⁷ but who also represent the forms assumed by Mahāvairocana in order to illustrate the particular teaching of the Rishukyō. These particular eight, who are in turn representative of myriads (gutei 俱胝, koṭi) of these highly accomplished beings,¹¹⁸ are stated by Mochizuki to be found specifically in the Rishukyō. They are, however, also to be found in the STTS, a point mentioned in Nasu's work.¹¹⁹ With respect to the enumeration of the Bodhisattvas in the various versions of the Sūtra, there are substantial differences in the order and number of the Bodhisattvas named in the various preliminary sections. Toganoo has a table giving the various permutations,¹²⁰ but his observations are largely unnecessary, since all the versions have the same Bodhisattvas in

117. Monji no ban 聞持の供 in Kūkai's commentary; Monku: 612c21.

118. On koṭi as referring to an inconceivable number, cf. RK: 92; Hanashi: 143ff.

119. Tatsui: 47; cf. also Moch/IV: 4219a. The list in STTS is identical to the one in our text: cf. Yamada's edition, I.1.12ff. (The opening section of the STTS may be taken -with minor differences- as the same as that of the Rishukyō, particularly since Sk150 is fragmented at this point.)

120. RK: 94. The significance of T.243, 244 and the Skt. and Tibetan versions having this section in consonance with the body of the text may partly lie in their being more consciously developed as ritual texts than the other versions.

the same order in the main body of the Sūtras themselves. The underlying structure implicit in the sequence in which they emerge will be dealt with when we have gained a general picture of the characteristics of these Bodhisattvas individually.

R.P/17: Vajrapāṇi (Kongō-shu 金剛手)

Originally identified with the Hindu god Indra,¹²¹ he is often represented as a terrifying deity, and his chapter (R.3) does in fact have subjugation as a central theme. Within the Buddhist fold he is equated with Vajrasattva, Vajradhāra, Samantabhadra and Trilokavijaya (or Trailokya-vidyārāja). It is in the form of the last identification that he presides over the third chapter of the Rishukyō, and we shall be looking at him more closely presently. In the Shingon tradition, according to MDJT/II:686b, he appears either as Vajrasattva or Vajrapāṇi in five places: (1) as one of the four principal Bodhisattvas belonging to Akṣobhya in the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala; (2) as the main deity in the Naya Assembly of the same maṇḍala; (3) as the main deity in the Garbhakośa Maṇḍala's Kongō-shu-in 金剛手院; (4) as the main deity in Mahāvairocana's Inner Entourage (nai-ken-zoku 内眷屬), and finally (5) as the second in most of the transmission lineages (fuden 付伝) adopted in the various branches of the Shingon sect.¹²² In the maṇḍala pertinent to this section, Amoghavajra places him in the

121. Cf. BHS: 467b, for references. On Vajrapāṇi in general, see E. LAMOTTE: "Vajrapāṇi en Inde", Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à M. Paul Demiéville, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Vol. 20, Paris, 1966, pp. 113-59.

122. Cf. MDJT/VI: Mikkyō-hōryū-keifu 密教法流系譜 for full listings.

first position, i.e. in front of the central deity Mahāvairocana:

Vajrapāṇi resides in the lunar disc in front of Vairocana, and shows the enlightenment mind of all the Tathāgatas (issai-nyorai-bodai-shin 一切如来菩提心), the first awakening of the enlightenment-mind, through the empowerment (kaji) of Vajrasattva. He realises in his practice (shushō 修証) the performance of the Vow which is thoroughly good and realises the stage of Tathāgata.

(T.1003: 607c20ff)

Horiuchi gives the correspondences of the first four Bodhisattvas, i.e. the major ones, in terms of the four wisdoms, which we have dealt with above. Vajrapāṇi is assigned to the adarśa-jñāna, Ākāśagarbha to samatā-jñāna, Avalokiteśvara to pratyaveksana-jñāna and Vajramuṣṭi to kṛtānuṣṭhāna-jñāna. (Hanashi: 145f) A further point to emerge from Horiuchi's work is that Vajrapāṇi and Śākyamuni are the same person, a point also mentioned in the vinaya section (Part III) of the STTS.¹²³ This would perhaps also account for the name of the Tathāgata who expounds the teaching in R.3, Sarva-duṣṭa-vinaya-śākyamuni (Jōbuku-nanchō-shakamuni-nyorai 調伏難調叔牟尼如来).

Horiuchi gives a detailed explanation of the ideas contained in Rishushaku and emphasises the attribution of awakening the bodhi-mind (hotsu-bodai-shin 発菩提心) to Vajrapāṇi, giving an explanation of the terms used by Amoghavajra (Hanashi: 239ff). In short, Vajrapāṇi represents the basic or original essence of the resolve to attain enlightenment.¹²⁴

Building on this idea of Vajrapāṇi as the motive force behind the awakening of the bodhi-mind, Kambayashi refers to

123. Hanashi: 49, "Onaji hito dearu, ittṣū dearu 同一人である一対做." See Yamada's edition of the STTS, pp. 315ff.

124. Bodai-shin no hontai 菩提心の本体; Hanashi: 252.

the Jūshin-bon 住心品 of the MVS,¹²⁵ where the cause (in 因) is related to enlightenment (bodai 菩提), the root (kon 根) to great compassion (daihi 大悲) and the ultimate extent of the teaching (kukyō 究竟) to skilful means (hōben 方便).¹²⁶

It must be noted concerning Vajrapāṇi and the attribution of bodhicitta to his domain, that he is not only representative of the successful practice of awakening the bodhicitta, but is also representative -seen from the perspective of the sentient being- of one intent on raising the bodhicitta; further, that, having been empowered by the grace of Vajrasattva (as we saw above), he in turn awakens the innate bodhicitta of sentient beings. He does this through regarding the bodhicitta in human nature, the bodhicitta innate in human nature, as the essence (tai 体).¹²⁷

Our final observation in this connection follows on quite naturally from the foregoing, and connects also with the question of "the Vow to Practise".¹²⁸ The overriding characteristic required in this connection is that of desire, desire for enlightenment, desire to seek and raise the mind of enlightenment. Hence we can see here the connection between this position in the mandala and great desire (dai-yoku 大欲), one of Vajrasattva's attributes.¹²⁹

125. T.XVIII/848: 1a-4a.

126. Kōgi: 336. This division of the teaching is also found in Rishu-shaku; cf. T.1003: 608a26.

127. Cf. Tatsui: 47f: "Ningen-honnen no bodai-shin wo tai to suru 人間本然の菩提心を体とする。"

128. Gyōgan 行願, T.1003: 607c23; N: 242b<3>.

129. We shall be examining this in greater detail in the next chapter, on Great Bliss (dairaku 大樂, mahāsukha, bde ba chen po).

R.P/18: Avalokiteśvara (Kanjizai 觀自在)

Although Avalokiteśvara occupies the third position in the stages of emanation from the central position, here he is manifested as the second Bodhisattva:

He resides in the lunar-disc behind Vairocana and shows the great compassion of all the Tathāgatas; according to the causal dictates in the six destinies he completely uproots all sentient beings' defilements and sufferings <contingent upon> life and death and quickly attains the samādhi of purity. Not being attached to life and death and not attaining nirvāṇa: <this is> all in accord with the attainment of Avalokiteśvara's adamant teaching.

(T.1003: 607c23ff)

The kernel of this account of Amoghavajra's is the heart of great compassion, daihi-shin 大悲心. This -as we have seen in connection with the five wisdoms- is connected with pratyaveksana-jñāna, myōkanzat-chi 妙觀察智, the wisdom through which the Bodhisattva contemplates the interaction of dharma, the immediate basis upon which the Bodhisattva fashions his skilful means. Toganoo brings in the several aspects of this Bodhisattva: "Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, through the wisdom of discrimination, along with the discriminative contemplation of the fact that all dharma are pure in their self-nature, skilfully contemplates with discrimination the circumstances of all sentient beings; he is the Bodhisattva who, in accordance with time and occasion, dispenses salvation spontaneously;¹³⁰ in esoteric Buddhism, the great compassion of all the Tathāgatas is symbolised in this Bodhisattva" (RK: 94). The basis for this is the purity of the self-nature of all dharma,¹³¹

130. Or: "freely/in a sovereign manner." The Japanese is jizai ni, the various shades of meaning in which we have met above (p. 90f).

131. Issai-hō no jishō-shōjō 一切法の自性精符 in Toganoo's explanation here.

a fact which accounts for an alternative explanation given by Kambayashi, namely that Avalokiteśvara represents jō-bodai-shin 淨菩提心, the "pure mind of enlightenment" (Kōgi: 332).

Avalokiteśvara holds the lotus as his symbol, and his right hand is in a gesture of the energy which he calls forth in order to open the flower. This is in contrast to the first Bodhisattva, Vajrapāṇi, who as his name indicates is the one with the Thunderbolt in his hand.¹³² In this sense, then, the two belong together as a pair, which may go some way to explaining the unorthodox pattern of this Sūtra.¹³³

In summary, then, we may say that the elements of great compassion and purity are decisive in characterising this Bodhisattva. To the former belongs the idea of love,¹³⁴ to the latter belongs the idea that all dharma are pure in their self-nature and that this Bodhisattva contemplates the distinctions between the things of this world in terms of this insight.

R.P/19: Ākāśagarbha (Kokūzō 虚空藏)

"Ākāśagarbha resides in the lunar-disc to the right of Vairocana and shows the innumerable heaps of virtuous merit and wisdom of all the Tathāgatas' thusness."¹³⁵

132. Or, more directly, the "Thunderbolt-handed One".

133. That is, that the protagonists emerge in the order E-W-S-N, and not the normal Vajraśekhara-lineage order (E-S-W-N). See below, p. 110, n. 145.

134. "Compassion which shows love. 'Compassion', being pitiful towards people's sufferings, is a matter of love (Ai wo arawasu hi. Hito to iu no wa, ningen no kurushimi, wo kanamashimu no de, ai no koto desu 愛を表す 悲。人というのは、人間の苦みを悲しむので、愛のことです。)" (Hanashi: 242)

135. T.1003: 607c27ff. For the account which follows, I have availed myself of the readings and explanations given in Hanashi: 243ff.

Representing as he does the wisdom of equality, the wisdom which assigns value to all things equally,¹³⁶ he is assigned to the south, the direction of the gem and Ratnasambhava. He stores (zō 蔵) the myriad virtues derived from meritorious practices and wisdom -in short the practices involved in the mastery of the six pāramitā. Here, fuku 福 stands for fukuchi-shiryō 福智資糧, namely the first five perfections, and the implicit chi 智 for chi-shiryō 智資糧.¹³⁷ The whole of Ākāśagarbha's achievement, then, is nothing less than the full practice of the Buddha's path, which is the point where each of the perfections takes on its full significance, the point where they can actually be put into practice for the benefit of sentient beings. Hence the aspect of storing indicates storing, harbouring, all the virtues of enlightenment. The other major aspect is that of giving, for it is only from a full storehouse (zō 蔵), one that is as extensive as space itself (kokū 虚空), that one can truly perform the perfection of giving, which Amoghavajra names as this Bodhisattva's specific practice.¹³⁸ At the head of the four types of giving (shishu-se 四種施) is that of consecration, which accords with the attribution of this direction to Ratnasambhava and to the Gem Family (hō-bu 宝部). Finally, Horiuchi's attribution of the

136. "As I said last time concerning the Wisdom of Equality (byōdōshō-chi), it's a matter of value (kachi 価値), isn't it?" (Hanashi: 244).

137. Horiuchi states fuku 福 to be a mistaken reading in Taishō, actually standing for fuku-chi 福智 (Hanashi: 243f.; cf. also Tatsui, p. 48, where Nasu gives fuku-chi, the former (fuku 福) being the gem (hō 宝), the latter (chi 智) the sword of wisdom). See also Kōgi: 333, where Kambayashi states that this Bodhisattva represents the inseparability of mind (shin 心), space (kokū 虚空) and enlightenment (bodai 菩提), in line with the MVS, Jūshin-bon 十心品 (T.XVIII /848: 1a-4a).

138. T.1003: 607c28f; Hanashi: 244.

epithet, "the body of the heap of merit (fukuju-shin 福聚身)" to this Bodhisattva is a straightforward step (Hanashi: 252).

R.P/20: Vajramuṣṭi (Kongō-ken 金剛拳)

"Vajramuṣṭi resides in the lunar-disc to the left of Vairocana and shows the threefold mysteries of all the Tathāgatas." (T.1003: 608a2f) His hands are in the position of the Thunderbolt Fist (kongō-ken 金剛拳 , vajramuṣṭi), which is also termed, "the Fist of Wrath (fun'nu-ken 忿怒拳)".¹³⁹ Fist in this sense is interpreted by Kambayashi as meaning, "holding well, not losing (nōji/fushitsu 能持不失)": that is, holding the three secrets of the body, speech and mind of the Tathāgata in the palms (gatchū 掌中), and not allowing them to be dispersed and lost (san'itsu-seshinai 散逸せしない). It is through the grace of this Bodhisattva that the practitioner is able to maintain the virtues acquired in his practice. Further, the mudrā indicates the inseparability of sentient beings and the Buddha (shō'butsu-fu'ni 生佛不二), in that the Bodhisattva's practice consists in uniting the three functions of the Buddha with his own, thereby attaining limitless ease in his practice.¹⁴⁰ Hence Horiuchi's descriptions, himitsu-shin 秘密身 ("The Body of the Secrets") and sanmitsu-gōtai no aruji 三密合体の主 ("The Lord of the United Essences

139. See N: 419b for this attribution.

140. Kōgi: 333; Tatsui: 48 assigns the left hand to man, the right to Buddha, the two together thus expressing the non-duality of the profane and the sacred (bonshō-fu'ni 凡聖不二), The working of the three mysteries is "the complete fullness of benefit for oneself and benefitting others (jiri-rita)".

of the Three Mysteries").¹⁴¹ He is the "Bodhisattva who advances vigorously towards the embodiment of all the Tathāgatas' Three Mysteries."¹⁴²

The element of wrath -and hence subjugation- which we mentioned above is given by Toganoō as one which derives from the exoteric phase of Buddhist thought, being contained as it is in K'uei-chi's commentary, where ken 拳 is interpreted as "the power sufficient to destroy and conquer".¹⁴³ Though Toganoō distinguishes between exoteric and esoteric in this instance, the distinction is only actually one of standpoint, for if we look at the implications of the esoteric attainment, namely the expression among sentient beings of the mystery of the Tathāgatas' functions, then it is not a long step to regard a substantial part of the work to be done as subjugatory in nature. The subjugation, that is, of all the hindrances which beset human beings in their quest for enlightenment, the overcoming of all that stands in the way of free, spontaneous action. In this respect, then, he shares the nature of Sarva-māra-pramardin (Sai-issai-ma 摧一切魔), who is the Bodhisattva coupled with him in the mandala, and whom we shall be examining presently.

We have now described the basic characteristics of the first four Bodhisattvas, that is the four primary Bodhisattvas in this Sūtra, and are now in a position to attempt a tentative answer to the question raised earlier, namely that

141. Hanashi: 252; similarly, RK: 95 describes the Seal as sanmitsu-gōtō no in 三密の合致の印.

142. RK: 95, "Issai-nyōrai no sanmitsu no myōyō wo taiken-suru koto ni shōjin-suru bosatsu 一切如来の三密の妙用を体験することにより精進修菩薩."

143. Ha-e-geki-sai 破壊撃碎, RK: loc. cit.

concerning the order in which the Bodhisattvas emanate.¹⁴⁴ Horiuchi raises this point several times in his Hanashi, but does not really offer an answer. For example, speaking of the sequence, he says that Avalokiteśvara is the second Bodhisattva to emerge, but only in this text, this order "absolutely not" being found in other places.¹⁴⁵

The order in which Bodhisattvas emerge in an esoteric text is important because it shows the order in which the virtues of the respective Bodhisattvas are to be meditated upon and practised ritually. As such, this question is significant in determining the nature of a text and its place in the esoteric canon. The normal order in the STTS lineage Sūtras, to which the Rishukyō is primarily assigned, is East-South-West-North: i.e. the course of the sun in its daily round, and representative of the active aspect of the absolute. This is in contrast to the absolute in its passive aspect, as explained in the MVS. The order here in this first passage in the Rishukyō is: East-West-South-North, and our modern sources are either silent or evasive about this. The answer to the question is to be found in my opinion in the Sūtra's teachings on Great Bliss and the pattern found in the consummatory chapter, "The Dharma-Gate of the Pro-found Mystery" (shinpi no hōmon 深秘の法門, R.17). Since the structure and teachings of the Sūtra as a whole will not become clear until we have dealt with these topics in detail, we will merely attempt a general outline here of what the Sūtra is saying, and how.

144. See above, p. 106, n. 133.

145. "Ato wa, konna koto wa zettai arimasen 後は、こんなことは絶対あり" (Hanashi: 147, cf. also 146).
ません。

The chapter on the Profound Mystery has the following basic teaching: through the practice of (1) Great Desire (daiyoku 大欲), one attains (2) Great Bliss (dairaku 大樂); through the enjoyment of great bliss one accomplishes (3) Great Enlightenment (issai-nyorai-daibodai 一切如来大菩提), and on this basis one succeeds in (4) crushing the evil demons (dai-rikima 大力魔).¹⁴⁶ Thereafter, one abides (5) as the all-pervading sovereign Lord of the three spheres (hen-sangai-jizai-shu 遍三界自在主). These five phases¹⁴⁷ may be represented as follows:

- 1) Great Desire
- 2) Great Bliss
- 3) Great Enlightenment
- 4) Subjugation
- 5) Sovereignty

If we take the final stage as the consummation of the foregoing processes, then we can assign the first four to the Bodhisattvas we have just described:

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| 1) Great Desire | -Vajrapāṇi |
| 2) Great Bliss | -Avalokiteśvara |
| 3) Great Enlightenment | -Ākāśagarbha |
| 4) Subjugation | -Vajramuṣṭi |

These may be explained as follows:

1) **Great Desire and Vajrapāṇi:** The Vow spoken of by Amoghavajra¹⁴⁸ is Vajrapāṇi's Vow to attain enlightenment, the first awakening of the bodhicitta, and as such is the desire for attainment of the goal, in contrast to small desires (shō-yoku 小欲) for things impermanent.¹⁴⁹

146. From N: 931a it would appear that dai-rikima 大力魔 is a term peculiar to the Rishukyō.

147. Horiuchi states these five phases to be representative of the five wisdoms, beginning with adarśa-vijñāna and ending with the central wisdom of the dharmadhātu, dharmā-dhātu-svabhāva-jñāna (hokkai-taishō-chi 法界体性智; Hanashi 151).

148. Gyō-gan 行願, T.1003: 607c23; cf. above, p. 104, n. 128.

149. Cf. MJT: 484b.

Desire directed towards the transcendent aims of Buddhism is the basic prerequisite for the attainment of Great Bliss, for without the energy, altruistic aspiration and determination engendered in this manner, there can be no hope of attaining the blissful dharma which are a continuous benefit reaped on treading the path to enlightenment.¹⁵⁰

2) **Great Bliss and Avalokiteśvara:** the concept of bliss as an element in the upward path of the Bodhisattva only makes sense in the context of the perception of all dharma being pure in their self-nature, which as we have seen is a basic element in Avalokiteśvara's attainment. In the chapter on Great Bliss in the Rishukyō, there is repeated stress on the epithets in the text as being "Epithets of Purity" (shōjō-ku 清淨句), their purity being based on the purity of the prajñāpāramitā. A further point in favour of our interpretation here is that the respective emblems of these first two deities are the vajra and the lotus, well-attested symbols of male-female interpenetration in the Buddhist Tantras.

3) **Great Enlightenment and Akāśagarbha:** this Bodhisattva is the embodiment of the whole of the Buddha's path to enlightenment, the successful completion of all the necessary elements of the Buddhist way. This state is thus taken as a whole- enlightenment itself, a fund whence proceed the various virtues of the Buddha's action in the world of

150. The pattern Great Desire-Great Bliss-Enlightenment will become clearer in the next chapter, on the Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss (dairaku no hōmon 大樂の法門). On the role of happiness in Buddhist training, see Nalini DEVIDAS: "The Significance of Happiness for the Theravāda Buddhist Path of Liberation", Scottish Journal of Religious Studies, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (Spring 1987), pp. 5-24, and my entry on "Dairaku (Mahā-sukha/bDe ba chen po)", Hōbōgin, fasc. VII, forthcoming (1988).

sentient beings. It is a state of repose, of potential, of inward possession of the virtues of enlightenment.

4) **Subjugation and Vajramuṣṭi:** we have seen above that this Bodhisattva's mudrā is a wrathful one, and that it expresses through the intertwining of the fingers the non-duality of man and Buddha. This interpenetration, being a perfect expression of an absolute teaching, contains within its very nature the ability to destroy the heterodox, those "outside the way" (ge-dō 外道), in the sense that the tendencies inherent in them are destroyed and reversed into tendencies for good. More philosophically, this holds in the sense that illusion cannot prevail when truth is concretely realised.

We can summarise this process in the following way: Great Desire for enlightenment leads to Great Bliss, upon the uniting of the vajra and the lotus and the contemplation of all dharma as pure; this is Great Enlightenment, enlightenment to the principle of the sameness of all dharma, and a store which contains all which is of true worth. This insight into sameness finds concrete expression in the subjugation of all hindrances, which is work for the benefit of all sentient beings. Having conquered all hindrances in this fashion one is perfectly free and sovereign throughout the conditioned spheres. This final step is the return to the centre of the mandala, whence the second series of Bodhisattvas emerges. These secondary Bodhisattvas emerge in the standard STTS way, East-South-West-North, and -if the above analysis is correct- present a complement to the foregoing primary divinities.

R.P/21: Mañjuśrī (Monjushiri 文殊師利)

"Mañjuśrī resides in the lunar disc in the south-east corner and shows the sword of insight into the perfection of wisdom" (T.1003: 608a6). Kambayashi describes him in the following way: "He is the deity who, in eliminating all discriminative vain imaginings (bunbetsu-geron 分別戲論), resides in the samādhi of Emptiness, the Signless and the Wishless (kū-musō-mugan 空・無相・無願), and represents the samādhi where one enters awakening to the true characteristics of dharma."¹⁵¹ He holds in his right hand the sword of wisdom, in his left the book of the Perfection of Wisdom, which is the doctrinal basis upon which he wields his sword. He is also the Bodhisattva who represents the three so-called gates of liberation (gedatsu-mon 解脫門).¹⁵² In his destruction of vain imaginings, he has affinities with Vajrapāṇi in R.3. Toganoo distinguishes between the exoteric and esoteric significance of this Bodhisattva, the former aspect being that he benefits sentient beings through "felicitous things, wondrous and good" (myō-zen no fukuji 妙善の福事), the latter that he symbolises the Perfection of Wisdom.¹⁵³

151. Shohō no jissō ni go'nyū-suru sanmai 諸法の真相に悟入する三昧; Kōgi: 333.

152. Hanashi: 252; T.1003: 608a8. The three gates -or doors (cf. E. CONZE: Buddhist Thought in India, London: Allen and Unwin, 1962 (hereafter BTI), pp. 59-69)- are related to insight into the nature of dharma, refinement of the cognitive faculties rather than the development of the affective side of one's nature; cf. also N: 460d. Each gate is of course an element in Mañjuśrī's samādhi. There is a full treatment of this Bodhisattva in: Étienne LAMOTTE: "Mañjuśrī", T'oung Pao, Vol. 48 (1960), pp. 1-96.

153. Hannya-haramitsu no chi'e 般若波羅蜜の智慧; RK: 95.

R.P/22: Sacittotpāda-dharmacakra-pravartin
(Sai-hosshin-tenbōrin 纒梵心転法輪)

Sacittotpāda-dharma-cakra-pravartin resides in the south-west corner and shows the four kinds of disc (rin 輪): the mandala of the Thunderbolt Sphere (kongōkai-rin 金剛界輪), the mandala of subjugating the three worlds (gōzanze-rin 降三世輪), the mandala of all-pervading conquest (hen-jō-buku-rin 遍剎伏輪) and the mandala of the accomplishment of all ends (issai-gi-jōju-rin 一切善成就輪).

(RSh: 608a9ff)154

This Bodhisattva presides over the setting in motion of the various wheels of the doctrine, from the first awakening of the bodhicitta to the attainment of the tenth stage of the Bodhisattva's career. In the esoteric teachings -it is Toganoo making this distinction again- these wheels are interpreted as mandala, namely the four mandala found in the STTS, and which occur in the four chapters bearing the names given here in Rishushaku (i.e. kongōkai-bon 金剛界品, etc.). Kambayashi further interprets these four mandala as being the four types of mandala (shishu-mandara 四種曼荼羅): mahā-, samaya-, dharma- and karma-,¹⁵⁵ and says that the awakening of the bodhicitta is immediately followed by this Bodhisattva setting these wheels in motion.¹⁵⁶ It is his capacity for empowerment which is responsible for the practitioner's speedy attainment of enlightenment once he has entered these mandala.¹⁵⁷

R.P/23: Gagananagañja (Kokūko 虚空庫)

"Gagananagañja resides in the north-west corner and shows the wide-ranging worship of all the Tathāgatas (issai-nyorai-kōdai-kuyō 一切如来広大供養)" (T.1003: 608a14ff). This Bodhisattva governs all the worship which the practitioner performs. Whereas Ākāśagarbha is the repository of all the virtues of this path, this Bodhisattva in

154. These are of the course the four main mandala in the STTS.

155. Dai-sanmaya-hō-katsuma 大三摩耶法觀摩.

156. "Hosshin-sureba, jika-ni hōrin wo ten-zuru bosatsu dearu 梵心
すは、直に法輪を転がす菩薩である。" (Kōgi: 334).

157. Kōgi: loc. cit.; cf. also Tatsui: 48: "Hosshin no setsu-na ni jōbutsu-shite, shi-man no hōrin wo ten-zuru 梵心の觀那に成仏して、四曼の法輪を轉す." Horiuchi further describes this Bodhisattva as: "The bodily essence of the four kinds of disc-altar" (shishu-rindan noshintai 四種輪壇の身持, Hanashi: 252).

contrast gives outward expression to this richness in the form of worship: "That is, the former corresponds to the essence, the latter to the function."¹⁵⁸ His virtues in fact emanate from the "gem which accords with the mind" (nyo'i-hō 如意宝, cintamāni) and this in turn is the pure mind of enlightenment (jōbodai-shin). These wonderful acts of worship are what this Bodhisattva possesses as his main characteristic, and being directed outward they are termed kōdai 廣大. Toganoo gives much the same information, but adds that Gaganagañja's function is twofold: upwards, he directs worship towards all the Buddhas, and downwards he governs benefits to and salvation for sentient beings.¹⁵⁹

R.P/24: Sarva-māra-pramardin (Sai-issai-ma 摧一切魔)

Amoghavajra tells us that this Bodhisattva occupies the north-east corner and that he demonstrates the great compassion and skilful means of all the Tathāgatas, his outer manifestation being one of majestic wrath (ge-shigen-i'nu 外示現威怒), his inner characteristic on the contrary being merciful (T.1003: 608a21f).¹⁶⁰ In this aspect of wrath, then, he bears affinity with Vajramuṣṭi. His wrathful aspect is instrumental in helping the practitioner to overcome the many and serious obstacles to enlightenment. In this sense we are dealing with the ascent from man to Buddha, since in this respect the Bodhisattva helps the practitioner when the latter is at the so-called "causal stage" (in'i 因位) of his practice. When this Bodhisattva resides at the "stage of the fruit" (ka'i 果位), however, he changes his form to that of Nōchō-jichiken-nyorai 能調持智 摩訶來 (Kōgi: 335). In the former, then, he makes up for the deficiencies of sentient beings, in the latter he represents the full power of subjugation. The objects of his

158. Kōgi: loc. cit., "Sunawachi, zensha wa tai ni yaku-shi, kōsha wa yō ni yaku-shite 即、前者は体に約し、後者は用に約し..." Cf. also Tatsui: 48.

159. RK: 95; cf. also T.1003: 608a18-20, on which Toganoo's explanation is based. Gaganagañja's affinity is obviously with Ākāśagarbha, who in fact is also known as Gaganagarbha.

160. Kambayashi is emphatic about this too: "That this subjugation is based on Great Compassion goes quite without saying (sono saifuku ga daihi ni motozuku koto wa moto-yori ifu made mo nai その摧伏が大慈に基づくことは固よりいふまでもない)" (Kōgi: 335).

subjugatory wrath are fourfold: the demons of the passions (bonnō-ma 煩惱魔), the demons of death (shi-ma 死魔), of the skandha (un-ma 蘊魔) and the heavenly demons (ten-ma 天魔). Over and above this -which Toganoo sees as the exoteric meaning- he devises various skilful means on the basis of his compassion and in consequence of his desire not to abandon sentient beings (RK: 96).

We will conclude this section with some general remarks on the Bodhisattvas in this Sūtra. Kambayashi states by way of summary that these Bodhisattvas, being nothing other than manifestations of Mahāvairocana, are -with respect to the latter- "two, yet non-dual" (ni-ji-fu'ni 二而不二). They are nothing other than different manifestations of Mahāvairocana's dharmakāya in its wisdom aspect (Chi-hosshin-dai-nichi-nyorai 智法身大日如来), which in the subsequent chapters of the Sūtra progresses through a series of metamorphoses. The mandala of the opening assembly thus forms the basis of all the following chapters and their mandala, and the Bodhisattvas therein incorporate all the exoteric teachings of the Mahāyāna; the Bodhisattvas as a whole are interpreted as threefold, namely bodhicitta-mahākarunā-upāya.¹⁶¹

A further interesting point raised by Kambayashi, and one which has significance for our understanding of the Sūtra as a whole, is that the central Buddha of this Preliminary Section is Mahāvairocana in the meditation gesture (ri-hosshin no hokkai-jōin 理法身の法界定印).¹⁶²

161. Kōgi:335f, based on T.1003: 608a25ff. The correspondences given by Kambayashi are as follows:

	Cause	Root	Ultimate
MVS <u>Jūshin-</u>	<u>in</u> 因	<u>kon</u> 根	<u>kukyō</u> 究竟
<u>bon</u> (<u>loc cit</u>)			
T.1003	<u>bodaishin</u>	<u>daihi</u>	<u>hōben</u>
(608a26)	(<u>bodhicitta</u>)	(<u>mahākarunā</u>)	(<u>upāya</u>)
Buddha	Akṣobhya	Amitābha	Mahāvairocana*
Bodhisattva	Vajrapāṇi	Avalokiteśvara	
		Mañjuśrī	
		Sacittotpāda-	
		dharmacakra-	
		pravartin	

*As the dharmakāya in its wisdom aspect (chi-hosshin 智法身).

162. Cf. MDJT/V:1993a; then MDJT/II:1112c for a full explanation of the various forms in which this mudrā is found. Cf. also MJT: 371b, s.v. jōin (1).

That is, the quiescent, radiant taizō (garbhakośa) aspect, in contrast to the other chapters, which have the wisdom (chi-hosshin) aspect. The explanation advanced here is that this is in order to show the non-duality of the two spheres, wisdom and principle.¹⁶³ One might also in this respect refer to the mandala transmitted by Shinkaku (1117-80), where the two spheres are depicted at the top of the diagram, side by side, and from each of which descends a line progressing through the respective chapters of the Sūtra. The Thunderbolt line runs through the first ten chapters -i.e. up to the end of the material dealing with the eight Bodhisattvas- and the Womb line goes through chapters 11 to 17. Exactly how the two elements are supposed to combine cannot detain us here, suffice it to say that the Sūtra represents a combination of the ideas and practices of the two basic principles of the Shingon teachings.¹⁶⁴

R.P/25: T.1003: 608a28f indicates that this line refers not only to the eight Bodhisattvas just named, but also to the remaining twelve divinities found in the mandala which depict the teaching of this opening section: "<R.P/23 means:> The eight Offering and the four Gate Bodhisattvas,¹⁶⁵ according to the <divine> concomitants of the Tathāgata's samādhi." These are the four Inner Offering (pūja) Deities, the four Exterior Offering Deities and -at the four gates of the mandala- the four Gathering Deities.¹⁶⁶

R.P/26: Amoghavajra splits the text thus:

...圖續而篇說法。...R.P/26

"Which dharma is explained? -the guiding principle of the Great Bodhisattvas." (T.1003: 608b1) The following characters in R.P/26 are traditionally split into seven items,

163. Ri'chi-fu'ni 理智不二; cf. Kōgi: 337. On ri 理 and chi 智, see MATSUNAGA Yūkei: "Ri to Chi", Mikkyō-gaku, No. 13/14 (joint issue, 1977), pp. 60-71.

164. There is an illustration in Hatta, Rishukyō, fig. 4 (frontispiece).

165. Hachi-kuyō/shi-mon-bosatsu 八供養/四明菩薩.

166. Nai-ku 内供, ge-ku 外供, shi-shō 四攝 (saṅgraha). Cf. Hanashi: 246f.

called by Kūkai, "the seven goodnesses" (shichi-zen 七善).¹⁶⁷ Amoghavajra analyses the text in the following way:¹⁶⁸

1) sho-zen 初善: "good in the beginning", meaning the mystery of body, as the first of the three mysteries (sanmitsu 三密). Also interpreted as the goodness of advancing in the study of the precepts (sōjō-kaigaku 壇上戒學), also understandable as "insight into the precepts". "Precepts" here means Buddhist sīla, as the first of the three major divisions of the eightfold path (precepts-concentration-wisdom).

2) chū-zen 中善: "good in the middle", refers to the mystery of speech, the understanding of which results in speedy attainment. Further understood as advancing in one's understanding of the mind (shin-gaku 心學), as so to speak the instrument of the practice of concentration.

3) go-zen 後善: "good in the end", the mystery of the mind of all the Tathāgatas, which Amoghavajra describes as: "union with the main object of worship" (honzon-yuga 本尊瑜伽), liberation through the innumerable wisdoms of all samādhi (T.1003: 608b4). The second aspect is of course the development of insight (e), the third element of the eightfold path.¹⁶⁹

Amoghavajra then interprets bun-gi-kō-myō 文義巧妙 as bun-kō 文巧 and gi-myō 義妙, as -predictably- does Kūkai.¹⁷⁰

4) bunkō 文巧: this refers to the sixty-four sounds in the Sanskrit language, in accordance with the theory of sound (shōron 聲論).

5) gi-myō 義妙: this term is held to refer to the doctrine of the two truths (ni-tai 二諦), the worldly and the transcendental, the "truth of the excellent meaning" (shōgi-tai 勝義諦).

6) jun'ichi 純一: this is referred to the unsurpassed enlightenment of the Tathāgatas in a teaching which does not distinguish between the three different vehicles;¹⁷¹ it is the "complete, blissful wisdom of the teaching."¹⁷²

167. Monku: 613a14-16. He enumerates them without comment.

168. T.1003: 608b2-7.

169. The tendency to interpret sho-chū-go-zen 初中後善 in terms of the three aspects of the Path is a common one in commentarial literature, according to Toganoo, RK: 99.

170. Monku: 613a15.

171. Kambayashi states the three vehicles to be the vehicle of the śrāvaka- and pratyeka-buddha, of the Bodhisattva and of the Tathāgata. The last is a unitary vehicle and stands in contrast to the others (Kōgi: 341).

172. Hōenraku-chi 法円樂智, T.1003: 608b10.

7) enman 円満 : through the practice of superior wisdom, one comes to eliminate the two types of hindrance. This is therefore the "satisfaction of the two types of merit."¹⁷³

8) shōjō 清淨 : this indicates purity detached from taint (ri-gō-shōjō 離垢清淨), which is accomplished through the practice of the methods of yoga, whereby one brings everything into consonance, attains insight into suchness and comes to reside in the Pure Land. Further, the "enjoyment and manifestation bodies become Buddha."¹⁷⁴

9) keppaku 潔白 : the original untaintedness of the pure dharmadhātu,¹⁷⁵ which -being the holy sphere of the Buddhas themselves- is of a different order from this world, and which neither increases nor diminishes.

Thus, counting numbers 1-3 as one unit (as our other sources do), we also have seven elements in Amoghavajra's interpretation.

MGJT/III:1229a gives a resumé of this material and goes on to say that: "Because the mystery of body is coarse (so-naru 麤な), it is 'good in the beginning'; because the mystery of mind is subtle (sai-naru 細な), it is 'goodness in the end'; because the mystery of speech draws upon the inner heart and manifests it outwardly, it is 'good in the middle'." As to the three representing the three phases of the path, "the precepts are compared to grasping (soku 捉), meditation to binding (baku 縛), wisdom to killing

173. Nishu-shiryō-enman 二種資糧円満, T.1003: 608b12. On the two hindrances, see Soothill: 31a (ni-shō 二障), where he gives three possibilities: (i) passions and worldly wisdom; (ii) passions and hindrances to deliverance; (iii) hindrances to the principle (ri 理) and hindrances of things (ji 事). In the light of Amoghavajra's assertion that the passions (bonnō 煩惱) and residual taints (jikke 習気, vāsanā; cf. N: 596b) are eliminated here, BGJT's explanation -based on the Kōśa School (Kusha-shū 俱舍宗) - would make the second of these seem the most likely. The first term refers to hindrances to insight and indicates the hindrances of the passions (bonnō-shō 煩惱障); the second refers to hindrances to concentration (jō 定) and indicates hindrances to liberation (gedatsu-shō 解脫障); cf. BGJT: 255a, s.v. shō. The two types of merit are: (i) upwards, seeking enlightenment (jō-kyū-bodai 上求菩提) and (ii) downwards, transforming sentient beings (ge-ka-shujō 下化衆生); cf. Kōgi: 341.

174. Juyō-shin/henka-shin-jōbutsu 受用身/變化身成住, T.1003: 608b13f.

175. Shōjō-hokkai-honrai-fuzen 清淨法界本來不染, T.1003: 608b15f.

(setsu 殺).¹⁷⁶ Further, they may refer to the three sections of a Sūtra, jo-shō-ru 序·正·流, Preliminary, Main and Concluding, as we saw above.¹⁷⁷

The secondary sources we are using generally follow the lines of Rishushaku, though there are one or two points in addition. Toganoo points out that descriptions of the exposition of dharma such as ours here are quite common in the Buddhist Canon and the commentarial literature. He gives a comparison with the Lotus Sūtra and quotes various other sources in support of this contention (RK: 98f). In explaining bunkō and its significance in relation to the sixty-four sounds of Sanskrit, he points out¹⁷⁸ that these sounds represented the languages of the whole of the world known to the Indian Buddhists of the time. Hence, "The fact that the words of the Rishukyō encapsulated this idea must mean that, knowing the words and characters of the whole world through the words and characters of the Rishukyō, it is possible to read the true nature of the universe." (RK: 100) He then gives an interpretative account of Rishushaku and concludes that these descriptions place the universe as it is on the one hand and the Sūtra on the other on the same level (loc. cit.).

176. This may be seen as an echo of a central concern of the Rishukyō, namely fastening on to the passions, arresting them, binding them such that they will not exercise their random and debilitating effects on the individual, and finally overcoming them and mastering their influence. R.17, the final chapter, is particularly relevant here.

177. Toganoo also quotes Tendai Daishi 天台大師 (T'ien-tai Ta-shih/ Chih-i 智顛) as an instance of this (RK: 99). The basic thrust behind all these interpretations is the expression of the idea that the Sūtra's teachings are complete and without omissions (kanzen-muketsu 完全無欠); cf. RK: loc. cit.

178. Drawing on Lévi's "Note Chinoise sur l'Inde", no ref.

Kambayashi also follows Rishushaku closely,¹⁷⁹ so we shall merely conclude with a summary of the meanings assigned to each of the elements under consideration here (the numbering follows that in Kūkai's Monku, quoted above):

- 1) The three goodnesses/three mysteries and the three aspects of the Path.
- 2) The sixty-four sounds of Sanskrit.
- 3) The two truths.
- 4) The destruction of hindrances.¹⁸⁰
- 5) The two types of merit.
- 6) Being detached from purity and taint, and conferring benefits on sentient beings.
- 7) Original purity.

179. He also gives a scheme of correspondences between these "goodnesses" and the five wisdoms, taken from GONDA Raifu's Rishukyō-ryakusen, in 13 parts, Mikkyō, Vol. 1/1-4/2 (Feb. 1911-July 1914), pp. 1-206:

sho-chū-go-zen	-jōshosa-chi
bungi-kōmyō	-myōkanzat-chi
jun'ichi-enman	-byōdōshō-chi
shōjō	-daienkyō-chi
keppaku	-hokkai-taishō-chi (Kōgi: 341f)

180. This is also interpreted as indicating the Sūtra to be a pure esoteric scripture (RK: 100; Hanashi: 254, though the latter says this is only apparent).

CHAPTER TWO

THE DHARMA-GATE OF GREAT BLISS

1. Text

784b1

(20) (18) (10) (5)

清淨句門。所謂妙適清淨句是菩薩位。¹欲窮清淨句是菩薩位。²觸清淨句是菩薩位。³愛縛清淨句是菩薩位。⁴一切自在主清淨句是菩薩位。⁵見清淨句是菩薩位。⁶適悅清淨句是菩薩位。⁷愛清淨句是菩薩位。⁸慢清淨句是菩薩位。⁹莊嚴清淨句是菩薩位。¹⁰意滋澤清淨句是菩薩位。¹¹光明清淨句是菩薩位。¹²身樂清淨句是菩薩位。¹³色清淨句是菩薩位。¹⁴聲清淨句是菩薩位。¹⁵香清淨句是菩薩位。¹⁶味清淨句是菩薩位。¹⁷何以故。一切法自性清淨故。般若波羅蜜多清淨。金剛手。若有聞此清淨出生句般若理趣。乃至菩提道場。一切蓋障及煩惱障法障業障。設廣積集必不墮於地獄等趣。¹⁸設作重罪。銷滅不難。若能受持日日誦誦作意思惟。即於現生證一切法平等金剛三摩地。於一切法皆得自在。受於無量適悅歡喜。以十六大菩薩生。獲得如來及執金剛位。時薄伽梵一切如來大乘現證三摩耶一切曼荼羅。持金剛勝薩埵。於三界中。調伏無餘。一切義成就。金剛手菩薩摩訶薩。為欲重顯明此義故。熙怡微笑。左手作金剛慢印。右手擲擲本初大金剛。作勇進勢。說大樂金剛不空三摩耶心咒引。

1.1. Cross-references

T.220: 986b25-	T.242: 782a2-23	Skt.150: 1:12-2:19
987b24	T.243: 784b1-24	Tib.150: 13:9-15:5
T.240: 776a18-b13	T.244: 786c8-	
T.241: 778c18-	787a10	
779a11		

1.2. Translation

He expounded the Gate of the Epithets of Purity of all Dharma, with these words: ¹"The epithet, "the purity of exquisite bliss" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ²The epithet, "the purity of the arrow of desire" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ³The epithet, "the purity of touching" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ⁴The epithet, "the purity of the bond of love" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ⁵The epithet, "the purity of natural sovereignty" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ⁶The epithet, "the purity of seeing" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ⁷The epithet, "the purity of rapture" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ⁸The epithet, "the purity of love"

is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ⁹The epithet, "the purity of pride" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ¹⁰The epithet, "the purity of adornment" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ¹¹The epithet, "the purity of mental abundance" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ¹²The epithet, "the purity of purity of light" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ¹³The epithet, "the purity of bodily bliss" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ¹⁴The epithet, "the purity of form" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ¹⁵The epithet, "the purity of sound" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ¹⁶The epithet, "the purity of smell" is the stage of a Bodhisattva. ¹⁷The epithet, "the purity of taste" is the stage of a Bodhisattva.

¹⁸"And why is it so? Because all dharma in their self-nature are pure, the Prajñā-pāramitā is pure.

¹⁹"Vajrapāṇi, if anyone hears the prajñā guiding principle of these epithets which manifest purity, ²⁰until he attains the locus of enlightenment, ²¹all hindrances -hindrances of the passions, hindrances to the Dharma, hindrances to action- ²²even the far-reaching accumulations of habit will not cast him down into the destinies of the hells and the rest. ²³It will not be difficult to extinguish grave sins which have been committed.

²⁴If one is able to receive and retain this teaching, read it and recite it daily, direct one's mind to it and contemplate it, ²⁵in this present life itself ²⁶one shall completely attain sovereignty and ²⁸receive the joy inherent in innumerable blisses. ²⁹Passing through the lives of the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, ³⁰one shall attain the stages of the Tathāgata and of the one who holds the Thunderbolt.

³¹Then the Lord, ³³the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, the Great Being, (³¹)the excellent Thunderbolt-holding Being of all the maṇḍala of all the Tathāgatas' Pledge of Mahāyāna Enlightenment, ³²who subjugates inexhaustibly in the three realms and perfects all purposes, ³⁴being about to elucidate this meaning further, relaxed his mien and broke into a smile. ³⁵With his left hand he formed the Seal of Adamantine Pride, ³⁶with his right hand he grasped and cast the Original Great Thunderbolt, aroused the vigour of courageous progress ³⁷and expounded the essence of the propitious sacrament of the Thunderbolt of Great Bliss: hūm

2. Comparison of the Different Versions

There are various comparisons available in the secondary literature,¹ but there is no indication as to how we might come to terms with the many differences to be found in the various versions of our text. Whilst there are variations in the latter section of this important chapter (R.1/18-37), these are not particularly significant. The core of this teaching of Great Bliss (dairaku 大樂, mahāsukha, dbe ba chen po) is contained in the seventeen so-called "epithets of purity" (jūshichi-shōjō-ku 十七清淨句), and accordingly it is the differences to be found in these which is of interest here.

The first concern of our commentators is to present the number of epithets in each text. The reason for this is that the number seventeen is ritually significant, being derived from the basic configurations of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala.² This number of course allows ritual expression of groups of four around the central figure,³ the basic pattern of the

1. Cf. RK: 117f (table); Kōgi: 352ff; FUKUDA Ryōsei: "Rishukyō-bunken-gakuteki-kenkyū -sono gendaigo-yaku wo mezashite (sono I-III)", Chizan Kyōka Kenkyū, No. 3 (1971), p. 36f; TOMITA Kōdo: "Rishukyō-jūshichi-son-mandara ni tsuite", Mikkyō, No. 3/1 (April 1914), pp. 35-37 (table, p. 36); HATTA Yukio: Rishukyō, pp. 73, 337f. This last reference gives the correspondences with the Skt150 and mistakenly attributes the term sparśa to the third epithet, "touching". Sparśa should of course come at the end of the series, being one of the sense experiences. This is borne out by the Tibetan, which has reg-pa, "the one/that which touches", or "touching" (i.e. a reference to the actual act of touching -hence the attribution to Kelikilā, as we shall see presently), and reg, "touch" as a sense, as epithets 3 and 18 respectively. Hatta also gives rūpa, which is not found in Skt150, and suggests Skt. māna for man 慢 (pride), which is also misleading, since it does not appear in the text either (though both are reliable reconstructions). See also the following note.

2. The Naya Assembly (Rishu-e 理趣會) in the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala has of course precisely seventeen deities, though the relationship between the Assembly in the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala and the literature and rituals associated with our present text is far from straightforward. We are thus not in a position yet to address the puzzlement expressed by Snellgrove in his Introduction to the STTS (op. cit., p. 13, n. 4).

3. In this case, $1 + (4 \times 4) = 17$.

Vajradhātu Maṇḍala. The number of epithets in the ten versions of the Rishukyō is as follows:

T.220:	69
T.240:	15
T.241:	13
T.242:	20
T.243:	17
T.244:	16
Skt150:	13 ⁴
Tib150:	18 ⁵
TibAlam:	20
TibExt:	17 ⁶

Despite the efforts expended by scholars in the resolution of this question, there has been no attempt to arrange the material available in terms of a common pattern. I am aware that in the very act of positing such a pattern I am perhaps begging the question, in that the pattern determined in this investigation is that found in Amoghavajra's text itself. However, this approach does give us something concrete to work with until more about the origins of this particular strand of the tradition can be determined.⁷

4. Plus at least one, the text having an omission between nos. 8 and 10. Kambayashi makes the comment that if one adds the first group of four to the thirteen, one arrives at the ritually significant number of seventeen. However, the fact that the text is corrupt between nos. 8 and 10 (I have numbered this omission "9" in the table), means that any purported ritual structure of the type we are dealing with in T. 243 would be upset, even if Kambayashi's suggestion were correct.

5. The Peking edition has a further four.

6. Corresponding largely to T.243, according to RK: 117f.

7. The place to look may well be Hsüan-tsang, since his epithets run through the whole gamut of the Buddhist teachings. If it is possible or fruitful to determine whence he drew the inspiration for the first eleven of the epithets in T.220, then we may be a little nearer to determining the origin of this idea of different kinds of purity in this particular arrangement. For a full breakdown of the epithets in T.220, see Appendix A.

2.1. The Common Pattern in the Passages Containing the Epithets

The pattern which emerges from a comparative study of this section is fourfold: statement of the basic truth, expression of this truth, benefits accruing from its attainment, and this truth pervading the most concrete elements of the human being (namely the skandha and the various sense-related factors). If we summarise this, together with the gist of the phrases as we find them in the texts, we arrive at the following:

I Basic Truth (described variously as ultimate bliss)

II Expression of this Truth (seen from the point of view of the ascent towards Buddhahood, this becomes a description of progress towards it, or of the practices to that end)

This has the following sub-divisions:

- (i) Seeing
- (ii) Rapture/Bliss
- (iii) (Bond of) Desire/Love
- (iv) Storing/Presiding Over/Sovereignty

III Benefits of this Truth (concrete attainment)

This also has four sub-divisions:

- (i) Adornment
- (ii) Mental Abundance/Fecundity
- (iii) Light
- (iv) (Bliss of) Body (Speech and Mind)

IV Basic Structure of the Personality

In most texts this means the five basic sensual experiences of form, sound, smell, flavour and touch. T.220, nos. 12-27, includes the whole of the Buddhist analysis of the skandha, indriya, āyatana; Skt150 arguably includes mind (manas) as its tenth epithet, but not in the position expected.⁸

The most significant development to be observed through the different versions, culminating in the formation of a clearly ritual design in Amoghavajra's text, is the doubling of section II, each division thereby created expressing a different aspect of the basic structure. This is of course

8. It may thus be regarded as more likely an abbreviation of: "(bliss of) body, speech and mind." In the following table (Table 2.1), these sub-divisions are numbered (i)-(vi).

most clearly evident in T.243, where the two groups of epithets, 2-5 and 6-9, clearly correspond. We shall see below that the exegetical tradition surrounding this text sees the first group as male and the second as female. The only other text which exhibits this format is Tib150.⁹ The remaining versions exhibit this pattern in an incomplete form, further study of which may eventually contribute to an understanding of how Amoghavajra came to have a more or less complete and consistent ritual at his disposal. In tabular form, the epithets of purity in the various texts (omitting the two longer versions in Tibetan) appear thus:

9. Derge and Narthan; Peking has several extra epithets, making 24 in all: cf. RK: 117f.

TABLE 2.1: The Epithets of Purity in the Different Versions of the Rishukyō

Pattern	T.243	Skt.150	Tib.150	T.220	T.240	T.241	T.242	T.244
I	1 myōteki	surata	rab tu gaḥ ba	kyokumyōraku		kyoku-myō		myōraku
II (i)	2 yokusen		hdod chags kyi mthaḥ				yoku	tonyoku
II (ii)	3 soku		reg pa					
A (iii)	4 aibaku		sdug pai ḥciñ ba		ai")		ai	shinbō
II (iv)	5 issai-jizai-shu		thams cad la dbaḥ phyug dañ dbaḥ				issai-gyō	issai-furaku
III (i)	6 ken	diṣṭi	lta ba	shoken-eijaku				
III (ii)	7 teki-etsu	rati	dgaḥ ba	bimyō-tekietsu	ken	shoken-eijaku	kenshō	ken
III (iii)	8 ai	trṣṇā	sred pa	katsuai-eisoku	etsu-raku	bimyō-tekietsu		airaku
III (iv)	9 man		sñems pa	taizō-chōotsu	shin-jaku	katsuai-eisoku	airaku#)	zenbō
IV (i)	10 shōgon	bhūṣaṇa	rgyan	shutoku-shōgon	shōgon	shutoku-shōgon	monji	shōgon
IV (ii)	11 ishitaku	āhlādana	yid tshim par byed pa	ikyoku-iteki		i-kyoku-	iraku	etsu-i
IV (iii)	12 kōmyō	āloka	snañ ba	toku-daikōmyō	kōmyō	tekietsu	kan†)	myōshō
IV (iv)	13 shinraku	kāyasukha <manas>*)	lus-bde ba	shin/go/i-	shin/go/i	i	shin/go/i	shin
IV (v)	14 shiki	śabdha	gzugs	zen'anraku	shiki	shiki	shiki	shiki
IV (vi)	15 shō	śabdha	sgra	five skandha	shō	shō	shō	shō
IV (vii)	16 kō	gandha	dri	plus sense-	kō	kō	kō	kō
IV (viii)	17 mi	rasa	ro	organs,	mi	mi	mi	mi
IV (ix)		sparsā	reg	objects and fields	soku	soku	soku	soku

*) This epithet could arguably be placed in the first position in this pattern.

#) Between airaku and zō the text has greed, hate and delusion (cf. RK: 117).

*) There is an epithet missing between kāyasukha and manas, very probably one having to do with speech.
+) Cf. RK: loc. cit.

2.2. Points to note in Table 2.1

2.2.1. T.220 and T.241 correspond in sections I and II, and in III (i) and (ii); after this point, T.241 -from the standpoint of our analysis- becomes corrupt. Nevertheless, the exact correspondences in the named sections are so noteworthy as to indicate a strong possibility of there being a common source for these two portions of the text.

2.2.2. Since the final member of a four-part group in the particular tradition we are dealing with normally indicates the element of subjugation and concomitant sovereignty, it would seem reasonable to conjecture that those texts which only have "storing" (zō 蔵), i.e. T.240 and T.242, are in fact abbreviating the corresponding term in T.220, taizō-chōotsu 胎蔵超越, "that which is transcendent/goes beyond the <mundane> <on the basis of> the womb-store", to translate freely. The remaining texts, save Sktl50, which has nothing here, all have epithets which express or imply the ideas of subjugation, sovereignty or practice.¹⁰

2.2.3. Tibl50 and T.243 correspond very closely, the latter differing only in that it omits the final one of the five sensual experiences.

2.2.4. T.243, precisely because it omits touch (soku 觸, sparśa), a logical member of this particular set, would seem quite clearly to be a consciously formed ritual. There is otherwise no compelling reason for Amoghavajra's text to do this.

10. I cannot, however, find the term issai-furaku 一切富樂 (T.244) explained anywhere. The nearest would seem to be furaku-jizai 富樂自在, N: 1179a, Skt. sampatti, which contains the idea of sovereignty (jizai 自在).

2.2.5. We may thus be justified in regarding bodily bliss (Skt150, Tib150, T.243, T.244) as an abbreviation of "good bliss of body, speech and mind" (shin/go/i-zen'anraku 身語意善安樂), which appears in T.240 and T.242 as "body speech and mind" (shin/go/i 身語意). T.241, which otherwise corresponds closely with T.220 up to this point, has only "mind" (i 意); this may, however, be taken with the final five in this section of T.241 to indicate the grossest elements in the Yogācāra analysis of the personality.

2.2.6. Despite the various differences in the eight versions I have taken into consideration, the common pattern outlined here would seem to indicate that the textual tradition which Amoghavajra received has roots which can be traced back to the exoteric texts, and does in fact also stand firmly in this tradition. What marks off Amoghavajra -both from the exoteric tradition and from the other more or less esoteric versions- is that he was the first to transmit to China a consciously worked-out ritual expression of the ideas contained in the material before him.¹¹ This would be a valid observation even if we only had T.243 before us, since the omission of touch as the last of the series is quite a jar to any audience acquainted with Buddhist literature and doctrine.

11. We shall be dealing with the other strands of this ritual tradition below, in §6 (The Maṇḍala).

3. The Epithets of Purity

This section is central to the thought of this Sūtra, though it is not certain that it belonged to the text in its original form, since -as we shall see below in the section on the maṇḍala related to this chapter (§6)- the ritual character of this part is very closely related to some important Vajrasattva rituals¹² and to the Rishu-e 理趣会 (Naya Assembly) of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala.

3.1. General

This Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss begins the teaching of the Sūtra proper, and its ideological basis is the purity of all dharma in their self-nature (jishō-shōjō 自性清淨). We shall devote §2.6 below to a more detailed account of the nature and implications of this tenet, but the gist of it will be familiar to students of Buddhism:

However, if we look at this deeply, from the standpoint of the pure esoteric teaching, the true meaning of this Dharma-Gate is not merely that it shows the purity of the self-nature of all dharma: the basic point is that, along with naturally experiencing that great, peaceful bliss which never diminishes through endless kalpa, it indicates the extent of Vajrasattva's resolve to confer this teaching without fail to all beings. Precisely because of this, the Dharma-Gate of this first chapter is entitled: "The Great King of the Ritual which is called the Thunderbolt of the True Nature of the Great Pledge".

(RK: 115f)

Toganoo goes on to quote Ānandagarbha's Paramādyā-tīka to the effect that: "True nature" (shinjisshō 眞實性) and "the nature of all-pervading goodness" (fugen-shō 普賢性) are ecstasy (myōteki 妙適) and all-pervading goodness (fugen 普賢) and that this in itself is the Thunderbolt (kongō 金剛, vajra). Hence, "The Thunderbolt of the True Nature of

12. T.XX/1119-1125; see my forthcoming article, "The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Tantric Buddhist View of the Passions and Enlightenment", Temenos, Vol. 22 (1986), (due early 1988).

the Pledge" indicates Vajrasattva (RK: 116).

Nasu is of the opinion that the kernel of the Rishukyō is contained in the this, the 16th and the 17th chapters of the text. The significance of the centrality of Vajrasattva is that: "He represents in human form the true character of sentient beings' true nature, and his inner attainment is the heart of sentient beings as it is, the naturalness of the teaching" (Tatsui: 57). In this realisation there is none of the usual ingrained desire for the opposite, which arises in the mind of one subject to duality. The symbolism of this chapter is concerned with making the infinite finite and tangible, a mystery which, when put into practical, religious use, necessarily brings about this Dharma-Gate. Hence the seventeen epithets in this section explain only one truth, that of the true, natural and enlightened state of things as they are, but do this from these seventeen different aspects. Regardless of how many epithets there are in the various versions of the text, the basic point is the same: "The truth that things and mind are of one suchness (ichinyō 一如), abiding at the fundamentally non-arising limit:¹³ becoming enlightened to this is the Perfection of Wisdom in the Rishukyō" (Tatsui: 58f).

We will now move on to an analysis of the terms ku 句 and i/kurai 位, and of the seventeen epithets individually.

13. Hon-fushō-sai 分際 : sai means limit or divide, and indicates here the ability of the Bodhisattva to live from a point which is indefinable, insofar as in terms of its fundament or origin (hon 本) it is devoid of that basic characteristic of conditioned dharma, arising (shō 生, *bhāva). As such, the term implies the activity of an enlightened one, and not mere static experience of enlightenment.

3.2. Implications of the term "epithet"

We shall deal here with the terms issai-shōjōku-mon 一切隨持句門 and the Skt. pada, which Amoghavajra translates both as "epithet" (句) and as "stage" (i/kurai 位).

3.2.1. R.1/(i) is defined by MDJT/I: 81b as: "The Dharma-Gate where all dharma of form and essence (shiki-shin 色心) are completely pure, the Dharma-Gate of Vajrasattva's inner attainment.... It is called the 'Gate of the Epithets of Purity' because it is a gate which emerges from life and death and enters nirvāna." N: 262a defines kumon as: "Teaching. Abiding by that which penetrates the meaning, guiding one into the gate of enlightenment," though the phrase as a whole is more logically read as shōjō-ku no mon の門, rather than shōjō-naru kumon なる句門.¹⁴

3.2.2. There is some variance in the translations adopted by the authors of the various versions at our disposal. These are as follows:

T.243: *-ku	*-i
T.220: *-kugi 句義	*-kugi
T.240: *-i 位	*-i
T.241: *-kugi	*-kugi
T.242: *-shōjō	*-bosatsu
T.244: *-ku	*-bosatsu-ku
Skt150: *-viśuddhi-padam	*-bodhisattva-padam
Tib150: *-gnas	*-byañ chub sems dpa'i gnas

The explanation for these various attempts, which basically fluctuate between "(pure) word/phrase" and "stage, rank (of the Bodhisattva)", can be seen in the Skt. pada. The meaning, "word, phrase", is a relatively minor one in our

14. This despite the fact that Nakamura's reference is specifically to the Rishukyō; cf. also Kambayashi's Japanese translation: "Issai-hō no shaujau-ku no mon wo toki-tamafu 一切法の隨持句の門を説きたまふ." (Kōgi: 343).

context. The more significant aspect of the term has to do with its relationship to the concept of "foot" (through Latin pes) and "stride", the point being that -as in English- the term can mean both the foot itself and the distance or space encompassed by it.¹⁵ pada is also used in various idioms connected with entering, whence the definition given by Nakamura¹⁶ becomes clearer. It is in this sense that the epithets in our text are regarded as embodying enlightenment, or more precisely as showing factors in our concrete world which when perceived as innately pure come to contain and express the realm of enlightenment itself.¹⁷

15. An illustration of this may be seen in the three steps of Viṣṇu, by dint of which he covers -masters/gains sovereignty over- the realms of earth, air and heaven (trīni padāni).

16. N: 262a, quoted above, p.134.

17. Cf. MW: 583a; Tatsui: 60. Kambayashi quotes the commentary to the MVS (Dainichikyō-sō I), where pada is defined as footprint: "The place occupied by that footprint is called 'pada' (sono sokuseki-shoju no tokoro wo pada to ifu 其の足跡所居の處を鉢巻といふ。)" Progressing by walking is then used as the basic simile for describing the process of following the footsteps of the Buddha on the way to enlightenment (Kōgi: 344). Hence the implication is that the seventeen epithets are traces left by the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and past masters, which if followed will lead subsequent practitioners towards their experience. "Epithet" is thus best understood with its Greek origin in mind: epi (upon, at, on the ground of) + tithēmi (to place, put) = epithēton. We may note in passing here that shōjō-ku may be read in two ways, (i) "the purity of ----" and (ii) "the purity which is ----". These may be seen as giving different but complementary aspects of purity, the first showing the passage from man to Buddha, in that those things one normally sees as impure come to be seen as pure; the second showing the sphere of enlightenment itself, in that the purity which one experiences in the state of enlightenment comes to be seen as having many different expressions in the conditioned sphere. In this respect, the choice of the number of epithets is quite arbitrary, in the sense that it shows either a distinct ritual purpose (T.243), or no fully developed ritual or didactic purpose at all (true in varying degrees for the remaining texts).

3.3. Interpretation of the individual epithets (R.1/1-17)

The seventeen phrases explained in the beginning section of Amoghavajra's Hannya-Rishukyō, for the purpose of indicating the realm of Vajrasattva's enlightenment. It explains the situation related to intercourse between man and woman, that the seventeen items of the manifest world are all essentially pure: that is to say, they are the realm of the Bodhisattva, which is removed from the basic idea of duality. It is easy to take this as expressing the concept of a sexual basis, due to the use of language which in the technical terms of the seventeen epithets of purity expresses sexual desire (aiyoku 愛欲) between man and woman, but it is thought that originally they were probably an explanation of the whole background of human experience.

(MJT: 343bf)

That these seventeen epithets further represent the samādhi of Vajrasattva, with its sixteen permutations, is a clearly defined element of the tradition surrounding this text.¹⁸ This tradition goes back to Rishushaku, where Amoghavajra sets out the various correspondences.¹⁹ We shall be dealing with the problems involved in the attribution of the epithets to the corresponding deities in the pages to follow, in particular in §6 (The Maṇḍala). Let us however first see what Amoghavajra says about the concepts of the epithets of purity in general:

The Sūtra says: "He explained the gate of the epithets of the purity of all dharma." Because the ascetic practising yoga abides in the non-taintedness of the round (ruten 輪轉) of life and death; because he extensively creates things which are of benefit and pleasure to sentient beings; because he quickly accumulates the liberating wisdom of innumerable samādhi; because he rapidly accumulates the merit of extensive felicitous virtues (fuku-toku 福徳); because he goes beyond all the hordes of Māra-vinayaka and rapidly attains to the satisfaction of the excellent mundane and supra-mundane aspirations, he explains the great compassion of the Tathāgata. Being compassionately mindful (min-nen 念念) of the various characteristics of the supreme vehicle, he explains²⁰ the yoga-samādhi of the seventeen kinds of purity. Because of this, the Sūtras explain Mind-Only in the three realms (sangai 三界): in accordance with

18. Cf. Kōgi: 345; RK: 121; MJT: 344a.

19. T.1003: 608b27-609a15.

20. The Taishō text reads datsu 脱 here, obviously a mistake for setsu 説 (cf. Hanashi: 418).

mind there is purity and purity of sentient beings, in accordance with mind there are the various taints and the various taints of sentient beings. Another explanation is that the world of sentient beings is the pure and splendid Buddha-land of the Bodhisattvas, this being in accordance with the practice and attainment of the Gate of the seven-teen epithets of purity (jūshichi-shōjōku-mon).

(T.1003: 608b18-26)

We may now proceed to an examination of the individual epithets.²¹

3.3.1. **Myōteki** 妙適 (R.1/1): Horiuchi equates this term with Great Bliss (dairaku), and further glosses it as: "Kokoro ni kanau 心に適う", i.e. "to be in accord with the heart" (Hanashi: 329). This would indicate that it is the profoundest bliss possible which is here intended, a bliss in accord with that which is most natural in a human being when he or she is not directed by lowly desires. This epithet is also a kind of summation of all the virtues of the seventeen epithets, and hence MJT refers to great bliss in both connections: "Corresponding to the relationship between man and woman in the above manner <i.e. the epithets as a whole>, the fact that they explain the realm of Great Bliss, which has gone beyond all opposition, is -it is said- the fundamental meaning of the seventeen epithets of purity. In short, myōteki is Great Bliss, the purity of the world of enlightenment, which does not fade through endless kalpa" (MJT: 344a). The theme of this "exquisite bliss" being sexual in its connotations occurs throughout our commentarial sources,²² and its roots go back -as is often the

21. Cf. MDJT/III: 869a, MJT: 344a, for useful summaries of the epithets as a whole.

22. Cf. N: 1304b, "The realm of exquisite rapture in the embrace of man and woman. Intoxicated with the highest corporeal bliss, losing the subjective nature of the ego-self (jiko 自我)." Cf. also RK: 122; Tatsui:

case- at least to Amoghavajra:

Myōteki is actually the Skt. surata. Surata is like the mistaken bliss of Nara and Narī.²³ Vajrasattva, moreover, is surata. Because the boundless, great compassionate Pledge to the inexhaustible worlds of sentient beings -which are everywhere conditioned- attains the benefits of peaceful bliss, and the assembly of the heart²⁴ takes no rest and is without duality in the equality of self and other, it is simply called surata. Through the practice of Vajrasattva's yoga-samādhi, one realises the epithet of purity of exquisite rapture. Because of this one attains the stage of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva.

(T.1003: 608b27-c4)

Bliss in the ordinary sense is absolutely not intended by this term, and the importance of the transcendent standpoint is repeatedly stressed in the secondary literature: "Residing in the standpoint of equality and one-suchness (byōdō-ichinyo 平等一如), which brings about the destruction of all differentiation between self and other, this and that and so on" (Kōgi: 346). Kambayashi goes on to say that in the case of the common person, this bliss is nothing other than individualistic desire, but in the case of the Bodhisattva who has destroyed all differentiations, it comes to mean the point where one attains the non-duality of concentration and wisdom (jō'e-fu'ni 覺不二): compassion and

62; Kōgi: 345 has, "Exquisite rapture is subtle and exquisite rapture, the idea that with one's own body and mind in rapture, one enters the exquisite realm where the self disappears (myōteki to wa, bimyo-tekietsu de, shinjin-kōkotsu to shite mōga myōkyō ni hairu no i dearu 妙境とは、微妙通悦で、身心恍惚として自我の妙境に入りの意也)".

23. Skt. nara is one of the many words for "person, man" denied real existence in Buddhist thinking (cf. Abhidharma-kośa, "Refutation de Pudgala" (ch. 9), V, p. 245). N: 1029a derives it from na + #ram, "not pleasure (fu-etsu 不悦)". Narī is the female counterpart. The two together indicate the mistaken pleasure of embrace in a state of ignorance. Hence Nasu's insistence on experiencing this epithet in the light of "fundamental non-arising (hon-fushō 不生)", which of course entails there being no further production of karma.

24. I would hazard the interpretation of shin-e/shin-kai 心会 as a given mandala's assembly of Bodhisattvas, which is held to reside in the heart of the practitioner, and which is awakened by the practice of the mandala rites. On the other hand, it may simply be a copyist's error for shin-kai 心界, the realm of the heart or mind (for which, cf. N: 764b).

wisdom as one essence (hichi-ittai 悲智一体). Drawing on the Rishushaku and the commentary on the MVS, he also makes the point that the nature of temporal bliss and supreme bliss is the same, and the mistake of the common person is not to see this identity: "However, it is a mistake to regard the basis of this from the mundane standpoint and regard bliss as it is in the vulgar sense as being Vajrasattva's samādhī; being an ignorant view, it must be admonished" (Kōgi: 347).

In summary, then, we may say that this first epithet expresses the absolute truth which the Sūtra as a whole expounds, and identifies Vajrasattva as the central deity of the chapter. It is the philosophical and -as we shall presently see- the ritual basis of the rest of the epithets, both containing them and giving the basic impetus for the particular teaching of this chapter.

As was seen in Table 2.1, above, the next eight epithets belong together in a group which we surmised to be an expansion into male and female elements of a basic group of four, and which comprise respectively the elements of seeing-rapture-bond-transcendence/sovereignty. The division into male and female aspects apparently arose on the basis of Amoghavajra's materials, and we shall have more to say about this when we have dealt with the basic sources. We shall examine these next epithets, then, in groups of four (this applies to the latter eight epithets, too).

3.3.2. Yokusen 欲箭, soku 觸, aibaku 愛縛,
issai-jizai-shu 一切自在王 (R.1/2-5)

Yokusen (R.1/2) indicates the samādhi of the Bodhisattva of Desire, Yokukongō 欲.²⁵ He and the other Bodhisattvas in this group are a development of the bliss stated in the first epithet. "The arrow of desire is the desire which rapidly moves towards the opposite sex in the manner of an arrow."²⁶ In the common person this is nothing more than mere desire, "small desire" (shōyoku 小欲), in contrast to the Bodhisattva, who has transformed this into "great desire" (dai-yoku 大欲): that is the desire or resolve to attain enlightenment²⁷ and the concomitant Pledge to save all sentient beings. Kambayashi also remarks (loc. cit.) that in this phase one succeeds in separating oneself from the various taints (zōzen 雜染).

25. Ista-vajra. Cf. T.1003: 608c4f; these next four Bodhisattvas are the so-called "Four Thunderbolts" (shi-kongō 四金剛, vajra-catuska) and are principally found along with the next four -who are their female counterparts- in the Naya Assembly of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala. Details are to be found in MDJT/V: 2257b and MJT: 292a. There is also a series of illustrations in Lokesh CHANDRA: The Iconography of Japanese Mandalas, New Delhi, 1971, nos. 701-717. Basic details are as follows:

- (i) **East:** Yoku-kongō-bosatsu 欲箭, Iṣṭa-vajra
Further names: Ishō-kongō-b. 意生箭, Manoja-b.; Kongō-sen 箭 (Thunderbolt-Arrow). Bīja: ma, jah. Emblem: arrow (sen/ya 箭).
- (ii) **South:** Soku-kongō-b. 觸箭, Kelikila-vajra-b.
Further names: Kongō-kietsu 喜悦 (Thunderbolt Joy/Rapture), Keirikira 擊離言難. Bīja: hā, hūm. Emblem: three-pronged vajra (san-ko-shō 三鈷杵).
- (iii) **West:** Ai-kongō-b. 愛箭, Rāga-vajra-b.
Further names: Aibaku 愛縛 (Bond of Love), Airaku 愛樂 (Bliss of Love), Himin-kongō 悲愍箭 (Mercy-Compassion). Bīja: su, bam. Emblem: Makara Staff, makatsu-dō 摩鞞幢 (cf. MJT: 647a, s.v. makatsu-gyo, 647b, s.v. makatsu-dō; the makara fish is the vehicle of Varuṇa in Indian mythology, whence one of his names, Makara-vāhana; cf. also MW: 771b).
- (iv) **North:** Man-kongō-b. 慢箭, Māna-vajra-b.
Further names: Kongō-yoku-jizai 欲自在 (Thunderbolt-Desire-Sovereignty), I-ki-kongō 意氣箭 (Mind-Energy/Anger/Haughtiness). Bīja: kha, hoh. This Bodhisattva is generally depicted forming the mudrā of Pride (thumbs tucked inside the fists, which are held at the respective groins), rather than holding an emblem.

26. Kōgi: 347; cf. also N: 1398b.

27. I.e. the raising of the bodhicitta.

R.1/3 deals with the element of touching and is related to Kelikila, whose basic nature is derived from the experience of touching, direct contact.²⁸ In contrast to the preceding epithet, which dealt with the original impulse, this one deals with direct contact, intercourse between the two poles, male and female:²⁹

In the Bodhisattva who has entered the enlightenment of prajñā's purity of the guiding principle and resides in the state of the purity of touching, "touching"³⁰ is embracing all sentient beings, who are lost in the oblivion of life and death; it is the skilful means which transforms and guides them, drawing them into the stage of the Buddha (butsu-ji 仏地).

(Kōgi: 347)

R.1/4 deals with the bond of love, which is interpreted as a rope, with which one binds oneself to sentient beings, out of compassion for them and out of unwillingness to abandon them in their sufferings. This is the higher aspect of the epithet: the lower one is of course being bound by desires, in particular sexual desires.

R.1/5 is the samādhi of the Bodhisattva of Pride (Man- or Gō-kongō 慢傲介), and is interpreted by Amoghavajra as: "the complete attainment of sovereignty (jizai) in the mundane and the supramundane" (Gijutsu: 617c14).

This first subsidiary group is, as indicated above, male in character: "The first five epithets of purity -exquisite bliss, desire, touching, love and pride- show the stages of

28. Kelikila comes from #kel, "shake, tremble; be frolicsome, sport": keli, "play, sport, amusement", kelikila, "sporting, amusing oneself, finding pleasure in; wanton, arrogant, quarrelsome; one of Śiva's attendants; name of Ratī, wife of Kāma-deva" (MW: 309c).

29. Kōkai-sessoku 交会接触, Kōgi: 347.

30. We should be reminded here that "touching" in this instance is not to be confused with "touch" in the meaning of the sense element in the analysis of personal experience, which comes at the end of the list of epithets in T.220, T.240, T.241, T.242, T.244, Skt150 and Tib150. See p. 125, n. 1, above; cf. also Kōgi: 356 for a clear explanation of the difference.

the five Bodhisattvas (Vajrasattva, etc.), and because they are the deities of the Wisdom-Gate (chi-mon 智門) they show this through male forms (dankei 男形)."³¹

3.3.3. Ken 見, tekietzu 通悦, ai 愛,
man 慢 (R.1/6-9)

This group corresponds to the basic group we observed in the common pattern in all the versions, most typically in T.220, nos. 2-5. As we have them here in Amoghavajra's version, they represent the Samādhi Gate (jō-mon 覺門)³² and are therefore female (Kōgi: 349). Hence R.1/6 (ken 見, seeing) represents the purified faculty of vision, which sees things as basically pure in their actual nature. Being the basis of desire, the deity associated with this epithet, Ishōkongō 慧生介, or Yokukongō-nyo 欲介女, is the consort of Yokukongō. The Bodhisattva of this stage sees only the "truth of the reality of the excellent meaning" (shōgi-shinjitsu-tai 勝義真實諦), in contrast to the ordinary person, in whom nothing more than desirous thoughts are aroused upon the sighting of desirable objects (Kōgi: 348). The sexual implications come out in MJT's definitions: "'Seeing' is seeing the opposite sex with a desiring heart, and the arising of beautiful feelings." In the light of the underlying theme of the attainment of Great Bliss, we can determine another aspect: "'Seeing' is opening one's vision to the true character of Great Bliss (dairaku no jissō 大樂の真相)" (MJT: 344a).

31. Kōgi: 348; cf. also ONO Seishū: Rishukyō Kōgi, Kyoto: Shiseki Shuppan, 1983 (repr. from 1917), p. 77. The group of four Bodhisattvas attendant upon Vajrasattva is further described as: "The Four Bodhisattvas of the Immediate Entourage" (shi-shingon-bosatsu 四親近菩薩, Monku: 613b7).

32. I.e. the quiescent aspect.

A further explanation, and one which is traced back to Kūkai's Monku,³³ is that Yokukongō-nyo produces delight (kangi 歡喜) at the sight of dharma which are but form (shiki-jin 色塵), and is therefore also called Ki-bosatsu 喜井, the Bodhisattva of Joy.

R.1/7, teki-etsu (also read chaku-etsu) refers to the rapture experienced on touching, which is the logical step from seeing. In the Bodhisattva, this touching takes the form of a genuine emotion of love and protection towards sentient beings (shujō-ai no shinjō 衆生愛の真情); all dharma are perceived with absolute equality (zettai-byōdō 絶対平等) and he experiences the exquisite bliss of rapture in body and mind (shinjin 身心).³⁴ MJT: 344a regards this epithet as primarily indicating the joy arising from intercourse between man and woman,³⁵ and this intends -from the standpoint of Great Bliss- the state of mind experienced upon enjoyment of the highest realisation.³⁶ This epithet is attributed to Tekietsukongō-bosatsu 通悦介井, the Bodhisattva of Rapture.

33. The attribution of the Bodhisattvas of Joy, the Wig, Song and Dance (ki-man-ka-bu 喜鬘歌舞) is found in Hanashi/Text: 6 and in Kōgi: 349. Both refer to Monku, but this attribution to the Inner Offering Deities is not to be found in Kūkai's section on the Bodhisattvas of the Immediate Entourage (shi-shingon-bosatsu 四親近井, Monku: 613b13). It is, however, consistent with the rest of the thinking in the commentarial literature. We shall be looking at the problem of correspondences in greater detail in §6, below.

34. The explanation is Kambayashi's, Kōgi: 348f.

35. teki-etsu no wa, dan'nyo no majiwari ni yotte shō-zuru yorokobi 通悦のは、男女の交わりによって生ずる喜び。

36. MJT: 344b: dairaku no kyōchi ni ju-suru shinkyō 大衆の境地に在り心境。

R.1/8, ai (love), refers on the mundane level to sexual love,³⁷ but on the level of the saint it acquires the meaning of: "The great love which resolves to save all sentient beings."³⁸ This is based on the thought of great compassion, a concept which in turn is based on the idea of the sameness or equality of dharma.³⁹ The epithet refers to the Bodhi-sattva of Adamantine Love, Aikongō-bosatsu 愛令芽.

The final epithet of this group is man 慢, "pride" (R.1/9). The element which provides the key to the spiritual interpretation of this epithet is the self, interpreted as the great self, the enjoyment of which is transformed pride, to the extent of the enjoyment of sovereignty over all mundane and supramundane dharma. Hence Kambayashi has: "Attaining sovereignty in all transformatory practices, one produces the functions of unhinderedness." He then quotes the Gijutsu, which he reads: "In entering and leaving the three realms, he exists naturally, without fear. Being in life and death and nirvāṇa, he attains the essence of the great self (dai-ga no tai 大我の体)."⁴⁰ This experience is described by MJT: 344a as the satisfied feeling that one is the ruler of the world, a feeling which from the standpoint of Great Bliss is the basis of action -the implication being of course action for the benefit of sentient beings.

We noted above that these four epithets refer to female deities, and hence to the gate of concentration, jō-mon.

37. MJT: 344b speaks of the difficulty of man and woman in embrace conceiving of separating, which would mirror the strength of the Bodhi-sattva's bond to sentient beings.

38. Issai-shujō wo kyūsai-sen to no dai-ai 一切衆生を救済せんとの大愛 (Kōgi: 349).

39. Dōtai-daihi , loc. cit.; cf. also MJT: 344b.

40. Kōgi: 349, quoting Gijutsu: 617c28ff.

Kambayashi gives a further explanation of the four as correspondences to the Bodhisattvas of Joy, the Wig, Song and Dance: Yokukongō-nyo produces delight (kangi) at the sight of dharma which belong to form (shiki-jin), and hence refers to Ki-bosatsu; Sokukongō-nyo, coming into direct contact with the sphere of what is desired (sho-yoku no kyō 所欲の境), experiences rapture as bliss of body and mind (shin-jin-etsuraku 身心悦樂) and hence produces a smile; Aikongō-nyo, being bound to the sphere of what is loved (sho-ai no kyō 所愛の境), makes it her own, and having an excess of joyous rapture (ki-etsu 喜悅), raises her voice and breaks into song. Finally, Mankongō-nyo fulfils that which is desired and -through the excess of joy she experiences- breaks into dance.

We move on now to the concrete attainments of the perception and enjoyment of the teaching of Great Bliss.

3.3.4. Shōgon 莊嚴, ishikaku 意慈澤, kōmyō 光明,
shinraku 身樂 (R.1/10-13)

These four epithets occur with reasonable frequency throughout our primary texts. They are generally assigned to the outer group of Offering Deities. In the standard STTS arrangement they are in the order: Incense-Flower-Lamp-Unguent, but here the first two -Incense and Flower (kō 香 / ke 華)- are reversed.⁴¹ Hence we find adornment (shōgon, R.1/10) assigned to the Bodhisattva of the Flower, Ke-bosatsu 華苾芻. This derives from the other main correspondence, to spring. Gijutsu: 618a2ff gives the reasoning for this in terms of the flower of enlightenment (bodai-kaku-ge

41. Cf. Hanashi: 170.

。覺華), the blossoming of flowers in spring being likened to spiritual awakening, and benefits to sentient beings which proceed from this.⁴²

Next comes the epithet of "mental abundance" (ishitaku 慈 慈沢, R.1/11), which is assigned to the Bodhisattva of the Cloud, Un-bosatsu 雲井 . Ishitaku means enriching the mind,⁴³ and is likened to the Cloud of Dharma (hō-un 法雲 dharma-megha), which like the summer rains in India brings enrichment to the ten thousand things. Hence there are correspondences to summer and to the Bodhisattva of Fragrance,⁴⁴ since the scents of the luxuriant plant-life are at their strongest at this time.⁴⁵

Kōmyō is the third member of this third group and relates to autumn on account of the clear and radiant light from sun and moon which prevails during this season. Such light, which is a balanced, concrete and immediate expression of spiritual attainment, banishes all darkness through the wisdom which is its basis, bringing its particular benefits to sentient beings. The type of worship connected with this epithet is of course that by means of the Lamp: hence the correspondence with the Bodhisattva of the Lamp, Tō-bosatsu

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42. Cf. also Monku: 613bl6ff; Kambayashi also makes the point that this comes from the flower of enlightenment, which initiates worship, whereupon there ensue benefits to sentient beings (Kōgi: 349). Toganoo, for his part, states this adornment to be that of the seven limbs of enlightenment, shichi-kaku-shi 七覺支, sapta-bodhyaṅga (RK: 123).

43. I wo uruosu koto 慈を潤すこと (Kōgi: 350).

44. Kō-bosatsu 香井 ; kō generally refers to incense, but I translate with "Fragrance" here because the basic meaning -as will be apparent- is both more general and less concrete.

45. Cf. Kōgi: 350; Gijutsu: 618a5ff; Monku: 613bl6ff; N: 41b (2).

46. Cf. Kōgi: 350; Gijutsu: 618a9ff also juxtaposes emptiness and form, which are shown clearly in their true nature in the light of wisdom, which autumnal light intends here.

The final member of this group, bodily bliss (shinraku, R.1/13), derives from the bodily ease experienced when the hot weather in India gives way to more bearable temperatures, and is hence related to winter. It is thus taken as an image of the bodily and mental ease which is experienced upon the extinction of the heat of the passions.⁴⁷ At this point, the Bodhisattva produces the fragrance of the five-fold Dharmakāya (gobu-hosshin 五部法身)⁴⁸ and offers it to sentient beings, thus awakening worship by smearing oneself with unguent (zukō-kuyō-unkai 塗香供養聖海). Hence the attribution to the Bodhisattva of the Unguent, Zukō-bosatsu 塗香菩薩.

In conclusion, then, these four epithets, R.1/6-9, refer to the natural world in its progress through the four seasons, and the corresponding movements in the practice of the Buddha's teachings.

3.3.5. Shiki 色, shō 声, kō 香, mi 味 (R.1/14-17)

This final group refers, as we have seen, to the sense-experiences, though as reference to Table 1 shows, the various versions do exhibit slight differences. The most important digression from our point of view -the elimination of the factor of touch in T.243, for ritual purposes- was noted earlier in this chapter.⁴⁹ One basic purpose in the inclusion of these four epithets is to indicate that the six

47. Kambayashi's mention here of "body and mind" (I am drawing on Kōgi: 350) would lend support to my contention that this epithet is an abbreviation of "body, speech and mind" in T.220, T.240, T.242 and T.244, in the sense of these being taken as a composite term for the complex of the human personality.

48. That is the Dharmakāya as containing the five aspects known individually as the Five Families (gobu).

49. Page 131, above.

sense-faculties -the five traditionally recognised in Western thought, plus mind (roku-jin 六塵 , sad-visaya)- are also included in the view of what is pure (Tatsui: 64). These epithets as a whole refer to the Gathering Deities (shō-bosatsu 提拏 , saṅgraha-bodhisattva).⁵⁰

R.1/14 (form, shiki 色 , rūpa) refers to the sphere where eye-consciousness originates.⁵¹ The Bodhisattva of this stage sees no objects which are not pure, and this level refers to the nirmāna-kāya. The saṅgraha Bodhisattva referred to here is the Bodhisattva of the Hook, Kō-bosatsu 鈎拏 , whose virtue is to begin the process of bringing sentient beings into the realm of the dharma by the use of her hook.⁵²

The next in the group is sound, shō 声 (R.1/15), which of course relates to ear-consciousness, and indicates the essential purity of all sound. Gijutsu: 618a21f states the term sound to indicate the sixty-four sounds of the Sanskrit alphabet. The function of this particular phase is to pull in (in'nyū no koto 引入の事), and the attribution is accordingly to the Bodhisattva of the Rope, Saku-bosatsu .

R.1/16, smell (kō 香) indicates nose-consciousness, and posits the essential purity of everything connected with the perception of smells, agreeable and disagreeable.

50. Unless otherwise stated, the following account is drawn from Kam-bayashi (Kōgi: 351).

51. Genshiki-sho'en no kyō

52. MJT: 344a states this epithet to indicate that which is the cause of the adornment of one's own body" (shiki to wa, jishin wo shōgon-suru in to naru mono 色とは自身を莊嚴する因は物). That is, the adornments mentioned in the text are expressive of an attainment which is impossible without a body on which the whole practice is based. Concerning the importance of a strong body, built up through the practice of hatha-yoga, cf. for example S. B. DASGUPTA's Obscure Religious Cults, Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1969. p. 89).

The fragrance of this wisdom permeates the whole of the cosmos, arresting the troubled and dissipated hearts of sentient beings and bringing them to rest (Gijutsu: 618a25). Hence the epithet corresponds to the Bodhisattvas of the Chain, Sa-bosatsu 鎖菩薩 .

The final epithet in this series is taste (mi 味, R.1/17), corresponding of course to tongue-consciousness. Through the wisdom one attains on insight into this epithet, one holds the supreme flavour of the Buddha's teaching, which comes from yogic concentration.⁵³ Because this produces joyous bliss (kanraku 歡樂), the attribution is to the Bodhisattva of the Bell, Rei-bosatsu 鈴菩薩 .

These final Bodhisattvas, then, perform the task of attracting deluded beings into the teaching: "They are an expression of the compāssion which gathers those sentient beings which are to be transformed, and does not abandon them" (Kōgi: 351).⁵⁴

3.4. The Structure of the Seventeen Epithets

We have already seen that these epithets state the samādhi of Vajrasattva and the sixteenfold process which ensues from this. There are various ways in which these aspects are interpreted, some exclusive, some complementary, and we will explain these in turn, beginning with that contained in Kūkai's Monku: 613a29-c11.

53. Yuga-samaji no mujō no hō-mi 無上の法味: cf. Gijutsu: 618a27f.

54. For an account of the relationship between the four emblems (Hook, etc.), cf. T.XX/1119: 510a7-24.

3.4.1. The Structure According to Monku

In this work, this chapter on Great Bliss is divided into two main sections, the Main Explanation of the Guiding Principle of Mahāsukhāmogha-Vajrasattva's Insight,⁵⁵ and the Additional Explanation of the Essential Mantra.⁵⁶ Within the former, there is an overall indication of the chapter's content (hyō-shō 標章: R.1/(i)), followed by the explanation of the meaning (shaku-gi 釈義: R.1/1-18), divided in turn into the Main Explanation (shō-shaku 正釈) of the epithets themselves (R.1/1-17), and a general, summary explanation for all the epithets (shaku-shutsu 釈出: R.1/18). The Main Explanation of the epithets is divided into the groups we have already noted: (1) Vajrasattva as the central deity, (2) the Four Bodhisattvas of the Immediate Entourage,⁵⁷ (3) the Inner Offering Deities, (4) the Outer Offering Deities and (5) the Gathering Deities. Table 2.2 shows this arrangement in tabular form and also includes Kūkai's analysis of the sections which follow the epithets. It should also be noticed that the whole chapter is divided according to the Three Mysteries, and that the epithets are grouped under the Mystery of Mind.⁵⁸

Table 2.2 follows:

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55. Shōmyō-dairaku-fukū-kongōsatta-hannya-rishu 正明大樂不空金剛薩
捶般若理趣: R.1/(i)-30.
56. Jū-myō-shin'shington 重明心真言: R.1/31-37. Shin (心) may mean both heart/essence, or the region of the physical heart: see the discussion of the mantra, below.
57. See note 60, below.
58. The analysis is set out in Hanashi/Text (R.1 is pp. 8-11). There is also a diagram of the Monku analysis in Tatsui: 65. The attribution to the Three Mysteries (sanmitsu) is to be found in Monku: 613c7-9.

TABLE 2.2: Kukai's Analysis of the Chapter on Great Bliss

1.3.2. Production of Good	R.1/24-30	1. Guiding Principle (<u>rishu</u>)	R.1/i-30
1.3.2.1. Type of Practice (<u>gyōsō</u>)		1.1. Chapter Heading (<u>hyōshō</u>)	R.1/i
1.3.2.2. Rewards (<u>kōfuku</u>)		1.2. Explanation of the Meaning (<u>shakugi</u>) ¹	R.1/1-18
1.3.2.2.1 First Three		(Mystery of Mind) ²	
1.3.2.2.1.1. Temporal Nexus (R.1/25)		1.2.1. Detailed Explanation (<u>shō-shaku</u>) ³	R.1/1-17
1.3.2.2.1.2. Rewards (R.1/26-28): Realisation of Samādhi (<u>toku-sanmai</u>); Attainment of Sovereignty (<u>toku-jizai</u>); Receipt of Rapture (<u>ju-tekietsu</u>).		1.2.1.1. Immediate Entourage (shi-shingon-bosatsu)	R.1/2-5
1.3.2.2.2. Last One		1.2.1.1.1. Yoku-kongō	
1.3.2.2.2.1. Temporal Nexus (R.1/29)		1.2.1.1.2. Soku-kongō	
1.3.2.2.2.2. Reward (R.1/30): Attainment of Buddhahood (<u>toku-butsumi</u>).		1.2.1.1.3. Ai-kongō	
2. Mantra (<u>shingon</u>)	R.1/31-37	1.2.1.1.4. Kongō-gō	
2.1. Mystery of Body (<u>shin-mitsu</u>)	R.1/31-36	1.2.1.2. Inner Offering	R.1/6-9
2.2. Mystery of Speech (<u>gu-mitsu</u>)	R.1/37	1.2.1.2.1. Ishō-kongō	
		1.2.1.2.2. Tekietsu-kongō	
		1.2.1.2.3. Don-kongō	
		1.2.1.2.4. Kongō-man	
		1.2.1.3. Outer Offering	
		1.2.1.3.1. Shun-kongō	R.1/10-13
		1.2.1.3.2. Un-kongō	(<u>ge</u> /Flower)
		1.2.1.3.3. Shū-kongō	(<u>kō</u> /Incense)
		1.2.1.3.4. Tō-kongō	(<u>tō</u> /Lamp)
		1.2.1.4. Gathering	(<u>zu</u> /Unguent)
		1.2.1.4.1. Shiki-kongō	R.1/14-17
		1.2.1.4.2. Shō-kongō	(<u>kō</u> /Hook)
		1.2.1.4.3. Kō-kongō	(<u>saku</u> /Rope)
		1.2.1.4.4. Mi-kongō	(<u>sa</u> /Chain)
		1.2.2. Underlying Rationale (<u>shaku-shutsu</u>)	(<u>rei</u> /Bell)
		1.3. Praising the Virtues (<u>tandoku</u>) ⁴	R.1/18
		1.3.1. Extinction of Evil	R.1/19-30
		1.3.1.1. Type of Practice (<u>gyōsō</u>)	R.1/19-23
		1.3.1.2. Rewards (<u>kōfuku</u>)	
		1.3.1.2.1. Temporal Nexus (<u>jisetsu</u>)	
		1.3.1.2.2. Rewards (<u>kōfuku</u>)	
		1.3.1.2.2.1. Avoidance of Evil Destinies (<u>fudatsu-akushu</u>)	
		1.3.1.2.2.2. Elimination of Accumulated Karma (<u>jūzai-shōmetsu</u>)	

1. §1.2 explains the 17-deity mandala, consisting of Dairaku-kongō-fugen-emei-kongōsatta-bosatsu (Vajrasattva), the four Bodhisattvas of the East, the Inner and Outer Offering Deities and the Gathering Deities.

2. This attribution is found at 613c7-9; the Mysteries of Body and Speech are assigned under §2, the mantra.

3. Kūkai does not give the Vajradhātu Mandala deities which correspond to the Immediate Entourage and the Inner Offering Groups. Horiuchi, however, provides these in his edition of the text, appended to his Hanashi (Hanashi/Text:6f). The Immediate Entourage is -as seen in my text, above, p. 150, n. 57- that of the East (Akṣobhya), namely: Vajra-sattva, kāja, rāga, sadhu; the Inner Offering Deities are of course: laśi, māla, gītā, nṛtā (cf. also Table I.2, p. 50, above).

4. This is an abbreviation for shō-tan-kan-doku, which means: "praising the virtues of contemplation," i.e. the seventeen-fold contemplation implicit in the previous section. (Here we should perhaps point out that Kūkai gives that section -the seventeen epithets- as pertaining to the Mystery of Mind (i'mitsu): cf. 613c7f.)

Supplement to Table 2.2

(STRUCTURE OF THE DHARMA-GATE OF GREAT BLISS ACCORDING TO MONKU)

Text R 1/(i)	1.1 hyôshô 標章 (Indication of the Chapter, 613b3)				
1	1.1 hyôshô 標章 (Indication of the Chapter, 613b3) 1.2.1 shôshaku 正釋 (Primary Explanation) (613b4-22) 1.2.2 shakushutsu 釋出 (Explanation of the Basis)	Expl. of the Meaning shakugijishaku 釋義 (613b4-22)	Dairaku-kongô-fugen-enmei-kongôsatta-bosatsu-i 大衆金剛普賢延命金剛薩埵菩薩位 (Vajrasattva) Shi-Shingon-bosatsu 四親近菩薩 (Immediate Entourage) Shi-Naikuyô-bosatsu 四內供養菩薩 (Inner Worshipping) Shi-Ge kuyô-bosatsu 四外供養菩薩 (Outer Worshipping) Shi-Shô-bosatsu 四攝菩薩 (Gathering)	↑ ---i'mitsu 慧家 (Mystery of Mind) (613c7-9) ↓	
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18	1.2.2 shakushutsu 釋出 (Explanation of the Basis)				
19			-gyôsô 行相 (Type of Practice)		
20	1.3.1 metsu-aku 滅惡 no toku 之 德 (Extinction of Evil)	-kôfuku 功報 (Reward)	-jisetsu 時節 (Temporal nexus)		
21			(Reward:)	-fudatsu-akushu°	
22			功報	-jûzai-shômetso°	
23					
24			-gyôsô 行相 (Type of Practice)		
25			-jisetsu 時節 (Temporal nexus: This Life)		
26	1.3.2 shôzen 生善 no toku 之 德 (Production of Good)	-kôfuku 功報 (Reward)	Shishu-kâfuku (Fourfold Fruit) 四種果報	first 3 證三摩地 得自在 免通慢	
27					last 1 得佛位 -jisetsu°
28					-kôfuku°
29					
30					
31					
32	Further Explanation 聖心真名 (The Mantra, 613c6f)	(Kûkai offers no further explanation here)	shin-mitsu (Mystery of Body)	身密 (613c7-9)	
33					
34					
35					
36					
37			(Mystery of Speech:) gu-mitsu	口密	

3.4.2. The Identification of the 16 Bodhisattvas
in the Epithets

Kūkai identifies the main Bodhisattvas of this section as the "Four Great Bodhisattvas of the Eastern Direction".⁵⁹ That is, the four who appear in the central assembly of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala as the Immediate Entourage (kenzoku 眷屬) of Akṣobhya in the East.⁶⁰ The remaining twelve deities -eight Offering and four Gathering- function as common elements in mandala derived from the central assembly of the Vajradhātu, since their function in that central assembly is common to the whole of that mandala, and is thus valid for any part-derivative.⁶¹

The identification of this chapter as belonging to the East has several important consequences: it stresses Vajrasattva as an element of primary importance, both in this chapter and in the Sūtra as a whole. Through the implicit stress on the practices associated with the East, the raising of the bodhicitta as the first stage of the Bodhisattva's final assault on the goal of enlightenment, and the consequent importance of the Pledge, the Sūtra as a whole is firmly placed in the pattern, Great Desire-Great Bliss-Great Enlightenment-Subjugation-Sovereignty, which is found in the

59. Tōhō-shi-dai-bosatsu 東方四尊, Monku: 613b10.

60. These four are the first four of the set of sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, i.e. Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrarāga and Vajrasādhu: see above, pp. 48ff, esp. Table I.2, p. 50. Cf. also MJT: 266b; MDJT/II: 796c and III:1171c; BZZT: 37bff, 268; Tajima Ryūjun: Les Deux Grands Mandalas, pp. 161-90, for descriptions and listings of the 37-deity assembly from which our configuration here is derived. Also MJT/App: 33, 39f; HORIUCHI Kanjin: "Kongōkai sanjūshichi-son no sonmei ni tsuite", Mikkyō Bunka, No. 69/70 (Nov. 1964), pp. 152-8. (As we shall see presently, these sixteen Bodhisattvas are attributed in groups of four to the teachings in this and the following three chapters of the Sūtra: see p. 171, n.110.)

61. The problem of the precise order and positioning of these deities is a complex one, which we shall attempt to cover at least in some degree when we come to examine the mandala, below.

seventeenth chapter and which -as we noted above- is of summary importance for the thought of the Rishukyō. Since this desire for enlightenment is equated with ordinary desire -in type though not in quality- the importance of desire, particularly sexual desire, the hallmark of the Rishukyō, becomes clearer. In addition, the attribution of the guardianship of the text as a whole to Aizen-myō (Rāgarāja-vajriṇī) takes on more significance.⁶²

These and like considerations may be of help in the task of placing the rituals connected with this and the final chapter (the Rishu-hō 理趣法) and the Rishu-e as well as the Rishukyō itself, in their due historical and thematic place in the Sino-Japanese esoteric tradition.⁶³ For, as we shall see, all these ritual patterns, whilst exhibiting a basic similarity in a common system, nevertheless show differences which pre-empt treating them as more or less identical.

In its selection of one co-ordinated group from the central system of primary virtues, this chapter represents a more detailed exploration of one of the most important sub-groups of that major system.

3.4.3. The Process of Attaining the Individual Epithets (Rishushaku)

T.1003: 607b27-609a15 gives Amoghavajra's primary explanation of the seventeen epithets. The process of attainment which Amoghavajra describes with reference to each epithet is the same in each case: (1) Through the practice of yoga-samādhi relevant to the epithet in question, (2) one attains

62. See Appendix B.

63. This of course goes beyond the scope of the present thesis, and I can only hope to give a few, hopefully stimulating ideas.

that particular epithet of purity; (3) from this stage one proceeds further and attains the stage of the Bodhisattva identified with that epithet. Expressed in other words, this means that through the practice of contemplation of the relevant element of the ritual,⁶⁴ one perceives the inherent purity -the absolute aspect- of that particular dharma. Insofar as one is what one has accomplished, one occupies the space (pada) granted by that accomplishment; insofar as this accomplishment is pure -worthy of a Bodhisattva- thus far is one a Bodhisattva of that stage.⁶⁵

3.4.4. The Epithets as Permutations of Vajrasattva's Bliss

There is some disagreement in the works of Toganoo and Nasu concerning the precise nature of Vajrasattva's samādhī. The former, basing his statements on Ānandagarbha's commentary, holds all the epithets to be an analysis of the functioning of sexual desire and bliss: "Certainly, these seventeen -exquisite bliss, etc.- are together an analysis of the ecstatic bliss in the intercourse of the two root principles."⁶⁶ Nasu on the other hand makes a clear distinction

64. Remember Kūkai's attribution of the epithets themselves to the Mystery of Mind.

65. Cf. the comments above and passim on pada, jizai, jōju/siddhi. The structure just outlined refers to the actual epithets. In contrast, Gi jutsu gives the overall structure of the ritually defined sections (§§I-IV in Tables 1 and 3). This is as follows:

- I The course of true enlightenment (shōkaku no keiro 正覚の徑路)
- II/A The transformation body of the wisdom of equality (gen-byōdōchi-shin 幻平等智身)
- II/B The concentration (samādhī) body (sarmai no shin 三昧の身)
- III The conferring of (various benefits) on sentient beings through skilful means (i-hōben-jūyo-shujō 以方便授與衆生)
- IV Drawing (sentient beings) into the teaching (shōrai no koto 攝來之事)

There is a fuller treatment of these terms below (§3.5.1, pp. 157-9).

66. RK: 122: "Yō-suru ni, kono myōteki-nado no jūshichi wa, nikon-kōkai no kairaku wo jūjū ni bunkai-shita mono dearu 要所に、この如道等の十七は、二根交會の訣案を重重(二分解した物の例)"

between R.1/1-9, which he regards as direct references to subjective elements, and the latter eight. These refer to the outer world, the natural world, against which the subjective process of desire is opposed: "In this way, the seventeen epithets of purity present the fact of the original purity of all dharma, in the subjective and in the objective view; that very realm of the purity of all dharma is that which indicates the Bodhisattva's stage of abiding" (Tatsui: 61). Nasu quite clearly states his viewpoint to be in contrast to the earlier scholar's, basing -as he does- his observations on the commentaries by Amoghavajra and Kūkai.⁶⁷

Whilst Nasu is certainly correct to this extent, it is important that we credit Toganoo for using material which although out of the direct line of transmission to Japan, does in fact state the relationship between Non-Tantric and Tantric Buddhist thought quite clearly. The process of the development of desire which he paraphrases from Ānandagarbha (RK: 122f) goes over quite naturally from -to use Nasu's terminology- subjective elements (those which through their immediate effect on the happiness of the individual have to do with active practice) to subjective ones (in the sense that adornment and the following are concrete attainments, perceptible to those with eyes to see). So whilst it is important to bear in mind the interpretation which was

67. KANAOKA Shōyū: Satori no Himitsu: Rishukyō, Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1965, follows Nasu: "It is thought that the first half is things which relate to male and female sexual desire in human beings, and the latter half, things which broadly touch upon general aspects of human existence" (zenban wa, ningen no motsu dan'nyo no seiyoku ni kan-suru mono deari, kōhan wa, hiroku ningen-sonzai ippan ni fureru mono to kangaerareru 前半は、入門のもつ男女の性欲に関するものであり、後半は、広く人間存在一般にふれたものと考えられた ; p. 51).

transmitted directly to Japan, it is as well to be reminded of further aspects implicit in the Sūtra which are important beyond merely giving a slightly different interpretation.

3.4.5. Notes on the Structure outlined in Table 1

I will here attempt to draw together some of the threads underlying the material in §1.1 and §1.2, above.

Group I in the table needs little comment: it is simply a statement of the absolute as conceived by the tradition we are dealing with. The pattern in Group II follows, as we have seen, the process from the instigation of desire for an object -concretely for the opposite sex, but in the extended meaning that realm which is of a nature opposed to one's habitual world- to the bliss experienced upon contact with that realm and the ensuing bond which such embrace brings about. The completion of the process is the feeling of sovereignty produced and the concomitant functions of subjugation and action for the weal of sentient beings. Groups II/A (i)-(iv) and /B (i)-(iv) both express this same basic pattern, though from slightly different standpoints.⁶⁸

Group III represents the transition from active practice, or description of the process of attainment, to the results of that attainment. Whether we regard these epithets as descriptors of the external world or as further stages in a basically subjective process, they indicate states of affairs which simply accrue naturally as a result of insight into the way things in truth are. Group IV shows how the most concrete elements of the personality are permeated by insight into purity.

68. Explicitly, the tradition from around Amoghavajra makes these into male and female respectively, wisdom and concentration (chi-mon/jō-mon).

In summary, then, one of the most fascinating aspects of this text is that it contains a great deal of material which, whilst belonging to a mainstream tradition, nevertheless also contains a goodly portion which not only provides stimulating variation, but also promises hints which may well lead to filling some of the gaps in our knowledge of the esoteric tradition in China and Japan.

3.5. Correspondences in the 17-Deity Arrangement

We have already seen the tendency to assign a deity to each of the epithets. There is reasonable correspondence between T.243, Rishushaku, Gijutsu, Monku, the Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the East and the Naya Assembly (Rishu-e). These are set out in Table 2.3 on the following page, along with four of the relevant mandala which will be dealt with in §6.

TABLE 2.3: Comparative Table of the Deities in the Majala of the Drama-Gate of Great Bliss

Epithet	Rishushaku	Gijutsu	Monku	16 Bva ³	Rishu-e	T.244	Shuei	Dōhō	Futareku
1 myōteki	K.-satta	om̄ K.-satta ¹	K.-satta ²	Aksobhya	Vajrasattva	Kongōsatta	K-satta	K-satta	K-satta ⁶
2 yokusen	Yoku-k.	ma Istō-k.	Yoku-k.	Satsu ⁴	Iṣṭavajra	Istō-kongō	Yoku	Yoku-k.	ma Yoku-k.
3 soku	Keirikira	hā Kerikira	Soku-k.	0	Kelikila-v.	K.-Keirikira	Soku	Soku-k.	hā Keirikira
4 aibaku	AI-k.	su Himin-k.	AI-k.	AI	Rāga-v.	Kongō-nen	AI	AI-k.	su Airaku-k.
5 issai-jizai-shu	K.-gō/Man	kha K.-man	Gō-k.	KI	Māna-v.	Kongō-man	Man	Man-k.	kha K-man
6 ken	Istō-k.	va K.-ken	Istō-k.	KI	Mano-v'ī	Myō-tekietstu	Kō	Istō	va Istō-k./ki
7 tekietstu	Tekietstu-k.	jra K.-tekietstu	Tekietstu-k.	Man	Kelikila-v'ī	Tekietstu-nyo	Ke	Soku-k.nyo	jra Keirikira/man
8 ai	Ton-k.	sa K.-ton	Ton-k.	Ka	Rāga-v'ī	Kongō-gen	Tō	AI-k.nyo	sa AI-k./ka
9 man	K.-man/gō	tva K.-jizai	K.-man	Bu	Māna-v'ī	Daikichijō	Zu	Man-k.nyo	tva Gō-k./bu
10 shōgen	Shun-k.	jaḥ K.-shun	Shun-k./ka	Kō	V-lāsī	KI	KI	Shun-k.	su Shun-k./ka
11 ishūtake	Un-k.	hūḥ K.-un	Un-k./kō	Ke	V-mālā	Shō	Man	Un-k.	ra Un-k./kō
12 kōmyō	Shū-k.	vaḥ K.-shū	Shū-k./tō	Tō	V-gūtā	Ka	Ka	Shū-k.	ta Shū-k.tō
13 shinraku	Tō-k.	hoḥ K.-sōsetsu	Tō-k./zu	Zu	V-rttyā	Bu	Bu	Tō-k.	stvaḥ Tō-k./zu
14 shūki	Shūki-k.	su K.-shūki	Shūki-k./kō	Kō	V-anūsā	Kongō-shūki	Kō	Shūki-k.	jaḥ Shūki-k./kō
15 shō	Shō-k.	ra K.-shō	Shō-k./saku	Saku	V-pāsā	Kongō-shō	Saku	Shō-k.	hūḥ Shō-k./saku
16 kō	Kō-k.	ta K.-kō	Kō-k./sa	Sa	V-sphoṭa	Kongō-kō	Sa	Kō-k.	vaḥ Kō-k./sa
17 mi	Mi-k.	stvaḥ K.-mi	Mi-k./rei	Rei	V-āvesā	Kongō-mi	Rei	Mi-k.	hoḥ Mi-k./rei

NOTES TO TABLE 2.3

1. In full, Dairaku-fukū-sanmai-shinjitsu-kongōsatta
2. Dairakufukū-kongō-fugenenmei-kongōsatta
3. Of the East, headed by Akṣobhya (next line, abbreviated).
4. I.e. Kongōsatta, Vajrasattva.
5. The abbreviation v'ī denotes vajrinī.
6. Also called Dairokuten-eshu, "The Wise Sovereign of the Sixth Heaven", the sixth heaven being of course the paranirmita-vaśavartno-deva.

3.5.1. Account of the Groupings in Gijutsu

We have seen that Kūkai described the grouping of the epithets in terms of Samantabhadra, the Immediate Entourage of the Eastern Direction, the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas, the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas and the Gathering Bodhisattvas. As can be seen from Table 2.3, Amoghavajra interprets the groupings in a further way: R.1/1 is given as: "The body of the all-pervading goodness of the Buddhas".⁶⁹ The following sixteen stages are then regarded as the path to true enlightenment.⁷⁰

In describing the first four of these sixteen,⁷¹ Amoghavajra uses the common term gen-byōdōchi-shin 幻平等智身.⁷² The term gen 幻 commonly translates the Skt. māyā, which in turn is often rendered "illusion". As we have noted above,⁷³ this translation, while it does give one interpretation of the term, leaves out of consideration the aspect of defined transformation implicit in the measuring out (#mā) of the central principle. Hence a full interpretation of the term gen-byōdōchi-shin would be that it is the body (shin 身) of the wisdom which sees things as equal in their true nature (byōdōchi 平等智), a body which is one

69. Shobutsu-fugen no shin 諸佛普賢の身, Gijutsu: 617b20.

70. Shōkaku no keiro 正覺の徑路, Gijutsu: 617b25. The character kei 徑 has implications of the route or means by which one proceeds from one (concrete or abstract) point to another. If we view this term from the standpoint of the unfolding of the virtues of the central object of worship, then we are justified in translating it as, "The course of true enlightenment," the implication being that this is the course or path which this wisdom follows in this process. I have also expressed the relationship between shōkaku and keiro in this term as directional, since viewed from the standpoint of the individual's aspiration towards enlightenment, what is expressed at this point in the Rishukyō is the path which he or she is to follow.

71. I.e. §II/A in the analyses in Tables 2.1 and 2.3.

72. Gijutsu: 617c2, 6, 11, 16. I would translate: "The transforming body of the wisdom of equality."

73. Page 91, n. 93.

stage of the emanation of the central wisdom.⁷⁴

The next grouping (R.1/6-9, §II/B in our analysis) has the common descriptor, sanmai no shin 三味の身.⁷⁵ This is in line with the attribution of these first two groups to male and female Bodhisattvas respectively: we have seen in our commentators the tendency to attribute the first to the Wisdom-Gate (chi-mon) and the latter to the Concentration-Gate (jō-mon).⁷⁶ It can thus be clearly seen that this tendency goes back at least to Amoghavajra.

The third group in this "Course of True Enlightenment" is benefitting sentient beings through the exercise of skilful means,⁷⁷ the key to which in this instance is worship. It is through the act of worship that the yogin acts out in a concrete way -that is in the physical body itself- the central pattern of the teaching. Finally there is the element of gathering into the mandala, the introduction of the neophyte into the initiate's circle, or in a broader sense, the introduction into the fold of the Buddha's teachings of those whose would otherwise be excluded.⁷⁸

74. Whilst byōdō-chi can be used synonymously with byōdōshō-chi (N: 1147d), I suspect that Amoghavajra uses this variant here to distinguish the meaning here -which is the basic insight into the purity of all dharma without distinction (cf. §3.6, below, and Hanashi: 173)- from the technical usage, which refers to the second of the Five Wisdoms.

75. Gijutsu: 617c20, 23, 27, 618a1.

76. Cf. above, §3.3.2 and §3.3.3, p. 141f; also Kōgi: 348f.

77. Cf. Gijutsu: 618a3, i-hōben-juyo-shujō 以方便授與衆生, and corresponding statements in the following three members of this group.

78. Amoghavajra adds little to what we have already seen in the foregoing commentary as regards the saṅgraha deities.

3.5.2. Correspondence of the Epithets to a
Vajrasattva Maṇḍala

T.1003: 609c20-610a8 assigns a mantra to each of the epithets. This mantra, when put together and read as a whole is clearly identifiable as addressed to Vajrasattva:

"Om mahāsukha Vajrasattva jah hūm vam hoh surata tvam."⁷⁹

Horiuchi identifies surata as myōteki, confirming its reference to the first epithet, and glosses the syllable tvam as "you/I".⁸⁰ The reason why Horiuchi can derive both the meanings of "you" and "I" from the mantra is to be found in the meditational technique of the identification of the practitioner with the deity with which he is working at any given time. Therefore, when the yogin hears the word, "tvam", or pronounces it, both the idea that Vajrasattva is exquisite rapture and that the epithet also refers to the yogin are called to mind.⁸¹

The final point to bear in mind concerning this question is that the mantra which concludes this chapter is hūm (R.1/37), the classical Tantric Buddhist way of concluding a section of central teachings.

79. Cf. also Hatta, Rishukyō, p. 337f. It is also a common element in the ritual cycles connected with the Five Mysteries (gohimitsu 五秘), for which see Chapter Five, below, passim.

80. "Anata wa/watashi wa," Hanashi: 182. This interpretation is linked to the meanings which this syllable has acquired in Shingon thought, and is also based on reading and interpreting syllables on the basis of their written form in the Brāhmī-derived scripts. Elsewhere, Horiuchi reads the mantra in the grammatically correct way (suratas-tvam, Hanashi: 330ff). See also below, p. 185f.

81. There is a variation in the maṇḍala by Dōhō 道宣 (1214-81), where the syllables jah-hūm-vam-hoh -which in fact refer to the sangraha deities (N: 617c)- occur in their logical place at the end of the series. Cf. §6.2.2, below, p. 181.

This concludes our survey of the seventeen epithets themselves. This section in the text is rounded off by the rationale for the teaching contained here -the purity of the prajñā-pāramitā- and then moves on to the effects of the teaching and a further, more overtly esoteric exposition.

3.6. Rationale: The Purity of the Prajñā-pāramitā

"All things, in their self-nature (jishō 自性), are originally pure (honrai-shōjō 本来清淨). This is the basic teaching of the Rishukyō" (Hanashi: 173). This is the fundamental realisation to which the Bodhisattva comes when his faculty of insight is thoroughly purified: there is no distinction between dharma when they are all seen in their common, fundamentally pure nature. In this sense, purity and equality are the same, the only difference being in the words we use (Hanashi: 335). This is echoed by Toganoo, too, who states that despite the many variations and differences between dharma, their true nature is something absolute and pure: "In all dharma there are in reality a thousand differences and ten thousand distinctions (sen-sa, man-betsu 千差万別), but nevertheless their self-nature is something absolute and, moreover, pure" (RK: 115). This purity derives from the purification of the faculty of insight, a standard theme in the literature of the Prajñā-pāramitā. More specifically, it is something which is an integral part of the samādhi of the central figure, Vajrasattva.⁸²

82. We may also note that when R.1/18 is chanted in the ritual recitation of the Sūtra, the bell is rung to emphasise the importance of this rationale. Cf., e.g., Kanaoka Shōkō: Bukkyō-kanbun no Yomikata, Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1978, pp. 78ff, esp. p. 82.

3.6.1. Vajrasattva's Samādhi of Great Bliss

First, the concept of purity is inherent in the seventeen epithets which form the kernel of this Dharma-Gate. In practical terms, what is intended is the purification of desire, in particular sexual desire:⁸³ that is, the energy inherent in man's sexual desires is transformed and used in the service of the spiritual life. The reason for the choice of sexual desire is not difficult to discern: being that which on the most obvious level has the continuation of conditioned life as its aim, it may be seen as the primary and hence most deep-seated cause of the life of suffering. If this transformation is achieved, then the greatest hurdle has been overcome and the remaining desires will prove to be less of an obstacle. Kambayashi states explicitly that this question of transformation into purity is Vajrasattva's concept of Great Bliss.⁸⁴

This view is seen by Kambayashi as being in contrast to the general Mahāyāna view of the passions as something to be extinguished, but this is rather to be understood as Mikkyō apologetic. Still, the points about the necessity and difficulty of the attempt at the transformation of the passions, and the seventeen epithets as basically having this as their aim and driving force, are of course perfectly valid.

Kambayashi further regards the importance of the first group of four epithets as consisting in the fact that they are the next most difficult obstacles on the path of transformation, and intimately connected -in this view at least-

83. Kōgi: 360, "Sei-yoku no jō-ke 性欲の淨化." The following account is based on Kambayashi's explanation.

84. Loc. cit.

with sexual desire: "The intention of Great Bliss is to emphasise the transformation <of sexual desire> into purity, meditatively and religiously." After this, the other desires follow easily. The basic method to be employed in this task is to turn one's mind⁸⁵ away from the lowly towards that which is pure, this being the beginning of the realisation that the vulgar is in fact nothing less than truth itself.⁸⁶

Nasu's explanation is helpful in clarifying this question: he states that the basic nature of the passions is the perception of things as real in themselves and not as merely conditionally real in the context of pratītya-samutpāda.⁸⁷ In esoteric Buddhism this problem is answered by awakening to that realm which is fundamentally non-generative (hon-fushō 不生), and to experience that realm which is non-generative and unfading. It is here that things come to be manifested in their true, pure nature, "the form of original purity" (honrai no shōjō 本来の清淨): one abandons discriminative consciousness and enters the non-essential sphere of the heart.⁸⁸

85. Shin 心, i.e. the heart, in the sense of the deepest reaches of one's personality, and not merely the mental functions.

86. Soku-zoku-ji-shin 即俗而真; Kōgi: 361.

87. This perception is described as jitsuzai-kannen 实在觀念, "contemplative perception of true existence" (Tatsui: 62).

88. Mu-shin no shin-kyō 無心の心境, (a touch literally perhaps) "the sphere of the mind/essential sphere where there is no mind/essence." Shin 心, as we have remarked before, covers the meanings of mind, heart and essence.

3.6.2. Two Kinds of Purity

Nasu mentions a distinction between two kinds of purity, represented by the two characters in the word shōjō 清淨 and derived from traditional commentaries.⁸⁹ Briefly, this is that shō 清 refers to the process of separating oneself from hindrances and taints (sho no gōzen 諸の垢染). These two aspects become combined when one succeeds in perfecting the latter task, for it is at this point that the purity described in the first aspect is revealed.

We have now completed the active, ritual section of this chapter and are in a position to move on to the effects derived from the practice, the benefits attained.

4. The Use of the Sūtra and the Benefits Attained (R.1/19-30)

The basic prerequisite whence the benefits of this Sūtra derive is that of listening to it being recited (R.1/19). Should one be fortunate enough to be in such a position, then the Sūtra promises that from the instant of taking one's seat in the bodhi-manda⁹⁰ one will not be troubled by the hindrances to enlightenment normally experienced. The point to be remembered here,⁹¹ before we deal with the details in the text, is that the meaning of rishu 理趣, naya, is basically that of something which guides (shu/michibiku 趣) the practitioner on his journey, on the basis

89. Unspecified. Tatsui: 61; cf. also Ono, Rishukyō Kōgi, p. 78 (though he confuses the two characters in his explanation).

90. Defined as: "The place on the Way where enlightenment is to be attained (bodai wo e-beki dōjō 菩提を得べき道場)" (Kōgi: 367). (Dōjō generally refers to a meditation hall or similar building where Buddhism is practised.) Cf. also BHSD: 402b, 415b.

91. See above, p. 33, §4.1.

of a principle (ri 理) which is of the nature of enlightenment. That is, it is important to realise that our Sūtra is dealing with the immediate concerns of one intent on attaining enlightenment, both in the primary sense of a descriptive guide to the pattern of attainment, and in the secondary sense of providing safeguards for the success of this venture.

A further point to note in this connection is that -according to Toganoo- simple hearing is not enough to call forth the promised effects: the requirement is a "profound taking-to-heart, a true hearing and receiving in faith" (RK: 125).⁹² Through the practices outlined in R.1/24, one is able to start on the path of the Bodhisattva, which leads to the goal of full enlightenment through the lives of the sixteen Bodhisattvas: this may be said to be the active aspect of the benefits of the Sūtra, in contrast to the passive hearing in R.1/19. In this sense, the first group in this section, R.1/19-23, may be seen as giving the practitioner the basic prerequisites for unhindered practice of the teaching, somewhat in the manner perhaps in which the original adherents of the Pure Land sects prayed to Amitābha for rebirth in his Pure Land, a place whence the attainment of enlightenment would be a certainty. The latter group, R.1/24-30, should then be seen as the active part of the believer's practice, built upon the foundation of the former section.

92. Horiuchi distinguishes this type of hearing from the type in the opening section, i.e. that of the hearer of the Sūtra (cf. the comments on the Fruition of the Hearer in Chapter One, above, p. 62f). The latter needs only to hear the Sūtra to gain the benefits stated, whilst we need to perform the practices stated (Hanashi: 335).

The structure of this passage is generally interpreted on the basis of the scheme outlined by Kūkai in Monku: 613b22-c6, and the reader is referred to Table 2.2, where Kūkai's analysis is abstracted in tabular form.⁹³

One final point before we move on to a detailed explanation of this section: R.1/19-30 represents a fundamental theme in Buddhist thought and practice, namely the three aspects of (i) extinguishing the evils already accumulated, (ii) preventing the arising of further evils and (iii) creating good. Although Kūkai divides these lines into two (Monku: 613b23), the virtue of the extinction of evil (metsu-aku-toku 惡徳) and the virtue of the production of good (shō-zen-toku 生善徳),⁹⁴ there is contained in the former category (R.1/19-23) the prevention of further evil (R.1/22-23).⁹⁵ We may thus say that we are dealing here with a perfectly standard description of the benefits of and an exhortation to Buddhist practices, though of course in esoteric garb.

4.1. The Extinction of Evil (R.1/19-23)

The addressing of this sub-section to Vajrapāṇi is taken to indicate that the whole assembly is intended, this Bodhi-sattva being seen as the representative of the myriad Bodhi-sattvas (Kōgi: 367). The phrase shōjō-shusshō-ku 清淨出生句 I take to be read in the sense of: "Epithets (ku 句)

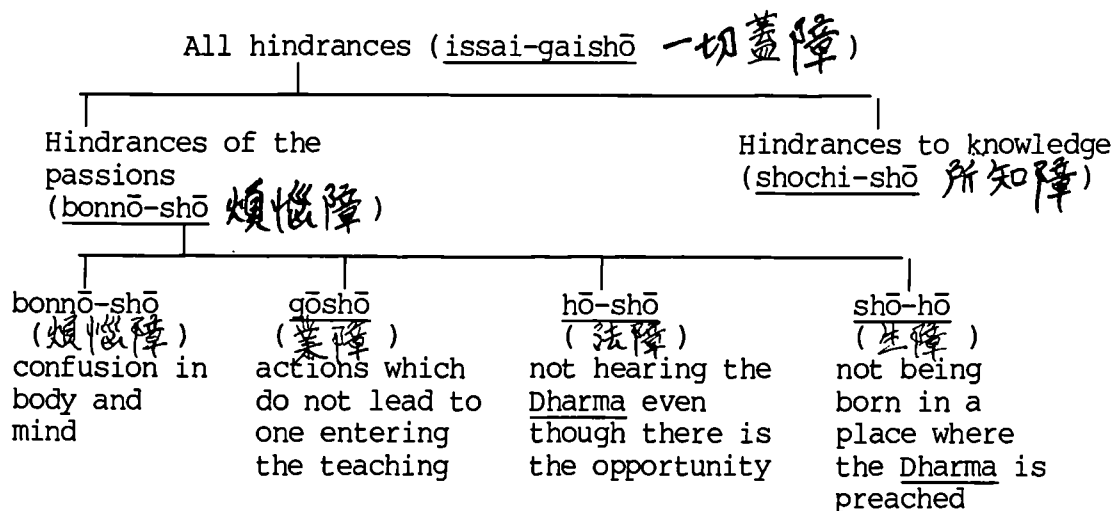
93. Cf. also Tatsui: 65, for a similar scheme, though this does not include the rest of the chapter. Horiuchi's text (Hanashi/Text: 6-11) gives the full analysis in the margins.

94. Horiuchi also states that the primary aim of the Rishu-hō is the destruction of evil and the creation of good: Hanashi: 176-8, esp. 177. Notably, N: 373d describes the purpose of the rites of the Five Mysteries to be precisely the same ("Metsu-zai/shō-zen no tame shuhō-suru koto 滅罪/生善のため終法有(。), a point which will be appreciated when we examine this theme below.

95. Cf. Tatsui: 65.

where purity (shōjō 清淨) <emerges-and-arises:> manifests/is manifested (shusshō 出生).⁹⁶ R.1/19 is the first of two types of practice (gyōsō 行相) in Kūkai's analysis, indicating as we saw above the opportunity of hearing the teaching -the basic prerequisite.

"The locus of enlightenment" (bodai-jō 菩提場, bodhi-manda) is typically the spot under the Bodhi-tree which Siddhartha Gautama chose for his final assault on the goal, and has come to mean -in this tradition at least- the spot where any practitioner performs the same task. Since the Bodhisattva at this point still has to overcome the final obstacles to enlightenment, the term issai-gaishō 一切蓋障 must refer to all the hindrances which would prevent him from attaining this position. This is confirmed by Nasu, who details the various hindrances intended by the terms in R.1/21:⁹⁷



It will be clearly seen from this diagram that these categories all deal with the types of factor which cause difficulty in any given individual's attempt to put the

96. Reading the text as: shōjō ga de-umareru ku 清淨が出生まれの句.

97. Tatsui: 65f; cf. also Kōgi: 367f. (Note that Nasu confuses the hindrances of birth and dharma.)

theoretical teachings into practice and thus place the practitioner in a position whence he can take the final step to nirvāna.

R.1/22-23 requires no real comment, except perhaps to say that I have followed Kambayashi and Nasu, who explicitly name the hells and the other unfavourable destinies,⁹⁸ where one is denied mental and corporeal ease and the possibility of attaining enlightenment.

If we may summarise the above on the basis of Monku, then we should say that the section consists of a statement of the type of practice (gyōsō, R.1/19), namely listening to the Sūtra, followed by the description of the reward for this (kōfuku, R.1/20-23). This is further split into the "temporal nexus" (jisetsu, R.1/20) and the rewards themselves: removal of hindrances (R.1/21), the prevention of descent into evil destinies (R.1/22) and the removal of the influence of karma from subsequent evil-doing, none of which shall cause the believer to suffer (R.1/23).

4.2. The Production of Good (R.1/24-30)

This section deals with the virtues of receiving and retaining the Sūtra's teaching. Nasu regards the four practices in R.1/24 as representative of the so-called ten dharma-practices (jū-hōgyō 十法行),⁹⁹ but does not give

98. Tatsui: 65 and Kōgi: 367 respectively.

99. These are: (1) copying the Sūtras (sho-sha 書寫), (2) worship (kuyō 供養), (3) giving to others (se-ta 施捨), (4) listening to the Buddhist truths (taichō 諦聽), (5) reading the Sūtras (hi-doku 披讀), (6) receiving and maintaining (juji 負持), (7) expounding the teaching to others (kai-en 開演), (8) recitation of the Sūtras (fu-ju 誦誦), (9) meditation and contemplation (shi-yui 思惟), (10) cultivation (shu-jū 修習). Cf. Tatsui: 66; also N: 660d, which is based on the Benchūhen-ron 弁中延論, T.XXXI: 474b (Hsüan-tsang's Madhy-āntavibhāga-bhāṣya).

any explanation for this assertion. "Receiving and retaining" means receiving the teachings from one's preceptor and retaining them by means of the relevant mantra and mudrā.¹⁰⁰ Doku-ju 読誦 indicates both reading in the normal sense of the word and reading out loud.¹⁰¹ The final terms are very close to each other in meaning, rather in the way that the English words "meditate" and "contemplate" also tend to overlap, despite their different etymologies. The Sanskrit correspondences given by Nakamura relate sa-i 作意 to manas-kāra, i.e. specifically cogitative, and shi-yui 思惟 to derivatives of citta, which would indicate a contemplative rather than discursive aspect. However, the two do not seem to be so clearly distinguishable, and Horiuchi makes no clear distinction, either, describing them as practices related to the mind ("kokoro ni kangae 心に想え") and contemplative in nature.¹⁰²

R.1/25 indicates a theme common in the Shingon tradition, namely the attainment of Buddhahood in this very life. Kambayashi states this to be "this fleshly body, born of one's father and mother".¹⁰³ This, however, is only the more overt aspect of this concept. Kambayashi further interprets R.1/25-28 as the attainments of the benefits of the

100. Hanashi: 178. Horiuchi uses the term ki-oku , which we may fruitfully translate as: "Sealing the mind," one of the primary functions of mantra and mudrā.

101. Hanashi: loc. cit., where Horiuchi gives the basic types of this practice. Cf. also N: 1023d, which gives the compound as indicating the two aspects of reading aloud and chanting without looking at the text, and the communal, low-voiced reading of the Sūtras by monkish communities in their development of spiritual merit and faculties.

102. "Kansō no hō desu 観想の法です." Hanashi: 179. Cf. also N:436c, 541c; BHS: 418a (s.v. manasi-karoti, manasi-kāra, manas-kāra); Index: 729.

103. "Fubo-shoshō no kaku no niku-shin 父母所生の此の肉身, Kōgi: 369.

first stage of the pure bodhicitta¹⁰⁴ and genshō 現生¹⁰⁵ as the very first awakening of the mind intent on enlightenment,¹⁰⁶ thus giving a first indication of the interpretation of the lives of the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas as groups of virtues to be acquired on the path to enlightenment.¹⁰⁷

This life -as will be seen from Table 2.2- is the temporal nexus (jisetsu) of the production of good, in Kūkai's interpretation. That which constitutes the reward (kōfuku) is described as fourfold (shishu-kafuku): the first three (R.1/26-28) may be seen as equivalent descriptions of the spiritual attainment deriving from the practice -attaining samādhi, attaining sovereignty and receiving bliss. The final one of the four is then the attainment of the stage of a Buddha -specifically the Holder of the Thunderbolt (shukongō-i 執令位, vajradhara-pada).¹⁰⁸ This comes about

104. "Shoji no jō-bodaishin no toku-eki 初地の淨菩提心の徳益。

105. The manifest life, i.e. the present life -also soku-shin 即身。

106. "Saisho-hosshin no isshō 最初 菩提の一生。"

107. Kōgi: 370. On the lives of the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas in this Sūtra and generally in Shingon thought, one may also consult FUKUDA Ryōsei: "Rishukyō no jōbutsu-ron", Bukkyō Bunka Ronshū, No. 3 (1981), pp. 49-108 (now reprinted in Fukuda/RK: 403-22).

108. Horiuchi distinguishes between the stages of Tathāgata and of the One Who Holds the Thunderbolt (Vajradhara) in the following way: "There is a distinction between 'Tathāgata' and 'Vajradhara'.... 'Tathāgata' is the form-body, the body of form (shiki-tai 色体, karada 体, iro no karada 色の体). In the sense of 'form-body': Mahāvairocana. After that is written, 'Vajradhara' (Shukongō): this means 'Holding the Thunderbolt', and 'Thunderbolt' is the ritual vajra. Holding the five-pronged vajra.... The five prongs indicate the Five Wisdoms. So it is the true body (or essence) of wisdom (chie no shin-tai 智慧の身体). In the sense, then, of 'wisdom-body' as distinct from 'form-body': Vajradhara" (Hanashi: 337f). There is a problem here -as elsewhere in both the primary and the secondary literature- of the term tai/karada 体. In common parlance, the term has the ordinary meaning of "body", but in the Buddhist Chinese sources -in parallel to the Sanskrit kāya- it came to have a far less concrete meaning, often standing as a descriptor of the Absolute. Exactly which aspect it refers to is a complex question, though the basic premiss is not in doubt. (Cf. here Hakeda's translation of Kūkai's Sokushin-jōbutsu-gi: "In the first stanza, the first line stands for the essence <tai >; the second for the attributes..."

upon the successful completion of the lives of the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, to which we shall now turn.

4.3. The Lives of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas

This concept was in a fully developed form by Amoghavajra's time.¹⁰⁹ He states them to be the sixteen Bodhisattvas known from the STTS, namely the series running from Vajrasattva through to Vajramuṣṭi:

He attains the excellent mundane and supramundane siddhi, namely, in sixteen lives he creates (sa/tsukusu 作) Vajrasattva Bodhisattva and the others through to Vajramuṣṭi. This last body (shin 身) then becomes the body of Vairocana (Birushana-shin 毘盧遮那身). (T.1003: 609b6-9)

This last sentence shows unambiguously that the completion of all the virtues expressed by these Bodhisattvas is the point from which enlightenment is reached.

That shō 生 does not refer to life in the biological sense is clearly stated by Horiuchi: "As for 'shō', I always call this 'life', but it has the meaning of 'resolve to produce virtue', and not that virtue arises. Since it is not the result of producing virtues, since it differs from something which is attained as a result, it means by the stages of practice (shugyō no dankai 修行之段階), by the resolve to produce virtues by the stages of the practice of the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas...."¹¹⁰ In the course of

(Kūkai, p. 228.) I would hazard the assertion that the use of tai indicates the depiction of the absolute, but in a manner which expresses the immediacy of the Dharmakāya simultaneously with its transcendency. We might also note in this connection that Mahāvairocana is assigned to the rūpa-skandha in the system of correspondences with the Five Buddhas (cf., e.g. Kanaoka Shūyū: Mikkyō no Tetsugaku, p. 196, n. 44).

109. Toganoo goes further and traces the origins back to a phrase in Hsüan-tsang's Jōyuishiki-ron 成唯識論 (T.XXXI: 50a): 一心真見道, 十六心相見道 (RK: 78, 126).

110. Hanashi: 337. Horiuchi goes on to point out that these virtue-lives are explained in the chapters on Conquest (R.3), Contemplating the Illuminated (R.4), Abundance (R.5) and True Movement (R.6). That is, they are the emanations of the four primary Bodhisattvas of this Sūtra.

one's practice, one is obliged to perfect the virtues relating to these Bodhisattvas because together they constitute the complete expression of the enlightenment of the Dharmakāya in the conditioned sphere. The life of each one of these Bodhisattvas must be seen as something if not eternal, then archetypal: a corpus of teachings which relates directly and concretely to the existential concerns of one seeking enlightenment. It is in this sense that one becomes these Bodhisattvas -and the respective Buddhas- in the course of one's practice.

The four main phases in this process -which correspond to the four Buddhas- are as follows: (1) the gate of the awakening of the aspiration to enlightenment (hosshin-mon 発心門), (2) the gate of practice (shugyō-mon 修行門), the gate of enlightenment (bodai-mon 菩提門), (4) the gate of nirvāna (nehan-mon 涅槃門). These gates refer back -according to (Kōgi: 370f)- to the fruits of the practice of the Sūtra outlined in R.1/25-28, above. Genshō 現生 (R.1/25) refers as we have already seen to the very first life, in which one produces the mind which seeks enlightenment. The next phrase then indicates illumination into the pure bodhi-mind (jō-bodai-shin), and the whole of the sub-section R.1/25-28 refers to the pure bodhi-mind of the first stage. R.1/29-30 then refers to the fruit of Buddhahood.¹¹¹

111. Kambayashi refers to GONDA Raifu's Rishukyō Ryakusen, p. 74, which makes this assertion and also outlines the linking of these stages with the ten stages of the MVS. However, in neither work is there a detailed account of exactly how the two systems are seen to work together, further than that Vajrasattva is given as corresponding to the first stage and Vajramuṣṭi to the final (tenth) stage (Kōgi: 371). We may, however, take it as an indication of the way in which this Sūtra is seen as a combination of the two main lineages in the Shingon tradition. Cf. Kōgi: loc. cit., ff, for this and the following discussion. On the correspondences to the bodhisattva-bhūmi, cf. also Tatsui: 67. The

Kambayashi gives a full account of how the lives of the Bodhisattvas are seen as incorporated virtue: in contrast to the life with which one is endowed as a result of the workings of karma, such a life is a virtue-life, i.e. the successful accumulation of a given set of virtues.¹¹² There is a distinction between bundan-shō 分段生 and hen'eki-shō 變易生, the two categories of shō 生 which Kambayashi distinguishes: the former is natural birth from one's mother's womb, the latter a transformation, a new lease of life within the biological span afforded one by one's karma. The concept of a virtue-life corresponds then with the latter: before entering the ten stages of the Bodhisattva, one has only one's biological existence, but on entering these ten stages, one begins to partake immediately of the fruit of Buddhahood, although it is still necessary to practise the sixteen samādhi contained in the sixteen lives, and in the correct order. It is for this reason that the phrase, "the stages of the Tathāgata and of the One Who Holds the Thunderbolt" (R.1/30), is said to contain both the stage of the cause (in'i 因位) and of the fruit (ka'i 果位). The former refers to Vajrasattva,¹¹³ the latter to the Tathāgatas and to Vajramuṣṭi.¹¹⁴

sixteen lives are also held to correspond to the lunar cycle, counting from one full moon to the next, which gives sixteen phases, the Indian lunar month being calculated to approximately 29.5 solar days (cf. A. L. Basham, The Wonder That Was India, New York: Grove Press, 1959, p. 492).

112. Hence my translation of Kambayashi's kudoku-shō 功德生 as "virtue-life", and not the expected "life of virtue". I think the distinction is important enough to justify the strange English.

113. Remember his importance as one who represents Great Desire, i.e. the desire for enlightenment and the benefit of sentient beings.

114. We should recall here the latter's position as last in the series of sixteen, immediately prior to the ascent to the stage of the Tathāgata.

This understanding of shō 生 as referring to a virtue-life, which can be perfected in this given body, is a development from earlier interpretations, where life was understood as a kalpa: this is shown for example in K'uei-chi's commentary on T.220, where he expressly makes this connection.¹¹⁵ However, in line with the developments in the esoteric schools, this interpretation gave way to the one we have implicit in the Rishukyō, and which forms a substantial part of the philosophy underlying Shingon Buddhism. The explanation as it appears here, then, is a blend of orthodox Mahāyāna Buddhism and the thought of the STTS lineage Sūtras.¹¹⁶

This concludes the explanation of the nature and virtues of this Dharma-Gate: the text now supplements this exposition with an overtly esoteric one, giving the mudrā and mantra appropriate to the teaching.

5. The Additional Exposition (R.1/31-37)

This section -described consistently by our sources as jūsetsu 重説 ("additional explanation")- is analysed by Kūkai as consisting of explanations of the mystery of body (R.1/31-36) and of speech (R.1/37) respectively (Monku: 613c7-9). Insofar as this section gives us an explanation of the outer ritual forms of the teaching, we may regard it as an overtly esoteric part of the Sūtra. We will deal with it in our normal manner, taking the sections of the mystery of body (i.e. mudrā) and of speech (i.e. mantra) separately.

115. See Kōgi: 373.

116. Cf. Kōgi: 372; RK: 126. Kambayashi (on page 373) also gives the Japanese reading of the relevant passage from K'uei-chi's commentary.

5.1. The Mudrā (R.1/31-36)

The first point to be noted is partly a grammatical one: R.1/31-33 is to be regarded as one unit, describing the characteristics of the Lord, the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, the Great Being.¹¹⁷ The following components then describe the bodily attitude he adopts in order to deliver this esoteric teaching. If we bear in mind the distinction between the so-called "form-" and "wisdom-" bodies,¹¹⁸ then we can see that the reason why this Bodhisattva -one of the transformations of Mahāvairocana- and this phase of the teaching are assigned to the wisdom (i.e. the active) aspect: it is namely in this form that one actively pursues the practices necessary to penetrate the quiescent truth represented by the MVS aspect of Mahāvairocana.

The phrase issai-nyorai-daijō-genshō-samaya 一切如来大集
 現証三摩耶 in R.1/31 is explained by Horiuchi as indicating the Vajradhātu,¹¹⁹ and N: 921b defines the whole phrase -referring specifically to this occurrence in the Rishukyō- in the following way: "Taking as the Original Pledge one's actual realisation of true wisdom (shinri no chi 真理の智), through practising the esoteric vehicle." The reference to mandala immediately following refers to the four main types of mandala recognised in Shingon Buddhism.¹²⁰

117. Cf. Hanashi: 338f. Horiuchi says further that the phrase issai-gi-jōju 一切如来成就 refers to Issaigi-bosatsu, another name for Śākya-muni, and that Vajrapāṇi is the nirmāna-kāya (ō-jin 応身 /ōke-shin 応化身) of the Buddha.

118. See p. 172, n. 108.

119. Hanashi: 338f ("Kongō-kai no koto de 金剛界のことて..."); cf. also Index: 159, mnon par trogs pa, abhisamaya.

120. Mahā-mandala, etc. Cf. Kōgi: 376. Kambayashi refers to the term issai-nyorai as indicating Mahāvairocana, as representative of the Five Buddhas, and the term genshō as indicating the Rishu-e (p. 375). He

The themes of subjugation (jōbuku)¹²¹ and of performing the tasks proper to a Bodhisattva (issai-gi-jōju 一切義成就) are familiar ones and have been dealt with in sufficient detail in the foregoing material.

R.1/34 simply indicates the bliss inherent in the teaching, which surfaces as the Bodhisattva is about to impart the meaning in the form of mudrā and mantra, and the phrase occurs in the corresponding places in the subsequent expositions by the individual Bodhisattvas in the body of the Sūtra.

The mudrā itself -in the technical sense of hand movements which represent the specific teachings of this type of Buddhism- consists of two elements: the left hand in the position of the Seal of Adamantine Pride (kongō-man-in 慢印),¹²² the right hand forming the Original Thunderbolt. The former is described by Kambayashi as showing: "Great, peaceful bliss, which is the pride of the Great Self."¹²³ This pride is an abundance of self-confidence, the feeling of being the only Buddha in the three realms.¹²⁴

further makes the suggestion (p. 377) that sanmaya (Skt. samaya) is a scribe's error for sanmai 三昧, reasoning that samaya (Pledge) is included in all mandala, and points out further that T.242 has issai-byōdō-kongō-sanmai (782a20f) and T.244, issai-hō-byōdō-sanmaji (786c26). However, the idea of Pledge -which comes out in the phrases immediately following- is more important here, Vajrapāṇi being in this instance a force working for the fulfilment of all purposes, doing what has to be done as part of the work of a Bodhisattva in the conditioned realms of sentient beings.

121. Also read chōbuku or chōfuku.

122. For an illustration, see MDJT/VI: Mikkyō-inzu-shū, no. 309. The fist is clenched with the fingers enclosing the thumb.

123. "Daiga-daiman-daiaraku no sō wo arawashi 大我大慢大安樂の相を教わし" (Kōgi: 374f).

124. Hanashi: 339f, where he describes this as jishin-tappuri 能たぶり. Generally in modern Japanese, jishin simply means "self-confidence", but the individual meanings of the characters ji (self, natural(ly)) and shin (belief, faith) may also be interpreted as natural or spontaneous faith, or as faith in the nature of things as they truly are.

This abundance is seen as the inactive element, further emphasised by the fact that during the rishu-hō rituals the left hand, when not required to perform any action, should rest in the attitude of this Seal of Adamantine Pride. In our case here, the connection between this hand and the right hand is that the outer expression of this abundance of self-confidence is "the vigour of courageous progress (yū-shinsei 勇進勢), which in turn is interpreted as the work of subjugation.¹²⁵ In this sense, then, the phrase, "created the vigour to progress courageously" (sa-yū-shin-sei 作勇進勢, R.1/36) may be seen as applying to the functions of the right and left hands together.

If the left hand represents the non-moving aspect, then the right hand represents the moving aspect in a quite forceful way. The basic element is the Original Great Thunderbolt (honsho-daikongō 本初大金剛), which is the five-pronged version typically held by Vajrasattva.¹²⁶ The method of production of this Thunderbolt is as follows: chūteki

125. Hanashi: 339f: "Having an abundance of self-confidence -that shows vigour (shōjin 精進). This is the same as 'the vigour to advance courageously', in: 'With his right hand he drew forth and cast the Original Great Thunderbolt and called forth the vigour to advance courageously.' The Pride-Seal aspect does not move -the aspect of abundance of self-confidence. If this abundance is manifested outwardly, formally, in a function of movement, we have 'the vigour to advance courageously'. Since this becomes the vigour to advance with the resolve to subjugate (susunde, kōfuku-shiyō 進んで、降伏しよう), then we have a relationship between rest (jō 定) and movement (dō 動). That which shows this abundance formally is the Thunderbolt Pride Seal. Normally this is the Thunderbolt Fist (kongō-ken 金剛拳). Throughout the Rishu rituals, too, then, when there is nothing to perform, one is told to form the hand which has nothing to do into the Thunderbolt Fist.... It is thus a matter of forming the Thunderbolt Pride Seal for the purpose of wishing to show that one is working on the basis of self-confidence."

126. Cf. Hanashi: 340; Kōgi: 379 refers to it specifically as the twin five-pointed version, representing the two sets of five peaks, the Five Wisdoms, the ten suchnesses, the ten dharmadhātu, the ten stages of the Tathāgatas, etc. Further, the two sets of eight petals around the grip represent the 16 Great Bodhisattvas.

"grasp and throw", indicates -according to Kambayashi- that one: "Extracts and sends out from the palm of the hand the five-pronged vajra... and throws it into emptiness."¹²⁷

5.2. The Mantra (R.1/37)

The mantra is immediately identified as belonging to Vajrasattva by mention of the term dairaku-kongō 大樂介, which as we have seen previously denotes this Bodhisattva.¹²⁸ In fact, Horiuchi's free translation of the mantra hūm runs: "I am Vajrasattva, I resolve to give Great Bliss to all."¹²⁹ The term fukū-sanmaya ("propitious pledge") indicates the Bodhisattva's vow to cause the awakening of the bodhicitta in sentient beings -a vow which is propitious or unfailing (fukū 不空) by dint of the Bodhisattva's inner attainment.

127. Kōgi: 380, "Kūchū ni nage-aguru 空中に投擧す." He goes on to say that this occurs in three stages of self-benefit/self-enlightenment (jiri/jishō 自利・自証): (1) shin-gegyō-ji 信解行地 (faith: going beyond the first stage); (2) shō-gegyō-ji 勝解行地 (excellence: stages 2-10); (3) nyorai-ji 如來地 (Tathāgata: passing over into the fruit of Buddhahood). (For gegyō-ji, see N: 308c.) The complementary aspect -rita 利他, benefitting others- is that of subjugation, then causing the awakening of the bodhicitta. The character chū 抽 (Ch. ch'ou) originally meant "to pluck a stringed instrument with the fingers", and further "to grip tightly" (Math: 1329). In subsequent literature the character 抽 <Nelson: 1877> is used, and is generally read nuku, "to extract". This idea of grasping/producing and throwing a vajra is now a common one in the folk-oriented aspect of Shingon in modern Japan, and can be found in many popular stories and illustrations. The basis is the legend that Kōbō Daishi Kūkai, the founder of the Shingon Sect, threw a vajra into the air whilst in China, waiting for a ship to return him to Japan. The spot where the vajra landed would be the site of his new temple complex, and the subsequent search for it took him deep into the mountains of present-day Wakayama Prefecture. Here he found the vajra with the help of a hunter accompanied by two dogs, one black, one white. It was implanted in the soil atop Kōyasan, which is still the goal for thousands of pilgrims today. Cf. Hakeda, Kūkai, pp. 46-54, for further details.

128. Cf. Hanashi: 340. We should also note that hūm also underlines the fact that this section belongs to the family of Akṣobhya, being this Tathāgata's bīja (cf., e.g., N: 372c; see above, p. 152f, §3.4.2).

129. "Ware wa, Kongōsatta nari, issai ni dairaku wo ataen 我は、金剛薩埵なり、一切に大樂を与えん" (Hanashi: 343).

The mantra hūm itself is generally interpreted according to the explanation first given by Amoghavajra in T.1003: 609c10-19, where he analyses the syllable in the Indian manner.¹³⁰ After stating that the letter h contains the innate vowel a, Amoghavajra goes on to say:

Because the letter a 阿 is the original, non-generative <nature> of all dharma, the causes of all dharma cannot be attained. In this character¹³¹ there is the vowel ū 宇: the vowel ū is the unattainability of the denial¹³² of all dharma. On top of the character there is a dot in a half moon,¹³³ which is in fact m 摩, the impossibility of the meaning of self in all dharma. "Self" is of two kinds, that is the self of a person and the self of dharma. Both these are attachment to a deluded feeling.¹³⁴

(T.1003: 609c14-18)

Horiuchi states the fundamental meaning of this mantra to be the mind of enlightenment (bodhicitta). Further to this -and in line with the emphasis in esoteric Buddhism- the meaning of "hard" (katai 固い) has also assumed importance. As an example of this, he quotes the image of Fudō-myōō in the MVS, where the latter sits on a rock with sword in hand.¹³⁵

130. I.e. each consonant is regarded as having the inherent (neutral) vowel a, other vowel sounds being modifications of this. Thus the initial h of this mantra is regarded as actually being ha (h + a). We then have the modification, u, and finally the anusvāra, giving a total of four sounds to be interpreted. On the mantra hūm generally, one might consult Kōgi: 376, where Kambayashi selects inter al. the meaning of "Great Power" (dairiki 大力) as the most relevant of those contained in the mantra. Hanashi: 200f has a resumé of T.1003: 609c10-19. Kūkai deals with this mantra in his Unji-gi 文字義, of which Hakeda has furnished us with a translation: Kūkai, pp. 246-62. MDJT/III: 1545c also has the same basic information, as well as a succinct explanation of dairaku-kongō-fukū-sanmaya-shin (R.1/37).

131. I.e. the mantra hūm.

132. Songen 損減, N: 893b.

133. I.e. the anusvāra in the Brāhmī-derived scripts: ~.

134. Bōjō 妄情 indicates that this delusion is rooted in the affective aspects of our make-up.

135. Hanashi: 341, "Dainichikyō de wa, Fudōsan desu keredomo, bodaishin no katai to iu koto. O-Fudōsan wa, iwa no ue ni oraretari, katana wo motte oraretari, un <hūm> ga yoku arawarete imasu ga.... Koko wa bodai-shin wo arawasu un desu 「文日經では、不動さんですけれども、菩提心の固いということ。か不動さんは、岩の上に居られたり、刀をもて居られたり、叫が能く表わられています... ここは、菩提心を表わす叫です。 Cf. also p. 193.

The final point to be made here concerns the character shin (心). I have used the word "essence" in my translation, taking the term in the sense that the mantra is a distillate expression of the teaching given in this chapter.¹³⁶ For Horiuchi, however, shin (心) means shin-shingon (心真言), shin (心) here indicating the chest region,¹³⁷ where the yogin is enjoined to visualise the Holy Assembly. The reason for this may be found in Rishushaku, where Amoghavajra refers to the syllable as honsei-shin-shingon-unji (本誓心真言吽字) (T.1003: 609c10). Thus, while the meaning of essence fits into the sense of the passage here, we should also bear in mind that there is a more technical sense implied, that of the locus of the mantra and its effects. This is confirmed by MDJT/III: 1545c, where dairaku-kongō-fukū-sanmaya-shin is given as: "A name for the hr̥daya-mantra hūm, the inner attainment of Vajrasattva in the beginning stage¹³⁸ of the Rishukyō."¹³⁹

This concludes our examination of the text itself, and we may now move on to a consideration of some of the questions which are raised by the mandala.

136. Tib150 also clearly has sn̄in po, "essence" (15-15).

137. Cf. Hanashi: 194, where he glosses shin (心) specifically as mune, "chest".

138. Shodan, i.e. R.l.

139. MDJT, however, does not ignore the aspect of shin (心) as essence: "Shin has the meaning of 'spiritual essence (seiyō 精要)'. Because a mantra (shingon 真言) has a seed syllable (shuji 種子) as its spiritual essence, one says, 'shin (心)'." Cf. also MDJT/III: 1288a.

6. The Mandala

The teaching of each of the chapters in the Rishukyō is also expressed in the form of a mandala, which gives a graphic account of the respective chapters' teachings. We shall not be able -for reasons of space- to give as full a discussion of the various versions of the mandala found in all the chapters as we shall for the present one on Great Bliss, but it is hoped that what is offered here will be sufficient to serve as a basis for a more complete study of this important aspect of the rituals based on this text.

Toganoo and Hatta both give accounts of the various versions which were transmitted to Japan,¹⁴⁰ but we shall restrict ourselves here to an explanation of those contained in the Rishushaku, Gijutsu, Monku, Rishu-e and T.244, as well as those versions accredited to Shūei 宗叡 (809-84), Dōhō 道玄 (1214-81) and the so-called Futaraku edition (Futaraku-in-pan 補陀洛院版) from 1770.¹⁴¹

140. Cf. RK: 44-48; Hatta, Rishukyō, pp. 13-16. The former has illustrations preceding Ch. 3 (pp. 103ff), the latter (pp. 64-68) gives depictions of Shūei's mandala, the Futaraku-in edition, Dōhō's mandala and T.244.

141. The Rishu-e material can be found in Chandra's Iconography of Japanese Mandala, nos. 704-17, and in Tajima's Les Deux Grands Mandalas, pp. 206-11. The problem of the relationship of the Rishu-e to the Rishukyō -in particular this chapter- is not an easy one to delineate clearly, but I have included this material here in order to go some way to establishing the relationship between this portion of the Rishukyō and the rest of the esoteric tradition in China and Japan. (Cf. also Snellgrove's remark in his and Chandra's STTS, p. 13, n. 4.) The same applies to the inclusion of the four Bodhisattvas of the East (tōhō-shi-dai-bosatsu, Monku: 613b10) from the central assembly of the Vajradhātu Mandala, along with the relevant Offering and Gathering Bodhisattvas. Cf. also MJT: 701b, 703b; MDJT/V: 2257b, 2263bff.

6.1. The Various Versions

To give an account of the different strands of the tradition to be found in these mandala would go beyond the scope of this study, so we shall merely give a rough description of the character of and the circumstances surrounding the mandala to be dealt with here.¹⁴²

6.1.1. Shūei's Maṇḍala

Both Toganoo and Hatta¹⁴³ state that this mandala is based on the work of Amoghavajra, but reference to Table 2.3 shows that this is in fact not the case. Shūei has the group Fragrance/Flower/Lamp/Unguent in §II/B, i.e. the Inner Offering Deities, whereas the only other place where this may be the case is in the Rishu-e, which -although there is no overt correspondence given to this group- has the group Joy/Wig/Song/Dance in the same section as Shūei (§III, Outer Offering Deities). Amoghavajra and Kūkai both give the group Fragrance, etc., as belonging to the Outer Offering Deities. A further point in favour of aligning Shūei not with the Rishukyō tradition, but with the mainstream STTS tradition (of which the Rishu-e is a part) is that within this group he has Fragrance before Flower, in contrast to the Rishukyō-related texts, which put Flower first.¹⁴⁴

However, this is still problematical (from the point of view of placing Shūei), since in the STTS Fragrance, etc., are quite definitely Outer Offering attributes, although Chandra

142. I have drawn the following material from Hatta, loc. cit. He also give information on further mandala, namely those of : Genkaku 嚴覺 (1056-1121; also read "Gonkaku"), Kōzen 興然 (1121-1203), Ikku 一空 (1704-71), Ninkai 仁海 (955-1046), Shinkaku 心覺 (?-1181).

143. Loc. cit.

144. Cf. Hanashi: 170, where Horiuchi makes this point explicitly.

gives the group Joy, etc., in this position, in line with Shūei.¹⁴⁵

Shūei's mandala was also brought back from China by Ennin 円仁,¹⁴⁶ though the find is in general parlance not attributed to the latter. In the set of eighteen recorded in Annen's Hakke-hiroku 八家秘録,¹⁴⁷ which covers all the chapters of the Rishukyō, there are various points which differ from RSh.¹⁴⁸

6.1.2. Dōhō's Mandala

This mandala is similar to Kōzen's 興然 (1121-1203),¹⁴⁹ but exhibits some points peculiar to Dōhō, namely the placing of the bīja jah-hūm-vaṃ-hoh in their normal positions,¹⁵⁰ and the correction of the Chinese names of the deities from the positions given by Shūei.¹⁵¹ The most significant point in Dōhō's set as a whole is its depiction of the

145. Hatta mentions this problem: "However, the problem is that many strained points arise from forcibly applying the Rishukyō mandala -which are of a different lineage from the STTS- to the form of the Vajradhātu mandala (Shikashi, mondai wa Shinjissō-kyō to wa kotonaru keitō no Rishukyō-mandara wo kyō'in ni Kongōkai-mandara no katachi ni ate-hamete-iku koto wa ikuta no muri ga shō-zuru no dearu しかし、問題は、「頂実撰經」とは異なる系統の理趣經曼荼羅を強引に介界マンドラの形にあてはめていくことは幾多の無理が生ずるのである。" (Rishukyō, p. 13)

146. Jikaku Daishi 慈覚, the Tendai priest.

147. Part of T.LV/2176.

148. Toganoo gives the addition of the four kinds of homa rite: safety from disaster (sokusai 息災), increasing benefit (sōseki 増益), respect and love (kyōai 敬愛) and subjugation (kōfuku 降伏). In addition, he also gives differences in the orientation of the mandala (rotation to east, west, etc.); cf. RK: 45. For the four kinds of homa rite (goma-hō 護摩法, also shishu-hō 四種法, shishu-danhō 四種壇法, shishu-gomahō 四種護摩法, shishu-shōjō-hō 四種清淨法), cf. N: 519a, MJT: 295b, MDJT/II: 937a.

149. The second abbot of the Gonshuji 勤修寺; see MJT: 184a for basic information on his life and work.

150. I.e. as referring to the saṅgraha deities in §IV.

151. Kōzen's mandala does not correspond to Rishushaku, but is drawn according to Hatta- from the Rishukyō-hizōshō 理趣經抄 and the Kakuzen-shō 覚禪抄; Hatta, Rishukyō, p. 14. (On the former, see MDJT/V: 2262c for a description, and Dainippon Bukkyō Zensho, Vol. 2, pp. 757ff, for the text. On the latter, respectively MDJT/I:222a and Dainippon Bukkyō Zensho, Vols. 45-51.)

non-duality of the Diamond and Womb elements in the Preliminary Assembly, a theme we have already touched upon.

Like Kōzen, Dōhō belonged to the Gonshuji, and his mandala is described in his Rishukyō-hiketsu 理趣經秘訣.152

6.1.3. The Futaraku-in Mandala

This mandala was published for the first time by Shinkai 真海 of the Futaraku-in 補陀洛院 on Kōyasan in 1770.153 Although the set as a whole has affinities with Kōzen's, Ikkū's 一空 and the Rishushaku mandala, there are several differences which reveal themselves on closer examination. On the whole, though, the patterns of the Rishushaku have been followed. The illustrations in Hatta, Rishukyō, follow the transmission of the Jippō-in 實報院. In 1834 a further edition of this set was published, the woodblocks for the first edition having fallen victim to one of Japanese Buddhism's constant enemies, fire.154

6.1.4. The Chinese and Tibetan Extended Versions

These texts are the only ones which contain explicit directions for the construction and practice of the mandala.155 Toganoo gives a translation of the Tibetan alongside the relevant section of T.244,156 and the relevant information for our purposes here is collated under the column headed "T.244" in Table 2.3.157

152. Cf. RK: 47, where Toganoo gives further information about Dōhō's set of mandala.

153. This date is the only one we have which refers to Shinkai's life.

154. Cf. Hatta, Rishukyō, p. 15.

155. In the other cases, it is a matter of later commentators constructing mandala on the basis of hidden esoteric teachings which they see as being implicit in the overt teaching of the Sūtra.

156. T.244: 787a15-b27; RK: 130-3.

157. Toganoo uses the information given by Ānandagarbha in his Srīpar-amādyā-tīka (sDe-dge Si: 75-79) here, and gives an illustration of this mandala as fig. 13 in RK. Toganoo's account of Ānandagarbha's explanation is RK: 134ff.

The mandala are unremarkable in our context here, except for the appearance of the Bodhisattva of the Smile (Shō-bosatsu 笑菩薩) in §III, Outer Offering Deities, the appearance of the Bodhisattva Kongō-nen 金剛念, Adamantine Remembrance, as the third member of the Immediate Entourage, and Kongōgen 金剛眼, also the third Bodhisattva of her group, this time that of the Inner Worshipping deities.¹⁵⁸

6.1.5. The Remaining Mandala

Rishushaku, Gijutsu and Kūkai's Monku all exhibit the same tradition, with only minor differences in the names of the divinities. The pattern for the Rishu-e, which is the seventh mandala in the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, is to be found in the works of Chandra and Tajima quoted above.¹⁵⁹ We noted above¹⁶⁰ the difficulties surrounding the relationship between the Rishu-e and this chapter of the Rishukyō, which in turn reflects differences between the Rishukyō and the STTS in general, and at the moment it is highly unlikely that we can do more than content ourselves with divers observations, which we shall now consider.

6.2. Notes to Table 2.3

Before examining the relationship between this chapter, the final chapter of the Sūtra (R.17, on the Five Mysteries, Gohimitsu 五秘密) and other rituals centred on Vajrasattva, and giving an outline of the actual structure of the mandala, we will draw attention to some points which arise

¹⁵⁸. Cf. the Vajrasattva ritual, T.XX/1119: 510b28, where Kongō-gen 金剛眼 is the third deity in the explanation of the set of Inner Offering Deities, immediately following the description of Vajrasattva's entourage in the Five Mysteries Ritual. On this, both in general and on the relationship of T.244 with Vajrasattva rituals in particular, see Chapter Five, below.

¹⁵⁹. See above, p. 183, n. 141.

¹⁶⁰. Ditto.

from the comparative study of the different mandala under consideration here, and which are represented in Table 2.3, above.

6.2.1. To begin simply, the importance of Vajrasattva for this Dharma-Gate is underlined by the fact that he is consistently named as the central figure in all the mandala.¹⁶¹ The origin of this particular ritual is in my opinion to be sought in the same strand of the tradition as is found in the set of Vajrasattva rituals we shall be dealing with in §6.3, below. The presence of Vajrasattva in this Dharma-Gate underlines the centrality of the teaching of Great Bliss, both in this chapter and in the Sūtra as a whole.

6.2.2. We remarked above on the significance of the mantra, om mahāsukha vajrasattva jah-hūm-vam-hoh surata stvam, which also figures in the Rishu-hō.¹⁶² The series jah-hūm-vam-hoh refers to the saṅgraha Bodhisattvas, which are properly included in the final, outermost section of a mandala. However, our sources are fairly consistent in assigning these mantra to the penultimate group, the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas.¹⁶³ The two exceptions are Dōhō and Futaraku, which both have the saṅgraha series in the final -and logical- group.

161. The only exception is of course the sixteen Bodhisattvas of the East, who do not -as we have seen- properly belong to this cycle, and are only included for the sake of comparison.

162. Page 159, above.

163. MDJT/V: 2218c remarks that this correspondence -the mantra jah-hūm-vam-hoh- is often given in the ritual texts to the four Thunderbolt Bodhisattvas (shi-kongō 四金剛, i.e. Desire, etc.). It would seem that in the construction of the rituals of this branch of the tradition, the various groups of four are largely interchangeable. In fact, in T.XX/1119: 510b27-511a13, one of the Rishuhō texts, they occur consistently throughout the sections referring to the sixteen Bodhisattvas who accompany Vajrasattva.

One last observation to be made in connection with the om mahāsukha mantra concerns the meaning of the syllable stvam. We have already dealt with the reading of the mantra as a whole¹⁶⁴ and remarked that strictly speaking it should be read as "...suratas tvam". However, the syllable stvam has in fact taken on meanings in its own right, independent of any syntactical considerations. According to MJT/App: 22, stvam refers inter alia to the main object of worship in the rituals connected with the Five Mysteries (go-himitsu-hō no honzon 五秘密法の本尊), to Vajrasattva and to Tō-kongō 冬介, one of the names of the final deity in the Outer Offering Group. More importantly, though, it is said to mean, "the non-duality of cause and effect" (in'ka-fu'ni 因果不二) and, "beings and Buddha, one essence" (shō-butsumittai 生仏一体). The former brings in the theme treated in the section on Great Bliss in the Introduction, namely that the fruit -i.e. Great Bliss itself- is enjoyed from the moment of first instigating the practice which leads ultimately to the attainment of this goal. In other words, the raising of the bodhicitta,¹⁶⁵ which is a particular characteristic of Vajrasattva, contains within it the attainment of the fruit, despite the fact that there is still a colossal amount of practice to be done before the latter is fully realised. Hence the assertion that there is no true distinction between the cause and the fruit of enlightenment.

The second assertion, that sentient beings and the Buddha are of the same essence, is a common one in Mahāyāna Buddhism, and is obviously closely related to the idea of the

164. §3.5.2, p. 162f.

165. Hotsu-bodai-shin 發菩提心.

non-duality of cause and effect. In this connection, then, we may say that the sentient being -regarded now as the psycho-physical complex of the skandha- is the basic stuff which is eventually transmuted into enlightenment.¹⁶⁶

6.2.3. Still on the subject of mantra: we mentioned in the preceding section that Futaraku was the only other version besides Dōhō's to give the jah-hūm-vam-hoh series in its logical place. However, Futaraku is noteworthy for the fact that the mantra it gives for all the preceding stages are those which refer directly to the Bodhisattvas concerned. In other words, we are not dealing here with the superimposition of a more or less semantically intelligible sentence concerning a series of Bodhisattvas, but with a series which has first and foremost a contemplative significance, which is set within the general tradition embracing this text.

The mantra are set out in Table 2.3: the first five (vam-hūm-trām-hrīh-ah) refer to the Five Families (gobu 五部), and hence the Five Tathāgatas.¹⁶⁷ The next group has the

166. The specifically Shingon teaching of nyū'ga-ga'nyū 入我我入, "the Buddha enters me, I enter the Buddha," is given as the meaning of stvam in MDJT/V:2260a (s.v. Rishukyō-jūshichi-dan-sōingon). A further way in which the non-duality of cause and effect is expressed in this mantra is given in MDJT/II:628c, where the mantra is given as st + vam, the former element being an abbreviation of Vajrasattva and the latter the bīja of Mahāvairocana in the Vajradhātu ("Kore wa gō-shite, in'ka-fu'ni, shōbutsu-ittai no gi wo arawasu これは念して、因果不二・空入一法の義を表わす").

167. The correspondences are: vam -Tathāgata (nyorai-bu 如来部); MDJT/I: 209b, 688a, 797c, IV: 1523b, 1826a, 1910b); hūm -Vajra (kongō-bu 金剛部); trām -Ratna (hōbu 宝部; properly speaking, this should be the bīja trāh: trām refers to the Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha and not to the Buddha Ratnasambhava, cf. MDJT/II: 570b); hrīh -Dharma (hō-bu 法部; cf. MDJT/I: 38c, 316b, IV: 1554a, 1967a); ah -Karma (katsu-bu 羯磨部, "point of nirvāna (nehan-ten 涅槃点)", cf. MDJT/II: 600c, 617a, 622b).

series, hāh-trāt-gīh-krt, which again has clear correspondences to the Bodhisattvas concerned.¹⁶⁸ The same applies to the following group, that of the Outer Offering Deities.¹⁶⁹ We may say, then, that the Futaraku mandala confirms an attribution of mantra to the Bodhisattvas which is of general significance in this Shingon tradition, and which can be specifically traced back at least to Amoghavajra. Furthermore, the fact that the mantra designation of the first five figures refers to the Five Tathāgatas and the Five Divisions of the Vajradhātu shows the chapter's general placing within the tradition. More even than this, the fact that the four Bodhisattvas surrounding Vajrasattva consist of the quartet, Desire-Touching-Love-Pride, shows the specific strand to which the chapter belongs: the Five Mysteries (go-himitsu 五秘密).

6.3. The Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss and the Five Mysteries

It will be more appropriate to examine this relationship in Chapter Five, when we have covered the basic materials. What follows here is a summary of the essential points of the thinking behind the Five Mysteries and the relationship between this chapter and the Five Mysteries.

168. The correspondences may be found as follows: hāh, the basic meaning of the letter h is cause (hetu), which belongs to the first position in the quartets we are dealing with here, but I cannot find a specific reference to hāh itself. For ha and hetu, see MDJT/I:198c; trāt (also trat, MJT: 563b), cf Tokuyama Kijun: Bonji-tebiki, p. 18 (s.v. tarata, Kongōman-bosatsu 介慢并); the element trā of course belongs to Ratnasambhava's Family (cf. trām in the preceding group in the mandala); gīh, MJT/App: 18b (s.v. gīh/giku, Kongōka-bosatsu 介歌); krt, Tokuyama, op. cit., p. 16 (s.v. kirita, Kongōbu-bosatsu 介舞并), MJT: 564a (s.v. Kongōbu-bosatsu 介舞并).

169. These -and other correspondences mentioned in this section- are set out in MJT/App: 17ff, under the appropriate headings.

6.3.1. The General Concept

When a child first comes into the world, the first major step in its development is simply seeing a given object. A desire for the object gradually arises and with time the newly born child becomes capable of reaching out and touching it. Through continued touching the child develops a bond to the object and with time comes to an understanding of the object's characteristics and possible uses. Eventually he or she is able to use the object for the various purposes for which it was intended.

With a little imagination, we can see that this pattern -leading from simple perception through contact, involvement and finally mastery and freedom in applying whatever is being dealt with- can be perceived in a wide variety of situations and processes. What we are concerned with here, then, is a Tantric reformulation of basic elements of Buddhist doctrine, expressed in a ritual form that in turn is an expression of the Tantric view of yoga and enlightenment. Briefly stated, the teaching of the Five Mysteries is that the yogin on his way to enlightenment must first perceive the possibility of the goal and develop the desire, the resolve necessary for its attainment. He should then, as it were, come into direct contact with the Path by performing the necessary practices, whereupon he develops an intimate involvement with the Path revealed by the Buddha. Having gained insight into Dharma, he becomes capable of using this enlightenment for the benefit of sentient beings throughout the three spheres.¹⁷⁰

170. Sangai 三界 , tridhātu.

6.3.2. The Specific Formulation

The precise configuration of the Five Mysteries is as follows:

Vajrasattva (Kongōsatta)
Surata/Iṣṭa-vajriṇī (Yoku-kongōnyo)
Kelikilā-vajriṇī (Soku-kongōnyo)
Kāmā/Rāga-vajriṇī (Ai-kongōnyo)¹⁷¹
Kāmeśvarā/Māna-vajriṇī (Man-kongōnyo)

The names of these deities may be translated respectively as: The Thunderbolt (or Adamantine) Being,¹⁷² and The Adamantine Consorts of Desire, Touching,¹⁷³ Love and Pride respectively. It will be noticed that in the case of the Five Mysteries, the first-named (and central) deity, Vajrasattva, is masculine, and that the remaining four are feminine.¹⁷⁴

MJT gives the following basic information about this pentad:

<The Five Mysteries are> Vajrasattva -who has the pure mind of enlightenment as his essence- and his immediate entourage, the four Bodhisattva (Adamantine Desire, Adamantine Touching, Adamantine Love and Adamantine Pride) representing the four passions, and express in a thoroughly esoteric fashion the profound mystery of the passions themselves being enlightenment.¹⁷⁵ The four Adamantine Bodhisattvas

171. #Smr, > smāra, recollecting; sexual love (cf MW:1272a).

172. This may also be translated as "essence". Due to the centrality of the figure and the concept of Vajrasattva, I adhere to the original Sanskrit form throughout this study. (The spelling "Vajrasatva" is also commonly found.)

173. Also translated as "Contact". See the discussion above on the difference between the two terms reg and reg-pa, p. 125, n. 1.

174. In this Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss, as we have seen (cf. above, §3.3.2 and §3.3.3, p. 141f; also p. 158, n. 76), the eight Divinities following on from Vajrasattva are male (first four) and female (second four) respectively.

175. Bonnō-soku-bodai 煩惱卽菩提, "the passions themselves are enlightenment". This principle is of paramount importance in Tantric Buddhism, namely the conscious transformation of one's basic, passionate nature into the stuff of enlightenment. Tantric apologists have long felt it necessary to emphasise this aspect of Tantric thought and practice as a unique and radical development in the Buddhist tradition, but it is in fact largely a mere re-formulation of basic Buddhist concepts and more radical in its overt expression than in its handling of the tradition. See my Hōbōqirin article on mahāsukha, op. cit.

correspond to sentient beings and are the various taints of the passions, and <the Five Mysteries> indicate directly the fact that essentially they are originally endowed with the mind of enlightenment.

(MJT:222a)

The idea is, then, the commonly found Mahāyāna notion that enlightenment is to be found innate in all sentient beings, with the Tantric re-formulation of the idea that the yogin arrests the samsaric influence of the passions by transmuting the raw energy inherent in them for the purpose of enlightenment.

We have already seen one permutation of this idea is that there is no duality between the beginning stage in the enlightenment process and final attainment.¹⁷⁶ The former is commonly called the cause of enlightenment, the raising of the bodhicitta which Vajrasattva primarily stands for. The latter is the effect produced by the yogic exercises which constitute the Path. Since the pentad consists on the one hand of that which is pure and enlightened, and of the most basic passions on the other, another principle found in our Japanese sources is that of sentient beings and the Buddha being of one essence. These two aspects come out in the various bīja assigned to the Five Mysteries as a whole. We have already dealt with one important mantra (stvam):¹⁷⁷ it

176. See above, p. 173, on in'i and ka'i.

177. See above, p. 189f. We might, however, mention the following points in addition to what we noticed above: stvam is analysed as st + vam, the former being regarded as an abbreviation of sattva, "being", by implication also the Adamantine Being at the centre of the Five Mysteries -i.e. Vajrasattva. The latter is the bīja of Mahāvairocana in the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, and is thus the aspect of enlightenment. Joining these two together results in an expression of the principles indicated in the previous paragraph, which are formulated as: inka-fu'ni 因果不二 / shōbutsu-ittai 生住一体, "The motivation and the fruit are not dual/beings and the Buddha are of one essence". A more literal rendering might be: "cause and effect are not two/beings and Buddha are one essence". The first of these two didactic principles understands the sattva referred to by the element st as Vajrasattva, the second understands it

will be helpful if we take a brief look at another (hhūm, or double hūm).

The double hūm, generally transcribed as hhūm, expresses precisely the same ideas.¹⁷⁸ When written in the siddham script, the bīja appears as two graphs of the letter h, one above the other. MDJT assigns the top element to Mahāvairocana, that beneath to Vajrasattva, and gives the meaning as the same as the previous bīja.¹⁷⁹

To give a reasonable account of where and how this idea of the Five Mysteries arose is a large undertaking, not least because a detailed examination of material in the Tibetan Kanjur would be required.¹⁸⁰ To my knowledge, however,¹⁸¹ it is only in Japan that there remains any living acquaintance with the concept of the Five Mysteries and the attendant ritual cycles, so limiting our enquiry to the Sino-Japanese tradition will not be wholly irrelevant.

as <sentient> beings.

178. It is also the bīja of the vidyārāja Aizen (Aizen-myōō, Rāga-rāja), who is the guardian deity of the Rishukyō and particularly related to R.17 (The Five Mysteries). See Appendix B.

179. MDJT/II: 628c. Further details on this topic will be given in Chapter Five, §5.3.5 (The Mantra).

180. In connection with this, the following studies by Fukuda Ryōsei are particularly relevant: "Kichijō-saishō-honsho-chushaku (vr̥tti) ni tsuite", Tōyō Daigaku Gakuin Kiyō, Vol. 1 (1964), pp. 143-50; "Srīvajra-mandalālamkāra-nāma-mahātantra-rāja no kōzō", Tōyōgaku Kenkyū, Vol. 2 (1967), pp. 49-56; "Shōsho-yugakyō to Srīparamādi-tantra", Chizan Gaku-hō, Vol. 20 (cum. no. 35; Mar. 1972), pp. 17-42; "Kongōsatta-gikirui no kōsatsu", Mikkyō-gaku Kenkyū, No. 8 (Mar. 76), pp. 1-14; "Rishukyō zō/kan-hikōjō no ikkadai", Mikkyō-gaku, No. 13/14 (1977), pp. 77-90 (this issue was also published as a Festschrift, Mikkyō Shisō, s.v. TAKAI Ryūshū); "Rishukyō to Rishukyō-hō", Chizan Gaku-hō, No. 28 (cum. no. 42; Mar. 1979), pp. 1-12. This and other material has now been gathered together and revised in Fukuda/RK, Chapter Three ("Indo/Chibetto-Bukkyō ni okeru Rishukyō-Kenkyū" <Studies on the Rishukyō in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism>), pp. 137-306.

181. I have not been able to elicit any signs of recognition from people who work primarily with Tibetan materials.

The problems involved in the investigation of the textual sources for the Five Mysteries are quite complicated,¹⁸² but this complication is balanced by the relative simplicity of the concept itself. This very simplicity, however, is in turn a telling reason for its inclusion in the context of Tantric teachings, in that such simplicity implies the direct attitude to the struggle with man's passionate nature which is the hallmark of the Tantric's religious endeavour.

As for the relationship between the first and the final chapters of the Sūtra, the main characteristic of this can be stated quite simply: the present chapter -the Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss- is a statement of the enlightened condition, that state which is the potential liberation of sentient beings, because it is their inmost nature.¹⁸³ The final chapter, R.17, shows us the Bodhisattva who has integrated all the various aspects of the teaching, and who is thus in a position to express it for the benefit of sentient beings.¹⁸⁴

Thus much in preview of the final stages of the Sūtra. Let us return now to the Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss.

182. We shall be detailing the most important points in this connection in Chapter Five, §5.2.1, below.

183. It is thus the latent, or passive aspect of enlightenment. We shall see the active attainment of this enlightenment detailed in the next chapter, where we shall begin with the interpretation of R.2, "The Dharma-Gate of Attaining Enlightenment".

184. Thus we might say that the first two chapters in the Sūtra express enlightenment and its attainment, whilst the final chapter expresses the end result of this process.

6.4. The Structure of the Maṇḍala

In an article published as long ago as 1913, Tomita Kōdo addressed the problems we touched upon in §6.2 and §6.3.¹⁸⁵ In the final part of his article he talked of the seventeen deity maṇḍala (a variant of which we are dealing with here) in terms of a four-stage meditational technique based on the structure of the Vajradhātu,¹⁸⁶ and in terms of the relationship between the phenomenal and the absolute.¹⁸⁷ The central nine deities are seen as being in the same relationship as the main deities of the central assembly of the Garbhakośa Maṇḍala. If one thus takes Vajrasattva to be the absolute realm, then the next four Bodhisattvas (Desire-Touching-Love-Pride) are the passions of the phenomenal world, and their consorts are the principle of the relationship between the phenomenal and the absolute. The next four Bodhisattvas (Joy-Smile-Song-Dance) are then regarded as upward-facing Bodhisattvas because of their resolve to

185. TOMITA Kōdo: "Rishukyō-jūshichi-son-mandara ni tsuite", Mikkyō, No. 3/1 (April 1914), pp. 31-47. Tomita thought that there was originally no relationship between the epithets of purity and the 17-deity maṇḍala detailed in Amoghavajra's commentaries, and that he relationship was applied to the text afterwards: op. cit., p. 40. He also thought that the original maṇḍala was: central object of worship (Vajrasattva), Immediate Entourage, their Consorts (these nine forming the Inner Temenos); then four Offering Bodhisattvas and four Gathering Bodhisattvas (these eight forming the Outer Temenos). This then developed into an Inner Temenos containing the central figure, the four of the Immediate Entourage and the Outer Offering Bodhisattvas, then an Outer Temenos consisting of the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas and the four Gathering Bodhisattvas. Finally, this developed into the form with the central figure surrounded by the Immediate Entourage and the Inner Offering Bodhisattvas, outside of which the Outer Offering and Gathering Bodhisattvas came to be placed. Whilst this account begs many historical questions, it does indicate an awareness of the traditional tendency to arrange the received material into a systematic ritual framework.

186. "Kongōkai no kansatsu-hō wa, shibu-hō dearu 个界の觀察法は、四部法である," p. 43.

187. Genzō-kai 現象界, jitsuzai-kai 实在界 (literally, "true-existence-world"). The teaching is thus described in the principle, genzō-soku-jitsuzai 現象即实在 (loc. cit.).

worship Vajrasattva, and the final set (Hook-Rope-Chain-Bell) are the downward-facing Bodhisattvas, since their function is to gather sentient beings from the paths of delusion and lead them into the way of the Buddha. In this way, these last eight (the Outer Temenos) represent the relationship in which one contemplates the absolute from the standpoint of the phenomenal. This is in contrast to the preceding group, whose contemplation proceeds in the opposite direction. In tabular form this looks as follows:

<u>Inner Temenos</u> (nai-in 内院)	
Central Figure: Vajrasattva	Body of enlightenment, true existence
Imm. Entourage: Desire, etc.	Body of delusion, phenomenal world
Consorts: Female Bodhisattvas	Method of relating delusion and enlightenment
<u>Outer Temenos</u> (ge-in 外院)	
Inner Offering: Joy, etc.	Relationship in which one contemplates the phenomenal from the absolute
Outer Offering: Hook, etc.	Relationship in which one contemplates the absolute from the phenomenal

In the diagrams depicting this structure, the movement in the Inner Temenos is twofold: from each of the Immediate Entourage Bodhisattvas to his consort, and from Vajrasattva directly to each Consort. The Bodhisattvas in the Outer Temenos receive from their corresponding Bodhisattva in the Immediate Entourage, and then return this to Vajrasattva. Finally Vajrasattva again expresses his attainment, this time to the Gathering Bodhisattvas, who then respond to their corresponding Bodhisattvas in the Immediate Entourage.¹⁸⁸

It is of course inappropriate to state that any particular way of viewing the structure of teachings such as this

188. Desire-Joy, Touch-Smile, Love-Song, Pride-Dance, then finally Hook-Desire, Rope-Touching, Chain-Love, Bell-Pride.

is unconditionally correct, or indeed is the only correct one. What I hope to have shown in this section -in conjunction with the material discussed earlier in this chapter- is that despite the various differences in the numerous points of detail that have been discussed, it is nevertheless clear that this Dharma-Gate, and the various rituals which are related to it, are simply concerned with the working out of the implications of the basic pattern implicit in the attainment of Great Bliss, and the practices leading to its full, consummate realisation.

This concludes our examination of the Rishukyō's teaching on Great Bliss. The location of the chapter at the head of the Sūtra proper is highly significant, and underlines the importance of Great Bliss as a fundamental idea for our understanding of the text. On the other hand, the fact that there is a clear relationship with the Vajrasattva rituals discussed in §6.3 would indicate that the text as a whole was at some point in its history constructed from various strands of the tradition, a suspicion which we shall take with us as we progress through the text.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RITUAL PROCESS (R.2-R.11)

A. General Observations: Patterns and Structure in the Central Text

By way of introduction to this central portion of the Sūtra, an indication should be given here -before we proceed to the text itself- of how these passages fit into the general scheme of the Sūtra and in what manner they may be regarded as central.

As we have seen, the drama opens in a classical manner, i.e. by simply setting the scene: it introduces us to the protagonists, giving hints to those conversant with the language and symbolism of the tradition an inkling of what is to come (R.P). We then have a statement of how the Sūtra perceives the goal of the teachings and practices inherent in its confines (R.1), and then -as a complement to this statement of the passive aspect, that which is to be attained- we are given an indication of the active process towards this attainment (R.2). It is the statement of this active process and the details of how this activity unfolds in the ritual action (R.3-R.11) which form the subject of the present chapter.

The first eight of these nine divisions of the text are each devoted to the virtues of one of the protagonists who appeared in the Preliminary Section, i.e. the Eight Great Bodhisattvas of the Rishukyō. R.3-10, then, deal in detail with the specific teachings and attainments of each of these

Bodhisattvas, giving in each case a fourfold account of them. If we add the central Bodhisattva in each of these didactic divisions, these naya, then we can see that each of these eight dan 段 constitutes a pentad which mirrors the pattern of the parent Sūtra, the STTS, the presence of the Five Tathāgatas and their virtues is pervasive.¹

R.11 -devoted to Samantabhadra- is summary in nature and purpose. That is, it draws together the virtues and attainments which were stated in the first two chapters (R.1 and R.2) and developed in the following eight (R.3-10). Further, it represents a climax in the ritual procedure, sealed by the mantra hūm, one of the common uses of which in the Buddhist Tantras is precisely this. It would seem then that this portion of the text -R.3-11, arguably of course right from R.1-11- constitutes a separate, self-contained thematic and ritual unit, upon which, one might speculate, the Sūtra as a whole was gradually constructed.² That this was certainly the case, to an unknown, greater or lesser extent, is borne out by the gradual accretion of philosophically, ritually and iconographically co-ordinated elements, a process which reached its culminative point in Amoghavajra's version.³

1. Another way of stating this fivefold symbolism, so typical of the STTS lineage texts, is that each chapter, each stage of the ritual, is in fact a new centre, around which point there is given a fourfold teaching.

2. The various mantra may be seen in their context in the Sūtra as a whole in Appendix C.

3. There is a great deal of uniformity in the modern secondary literature concerning these central sections, and most of the ideas can be traced back to Amoghavajra and Kūkai. In the analysis of the following sections, particularly from R.4 onwards, we shall restrict much of our comments to these ancient masters.

B. The Central Ritual Process

R.2: THE DHARMA-GATE OF ATTAINING ENLIGHTENMENT

1. Text

784b25

<p>(5) 惡引 微笑持智拳印說一切法自性平等心¹</p> <p>薄伽梵如是說已欲重顯明此義故熙怡²</p> <p>至當坐菩提道場速能剋證無上正覺時³</p>	<p>(1) 等現等覺以大菩提一切分別無分別性故⁴</p> <p>金剛手若有聞此四出生法讀誦受持設⁵</p> <p>使現行無量重罪必能超越一切惡趣乃⁶</p>	<p>(29) 現等覺以大菩提自性清淨故一切業平⁷</p>	<p>(28) 爾時薄伽梵毘盧遮那如來復說此一切¹</p> <p>如來寂靜法性現等覺出生般若理趣所謂²</p> <p>金剛平等現等覺以大菩提金剛堅固故義³</p> <p>平等現等覺以大菩提一義利故法平等⁴</p>
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1.1. Cross-references

T.220: 987b25-c7	T.242: 782a24-b2	Skt150: 2:20-3:10
T.240: 776b14-25	T.243: 784b25-c7	Tib150: 16:1-13
T.241: 779a12-23	T.244: 789b21- 790a21	

1.2. Translation

¹Then the Lord Vairocana, the Tathāgata, ²took up the exposition of the guiding principle of wisdom which manifests the highest perfect awakening⁴ to the nature of the dharma of all the Tathāgatas' calm tranquillity, with these words:

³"There is perfect awakening to the sameness of the Thunderbolt because great enlightenment is of adamantine solidity.

4. Gentōgaku 現等覺, abhisambodhi (Skt150: 2.21), mñon-par rd-zogs-par byan-chub-pa (Tib150: 16.2). Conze (SPT: 185) translates as: "...the Consummation of awakening <to the calm true nature of all the Tathagatas>." N: 339b describes it as seeing things as they are in themselves (aru ga mama ni 有るがままに), the highest enlightenment.

⁴There is perfect awakening to the sameness of ends because enlightenment is the benefit of the one end.

⁵There is perfect awakening to the sameness of dharma because great enlightenment is the purity of self-nature.

⁶There is perfect awakening to the sameness of all actions because great enlightenment is the distinctionless nature of all distinctions.

⁷"Vajrapāṇi, if anyone hears this teaching of the four manifestations,⁵ recites them, receives them, maintains them, ⁸even though he may commit for a time grave sins without number, he will without fail be able to go beyond all the woeful destinies ⁹and take his place at the locus of enlightenment. ¹⁰He will be able to gain a speedy victory and attain supreme perfect enlightenment."

Thereupon, having thus given his explanation, the Lord, being about to elucidate this meaning further, relaxed his mien and gave a subtle smile: ¹²forming the Seal of the Wisdom Clasp, ¹³he explained the essence of the sameness of the self-nature of all dharma: āh⁶

5. Shusshō 出生, meaning to bring into being, is the same term as used in R.2/2. The implication here is that the teaching -or hannya-rishu 般若理趣 (prajñā-naya)- of this chapter brings about perfect enlightenment (R.2/2), and that it is fourfold (R.2/7, elucidated in R.2/3-6).

6. Confirmed by Monku: 613c25.

2. Commentary

This chapter stands as a complement to the first chapter, insofar as the two together represent two aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhist teachings about enlightenment. On the one hand, enlightenment is regarded as inherent in all sentient beings. It is not enough, however, to accept this as a dogma: the yogin must actively realise this basic circumstance, by practising the way shown by the Buddha. Such realisation is the theme of the present chapter, whereas the Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss had as its theme the innate nature of dharma -that to which one awakens when one's practice is perfected. Specifically, this second chapter deals with the production, the calling forth, of the various aspects of Mahāvairocana's wisdom, which together constitute the sum content of perfect enlightenment.⁷ This and the Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss thus stand together at the beginning of the text as respectively a statement of the nature of the goal and as the active attainment of that goal. Our commentators all concur on this point, so we shall simply refer to Toganoō (RK: 146ff) as a representative example.

He begins his account of this Dharma-Gate by making a distinction between what he calls the "seen" and the "seeing" -i.e. the passive and the active aspects of realm of the Buddha's enlightenment. The former is described by the terms jissō 実相⁸ and nehan 涅槃 (nirvāna), the latter by kanshō 觀照 (contemplating from the standpoint of wisdom)⁹

7. Gentōgaku 理等覺, abhisambodhi, the term which occurs as part of the formula in the text (R.2/3-6).

8. True characteristic, i.e. things as they are to the enlightened mind.

9. Cf. N: 196d, which defines this as: "Contemplating, with wisdom, clearly knowing." Under the heading kanshō-hannya 觀照般若, there is

and bodai 菩提 (bodhi, enlightenment). This chapter thus explains the experiential world of enlightenment from the two aspects of the seeing and the seen. The keynote of the Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss was the nirvāna aspect, which is seen or realised as the object and goal of the Buddhist's religious life. It explains the basic, transcendent purity of surata, etc. (the Epithets of Purity), and Great Bliss, which is the affective aspect of the direct experience of this purity.¹⁰ This second chapter explains the active aspect of the attainment of this enlightenment. Nasu (Ta-tsui: 76), for his part, describes the wisdom which constitutes the theme of this chapter as that of the Holy Wisdom of Self Enlightenment (jigaku-shōchi 自覚聖智), and remarks that the content of this enlightenment will be explained in the subsequent chapters of the Sūtra.¹¹

also reference to this being the aspect of wisdom which contemplates the true characteristic (jissō 真相).

10. In the Visuddhi-magga IV: 100 there is a clear passage which relates sukha to vedanā-skandha, and it is from this emotive, affective standpoint that one should understand the present Sūtra's emphasis on Great Bliss. On this, and the implications for the understanding of nibbāna, see R.E.A. JOHANSSON: The Psychology of Nirvana, London, 1969, pp. 21-7.

11. According to Hanashi: 270f, one attains enlightenment through the contemplation of the five characteristics which constitute the enlightenment of the Buddha: this contemplation thus leads one to the attainment of the Body of the Buddha (gosō-jōjīngan 五相成身觀). The difference between Mahāvairocana in the first and in this chapter is that the former is eternally enlightened, the latter has been enlightened (eien no hotoke-san/satorareta hotoke-san 永遠の仏とん/悟られた仏とん). The latter does this by means of the gosō-jōjīngan 五相成身觀, and this Buddha is thus a Buddha produced by practising the given meditations and contemplations (shushō-shikaku no dainichi-nyorai 修生始覚の文日如来). Shushō, N: 625d, is that which arises as a result of practice; shikaku 始覚, N: 539c, indicates the first realisation of inherent enlightenment.

2.1. General Teaching (R.2/1-2)

On the basic background for the teaching of this chapter, Amoghavajra has the following to say:

Vairocana Tathāgata: the name means 'shining everywhere', the Buddha of the Body of Bliss (sambhoga-kāya). In the ultimate heaven of form, in the fourth concentration at the summit of the realm of form, he attains perfect enlightenment (abhisambodhi, gentōgaku 現等覺). For the sake of the Bodhisattvas he explains the fourfold holy wisdom of self-attainment and self-enlightenment (jishō/jigaku, 自証自覺), he explains the enlightenment of the four wisdoms. (T.1003: 610b4-6)

Nasu (Tatsui: 76f) draws on this passage from Rishushaku, but remarks that this is, however, the esoteric sambhoga-kāya -jijuyū-chihosshin 自受用智法身 - and not the exoteric one. The esoteric sambhoga-kāya is not the sambhoga-kāya based on causality and reward (innen-shūtō 因緣酬答), but the body which is principle and wisdom in union (ri'chi-sōō no shin 理智相應の身). Kambayashi (Kōgi: 384) further makes the remark that this self-enjoyment wisdom body manifests the four Buddhas, which arise from the four wisdoms of Mahāvairocana's inner attainment. He further remarks (Kōgi: 385) that issai-nyorai here indicates the virtues and wisdom of the Buddhas of the ten directions and the three times, all collected into one body, and this underlines the particular teaching of the Shingon sect regarding the pervasiveness of the Dharmakāya.

The term jakujō-hosshō 寂靜法性, according to Kambayashi (Kōgi: 385) indicates the true characteristic of all dharma, epitomised in the letter a. That is to say, jakujō-hosshō is the original, passive aspect to which one becomes enlightened: this name for the teaching expounded in this chapter thus includes both the teaching of R.1 and R.2,

but emphasises the latter.¹² Nasu (Tatsui: 77) makes a similar point. He regards jakujo-hossho as a different name for the realm of enlightenment: jakujo 寂靜 because it is beyond duality (life-death, etc.), hossho 法性 because it is the realm to which one can only be enlightened through that wisdom which is devoid of distinctions (mubunbetsu-chi 無分別智).

The next element of R.2/2 is the term gentogaku 現等覺 which corresponds -in this text as elsewhere¹³- to abhisambodhi, "the highest perfect enlightenment".¹⁴ The meaning -or at least the implication- of this term in the Shingon tradition is however no longer simply this. Kambayashi (Kogi: 386) says in this connection that, although gentogaku in the original texts meant the wisdom of awakening and not "one who is awakened" (gaku-sha 覺者 , gaku no mono 覺の者), now -because traditional commentators have taken it as the latter- it is read as such. The "functioning of wisdom"¹⁵ is understood, and this in turn implies the one (sha/mono 者) who possesses this function.¹⁶

In support of this contention, Kambayashi (Kogi: 387) quotes Amoghavajra's Sanjushichison-shussho-gi 三十七尊出生義,¹⁷ where the term gentogaku-shin 現等覺身 (the body of perfect enlightenment) occurs. This body (shin 身)

12. Horiuchi (Hanashi: 271) compares jakujo 寂靜 to water, likening the calming of the passions to the calming of waves on water. The simile thus also implies the active aspect of quelling the passions.

13. Cf. Skt150: 2.21; N: 339b.

14. Conze translates by "the Consummation of Awakening" (SPT, p. 185). Nasu (Tatsui: 77) gives the meaning as: "realising true enlightenment".

15. Chiyu 智用 : cf. N: 953d, where it is given as Kakuban's term.

16. Or: in whom this function operates.

17. T.XVIII/872: 298a16f. The text reads: Kongobyodoshoh <no> gentogaku-shin 金剛平等性之現等覺身

is identified as Akṣobhya Buddha, who arises from the Great Perfect Mirror Wisdom. This in turn is the correspondence to the ālaya-vijñāna in Rishushaku:

The pure ālaya-vijñāna of Mahāvairocana as the Buddha-body actively manifested,¹⁸ when it has become the Great Perfect Mirror Wisdom through reversal (vr̥tti), attains identity in nature with the hard, adamant taintless dharma-nature -namely the pure mind of enlightenment of the letter a- and simultaneously with this completely eliminates the subtle passions at the level of beginningless ignorance.

(T.1003: 610b7ff)

Against this, there is the interpretation given by Toganoo (RK: 148f), who -in line with the explanation given in Rishushaku- explains this line as a whole as the circumstances of the enlightenment of the four wisdoms of Mahāvairocana, and not as the direct manifestations of those wisdoms as Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The reason for this is that Amoghavajra translated his Sanskrit source with gentōgaku, which corresponds to abhisambodhi, and not with a term which would correspond with abhisambuddha.

The final element in R.2/2 which requires explanation is shusshō 出生 .¹⁹ Nasu (Tatsui: 77) explains it as: "bringing about an actual manifestation" (jitsugen-jōju 实现成就). Horiuchi (Hanashi: 271) has much the same idea: shusshō is given as hiki-dasu 引き出す (extract, draw out) and as jōju 成就 (#sidh, perfect, bring about, attain).²⁰

18. Shujō-shugen 修成修現 : lit., "practising and producing, practising and manifesting." That is, the yogin's meditative efforts bring about the manifestation of the relevant Buddha or Bodhisattva.

19. Skt150: 2.21 has nirhāra. MW: 558b gives: take, draw out of, extract from; setting aside or accumulation of a private store or hoard. Shusshō can be either active or passive, as can the English "manifest". Cf. N:672b. BHSD: 305a gives nirhāra as "production, accomplishment, bringing to pass", which would incidentally cover both shusshō and jōju. See also p. 203, n. 4, above.

20. Though he understands the meaning strictly speaking as "bring about perfect enlightenment", he actually regards it as intransitive: "perfect enlightenment manifests (gentōgaku ga dete-kuru 現等覚が出てくる)" (Hanashi: 271).

The question of whether shusshō is transitive or intransitive in meaning should perhaps be understood from the standpoint of the dual aspect of enlightenment which these first two chapters of the Sūtra represent: whilst on the one hand one is enjoined to perform the practices and thus actively produce the experience of enlightenment, on the other this process is regarded as the revelation of something which was already there.

The reading of the line as a whole, then, is not free of differences in opinion. Nasu remarks that it has traditionally been understood as the manifestation of the four Buddhas from Mahāvairocana, but he himself paraphrases the actual meaning of the text itself as follows:

Following on from the first chapter, again Mahāvairocana Tathāgata deigned to explain (toki-tamau 説き給う) the Guiding Principle (Dharma-Gate) of Prajñā (Wisdom), which brings about the perfection and manifestation (jōju-shi 成就し gengen-narashimuru 顕現なりしむ) of all the Tathāgatas' original, non-generative, perfect enlightenment, the tranquil nature of Dharma (issai-nyorai no jakujō-hosshō-naru honfushō no gentōgaku 一切如来の寂靜法性なる本不生の現等覚).

(Tatsui: 77)

2.2. Particular Teaching (R.2/3-6)

There is a great deal of conformity in both the terms used in the various versions of the Rishukyō and their interpretation.²¹ This conformity holds for modern scholarship, too, the reading of which makes it clear that there are two points to be made: first, the attribution of the four lines to the four wisdoms and second the terms

21. Cf. RK: 149, where Togano points out that the explanation of this chapter's teaching is largely the same in all ten versions of the Rishukyō. Kongō-byōdō, Gi-* and Hō-* are the same in all versions, but the final element varies -either Gō-* (karma), Issai-hō-* (sarva-dharma) or Issai-*. The meaning is the same throughout, though.

byōdō 平等 and daibodai 大菩提 .²² The former will become apparent as we proceed, so we shall take the latter first.

Kambayashi (Kōgi: 386f) sees a direct relationship between byōdō -which he understands as byōdōshō 平等性²³ and daibodai -which he understands as referring specifically to Mahāvairocana's mind of enlightenment. This intimate relationship consists in regarding byōdōshō as the underlying principle and daibodai as that which functions on that basis. Being fourfold, and relating to the four wisdoms, these four lines can thus be regarded as the basic blueprint for the practice which leads to the attainment of enlightenment.²⁴

2.3. Amoghavajra's analysis

Amoghavajra attributes each of the lines to levels of consciousness in the Yogacāra understanding of the mind, and in this way to the four wisdoms, too. R.2/3 thus refers to the ālaya-vijñāna, and the purifying of consciousness at the most basic, subtle level:

22. Toganoo (RK: 149f) points out that the meaning of the individual terms differs in the exoteric and the esoteric teachings. According to K'uei-chi, kongō-byōdō means an enlightenment transcending life and death and the inherent discriminative imaginings (bunbetsu-geron 分別戲論); gi-* is the enlightenment which is nothing other than the meaning (artha) of the 'one true characteristic' (ichi-jissō no gi 一実相の義); hō-* is the enlightenment which despite the 84,000 teaching-dharma is nothing other than the teaching of the one vehicle of prajñā (hannya-ichijō 般若一乘); issai-hō-* is the enlightenment to the fact that even though the myriad factors of existence are differentiated, in themselves they are in fact absolute dharma, neither good nor bad and devoid of vain discursiveness.

23. Sameness, i.e. the abstract quality.

24. Cf Nasu (Tatsui: 77) where he describes the process as bringing about (jōju 成就) the manifestation (genri) of the body (tai/karada 体) of these Buddhas (taigen-jōju 体现成就).

"With these words: 'There is perfect awakening to the sameness of the Thunderbolt because great enlightenment is of adamantine solidity': through the Tathāgatas' pure ālaya in the yoga of the Wisdom of the Great Mirror, one attains to the hard/compact samādhi without defilements, able to purify the subtle passions at the stage of beginningless ignorance.

(T.1003: 610b6-9)

R.2/4 in turn then refers to the first notion of an identifiable self in the transformation of consciousness, manas:

"There is perfect awakening to the sameness of meaning because enlightenment is the benefit of the one meaning": the seventh, manas without defilements produces seeds (bīja) without defilements in the eighth, pure ālaya consciousness; because that equality of causing and being caused is equality detached from perceiving and being perceived,²⁵ it attains the Wisdom of Equality, and flows out according to that Bliss Body's love for sentient beings. Thus the myriad-coloured gem is able to create benefits for boundless sentient beings.

(T.1003: 610b10-14)

The key point here is that manas in its purified state, being free from the divisive and defiling notion of separate ego, becomes capable of forming the basis for unbiased love towards sentient beings, and is thus devoid of prejudiced preferences and capable of bestowing benefits freely and equally. The gem (ratna) links the line explicitly to Ratna-sambhava Tathāgata.

Amoghavajra comments on R.2/5 in the following manner:

"There is perfect awakening to the sameness of dharma because great enlightenment is the purity of self-nature": Now, the Tathāgatas' pure mental function gives the yoga of the wonderful wisdom of discriminating in contemplation (myōkanzatchi), and the attainment of the purity of the original nature of all dharma, and makes the Bodhisattvas capable of turning the unsurpassed wheel of the Teaching in the pure and wonderful land of the Buddhas.

(T.1003: 610b14-17)

25. A very problematical line (b12). I suspect the punctuation in the Taishō edition is out of place here -as it often is- and I read the line as having a natural division between the two occurrences of byōdō. En 縁 is the general word for cause (N: 117c), shu 取 -literally "take"- I understand as the faculty of perception (N: 622a, s.v. shu, (2), but possibly also as a different name for passion (bonnō, kleśa; loc. cit., (5)).

The key elements here are the mental function manovijñāna (i-shiki 意識) and the purity of dharma, both of which identify Amitābha and the third position in the standard mandala configuration. The final line in the tetrad is explained as follows:

"There is perfect awakening to the sameness of all actions because great enlightenment is of the nature of all distinctions and non-distinctions": through the Tathāgatas' taintless five sense consciousnesses it furnishes the yoga of the Wisdom of Action (jōshosachi 成所作智) and manifests the transformation of the three functions;²⁶ in the pure and wonderful land of the Buddhas or the tainted mundane world, he abides naturally²⁷ and without discriminations, performing the deeds of Buddhas and of sentient beings.

(T.1003: 610b14-21)

The correspondences here will be clear: the five sense-consciousnesses and everything connected to action in the mundane and supra-mundane spheres.

This system of interpretation underlies the greater part of the commentarial material dealt with here in connection with this Dharma-Gate, and will become apparent as we proceed.

R.2/3 (Kongō-byōdō 金剛平等): Toganoō (RK: 150), besides regarding kongō-byōdō -in line with Rishushaku- as daienkyō-chi 大円鏡智, also -in line with Ānandagarbha's Commentary- sees it as daibodai-shin (*mahā-bodhicitta). Further, it is for him the realm or extent (kyōchi 境地) of the Vajradhātu-Maṇḍala. The other secondary literature offers little beyond this.

26. I.e. of body, speech and mind.

27. I.e., without adding functions to what he is doing, a theme found more commonly amongst Zen Buddhists. Cf N: 1072c, s.v. ninnun, 1319, s.v. mukuyū.

R.2/4 (Gi-byōdō 義平等): Gi 義 has the meaning of both benefit (riyaku 利益) and purpose (mokuteki 目的).²⁸ In addition to the correspondences noted above, Toganoo notes that this line also refers to the internal attainment of dāna-pāramitā and to the mandala of the Gem Family.²⁹ This is because from the equality of self and others, one practises giving, and from the active and passive aspects of giving there is derived the mandala of the true significance of the gem-treasure. Kambayashi (Kōgi: 388) adds that gi here means things which are of direct benefit to a person's body and mind,³⁰ a remark echoed by Nasu (Tatsui: 78), who describes the term here as the good (zen 善), giving to sentient beings that which is good, equally (i.e. without prejudicial distinction) and in accordance with what is wished (shogan 所願). It is enlightenment to that which is of value (kachi-shō 価値) in human life.

R.2/5 (hō-byōdō 法平等): The import of this line is the original purity of everything.³¹ Hō 法 means dharma in the sense of the teaching and in the sense of factors of existence, which are united by the term jishō-shōjō 自性清淨 . For Toganoo, enlightenment to hō-byōdō refers to prajñā-pāramitā and to the mandala of the Dharma or Lotus Family, in addition to Amoghavajra's attributions. This is because it refers to the minute contemplation of dharma in their true aspect.

28. Cf. Hanashi: 272. I have chosen the English word "end" in an attempt to cover both these aspects.

29. RK: 151. The correspondences to the pāramitā here and following are based on Ānandagarbha.

30. In support of this, he quotes T.XVIII/872: 298a16f.

31. Hanashi: 272.

R.2/6 (gō-byōdō 業平等): This final line refers as we have seen in T.1003 to jōshosa-chi, and also to the pāramitā of vigour³² and the mandala of the Karma Family. This is because these mandala represent the actions of a Buddha, a centre whence there springs forth the courageous vigour of pure truth, jōshosachi having freed one from self-centred discrimination (RK: 150). A further point about the referent of gō 業 is found in Tatsui: 78f, where Nasu refers it specifically to the functions of body, speech and mind in their natural and free state, and the performance of skilful means which benefit sentient beings on the one hand and the performance of worship towards the Buddha on the other. It is thus enlightenment to the inherent nature of functioning or actions in man (kōi-shō 業為性). That wisdom which is capable of enlightening one to the fourfold content of Mahāvairocana's perfect enlightenment is called the Wisdom of the Essential Nature of the Dharmadhātu (hokkai-taishō-chi 法界体性智).³³

If we summarise the teaching of this chapter in diagrammatic form, drawing on the explanations found in the above materials, we arrive at the following:

<u>Text</u>	<u>Wisdom</u>	<u>Family</u>	<u>Bva Path</u>
Kongō-byōdō	daien-kyōchi	Vajra	daibodai-shin
Gi-byōdō	byōdōshō-chi	Ratna	se-haramitsu
Hō-byōdō	myōkanzat-chi	Dharma	hannya-*
Gō-byōdō	jōshosa-chi	Karma	shōjin-*

32. According to Ānandagarbha's view (referred to by Togano, loc. cit.

33. In Hanashi: 273, Horiuchi reads this line as: "Daibodai wa, issai no bunbetsu ga mubunbetsu no shō (shitsu) 大菩提は、一切の分別が無分別の性[質]." (lit.: "As for 'Great Enlightenment', all distinctions are of the nature which has no distinctions"). That is, though we may differentiate in our dealings with others, there is at root no real distinction in the basic nature of our relationships with other sentient beings, an observation which brings us back to the concept of byōdō, fundamental in this chapter.

2.4. Kūkai's Analysis

The following table sets out the divisions in Kūkai's Monku, for the sake of comparison.

TABLE 3.1:

Kūkai's Analysis of the Vajrasattva Chapter

(R.2, 613c12-26)

1. Explanation of the Guiding Principle (<u>rishu</u>)	R.2/1-10
1.1. Chapter Heading (<u>hyōshō</u>)	R.2/1-2
1.1.1. The Lord Capable of Expounding (<u>nōsetsu-shu</u>)	
1.1.2. The Teaching Expounded (<u>shosetsu-hō</u>)	
1.2. Explanation of the Meaning (<u>shakuji</u>)	R.2/3-6
(This has two aspects: the Four Wisdoms and the Four Pāramitās)	
1.2.1. <u>Daienkyō-chi</u>	Kongō-haramitsu
1.2.2. <u>Byōdōshō-chi</u>	Hō-haramitsu
1.2.3. <u>Myōkanzat-chi</u>	Hō-haramitsu
1.2.4. <u>Jōshosa-chi</u>	Katsuma-haramitsu
1.3. Praising the Virtues (<u>tandoku</u>)	R.2/7-10
1.3.1. Type of Practice (<u>gyōsō</u>)	
1.3.2. Rewards (<u>kōfuku</u>)	
1.3.2.1. Transcendence of Evil Destinies; the Temporal Nexus (<u>chō-akushu/jisetsu</u>)	
1.3.2.2. Ascending to the Stage of Enlightenment (<u>tō-gakui</u> 到覺位)	
2. Explanation of the <u>Mantra</u>	R.2/11-13

2.5. Practices and Benefits (R.2/7-10)

The practices mentioned here have been dealt with before, under the heading of the ten Dharma-practices (jūhōgyō 十法行). We shall not dwell on them again here,³⁴ except perhaps to remark that the idea of karma³⁵ being transformed into spiritually beneficial virtue is a basic theme in Shingon Buddhism, and the practices enumerated here are a factor in bringing this transformation about.³⁶

2.6. Additional Explanation (R.2/11-13)

As Toganoo (RK: 152ff) points out, the mantra is not extant in T.220, but is present -in one or other form- in each of the other versions.³⁷ Vairocana-tathāgata forms the Wisdom Fist (chiken-in 智拳印) and pronounces the mantra āh, which summarises the four kinds of enlightenment in this chapter. Since this bīja is interpreted in this context on the lines set out by Amoghavajra, we shall quote the relevant passage from Rishushaku in full:

āh -the heart-mantra āh altogether includes four characters, forming one essence.

a -the character a means the mind of enlightenment <bodhicitta>, like this character it is the point of departure for all characters. In the teaching of the Great Vehicle the mind of enlightenment directed towards the highest enlightenment is the point of departure.

ā -the character ā means practice, that is the four Wisdom Seals. In the Yoga teaching,³⁸ through gathering an unquantifiable amount of merit and wisdom, one attains the true cause of the highest enlightenment. The third character is of the greatest length and high in tone.

am -the character am means enlightenment.³⁹ Through

34. See p.170, n. 99, above.

35. Understood in the sense of samskāra.

36. Cf. Kōgi: 393.

37. T.240 has om, T.241: am, T.242: am (Math: 42), (T.243: ah), T.244: ā, Skt150: am, Tib150: ā.

38. Yoga as equivalent to Mikkyō; yoga as in kriya-/cārya-/yoga-/anuttārayoga-tantra is a later formulation.

39. Togaku 等覚 is a simple term for enlightenment, satori. Cf N:

attaining the dhāraṇī-gate of the liberating samādhi of boundless wisdom, one overcomes the four kinds of demon and receives the consecration of the Dharma-king of the three realms from all the Tathāgatas, and turns the wheel of the true teaching.

The fourth character, āh, means nirvāna. Through eliminating the two kinds of hindrance, that is to say the hindrances known by the passions, one attains the fourfold perfect tranquillity. That is to say, first, nirvāna as the purity of self-nature, second nirvāna with residual factors,⁴⁰ third, nirvāna without residual factors, fourth, nirvāna without abode.⁴¹ The first three apply to the common man, the śrāvaka-buddha and the pratyeka-buddha; in the fourth alone does the Buddha -and the Buddha only- attain the vehicle which has neither identity nor differences. That is, these four characters are liberation by the fourfold wisdom of the holy wisdom of the self-enlightenment of the Buddha Vairocana, the outer manifestation is the Bodhisattvas of the four great wheel-turning kings. Namely, the first is Vajrasattva, the second is Vajraratna-bodhisattva, the third is Vajradharma-bodhisattva and the fourth is Vajrakarman-bodhisattva.

(T.1003: 610c6-23)

Toganoo (RK: 153), basing himself on the above, gives the following table of correspondences:⁴²

Bīja	Path	Text	Quality	Family
<u>a</u>	hosshin	kongō-byōdō	jō (abiding)	Vajra
<u>ā</u>	shugyō	gi-byōdō	raku (bliss)	Ratna
<u>am</u>	bodai	hō-byōdō	jō (purity)	Dharma/Padma
<u>ah</u>	nehan	gō-byōdō	ga (self)	Karma

2.7. The Mudrā and Mantra

The three mysteries as practised in connection with this section are: the mudrā of the Wisdom Fist (kongōken-in 金剛拳印), the mantra āh and directing one's mind to the

1003a.

40. Uyoe-nehan 有餘依涅槃 (N: 88c), sopadhiśeṣa-nirvāna; Conze translates with nirvāna without substrata (Buddhist Wisdom Books, etc.).

41. Mujūsho-nehan 無住處涅槃 (N: 1328d), apratisthita-nirvāna, where one abides neither in the mundane world nor in nirvāna.

42. The headings are mine. With reference to the second column (Path), Kambayashi (Kōgi: 395) also refers the four lines in this chapter to stages of practice and attainment -hosshin 発心 (raising the mind), shugyō 修行 (practice or cultivation), bodai 菩提 (enlightenment) and nehan 涅槃 (nirvāna) - and these in turn are assigned the bīja which occur in Rishushaku (a, ā, am, ah).

complete enlightenment of Vairocana Tathāgata. Whilst the text plainly has chiken-in 智拳印, ⁴³ the traditional practice of the Shingon Sect has used the nyorai-ken-in 如来拳印. ⁴⁴ The implication here is that both the Vajradhātu and the Garbhakośa forms of Mahāvairocana are included (otherwise the bīja would be that of Mahāvairocana in the Vajradhātu, namely vam). On the one hand, the form of Mahāvairocana in this chapter is Vajradhātu -evidenced by the mudrā- but on the other, the use of this bīja indicates that the Garbhakośa form of Mahāvairocana is also intended. Kambayashi uses the term ri'chi-fu'ni no ichi-daihosshin 理智不二の一大法身 to emphasise this point (Kōgi: 395).

2.8. The Maṇḍala

We shall begin here by paraphrasing the passage in Rishu-shaku beginning at 610c24ff, where Amoghavajra directs the yogin to construct the relevant mandala:

Centre: Vairocana, on the background of a solar disc, on the crown of his head a jewelled necklace; on his body he wears white silk gauze clothing, and he forms the seal of the Wisdom Fist; he is seated on the lion seat, body like the lunar hall.

43. I.e., both hands in vajra-musti, the index finger of the left hand extended and grasped by the right hand. Cf. MDJT/VI/ Mikkyō-inzushū: 54, no. 234. It is of course most commonly associated with Mahāvairocana in the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala.

44. This has both hands in front of the heart (chest). The tradition is also held to have been transmitted as such by Kūkai. The right hand is considered representative of the Thunderbolt Family and thus of Wisdom (chi 智), the left of the Lotus Family and therefore related to Principle (ri 理). Cf. MDJT/IV: 1750c; Hanashi: 274f; Tatsui: 80. Toganoo (RK: 154) mentions the symbolism, but gives no indication of this traditional difference. Kōgi: 393 has a description of the two kinds of clasp.

In front of Vairocana Buddha abides Vajrasattva-bodhisattva, but with a lunar disc as background. On his head is the Five Buddha diadem. The right hand holds a vajra, the left a bell, and he sits in the half lotus posture.

(T.1003: 610c28ff:) To the right of Vairocana Buddha, Ākāśagarbha-bodhisattva, also with a lunar disc as background. The right hand holds the Adamantine Gem (kongō-hō 金剛宝 vajra-ratna), the left hand bestows the vow; again, he sits in the half lotus posture.

Behind Vairocana we have Avalokiteśvara-bodhisattva. The left hand holds a lotus flower, the right hand is the posture which represents the vigour to open the flower. Again, half-lotus posture.

In the lunar disc to the left of Vairocana Buddha we find Vajrakarma-bodhisattva. Both hands form the mudrā known as "turn-dance", which is placed on the crown of the head and expresses vigour.⁴⁵

<611a4ff:> In the inner four corners one places the four Inner Offering Deities, each as per the original emblem. In the outer four corners one should position the four Outer Offering Deities, each holding its characteristic basic implement of worship. At the four gates one positions the Bodhisattvas of the Hook, Rope, Chain and Bell, each abiding

45. "Turn-dance", senbu 旋舞, is a mudrā which I have been unable to locate. The Futaraku mandalā -depicted in Hatta, Rishukyō, p.90 (fig. 26)- shows Vajrakarman with both hands raised to the top of the head, palms inwards and the fingers extended. The backs of the hands are at forehead level and the hands do not touch each other. This should explain the condensed and cryptic instruction in the text here. The term, "vigour" (sei/ikioi 勢, vīrya), fits in with the theme of this position in the mandalā, namely vigorous action (karma) for the benefit of sentient beings. Elsewhere, the correspondence here is to the perfection of vigour (shōjin-haramitsu 精進波羅密, vīrya-pāramitā).

in the original majestic ritual.⁴⁶ Vairocana Buddha attains perfect enlightenment through the four kinds of yogic samādhi, that is to say the yogic samādhi of Vajrasattva, Vajratna, Vajradharma, Vajrakarman. In parallel to this sequence from Vajrasattva to Vajrakarman there emerge the Bodhisattvas Joy, Wig, Song and Dance. Again, corresponding to the Inner Offering Deities, there emerge in sequence the four Outer Offering Bodhisattvas (Incense, Flower, Lamp and Unguent). Again, as counterparts to the four Great Bodhisattvas, the four Gate Bodhisattvas manifest. They are the four mandala -the Great Wisdom, Samaya, Dharma and Karma discs. They are the same types as explained before, in the chapter on Great Bliss (T.1003: 611a13). If the yogin perfects the guiding principle of wisdom, he will stand in the centre position.⁴⁷ That is, he will intone the mantra of Vairocana Buddha:

vajra-dhāto āh⁴⁸

One should now perform the yogic practice related to the identification of the practitioner with the main object of worship (honzon-yuga 本尊瑜伽) and by the four character vidyā summon the Holy Assembly of the mandala. By intoning

46. Hon-igi 本尊儀, 611a6.

47. I.e. occupy the central position in the mandala. Amoghavajra repeats this accomplishment throughout the chapters of this central portion of the Sūtra.

48. 611a6. Cf. SJT: 1076, which gives the mantra vaṃ, but otherwise explains this in a way consonant with what we have here. Hatta's explanation of the mantra -which is intoned with the mudrā of the Wisdom Clasp (chiken-in 智拳印) - is that one simultaneously contemplates the heart of Mahāvairocana, as part of the process of mutual empowerment and identification between practitioner and object of worship (honzon-kaji 本尊加持). In the present case, the implication is that the yogin, on attaining this level, will spontaneously intone this mantra. As for the bīja āh, the text has the direction, "Five-character-extend", which -in line with the indication of the length of this vowel above (610c11)- would indicate that the bīja should be intoned for five times the normal length to experience its proper efficacy.

the four rituals of manifestation⁴⁹ with a natural mind, they come forth one by one. The all-pervading dharmadhātu is without beginning and is fully realised through the yoga of the Five Wisdoms. Continuously meditating, one is able to extinguish one's ingrained hindrances and bad karma. Finally, Amoghavajra assures us that in the present life one attains the stage of a Bodhisattva, and after sixteen lives one attains the boundless Dharmakāya of Vairocana, able both to manifest oneself as sambhoga- and nirmāṇa-kāya in innumerable pure and defiled lands and to manifest the attainment of the highest enlightenment.⁵⁰

The two most common versions of this mandala still extant and commonly referred to are those by Shūei and the Futaraku-in edition. The latter, though of considerably later date, is in fact closer to the prescriptions in Rishushaku. The mandala explained in T.244 is rather different in form, and an account of this would be too detailed for our present purposes.⁵¹

49. I.e. those implicit in the four lines central to this chapter.

50. The foregoing is a paraphrase and summary of the material in Rishushaku, T.1003: 610c24-611a23.

51. Toganoō (RK: 155f) gives the relevant sections in T.244 and TibExt (789c8-17; Derge ta: 157a). There are illustrations of all three in Hatta: Rishukyō, pp. 88-91 (figs. 24-27).

3"Because of the absence of vain imaginings⁵³ concerning greed, there is the absence of vain imaginings concerning hate.

4Because of the absence of vain imaginings concerning hate, there is the absence of vain imaginings concerning delusion.

5From the absence of vain imaginings concerning delusion, there is the absence of vain imaginings concerning all dharma.

6From the absence of vain imaginings concerning all dharma, one should know the absence of vain imaginings concerning the Perfection of Wisdom.

7"Vajrapāṇi, if anyone hears this guiding principle, receives, maintains and recites it, ⁸even though he may destroy⁵⁴ all sentient beings, he will not fall into the woeful destinies. ⁹Holding on to the discipline, he will quickly attain supreme true enlightenment."

¹⁰Then Vajrapāṇi, the Great Bodhisattva, being about to elucidate this meaning further, ¹¹formed 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 ¹²he bared his sword-like fangs, adopted the stance of conquest ¹³and explained the essence of this adamant syllable hūm: hum

53. Mugeron-shō (aprapañcatā, spros-pa med-pa ñid) is the key term here: -shō 性 corresponds simply to the ending -tā in Sanskrit, -ñid in Tibetan, and thus indicates an abstract concept. "Absence..." should thus be understood in the sense of a state of contemplative attainment where there is no vain discourse on the nature of dharma. Nasu (Tatsui: 91) considers mugeron-shō to be something which is neither of the nature of the passions nor of enlightenment, but simply an absolute life-force (zettai no seimei-ryoku 絶対の生命力). Kambayashi adds that mugeron-shō is a paramārtha-satya explanation (dai-ichigi-tai 第一義諦) as opposed to a mundane (samvrti, sezoku-tai 世俗諦) explanation, though the two aspects of the mundane and the supra-mundane are combined here in that Śākyamuni, after becoming enlightened to the unconditioned nature of dharma, descends to the mundane realm in order to subjugate these demons.

54. Cf note in Kōgi: 402, which gives the meaning of gai 害 (lit.: "harm") as setsugai 殺害 (lit.: "kill-harm").

2. Commentary

Most of the secondary material -as in the previous section- is based on the analysis and interpretation found in Amoghavajra's Commentary, so we shall begin by looking there.⁵⁵

The basic theme of this chapter is Śākyamuni manifesting himself in Jambudvīpa and defeating the 95 heterodox views which tradition has it prevailed in India at the time of the Sage.⁵⁶ After explaining the name Śākyamuni, Amoghavajra goes on to say (T.1003: 611b11ff) that the Buddha turned the Wheel of the teaching at the summit of Mt. Sumeru, in the Adamantine Gem Peak Palace in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three.⁵⁷ This Wheel is of four kinds, Vajra-, Ratna-, Dharma- and Karma-, and they are all summarised in two kinds, the Wheel of the True Teaching⁵⁸ and the Wheel Which Causes the Teaching.⁵⁹ The chapter thus shows Vairocana manifesting himself in Jambudvīpa and saving the heterodox. On his descent to the summit of Mt. Sumeru, he manifests his wrathful form and subjugates Maheśvara and the other demonic forms. The latter represent the three poisons (sandoku 三毒) -greed (or desire), hate (or anger) and delusion- which he overcomes through his own purity and detachment from the

55. T.1003: 611b7-612a9.

56. Kujūgoshu no gedō 九十五種の外道 . There is no consistency in the number given in the various sources and neither are there any clues as to its origin or sectarian affiliation (cf. N: 254d).

See below, p. 227, n.67.

57. Shumichō-sanjūsanten-kongōhōbu-rōkaku 須弥耶三十三天金剛宝峰樓閣.

58. Shōbō-rin 正法輪 .

59. Kyōryō-shin 救命身 . Ryō 命 should be understood as a causative ending. N: 233b refers specifically to the working of the vidyārāja.

passions. Amoghavajra also gives the form of Gōzanze

which appears in the various iconographic representations of him, namely trampling upon Maheśvara and Umā with the left and right feet respectively (T.1003: 611b19).

Rishushaku then goes through the four lines at the heart of the passage (R.3/3-6), giving the following pattern for each of the individual lines: one attains the aprapañcatā of the relevant phase through entering the yoga samādhi of the previous element. The five phases are five phases of muge-ron-chi 無戲論智 (aprapañca-jñāna) and they go to form the mandala of Gōzanze. The configuration of this is as follows:

<u>Centre</u> : Trilokavijaya	Gōzanze
<u>Front</u> : Krodha-sattva	Fun'nu-satta
<u>Rear</u> : Krodha-sādhu	Fun'nu-zenzai
<u>Right</u> : Krodha-rāja	Fun'nu-ō
<u>Left</u> : Krodha-rāga	Fun'nu-ai

(T.1003: 611b25-c3)

In the four inner corners, there are the four Inner Offering Deities of Wrath, and in the four outer corners -predictably enough- the four Outer Offering Deities of Wrath. The four Gates are protected by the following emblems: East, bow and arrow; South, sword; West, wheel; North, three-pronged trident. As elsewhere, this mandala occurs in four types.⁶⁰

The key to understanding the basic thought in this section is the idea of muge-ronshō-yuga-sanmaji 無戲論性 喻伽三摩地,⁶¹ which is fivefold, in line with the number of terms in the text and with the fivefold symbolism of the Vajradhātu.⁶² On the character hum, Amoghavajra remarks

60. I.e. mahā-, etc.

61. E.g. at T.1003: 611c8; Sanskrit aprapañcatā-yoga-samādhi.

62. This term indicates the content of the practice of the Mystery of Mind relevant to this section.

merely that it is a summary of the Vajra Family,⁶³ which concords with the chapter's position as the first of the eight which deal with the central theme of the Rishukyō.

The question of "killing all sentient beings" (R.3/8) is interpreted by regarding sentient beings as those caused to wander in samsāra by attachment to the three poisons. Elimination of the three poisons as the root cause of samsāra is thus what is meant by this line: one kills sentient beings in the sense that if one removes the root of suffering and attachment, then one removes the root cause of the endless round of rebirths (T.1003: 611c15ff). It is perhaps with this in mind that one should read Amoghavajra's explanation of the Seal for this chapter, where he interprets sanze 三世 (世 triloka) explicitly as Maheśvara.⁶⁴

Concerning the form of Gōzanze, Amoghavajra gives the following interpretation: the Lotus head expresses the inner attitude, which is that of Avalokiteśvara's compassion. The outer manifestation is wrathful, and his ferocious gaze is the third of the four ways of looking.⁶⁵ The baring of the fangs is the yoga of the samādhi of Vajrayakṣa, and Gōzanze's stance is with the right foot trampling Maheśvara, the left Umā. Finally (T.1003: 612a1ff), as before, if one

63. There is a reference to the Kōyugakyō 広喩伽經 (Extended Version?) at 611c10.

64. T.1003: 611c22; The Sino-Japanese translation of this god is Makeishura 摩醯首羅, N: 1278c.

65. Shishu-gen 首羅眼 (N: 512b). Normally, the various "eyes" -or ways of seeing- are the types of which a bodhisattva can avail himself -the fifth, the so-called Buddha-eye (butslugen 仏眼, buddha-locana)- is only accessible for a Buddha. The third faculty of vision is that of wisdom (e-gen 慧眼). This analysis, however, does not seem to apply here (cf. N: 359a).

successfully practises this mandala, one comes to occupy the central position oneself.⁶⁶

The relationship between Vajrapāṇi -who is enumerated in this position in the opening chapter of the Sūtra- and Gōzanze -whose name gives the present chapter its heading- is explained by Kambayashi as Vajrapāṇi taking on the form of the wrath of great hate (daishin'nu no sō 大瞋怒の相) in order to subjugate Maheśvara, the ruler of the three realms, and then residing in the samādhi of Gōzanze (Kōgi: 397).

R.3/1-2: Where the explanation in the previous chapter concerned the Tathāgata in his sambhoga-kāya form, here the concern is with that form perceptible to the fleshly eye, the nirmāna-kāya, Śākyamuni Buddha. As we have seen, in keeping with this basic level, the task at hand is the overcoming of the so-called three poisons (sandoku), the most basic elements in man's suffering nature.⁶⁷ This conquest is expressed graphically, however, in the subjugation of the passions in an overtly demonic form.⁶⁸ As for the relationship between the various manifestations of the Buddha here, Kambayashi writes as follows:

66. See above, p. 220, n.47. There is a reference to Kōkyō 瓜經 at 612a9.

67. In keeping with this, Kambayashi (Kōgi: 398) says that the demons (the ninety-five heterodox demons) are identified not as external, objectively existing phenomena, but as demons within one's own mind. The function is thus simultaneously one of overcoming the ninety-five heterodox demons and the internal three poisons.

68. The conquest is that of the four kinds of demon: bonnō-ma 煩惱魔 (of the passions), shi-ma 死魔 (of death), un-ma 蘊魔 (of the skandha) and ten-ma 天魔 (the heavenly demons), according to Toganoo (RK: 165). See also above, p. 116f.

In esoteric Buddhism, Śākyamuni is regarded as Samanta-
bhadra-vajrapāṇi-bodhisattva (Fugen-kongōshu-bosatsu 普賢
金剛手菩薩). This Bodhisattva attains the highest
enlightenment in the Akanīṣṭha heaven⁶⁹ and then descends to
the summit of Mt. Sumeru, enters the samādhi of Triloka-
vidyārāja and subjugates both Maheśvara and Umā.⁷⁰

(Kōgi: 398)

More specifically, this conquest is that of the deities
in the Trayatrimśa-deva (Sanjūsanten 三十三天), the Heaven
of the Thirty-Three. Maheśvara and the other gods there
have the four qualities of arrogance, idleness, self and
pride,⁷¹ and it is these which are conquered. The deity
which overcomes these gods, in the form I-kyō-fun'nu no son
伏憍忿怒の尊, is called Trilokavijaya (Gōzanze-myōō
降三世明王). Toganoō (RK: 166) refers to the Dainichi-
kyō-sō, which says that the three worlds (sanze 三世)
refer to the three poisons of greed hate and delusion, and
it is his overcoming of the hold which these have on the
deluded individual that he is called Triloka-vijaya.

Concerning the term saishō 最勝: I have translated with
"supreme conquest" in line with the tradition common in the
Shingon sect. Toganoō in fact is quite adamant that the
meaning of saishō is vinaya, and not the usual one ("most
excellent").⁷² N: 446b refers specifically to the Rishukyō,
and gives this reading, too. Shō 勝 is understood as ka-
tsu, to win, and hence the best victory, vinaya. In T.220
the translation is fushō 普勝, which also has the primary
meaning of victory. This victory is in the final analysis a
victory not over anything real, but over the false percep-

69. Shiki-kukyō-ten 色究竟天, N: 575d.

70. Daijizaiten 大自在天 is Maheśvara or Śiva, Umā is his consort
(cf. N: 981a, s.v. tengō).

71. Kyō-i-ga-man 憍·伏·我·慢. (On kyō 憍, see N: 239c.) RK: 166.

72. This is also borne out by the Skt. sarva-dharma-samatā-vijaya-
saṃgrahaṃ (Skt150: 2.11) and the Tib. rnam-par rgyal-ba (Tib150: 17.2).

tion over the mundane as being real in itself: "Thus, this victory is not the subjugation of demonic hindrances which exist originally (honrai-sonzai-suru 本来存在する), but is knowing the true essence of demonic hindrances to be empty and devoid of existence (kū-mu 空無)."73

R.3/3-6: As we saw above, in both Rishushaku and Monku, the four lines at the centre of this chapter are assigned to the four Bodhisattvas of the east, Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrarāga and Vajrasādhu, which in turn places their broader affiliation with Akṣobhya.

The first element, desire (yoku 欲, R.3/3), is regarded in the structure of this chapter as the primary poison, the first link in the sequence leading to the various permutations of passion-driven activity in samsāra. The process of conquering the three poisons -embodied in the demonic hindrances- begins then with the attainment of the absence of vain discrimination with respect to desire. When this is accomplished, then the other elements follow on naturally. Desire, etc., are overcome according to the teaching of these lines by entering the relevant samādhi of the absence of vain imaginings.⁷⁴ Sentient beings, whose entrenchment in their own passionate nature makes them so difficult to transform, are representative of these passions, and Maheśvara in turn is representative of those sentient beings.⁷⁵

73. Kōgi: 399.

74. Cf. Tatsui: 89.

75. Cf. RK: 167: "Kono sandoku-bonnō no taigensha ga gōkyō-nange no shujō dearu to tomo ni, sono daihyōsha toshite Daijizaiten-nado ga kazoherarete-iru no dearu."

The reader can become confused on this question of the primacy of one or other of the three poisons in the thought expressed in this passage, for both Kambayashi and Nasu say on the one hand that greed is the first element in the process, but also that ignorance -specifically ignorance of the ultimate sameness of dharmā- is the basic cause of attachment and suffering.⁷⁶ The reason for this lies on the one hand in the fact that the three poisons are regarded as an interdependent entity, and on the other that attainment of the samādhi in which one gains insight into the true nature of vain imaginings is of a cognitive nature, which of course has most direct relevance to delusion as to the true nature of dharmā.⁷⁷

The relevance of Vajrasattva in the first position ties up with what we saw in the previous chapter on Great Bliss, namely the close connection between Great Desire -desire for liberation through enlightenment- and Great Bliss as the enjoyment of the absolute consummation of this desire. In his samādhi, Vajrasattva knows that the basic nature of the taint of greed is by nature devoid of discursive discrimina-

76. "The basis of the three poisons is delusion, that is, ignorance. 'Ignorance' means not managing to grasp that the true nature of all dharmā is sameness and one suchness (Sandoku no konpon wa, ge, sunawachi mumyō dearu. Mumyō to wa, issaihō no jishō wa byōdō-ichinyō dearu koto ni omoi-itari-enai, koto wo imi-suru 三毒の根本は、癡即ち無明である。無明とは一切法の自性は平等一如であることに思い到り得ないことを意味する)" (Kōgi: 398).

77. Nasu (Tatsui: 89) argues that delusion as the basic poison is the cause of desire for that which is not truly existent or permanently attainable. The relationship of the three poisons to each other is thus one of mutual arising and mutual overcoming (sō-shō 相生 / sō-koku 相剋), since affective attachment to dharmā necessarily involves desirous and angry attitudes. However, if one arrives at a true view of things as having no imputed existence (mu-sho'u 無所有), then one necessarily overcomes greed and hate. On mu-sho'u, cf N: 1329b, where this term is given as an alternative for emptiness and non-existence (but not as a logical opposite to existence).

tions, and as such combines with the transcendent desire of the Tathāgata for enlightenment and the weal of all sentient beings.⁷⁸

Our commentators often cite a passage in the Dainichikyō-sō 10,⁷⁹ the main thrust of which is that in exoteric Buddhism one overcomes the three poisons by their opposite, i.e. one overcomes anger through kindness, etc., but in the esoteric teachings, one does this through the transformation of the poisons into Great Anger, etc. One overcomes desire and greed through Great Desire, which seeks the salvation of innumerable sentient beings, and overcomes hate through cultivating Great Wrath (dai-fun'nu 大忿怒), which is based on profound compassion and kindness. Great Desire is the resolve to save innumerable sentient beings, Great Wrath is the resolve to subdue and gather sentient beings, set in their ways and difficult to transform. The element "Great" (dai 大) indicates here a transcendent absolute, hence dai-ton 大貪 means awakening to the absolute nature of desire.⁸⁰ At this level, there is no appreciation or comparison of good and evil and the taints:

Both the meaning of absolute life, devoid in this way of discriminations, and that of "the absence of vain imaginings" in the present passage, should be seen as identical. Hence, this is the principle theme of the Rishukyō (the

78. Cf. Kōgi: 400f, "Vajrasattva, abiding at the beginning in the samādhi of great bliss and great taint of greed, because he knows in suchness the fact that the basic nature of the taint of greed is of the nature devoid of discursive discriminations, that taint of greed being of the nature of equality and of purity, combines with the great greed and great desire of the Tathāgata, and is the one suchness of the Buddha's great compassion, great mercy and great wisdom. This characteristic of the one suchness is indeed subjugation, gathering together and the greatest victory."

79. T.XXXIX: 685b. This is traditionally referred to in the Shingon sect when interpreting these lines.

80. Not the opposite of small desire, which is merely the desire for things mundane.

point that one is resolved to contemplate discriminatively (kanzatsu-sen to suru 觀察せんじつ) in the form (sugata 姿) of the innate naturalness (hō-ni/hō-nen 法爾法然) of dharma which is the original non-arising ultimate (hon-fushō-sai 本不生際), that is, this Sūtra's theme of wisdom (hannya/prajñā 般若). This is in fact this chapter's Wisdom Dharma-Gate (hannya-hōmon 般若法門) of the subjugation of demonic hindrances.

(Tatsui: 91)

The following lines (R.3/4-6) may be dealt with quickly, since the only points of any note are related to their correspondences with the remaining three Bodhisattvas of the Immediate Entourage.

R.3/4 is assigned to Vajrarāja (Kongō-ō 金剛王)'s samādhi. He is the Bodhisattva of the south, which in turn is associated with fire. Hence hate (the fire of hate). R.3/5 relates to Vajrarāga, (Kongō-ai 金剛愛, Love). Love being blind and incapable of discriminating between good and evil, true and false, is given here as relevant to ignorance/delusion. Finally, R.3/6 is assigned to Vajrasādhu's samādhi, from the joy which arises on realising the furthest extent (kukyō 究境) of the principle of mugeron 無戲論 (aprapañcatā). Knowing the mugeron of all dharma, one goes from the world of distinctions to the world of suchness: hence the connection with the prajñāpāramitā.⁸¹

2.1. Practices and Benefits

R.3/7-9 deals with the practices and benefits connected with this chapter, and since it contains more or less the same themes as elsewhere in the corresponding sections of the text -the ten Dharma-practices and an assurance of the attainment of enlightenment- there is little to add beyond a remark on the killing of sentient beings (R.3/8).

81. This is based on Kōgi: 401.

We have already seen in Rishushaku that this is not to be taken literally,⁸² and that the meaning is that the elimination of the cause of rebirth in samsāra is simultaneous with bringing an end to the arising of sentient -suffering- existence. Kambayashi also cites Kūkai's Jissō-hannyakyō-tōshaku 実相般若經答釈⁸³ on the three realms being the three poisons, and suffering in the three realms as coming from the three poisons in all sentient beings. If the yogin thus perceives the original non-arising of the three poisons, then he will sever the cause of the three realms and avoid the woeful destinies.⁸⁴

2.2. Kūkai's Analysis

Again, we include Kūkai's view of the structure of the text for the sake of comparison and completeness:⁸⁵

82. See above, p. 225.

83. There is a modern version of this in Katsumata's Kōbō Daishi Chosa Zenshū, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 324-7.

84. Kōgi: 404. Unfortunately he does not give a reference for this passage (though he does translate it).

85. The basic ideas behind the terminology he uses have been explained before.

TABLE 3.2:

Kūkai's Analysis of the Gōzanze Chapter

(R.3, 613c26-614a8)

1. Guiding Principle (<u>rishu</u>)	R.3/1-9
1.1 Chapter Heading (<u>hyōshō</u>)	R.3/1-2
1.1.1. The Lord	
1.1.2. The Teaching	
1.2. Explanation of the Meaning (<u>shakugi</u>)	R.3/3-6
(Attributed to the Four Bodhisattvas of the East:)	
1.2.1. Fun'nu-satta	(Kongō-satta; being) ⁸⁶
1.2.2. Fun'nu-senzai	(Kongō-ō; king)
1.2.3. Fun'nu-ō	(Kongō-ai; love)
1.2.4. Fun'nu-ai	(Kongō-ki; joy)
1.3. Praising the Virtues (<u>tandoku</u>)	R.3/7-9
1.3.1. Type of Practice (<u>gyōsō</u>)	
1.3.2. Rewards (<u>kōfuku</u>)	
1.3.2.1. No descent to evil destinies	
1.3.2.2. Rapid attainment of enlightenment	
2. <u>Mantra</u> (<u>shingon</u>)	R.3/10-13

2.3. The Mudrā and Mantra

We have already remarked on Trilokavijaya's glaring form in connection with Amoghavajra's account and the fact that he is regarded as Vajrapāṇi's kyōryō-shin.⁸⁷ Here, we may add some more details of his appearance, which are manifested in the iconographical representations of him.

He has four heads: the front one is blue, the right yellow, the left green and the rear dark red; all have three eyes and show the aspect of wrath; his hair is in the form of a horse's mane, like a sword and reddish-black. The middle hands of the eight arms form the mudrā described below, which is held in front of the chest. In the second left

86. The order in these two columns is different: in his enumeration of the krodha forms of the Bodhisattvas, Kūkai gives the unorthodox order seen in the first column, whilst in the enumeration of the standard names for these Bodhisattvas, he gives the standard order. The first column would otherwise be in the sequence, 1-3-4-2.

87. Cf N: 233a, b; cf also Kōgi: 405.

hand there is a five-pronged vajra, in the third hand a bow, in the fourth a rope; in the second right hand there is a five-pronged vajra, in the third right an arrow, in the fourth right a sword. The bīja hum includes the idea of subjugatory wrath, and kara means "one who does or makes". Hence "Hum-kara means 'the one who makes the wrathful utterance that strikes fear into all'"⁸⁸

2.4. The Maṇḍala

We have already dealt with the configuration of the maṇḍala in the section on Rishushaku, and also remarked on the manifestation of Trilokavijaya as the kyōryōrin-shin of Vajrasattva, who additionally appears in this maṇḍala as the first Bodhisattva of the Immediate Entourage.⁸⁹ In Kambayashi's view, this is because these four are fundamentally not outside the central deity, but are simply a differentiated unfolding of his virtues. Thus Vajrasattva - appears here as a deity of a separate virtue (bettoku no son 別徳の尊). He is also shown in this way in the Avalokiteśvara and Vajramuṣṭi chapters (R.4 and R.6).

88. Kōgi: 405. Cf. also Tatsui: 97, where Nasu gives the meaning of kara as "performing a function" (sa-gō 作業), i.e. performing the intonation of the bīja hum. The specific meaning of hum here is <sovereign-capable-crushing:> "the sovereign ability to crush" (jizai-nō-ha 自度能破), or of subduing the three poisons by inculcating fear.

89. See above, p. 223, n. 59.

R.4: THE DHARMA-GATE OF
CONTEMPLATING THE ILLUMINATED

1. Text

784c19

(1) 一切群生種種色心
二合引
 二入

(19) 時薄伽梵觀自在大菩薩欲重顯明此義
 故熙怡微笑作開敷蓮花勢觀欲不染說
 無上正等菩提

(25) 有聞此理趣受持讀誦作意思惟設住諸
 欲猶如蓮花不為客塵諸垢所染疾證

(26) 謂世間一切欲清淨故即一切瞋清淨世
 間一切垢清淨故即一切罪清淨世間一切
 法清淨故即一切有情清淨世間一切智智
 清淨故即般若波羅蜜多清淨金剛手若
 時薄伽梵得自性清淨法性如來復說一
 切法平等觀自在智印出生般若理趣所

1.1. Cross-references

T.220: 787c29-988a23 T.242: 782b13-21 Skt150: 3:24-4:14
 T.240: 776c11-26 T.243: 784c19-785a2 Tib150: 18:1-14
 T.241: 779b8-22 T.244: 791c12-
 792b11

1.2. Translation

¹Then the Lord Svabhāvaśuddha, the Tathāgata, ²took up the exposition of the guiding principle of wisdom which manifests the seal of the wisdom that contemplates from natural existence the equality of all dharma, with these words:

³"Precisely because of the purity of all mundane greed, there is purity of hate;

⁴Precisely because of the purity of all mundane defilements, there is purity of all evils;

⁵Precisely because of the purity of all mundane dharma, there is purity of all sentient beings;

⁶Precisely because of the purity of all mundane knowledges, there is purity of the Prajñāpāramitā.

⁷Vajrapāṇi, if anyone hears this guiding principle, receives it and maintains it, recites it and directs his mind to it, ⁸even though he dwells in desires, like a lotus flower he will not move among external defilements or hindrances, nor will he be tainted; ⁹he will quickly attain supreme true enlightenment."

¹⁰Then the Lord Avalokiteśvara, the Great Bodhisattva, being about to elucidate this meaning further, relaxed his mien and broke into a smile. ¹¹Creating the energy which opens the lotus blossom, he contemplated desire as untainted and expounded the essence of the manifold desires of all the masses of beings: hrīh

2. Commentary

The form of the Buddha which preaches this chapter is Toku-jishō-shōjōhosshō-nyorai 得自性清淨法性如來, the Tathāgata who attains the pure dharma-nature of self-nature,⁹⁰ and for whom Rishushaku gives a further three different names: Kanjizai-ō-nyorai 觀自在王如來, Muryōju-nyorai 無量壽如來 and Kanjizai-bosatsu 觀自在菩薩.⁹¹ This identifies Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara, since the particular teaching here is the contemplation of the sameness of all dharma from a standpoint of spontaneity or sovereignty (jizai). The central lines expound four methods of experiencing the samādhi of all the passions through those very same passions.⁹² The first of the four (R.4/3) is attributed to the samādhi of Vajradharma-bodhi-

90. Skt150: 3.24 has Svabhāva-śuddhas Tathāgata, which means the Tathāgata whose self-nature is purified.

91. T.1003: 612a11ff.

92. Zui-bonnō-sanmaji-hō 隨煩惱三摩地法, T.1003: 612a16. Zui-bonnō means "in accord with the passions". From this standpoint these passions are of course seen as untainted.

sattva (Kongō-hō 介張), the second (R.4/4) to that of Vajratīkṣṇa (Kongōri 介利), the third (R.4/5) to Vajra-hetu (Kongōin 介因) and the final line to Vajrabhāṣa (Kongōgo 介語).⁹³ These are of course the four Great Bodhisattvas assigned to the West, and in keeping with this direction and the functions and symbolism associated with it, the samādhi enumerated here enables the yogin to attain to the state of purity whilst remaining within the manifold taints of the six destinies (roku-shu 六趣). The Lotus is of course the paramount symbol in this connection.⁹⁴

2.1. Kūkai's Analysis

TABLE 3.3:

Kūkai's Analysis of the Avalokiteśvara Chapter

(R.4, 614a9-17)

1. Guiding Principle (<u>rishu</u>)	R.4/1-9
1.1. Chapter Heading (<u>hyōshō</u>)	R.4/1-2
1.1.1 The Lord	
1.1.2. The Teaching	
1.2. Explanation of the Meaning (<u>shakugi</u>)	R.4/3-6
(Attributed to the Four Bodhisattvas of the West:)	
1.2.1. Kongō-hō (<u>dharmā</u>)	
1.2.2. Kongō-ri (<u>sword</u>)	
1.2.3. Kongō-in (<u>cause</u>)	
1.2.4. Kongō-go (<u>language</u>)	
1.3. Praising the Virtues (<u>tandoku</u>)	R.4/7-9
1.3.1. Type of practice (<u>gyōsō</u>)	
1.3.2. Rewards (<u>kōfuku</u>)	
1.3.2.1. Untaintedness (<u>fu-zen</u>)	
1.3.2.2. Attaining the Fruit (<u>shō-ka</u>)	
2. <u>Mantra</u> (<u>shingon</u>)	R.4/10-12

93. T.1003: 612a16-22.

94. T.1003: 23-25.

2.2. The Maṇḍala

Amoghavajra (612blff) gives the maṇḍala relevant to this phase of the text in the following manner:

Centre: Avalokiteśvara, in his orthodox form.⁹⁵
Front: Vajradharma.
Right: Vajratīkṣṇa
Left: Vajrahetu
Rear: Vajrabhāṣa

In the four inner corners and the four outer corners one places the Inner and Outer Offering Deities respectively; at the four Gate positions one places the various emblems as follows: East: Goddess, showing greed (ton-yoku 貪欲); South: Snake, showing hate (jin 瞋); West: Dog, showing delusion (chi 癡); North: Lotus, showing nirvāna (nehan 涅槃).⁹⁶ Amoghavajra informs us that should one succeed in entering this maṇḍalā, one is assured of attaining the highest enlightenment, and should one further be successful in attaining union with the central object of worship, then the whole Holy Assembly will be gathered in one's heart. By intoning the four-letter mantra, one summons the Bodhisattvas and grasps the fourfold teaching of purity, thereby entering the pervasive Dharmakāya, where there is no distinction between self and other.

There then follow directions for visualising the whole array of Buddhas and the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas,⁹⁷ thereby attaining worship of all the Tathāgatas, and the rapid elimination of the various taints and the attainment of the pure Dharma-Gate of original nature. For this reason, Avalokiteśvara holds the lotus blossom and contemplates the

95. Hongi-gyō 本儀形, i.e. the form in which he is found in the basic or root (*mūla) ritual prescriptions.

96. T.1003: 612b3-5.

97. T.1003: 612bl0ff.

pure light immanent in all sentient beings (612b17f).⁹⁸

As for the mantra hrīh, Amoghavajra gives the following analysis:

h: unattainability of the cause of all dharma.
ri: detachment from objects in all dharma.⁹⁹
i: unattainability of spontaneous existence.
h: nirvāna.¹⁰⁰

A further meaning of the syllable hrīh is that of an attitude of regret or shame at the sinful acts one has performed, but which are now extinguished.¹⁰¹ This helps prevent the further occurrence of unwholesome acts and positively encourages all good dharma, devoid of impurity (issai-muro-zenbō 一切無漏善法). Because of this, this chapter is assigned to the Lotus/Dharma Family. Amoghavajra finishes with a description of the paradise to which one attains through the practice of this mantra.¹⁰²

98. It is in this sense that I have translated the Japanese title for this chapter (kanshō 觀照) as "contemplating the illuminated".

99. T.1003: 612b22. I.e. the five sense-fields, gojin 五塵 (N:370a).

100. "Because one is enlightened to the original non-generation of dharma, the two kinds of attachment are completely dispelled, and one attains the purity of the Dharmakāya" (612b24f).

101. Cf. N: 499d, s.v. zan.

102. This of course ties in with the Western Paradise or Pure Land of Amitābha, a common enough Buddhist theme (T.1003: 612b26-c2).

R.5: THE DHARMA-GATE OF ABUNDANCE

1. Text

785a3

(10) 但覽引合
 繫其首。說一切灌頂三摩耶寶心。
 重顯明此義。故熙怡微笑。以金剛寶鬘。自
 得身口意一切安樂。時虛空藏大菩薩。欲
 滿足以法施故。得圓滿一切法。資生施故。
 能得三界法王位。義利施故。得一切意願
 來灌頂智藏。般若理趣。所謂以灌頂施故。
 時薄伽梵。一切三界主如來。復說一切如

(5) 時薄伽梵。一切三界主如來。復說一切如
 來灌頂智藏。般若理趣。所謂以灌頂施故。
 能得三界法王位。義利施故。得一切意願
 滿足以法施故。得圓滿一切法。資生施故。
 得身口意一切安樂。時虛空藏大菩薩。欲
 重顯明此義。故熙怡微笑。以金剛寶鬘。自
 繫其首。說一切灌頂三摩耶寶心。

1.1. Cross-references

T.220: 988a24-b12 T.242: 782b22-27 Sktl50: 4:15-20
 T.240: 776c27-777a4 T.243: 785a3-10 Tibl50: 19:1-9
 T.241: 779b23-c4 T.244: 792b12-c22

1.2. Translation

¹Then the Lord Sarvatraidhātukādhipati, the Tathāgata,
²took up the exposition of the guiding principle of wisdom
 which is the repository of the wisdom of all the Tathāgatas'
 consecrations, with these words:

³"Because of the conferring of consecration, it is
 possible to attain the rank of dharma-king of the three
 realms;

⁴Because of the conferring of the benefit of the end,
 one attains the satisfaction of all wishes;

⁵Because of the conferring of the dharma, one attains
 all dharma, perfect and satisfying;

⁶Because of the conferring of practical necessities,
 one attains all enjoyments of body, speech and mind."

⁷Then Ākāśagarbha, the Great Bodhisattva, being about to elucidate this meaning further, relaxed his mien and broke into a smile. ⁸Taking the adamantine jewelled wig and spontaneously fastening it to his head, ⁹he expounded the essence of the sacramental gem of all consecrations: trām

2. Commentary

The expositor here, Issai-sangai-shu-nyorai 一切三界空如来, is a transformation (henge 变化) of Ratnasambhava, that is the Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha.¹⁰³ The term issai-nyorai-kanjō-chizō 一切如来灌顶智藏 in turn is a different name for this Bodhisattva. In line with the pattern already clearly established in this core section of the Sūtra, the four central lines here (R.5/3-6) correspond to four of the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, in this case those of the South. Specifically these lines are the practice of the samādhi of the following Bodhisattvas:

- R.5/3: Vajra-ratna (Kongō-hō 宝, gem)
- R.5/4: Vajra-teja (Kongō-kō 光幢, light)
- R.5/5: Vajra-ketu (Kongō-tō 幢, staff or banner)
- R.5/6: Vajra-hāsa (Kongō-shō 笑, smile)

As for the first, the conferring of consecration enables any practitioner to contemplate his own body as that of Ākāśagarbha; the "benefit of the end" bestows all manner of merit upon the monk, whilst the giving of dharma is an unmanifested form of benefit (fugen-gyō 不現形 (T.1003: 612c16)). The final element refers to the aspect of animal existence.¹⁰⁴

103. According to T.1003: 612c4f.

104. Amoghavajra uses bōshō 傍生 (T.1003: 612c17), which Nakamura defines as animal existence (N: 1247d).

2.1. The Maṇḍala

The yogin, practising the samādhi of Ākāśagarbha, is then exhorted to construct that Bodhisattva's maṇḍala (T.1003: 612c17ff), the configuration of which is as follows:

Centre: Ākāśagarbha, in his root form.¹⁰⁵
Front: Vajraratna
Right: Vajrateja
Left: Vajraketu
Rear: Vajrahāsa

In the four corners of the Inner and Outer enclosures, one should then draw the Inner and Outer Offering deities respectively, in their root form (hon-gyō 本形). At the Eastern gate one should place a vajra, to the South a Gem, to the West a Lotus and to the North a Bell. The benefits of practising this maṇḍala (T.1003: 612c23ff) include the securing for others of that wealth and esteem they seek¹⁰⁶ and of course the elimination of the hindrance of greed and deprivation.¹⁰⁷ As in the previous case, successful completion of the practice causes one to be surrounded by the various Bodhisattvas of the Holy Assembly (T.1003: 612c27). Specifically, this is brought about by intoning the bīja trām, entering the gate of the fourfold guiding-principle through which one eventually attains the body of Ākāśagarbha (T.1003: 612c27ff).

The individual elements of the bīja are as follows (T.1003: 613a5ff):

105. Hon-gyō 本形.

106. And within the present life.

107. Tongū-gōshō 貪窮兼障 (T.1003: 612c24) could also be read as: "the destitution of greed", in the sense of spiritual destitution caused by being bound up in rāga.

- t: indicates the unattainability of suchness (shin-nyo 真如);
- r: detachment from sense-objects;
- ā: is the original quiescence of all dharma (issai-hō-honrai-jakujō 一切法本来寂静) -as is space (kokū 虚空, ākāśa) itself.
- m: (anusvāra) indicates the absence of self in all dharma (issai-hō-muga 一切法無我).

Continuous repetition of this mantra enables the yogin to attain that unhinderedness of body and mind (shinjin-muge 心無礙) which is like space (T.1003: 613a7f). The final point of importance in Rishushaku is that the cintāmani -the quintessence of the attainment of the Ratna Family- is capable of fulfilling the wishes of all sentient beings (T.1003: 613a9).

2.2. Kūkai's Analysis

TABLE 3.4:

Kūkai's Analysis of the Ākāśagarbha Chapter

(R.5: 614a18-24)

1. Guiding Principle (<u>rishu</u>)	R.5/1-6
1.1 Chapter Heading (<u>hyōshō</u>)	R.5/1-2
1.1.1. The Lord	
1.1.2. The Teaching	
1.2. Explanation of the Meaning (<u>shakuji</u>)	R.5/3-6
(Attributed to the Four Bodhisattvas of the South:)	
1.2.1. Kongō-hō (gem)	
1.2.2. Kongō-kō (light)	
1.2.3. Kongō-tō (banner)	
1.2.4. Kongō-shō (laugh)	
2. <u>Mantra</u> (<u>shingon</u>) ¹⁰⁸	R.5/7-9

108. The section on Praising the Virtues (tantoku) is not present for this chapter of the text.

7"vajrapāṇi, if anyone hears this guiding principle, receives and maintains it, recites it and directs his mind to it, ⁸he will attain sovereignty over everything, the wisdom of all-knowledge, all activities, all accomplishments; ⁹he will attain the adamant nature of all (functions of) body, speech and mind, and all siddhi. ¹⁰He will quickly attain to supreme true enlightenment."

¹¹Then the Lord, being about to elucidate this meaning further, relaxed his mien and broke into a smile. ¹²He formed the seal of the great sacrament of the Thunderbolt Fist and ¹³expounded the natural quintessence which is the sacrament of the accomplishment of all these firm, adamant Seals: ah

2. Commentary

This chapter deals with Vajramuṣṭi, and accordingly the Tathāgata here, Issai-nyorai-chi'in-nyorai 一切如来智印如来, ¹⁰⁹ is given by Amoghavajra as that Bodhisattva's parent Buddha, Amoghasiddhi (T.1003: 613a11f). The empowerment spoken of in R.6/2 is the adamant state of the functions of body, speech and mind which is attained through the practice of the Three Mysteries.¹¹⁰ The concern of the kernel of this chapter is to explain the four types of Seal. Thus we have practices relating to the final four of the sixteen Great Bodhisattva, which of course are the Immediate Entourage of Amoghasiddhi: through the attainment of the teaching implicit in the first line here (R.6/3), one attains the samādhi of Vajra-karman (Kongō-gō 介業),

109. The Sanskrit equivalent of this would be simply Sarva-tathāgata-jñāna-mudrā-tathāgata, though Skt150: 4.21 has Śāśvata-sarva-tathāgata-jñāna-mudrā-prāpta-sarvatathāgata-muṣṭi-dharas Tathāgatah.

110. Sanmitsu-mon shin-gu-i kongō 三密門身口意金剛 (T.1003: 613a13).

and with it empowerment relating to the body (shin-kaji 身加持). This in turn involves the experience of unhinderedness in one's body and the ability to offer worship throughout the conditioned realm (T.1003: 613a14ff). Secondly, we have the samādhi of Vajrarakṣa (Kongō-go 介護 ; T.1003: 613a18ff), by dint of which one is capable of performing the task of protection throughout the limitless realms of sentient beings and attaining that Dharma Body (hosshin 法身) which like the Thunderbolt is unbreakable. The third element in this chapter (R.6/5) eradicates the destructive polluted seeds in the store consciousness (T.1003: 613a21ff) and is attributed to Vajrayakṣa (Kongō-ge 牙). In this form one attains and manifests the body of this Bodhisattva, which has a primarily subjugatory function.

Finally comes the samādhi of Vajra-muṣṭi (Kongō-ken 介拳 ; T.1003: 613a26ff), which is capable of accomplishing all the gates of the Three Mysteries in the Shingon teachings.¹¹¹ For this reason, Fist -muṣṭi- is generally used in the esoteric teachings as a summary term for body, speech and mind in the adamantine state (shin-gu-i-kongō 身口意 金剛), and this Fist is in turn that of all the Tathāgatas (T.1003: 613a27-29).¹¹²

111. Issai-shingonkyō-chū sanmitsu no mon 一切真言教中三密之門 (T.1003: 613a27).

112. Musti presents difficulties: "The term muṣṭi, which occurs so often and which is usually translated as 'fist' in dictionaries, is difficult to render in translation. It means the hand, palm and fingers as manipulated in the making of hand-gestures (mudrā). ... the hands are certainly not clenched as suggested by the word 'fist'" (Snellgrove, Intro to STTS, op. cit., p. 30). A better translation would be "clasp", though in the case of Vajramuṣṭi, who often appears with his fists clenched (though with the thumbs inside), "fist" is quite appropriate. In the instance here, though, the hand-gesture is seen as a corporeal distillate of the teaching, analogously to the sonant distillate which mantra and bīja are.

The attainments implicit in R.6/8-10 are given by Amoghavajra as arising in the following way: the Seal of the Body brings all perfections (issai-jōju 一切成就), that of Speech, the sovereignty of all Speech (issai-ku-jizai 一切口自在). Through the Seal of Mind, one attains the knowledge of all knowledges (issaichi-chi 一切智智). Through the Thunderbolt Seal one attains the complete perfection of all actions (issai-jigō 一切事業) and thence rapidly proceeds to full, complete enlightenment.¹¹³

2.1. The Maṇḍala

Amoghavajra then gives the mandala of Vajramuṣṭi (T.1003: 613b5ff):

Centre: Sarva-tathāgata-muṣṭi	Issai-nyorai-ken
Front: Vajra-karma	Kongō-gō
Right: Vajra-rakṣa	Kongō-go
Left: Vajra-yakṣa	Kongō-yakusha
Rear: Vajra-muṣṭi	Kongō-ken

In the inner and outer corner positions, one places the Inner and Outer Offering Deities respectively; at the four gates, the four Bodhisattvas. These are: East, Zen-kongō 染介 (Taint/Desire)¹¹⁴; South, Kongō-keirikira 介髻 離吉羅 (Touching); West, Ai-kongō 愛介 (Love); North, Kongō-man 介慢 (Pride). Again, having entered the mandala, the yogin should perform the exercises relating to unification with the main object of worship (honzon-yuga 本尊瑜伽) and call forth the Holy Assembly, as directed in fact in all the chapters relating to these central passages

113. T.1003: 613b1-4.

114. Zen 染 can translate kleśa and its compounds, and also terms relating to desire, specifically sexual desire (cf. N: 845c). Since the tetrad of Bodhisattvas here corresponds so closely to the four which surround Vajrasattva in the teaching of the Five Mysteries (R.17, the Sūtra's final chapter), the latter alternative should be understood here.

of the Sūtra. The bīja aḥ -which relates to nirvāṇa- contains four types of nirvāṇa, which have been explained before.¹¹⁵

R.11-13: as in the above passage of the text, this shows the splendour of the root Bodhisattva's Great Wisdom Seal (hon-bosatsu-daichi'in-igi 本菩薩大智印威儀) and is a eulogy of the Mystery of Speech.

2.2. Kūkai's Analysis

TABLE 3.5:

Kūkai's Analysis of the Vajramuṣṭi Chapter

(R.6, 614a25-b7)

1. Guiding Principle (<u>rishu</u>)	R.6/1-10
1.1 Chapter Heading (<u>hyōshō</u>)	R.6/1-2
1.1.1. The Lord	
1.1.2. The Teaching	
1.2. Explanation of the Meaning (<u>shakugi</u>)	R.6/3-6
(Attributed to the Four Bodhisattvas of the North:)	
1.2.1. Kongō-gō (function, deed)	
1.2.2. Kongō-go (protector)	
1.2.3. Kongō-yakusha (Yaksa)	
1.2.4. Kongō-ken (Fist)	
1.3. Praising the Virtues (<u>tandoku</u>)	R.6/7-10
1.3.1. Type of Practice (<u>gyōsō</u>)	
1.3.2. Rewards (<u>kōfuku</u>)	
1.3.2.1. Attaining sovereignty (<u>toku-jizai</u>)	
1.3.2.1. Attaining the knowledge of all knowledges (<u>toku-issaichi-chi</u>)	
1.3.2.3. Perfection of activity (<u>jigō-jōju</u>)	
1.3.2.4. Attaining the Adamantine Three Functions (<u>toku-kongō-sangō</u>)	
1.3.2.5. Attaining <u>siddhi</u> (<u>toku-shijji</u>)	
1.3.2.6. Rapid Realisation of Enlightenment (<u>shitsu-shō-bodai</u>)	
2. <u>Mantra</u> (<u>shingon</u>)	R.6/11-13

115. See above, p. 216, n. 40.

R.7: THE DHARMA-GATE OF THE WHEEL OF CHARACTERS

1. Text

785a24

卷 此般若波羅蜜多最勝心	(29) 熙怡微笑。以自劍揮斫一切如來已說。	(25) 時薄伽梵。一切無戲論如來。復說轉字輪 般若理趣。所謂諸法空。與無自性相應故。 諸法無相。與無相性相應故。諸法無願。與 無願性相應故。諸法光明。般若波羅蜜多清 淨故。時文殊師利童真。欲重顯明此義故。
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1.1. Cross-references

T.220: 988b28-c13	T.242: 782c9-13	Skt150: 5:14-18
T.240: 777a19-28	T.243: 785a24-785b2	Tib150: 21:1-8
T.241: 779c19-28	T.244: 793c27-794b9	

1.2. Translation

¹Then the Lord Sarvadharmāprapañca, the Tathāgata, ²took up the exposition of the guiding principle of wisdom of the wheel of revolving characters, with these words:

³"Dharma are empty because they are bound up with the absence of self-nature;

⁴Dharma are signless because they are bound up with the absence of the nature of a sign;

⁵Dharma are without wishes because they are bound up with the absence of the nature of a wish;

⁶Dharma are translucent light because the perfection of wisdom is pure."

⁷Then Mañjuśrī, the Prince, being about to elucidate this meaning further, relaxed his mien and broke into a smile. ⁸Taking his sword he brandished it, cleaving all the Tathāgatas, and explained the most excellent essence of this perfection of wisdom: om

2. Commentary

The expositor here, Issai-mugeron-nyorai 一切無虛論
 如来, ¹¹⁶ is another name for Mañjuśrī, according to Rishu-
shaku (T.1003: 613b21f). The wheel of revolving characters
 (tenji-rin 轉字輪) is identified as the samādhi of the
 five-character wheel.¹¹⁷ The central lines in R.7 refer to
 various manifestations of the Bodhisattva of the Sword in
 the Vajradhātu, more specifically as described in the STTS.
 These Bodhisattvas belong respectively to the Vajradhātu-
 maṇḍala, the Triloka-vijaya-maṇḍala, the Sakala-jagad-vi-
 naya-maṇḍala and the Sarvārthasiddhi-maṇḍala.¹¹⁸ Their names
 are as follows:

Vajradhātu-maṇḍala: Vajra-tīkṣṇa
 Triloka-vijaya-maṇḍala: Krodha-vajra-tīkṣṇa
 Sakala-jagad-vinaya-maṇḍala: Padma-tīkṣṇa
 Sarvārthasiddhi-maṇḍala: Ratna-tīkṣṇa

2.1. The Maṇḍala

The maṇḍala specific to this chapter is explained as
 follows:

Centre: Mañjuśrī's emblem.
 Four directions: the four Buddhas.¹¹⁹
 Four corners¹²⁰: the four Prajñāpāramitā Seals.
 Outer corners: Outer Offering Deities.
 Four Gates: the four Emblems.¹²¹

116. Sarva-dharmāprapañca Tathāgata.

117. See MDJT/II: 601, s.v. Goji-monju, Goji-monju-hō, Goji-monju-
 mandara, where there is also an illustration of a typical Mañjuśrī
 maṇḍala. Cf. also N: 11c, s.v. arahashana (a-ra-pa-ca-na), the five
 characters attributed to Mañjuśrī.

118. Kongōkai-mandara, Gōzanze-, Henjōbuku- and Issaigi-jōju-:
 T.1003: 613b23-613c1.

119. Each with the sword of the wisdom of space (kokūchi-ken 虛空智
 劍) on his arm (T.1003: 613c3f).

120. Still in the inner enclosure.

121. Gei-in 契印: strictly speaking this covers only the emblems
 held by the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, though -more loosely- it
 can refer to hand clasps, too (MDJT/F429a). Specifically, these emblems
 are: East, the sword; South, halberd (shakutei 鎌底, which is more of
 a short, three-pronged staff; cf KWDJT/XI: 41019; Hatta (Rishukyō: 185)

The actual practice of this mandala follows the same lines as the previous sections: that is the bīja is used to summon the Holy Assembly into one's own body, in the context of the exercise of contemplative union with the central deity. Persistent practice of the recitation leads one into innumerable samādhi and causes the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī himself to appear (T.1003: 613c11f). Amoghavajra sees the central theme of this chapter in the transformation of what he calls "Four types of consciousness".¹²² In the ordinary person, these are merely consciousness, but beginning with the stage of the Stream Enterer, these deluded consciousnesses are gradually transformed into the four wisdoms of the Tathāgata. This process is seen here (T.1003: 613c14-21) as being achieved through the three Gates to Deliverance,¹²³ which stress the cognitive aspect of the Buddhist's training. The final end of this process is full perception of the immanent radiance of dharmā, which is of course the final element in the central passage of this chapter (R.7/6).

Amoghavajra gives the meaning of the bīja om as enlightenment (gaku-go 覺悟). This is of four kinds (in line with the four elements of the bīja), resulting mainly from the differences in the two main vehicles of the Buddha's teaching. Specifically, Amoghavajra enumerates the enlightenment of the Śrāvaka- and Pratyeka-buddha, of the Bodhisattva and

gives hoko 鞞); West, bowl; North, armour.

122. T.1003: 613c15, shishu-shiki 四種識 .

123. San-gedatsu-mon 三解脱門: N: 460d describes these as three concentrations (zenjō 禪定, sanmai 三昧) or three ways (dō, michi 道), which lead to enlightenment (satori). Conze (BTI: 59-69) gives a good overview of both the individual terms and their collective significance. It may be pertinent to quote part of his summary remarks: "It will be noted that the concentration on emptiness concerns ontology, wishlessness pertains to the volitional sphere, and the signless belongs to the domain of epistemology" (p. 68).

of the Tathāgata. It is because of his attainment and assimilation of the various types of enlightenment -from the mundane to the highest forms of supra-mundane awakening- that Mañjuśrī has attained sovereignty in dharmā, and is thus the Prince of the King of Dharma (hō-ō no ko 法王の子; T.1003: 613c25-27).

2.2. Kūkai's Analysis

TABLE 3.6:

Kūkai's Analysis of the Mañjuśrī Chapter

(R.7, 614b8-15)

1. Guiding Principle (<u>rishu</u>)	R.7/1-6
1.1. Chapter Heading (<u>hyōshō</u>)	R.7/1-2
1.1.1. The Lord	
1.1.2. The Teaching	
1.2. Explanation of the Meaning (<u>shakugi</u>)	R.7/3-6
(Refers to four different manifestations of the Bodhi-sattva of the Sword -Kongō-ri, Vajratīkṣṇa- in the four <u>mandala</u> of the <u>Kongōchōkyō</u> .)	
1.2.1. Kongō-ri in the Kongōkai <u>mandala</u>	
1.2.2. Fun'nu-kongō-ri (Wrath-Vajra-Sword) in the Gōzanze <u>mandala</u>	
1.2.3. Renge-ri (Lotus-Sword) in the Henjōbuku <u>mandala</u>	
1.2.4. Hō-ri (Gem-Sword) in the Issaigi-jōju <u>mandala</u> ¹²⁴	
2. <u>Mantra</u> (<u>shingon</u>)	R.7/7-9

124. The sections in Praise of the Virtues are missing from this and the following five chapters (down to R.12).

2. Commentary

Amoghavajra identifies the expositor of this chapter as the Bodhisattva Sacittotpāda-dharmacakra-pravartin (T.1003: 613c28). The various Wheels (rin 輪, cakra) explained here are various mandala in the Vajradhātu: R.8/2 refers to the mahā-mandala of the Vajradhātu, and it follows then that the central four lines refer to the four main mandala found there.¹²⁵ R.8/3 is then the samādhi of the vajracakra, actually entering the Vajradhātu and the six mandala associated with the vajra-cakra (T.1003: 614alff). R.8/4 is the Wheel of Wrath (fun'nu-rin 忿怒輪, T.1003: 614a6), i.e. Trilokavijaya and his ten mandala. R.8/5 has as its telling element the character hō 法 (dharma), which of course places it in the Dharma or Lotus Family. For this reason Amoghavajra attributes this line to the samādhi of the Lotus Wheel (renge-rin 蓮華輪, T.1003: 614a8ff) and the various mandala connected with the Sakala-jagad-vinaya-mandala (henjōbuku-mandara 遍網伏曼荼羅).

The theme in the final element of the tetrad is action -as the reader will now have realised- and hence intends the samādhi of the karma-cakra and the six mandala related to the accomplishment of all ends (issai-gi-jōju 一切義成就, sarvārtha-siddhi; T.1003: 614a12ff).

2.1. The Maṇḍala

We have seen previously that the bīja hūm contains four components: in this chapter, the interpretation takes the form of four Wheels (T.1003: 614a18). One wishing to practise the samādhi of Vajracakra Bodhisattva (Kongōrin-bosatsu

125. See the commentary on the previous chapter.

介輪苜) should construct a mandala in the form of a spoked wheel,¹²⁶ with Vajra-cakra (Kongō-rin) in the hub and the eight Great Bodhisattvas arranged between the eight spokes.¹²⁷ In the outer corners of the wheel are the four Pāramitā Bodhisattvas, whilst one should draw the Inner Offering Deities in the four corners of the inner temenos. In the outer corners, one places the Outer Offering Deities and in the gate positions in the inner enclosure, are placed the following four Bodhisattva: East, Vajrasattva; South, Trilokavijaya-vajra; West, Avalokiteśvara and North, Ākāśa-garbha. Finally (T.1003: 614a25ff), there are specific instructions for the initiation of a disciple into the mandala and a list of the benefits commonly associated with these mandala.

2.2. Kūkai's Analysis

TABLE 3.7:

Kūkai's Analysis of the Sacittotpāda Chapter

(R.8, 614b16-21)

1. Guiding Principle (<u>rishu</u>)	R.8/1-6
1.1. Chapter Heading (<u>hyōshō</u>)	R.8/1-2
1.1.1. The Lord	
1.1.2. The Teaching	
1.2. Explanation of the Meaning (<u>shakugi</u>)	R.8/3-6
(The Wheels relate to the four <u>mandala</u> of the <u>Kongōchōkyō</u> .)	
1.2.1. Kongō-rin	
1.2.2. Fun'nu-rin	
1.2.3. Renge-rin	
1.2.4. Issaigi-jōju-rin	
2. <u>Mantra</u>	R.8/7-9

126. Fukurin-gyō 輪輪形, T.1003: 614a19. There are illustrations in Hatta: Rishukyō, p. 191f.

127. In the same positions and the same order as in the Opening Assembly.

R.9: THE DHARMA-GATE OF WORSHIP

1. Text

785b11

(15)

時薄伽梵。一切如來種種供養藏廣大儀
 式如來。復說一切供養最勝出生般若理趣。
 所謂發菩提心則為於諸如來廣大供養。
 救濟一切衆生則為於諸如來廣大供養。
 受持妙典則為於諸如來廣大供養。於般
 若波羅蜜多。受持讀誦。自書教他書。思惟
 修習種種供養。則為於諸如來廣大供養。
 時虛空庫大菩薩。欲重顯明此義故。熙怡
 微笑。說此一切事業。不空三麼耶一切金剛心
 陀

1.1. Cross-references

T.220: 989a16-b15	T.242: 782c20-25	Skt150: 5:25-6:5
T.240: 777b6-19	T.243: 785b11-20	Tib150: 23:1-10
T.241: 780a12-24	T.244: 794c17- 795a25	

1.2. Translation

¹Then the Lord Sarvapūja-vidhivistarabhājana, the Tathāgata, ²took up the exposition of the guiding principle of wisdom which manifests the supreme excellence of all worship, with these words:

³"Initiating the aspiration towards enlightenment is itself the practice of extending great worship to the Tathāgatas;

⁴Completing the salvation of all sentient beings is itself the practice of extending great worship to the Tathāgatas;

⁵Receiving and maintaining the wondrous Scriptures is itself the practice of extending great worship to the Tathāgatas;

⁶In the perfection of wisdom, paying worship in various ways -receiving and maintaining it, reciting it, writing it and teaching others to write it out, directing one's mind to it and assimilating it by spiritual practice- is itself the practice of extending great worship to the Tathāgatas."

⁷Then Gaganagañja, the Great Bodhisattva, being about to elucidate this meaning further, relaxed his mien and broke into a smile, ⁸and expounded this essence of all vajra, the efficacious sacrament of all actions: om

2. Commentary

Issai-nyorai-shuju-kuyōzō-kōdai-gishiki-nyorai 一切如来種種供養廣大儀式如来 is given by Amoghavajra as another name for Gaganagañja, and the correspondences for the central lines are as follows (T.1003: 614b5-19):

R.9/3: Vajra-lāsī	Kongō-kige	Joy
R.9/4: Vajra-mālā	Kongō-man	Wig
R.9/5: Vajra-gītā	Kongō-ka	Song
R.9/6: Vajra-nṛtā	Kongō-bu	Dance

These are of course the Inner Offering Deities, who represent the primary meaning of pūja, namely as that originating with Mahāvairocana. In the present context, Amoghavajra informs us that Vajralāsī's samādhi has the meaning of bodhicitta (T.1003: 614b7f). In the samādhi of Vajramālā, one enters the great ocean of the Buddha's Dharma by dint of a pure, faithful heart, and attains the Seven-gemmed Wig of the Cintāmaṇi. "Saving all sentient beings" means fulfilling all their wishes for liberation (T.1003: 614b12) and causing them to receive the precepts through self-adornment.¹²⁸

128. Ji-shōgon 自莊嚴 : this refers to the ritual practice of adorning oneself with the accoutrements of the body of a Buddha. Specifically

The samādhi of the Bodhisattva of the Thunderbolt Song (T.1003: 614b14f) allows one to actively participate in the Assemblies at which the Buddha preaches, posing and answering questions on the profound doctrines of the Perfection of Wisdom. Finally (T.1003: 614b17ff), there is the samādhi of Vajranṛtā (R.9/6), the main characteristics of which -in line with the affiliation with Amoghasiddhi- are Great Vigour (daishōjin 大精進, *mahā-vīrya) and coursing through the three realms performing the work of the Buddha. Here this largely involves working specifically with the Buddha's teaching, representative practices from the jūhō-gyō 十法行¹²⁹ being paramount in this line.

The Bodhisattva who has mastered the teaching in this chapter masters all the so-called "Gates of Worship" (kuyō-mon 供養門; T.1003: 614b23-cl). There are various formulations of this, which Amoghavajra enumerates (T.1003: 614b23ff).¹³⁰

2.1. The Maṇḍala

Finally Amoghavajra describes the mandala (T.1003: 614clff): in the centre is Gaganagañja, karma-vajra in the right hand, left hand in vajra-muṣṭi and covering the groin.

in this case, one places the said gemmed wig upon one's head at the appropriate point in the ritual -as Gaganagañja himself in fact does later in the chapter.

129. The Ten Dharma-Practices; cf above, p. 170, n. 99.

130. They are as follows (loc. cit.): in the susiddhi teaching there are divisions into four and into twenty kinds; in the yoga teaching there are four; further, there are twenty-five esoteric forms of worship, sixteen types of Great Worship (dai-kuyō 大供養, *mahā-pūja), seventeen forms of miscellaneous worship and finally issai-kuyō 一切供養 (*sarva-pūja), which encompasses all aspects of this practice. Amoghavajra remarks further that these are all collected together in the Worship Ritual of Gaganagañja (Kokūko-bosatsu-kuyō-giki 虚空并供養儀軌, no ref.).

He is seated in the half lotus position, against the background of a lunar disc. He is surrounded by the eight Great Bodhisattvas of the Sūtra and the eight Offering Deities are in their accustomed positions. At the four Gates there are four kinds of precious stone: East, silver; South, gold; West, mani; North, pearl. Amoghavajra then repeats the previous description of the practice (honzon-yuga 本尊喻加, summoning the Assembly, etc.; T.1003: 614c7-13).

The syllable om has various meanings, amongst others, the three bodies of the Buddha and original non-production (honfushō 本不生).

2.2. Kūkai's Analysis

TABLE 3.8:

Kūkai's Analysis of the Gaganagañja Chapter

(R.9, 614b22-28)

1. Guiding Principle (<u>rishu</u>)	R.9/1-6
1.1. Chapter Heading (<u>hyōshō</u>)	R.9/1-2
1.1.1. The Lord	
1.1.2. The Teaching	
1.2. Explanation of the Meaning (<u>shakuji</u>)	R.9/3-6
(Attributed to the Inner Worshipping Deities:)	
1.2.1. Kongō-kige	
1.2.2. Kongō-man	
1.2.3. Kongō-ka	
1.2.4. Kongō-bu	
2. <u>Mantra</u> (<u>shingon</u>)	R.9/7-8

R.10: THE DHARMA-GATE OF WRATH

1. Text

785b21

(26)

時薄伽梵¹能調持智拳如來。復說²一切調
 伏智藏般若理趣。所謂³一切有情平等忿
 怒平等。一切有情調伏故。忿怒調伏。一切有
 情法性故。忿怒法性。一切有情金剛性⁴故
 忿怒金剛性。何以故。一切有情調伏。則爲
 菩提。時摧一切魔大菩薩。欲重顯明此義
 故。怡微笑。以金剛藥叉形。持金剛牙。恐
 怖一切如來已。說金剛忿怒大笑心。
 郝

1.1. Cross-references

T.220: 989b16-989c9 T.242: 782c26-783a3 Sktl50: 6:6-11
 T.240: 777b20-27 T.243: 785b21-29 Tibl50: 24:1-9
 T.241: 780a25-b9 T.244: 795a27-c9

1.2. Translation

¹Then the Lord Sarvavinaya-samartha, the Tathāgata, ²took up the exposition of the guiding principle of wisdom which is the wisdom-repository where is everything is subdued by the discipline, with these words:

³"Because of the sameness of all sentient beings, wrath is sameness;

⁴Because of the discipline of all sentient beings, wrath is discipline;

⁵Because of the dharma-nature of all sentient beings, wrath is dharma-nature;

⁶Because of the Thunderbolt-nature of all sentient beings, wrath is adamant in nature.

⁷Why is this so? -The subjugation of all sentient beings is in fact for the purpose of enlightenment."

⁸Then Sarvamāra-pramardin, the Great Bodhisattva, being about to elucidate this meaning further, relaxed his mien and broke into a smile, ⁹Holding the emblem of Vajrayakṣa and baring the Thunderbolt fang, he instilled fear into all the Tathāgatas and ¹⁰expounded the essence of the great laugh of Thunderbolt Wrath: hah

2. Commentary

Nō-jōbuku-jichiken-in-nyorai 能調伏持智拳印如來
is a different name for the Bodhisattva Sarva-māra-pramardin (Sai-issai-ma 摧一切魔). The four central lines are attributed to the theme of wrath as it appears in the four Families: hence R.10/3 is attributed to the samādhi of Trilokavijaya in the Thunderbolt Family, which subjugates Paranirmitta-vaśavartin, and brings him to the Way of the Buddha;¹³¹ R.10/4 refers to the samādhi of Ratnavajra-krodha,¹³² through which Maheśvara is subjugated and brought to the Way of the Buddha. The mention of hō 法 (dharma) in the third position again identifies the Lotus or Dharma Family, and we have the samādhi of a wrathful form of Avalokiteśvara -Hayagrīva¹³³- as the attribution. The heterodox god whom he subdues and converts to the Buddha's Way is Brāhma (Bonten 梵天). The final element (R.10/6) is simply designated as karma-samādhi, katsuma-sanmaji 羯摩三摩地 in the Karma Family, and ensures the subjugation of Nārāyaṇa (Naraen).¹³⁴

131. Cf preliminary section, R.P/11 (p. 82ff, §2.3.2 et seq.).

132. Hō-kongō-fun'nu 宝金剛忿怒, in the Gem Family.

133. Cf. N: 1097a, s.v. batō-kannon (The Horse-Headed Avalokiteśvara).

134. Or Viṣṇu; cf. N:1029b.

The rationale for this Dharma-Gate's teaching (R.10/7) is attributed to Maitreya (Jishi-bosatsu 慈氏菩薩), who -in contrast to his inner samādhi of compassion- manifested his ferocious aspect in order to subjugate the intransigent inhabitants of the various heavens and lead them to enlightenment (T.1003: 615a1-4).¹³⁵

In commenting on the final section of this chapter - (R.10/8-10), Amoghavajra says that the reason why this Bodhisattva instills fear into all the Tathāgatas is that all these heterodox gods are in fact future Tathāgatas themselves, and that in performing these acts of subjugation by wrath, he is in fact helping them through to the stage of fearlessness (T.1003: 615a4-10).

The bīja hah is explained (T.1003: 615allff) as having four components: that all dharma are originally unproduced (issai-hō-honfushō 一切法本不生); the meaning of cause (in 因); the two meanings of self (nishu-ga 二種我). Honfushō 本不生 is the underlying principle (ri 理), the passions are the cause and give rise to the two kinds of self -that of self in the person and self in things (nin-ga/hō-ga 人我法我). The heterodox deities are entrenched in this process and in entering the samādhi which breaks them out of it, one comes to embrace the implications inherent in the syllable hah and enters the Gate of the Original Non-Arising of all Dharma (issai-hō-honfushō-mon 一切法本不生門), becoming detached from the cause of all the passions. Having thus become detached from the passions one necessarily realises the emptiness of self and the emptiness

135. I have not been able to find a reference for this story.

of dharma, and transcends the three realms and the deluded mind of the nine states.¹³⁶ Hence the attribution to Sarvamārapramardin (T.1003: 615a14-19).

2.1. The Maṇḍala

The practical method of attaining this ability is of course the construction of the maṇḍala and the correct execution of the ritual connected with it. Amoghavajra describes the maṇḍala for this chapter as follows:¹³⁷

Centre: Sarvamārapramardin
Front: Paranirmitavaśavartin
Right: Maheśvara
Rear: Brāhma
Left: Nārāyaṇa

In the inner corners, one should place the Tooth Seals of the four Families (T.1003: 615a23), in the outer corners the four Outer Offering Deities. At the Gates, one should draw the four Emblems: East, the three-pronged vajra of Wrath (sansho-fun'nu-sho 三股忿怒杵); South, the blazing gem; West, vajra-padma, emitting light; North, a viśva-vajra (katsuma-kongō 羯磨金剛), emitting light everywhere.¹³⁸ Amoghavajra's final directions (T.1003: 615a27-b5) add little to what has been said before.

136. Sangai-kuji-mōshin 三界九地怛心 (T.1003: 615a18): the nine states are the realm of desire and those of form and non-form -the latter two each contain four stages of concentration, thus giving the figure nine. The term thus includes all aspects of the mind which has not attained enlightenment.

137. This is the mandala of Vajrayakṣa (kongō-yakusha-mandara 金剛藥叉曼荼羅; T.1003: 615a19-27).

138. The mandala of Shūei and of the Futaraku-in depicted in Hatta: Rishukyō, p. 225f, appear to correspond to what we have here.

2.2. Kūkai's Analysis

TABLE 3.9:

R.10: The Sarvamārapramardin Chapter

(614b29-c8)

1. Guiding Principle (<u>rishu</u>)	R.10/1-7
1.1 Chapter Heading (<u>hyōshō</u>)	R.10/1-2
1.1.1. The Lord	
1.1.2. The Teaching	
1.2. Explanation of the Meaning (<u>shakuji</u>)	
(Attributed to the Four Families:)	
1.2.1. Central Explanation (<u>shōshaku</u>)	R.10/3-6
1.2.1.1. Gōzanze (in the Vajra Family)	
1.2.1.2. Hō-kongō-fun'nu (Ratna Family)	
1.2.1.3. Batō-fun'nu Kanjizai (Padma Family)	
1.2.1.4. Katsuma (Karma Family)	
1.2.2. Śākyamuni Attaining the Way ¹³⁹	R.10/7
2. <u>Mantra</u>	R.10/8-10

139. Shaku-jō 釈成. This refers to Śākyamuni's subjugation of the hordes of Māra on the night of his enlightenment, which ties in of course with the content of R.10/7.

2. Commentary

Issai-byōdō-konryū-nyorai 一切平等建立如来 is given by Amoghavajra as another name for the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (T.1003: 615b6f).¹⁴⁰ The central lines refer to the mahā-maṇḍala in the Four Families. On entering the mahā-maṇḍala of the Vajra Family, to which R.11/3 is assigned, one becomes awakened to the fact that all sentient beings possess unbreakable, adamant Buddha-nature (fu'e-kongō-busshō 不壞金剛佛性 ; T.1003: 615b9ff). In the mahā-maṇḍala of the Gem Family (R.11/4), one attains innumerable virtues, which are as the suchness of space (kokū-shin'nyo 虛空真如 , ākāśa-tathatā). The attainment pertaining to entry into the mahā-maṇḍala of the Lotus Family (R.11/5) is that of awakening to the pure Dharmakāya, purity of course being associated with the lotus. Mentioned also in this connection are untainted affective perceptions (fuzen-sho'waku 不染諸惑 , T.1003: 615b15). Finally, R.11/6 concerns the Karma Family, entering whose mahā-maṇḍala one attains the functions of body, speech and mind, the Buddha Assemblies (butsu-shū'e 佛集會) of the ten directions and wide-ranging worship (kōdai-kuyō 廣大懺養; T.1003: 615b17ff).

2.1. The Maṇḍala

The maṇḍala of this chapter (T.1003: 615b23ff) has three kinds of enclosure: the first is an eight-spoked wheel with Vajrapāṇi in the centre, surrounded by the eight Great Bodhisattvas, all with their heads facing outwards. The next enclosure has five types of deity in the Outer Vajra Family

140. Cf. MDJT/I: 79c.

(T.1003: 615b26ff).¹⁴¹ In the third enclosure are to be found the female counterparts to these deities, each opposite her male counterpart. One should practise this maṇḍala in a similar way to that in previous sections, through which one's body will attain the state of the vajra of Trilokavijaya (Gōzanze; T.1003: 615c3ff). The central concern of the chapter's teaching is attaining the adamantine samādhi of Trilokavijaya (Gōzanze-kongō-sanmaji 降三世金剛三摩地; T.1003: 615c6), which ties in with the title given to the chapter by both Amoghavajra and Kūkai, namely the Wheel of Trilokavijaya's Active Teaching (Gōzanze-kyōryōrin-bon 降三世教命輪品).¹⁴²

2.2. Kūkai's Analysis

TABLE 3.10:

Kūkai's Analysis of the Chapter on Gōzanze's Soteriological Wheel

(R.11, 614c9-16)

1. Guiding Principle (<u>rishu</u>)	R.11/1-6
1.1. Chapter Heading (<u>hyōshō</u>)	R.11/1-2
1.1.1. The Lord	
1.1.2. The Teaching	
1.2. Explanation of the Meaning (<u>shakugi</u>)	R.11/3-6
(Refers to the <u>mahā-maṇḍala</u> of the Four Families:)	
1.2.1. Kongō-bu	
1.2.2. Hō-bu	
1.2.3. Renge-bu	
1.2.4. Katsuma-bu	
2. <u>Mantra</u> (<u>shingon</u>)	R.11/7-8

141. Cf MJT: 349a and BZZT: 149ff on the twelve deities in the Outer Thunderbolt Enclosure. They are all commonly found Indian gods, subjugated to the Way of the Buddha.

142. See above, p. 224, n. 59.

3. Summary

We have now reached the end of the central portion of the text, dealing with the teachings connected with the attainment of enlightenment as well as the concrete ritual steps necessary for this task. The following teachings move away from the enlightened realm per se and focus attention on sentient beings and the realms of the gods, before returning to the central concerns of the Sūtra in the final stage (R.17), which may be described as both a summation and a consummation of the teaching and practice of the Rishukyō.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SECONDARY RITUAL (R.12-15)

R.12: THE DHARMA-GATE OF EMPOWERMENT FOR SENTIENT BEINGS

1. Text

785c10

(15)

時¹薄伽梵如來。復說²一切有情加持般若理
趣³所謂⁴一切有情如來藏。以⁵普賢菩薩
一切我⁶故。一切有情金剛藏。以⁷金剛藏灌
頂⁸故。一切有情妙法藏。能轉⁹一切語言故。
一切有情羯磨藏。能作所作性相應故。時外
金剛部。欲重顯明此義故。作歡喜聲。說
金剛自在自真實心。
(恒賴合二)

1.1. Cross-references

T.220: 990b1-11 T.242: 783a10-14 Skt150: 6:17-21
T.240: 777c7-14 T.243: 785c10-17 Tib150: 26:1-8
T.241: 780b24-780c6 T.244: 796a15-b13

1.2. Translation

¹Then the Lord Tathāgata ²took up the exposition of the guiding principle of wisdom which empowers all sentient beings, with these words:

³"All sentient beings are the womb of the Tathāgata, because they all the selves of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva;

⁴All sentient beings are the womb of the Thunderbolt, because they are the consecration of the womb of the Thunderbolt;

⁵All sentient beings are the womb of the marvellous dharma, because they are able to transform words and speech;

⁶All sentient beings are the womb of actions, because they are in union with that which makes and that which is made."

⁷Then the deities of the exterior Thunderbolt section,

being about to elucidate this meaning further, ⁸raised their voices in joy and expounded the true essence of adamant natural existence: trī

2. Commentary

The Lord here is Vairocana (T.1003: 615c10), and the Dharma he explains is another aspect of the four wisdoms: R.12/3 refers then to the fact that sentient beings are not separate from the nature of Great Perfect Mirror Wisdom,¹ and thus are identical in essence with Samantabhadra. R.12/4 is assigned to the Wisdom of Equality and the Womb of the Thunderbolt (kongō-zō 卍藏), which is in fact Akāśagarbha (T.1003: 615c17). Similarly, the myōhōzō 妙法藏 of R.12/5 is Avalokiteśvara (T.1003: 615c20), who sets in motion the Wheel of the Teaching at the Assemblies presided over by the Buddha. The final Bodhisattva to whom covert reference is made is Viśvakarma (Bishukatsuma, T.1003: 615c21ff), and this phase covers the active aspect of transformation and subjugation.

These four Bodhisattvas, then, are the four wisdoms and they manifest the King who turns the Wheel of the Buddhist Teaching.² The Deities of the Outer Vajra Family (Ge-kongōbu 外金剛部) are twenty-five in number, and headed by Maheśvara -whom we have already met. They simply illustrate one of the many instances of Buddhist assimilation of heterodox deities, transformed into guardians of the Buddhist teaching.

1. Daienkyō-chi-shō 大円鏡智性, T.1003: 615c13.
2. Tenrin-nō 轉輪王, T.1003: 615c24ff.

As for the bīja, the element t has the meaning of Suchness (shin'nyo 真如, tathatā), which is of seven kinds.³ The element rī means the passions⁴ or the five skandha, the overcoming of which leads to the realisation of Suchness⁵. These associations place the bīja in the context of the wheel of samsāra, which is the locus of the Bodhisattva's work. This is further interpreted in the context of the Sūtra's ritual purpose as a mandala in which the various heterodox gods and demons are subdued (T.1003: 616a6ff). Maheśvara is in the centre, in a Tathāgata form (nyorai-gyō 如來形), with eight of the minor deities surrounding him. In addition there are four Offering Deities outside these, and at the four Gates of the mandala the main emblems (hongyō 本形) are to be placed. In common parlance this is a so-called "Outer Maṇḍala (ge-mandara 外曼荼羅)", from the higher standpoint it is a Samantabhadra Maṇḍala (fugemandara 普賢曼荼羅). This interconnection is an expression of the principle of the intimate relationship which the esoteric teachings see between manifest phenomena and the underlying principle, between the holy and the mundane, between the common person and the saint. Amoghavajra, in concluding this part of his commentary, expresses it thus:

3. T.1003: 615c29-616a2: (1) ruten-shin'nyo 疏輪真如 (samsāra); (2) jissō* 實相 (true characteristic, i.e. the underlying principle of things); (3) yuishiki* 唯識 (mind-only); (4) anyū* 安立 (pratisthita, linguistic formulations concerning non-verbal absolute truth; cf. N:26c); (5) jagyō* 邪行 (mithyācāra, unorthodox or heterodox practices; cf N:611a); (6) shōjō* 清淨 (pure suchness); (7) shōgyō* 正行 (orthodox or correct practices).

4. T.1003: 616a2: jinku 塵垢, that which pollutes the mind, the passions (upakleśa; cf. N:799b).

5. T.1003: 616a3, reading fuku 覆 (Ch.: fu) as "to overturn, to defeat" (Mathews: 1993a).

Because things are manifest in the principle, first there are things, then the principle. Because the principle and things are not mutually hindered, first there is the common man, then the saint: this is Suchness, where nature and characteristic are identical.

T.1003:616a9f.

2.1. Kūkai's Analysis

TABLE 4.1:

KUKAI'S ANALYSIS OF THE CHAPTER ON THE
THE OUTER VAJRA SECTION
(614c17-25)

1. Guiding Principle (<u>rishu</u>)	R.12/1-6
1.1. Chapter Heading (<u>hyōshō</u>)	R.12/1-2
1.1.1. The Lord	
1.1.2. The Teaching	
1.2. Explanation of the Meaning (<u>shakugi</u>)	R.12/3-6
(Refers to the Four Wisdoms and the Four Pāramitās, as they are found in the second chapter of the text (R.2).)	
2. <u>Mantra</u> (<u>shingon</u>)	R.12/7-8

6. The deities in this section are twenty-five in number (614c17f), headed by Maheśvara .

R.13-15: THE DHARMA-GATES OF THE HEAVENLY MOTHERS,
THE THREE BROTHERS AND THE FOUR SISTERS

1. Text

785c18

R.15	R.14 (20)	R.13
陪爾時四姊妹女天。獻 ² 自心真言。	毘欲 ¹ 三合 爾時末度迦羅天三兄弟等親禮佛足獻 ³ 自心真言。	殺能成三麼耶真實心。 爾時七女母天。頂禮佛足。獻 ³ 鈎召攝入。能

1.1. Cross-references

T.220: ***	T.242: ***	Skt150: ***
T.240: ***	T.243: 785c18-25	Tib150: 26:9-13
T.241: ***	T.244: 796b13- 797a28	

1.2. Translation

R.13: ¹Thereupon the seven heavenly goddesses ²paid homage to the Buddha's feet ³and offered the Hook and <That Which> Gathers and Brings In, and the true essence of the Pledge which enables the destruction <of evils> and the attainment of enlightenment: bhyoh

R.14: ¹Thereupon the three brothers of the Madhukara heaven ²paid homage to the Buddha's feet ³and offered the mantra of their own heart: svā

R.15: ¹Thereupon, the four sisters, the goddesses, ²offered the mantra from their own heart: ham

2. Commentary

This section is included in only four of the ten versions of our Sūtra: Tib150 and TibExt, Amoghavajra's T.243 and the Chinese Extended Version, T.244.

R.13: The seven goddesses are the group in the Mahākāla heaven, according to Rishushaku.⁷ The Hook which these deities offer is in fact the Seal of the Thunderbolt Hook,⁸ whilst my perhaps awkward translation of shō-nyū 攝入⁹ is due to the fact that Amoghavajra assigns this term to the second saṅgraha function, that of the Rope: by forming the Seal of the Thunderbolt Rope (kongō-saku-in 介索印) one draws sentient beings into the mandala, that is, onto the Path of the Buddha. "Destruction"¹⁰ refers to the elimination of the unwholesome mind,¹¹ and "attainment" refers to the practice of the esoteric teachings, which quickly enable one to advance beyond the mundane and acquire siddhi. The "Pledge" refers to that made by these goddesses (T.1003: 616a18).

As for the mantra bhyoh, the bh element refers to the unattainability of the three types of existence of all dharma,¹² yoh to the idea that all Vehicles are unattainable.¹³

The mandala pertinent to this chapter is as follows: in the centre is Mahākāla -whose name is given as dai-ji 大時,

7. T.1003: 616a12.

8. Or the Thunderbolt Seal of the Hook: kongō-kōin 金剛鉤印 (T.1003: 616a13).

9. Literally, "gather and <make> enter".

10. Or more literally, "killing" (setsu 殺).

11. Fuzen-shin 不善心, T.1003: 616a16.

12. I.e. existence in each of the spheres of Desire, Form and the Formless (N: 455b, s.v. san'u 三有).

13. Amoghavajra then lists various kinds of vehicle, suited to different needs and aptitudes (T.1003: 616a20ff).

"Great Time"- surrounded by these seven Goddesses. Their appearance is as explained in the Extended Version.¹⁴ The significance of the name "Great Time" is unhinderedness in the three times (sanze 三世) on the one hand, and the Dharmakāya of Vairocana (through association with the element mahā) on the other. To conclude the passage on the Seven Goddesses, Amoghavajra repeats what we saw in the previous chapter concerning the interrelationship between things and principle.

R.14: The Three Brothers referred to here are Brāhma, Nārāyaṇa and Maheśvara (T.1003: 616b1). The bīja offered by them is of two parts: the first is the element s, which means the equality of all dharma being like space, whilst the second -vā- states the unattainability of verbal explanation of all dharma. These gods also have a mandala, which is drawn in the form of a bow and arrow (T.1003: 616b4ff). The order of their appearance in the mandala as well as the ritual directions are as per the explanation in the Extended Version.¹⁵

The symbolic significance of these three deities is seen as in referring to the Three Gems (Buddha, etc.): under this scheme, the Buddha-gem is Vajrasattva, the Teaching is Avalokiteśvara and the Saṅgha is Akāśagarbha (T.1003: 616b6ff), and all three are part of the manifestation of the enlightened mind of Vairocana. It is in this sense that Amoghavajra again concludes his section with a reminder of the teaching that things manifest the principle.¹⁶

14. This (T.1003: 616a25) is one of the references in Rishushaku to the Extended Version.

15. Another of the references to the Extended Version (T.1003: 616b5).

16. T.1003: 616b9.

R.15: These four minor goddesses also have their mandala (T.1003: 616b12ff): in the centre is Tomuro-ten 都牟盧天,¹⁷ the brother of the deities in this chapter, who are arranged around him at the cardinal points in the order East-West-South-North.¹⁸ These four deities are further described as Pāramitā, namely Jō-haramitsu 常波羅密 (*nītya-*), Raku-樂 (*sukha-*), Ga-我 (*ātma-*) and Jō-淨 (*śuddha-*). The two elements of the bīja, ha and m refer respectively to the unattainability of the cause of all dharma and the unattainability of self in all dharma. The practice of the mantra involves simultaneously setting one's mind into the mundane and the supra-mundane samādhi (T.1003: 616b19f).¹⁹

17. Tumburu-deva: cf. MDJT/IV: 1688 b. The only other appearance listed in the Mañjuśrī Quarter of the Garbhakośa Maṇḍala.

18. This is another ritual arrangement which is said to be found in the Extended Version (T.1003: 616b14).

19. As for Kūkai's analysis, on R.13-15 the Japanese Master gives no information here which is not found in Rishushaku.

CHAPTER FIVE

RITUAL SUMMATION AND CONSUMMATION (R.16-R.17)

R.16: THE DHARMA-GATE OF THE VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

1. Text

<p>(i)</p> <p>佛菩薩行皆得究竟 若有聞此理趣受持讀誦思惟其義彼於 一切法究竟故般若波羅蜜多究竟金剛手 來無邊一切法一性故般若波羅蜜多一性</p>	<p>(29)</p> <p>一切如來無量般若波羅蜜多無邊故一切如 般若理趣所謂般若波羅蜜多無量故一 此教令究竟圓滿故復說平等金剛出生 時薄伽梵無量無邊究竟如來為欲加持² 785c26</p>
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1.1. Cross-references

- | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| T.220: 990b11-21 | T.242: 783c15-24 | Skt150: 6:22-7:8 |
| T.240: 777c15-27 | T.243: 785c26-786a4 | Tib150: 27:1-11 |
| T.241: 780c7-20 | T.244: 797b1-11 | |

1.2. Translation

¹Then the Lord Anantāparyatāniṣṭha, the Tathāgata, ²being about to bestow this teaching and resolving to attain the ultimate consummation,¹ ³took up the exposition of the guiding principle of wisdom which manifests the Thunderbolt of Sameness, with these words:

- ⁴"Because the perfection of wisdom is unquantifiable, all the Tathāgatas are unquantifiable;
- ⁵Because the perfection of wisdom is unbounded, all the Tathāgatas are unbounded;

1. Kambayashi's reading is: "...kono kyō wo kaji-shite, kukyō-shi enman-seshimen to hossuru ga yue ni..." (Kōgi: 482).

⁶Because all dharmas are of one nature, the perfection of wisdom is of one nature;

⁷Because all dharmas are the ultimate, the perfection of wisdom is ultimate.

⁸"Vajrapāṇi, if anyone hears this guiding principle, receives and maintains it and directs his mind to its meaning, ⁹he will completely attain that ultimate in the practice of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas."

2. Commentary

Muryōmuhenkukyō-nyorai 無量無邊究竟如來 ² signifies Vairocana, according to Rishushaku.³ As for R.16/2, Amoghavajra comments only on "this teaching", saying that it indicates the teaching of rishu-hannya (T.1003: 616b25). Of the first line of the quartet at the centre of this chapter -the textual form common to the central portions of the exposition of this Sūtra- we read in Rishushaku that it shows the mandala in the Thunderbolt Family, which together imply the Five Families. The individual Assemblies each have innumerable mandala, and the four Seals are also innumerable (T.1003: 616b26-29). As we might expect, the following lines are assigned in turn to the remaining three Families: Gem, Lotus and Action in turn. As for the Gem Family, this also contains all the mandala within it, and they -like the four Seals- are boundless (mu-hen 無邊). In fact, in Amoghavajra's interpretation of this chapter, this theme of each Family including all the mandala and the Seals is central.

2. Tibetan: mthaḥ yas mu med la mthar thug ciṅ mu med pa (Tib150: 27.1).

3. T.1003: 616b23f.

In the case of the Lotus Family (T.1003: 616c2-4), he adds that the "one nature (isshō 一性)" of all dharma indicates that the mandala and the Seals are of the same nature as the pure Dharmakāya,⁴ whilst in referring to the Karma Family he states that the four Seals attain the ultimate nirvāna without abiding.⁵ Both the terms kukyō 究竟 -which indicates the ultimate extent of enlightenment as expressed in the work of the Bodhisattva for the weal of sentient beings- and mujū-nehān 無住涅槃 -which indicates the fact that such a Bodhisattva's nirvāna never rests in life and death⁶- have to do with the soteriological task of the Bodhisattva, made possible by his mastery over the three realms. As we have seen often enough before, this is the primary feature of the attainments relevant to the Karma Family.

There is no bīja explained for this chapter, and Amoghavajra gives the reason for this as being that in the esoteric teachings, all the Assemblies each have their respective bīja, and it is not possible to receive them all (T.1003: 616c10f).

2.1. Kūkai's Analysis

This analysis is quite straightforward, and I include it in tabular form, as in previous cases.

4. Shōjō-hokkai-shō 請淨法界性 T.1003: 616c4.
5. Kukyō-mujū-nehān 究竟無住涅槃 ; T.1003: 616c6.
6. The expression used is "having no abode", mujū 無住 ; cf. N: 1328d, s.v. mujūsho-nehān (apratisthita-nirvāna).

TABLE 5.1:

Kūkai's Analysis of
The Chapter on the Mahāmandala
in the Division of the Four Pāramitā
(R.16, 615a5-19)

1. Guiding Principle (<u>rishu</u>)	R.16/1-9
1.1 Chapter Heading (<u>hyōshō</u>)	R.16/1-3
1.1.1. The Lord	
1.1.2. The Teaching	
1.2. Explanation of the Meaning (<u>shakugi</u>)	R.16/4-7
(Explains how all the <u>mandala</u> of the Five Families as well as the Four Seals are contained in the Four Families, Vajra, Gem, Lotus and Action:)	
1.2.1. Indicates the <u>mandala</u> implicit in the Vajra Family	
1.2.2. (do.) the Gem Family	
1.2.3. (do.) the Lotus Family	
1.2.4. (do.) the Action Family	
1.3. Praising the Virtues (<u>tandoku</u>)	R.16/8-9
1.3.1. Type of Practice (<u>gyōsō</u>)	
1.3.2. Correct Praise (<u>shō-tan</u>)	
2. <u>Mantra</u> (<u>shingon</u>) ⁷	R.16/n.n.

7. Kūkai observes (Monku: 615a16f) that there is no mantra in Amogha-
vajra's text, but there is one in Bodhiruci's text (T.240).

R.17: THE DHARMA-GATE OF THE PROFOUND MYSTERY

1. Text

786a5

(27) (28) (29) (18) (10)

時薄伽梵。毘盧遮那得一切祕密法性無戲論如來。復說最勝無初中後大樂金剛不空三昧耶金剛法性般若理趣。所謂菩薩摩訶薩大慾最勝成就故。得大樂最勝成就。菩薩摩訶薩大樂最勝成就故。則得一切如來大菩提最勝成就。菩薩摩訶薩得一切如來大菩提最勝成就。故。則得一切如來大力魔最勝成就。菩薩摩訶薩得一切如來摧大力魔最勝成就。故。則得遍三界自在成就。菩薩摩訶薩得遍三界自在成就。則得淨除無餘界一切有情住著流轉。以大精進常處生死救攝一切利益安樂最勝究竟皆悉成就。何以故。

菩薩勝慧者 乃至盡生死
恒作衆生利 而不趣涅槃
般若及方便 智度悉加持
諸法及諸有 一切皆清淨
慾等調世間 令得淨除故
有頂及惡趣 調伏盡諸有
如逆體本染 不爲垢所染
諸慾性亦然 不染利群生
大慾得清淨 大安樂富饒
三界得自在 能作堅固利

(1) 剛不空三昧耶究竟悉地。現世獲得一切法自在悅樂。以十六大菩薩生得於如來執金剛位。

14 金剛手。若有聞此本初般若理趣。日日晨朝或誦或聽。彼獲一切安樂悅意。大樂金

1.1. Cross-references

T.220: 990b21-991b6 T.242: 783a25-784a3 Skt150: 7:9-9:16
 T.240: 777c28-778b12 T.243: 786a5-b4 Tib150: 29:1-32:16
 T.241: 780c21-781c4 T.244: 797b24-c25

1.2. Translation

¹Then the Tathāgata, the Lord Vairocana, who has attained the Dharma-nature of all mysteries and is without vain imaginings, ²again expounded the most excellent guiding principle of wisdom, which is without beginning, middle or end, and of the nature of the adamant Dharma of the Pledge of him who is Great Bliss, adamant and unfailing, with these words: ³"The Bodhisattva,⁸ the Great Being, because of the most excellent accomplishment of Great Desire, attains the most excellent accomplishment of Great Bliss; ⁴the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, precisely because he attains the most excellent accomplishment of Great Bliss, attains the most excellent accomplishment of all the Tathāgatas' Great Enlightenment; ⁵the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, precisely because he attains the most excellent accomplishment of all the Tathāgatas' Great Enlightenment, attains the most excellent accomplishment of crushing all the great and powerful Māras; ⁶the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, precisely because he attains the most excellent accomplishment of crushing all the great and powerful Māras, attains the accomplishment of sovereignty in spontaneous existence throughout the three realms; ⁷the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, precisely because he attains the accomplishment of sovereignty in spontaneous existence throughout the three realms, whilst residing in the circle of becoming attains the pure liberation of all sentient beings in every realm without exception; ⁸by dint of his spiritual vigour, perpetually residing in life and death he saves all and possesses the complete and utter accomplishment of the most excellent ultimate, beneficial and blissful.

⁹"And why is it so?

"He of excellent wisdom, a Bodhisattva, right up to his exhausting of life and death, continually works for the benefit of sentient beings and advances to nirvāna.

¹⁰"Wisdom and skilful means: through the wisdom that carries one across, one is fully empowered, dharmas as existences are all completely pure.

8. According to RK: 19, note 12, this indicates the Bodhisattva of the Gate of Mantra (shingon-mon no bosatsu 真言門の菩薩).

11"Because desires subdue the world and bring about the attainment of pure eradication, at the summit of existence or in the woeful destinies, the discipline exhausts existences.⁹

12"As the taints of the base of the lotus plant are not in the taintedness of defilement, so the character of desire is also natural and -not being tainted- benefits the masses of beings.

13"Great Desire attains purity and is the rich abundance of great, peaceful bliss: one attains sovereignty in the three realms and is able to create the adamantine boon.

14"Vajrapāṇi, if anyone hears this original guiding principle of wisdom, and rising early every morning recites or listens to it, ¹⁵he will attain peaceful bliss in everything and a mind of rapture; ¹⁶the ultimate accomplishment of the adamantine propitious samaya¹⁰ of Great Bliss. ¹⁷In this life he will attain that sovereign rapturous bliss of all dharmas, ¹⁸and advancing through the lives of the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas he will attain to the stage of Tathāgata, the Holder of the Thunderbolt: hūṃ.

9. I.e. adhering to the subjugatory discipline inherent in the Path, one courses throughout the whole of the conditioned realm, causing all sentient beings to enter the Path of the Buddha.

10. On the possibility of reading this as samādhi, cf Hanashi: 398.

2. Commentary

2.1. Introduction and some notes on terms

The Five Mysteries are most simply defined as Vajrasattva and the four Adamantine Consorts (kongō-nyo 空如, kongō-myōhi 空明妃), namely those of Desire, Touching, Love and Pride. Should the reader be reminded of the first chapter of the Rishukyō, then this is quite in its place: these five deities do in fact correspond to the first five epithets in the Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss (R.1), and these epithets, it will be remembered, represent the characteristic attainments of precisely the five to be dealt with here.

As we shall see below, the Shingon tradition sees the Rishukyō as a kind of ritual sandwich, since R.1 and R.17 both express the same basic idea of the transformation of the passions into the stuff of enlightenment. Thus, while each of these crucial passages expresses the principle of "the passions themselves are enlightenment (bonnō-soku-bodai 煩惱即菩提), or: "the non-duality of cause and effect (inka-fu'ni 因果不二), seen from the standpoint of the Sūtra as a whole, R.1 would be the first element in this principle of identification, whilst R.17 would correspond to the latter. That is, if we regard the Rishukyō as a whole as a text which expresses this principle, then R.1 would be the stage of the cause whilst R.17 would be the effect. Further, the former enumerates the individual virtues of the epithets, or phases in the process with which the Rishukyō is concerned, whilst the latter shows these virtues when they have been integrated in the Bodhisattva who has attained the fruit of enlightenment:

The beginning chapter <R.1> is the stage of the cause (in'i 因位), and has separate positions for the Five Deities; the seventeenth chapter <R.17> is the stage of the fruit (ka'i 果位), and the five deities reside on the same lotus and lunar disc; it indicates the purport of the non-duality of cause and effect and of taint and purity (inka-zenjō-fu'ni no mune 因果染淨不二の宗。)

(MDJT:II/628c)¹¹

It will be remembered that the correspondences in R.1 were given detailed analysis by the two earliest commentators in the tradition surrounding our text, namely Amoghavajra and Kūkai, and -as might be expected- Rishushaku and Monku are also of interest and value here. An account of the respective analyses and their importance for our understanding of the philosophical and ritual background to our text will be given below.¹² Before we move on to a consideration of these aspects of T.243, however, we must take a look at the concept of the Five Mysteries, and attempt to give some idea of where it fits into the Shingon tradition. For this purpose, a resumé of some of the historical research conducted in Japan into the basic corpus of the Five Mysteries texts and an attempt to give some idea of how they fit together (or not!) will be in order.

2.2. Background and context

The most important material for our concerns here -over and above the relevant passages in the ten versions of the Rishukyō appended to the translation, above- is a group of rituals centered around Vajrasattva, and called in the Japanese Shingon tradition, "The Six Vajrasattva Rituals (Kongōsatta-rokushu-giki 金剛薩埵六種儀軌)".¹³

11. Some of the implications of this traditional view of the Rishukyō will be taken up below, p. 303ff (§2.3.4).

12. Page 292, §2.2.2.

13. Cf., e.g., MDJT: VI/100 (Mikkyō-kyōten-kanyaku-nenpyō 密教經典漢訳年表), though not all the six rituals in this group are listed.

The most important work in this modestly researched area is that by Fukuda Ryōsei,¹⁴ though there is a good summary of the material -both primary and secondary- in Matsunaga Yūkei's history of the esoteric canon.¹⁵ Of the ten versions, T.244 attracts our attention in this connection, since there are three points in that text which display the Five Mysteries pattern, in addition to the passage above which corresponds to R.17 in T.243.¹⁶

References for all these are as follows:

- 1) Corresponding sections of the versions of Rishukyō (see above, §1.1)
- 2) T.XX/1119, 1120A,¹⁷ 1123 (Fukuda's Group A)
- 3) T.1121, T.1122, T.1124; T.1125¹⁸ (Fukuda's Group B)¹⁹
- 4) T.244, 787a20-b22 (§I),²⁰ 799b3-c17 (§XIV), 812a20-b4 (§XXI)²¹

The six-text grouping in the Shingon tradition does not constitute a historically co-ordinated corpus of texts, although there are elements in them all -with the exception of T.1122- which constitute common sub-rituals based on the Five Mysteries.²² I determine these patterns by comparing

14. Most useful and relevant here are his "Srī-paramādi", "Ikkadai", "Kongōsatta gikirui" and "Rishukyō to Rishukyō-hō". This material has now been collected in Fukuda/RK: 33-80.

15. Matsunaga Yūkei: Mikkyō-kyōten-seiritsushi-ron, pp. 213-8.

16. Listed in Point 4).

17. T.1120B is a verse summary of this text and has an identical structure, as is evidenced by the mantra sequence (cf SJT, p. 332, s.v. T.1120A,B). The mantra sequences are discussed below, and given in Appendix E.

18. T.1125 actually exhibits a structure significantly different from those texts which Fukuda places in his Group A, which would indicate a measure of independent development. (Nevertheless, this text is regarded in the Shingon tradition as the Five Mysteries ritual text par excellence.)

19. The division into Groups A and B is found in Fukuda's "Kongōsatta Gikirui", esp. p. 9.

20. This is one of the rituals given in connection with the Epithets of Purity in R.1.

21. §XXV (T.244: 823b19-21) further gives the Five Mysteries as the Five Tathāgatas.

22. T.1122 can hardly be said to belong in the set of six, since the only readily observable sub-pattern does not occur in the other five,

the occurrences of connected strings of mantra, for mantra, being dharma distilled as sound, are a readily observable summary of the relevant individual teachings. I then cross-check them in the relevant texts. This task is made feasible by the efforts of Hatta Yukio, published in his SJT.²³ An overview of the patterns can be had from Appendix E, which simply lists Hatta's reference numbers for the mantra in the Five Mysteries texts.

A further consideration which must be taken into account in this question is the position occupied by Rishushaku. We have already seen that the attribution of the epithets in the Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss (R.2) to the seventeen Vajradhātu deities does not belong to the Rishukyō as it was originally conceived, however this may have been.²⁴ In fact this point is made by Matsunaga, who points out that Rishushaku belongs to a different tradition from T.244, the structure of the mandala rites being different. On the other hand, however, the passages concerning the Five Mysteries in Rishushaku are not too different from T.244, and -as we saw in the Introduction- Rishushaku also refers to an Extended Version.²⁵ Although the present Extended Versions and that referred to by Amoghavajra are highly unlikely to have been the same text, it is still probable that they have the same roots. That part of the tradition which is relevant for the

but is found instead in Vajrabodhi's and Shih-huo's translations of the STTS (T.XVIII/866: 225b-c and T.XVIII/882: 353b; see above, pp. 9ff, 19ff), as well as other STTS-related texts (e.g. T.XVIII/873, 874).

23. For details of this, see the Introduction, p. 32f.

24. See the discussion above on the significance of there being seventeen epithets in Amoghavajra's version, p. 125ff.

25. These are listed in the Introductory Chapter, p. 22, n. 72.

Five Mysteries is the so-called Srīparamādi, which has a clearly defined teaching of the Five Mysteries cycle.²⁶

Fukuda in fact goes so far as to place Rishushaku and T.244 at opposite extremes, and thus arranges the various texts into three types:²⁷

- 1) Those with a direct relationship to the Srīparamādi, i.e. T.1119, T.1120A+B, T.1123;
- 2) Those which are closely connected with Rishukyō and Rishushaku, i.e. which have the main theme of the Rishukyō as an integral part of their structure (T.1124, T.1125);
- 3) Those which fall somewhere between these two extremes, i.e. T.1121, T.1122.

The fact that Fukuda places T.1125²⁸ with Amoghavajra's Rishukyō is significant, in that the final portion of the former text -after the close of the ritual action- consists of lists of correspondences based on the Vajradhātu -and thus also in the structure of T.243- and frequently identical to those found in Rishushaku and Monku.

Noteworthy perhaps in this connection is the detailing of the Yogācāra Analysis (T.1125: 538b10-19) as it relates to the Five Mysteries Deities: Yoku-kongō aims at all the defiled seeds in the ālaya-vijñāna,²⁹ Soku-kongō represents the pure seventh consciousness,³⁰ falsely grasping the

26. See Matsunaga, Ron, pp. 215ff; Fukuda, "Srīparamādi", p. 17f.

27. Cf "Kongōsatta Gikirui", p. 9. As will be clear from my comments above (p. 286f), and reference to Appendix E, in my opinion T.1122 can not really be placed firmly enough in these cycles. Though the six ritual texts here -T.XX/1119, 1120A/B, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, are reckoned as a group with a certain amount of corporate authority, there is no doubt that T.1119 (Dairaku-kongōsatta-shugyō-jōju-giki 大樂个薩埵修行成就儀軌, commonly abbreviated Dairaku-ki 大樂軌) and T.1125 (see the following note) are the most important. T.1120 is a verse summary of T.1119, T.1123 exhibits a very nearly identical set of mantra; T.1121 is actually also very close.

28. Full title: Kongōchō-yuga-kongōsatta-gohimitsu-shugyō-nenju-giki, 个爾喻伽个薩埵五秘密修行念誦儀軌, commonly abbreviated to Gohimitsu-ki 五秘密軌, T.XX/1125.

29. And is thus attributed to daienkyō-chi (ādarśa-jñāna).

30. Mano-vijñāna, i-shiki.

eighth consciousness, and is thus the origin of deluded views concerning the self.³¹ Vajrasattva resides in the Great Wisdom Seal (daichi-in 大智印), which encompasses the major deities of the Vajradhātu.³² Ai- and Man-kongō of course represent the remaining two forms of consciousness and their transformations.³³ The Bodhisattvas are here said to appear in their mode of transforming, purifying, the various defiled strata of consciousness.

Another significant teaching in this final section of T.1125, and common to the literature surrounding the Five Mysteries, is that concerning Vajrasattva as a unitary summation of all the virtues which arise on the Path. This fourfold body as a whole (i.e. all the virtues of Adamantine Desire, etc., combined) is Vajrasattva.³⁴ The teaching of T.1125 on this point is very much in line with the commentarial tradition we are dealing with, and could almost be a quotation from Rishushaku: the five Bodhisattvas together on the same lotus daïs has the meaning of Liberation through Great Compassion (daihi-gedatsu 大悲解脫), whilst the lunar disc indicates Great Wisdom (daichi 大智). Because of the latter, the Bodhisattva remains untainted whilst in

31. Hence she governs byōdōshō-chi (samatā-jñāna).

32. That is, he represents the summation of all the attainments in the Vajradhātu. The perfection of these wisdoms leads then to the perfection of the Self and Other Enjoyment Bodies (jijuyū-/tajuyū-katoku-shin 自受用他受用果得身 ; cf. N: 553b, 895d, 525a).

33. Myōkanzāt-chi (pratyavekṣana-jñāna) and jōshosa-chi (krtyānu-sthāna-jñāna).

34. T.1125: 538b29f. In fact, the text goes on to encompass the four Tathāgatas and their Bodhisattvas (T.1125: 538c2-16), and eventually covers the whole of the Central Assembly of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala (Jōjin-ne), with its thirty-seven Divinities. We thus have a strong reminder of the basic affiliation of the Five Mysteries cycle, a reminder which is also to be found in the other major text in this group, T.1119, where the preliminary ritual follows the standard conventions of the Vajradhātu divinities (T.1119: 509c24-510b7).

birth and death, because of the former he refrains from entry into nirvāna.³⁵

2.2.1. Comparison of the Gates of Great Bliss and of the Profound Mystery

In the introductory remarks to this section, we saw that the Dharma Gate of Great Bliss is regarded as the beginning of the enlightenment process, while the Gate of the Profound Mystery is regarded as its culmination.³⁶ This is expressed with particular clarity by Nasu:

In this manner, the Dharma Gate of the Five Mysteries is the samādhi of Vajrasattva and Desire-Touching-Love-Pride; these are identical to the samādhi of the first five epithets of purity in the first chapter's seventeen epithets of purity, but the five epithets in the first chapter indicate that they are each individually of the pure nature of Dharma, and decidedly not of the nature of passion. In contrast to having five separate locii of abode, the Five Mysteries in this chapter have the five types of samādhi functioning as one body in the pure bodhicitta of Vajrasattva.

(Tatsui: 223)³⁷

An interesting twist on the theme of the identity of the origin and the goal comes in the sentence following this quotation, where Nasu describes the Bodhisattvas of the final chapter as: "...dwelling in the samādhi of primal wisdom."³⁸ This is indeed the principal teaching of the Rishukyō, the most profound, mysterious mandala. "The Five Mysteries mandala symbolises Vajrasattva taking desire, touching, love and pride as the practice of the Vow in one single body and is the ideal figure for us practitioners of Shingon" (loc. cit.).

35. T.1125: 538c27ff. The final point of note in this connection is that following on from this (T.1125: 539a4-19) we find a passage that consists of material found verbatim in the Hundred Character Verse of the Rishukyō, along with short explanations of selected lines.

36. Above, p. 282ff.

37. Cf also Tatsui: 216f.

38. "Honsho-hannya no sanmaji ni jū-shite iru"
" (loc. cit.).

2.2.2. Correspondences in Rishushaku and Monku

The system of correspondences found in our modern commentators has no deviations, a uniformity in the Japanese Shingon tradition which goes back to Amoghavajra and Kūkai. We shall thus give a resumé of the relevant sections of Rishushaku and Monku.³⁹

Rishushaku

Amoghavajra begins by declaring the whole chapter to be the samādhi of the Fivefold Mystery (goshu-himitsu-sammaji 五種秘密三摩地 ; T.1003: 616c13). Then follows the attribution of R.17/3-8 to the Five Mysteries deities, in the order: Desire, Touching, Vajrasattva, Love and finally Pride (T.1003: 616c15-29). Together, these are described as the "fivefold samādhi, the most mysterious of mysteries".⁴⁰

Amoghavajra then proceeds to give directions for the practice of the mandala-based ritual of the Five Mysteries, a configuration which is peculiar to the Sino-Japanese tradition, and which makes its first appearance in Rishushaku: "A common lotus pedestal (dōichi-rence-za 同一蓮華座), a common disc of light (dōichi-enkō 同一円光)." ⁴¹ One is then

39. The references are: T1003: 616c12-617a28; Monku: 615a20-b13.

40. T.1003: 616c29f.: "Kore goshu-sanmaji nari, himitsu-chū sai-himitsu 此五種三摩地なり、秘密中最秘密."

41. Literally, a common, round (or: perfect) light." Since this refers to the lunar disc common in mandala and other ritual representations, I have taken the slight linguistic liberty of turning the elements en 円 and kō 光 around in my translation. This configuration also appears in T.1125, also translated by Amoghavajra. Since all his translations are based on materials he collected during his journey to Sri Lanka -from which he returned to Ch'ang-an in 746 (Matsunaga, Rekishī, p. 140f)- it would be more correct to say that the first appearance of this configuration is simultaneously to be found in T.1125. The reference in Rishushaku is, however, the first commentarial occurrence, which is certainly an event of importance. (On Amoghavajra's trip to Sri Lanka, see also CHOU Yi-liang: "Tantrism in China", Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 8 (1945), pp. 289ff.)

enjoined to draw Vajrasattva in the centre and two consorts (myōhi 明妃) on either side. The whole is: "Like the south-east corner of the Kondei-mandara 金泥曼荼羅 ."⁴² The practitioner is then reminded of the necessity of acquiring consecration from a qualified master, since it is only thus that one may practise the yoga techniques connected with the Five Mysteries and attain the consequent benefits. No amount of written words can convey the significance of the ritual cycle -which Amoghavajra refers to here as the kōkyō⁴³- this being a matter of one's own yoga, seeking and seeing (i.e. direct perception of the truth).⁴⁴ Rishushaku now proceeds to comment on the 100-Character Verse.⁴⁵ The order of the Bodhisattvas is changed from the first group, though no explanation is given, and the sequence commonly found in Vajradhātu lineage texts is described: Central Deity (Vajrasattva), Desire, Touching, Love and Pride. The characteristics of the four consorts are given as the practice of the four pāramitā found in the Jōjin-ne (Central Assembly) of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, namely (beginning with the one corresponding to Desire): wisdom (hannya 般若, *prajñā), Great Concentration (dai-jōryo 大定, *mahādhyāna), Great Compassion (dai-hi 大悲, *mahākaruṇa) and Great Vigour (dai-shōjin 大精進, *mahāvīrya).

42. KWDJT: 11/40152.861 gives kondei 金泥 as a paste made of gold dust and glue. Kondei-mandara 金泥曼荼羅 would then be a mandala drawn with such a mixture, though since the term is not found in any of the standard reference works, I cannot put forward an explanation of the type of mandala indicated here.

43. This is another of the references to the Extended Version, which we have mentioned passim.

44. "The attainment of the Extended Sūtra is quite simply one's own yoga, seeking and seeing (toku kōkyō wa, ji'ō-jin-ken yo 悟広経は自心尋見耳)" (T.1003: 617a6).

45. Hyaku-ji no Ge 百字の偈 (R.17/9-13).

The explanation for this is that enlightenment is of many kinds, though this variety may be summarised into four methods. Thus Amoghavajra comes to give further explanations of the four Consorts' significance:

Great Wisdom is the Prajñāpāramitā; second, Great Concentration is Great Samādhi;⁴⁶ third, Great Compassion is unrelenting amidst the sufferings of birth and death; fourth, Great Vigour is liberating limitless sentient beings and bringing about the realisation of the Thunderbolt Being (Vajrasattva). Because of this there is manifested the state <kurai 位> of sovereignty <jizai 自在>, the common lotus blossom and the common disc of light. Because the essence is undifferentiated, there are the supporting wings of wisdom and compassion; there is no taint in birth and death and no dwelling in nirvāna.

(T.1003: 617a19-24)

The final information Amoghavajra gives us concerns the correspondences to the five kula, and the Consorts are assigned respectively to the Vajra-, Gem-, Lotus- and Karma-Families. Vajrasattva himself, being the central figure, is assigned to the Tathāgata Family (T.1003: 617a24-26). For the remaining part of this chapter, Amoghavajra simply refers to his comments in the foregoing sections of his work. This includes the mantra hūm, which is therefore a single hūm, and not the repeated bīja which in the course of the Japanese developments surrounding this text came to be the case. This will be dealt with below in the section on the mantra.⁴⁷

46. This is a clear indication of the change in the compass of the term samādhi in the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions, resulting -as elsewhere- most probably from a lack of understanding of the original significance and context of the term in the earliest traditions.

47. See below, p. 311ff, §2.3.5.

Monku

According to Kūkai, the two basic divisions of the chapter are into the teaching, or guiding principle (rishu 理趣, naya) -which is in fact the whole of the text proper- and the mantra at the end, which becomes the second main component. The text is then divided into three main parts: heading, explanation and praise (hyō-shaku-tan 標釈歎).

It will be seen from the following table that Kūkai received a more or less identical transmission to the one in Amoghavajra's possession, the only difference being that the Japanese master does not explicitly identify the deities as the Five Mysteries.

The complete sub-divisions are, then, as follows:

TABLE 5.2:
Kūkai's Analysis of
The Dharma-Gate of the Five Mysteries
(R.17, 615a20-b13)

1 <u>Text</u>	
1.1 <u>Heading</u>	
1.1.1 The Lord (<u>shu</u>)	R.17/1
1.1.2 The Teaching (<u>hō</u>)	R.17/2
1.2 <u>Explanation</u>	R.17/3-13
1.2.1 Explanation of Correspondences (<u>hai-shaku</u>) ⁴⁸	R.17/3-8
1.2.1.1 Desire	
1.2.1.2 Touching	
1.2.1.3 Vajrasattva	
1.2.1.4 Love	
1.2.1.5 Pride ⁴⁹	
1.2.2 Summarising Verse (<u>shōju</u>)	R.17/9-13
1.2.2.1 Vajrasattva's <u>samādhī</u>	
1.2.2.2 Desire's <u>samādhī</u>	
1.2.2.3 Touching's <u>samādhī</u>	
1.2.2.4 Love's <u>samādhī</u>	
1.2.2.5 Pride's <u>samādhī</u> ⁵⁰	
1.3 <u>Praise</u>	R.17/14-18
1.3.1 Aspect of practice (<u>gyōsō</u>)	
1.3.2 Five Kinds of Reward (<u>ka-hō</u>)	
1.3.2.1 Attaining reposeful bliss (<u>toku-anraku</u>)	
1.3.2.2 Attaining <u>samādhī</u> (<u>toku-sanmai</u>) ⁵¹	
1.3.2.3 Attaining <u>siddhi</u> (<u>toku-sijji</u>)	
1.3.2.4 Attaining spontaneous existence (<u>toku-jizai</u>)	
1.3.2.5 Attaining the state of Buddhahood (<u>toku-but-su-i</u>)	
2 <u>The Mantra</u> : Kūkai gives two <u>bīja</u> , <u>svāhā</u> (Chou 周 text) and <u>hūm</u> (T'ang 唐 text), but gives no further information.	

48. This section explains the samādhī of the Five Great Bodhisattvas.
49. Vajrasattva is in the centre and the remaining four are in the E-S-W-N positions, i.e. as in the first five epithets in R.1.

50. The practices related to each of these are given as in Amoghavajra's commentary, namely: Vajrasattva -the Vow (gyōgan); Desire - prajñāpāramitā (hannya-haramitsu); Touching-Great Concentration (dai-jōryo); Love -Great Compassion (daihi); Pride -Great Vigour (dai-shō-jin); cf T.1003: 615a29-b6. These five sections of text are further attributed to the four Families, Thunderbolt-Gem-Dharma-Action.

51. Kūkai states that a different explanation combines these first two into one, namely sanmai (Monku: 615b11).

2.2.2.1. A Note on the Term Myōhi 明妃 ("Consort")

Before we move to the analysis of R.17 itself, it will be in order to give an idea of the implications of the term myōhi 明妃, which is generally translated as "consort", referring as it does to the female complement of a given masculine deity. MDJT informs us that this term is:

A different name for 'mantra' (shingon 真言). 'Myō 明 (vidyā)' is the light (kōmyō 光明) of wisdom, mantra is called, 'the king of knowledge (myō'ō 明王) because it is the king of this wisdom (chie 智慧); in the feminine this is translated as 'myōhi 明妃', but not in the meaning of a vidyārāja's consort.

(MDJT: V/2122a)

The encyclopedia then goes on to quote the commentary on the MVS, chüan 9, which gives the meaning of hi 妃 as "samādhi": "The meaning is 'samādhi', that is to say, it is the samādhi of the Womb-store of Great Compassion; this samādhi is the mother of all the sons of the Buddha."⁵² It follows from this that the characteristic samādhi of any given deity is regarded as myōhi, since the term hi has two meanings: that of bringing into life or giving birth, and that of nurturing, since samādhi (jō 覺) both gives birth to and nurtures wisdom (MDJT: loc.cit.).

Thus the teaching of this final chapter of the body of the Rishukyō is that wisdom shines forth at its most powerful when one has integrated the function of wisdom on the basis of the samādhi arising from the transformation of the energy latent in the ordinary passions of each and every person. It is for this reason that Toganoo describes this Gate as that which has the greatest relevance for one's everyday life, since it is only when this transformation has

52. 明妃是三昧義、所謂大悲胎藏三昧也。

been achieved that one is in a position to work for the benefit of all beings with the maximum efficacy:

Having opened the eye of the heart and become enlightened to the fact that even minute particles of dust, single dharmā, are endowed with the Five Wisdoms and the Five Families, and are perfectly endowed with the Dharmakāya, this Dharma Gate of the Profound Secret is that which radically shows the essential truth as to how one expresses this in everyday life, how one comes to strive for the benefit of others, freely and purely, through selfless love and whilst immersed in limitless bliss.

(RK: 386)

We may now proceed to an examination of the text of R.17 itself.

2.3. Textual analysis

Since many of the terms which occur in this final chapter have already occurred and been duly explained, particular attention will only be given here where terms have a significantly different meaning or aspect. We shall proceed on the same basic pattern as we saw in dealing with Rishushaku and Monku.

2.3.1. The Heading (R.17/1-2)

The chapter begins with a description of the Lord, that is the particular aspect of the Tathāgata which is appropriate to the exposition of this Dharma-Gate. The element in this Tathāgata's title which distinguishes him from the other manifestations met with in the text is issai-himitsu-hōshō 一切秘密法性 . Horiuchi glosses this simply as: "issai no himitsu no hōshō", "the Dharma-nature of all mysteries". The implication of this is twofold: first, that the esoteric significance of the various dharmā which make up the universe is ultimately -in the context of enlightenment- nothing less than the profound mystery which the chapter title indicates. Second, that the true nature of all

the esoteric teachings -with the emphasis on the ritually induced spiritual accomplishments- is enlightenment itself and not merely dabbling in the occult. Horiuchi reads the description of the Tathāgata as follows: from Bagabon 薄伽梵 down to ron 論 is a relative clause defining nyorai 如来. The Tathāgata's attainment is twofold: he is without vain imaginings (geron 戲論, prapañca), and (the cause of this state) has fathomed the absolute aspect of Dharma as it is contained in all individual dharma, more precisely the esoteric aspect of them, which the Shingon teaching reveals.⁵³ Horiuchi explicitly points out the connection between the attainment of this Dharma-nature and the absence of vain imaginings: "Mahāvairocana has attained the Dharma-nature of all mysteries, and the realm of the enlightenment is devoid of vain imāginings."⁵⁴

A further point made by Horiuchi in connection with this Tathāgata is that there is a difference between Mahāvairocana here and Mahāvairocana in the second chapter of Sūtra (R.2). Whereas the latter (so to speak prior) manifestation is a so-called "Single-Gate (ichi-mon 一門)" Tathāgata,⁵⁵ in this final stage Mahāvairocana governs all Gates (fu-mon 普門), and represents the infinite permutations of the principle of Buddhist enlightenment. For this reason, Mahāvairocana is here to be thought of as the manifestation of Vajrasattva in the Dharma-Gate of Great Bliss (R.1), and expresses the principle also found in the Dharma-Gate of the

53. Cf Stcherbatsky's summary of the term dharma, quoted above, p. 38.

54. "Dainichi-nyorai ga issai no himitsu no hōshō wo ete, sono satori no kyōkai wa mu-geron dearu 文日如来が一切の秘密の法性を得て、その悟りの境界は、無戲論である。" (Hanashi: 385).

55. I.e. governs only one aspect of the enlightenment process.

All-Inclusive (fu-shū 普集, R.11). This is further confirmed by the use of the term dairaku-kongō-fukū-sanmaya 大樂金剛子空三摩耶 (R.17/2), which as we saw in Chapter Two above is a designation for Vajrasattva, being his Thunderbolt Name (Kongō-myō 金剛明). This manifestation of Mahāvairocana/Vajrasattva contains then all aspects of enlightenment: "A Vajrasattva who contains the whole. The Vajrasattva of the Eleventh Chapter/Stage (dan 段), Vajrasattva of the Ubiquitous Gate, of All-Pervading Goodness. That Vajrasattva, then, has explained the content of enlightenment. So, one usually calls this, 'The Dharma-Gate of the Five Mysteries'."56

2.3.2. The Primary Explanation (R.17/3-8)

This passage is -as we have seen- split into five, corresponding to the Five Mysteries Deities, in the order: Desire, Touching, Vajrasattva, Love and Pride. The most striking point about the passage is that each element necessarily implies the next, and that all five in fact belong together intimately. In this vein, Horiuchi comments on R.17/3 by pointing out that although the text indicates Great Desire (daiyoku 大欲), it is by dint of this that the next samādhi, namely that of Great Bliss itself, is attained:

On the face of it, it is the utmost excellence of great desire, but apart from that, the perfection of the utmost excellence of Great Bliss is included.... The perfection of the utmost excellence of Great Bliss is the samādhi of Kongō-Keirikira-myōhi.

(Hanashi: 390)

56. "Zentai wo fukumu Kongōsatta. Daijūni-dan <=R.11> no fumon/fugen no Kongōsatta. Sono Kongōsatta no, mā, satori no naiyō wo tokareta. Mā, futsū wa 'Gohimitsu no Hōmon' mōshite orimasu" 総括を含む介薩埵。大十二段の普賢・普賢の介薩埵。その介薩埵の、マ一、悟りの内容を説かれた。マ一、普賢は、「五秘密の法門」申して居ります。(Hanashi: 385).

The basic characteristics of the five phases are: Great Desire, Great Bliss, Great Enlightenment, the crushing of all the Great Māras and Sovereignty in Spontaneous Existence in the Three Realms.⁵⁷

The line of thought -and practice- exemplified here is quite clearly not foreign to the various Buddhist methods of meditation and contemplation, but it is given an esoteric twist here in that the principle of the transformation of the ordinary passions is given paramount importance. Great Desire simply means the firm resolution required of the acolyte if he is to make any sort of progress along the path of the Buddha, let alone attain its ultimate fruit. In cultivating this desire, transforming it from desire for that which binds to desire for that which liberates, he gradually moves through the increasingly subtle transformations of the conditioned realm, until the mundane and supra-mundane blisses of the Path are transformed at the moment of enlightenment into that which the texts call Great Bliss (dairaku 大樂, mahāsukha).⁵⁸ This process, since it deals with the individual attainment of the yogin, is called in our sources jiri 自利, "self-benefit, benefit for oneself." Dealing as it does with the individual's own cultivation of the spirit, it stands in contrast to rita 利他, which now comes into play. It may thus be said that enlightenment forms a kind of watershed in the spiritual process, it being the moment when the upward progress of the Bodhisattva reaches its culmination, and the mundane task of

57. Daiyoku 大欲, dairaku 大樂, daibodai 大菩提, sai-dairiki-ma 摧大力魔, hen-sangai-jizai-shu 遍三界自在王。

58. On this theme, see my article, "Dairaku", op. cit., passim.

benefitting sentient beings becomes possible. The first task here is the subjugation of all hindrances to enlightenment and benefit for sentient beings. By dint of the transcendent nature of the enlightenment experience, there is nothing in the conditioned realm which can stand in the face of one who has attained this final insight. Having overcome the various demonic hindrances, what is there which can stand in the way of one thus liberated? One is free to course throughout the whole of the three realms through which one passed on the way to realisation, traverses the whole cosmos, working for the weal of all sentient beings. The counterpart of this in human experience is pride, and when this phase of the process is spoken of, pride is understood positively, as transformed pride. It is natural or spontaneous (mizukara 自ら) existence (zai 在), because there is nothing upon which one is dependent. It is sovereignty because there is no one, no thing which is equal to or superior to such a Bodhisattva. Thus for the first time it becomes fully possible to practise the Bodhisattva Vow taken at the beginning of the process, and the full implications -that the Bodhisattva's task, like his very being, is infinite and eternal- come to be fully appreciated and expressed.⁵⁹

Kambayashi describes this process as follows: The Bodhisattva who has attained the stage of the purity of desire (i.e. the first epithet in R.1) desires the salvation of all

59. One is reminded here of the Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, I.20: "Countless beings should I lead to Nirvana and yet there are none who lead to Nirvana, nor who should be led to it. However many beings he may lead to Nirvana, yet there is not any being that has been led to Nirvana, nor that has led others to it. For such is the true nature of dharmas, seeing that their nature is illusory." (Conze's translation, The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines, Bolinas: Four Seasons Foundation: 1973, p. 90.)

sentient beings. This in turn fills him with feelings of bliss towards self and others, a bliss which is called, "great reposeful bliss (dai-anraku 大安樂)". Then, through the perfection of this Great Bliss in the equality of self and others, one realises the guiding principle of wisdom which teaches that everything is pure and devoid of taint or attachment (issai-shōjō-muzen-mujaku 一切隨淨無染無著, Kōgi: 495). Hereupon one perfects the Great Enlightenment of All the Tathāgatas (issai-nyorai no dai-bodai 一切如來の大菩提). This enlightenment entails the attainment of all pure dharmas, a state in which it is impossible for evil dharma of any kind to exist: the demons are overcome by the sword of Great Enlightenment (daibodai no riken 大菩提の利劍). Dairikima 大力魔 is generally regarded as a simple aggrandisement of terms corresponding to Sanskrit Māra.⁶⁰ Kambayashi, however, interprets it as Daibonten 大梵天, the deity who resides at the summit of the sphere of form,⁶¹ and who regards himself as the Lord of the three spheres. For this reason, one who subdues him takes over the range of his dominion and himself attains "the accomplishment of sovereignty in spontaneous existence throughout the three realms". A more austere explanation is that this god represents ignorance, and this siddhi is to be understood in the light of eradicating this basic hindrance to the perception of Buddhist truth.

60. But N: 931a simply describes dairikima as a demon possessing strong power, referring specifically to the Rishukyō.

61. N: 929c, however, locates this either as the third of the heavens of the first jhāna/dhyāna (one of the seventeen in the rūpa-dhātu), or as in the abode of the first dhyāna (jōryōsho 靜慮處) in the rūpa-dhātu.

In the eradication of ignorance, there is the perception of the three cardinal aspects of Buddhist enlightenment, namely emptiness 空, the characterless 無相 and the wishless 無願.⁶² According to the Shingon teaching one is at this point not differentiable from any other dharma in the universe, and exists in full communion with the dharmakāya. Hence one does in a sense become the universe and resides in all the ten directions without hindrance. This is then a further sense in which the significance of this line may be understood.⁶³

The final line in this first pentad tells us -according to Kambayashi- of the possibility of gathering and liberating sentient beings. The Bodhisattva refuses to enter individual nirvāna, choosing instead to turn towards sentient beings and work for their welfare, desiring that they too should experience bliss. In this task, the Bodhisattva requires a boundless store of energy or vigour,⁶⁴ since he is committed to residing in birth and death. He is, however, on the basis of his superior insight, capable of seeing the finite, mortal beings about him as bathed in the pure light of truth, simply as they are. The practical expression of this insight -which is simultaneously the practice of the principles of the identity of Buddha and sentient being we have seen passim-⁶⁵ is the furthest extent of the practice,

62. Respectively, kū 空 (sūnyatā), musō 無相 (nimitta), mugan 無願 (apranihita). Cf. Conze, BTI, pp. 59-69.

63. The foregoing is a paraphrase of Kōgi: 496.

64. Shōjin 精進, *vīrya.

65. Tō-sō-soku-dō 當相即通 (the manifest characteristic <lakṣaṇa> is itself the Way) and soku-ji-ni-shin 即事而真 (things themselves are indeed truth; cf N: 886b) are the two which Kambayashi quotes specifically in this connection. I am here paraphrasing Kōgi: 497.

the perfect expression of the fruit of Buddhahood.⁶⁶

A final word about R.17/7-8: Horiuchi interprets these lines as corresponding to the Five Families, the latter half of R.17/7 being moreover the virtue of benefitting others⁶⁷.

The correspondences are:

	7a:	Thunderbolt
	8a:	Karma
8a (tsune ni 常に):		Dharma
8a (kyūshō 救授):		Gem
	8b:	Buddha

2.3.3. The Verse Summary (R.17/9-13)

The verse summary of the teaching of this section, popularly known as the Hundred Character Verse (Hyaku-ji no Ge 百字の偈),⁶⁸ may originally have been a prose passage, which later came to be regarded as having mnemonic or devotional value sufficient to prompt a re-formulation in verse.⁶⁹ Structurally, the major point to be noticed in this connection is that the order of correspondences to the Five Bodhisattvas is not that of the primary explanation: as in most ritual texts in this tradition, it is the central deity -namely Vajrasattva- who emerges first, followed by the other four, and in the order in which they are found elsewhere.

66. Kore ga sunawachi saikyoku-kukyō deari, bukka no enjō dearu これが即ち
 最終究極であり、仏果の内成である。" (Kōgi: loc.cit.) For enjō 円成, see N: 113b.

67. Rita no kudoku 利他の功德, Hanashi: 392.

68. Since it is composed in five groups of lines, each comprising four five-character phrases.

69. The idea is Toganoo's, who points out that the corresponding passages in T.220 and T.242 have prose explanations in this section, in contrast to the other versions. Since Hsüan-tsang did not generally alter the form of his source text when translating, it is highly likely that the material was originally prose, and gradually became versified. However, the basic import of the types of passage is the same, though they differ as to whether the interpretation is exoteric or esoteric (Toganoo refers here to K'uei-chi's and Amoghavajra's commentaries). Cf. RK: 392f.

The first group of four lines refers then to Vajrasattva. The very first line refers to wisdom (chie 智慧), the final two to benefitting others (rita 利他). The four phrases thus represent the union of wisdom and compassion.⁷⁰ Next we have the four phrases referring to Desire, in which two kinds of wisdom are shown, the wisdom of prajñā and the wisdom of upāya.⁷¹ The former of these is wisdom per se (shōtai-chi 正体智),⁷² in contrast to the latter, which is the wisdom of skilful means, applied wisdom as it were. The prime importance of this latter lies of course in the soteriological aspect of the Bodhisattva's task. Again, the theme of jiri-rita comes to the fore. In this connection, though, Horiuchi makes an interesting point about the relationship between the two, saying that when the first has been achieved, then both types exist simultaneously, there being no temporal or qualitative difference between them.⁷³ Horiuchi relates the phrase, "dharma and existences (sho-hō oyobi shoyū 諸法及諸有)" to the Epithets of Purity, which state the ultimate purity of everything.

70. "Kekkyoku wa, kono ni-gyō wa chi to hi wo arawashite imasu 結局はこの二行は智と慈を表わしています" (Hanashi: 393).

71. "Hannya no chie to hōben no chie 般若の智慧と方便の智慧" Hanashi: loc. cit.

72. Literally, "correct essential wisdom" (in the sense that it is that wisdom which perceives the essence, the "body (tai/karada 体)" of the cosmos.

73. "Satori no chie wo etara, mata tadachi-ni hōben no chie, hito wo kyōka-suru to iu chie. Jiri ga enman-sureba, rita mo enman-suru to iu koto de, jiri/rita to iu koto desu 悟りの智慧を得たら、又直に方便の智慧、人を教化するという智慧、自利が円満すれば、利他も円満するという、自利利他ということだ。" ("If one attains the wisdom of enlightenment, then it is at once the wisdom of skilful means, the wisdom which converts people. If one perfects self-benefit, it is also the perfection of benefitting others: self-benefit and benefitting others" (Hanashi: 393f).) Further: "Satori sonomono no chie wa dōji-ni mata, hito wo kyōka-suru to iu chie mo sugurete-iru to iu koto. Sore ga hōben-chi 悟りそのものの智慧は同時に又、人を教化するという智慧と勝れているといふこと、それが方便智。" (Hanashi: 394).

The third group relates to Touching, and the character yoku 欲 (desire) is identified as Great Desire (daiyoku 大欲), that is Vajrasattva's great mind of enlightenment.⁷⁴ Chō 調 means to subjugate in the sense of "convert (to the path of the Buddha)",⁷⁵ that is the purification of all in the mundane realm. U-chō 有動 means the "highest point in the heavens"⁷⁶ and is complemented by aku-shu 惡趣, which is the precise opposite: the lowest depths to which sentient beings can sink. Together, the two terms are obviously intended to indicate the whole gamut of sentient existence. The significance of Touching in this context is that the samādhi relevant to this phase touches the essence of Great Bliss -we should point out here that the iconographic representations show the Touching Bodhisattva with her arms around Vajrasattva's waist.⁷⁷

The four phrases which correspond to the Bodhisattva of Love are in line with the characteristics we have seen elsewhere in connection with this position in the pattern of emanation.⁷⁸ That is, the lotus is mentioned explicitly and the freedom from defilements which is sentient beings' actual nature is also stressed. Gunjō 群生 is another term for shujō 衆生, "sentient beings".

74. "Kongōsatta no, dai-bodai-shin no, ōkii daiyoku 介薩埵の、大菩提心の 大い大欲" (Hanashi: 394).

75. Kyōka-suru 教化す, literally: "teach and change or transform."

76. There are slight differences in interpretation here amongst our secondary commentators, but the basic import is the same. On u-chō, see N: 86b, where the Sanskrit equivalents bhavāgra and agra. Specifically it refers to Akinistha-deva, the highest heaven in the realm of form (shiki-kukyō-ten 色究竟天).

77. "Dairaku ni fureru, dai-anraku ni fureru to iu koto de, 'dai-anraku wo eta' to iu imi ni narimasu 大衆にふれる、大衆衆にふれること、大衆衆を得た意味" (Hanashi: 395).

78. I.e., west, Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, the symbol of the pure lotus rising from the mud.

In commenting on the final set of four, Horiuchi repeats what he said earlier concerning jishin-tappuri.⁷⁹ The virtue of Great Vigour (dai-shōjin 大精進) is expressed in four phrases, which each show one of the Four Families, Vajra (=daiyoku* 大欲), Ratna (dai-anraku* 大樂), Dharma (=san-gai* 三界) and Karma (=nōsaku* 能作). Implicit in these together is the fifth, namely the Buddha or Tathāgata Family, to which Vajrasattva belongs. Thus once again we have the theme of all the differentiated aspects of enlightenment coming together in one fully enlightened being, and being expressed in the unrelenting vigour of the Bodhisattva's work for the weal of all sentient beings.

2.3.4. The effects of practising the Sūtra

With minor departures, the format of this concluding section in R.17 is similar to R.1, its counterpart. The most important difference -apart from the mudrā and mantra, which we shall look at shortly- is that there is nothing to correspond to R.1/20-23, which is the section guaranteeing the spiritual safety of the practitioner until such time as he ascends to the bodhi-manda. The reason for this should be clear: whereas R.1 is the beginning stage, the cause, R.17 is of course the culmination, the effect or fruit. Hence the concern here is with the integration and expression of the attainment of enlightenment, and not with safeguarding the yogin's progress.

The attribution of the relevant phrases to phases of the specific attainments in R.1 and R.17 is different,⁸⁰ but it

79. See above, Chapter Two, p. 178, n. 124.

80. I am referring primarily here to Monku. The differences are: R.1, samādhī-sovereignty-blisses-Buddhahood; R.17, <peaceful bliss>/samādhī-siddhī-sovereignty-Buddhahood. No explanation is offered in the commen-

is doubtful whether one may attach much importance to this. Explanations of the individual terms in this sub-section are hardly to be found in the secondary literature, but Nasu does have some useful remarks to make. He defines for example "honsho-hannya-rishu 本初般若理趣" (R.17/14) as: "The guiding principle of wisdom (hannya-rishu 般若理趣) of the Dharma-nature of things as they are (hosshō-ji'ni 法性自爾) in the realm/extent of the original non-arising (hon-fushō-sai 本不生際)" (Tatsui: 231). That is, the guiding principle through which it is possible to integrate the various elements of enlightenment, more precisely the samādhi of the dharmādhātu (hokkai-sanmai 法界), and thereby complete the body which practises the Vow of Vajrasattva.⁸¹

The characters, nichi-nichi 日日 ... have a special significance for the Shingon Sect, since the Rishukyō -as noted before- is a staple element in much of the sect's daily practice.⁸²

Nasu also makes the point that the Tibetan version does not permit the splitting of the text into Kūkai's divisions, here (2) sanmai 三昧 (samādhi) and (3) sijji (sid-dhi 悉地), since one is forced to read the Tibetan: "dai-raku-kongō-fukū-sanmaya no kukyō-sijji 大樂金剛不空三摩耶の究竟悉地" (Tatsui: 232). One should note here that the Tibetan has samaya and not samādhi, which would indicate that the Chinese version incorporates a misreading here. The modified reading also fits in with the other occurrences of

tarial literature, and it is probably due merely to arbitrary differences in individual approaches to the Sūtra.

81. "Kongōsatta no gyōgan no shin wo kansei-suru koto 分薩埵の行願の身を完成すること"; Tatsui: 231).

82. See the Introductory Chapter, p. 7, n. 25.

this term, which as we have seen is a reference to Vajrasattva.⁸³

The issai-anraku/etsu-i' 一切安樂悦意 of R.17/15 refers in one expression to the great bliss of awakening to oneself (jishō no dairaku 自性の大樂) in the first stage, that of Joy (sho-kangi-ji 初歡喜地) on the one hand, and on the other to the Great Joy (dai-ki 大喜) of transforming others (keta no daiki 化他の大喜). In our remarks on Nasu's definition of the particular guiding principle of this chapter, we noted that the point of this chapter is an integration of the various aspects of enlightenment in a practical expression in the fulfilment of the Bodhisattva Vow. In this light, Nasu interprets R.17/16 as enlightenment to the nature of things as they are, and reads R.17/15-16 as one unit:

Thus, if we regard the text from: "every peaceful bliss and a mind of rapture", to: "the ultimate accomplishment...of Great Bliss" as continuous, this samādhi of the Five Mysteries, one may think it possible to call it the realm where the joy of the Great Bliss of self-awakening and transforming others is attained.

(Tatsui: 232)

The penultimate element of the text proper (R.17/17) turns on the phrase, "issai-hō-jizai-etsu-raku 一切法自在悦樂", which refers to the theme of equality, in the sense that the Bodhisattva is devoid of attachments both to dharmas and to persons,⁸⁴ and can thus operate without hindrance in the three realms.⁸⁵

The final phrase is interpreted as passing through the stages of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas and attaining the

83. Horiuchi also discusses this point (Hanashi: 398).

84. "Nin-bō no nishu ga naku 人法二種がなく" (Tatsui: 232).

85. Nasu uses the phrase, muge-jizai 無礙自在 (loc. cit.).

stages of Mahāvairocana (the fruit: ka'i 果位) and Vajrasattva (the cause: in'i 因位). This is in contrast to Horiuchi, who states that even in R.1, where the character (oyobi) appears, the phrase "nyorai-kyū-shukongō'i 如來及執介位" is recited during ceremonies without the conjunctive. This -according to Horiuchi- intends the identity of essence (ittai 一体) between Vajrasattva (here, Shukongō 執金剛), Vajradhara) and the Tathāgata (Hanashi: 399).

Finally, Nasu gives the traditional way of comparing the first and final chapters of the Sūtra (Tatsui: 232):

R.17 (corresponds to:)	R.1
*/15	*/28
*/16	*/25-26
*/17	*/27
*/18	*/29-30

2.3.5. The mantra

As we have seen, neither Amoghavajra nor Kūkai gives the mantra in the form which has been the Shingon tradition for centuries,⁸⁶ namely the bīja hūm, duplicated (jū-unji 重叫字). The fullest treatment of this topic is to be found in RK, on which we shall base most of the following account.

Toganoo points out that there is no mantra in either TibExt or T.244, although TibAlam has hūm. The various versions of the Rishukyō have the following mantra:

86. Since the Shishi-sōjō 師資相承 (cf MDJT: II/926b, 933c) and certainly well before the time of Kōhō 泉室 (Kamakura period). The latter traces the duplicated hūm back to Kūkai, though it is difficult to see any concrete historical grounds for this (cf RK: 402; Hanashi: 399). Kambayashi repeats Kōhō's gloss (jūtai 重体, "duplicated essence"), and the tradition that it was Kūkai that brought about the change. He then, however, merely asserts that it is to show principles such as: sho-son-fu-ni 諸尊不二 (the objects of worship/deities are non-dual), in'ka-ittai 因果一体 (cause and effect are the same essence) and bon/shō-mubetsu 凡聖無別 (there is no distinction between the common and the holy). (Cf Kōgi: 502.)

<u>T.220</u> :	three sets of <u>dhāranī</u> , 990c13-24 (28 <u>dhāranī</u>), 990c29-991a4 (13 <u>dhāranī</u>) and 991a8-10 (eight <u>dhāranī</u>)
<u>T.240</u> :	778a26 (<u>bīja svāhā</u>)
<u>T.241</u> :	781a14-b13 (set of <u>dhāranī</u>)
<u>T.242</u> :	783b12-c15 (set of <u>dhāranī</u>)
<u>T.243</u> :	786b4 (<u>bīja hūm</u>)
<u>T.244</u> :	none
<u>TibExt</u> :	none
<u>TibAlam</u> :	<u>bīja hūm</u>
<u>Tib150</u> :	set of <u>dhāranī</u>
<u>Skt150</u> :	corrupt text

The sets of dhāranī in T.220, T.241, T.242 and Tib150 seem to be an inter-related group,⁸⁷ independent of the bīja tradition, and possibly earlier in origin.⁸⁸ As noted above, the bīja hūm in T.243 is traditionally regarded in the Shingon sect as a double bīja, although Toganoo comes to the conclusion that the original bīja in Amoghavajra's text is the ordinary, single hūm.⁸⁹

As to the meaning of duplicated hūm, Toganoo quotes Jitsuhan 実範 (lived ca. 1144) for us:⁹⁰

"The duplicated hūm shows the virtue of the Original Cause and Original Being (hon'in/hon'yū 本因本有); this is the Original Great Thunderbolt (honsho-daikongō 本初大金剛) itself. The duplicate form is the bīja of the non-duality of concentration and wisdom (jō'e-fu'ni 定慧不二) itself.

87. Cf. also T.244: 813a5-20.

88. Perhaps relating to the transitional phase between the Mahāyāna and the esoteric tradition, since Hsüan-tsang clearly had access to it. On the subject of these sets of dhāranī, see RK: 395-400; Conze, SPT: vii, 199f.

89. The term Toganoo uses to indicate the traditional explanation is shishi-sōden 師資相伝, which indicates the relationship between master and disciple in the transmission of the doctrine; the so-called "vertical" meaning (tate no gi 文の義) is that the master teaches and guides the student according to the Way (the term originates in Taoism), and the acolyte receives from the master and studies this Way. In contrast, the so-called "horizontal" meaning (yoko no gi 横の義) is that the master is the one endowed with principle and wisdom (sho-gu no ri'chi no kudoku 解慢の理智の功德) and the acolyte is the one capable of becoming endowed therewith (nō-gu no hito 能慢の人). Cf MDJT: II/926b, 933c.

90. RK: 402, quoting the Rishukyō-kōkesshō 理趣経口訣抄, 7. On Jitsuhan, cf MDJT: II/1005a.

Again, it is the simultaneity of cause and effect (in'ka-dōji 因果同時). The ha in hūm means the unattainability of causes (in-fukatoku 因不可得), and Original Being (honyū 本有).

Horiuchi gives the meaning of double hūm as having two aspects: upward, for one's own enlightenment (jiri), and downward, for the benefit of others (rita). A further point of significance here is that this bīja is one of those which refer to Aizen Myōō, the patron deity of the Rishukyō⁹¹ and specifically to the Five Mysteries. The two aspects of Aizen which are of relevance here, and which Horiuchi derives from the Yujikyō,⁹² fit into the pattern we have already seen: the first is the bodhicitta of the Tathāgata (nyorai no bodaishin 如来の菩提心), the second (i.e. downward) aspect is the passions of sentient beings (shujō no bonnō 衆生の煩惱). Hence we have again an expression of the principles of "the passions themselves are enlightenment (bonnō-soku-bodai)" and: "The profane and the sacred are non-dual (bon'-shō-fu'ni 凡聖不二)". In conclusion, Horiuchi repeats the theme that present reality itself is the Five Mysteries, that one's original being and that which one brings about by spiritual cultivation are one, a unified essence.⁹³

Nasu gives the reason for the use of the bīja hūm in this section as being the attribution of the four elements of the syllable⁹⁴ to the four consorts in the Five Mysteries

91. Cf MJT/App: 18. On Aizen, see Appendix D.

92. No reference, but see Appendix D, again.

93. "Honyū to shushō <cf N: 625d> wo hitotsu ni shita, hitotsu no, ittai no mono dearu to iu. Sore wo ryōjū no un <hūm> de arawashita mono de arimasu" 本有と衆生を一つにけ、一つの、一体の事なのであるという。それを両重の叫びで表わしたものであります。(Hanashi: 400).

94. I.e., as we have seen before, h + its inherent vowel (a) + ū + the nasalisation, m. Cf Chapter Two, p. 181.

configuration. That is, a (a 阿) refers to Desire, ha (ka 訶) to Touching, ū (ū 吁) to Love and m (ma 摩) to Pride. It is thus the syllable which is appropriate to the samādhi of Vajrasattva's Five Mysteries. However, since he is in his aspect of being imbued with taints⁹⁵ his transformation body in this state is that of Aizen-myōō.⁹⁶ Since both Vajrasattva and Rāgarāja-vajrinī both function as gatherers of sentient beings -with the purpose of transforming them- this doubling of the bīja indicates the teaching of the coalescence of concentration and wisdom, of principle and wisdom.⁹⁷ Because of the element of awe and love,⁹⁸ the samādhi of the Five Mysteries Yoga (gohimitsu-yuga no sanmaji 五秘密瑜伽の三摩地) is one with Aizen's samādhi of Devotion and Love (kyō-ai-sanmai 敬愛). This is the basic reason why this section of the Sūtra has the doubled hūm.⁹⁹

2.3.6. The Mudrā

There is -unlike the other chapters in the body of the Rishukyō- no indication in the text itself as to the relevant mudrā here. However, Horiuchi's study text has the gloss, gokki-sanmaya-in 極喜三摩耶印 in the margin at the close of the text, and this attribution is found elsewhere in our secondary sources. Toganoo mentions that there are various mudrā here, depending upon sect and sub-sect,

95. The name for this samādhi is zen'ai-sanmai 染愛三昧; Tatsui: 233.

96. "Kongōsatta no Zen'ai-sanmai no keshin ga sunawachi Aizen-myōō dearu kara, Konsatsu to Aizen to wa sono tai-dōichi dearu 今蘇埵の染愛三昧の化身が即ち蓮華明王であらうから、金剛と染愛とはその体同一であらう。" (Tatsui: loc. cit.)

97. Jō'e-ri'chi-myōgō 定慧理智妙合, Tatsui: 233f.

98. Kyō-ai 敬愛 means basically "to worship and love" (N: 233d), but I translate kyō 敬 by "awe" here because of the terrifying aspect of Aizen-myōō's nature.

99. Tatsui: 237.

but in the Sanbōin branch¹⁰⁰ amongst others it is in fact this kyoku-sanmaya-in which is used. The meaning of this seal is that the biased clinging of the small self is eliminated, and the Great Self, the true self, is stimulated.¹⁰¹ A further aspect is found in MJT: 221a, where this mudrā is seen as expressing the Pledge to confer the ultimate joy¹⁰² which comes about when the Buddha and oneself, the infinite (mu-gon 無根) and the finite (u-gon 有根) have coalesced.¹⁰³

We have now dealt with the text of the Rishukyō, interpreting it in the manner of the Japanese Shingon commentarial tradition, and having progressed through the various stages we stand at the end of the ritual process proper. Our way has encompassed an introduction to the main protagonists of the drama (R.P) and a statement of the latent and active aspects of Buddhist enlightenment (R.1-2), followed by the manner of attainment peculiar to this Sūtra (R.3-11). After a summary teaching (R.11), we saw the dramatic narrative move from the realms of the Holy Ones to those of sentient

100. Sanbōin-ryū 三寶院流. The Sanbōin is a major temple within the Daigoji 醍醐寺 branch of Shingon, and the head temple of the Buzanha Shugendō movement. Located to the South-east of Kyoto, it was founded in 1115 (Eikyū 永久 3), by Shōkaku 勝覚 (MDJT/III: 1119c). Among the many cultural assets housed are sculptures of the Five Mysteries Divinities and of Aizen, as well as an early manuscript copy of the Rishukyō. (The Tachikawa Branch was started by a breakaway priest of this temple: see above, p. 35, n. 98.)

101. RK: 403. Toganoo mentions that the seal is also called the Seal of the Arrow (sen(/ya) no in 箭の印), and the Great Single-Pronged <Thunderbolt> Seal (dai-dokusho-in 大独抄印), and refers further to T.1125: 537b, one of the central Five Mysteries texts. Tatsui: 237 gives a description of the finger positions in the mudrā.

102. Tōkyoku nō yorokobi 到極の喜び, MJT: loc. cit.

103. The following mantra are also given as belonging to this mudrā: samaya, hoh and suratastvam. MDJT/II: 574c also gives the various names by which this mudrā is known.

beings and the divine inhabitants of the higher reaches of sentient existence (R.12-15). Finally, as we have just seen, the Sūtra gave an emphatic statement of the intricacy of the enlightened sphere (R.16) and an image of the Tantric ideal of the Perfected One, the Bodhisattva who has transformed and integrated the bonds which tied him to the endless round of births and deaths (R.17): there remain but the verses in praise of the teaching (R.18).

CHAPTER SIX

EULOGY AND PROPAGATION

R.18: THE LAUDATORY VERSES

1. Text

786b5

(14) (10)

爾時一切如來。及持金剛菩薩摩訶薩等。皆¹
來集會。欲令此法。不空無礙。速成就故。咸
共稱讚金剛手言

3 善哉善哉大薩埵 善哉善哉大安樂
4 善哉善哉摩訶衍 善哉善哉大智慧
5 善能演說此法教 金剛修多羅加持
6 持此最勝教王者 一切諸魔不能壞
7 得佛菩薩最勝位 於諸悉地當不久
8 一切如來及菩薩 共作如是勝說已
9 為令持者速成就 皆大歡喜信受行

大樂金剛不空眞實三摩耶經

1.1. Cross-references

T.220: 991b6-8	T.242: 784a3-5	Skt.150: ***
T.240: 778b12-14	T.243: 786b5-14	Tib.150: 28:1-12,
T.241: 781c4-7	T.244: 797b10-20	33:1-6

1.2. Translation

¹Thereupon all the Tathāgatas and Bodhisattvas who hold the Thunderbolt, those Great Beings, ²all came and gathered together, and being about to demonstrate this teaching, propitious and unhindered and which brings speedy accomplishment, all together praised Vajrapāṇi, saying:

³"A wonderful victory, a wonderful victory, Oh Great Being! A wonderful victory, great peaceful bliss!

⁴A wonderful victory, a wonderful victory, the Great Vehicle!¹ A wonderful victory, a wonderful victory, great wisdom!

⁵Wonderful his ability to preach this teaching of dharma! The empowerment of the Adamantine Sūtra!

⁶All the various demons are unable to crush him who maintains this most excellent king of teachings!

⁷He attains the most excellent state of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, to reside abundantly in the accomplishments does not take long!"

⁸All the Tathāgatas and Bodhisattvas together thus completed this excellent exposition,

⁹And everybody, being caused to grasp this accomplishment completely, was filled with great joy, and believed, maintained and practised it.

2. Commentary

These final verses constitute the ruzūbun 流通分, the final part of the standard format of a Sūtra.² As will be seen from the cross-references, there is some confusion in the layout of the different versions of the Sūtra at this point, though these differences are of no consequence for our main concerns, and of little more importance for a strictly text-critical study.

Amoghavajra devotes but three lines to this final section, but makes nevertheless some interesting assertions: the five lines with zenshō 善哉³ which begin the verse are

1. Makaen, transliteration of Mahāyāna (N:1277a).

2. See Chapter One, p. 56ff.

3. Presumably he is including R.18/5a in this.

for example attributed to the Five Families, beginning with Vajra and ending with Buddha(/Tathāgata).⁴ The "Adamantine Sūtra"⁵ indicates the Vajrayāna rituals (kongō-hō 金剛法) of the yoga teaching, i.e. esoteric Buddhism (T.1003: 617a29f). The remaining verses simply mean the joy and faith involved in receiving, practising and disseminating the teachings of the Sūtra (T.1003: 617b1f).

Kūkai deals with this final section of the Rishukyō in more detail, and his attributions are listed in the following table:

TABLE 6.1:

Kūkai's Analysis of the Laudatory Section

(R.18, 615b14-29)

1. The Capabilities of the Sūtra	R.18/1-7
1.1. Assigning Preliminary (<u>hai-jo</u> 散序)	R.18/1-2
1.2. Summarising Laudatory Verse (<u>shō-san</u> 授讚)	R.18/3-7
1.2.1. Verse in Praise of the Expositor	R.18/3-5
1.2.2. Verse in Praise of the Auditor	R.18/6-7
1.2.2.1. Type of Practice (<u>gyōsō</u>)	R.18/6a
1.2.2.2. Rewards (<u>kōfuku</u>)	R.18/6b-7
Invincibility Towards Demons	R.18/6b
Attaining the Holy State	R.18/7a
Attaining <u>Siddhi</u>	R.18/7b
2. The Diffusion of the Teaching	R.18/8-9

4. T.1003: 617a28f.

5. Kongō-shutara 金剛修多羅 (*vajra-sūtra), R.18/5b.

As can be seen, there are two main ideas, the first centred on the Sūtra itself, the second on its diffusion throughout the realms of sentient beings.⁶ The divisions are largely self-explanatory, the only point we might make here being perhaps that §§1.2.1 and 1.2.2 might be regarded as underlining the importance of dialogue and -intimately connected- transmission in Buddhist Sūtras.

Thus ends the Sūtra: when recited as part of Shingon worship, there are appended further verses, added during the text's history in Japan. These include the repetition of the name of Vairocana, in a practice which may be seen as paralleling the repetition of the name of Amitābha in the Tendai Sect,⁷ and verses which turn over the merit acquired through the practice of the Sūtra to all sentient beings.⁸

6. Kūkai actually only regards these final two lines (R.18/8-9) as the Ruzūbun (Monku: 615b24ff).

7. Kassatsu 合殺, to be distinguished from the reading gassatsu, which is current in the Zen Buddhist tradition, and which is there interpreted according to the literal meanings of the words gatsu ("meet") and satsu ("kill") -i.e. it refers to the famous dictum, "If you meet the Buddha on the way, kill him!" Cf. N: 183d.

8. Ekō 廻向, a common Mahāyāna term; cf. N: 97c. The final items are to be found in Hanashi/Text: 44f. For discussions, see Kōgi: 509ff.

P A R T I I I

CONCLUSION

The standpoint taken in this study has been very much concerned with the philosophical, symbolic and ritual content of the Rishukyō. As such we have adopted the same kind of approach as is adopted in teaching the Sūtra in the modern Shingon sect in Japan, both at University and at lay level. I have not attempted to make a critical edition of the text, largely because it is neither necessary nor appropriate for this kind of study: the Rishukyō derives its significance in the modern Shingon sect in the form in which it is received -and has been received for something like twelve centuries. However, in attempting to find explanations for individual terms it has been necessary to look at other versions of the text than Amoghavajra's. In doing so, we have been led to voice some ideas, give some hints, as to the historical circumstances surrounding the development of the text. However, as remarked frequently enough in the course of this work, a full study of the historical development must of necessity take into consideration the considerable volume of material -both primary and commentarial- to be found in the Tibetan Canon. Until this is done -and not even Fukuda's recent Rishukyō no Kenkyū fills all the gaps- we shall not be able to make any concrete assertions. However, when this does become possible, we can look forward to enjoying a number of valuable insights into the history of

esoteric Buddhism -for standing as it does between the Prajñāpāramitā and the Tantric literature, as well as between the Vajraśekhara Sūtra and the Mahāvairocana Sūtra lineages, the Rishukyō cannot but furnish us with helpful and original information.

This central position -underlined by the fact that it is in daily use in Japanese Shingon temples¹ (and has been so for centuries)- means that even without taking purely historical and text-critical matters into detailed consideration, it is still possible to learn from the Rishukyō a great deal about Buddhist thought and practice -and this applies to common Buddhist ideas, and not just the later, esoteric interpretations and re-formulations.

Most readers will only have been acquainted with this text -if at all- through the translation by Edward Conze, which for reasons outlined in the Introductory Chapter is far from satisfactory.² On discovering the central position occupied by this text in the Shingon tradition on the one hand, and being thoroughly puzzled by the cryptic and seeming chaos of divinities and teachings within its confines on the other, I resolved to discover the reason why a Scripture of such idiosyncrasy could occupy such a position. If the explanations and accounts given in the foregoing have served to clear the reader's initial lack of appreciation as much

1. The reader should perhaps be reminded that the Shingon sect has not only had a profound and far-reaching influence on the aesthetic and cultural life of the Japanese, in areas as diverse as the fine arts and pilgrimage, but is also the third largest sect in Japan after the Pure Land and Nichiren sects, and before the better publicised Zen sects. (On Mikkyō elements in Japanese Pilgrimages, see Ian Reader, "The Changing Nature of Japanese Pilgrimage", Kōbe Shōka Daigaku/Jinbun Ronshū, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Nov. 1984), pp. 87-111.)

2. See above, p. 7.

as they have mine, then this study will have served its primary purpose.

This thesis has primarily sought, then, to bring some light to bear on an apparently random collection of Buddhist ideas and Divinities, to explain the underlying coherence of the text, a coherence which may even be said to derive from the more or less conscious wish on the part of the text's author(s) to reformulate basic Buddhist ideas and practices in an attempt to express their basic concern to practice and fulfil the tasks incumbent upon one who has chosen the Buddhist way of life.

Secondarily, and more by way of exhortation to further study of the Rishukyō in the context of the history of Tantrism in East Asian Buddhism, my study has given hints -doubtless too sketchy- as to the direction which such research might take. The primary area here is the material in Tibetan, particularly on the extended versions of the Sūtra. The ritual sections in these texts, whilst being to a small random collections of minor importance, do on the whole constitute complete ritual cycles, the further study of which will doubtless furnish us with a better co-ordinated view of the esoteric tradition both in Central and Eastern Asia.³

A further purpose implicit in this study has been to continue the task of clarification needed with respect to Tantric works, for without the necessary keys -and these do not always need to be granted in the course of some covert

3. Fukuda's article, "'Rishukōkyō' zō/kan-hikō no ikkadai", *op. cit.*, is one of the items which could be named in this connection, but see Fukuda/RK: 83-306 (chapter on the development of the Rishukyō), where all his publications on the topic are collected.

rite- they are just so much nonsense. On closer examination, however, many of them do in fact take on a radically different hue, showing form and purpose which are every bit Buddhist, whilst simultaneously creative and stimulating. It is my hope that this thesis will encourage further work which clarifies the Tantrics' integral place in a living, two and a half millenia old tradition.

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A P P E N D I X A

THE EPITHETS OF PURITY IN T.220

This Appendix consists of a thematic breakdown of the epithets of purity in Hsüan-tsang's version (T.220: 986b27-987b10). If we number the epithets in this passage separately (nos. 1-69), then the first to the twenty-seventh in T.220 correspond in varying degrees to the pada given in the other versions, while the rest are unique to Hsüan-tsang. From no. 12, however, T.220 uses the additional qualifier kūjaku 空寂, which N: 281d describes in terms of insight into emptiness (kū 空, *śūnyatā), leading to that absolute tranquillity (jaku 寂, *śānta) to which these teachings aspire. The transcendent nature of the epithets is thus further emphasised. Briefly, the epithets in T.220 are as follows: (12) shiki-un (-kūjaku, hereafter designated with an asterisk); (13) ju-sō-gyō-shiki* (the five skandha); (14) gen-sho*, (15) ni-bi-zetsu-shin-i-sho*, (16) shiki-sho*, (17) shō-kō-mi-soku-hō-sho* (the twelve āyatana, cf. N: 657c); (18) gen-kai*, (19) ni-bi-zetsu-shin-i-kai*, (20) shiki-kai*, (21) shō-kō-soku-mi-hō-kai* (hō-kai 法界 is of course not hokkai 法界 as the absolute, the Dharmakāya, but are to be understood separately, in their technical senses), (22) gen-shiki-kai*, (23) ni-bi-zetsu-shin-i-kai* (the eighteen dhātu (kai 界)); (24) gen-soku*, (25) ni-bi-zetsu-shin-i-soku* (the six viṣaya, cf. N: 889c, <2>); (26) gen-soku-ien-shoshō-shoju*, (27) ni-bi-zetsu-shin-i** (the arising of perceptions through the viṣaya). The text now goes from the analysis of the personality to the exposition of the Buddhist path and its effects. (28) ji-kai*, (29) sui-ka-fū-kū-shiki-kai* (the six elements, the same as those which Kūkai incorporated into his system); (30) ku-shōtai*, (31) shū/metsu/dō-shōtai (the four Noble Truths); (32) in-en*, (33) tōmuken'en-shoen-ensōjōsen*, (34), muryō*, (35) gyō/shiki/myōshiki/rokusho/soku/ju/shū/u/shō/rōji* (cause and effect in its various guises; on no. 33, see N: 1004d); fuse-haramitta*, (37) jōkai/an'in/shōjin/jōryo* (five pāramitā); (38) shin'nyo* (true suchness); (39) hokkai-hosshō-fukomōshō-fuhen'ishō-byōdōshō-rishōshō-hōjō-jūjissai-kokūkai-fushigikai* (descriptor of the realm of enlightenment); (40) shi-jōryo

(the four dhyana of the realm of form); (41) shi-muryō/shi-mushiki-jō* (the four apramāna/brahmā-vihāra); (42) shi-nenju*, (43) shi-shōdan/shi-jinsoku/gokon-goriki/shichi-tōgakushi/has-shōdō-shi* (the thirty-seven factors of enlightenment; cf. Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, Ch. IV, pp. 80-164); (44) kū-gedatsu-mon*, (45) musō-mugan-gedatsu-mon* (the three gates to liberation); (46) hachi-gedatsu (eight liberations; N: 1102c); (47) has-shōjo/ku-jidaijō/jup-pen-jo (eight contemplations subsequent to no. 46 (cf. N: 1109c)/nine samādhi (four form, four formless, plus the extinction of all perception)/the ten kasina (Skt.: daśa-kṛtsnāyatanāni)); (48) gokuki-ji*, (49) riku-ji/hakkō-ji/enne-ji/gokunanshō-ji/genzen-chi/engyō-ji/fudō-ji/zen'e-ji/hōun-ji (the ten bodhisattva-bhūmi); (50) jōkan-ji*, (51) shushō-ji/daihachi-ji/guken-ji/haku-ji/riyoku-ji/iben-ji/dokukaku-ji/bosatsu-ji/nyorai-ji (the ten stages common to the three vehicles (sanjō-kū no jūji, N: 476c); (52) issai-darani-mon* (all the Gates where one enters the Teaching by means of dhārani); (53) issai-samaji-mon* (all the Gates where one enters the Teaching by means of samādhi); (54) gogen* (the five eyes, from the fleshly eye to the Buddha Eye, cf. N: 359a); (55) roku-jinzū* (the six supernatural powers of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (N: 1455d); (56) nyorai-jūriki (the ten powers of a Buddha; N: 661c); (57) shi-mushoi/shi-mugege/daiji/daihi/daiki/daisha/jūhachi-buttsu-fugūhō* (the four fearlessnesses (N: 533a), the four unhindered understandings (N: 532d), great benevolence, great compassion, great charity (N: 919a), the eighteen unique dharma of a Buddha (N: 659d); (58) sanjūni-sō* (the thirty two marks of a Buddha); (59) hachijū-zuikō* (the eighty minor marks); (60) mumōshitsu-hō* (absence of forgetting and losing dharma); (61) gō-jūshashō* (perpetually residing in detachment; N: 665a); issai-chi* (all knowledges); (62) dōsōchi/issaisōchi* (knowledge of the characteristics of the Way, *characteristics of everything); (63) issai-bosatsu-maka-satsu-gyō* (all the practices of a Bodhisattva-mahāsattva); (64) sho-buttsu-mujō-shōkaku-bodai* (awakening to the unsurpassed, true enlightenment of the Buddhas); (65) issai-ishō-hō* (all dharma pertinent to rebirth in samsāra); (66) issai-yoru/ichirai/fugen/arahan-dokukaku-bosatsu-nyorai-hō* (all the dharma of the various Saints and Buddhas, from Stream-Enterer to Tathāgata); (67) issai-zen/hizen-hō* (all dharma, good and not-good (or: wholesome and unwholesome)); (68) issai-uki/muki-hō, uro/muro-ui/mui-hō, seken/shusseken-hō (all dharma, wholesome, unwholesome and neutral, tainted and untainted, created and uncreated, mundane and supramundane).



AIZEN MYŌŌ: GUARDIAN OF THE RISHUKYŌ (Six Arm Form)

A P P E N D I X B

AIZEN-MYŌ
(Rāgavidyārāja)

Alternative names:

Rāgarāja, Rāgarāja-vajriṇī, Mahārāga, Vajrarājapriya.

This fearsome deity is one of the wrathful transformations of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who function either as protectors of the Dharma¹ or as instruments whereby the subjugation of the heterodox is brought about.²

Specifically, Aizen is the guardian of the Rishukyō, and is closely connected with the Five Mysteries: as we saw in Chapter Five,³ her mantra is associated with the teaching of the final stage in the Sūtra (R.17).⁴ The basic meaning of her name is: "The tainted attachments of sexual desire", which is an expansion of ai/zen 愛/染 into ai-yoku 愛欲/zen-chaku 染着, the import of which is that the basic human desires are in themselves the samādhi of the pure bodhicitta of Vajrasattva. Her name thus indicates the Shingon teaching of bonnō-soku-bodai 煩惱即菩提.⁵

1. As, for example, in the Ninnōkyō (T.VIII/246), translation by Conze (SPT: v, 165-183).

2. The vidyārāja, of which Aizen is one, belong primarily to this latter group, and are further designated by the term kyōryō-shin (see above, p. 234).

3. See above, p. 311ff.

4. Cf. MJT/App: 18b, where the meaning of hhūm is given as "Awe and love (kyō-ai 敬愛), and attributed to Aizen and the Five Mysteries. She also appears in Vajrabodhi's Yujikyō (T.XVIII/867: 256f), which is regarded in the Japanese tradition as the basic source for her appearance.

5. MJT: 1b; MDJT/I: 5a. MDJT/I: 4b-7a gives a full account of this Divinity. One may also consult Hōbōgirin, fasc. I, pp. 15b-17a; p. 16a reads: "One considers him as a 'transformation', sometimes of Vairocana, sometimes of the Bodhisattva of Adamantine Love, Aikongō, and finally sometimes of the assembly of the four Adamantine Bodhisattvas who surround the Buddha Akṣobhya in the Eastern circle in the Diamond Realm: <Adamantine> Being <i.e. Vajrasattva>, King, Love, Joy." Cf the entry on Aikongō in Hōbōgirin I:14b; etc. This attribution to the Eastern circle, under Akṣobhya, ties in with the structure of the Epithets of Purity, and transmitted by Kūkai. See above, p. 152f.

Her body is red in colour,⁶ and she resides in a wheel of flames; she has three eyes: these represent the three divisions of the Garbhakośa-dhātu,⁷ and glare with a majestic wrath.⁸ Among the symbols associated with are: the five-pointed vajra (go-ko-sho 五鉈杵), a human head (ningyō-sho 人形杵), the five-pointed hook (go-ko-kō 五鉈鉤), bow and arrow and the lion diadem (shi-shi-kan 獅子冠).

The most common representations of Aizen have six arms and she resides in a deep red solar disc (nichirin 日輪). The three eyes represent the primary Families -Buddha, Lotus and Vajra- and the lion diadem and the wrathful gaze are expressions of subjugation. The five-pointed hook, which is carried on the crown of the head, represents the transformation of sentient beings' faculties into the Five Wisdoms, and the Divine Headband⁹ refers to the Tathāgata, who ignores the petty, concentrating only on the "Great Self's Taint of Great Desire".¹⁰

The implements held by Aizen are interpreted as follows:

First pair of hands: these hold the bell and the vajra, and stand for the soku-sai 息災 rites, which pertain to the eradication of evil hindrances and in fact -on a mundane level- any kind of calamity.

Second pair: these hold the bow and the arrow,¹¹ and are related to the rites of kyō-ai awe (or worship) and love.

Third pair: the left hand is held at the hip, the right holds a lotus flower in an aggressive pose, which represents Aizen's energetic determination to destroy the fundamental ignorance of human beings.

She sits atop a red lotus pedestal, which is also attributed to kyō-ai, and the Gem Vase (hōbyō 宝瓶) which supports the whole is a symbol of the benefits which flow out to sentient beings as a result of Aizen's subjugatory achievement.

One of the aspects to which the Hōbōgirin entry draws attention¹² is the significance of meonzō-zanmai 馬陰藏三昧, derived by analogy from one of the 32 marks of the mahāpurusa.¹³ In the Yujikyō (loc. cit.), Vairocana teaches the mantra of Aizen whilst in this samādhi. The significance seems to have to do with the fact that a horse's penis appears

6. The Yujikyō gives jitsu-un 日暉 (T.867: 256c5), "solar radiance".

7. According to MJT: 2a.

8. I'nu-shi 威怒視 (T.867: 256c6).

9. Tentai 天帶, cf. MDJT/IV: 1632c.

10. Daiga no daiyoku-zen 大我の大欲染, MJT: 2a.

11. The arrow reminds us of the second Epithet of Purity.

12. Op. cit.: 16a.

13. Meonzō is the secret or hidden organ, i.e. the penis, inobtrusive genitals being a sign of a highly developed being.

during rutting, and disappears when this is over: when ignorance is manifest, then rāga is also manifest, but when enlightenment is attained, the passions disappear. Thus rāga becomes interpreted as onzō, the "secret organ".¹⁴

It will be seen from the foregoing¹⁵ that apart from the specific identification with teachings in the Rishukyō, the figure of Aizen -incorporating as she does elements from both the Vajradhātu and the Garbhakośadhātu- is ideally suited to the task of guarding this Sūtra.

14. This is one of the keys to Aizen's importance in the heterodox Tachikawa Sect, though this also has to do with the historical fact that Aizen is the chief deity in the Ono-ryū.

15. Which is based on the accounts in MJT, MDJT, loc. cit., and BZZT: 119f.

A P P E N D I X C

TABLE OF THE MANTRA IN THE RISHUKYŌ

The following table lists the mantra which summarise the teachings of the various chapters in Sktl150, T.243 and Tibl150. The intention is to give the reader another perspective on the overall structure of the text.

	<u>Skt150</u>	<u>T.243</u>	<u>Tibl150</u>	<u>Expositor</u>	<u>Family</u>
R.P	---	---	---	(Preliminary)	
R.1	am	hūm	hūm	Mañjuśrī	(Tathāgata)
R.2	am	hūm	hūm	Mañjuśrī	
R.3	hūm	hum	hūm	1 Trilokavijaya	Vajra
R.4	hri	hriḥ	hriḥ	2 Avalokiteśvara	Padma
R.5	trām	trām	trām	3 Ākāśagarbha	Ratna
R.6	am	aḥ	aḥ	4 Vajramuṣṭi	Karma
R.7	am	am	a	5 Mañjuśrī	Vajra
R.8	ram	hūm	hūm	6 Sacittotpāda	Padma
R.9	om	om	om	7 Gaganagaṇja	Ratna
R.10	ha	haḥ	ha	8 Sarvamāra	Karma
R.11	hri	hūm	hūm	Samantabhadra	(Tathāgata)
R.12	tri	drī	drī	Maheśvara	(Outer Vajra Family)
R.13	---	bhyoḥ	bhyoḥ	7 Heavenly Mothers	
R.14	---	svā	svā	3 Brothers	
R.15	---	ham	hā	4 Sisters	
R.16	bhyo	---	---	The Five Families	
R.17	svām/hā	hūm	---	The Five Mysteries	
R.18	---	---	---	(Eulogy)	

A P P E N D I X D

THE TRADITIONAL TITLES OF THE RISHUKYŌ CHAPTERS

I list here the titles and descriptions of the individual stages, as they are found in the Shingon tradition.¹

<u>Descriptor</u>	<u>Expositor/Mandala</u>	<u>Mandala's Content</u>	
R.1 Great Bliss	Vajrasattva	World of Truth The Teaching of the Tathāgata	
R.2 Attaining Enlightenment	Mahāvairocana		
R.3 Conquest	Trilokavijaya	Transformations of the Tathāgata for the purpose of Teaching	
R.4 Contemplation	Avalokiteśvara		
R.5 Abundance	Ākāśagarbha		
R.6 True Movement	Vajramuṣṭi		
R.7 Wheel of Chars.	Mañjuśrī		
R.8 Entering Wheel	Sacittotpāda		
R.9 Worship	Gaganagañja		
R.10 Wrath	Sarvamāra		
R.11 All-Inclusive	(Samantabhadra)		Equality of Tathāgata and Sentient Beings
R.12 Empowerment	Maheśvara		Awakening of Sentient Beings
R.13 Divine Mothers	Devī		
R.14 Three Brothers	Three Brothers		
R.15 Four Sisters	Four Sisters		
R.16 Implements	Implements of the Five Families	Profound Religious Experience	
R.17 Profound Mystery	Five Mysteries		

1. I have collated this material (passim) from RK and Hatta, Rishukyō, and the mandala.

A P P E N D I X E

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF THE MANTRA
IN THE VAJRASATTVA RITUALS

I have divided the Six Vajrasattva Rituals into two groups, one which is based on T.1119 and the other on T.1124 and T.1125. I include T.1119 in the second table for the sake of comparison. I have ignored T.1122.

GROUP I

<u>T1119</u> <u>1735</u>	<u>T1120A/B^a</u> <u>1735</u>	<u>T1123^c</u> <u>1735</u>	<u>T1121</u> <u>1735</u>
1882	1882	1882	1776
1430	1430	1430	
1146	1146	1146	
1147	1147	1147	
1466	1466	1466	
1186	1186	1186	1186
			1751
			1884
1882			
1776	1776	1776	
640	640	640	640
1319	1319	1319	1319
1210	1210	1210	1210
1055	1055	1055	1055
897	897	897	897
1179	1179	1179	1179
1032	1032	1032	1032
1621	1621	1621	
	1882 ^b	1882	

<u><T1119></u>	<u>T1124</u> ^d	<u>T1125</u>
1735		1735
		1672 ^h
1882		
1430	1430	1430
1146	1146	1146
1147	1147	1147
1466	1466	1466
1186	1186 ^e	1186 ⁱ
	1735 ^f	
1882		
1776	1776 ^g	1776
640		
1319		
1210		
1055		
897		
1179		
1032		
1621		

GROUP IIj

<u>T1119</u>	<u>T1120A/B</u>	<u>T1123</u>	<u>T1121</u>	<u>T1124</u>	<u>T1125</u>	<u>T244</u>
1931b *l	1931b 118 *			1931b ^k *		
233	233	233	233	233 ^m 233 ⁿ	233	
1896	1896	1896	1896	1896	1896	1896
889	889	889	889	889	889	889
1950	1950	1950	1950	1950	1950	1950
1937	1937	1937	1937			1937
765	765	765	765			765
1273	1273	1273	1273			1273
778	778	778	778			778
1934	1934	1934	1934	1934 ^o		1934
1935	1935	1935	1935	1935		1935
1932	1932	1932	1932	1932		1932
1933	1933	1933	1933	1933		1933
1425	1425	1425	1425	1425		1425
1134	1134	1134	1134	1134		1134
1312	1312	1312	1312	1312		1312
996	996	996	996	996		996
1776 *q	1776 ^P					
784 ^r						
1882						
118						
app-9						
<u>bīja</u>						
155						

-
- (a) T1120B does not include no. 1882 (the bīja hūm).
 (b) Hatta (SJT, p. 330, s.v. T1120B-16) gives merely shuji (bīja), but this is in fact hūm (T.XX:520b13), the same as SJT:1882.
 (c) T1123 begins with the series 1809-168-1644.
 (d) T1124 begins with the series 1809-1285-1672.
 (e) There now follows the series 1361-1362-1561-1114.
 (f) Occurs otherwise as the first mantra in the major Five Mysteries texts. After this there follows the series 222-622-319-1453-1340.
 (g) There now follows the series 1659-1179-326-33-1032-998-1367, after which elements from Group II begin.
 (h) Awakening of the Vow to perfect all the mundane and supra-mundane accomplishments; used with vajrāñjali. Cf SJT:1672, s.v. Hatta's explanation.
 (i) There now follows the series 1601-1605-1353-1320-1329-234 (see text of this article, §???)
 (j) T1122 is omitted from this list, since it differs so radically from the other texts.

(k) Occurs as mantra no. 31 in T1124.

(l) Hatta (SJT, p. 330) omits the argha-offering(510a26-b5), which includes both the bīja om and a seven-element series of mantra. This mantra -indicated by an asterisk in this table- is the same as T1120A-20 and T1120B-19, and T1124-32. These passages also give the same argha offering.

(m) This series, 233-1896-889-1950, occurs as the last group in T1124 (nos.41-44), and not the first as is common in the other texts. T1125 also has this as the last series (nos. 25-28).

(n) See note c <TO T1124, 233-ETC.>

(o) This series, 1934-1935-1932-1933, occurs after the argha offering in T1124, as mantra nos. 33-36.

(p) T1120A omits 1776.

(q) With minor variations, T1120A-38, T1120B-37, T1124-45 and T1125-19 are the same as this mantra.

(r) The mantra at the end of T1119 are found in various configurations in T1120A/B, T1121 and T1123, but not in T1124 or T1125.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

This Bibliography is split into the following groups:

- 1) Reference works, and primary texts which have been consulted in connection with this study.
- 2) Works which deal specifically with the Rishukyō. This section lays claim to as much a measure of completeness as is possible without scouring the length and breadth of Japan, searching through every library's holdings. The collection of titles here is, however, significantly more comprehensive than any Japanese Bibliography on the text with which I am acquainted, though the price paid for this comprehensiveness is the inclusion of many works which are so recondite that they cannot be located any longer. Similarly, there are many which are only of minor importance, and which offer little beyond what was dealt with in the body of this thesis.
- 3) Works which deal with Sino-Japanese Mikkyō or Sino-Japanese Buddhism and which can be useful for background information. This section and the following one make no pretence at completeness, but are intended as guides and suggestions, since it is not my concern to establish a Bibliography of Shingon Studies (see p. 2, above).
- 4) General, mainly Western, works on Tantric Buddhism, of background relevance. At the end of this Bibliography, there are a few titles, the reading of whose authors names I have not been able to determine with certainty. (In connection with the question of the readings of Japanese names, I apologise in advance for any mistakes made in this connection, but I have tried to double check these as much as possible. However, some errors -hopefully all honestly made- will doubtless have crept in. (It should also be remembered that a Japanese can often read his or her name differently at different times, and that the Japanese themselves have difficulty with reading the names of people with whom they are not acquainted.)

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The Rishukyō

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KEY TO CHARACTERS

This key lists occurrences of the given term where the Sino-Japanese Characters are given.

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