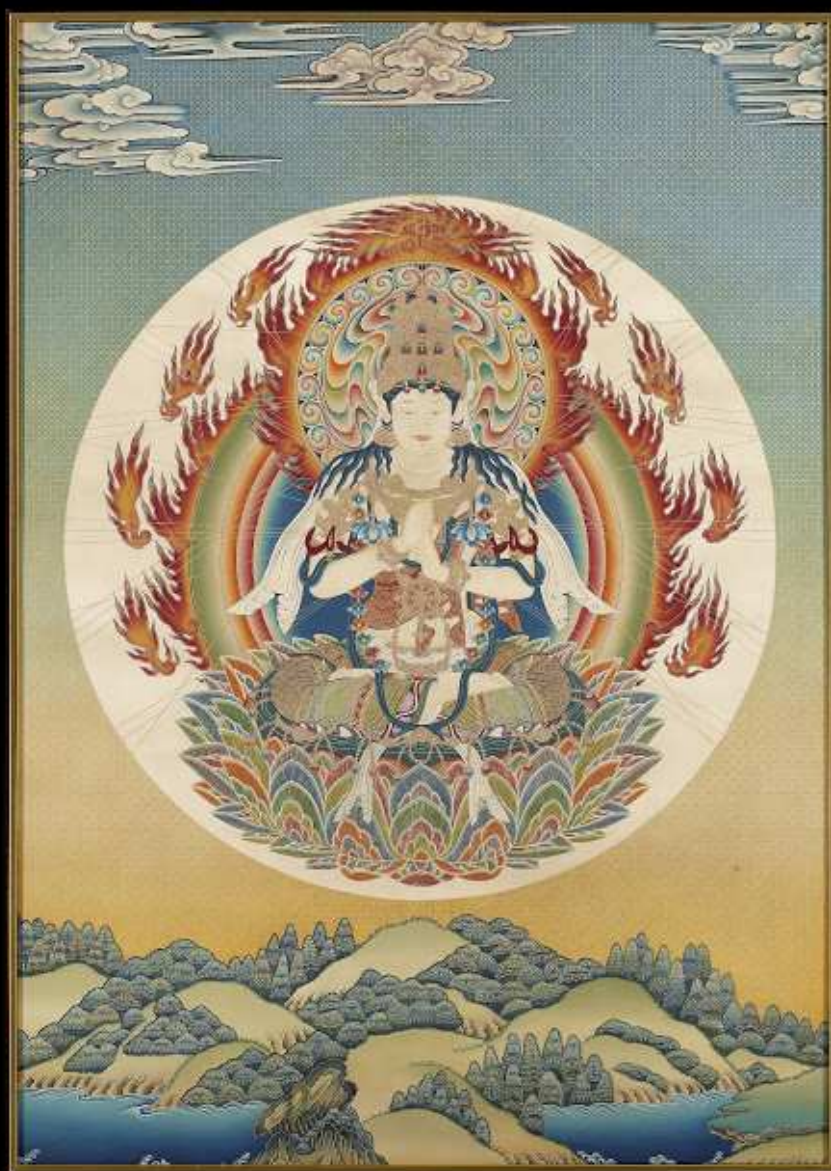


THE SAMAYA CODE

Esotericization of Buddhist Precepts in Japan



KLAUS LEON ROGER A. PINTE

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PhD.-dissertation presented to the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy of Ghent University,
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In memory of Pol Vanden Broucke (1957-2004)

Promotor Prof. dr. Andreas Niehaus

Decaan Prof. dr. Marc Boone

Rector Prof. dr. Anne De Paepe

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It was in the summer of 2002, whilst hiking in the mountain forests of the Kinki peninsula in Wakayama prefecture that I was first drawn to Shingon Mikkyō. At the foot of Mt. Kōya, in a small hamlet called Kiikamiya, I was offered refreshments by a devout *obāchan*. Before hitting the road again, she insisted on praying for my safe journey in front of the *butsudan* that occupied a central place in her small traditional house. I was touched by the serenity with which she venerated the statue of “Odaishisama” in the altar. After my first ride on a cable car and a short bus trip, I arrived at my destination in Kōyasan, the site of Kōyasan University, where I gained my first understandings of the importance of Kūkai’s legacy, and where my academic journey began...

At that time, I was in the preparatory stage of my in some years due MA-thesis, and my supervisor, Pol Vanden Broucke (1957-2004), had made me an appointment with Inui Hitoshi, one of his former teachers at Kōyasan University, who kindly referred me both to primary text editions and secondary studies, and offered me access to the vast university library that harbors amongst the world’s most precious manuscripts.

Although my MA-promoter did not live to see the final result (which was awarded with a *magna cum laude* degree in 2004), I still cherish the first copies I made that day, and in the meantime, what once started as a bunch of handwritten notes, has steadily grown to a small library with collected works, reference material, monographs, dictionaries, etc. Boxes with photocopies and draft work have outgrown the shelves, and dozens of USB-sticks are loaded with word-files and pdf-scans.

Needless to say, it would take some decades to process all this data in order to concoct one single publication covering the diverse array of gathered material. However, thanks to the advice from peers, colleagues, and experts whom I had the pleasure to meet on several occasions during academic conferences and workshops, I slowly came to realize that focusing on one aspect of Shingon Mikkyō was the *conditio sine qua non* for having any chance at completing a PhD dissertation.

After my first presentation on the topic of Shingon precepts to a panel of *vinaya* specialists in the summer heat of 2008 at the XVth Congress of the International Association for Buddhist Studies (Emory University, Atlanta), Richard Payne (Dean of the Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley) pointed out the field's need for well-trained philologists who disclose the still vast amount of untranslated primary texts for the increasing number of scholars, who in their analyses solely are relying on secondary studies. He then involved me in both the *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* project (published by E.J. Brill under the general editorship of Charles D. Orzech 2011) and the Buddhism section of *Oxford Bibliographies Online*, and his frequent inquiries kept on stimulating me to persevere.

Some months later, I was selected to participate in a doctoral workshop held prior to the 12th International Conference of the European Association for Japanese Studies at Salento University, Lecce. There, Fabio Rambelli (then affiliated with Hokkaidō University, but now at the University of California, Santa Barbara), who was serving as my advisor, advocated that my project on the inculturation of the continental Buddhist precepts in Japan was a far under-researched topic, not in the least because of its demanding philological endeavor.

Near the end of that year, during a workshop on tantra in East Asia organized at the Freie Universität Berlin, Charles Orzech (previously at University of North Carolina, Greensboro, but now in the University of Glasgow School of Critical Studies) reminded me of some important ritual manuals whose attribution is still under debate.

These conversations, however futile they might have seemed at the time, in retrospect have been major encouragements to continue my pursuit of knowledge of Shingon Mikkyō, not only on the level of academic inquiry, but also as a personal enrichment.

Presenting the results of these past research years in the form of a PhD-dissertation, therefore, is certainly not a mere personal achievement. In his administrative role as promoter, Andreas Niehaus (Head of the Department of Languages and Cultures, Ghent University) has constantly supported me with his compassionate patience, and together with the other members of the Doctoral Guidance Committee, he has never stopped encouraging me to endure in my assignment.

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monastic regulations have always been appreciated. Eddy Moerloose (Ghent University) has initiated me into the fundamentals of Sanskrit, and whenever we ran into one another, he warmly encouraged me to persist. Also the advice from Franziska Ehmcke (Universität zu Köln), and the jovial discussions with Henny van der Veere (Leiden University) have been more than meaningful.

Further, Tadera Norihiko of the Institute of Esoteric Buddhist Culture at Kōyasan University deserves explicit mentioning for his active role in the donation of the TKDZ collection. Thomas Eijō Dreitlin of Kōyasan University is thanked for the heartening talks that helped me to pick up the research trail. Rev. Eijun Eidson of the Shingon Buddhist International Institute in Fresno, California, provided useful data for my research on Shingon Ritsu, and Rev. Shinkaku T. Bennett has encouraged me to engage into the *Yugikyō* translation project.

Special thanks goes to Brigitte, whose wisdom and friendship have never ceased to inspire me. Christian and Bruce have particularly been unremitting in their comradeship, and to Tom I owe a particular debt of sincere gratitude for his kind cheers and continuous consolations.

Although also other colleagues, friends and family members have in their own ways generously contributed to bring this project to fruition, Katrien and Maggy have to be especially thanked for their help in the household during my absence over the last weeks.

Also the cheers of David will never be forgotten, but words are too limited to express my appreciation for the unceasing support of my sister, Gudrun, who meticulously read through the manuscript.

Last, but surely not least, it must be admitted that my research has only been possible at the sacrifice of spending time with my wife, Leigh, and our wonderful children, Dharma, Bodhi, and Siddhi, whose unconditional love will always be cherished.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BD	佛教大辭典 (Jap. <i>Bukkyō daijiten</i> , cf. Mochizuki 1968).
BDSR	菩提心論 (Jap. <i>Bodaishiron</i> , cf. T. XXXII, no. 1665).
BGD	佛教語大辭典 (Jap. <i>Bukkyōgo daijiten</i> , cf. Nakamura 1983).
BGDJ	仏具大事典 (Jap. <i>Butsugu daijiten</i> , cf. Okazaki 1982).
BKD	仏書解説大辭典 (Jap. <i>Bussho kaisetsu daijiten</i> , cf. Ono 1968).
BKBD	佛教漢梵大辭典 (Jap. <i>Bukkyō Kan-Bon daijiten</i> , cf. Hirakawa 1997).
BMK	梵網經 (Jap. <i>Bommōkyō</i> , cf. T. XXIV, no. 1484).
DCBT	<i>Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms</i> (cf. Soothill 1994).
DBJ	電子佛教辭典 (Jap. <i>Denshi Bukkyō Jiten</i> , see: online sources s.v. Muller).
FHD	秘密曼荼羅教付法伝 (Jap. <i>Himitsu mandarakyō fuhōden</i> , cf. KDKZ II: 379ff.)
GYG	御遺告二十五箇條 (Jap. <i>Goyuigō nijūgo-kajō</i> , cf. KDKZ VIII: 36-95).
<i>Heizei</i>	平城天皇灌頂文 (Jap. <i>Heizei-tennō kanjōbun</i> , var. <i>–mon</i> , cf. KDZ II: 117ff. and T. LXXVIII, no. 2461)
HSBK	秘密三昧耶佛戒儀 (Jap. <i>Himitsu sanmaiya bukkai gi</i> , cf. T. LXXVIII, no. 2463)
JBKG	授菩提心戒 (Jap. <i>Ju bodaishin kaigi</i> , cf. T. XVIII, no. 915).
JHBK	授發菩提心戒文 (Jap. <i>Ju hotsu bodaishin kaimon</i> , cf. SS XX, 42b-52c)
JJSR	秘密曼荼羅十住心論 Jap. <i>Himitsu mandara jūjūshinron</i> , cf. KDKZ I: 5ff.)
KDKZ	弘法大師空海全集 (Jap. <i>Kōbō Daishi Kūkai Zenshū</i> , cf. Kōbō Daishi Zenshū Henshū I'inkai 1987).
KDZ	弘法大師全集 (Jap. <i>Kōbō Daishi Zenshū</i> , cf. Mikkyō Bunka Kenyūjo 1965-68).

Kōnin	弘仁の御遺誠 (Jap. <i>Kōnin no Goyuikai</i> , cf. KDZ II: 861ff.)
KSK	灌頂三昧耶戒 (Jap. <i>Kanjō sanmaiya-kai</i> , cf. ND XLI: 175-180).
MD	密教大辭典 (Jap. <i>Mikkyō daijiten</i> , cf. Matsunaga 1983).
MJ	密教辭典 (Jap. <i>Mikkyō jiten</i> , cf. Sawa 1985).
MSZ	無畏三藏禪要 (Jap. <i>Mui-sanzō Zen'yō</i> , cf. T. XVIII, no. 917).
MVS	<i>Māhāvairocanasūtra</i> (i.e. 大日經 Jap. <i>Dainichikyō</i> , cf. T. XVIII, no. 848).
ND	日本大藏經 (Jap. <i>Nihon Daizōkyō</i> , cf. Nakano 1914-19)
NEBJ	日英佛教辭典 (Jap. <i>Nichi-ei Bukkyō Jiten</i> , cf. Iwano 1979).
PSD	<i>Practical Sanskrit Dictionary</i> (cf. Macdonell 1997).
SBR	四分律 (Jap. <i>Shibunritsu</i> , cf. T. XXII, no. 1428)
SED	<i>Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> (cf. Monier-Williams 2000).
SGR	三學錄 (Jap. <i>Sangakuroku</i> , cf. KDZ I: 105-22)
SJ	真言事典 (Jap. <i>Shingon jiten</i> , cf. Hatta 1985).
SKJ	三昧耶戒序 (Jap. <i>Sanmai yakai-jo</i> , cf. LXXVII, no. 2462).
SS	三十帖策子 (Jap. <i>Sanjūjō sakushi</i> , cf. Sōhonzan Ninnaji 1977)
STTS	<i>Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha</i> (var. <i>Vajra-usṇīsa</i> , Jap. <i>Kongōchōgyō</i> 金剛頂經, cf. T. XVIII, no. 865, 866, and 882)
SWED	新和英大辭典 (Jap. <i>Shin Wa-Ei Daijiten</i> , cf. Masuda 1985).
T.	大正新脩大藏經 (Jap. <i>Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō</i> , cf. Takakusu 1924-35).
TKDZ	定本弘法大師全集 (Jap. <i>Teihon Kōbō Daishi Zenshū</i> , cf. Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūsho 1993).
UBR	有部律 (Jap. <i>Uburitsu</i> , cf. T. XXIII, no. 1442).

REMARKS ON TYPOGRAPHY

Philological research in the field of Buddhist studies always implies a great deal of specific terminology that needs to be clarified, explained and interpreted. Buddhist terms and conceptions have therefore been clarified as the author's best. The footnotes not only include such explanations, but also consist of bibliographical references. These are indicated according to the author-date system. In order to keep the text economical, a number of bibliographical abbreviations are used, cf. list *supra*. Although they are to consult there, this list does not include common abbreviations such as Chin., Jap. and Skt.

Given that our intended public is already quite familiar with general aspects of Buddhism, popular terms such as buddha, bodhisattva, dharma, mahāyāna, mantra, etc. will not be described any further, and are not italicized. Terms that may be less familiar, such as *mudrā*, *dhāraṇī*, *adhiṣṭhāna*, or do not belong to the English lexicon, as well as titles and transcriptions, are set in italics. Exceptions to this general rule are personal names and toponyms. Designations such as Buddha, Bodhisattva, Dharmakāya, or Tathāgata are capitalized when referring to divinities.

For readers proficient in Chinese, terms and titles are given with characters first. In order to facilitate the consultation of Japanese lexica, these are followed by the Japanese reading in the Hepburn transcription. In the bibliographies, however this is *vice versa*, and also when modern Japanese is quoted, transcription takes precedence. Only when indispensable for the argumentation, Pinyin transcription is added to indicate Chinese readings in modern pronunciation. Because Sanskrit is the *lingua franca* of Buddhist studies, however, Sanskrit equivalents are given for the reader's convenience. For the Sanskrit transliterations, we will use the system as established during the 10th International Orientalist Conference in Geneva (1894). For a comfortable reading, however, spacing may be added to transcriptions of long compounds and titles.

Except explicitly mentioned otherwise, quotations are given in the language of the original. This is not the case, however, when quoting Chinese and Japanese material, which is always translated in English. Unless clearly indicated, all translations are the author's.

Elements that might be added for clarity's sake are put in square brackets. In chapter III, numbers in the left margin refer to the pagination in the T.-edition, and follow the tripartite of the pages that is commonly indicated with the letters a, b and c, followed by the line number. Because there are frequent problems with erroneous punctuations in the consulted edition (also see e.g. Chen 2011), except from Appendix A.1, citations from primary texts in classical Chinese are given without interpunctation. Throughout this dissertation, bibliographical references are cited according to the author-date system. The citations in Appendix H are edited according to the Oxford Bibliography guidelines.

I. INTRODUCTION

Kūkai (空海, 774-835) is commonly revered as the founder of the Shingon denomination of esoteric Buddhism in Japan.¹ He is regarded as one of the most prominent Japanese scholar-monks of the early Heian period (784/94-1185), and applied his remarkable diplomatic insights in his interaction both with the imperial court and the established Buddhist institutions. He is celebrated not only for his systematizing philosophical capacities, but also for his broad knowledge of Tang dynasty (618-907) Chinese culture.

Between 804 and 806, he studied esoteric Buddhism in China, from where he brought a vast array of texts, scroll paintings, and other ritual implements.² In Japan, Kūkai carried on the Zhenyan (真言) tradition of China as a fully systematic body of thought and practice, which he vested in the Shingon-shū (真言宗).³ The voluminous textual corpus attributed to Kūkai bears evidence of his envisioning a unity of Indian, Chinese and Japanese Buddhist denominations ultimately culminating in Shingon. Thus, the once fairly unstructured Zhenyan

¹ Lay name: Saeki [no] Mao (佐伯真魚), posthumous title: Kōbō Daishi (弘法大師), treasure name: Henjō Kongō (遍照金剛), popular references: Daishi (大師), Kōya Daishi (高野大師), and Odaishisama (お大師様). See Hinonishi 2002 for a recent source addressing the subject of Kūkai's epithets. Kūkai's disciple Shinzei (真済, 780-860) is believed to have been the first to compose a biography of Kūkai. Many Japanese introductions (入門 Jap. *nyūmon*) have been published on Kūkai's life, but by far the best Japanese study is Katō 1989. Hakeda 1972: esp. 13-60 gives the most accessible overview on Kūkai's life in English, and includes a useful chronological table on pp. 277-279. Abe 1999 includes very useful information on Kūkai's date of birth, cf. p. 20 and p. 454 n.1; on Kūkai's dissent, pp. 69-112. His biography is discussed on pp. 4-8, 22-23, 40-42, 46-47, 55-63, and 386-388. Abe's analysis of Kūkai's autobiographical writings is found on pp. 74-75, 84-85, and 89-90. Kūkai's autobiographical writings are also discussed in Matsuda 2003: 12-35. However, a book-length work incorporating full English translations of Kūkai's biographies and autobiographical writings is still lacking. Although as such not scholarly in scope, illustrated Kūkai biographies (弘法大師絵伝, Jap. *Kōbō Daishi eden*) are important material for the study of popular devotional views on his life. There are several Japanese articles on the subject, but most of them are outdated. Sekiguchi 1988, however, might be representative of the few more accessible accounts. On Kūkai and the development of Shingon Buddhism, see Abe 1999, and Tinsley 2011. On the term "esoteric Buddhism", see postscript infra. For an annotated bibliography on Kūkai, see: appendix H.

² Borgen (1982) gives the most detailed English account of the Japanese embassy Kūkai joined when he went to China in order to study esoteric Buddhism. For his travel to China, see Abe 1999: 113-150; Hakeda 1972: 29-34.

³ His *Catalogue of Sūtras, Vinayas, and Śāstras to be Studied in the Shingon School* (真言宗所學經律論目錄 Jap. *Shingonshū-shogaku kyō-ritsu-ron mokuroku*), often called *Catalogue of the Three [Divisions of] Learning* (三學錄 Jap. *Sangakuroku*, further SGR) was perhaps the first systematic attempt to classify the Mikkyō texts, cf. Isaki 1988: 150. It can be found in the KDZ I: 105-22. It was compiled in 823 as the curriculum for Shingon adepts, intended to be an addition to the standard works studied in the other Buddhist schools. Aside from a long list of *tantras*, there were only two treatises, i.e. the *Bodhicitta-śāstra* (cf. White 2005) and the *Commentary on the Treatise on Mahāyāna* (釈摩訶衍論 Jap. *Shaku makaen ron*, T. XXXII, no. 1668), both attributed to Nāgārjuna (fl. 2nd century) and translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra (704-774) during the eighth century. On Amoghavajra, see Lehnert 2011: 351-359. The *Catalogue* also lists other materials for the study of Sanskrit and works on *mantras*. For Kūkai's creation of the term Shingon-shū, cf. Abe 1999: 199ff.

teachings (Skt. *dharma*) that were nearly extinguished by the end of the Tang dynasty in China, soon became one of Japan's most influential forms of Buddhism.

Also known as a famous calligrapher, Kūkai is a pan-Japanese cultural hero, who –amongst numerous other legendary accomplishments– has been attributed with the invention of the *kana* script.⁴ Until today devotees venerate him as a popular living saint who is remaining alive in eternal meditation on Mt. Kōya (Kōyasan 高野山), the inner sanctum (*Oku-no-in* 奥の院) of which is administered by Kongōbuji (金剛峰寺), the Shingon headquarters.

Shingon Mikkyō

Commonly referred to as Shingon Mikkyō (真言密教, lit. “mantra esotericism”, cf. Skt. *mantrayāna*),⁵ these teachings are considered to be “esoteric”, because their doctrine and ritual practice can be studied only after initiation, and are passed down in a lineage of master-disciple transmission. During the training period following the initiation, the master (阿闍梨 Jap. *ajari*, transliterating Skt. *acārya*) reveals to the disciple the “secret”, or “hidden” (密 Jap. *mitsu*) means for realizing Buddhahood.

Amongst these “mysteries” are mantras, rendered in Japanese as *shingon* (真言),⁶ the recitation of which forms a main constituent of esoteric Buddhist practice. Together with physical poses and manual signs (Skt. *mudrā*), as well as visualization techniques and meditative contemplation of divinities depicted in maṇḍalas,⁷ such expedients allow the ritual officiant, amongst others, to realize the perfection (Skt. *siddhi*) of man-Buddha integration (Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*).

⁴ For more references, cf. annotated bibliography in appendix H.

⁵ Unless clearly indicated otherwise, all translations of terms, titles, and (excerpts from) texts are the author's. For a study of *mantrayāna* in China, see e.g. Strickmann 1996, and Orzech 1989. See also postscript infra.

⁶ Lit. ‘true word’, but rather ‘word of truth’: “Die Wahrheit konstituiert sich sprechend, die Wahrheit spricht im mantra, weil ihr kein anderes Instrument als das der Sprache zur Verfügung steht.” (Lehnert 2001: 1000). On this term, also see chapter III, n. 267 infra s.v. *furai shingon*.

⁷ On visualization and contemplation, see e.g. Copp's entry in Orzech 2011a: 141-145. For the relation between *mudrā*, mantra and maṇḍala, see: Orzech 2011b: 76 ff. For a detailed study of *mudrā* in Japan, see Saunders 1985. On the term mandala, see: Wayman 1999.

Also called the “three esoterica” (三密 Jap. *san mitsu*, Skt. *triguhya* or *trīṇi guhyāni*),⁸ these means represent the body, speech/voice, and mind/thought of Mahāvairocana (大日 Jap. Dainichi, lit. ‘Great Sun’),⁹ the central divinity in the Shingon system. They are universal, because all beings –in whatever they do, say, and think– are considered nothing but individualized parts of the absolute reality as embodied by Mahāvairocana, but their originally enlightened (Skt. *bodhi*) nature is hidden from them by illusion.¹⁰

Thus, contrary to what one might perhaps expect, the “esoteric” here does not entail that Shingon has some kind of *numerous clausus* for its neophytes. Just as the way to enlightenment is accessible for anyone, Shingon is open to all sentient beings.¹¹ As it is the spiritual capacity of the candidate which is decisive for progress, the teacher has to make sure that the pupil receives suitable guidance. This is the main reason why certain aspects of Mikkyō are encrypted with for the uninitiated seemingly unfathomable terminology, that is veiled by drapes of symbolic ostentation, and needs oral explanation by an authorized master. Hence, Mikkyō texts are said to be written in “twilight language” (Skt. *sāṃdhyābhāṣā*).¹²

Abhiṣeka

Tradition has it that the inception of Shingon esoteric Buddhism has been hallmarked by Kūkai receiving the twofold consecration into the *vajradhātu* and *garbhadhātu-maṇḍalas*¹³ from his master Huiguo (恵果, 746-806) at Qinglong Temple (青龍寺) in Chang’an in 804.¹⁴ After his return to Japan from his research stay in China (cf. supra: 1), Kūkai profiled himself as religious leader, an activity that was closely connected with his propagation of the consecration ritual, known as *abhiṣeka* (灌頂 Jap. *kanjō*).¹⁵

⁸ English term according to the index in Orzech 2011a: 1192, s.v. “three mysteries”. For more information, also see chapter III, n. 446 below.

⁹ On Mahāvairocana, see e.g. Pinte K. 2009b. For the central divinities in the esoteric Buddhist pantheon, See Sørensen 2011.

¹⁰ See: NEBJ: 249b; BGD: 490b; DCBT: 63; Wayman 1992: 306, and 274, n. 82; and Abe 1999: 129-132, where a summary is given on Kūkai’s vision on the relation between the three mysteries and Mahāvairocana.

¹¹ On the exclusion of women, cf. infra, chapter II: 13 n. 48.

¹² This term was popularized by Bucknell & Stuart-Fox (1986).

¹³ For a study of these *maṇḍalas*, see: Snodgrass 1988. For the arrangement of the divinities in the two *maṇḍalas*, see MJ: appendix: 32-33; SJ: 292, 295.

¹⁴ According to Endō (1972: 2), he was the only one amongst thousands of Huiguo’s disciples who was transmitted the correct twofold lineage. On these *maṇḍalas*, see: e.g. Snodgrass 1988.

¹⁵ Abe 1999: 43. On *abhiṣeka*, see e.g. Davidson’s entry in Orzech 2011a: 71-75.

In general, there are three levels of *abhiṣeka*: the first is an introductory consecration, aimed at generating karmic affinity (結縁 Jap. *kechien*) with the maṇḍala divinities, establishing the candidate as a practitioner of esoteric Buddhism; the intermediate consecration enables the practitioner to study the rituals (学法 Jap. *gakuho*) for the attainment of meditative union (Skt. *yoga*), or unio mystica, with a Buddha or bodhisattva in the maṇḍala; while the advanced consecration empowers the practitioner as a master of esoteric Buddhism who can preserve and transmit the tradition (伝教 Jap. *denkyō kanjō*) to other generations.¹⁶

“*Samaya precepts*”: *quid rei*?

Prior to the consecration ritual, there is a so-called “preliminary procedure” in which the recipient vows to uphold the “*samaya-śīla** (Jap. *sanmaiya-kai* 三摩耶戒),”¹⁷ or the “esoteric precepts,” at the heart of which are, according to Abe, who paraphrases a note by Hakeda, the following four “vows”:

- (1) Never to abandon the True Dharma; (2) Never to negate *bodhicitta*, the seed of enlightenment said to be shared by all beings; (3) Never to be parsimonious in sharing Buddhist teachings with others; and (4) Never to cause any sentient beings harm.¹⁸

Their contents and number appear to vary over time and according to denomination, but all practitioners of esoteric Buddhism, take “*samaya precepts*”, which are formally conferred prior to, or during the consecration ritual. In other words, they mark the entrance into esoteric

¹⁶ Abe 1999: 262, n. 93. Each of these rituals marks the beginning of intensive study, as pointed out in Orzech 2011b: 85, n. 38. For the processes of *abhiṣeka* as set out in the two major scriptures of Shingon, see Abe 1999: 133-149.

¹⁷ Var. Jap. *sammaya-kai*. Although Abe advances the aforementioned Sanskrit term as an equivalent for the Japanese term, no such an equivalent has yet been found in any Sanskrit source. Hence my addition of “*”, i.e. the common indication of reconstructed words. In Buddhist texts written in Chinese, the term is also attested as Jap. *sanmaiya-kai* 三昧耶戒, which actually is the most frequent term. A concordance survey of the T. canon (cf. appendix C) showed that the terms *sanmaya-kai* and *sanmaiya-kai* can also be abbreviated to *sanma-kai* and *sanmai-kai*, and are together attested in 202 texts spread over 28 different volumes, adding up to a total of 572 hits (text headings excluded). The abbreviated forms, however, are only used in 9% of the cases (52/572), one time of which it is written with the character 摩. The character 摩, both in full and abbreviated forms is used in only in 32% (182/272) of the cases, while the full form with the character 昧 is attested in 59% of the cases (339/572). At least in the T.-canon, 三昧耶戒, therefore, appears to be the most frequently used term. Strangely enough, although its correct Hepburn transcription is *sanmaiya-kai*, not a single source (also no Japanese studies) appears to use this reading. Future quantitative research might shed more light on this issue.

¹⁸ Abe 1999: 43-44, referring to Hakeda 1972: 95-96, and pointing out that these vows are called Jap. *shi jūkin* 四重禁, lit. the “four fundamental prohibitions”. For a brief discussion of the role of vows in esoteric Buddhism, see: Davidson 2011.

practice, and are in that sense core features of esoteric Buddhism. Therefore, it has been suggested that they are apt keys to determine whether in a certain period, on a certain location, or in a certain denomination, there was an institutionalized form of esoteric Buddhism.¹⁹ However, regardless of a few studies on their history within Tibetan contexts,²⁰ until today not a single Western language study exists on the inception and/or reception of the “*samaya* precepts” in China, Korea, or Japan.

Moreover, just like Abe (cf. *supra*), the handful of other scholars who mention them incidentally in their English publications on Chinese and Japanese esoteric traditions, such as Paul Groner, Richard Payne, and Charles Orzech,²¹ all only paraphrase, or refer to the aforementioned aside in Hakeda’s work.²² This immediately entails some questions, such as: What is this “preliminary procedure” about? What does the term “*samaya* precepts” mean? Why are they called “esoteric precepts”? Where do these “precepts” come from? How are they equated with being “vows”? What is meant by the “True Teaching” or “bodhicitta, the seed of enlightenment”? Etc.

For the ritual procedure followed in granting the “*samaya* precepts”, the reader is merely referred to two texts only, i.e. the *Mahāvairocanaśūtra* (大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經, Jap. *Daibirushana jōbutsu jinben kajikyō*, further: MVS)²³ and “Kūkai’s *Himitsu sanmaiya bukkaigi* 秘密三昧耶佛戒儀” (further: HSBK).²⁴ While both the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the former have already been translated and studied extensively alongside their most important commentaries,²⁵ the latter text has not yet been disclosed, translated or studied in any other language than Japanese (cf. *infra*).

Moreover, instead of calling them “esoteric precepts”, other scholars refer to them as “tantric” or “mantrayāna vows”.²⁶ Is there a significant difference, then, between “esoteric” and “tantric” on the one hand, and between “precepts” and “vows” on the other? Are these merely

¹⁹ Payne 2006: 16

²⁰ See e.g. Lessing 1998: esp. 155ff.; Gyaltsen 2002: esp. 24-25, 96, 109, 245-247, 261-262, 270 and van Schaik 2010, while Kanaoka 1976 and Takada 1980 are Japanese studies on this topic.

²¹ Groner 1984: 67, n. 12 ; Payne 2006: 16 and 231, n. 59; Orzech 2011a: 85, n. 37.

²² Hakeda 1972: 95-96.

²³ T. XVIII, no. 848: 5c-6b, commented upon in 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 (Jap. *Daibirushana jōbutsu kyōsho*), comp. Yixing (一行), i.e. T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 629c7-630a12, 661c3, 666c22, also referred to e.g. in Orzech 2011b: 85, n. 37. On Śubhākarasimha, see Pinte K. 2011a. For Yixing, see: Keyworth 2011: 342-344.

²⁴ See e.g. Abe 1999: 462, n. 91 and White 2005: 35-36, n. 49-50.

²⁵ See e.g. the translation with Buddhaguhya’s commentary in Hodge 2003; the study of the Chinese text and translation of its first chapter by Tajima 1936; as well as the full translations by Yamamoto Y. 2001, and Giebel 2005 respectively. Hence, this text is not the main subject of the present research.

²⁶ Payne 2006: 16.

translations of the same concepts, or is there more to it? Therefore, the present dissertation aims at dealing with these questions concerning the “tantric vows” of “esoteric Buddhism”, and generally focusses on their representation in the HSBK, i.e. the ritual manual that has been put forward as a main source for the systematization of the aforementioned preliminary procedure.

State of the field

The Shingon teachings of Kūkai are undoubtedly amongst the most systematic and philosophic traditional Buddhist thought in Japan, but unfortunately they have been ignored for the most part in twentieth century English language scholarship. Aside from few exceptions, such as a basic work on Kūkai’s life and works by Hakeda (1972) and Yamasaki’s introduction to Shingon (1988), for a long time almost no substantial study on Kūkai, or Shingon, has been available to the non-Japanese versed reader.²⁷

At the turn of the millenium, however, Abe’s seminal work (1999) appears to have paved the way for some very important publications, such as those by White (2005), Payne (2006), and Orzech (2011). They have proven uncontestably that academic inquiries into tantric or esoteric Buddhism deal with a highly philosophical, comprehensive body of thought and ritual synthesis, which until today lies at the heart of the daily religious practice of Shingon adepts around the world.

In comparison to the Buddhist rules in China,²⁸ there is also not a lot of English language research on the history of the reception and approach of the Buddhist precepts on the Japanese archipelago. Exceptions are such groundbreaking works as those by Hankó (2003) and Unno (1994) that deal with Risshū, and Groner’s extensive treatment of the Tendai precepts (e.g. Groner 1979, 1984, and 1990).

English language academic inquiry into the precepts in esoteric Buddhism, however, is as yet virtually non-existing, let alone on Kūkai’s precepts view, or the origins, development, and institutionalization of the “*samaya* precepts” ritual in Japan. This implies that scholarship in

²⁷ This neglect may have something to do with an intellectual’s prejudice against, and reluctance towards, the significance of esoteric ritual practice, in which symbols and images are used that are not so easily amenable to rational comprehension, and instead conjure up preconceptions of the “occult” and “magical”. Cf. Postscript below.

²⁸ See e.g. de Groot 1967; Yifa 2002; Heirman 2007.

this field is largely dependent on primary sources that –given the time frame and cultural sphere under consideration– are mostly written in classical Chinese, and are discussed in highly specialized Japanese secondary studies.²⁹

The first, if not the earliest, modern scholar to address Kūkai’s precepts view, and also his institutionalization of the “*samaya* precepts”, was Ueda Tenzui (1933), who laid out many of the conceptions that were followed by later scholars. The next noteworthy author in this context was Katsumata (1959), who discussed the textual development of different terms for “esoteric precepts” (密戒 Jap. *mitsukai*), and outlined the main textual sources for their conferral ritual.

In 1967 several publications were issued on the topic: Takagi dealt with the division between the so-called “exoteric” (Jap. 顯戒 *kenkai*) and “esoteric precepts”, with special focus on Kūkai’s view on, and his taking of the precepts, and also discussed the traditional lineage of transmission. Ueda R. published on the precepts view of the late 17th century monk Jōgon (浄嚴, 1639-1702),³⁰ while Yamasaki issued an article on Kūkai’s view on the “*samaya* precepts”, addressing different designations for the term, alongside their occurrence in the MVS, as well as their relation to the *Bodhicittaśāstra*.³¹

In the 1970’s, the *sanmaiya-kai* of the Chinese MVS and its foremost commentary by Yixing (一行, 683-727)³² were discussed by Endō (1972), who also investigated how these ‘*sanmaiya-kai*’ were interpreted in some texts attributed to Kūkai. This was also the case in one of his later publications (Endō 1984), but there he focusses rather on *dam-tshig*, the Tibetan word for Skt. *samaya*. Tanaka (1977), however, analyzed the so-called *Preface to the Samaya Precepts* (三昧耶戒序 *Sanmai yakaijo*, further: SKJ),³³ a primary source for Kūkai’s view on the (esoteric) precepts, and especially treats ten stages (十住心 Jap. *jū jūshin*) thought.³⁴

²⁹ Below is a very concise chronological survey of the most important Japanese literature related to the “*samaya* precepts” and their conferral ritual, covering studies from the 20th century up to today, but in no respect it intends to be comprehensive. For further references, see the annotation throughout, as well as the general and annotated bibliographies below.

³⁰ cf. *infra*.

³¹ For an English study and translation, see: White 2005.

³² cf. p. 5, n. 23 above.

³³ For an English study and translation, see White 2005: 357-372, and the discussion of excerpts in chapter IV below.

³⁴ This is treated in chapter IV below.

In the early 1980's, Shinada (1980 and 1981) studied Kūkai's precepts view as seen from the *Text for the Initiatory Unction of Emperor Heizei* (平城天皇灌頂文 *Heizei-tennō kanjōbun*, var. –*mon*, further: *Heizei*)³⁵ while Takada (1980) paid attention to the etymology of the term *samaya*, and –although focusing on *mantrayāna* in Tibet– pointed out some parallels with the Buddhist esotericisms in China and Japan, based on his reading of the MVS. Also in 1980, Takahashi explored the etymology of the Skt. compound *samaya-saṃvara*, and argued that 'sanmaiya-kai' is not Skt. *samaya-saṃvara*, but both *samaya* and *saṃvara* (cf. infra). Arai (1984) also explained the term 'sanmaiya-kai' as Skt. *samaya-saṃvara*, and discussed alternate designations from the MVS, with special focus on the idea that *bodhicitta* is a form of precepts.

In the beginning of the last decade of the past millenium, Satō (1991) focussed on the continuity of Kūkai's precepts view in the esoteric lineage, while Murakami (1993) addressed Kūkai's interpretation and his use of different terms for the 'samaya precepts', as well as the meaning of the *sanmaiya-kai* in Kūkai's SKJ in relation to the *Bodhicittaśāstra* (cf. supra).

The most prominent specialist with regard to the present subject, however, is Tomabechi Sei'ichi (currently full professor in the Department of Buddhist Studies at Taishō University, Tōkyō). He published on the HSBK already in 1979, and the core of his research amounts to the text's relation to two other text, namely the *Document on Conferring the Precepts on Arousing Bodhicitta*, i.e. the intent to attain awakening (授発菩提心戒文 Jap. *Ju hotsu bodaishin kaimon*; further: JHBK) and the *Samaya Precept for the Abhiṣeka* (灌頂三昧耶戒 Jap. *Kanjō sanmaiya-kai*; further: KSK).³⁶

Publishing various articles on related issues, he proved himself a remarkably productive and unprecedented HSBK-scholar: Tomabechi (1988), for instance, classifies lineages according to their use of ritual manuals for the *samaya* precepts conferral ceremony, while his first 1990 article recognized the deficiencies of former studies (esp. the lack of accurate bibliographical references) and (re-)addressed the problematic division between exoteric and esoteric precepts, as well as questions concerning the interpretation and function of the *samaya* precepts according to Kūkai's writings, alongside the latter's precepts view. His other 1990 essays recalled the ritual procedure of the HSBK, and attempted to visually represent the formation process of the 'samaya precepts' in diagram form.

³⁵ Text translated by Grapard (2000). For further information, see Chapter IV below.

³⁶ For more information, see chapter IV: 73ff. below.

In 1991, he mainly investigated manuscripts of texts that relate to the HSBK, i.e. the *Samaya Precepts Ritual* (三昧耶戒儀 Jap. *Sanmai-yakai-gi*) in the collection of the Ishiyamadera (石山寺) at Ōtsu in Shiga Prefecture (1991a), and the *Ritual on Authorizing the Samaya Precepts* (許可三昧耶戒作法 Jap. *Kyōka sanmaiya-kai sahō*) as well as the *Ritual Procedure for Admission* (許可作法次第 Jap. *Kyōka sahō shidai*, cf. Tomabechi 1991b), both part of the Kōzanji (高山寺, var. 桐尾山寺 Jap. *Tōga-no-ōdera*) collection in Kyōto. In his 1992 article, he addressed the major textual sources for so-called “precepts of the wisdom that is unimpeded with regard to the three periods” (三世無障礙智戒 Jap. *sanze mushō gechi kai*), one of the MVS designations of the “*samaya* precepts”. A publication that was distributed over two journals followed in 2005. The first (2005a), is aimed at answering the question how *samaya* precepts conferral ceremonies were performed in Japanese *mantrayāna* given the difficulties in deciding between such different interpretations as those given in the HSBK and KSK. Based on a wide variety of textual sources, it categorizes ritual procedures and ordination manuals according to Shingon subschool affiliation. His *Study of Heian Period Shingon Mikkyō* (平安期真言密教の研究 Jap. *Heianki Shingon Mikkyō no kenkyū*), appeared in 2008, but –as far as our topic is concerned– it largely encompasses his previous articles.

In sum, the available research is largely the work of Japanese scholars affiliated to Buddhist Universities. Amongst them, especially Tomabechi has argued Kūkai cannot be considered the genuine author of the HSBK, mostly because of its relation with principally two other texts: the first being either Kūkai’s own work, or of unknown authorship (JHBK), and the second (KSK) being allegedly composed by Ennin (圓仁, 794–864). Even though these texts and their relations will be further exemplified below (cf. chapter IV: 72ff.), when reading the HSBK within the framework of Kūkai’s precepts view –which at this point has not yet been done– there are many indications that adduce arguments in support of the hypothesis that it may have been precisely the opposite.

That is, at least in my opinion, it is highly likely that –in the same line of discussion on the *Hizōki*– the JHBK and KSK were separate texts that actually comprise Kūkai’s notes of oral instructions he received from Huiguo during his stay in China between 804–806. Upon his return to Japan these were later combined into one ritual manual, the HSBK, which has always circulated together with his SKJ, being its “preface” that contains the sprouts for the JJSR, his *magnum opus* compiled on imperial command around 830. Moreover, as already

suggested by e.g. Yamasaki (1967), the close relation of the HSBK with texts of which the authenticity has not been questioned, such as the SKJ, *Kōnin* and *Heizei*, may indicate that the former has been composed at the same time when Kukai wrote the latter texts, i.e. ca. 822. Of course, he incorporated the guidelines of other guidebooks (such as the MSZ and JBKG) into the HSBK ritual manual, but –as for instance Abe (1999) has shown–exactly this strategy was crucial in his construction of esoteric Buddhist discourse.

Scope

There is no doubt that by establishing the “*samaya* precepts” as the code for the esoteric initiation, Kūkai attempted to find a balance between the rectification and innovation of the orthodox Buddhist ordination procedures.³⁷ In other words, his investment of the “*samaya* code” triggered a process of esotericization within contemporary ordination rituals, without radically demising them.³⁸ Kūkai’s interpretation of the concept of ‘*samaya*’, and its implementation in the ordination system, therefore, forms an ideal foundation for any further investigation of the esotericization of Buddhism in Japan.

Although in a Buddhist context, this ‘esotericization’ can be described as “the process of increasing reception of occult ideas and magical practices,”³⁹ it may also refer to the increasing isolation of its philosophy as the result of creating a terminology that is related to the exclusiveness of its intellectual and ritual domain.⁴⁰ In contrast to the widely circulating assumption that an increasing degree of ‘esotericization’ would logically be inversely proportional to the degree of accessibility outsiders have to the tradition, an analytic reading of its texts offers insights into how esotericism as such is constructed and maintains itself. That is, texts offer access to the rationalization of so-called ‘strategies of esotericization’, i.e. “how do texts attain the status of esoteric teachings, and which role do they play in the maintenance, shaping, and legitimizing of cultural traditions”.⁴¹

Later interpretations of, and polemics around Kūkai’s vision on the precepts have induced both very liberal and loose observance of ordination regulations –this is apparent, for instance, in the work of Annen (安然, 841-889)⁴²– as well as conservative so-called ‘precepts

³⁷ This has been suggested in Abe 1999: 53, and will further be substantiated in the below chapters.

³⁸ This was the reaction of Saichō, cf. infra: chapter 2, s.v. *bodhisattva-monks*.

³⁹ Strong 1979: 76.

⁴⁰ Cook 1982: 534.

⁴¹ Kawashima 2007: 276-277.

⁴² See Groner 1990.

restoration movements' (戒律復興運動 Jap. *kairitsu fukkō undō*) that would ultimately result in apologetic debates that catalyzed the establishment of Shingon subdivisions and branches (e.g. Kōya Shingon), and Shingon-affiliated schools, such as the Shingon Ritsu school (真言律宗 Jap. Shingon Risshū) during the Kamakura period (1185-1333).⁴³

The “*samaya* precepts” that were institutionalized by Kūkai, and triggered a mechanism of esotericization in the regulations for the ordination of priests in Shingon Risshū, have, in turn, influenced the manner of ordaining monks in other denominations, such as Zen, Tendai, and Jōdō Shinshū. They also influenced Jōgon (cf. supra), who promulgated that the “*samaya* precepts” are all-encompassing, i.e. they contain all precepts, both the exoteric and esoteric ones, as a result of which from 1776 onward, there is evidence that they were used no longer as a complement to, but instead of the monastic precepts of the *vinaya*.⁴⁴ Until today, they have kept playing a crucial role in the esoteric consecration ritual, in which they became a standard code for an increasing number of practitioners, not only in Japan, but also in the United States, and Europe.

As already briefly pointed out above, the HSBK is a ritual text that has been attributed to Kūkai, and is thus representative for the institutionalization period of esoteric Buddhism in Japan. Even though there are already some Japanese studies on this text, these are generally written by scholar-monks affiliated to private Buddhist Universities, whose vast knowledge of texts often results in a problematic verifiability of the data given in their work. A fully annotated translation of the HSBK, however, is still lacking, and more importantly, the HSBK has not yet been disclosed to the non-Japanese versed public.

Together with the above introduction (chapter I), this dissertation, therefore, comprises five chapters. The overall aim is to disclose the HSBK in two ways, the first being the presentation of its English translation, the first fully annotated one in any language (chapter III). Secondly, in reconsidering the text’s authenticity, the core of this text expounding the esoteric precepts is interpreted in the context of Shingon (chapter IV). This volume is rounded up with a general conclusion that summarizes my findings and future research plans (chapter V) and a postscript. However, first and foremost, the following paragraphs (chapter II) offer the reader a concise historical outline of the pre-Kūkai precept standards and introduces some basic concepts.

⁴³ On Shingon Ritsu, see: Pinte K. 2011b.

⁴⁴ Cf. Ueda R. 1967. On *vinaya*, see chapter II below, and chapter IV: *passim*.

II. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Before addressing the main research theme that has been introduced in the preceding paragraphs, the reader should be offered an idea of the historical and religious background against which the “*samaya* precepts” were institutionalized in Japan. The present chapter, therefore, is a concise overview of the main turning points regarding the Japanese Buddhist community (僧伽 Jap. *sōgya*, transliterating Skt. *saṃgha*). It highlights some core concepts regarding the Buddhist precepts and their conferral in Japan up to Kūkai’s time, which are essential to understand their interpretation in the HSBK (cf. chapters III and IV below). In a nutshell, it briefly answers such preliminary questions as: How was the Buddhist community in Japan organized before Kūkai’s time? What was the pre-Heian period standard ordination procedure? What kind of precepts were conferred, and which texts were legitimizing this? What was the relationship between Buddhism and the state? Etc.

Establishing the saṃgha

Buddhism was officially introduced to Japan around 538, but undoubtedly Chinese practitioners, who were mainly living in Korean communities, had actually entered much earlier on a private basis.⁴⁵ At the time, the imperial court was divided in three main factions: while the Soga (蘇我) family favoured Buddhism, both the Mononobe (蘇我) and Nakatomi (中臣) clans were against any religious innovation threatening indigenous Shintō (神道) patron deity (氏神 Jap. *ujigami*) beliefs.⁴⁶

Because the pro-Buddhist faction was eager to find a legitimate foundation on which to base its attempt of implementing Buddhism as the official state religion, there was an apparent need to establish a native Japanese monastic community, in which monks and nuns had

⁴⁵ Between the 4th and 7th century, the Korean peninsula was divided in three kingdoms, of which Paekche (百濟 Jap. Kudara) occupied the south-western tip, cf. Vanden Broucke 2007: 277. It was Syōngmyōng, the then king of Paekche who called upon the support of Yamato in his military conflict with the neighboring state Silla (新羅 Jap. Shiragi), and sent an envoy bearing a gilded Buddhist statue and scriptures to the Japanese court. The traditional date for this event, which is regarded as the official introduction of Buddhism in Japan, is 552, but 538 is the currently accepted date, cf. Tamura 2000: 16; Eliot 2005: 197; Kamstra 1967: 241-245, and 265-283; Bingenheimer 2001: 19ff. For sources that suggest 522 as the beginning of Japanese Buddhism, cf. Kamstra 1967: 253-258.

⁴⁶ Eliot 2005: 199; Kamstra 1967: 319-324.

received the precepts according to the procedures of the continental lineages.⁴⁷ However, at the time there was no *vinaya* (cf. *infra*) in Japan, and a quorum of fully ordained monastics, who traditionally must preside over the officiating ceremony for it being legitimate, were still lacking.

Thus, the court started to send religious practitioners, and in first instance women,⁴⁸ to the continent to improve their understanding of Buddhist doctrine and to train in accordance with the prescriptions in Buddhist monastic disciplinary codes. This is evident from the records of the *Annals of Japan* (日本書紀, Jap. *Nihon Shoki*; var. 日本紀, Jap. *Nihongi*),⁴⁹ and those in the *Outline of the Vinaya School* (律宗綱要, Jap. *Risshū kōyō*),⁵⁰ that trace the account on the origins of the Japanese *saṃgha* back to the early spring of 588, when Shimame (嶋女), Toyome (豊女), and Ishime (石女), three Japanese maidens of the then ruling Soga clan were

⁴⁷ Hirakawa 1992: 150.

⁴⁸ Although originally embracing the transcendental equality of men and women, on its journey beginning in the 5th century BCE from India through the deserts of Central Asia and the mountains of China, travelling through the Korean peninsula and crossing the sea to arrive in the 6th century CE in Japan, Buddhism had already assimilated a large number of doctrines that were dominating the patriarchal societies it encountered, such as Brahmanism and Confucianism, in which women were considered as the ‘second’ or ‘inferior sex’. Nevertheless, when encountering the indigenous animistic Shintō culture in Japan, where much importance was attached to the shamanistic power believed to be intrinsic to female nature, Buddhism seems to have been initially employed in Japan with its original policy of –at least a philosophical– gender equality intact. Beginning in the Nara period (710-784/94), androcentric Confucian standards entered Japanese society, and the important role that female shamans (巫女, also 神子 Jap. *miko*) had in political life of ancient times was gradually lost after the introduction of Chinese government structures, and from the Heian period (794-1185) onward, male ascetics who sojourned in secluded mountains took over the religious functions previously associated with female shamans. See e.g. Bodiford 1993: 92. Boyle and Sheen 1997: 217. The increasingly paternalistic society considered women more and more to be impure creatures that by nature distract and therefore hinder men, and so also monks, in their spiritual practice. Thus, from the 9th century onward, the Tendai and Shingon sects not only prohibited female ordination, but also banned them from their mountain temple precincts. See e.g. Boyle and Sheen 1997: 217 and Groner 1984: 159. However, the major shift away from traditional continental ordination practice by Saichō (767–822), who argued that the so-called *bodhisattva* precepts sufficed to enter priesthood (cf. *infra*, s.v. *bodhisattva-monks*), paved the way for women to re-enter the Buddhist clergy in later centuries. With the development of new schools of thought during the Kamakura period (1186/92-1333), all of which essentially were offshoots from Saichō’s Tendai, systematized by scholars such as Hōnen (法然, 1133-1212) and Nichiren (日蓮, 1222-1282) who founded the Jōdō (浄土) and Nichiren sects respectively, the creed that all people have an innate Buddha nature and are therefore inherently capable of attaining enlightenment in their current form and present lifetime, regardless of their sex, re-acknowledged women as legitimate candidates for Buddhist liberation. At present, Kōyasan Shingon Kongōbuji headquarters function as the headquarters of over 4,000 temples in Japan, and there are three schools for monks and nuns. Historically speaking, for over 1,000 years, women were prohibited to enter Kōyasan because this was a monastery for men. There was a monastery for women in Kudoyana, on the foot of Mt. Kōya. The prohibition was lifted in 1872, but in modern-day Japan, women who wish to become nuns are still initiated in the *bodhisattva* precepts without any preliminary ordination based on the *prāṭimokṣa*. (These terms are further explained below).

⁴⁹ Composed in 720 by Toneri Shinnō (舎人親王), these cover the history of early Japan until 697. For a list of Western language translations, see Hankó 2003: 383.

⁵⁰ T. LXXIV, no. 2348, probably the most important work written by Gyōnen (凝然, 1240-1321). For an English translation, see Pruden 1995; for a partial German translation, see: Hankó 2003: 328-334. For a study on Gyōnen, cf. Blum 2002.

sent to the Korean kingdom of Paekche in search for the Law.⁵¹ After a successful period of training, they returned to Japan in 590 as fully ordained nuns, which could be suggested by their respective names⁵² Zenshin-ni (善信尼),⁵³ Zenzō-ni (禅蔵尼),⁵⁴ and Ezen-ni (惠善尼)⁵⁵, they heard of six Korean resident monks who after their arrival in Yamato –as Japan was then called– had begun the construction works of the Hōkōji (法興寺; var. 飛鳥寺 Asukadera), the first Buddhist temple on the Japanese archipelago, which formed the foundation on which to build out the Buddhist community.⁵⁶

Even though this did not yet mean that they were able to establish a rightful *samgha*, their ordination formed a precedent for other Buddhists to take tonsure.⁵⁷ From the turn of the 7th century on, the Korean immigrants in Japan established the first Buddhist monastic community on the Japanese archipelago.⁵⁸

Self-ordinations

Notwithstanding the fact that during the Asuka (飛鳥) period (550-710) several foreign fully-fledged monastics travelled to Japan, they were not able to confer a legitimate *vinaya* ordination, for which traditionally a commission of ten –and in remote areas five– monks, three learning masters, and seven, or exceptionally two, witnesses was required.⁵⁹ Although very little is known about the first Japanese Buddhist communities, hieratical officiates seem to have been regulated by the state and primarily conducted for its welfare. The procedure had

⁵¹ Hankó 2003: 328-329. In contrast, the first full ordination of women in China occurred already in Nanjing in 433, cf. Hirakawa 1992: 148-149. For more on the then Japanese policy toward Korea, see: Kamstra 1967 : 225-236.

⁵² In this context, the suffix *-ni* functions as a religious label that refers to 比丘尼 (Jap. *bikuni*), or the Japanese equivalent of the Sanskrit word for a full-fledged Buddhist nun, Skt. *bhikṣuṇī*. When used as a noun, the suffix *-ni* is pronounced as *ama*, though the latter was often used with respect to women who had simply decided to retire from public life. Thus the term *ama* does not always necessarily apply to an officially ordained female, and could moreover, refer to any rank within the female monastic order, as where it was used to distinguish female monastics from *ubai* or Buddhist laywomen (cf. Skt. *upāsaka*). Arai 1999: 33.

⁵³ According to Tamura (2000: 16), Zenshin “took the Buddhist vows in 584 [...] and was the first person to be ordained in Japan”. His source, however, is the *Fusō ryakki* (扶桑略記), or the *Abridged Annals of Japan*, a 12th century work compiled by the Tendai monk Kōen (皇圓, 1119-1169), master to Hōnen’s (法然, 1133-1212), the founder of the Jōdo (浄土) or Japanese Pure Land School.

⁵⁴ Hirakawa reads “Zenzō” instead of Zenzō, Hirakawa 1992: 150. The renderings given here, however, are based on e.g. Kamstra 1967: 249.

⁵⁵ Hirakawa reads “Kenzen” instead of Ezen, cf. Hirakawa 1992: 150.

⁵⁶ Hankó 2003: 330-331. For information on the Hōkōji, see: Hirata 1989: 150-164.

⁵⁷ Arai 1999: 33. Kitagawa 1966: 26.

⁵⁸ Kamstra 1967: 298-300.

⁵⁹ The three masters are a preceptor, a professor, and an instructor, or master of liturgy, cf. n. 352 infra. Also see: Hankó 2003: 333, n. 786, and 329-333, where he points out that in some cases two witnesses could suffice. On this requirement, see also Heirman 2011: 610-611.

more to do, however, with evaluating a candidate's diligence in chanting sūtras or performing nation-protection ceremonies, rather than with his/her vowing to uphold a certain set of disciplinary precepts.⁶⁰

These desperate straits, created both by the insufficient number of ordained members in the then still very small officially sanctioned Buddhist community, and the absence of thoroughly trained *vinaya* masters who could legitimize the ordinations they potentially conferred by means of disciplinary texts from the lawful scriptural lineage, drove the premature Japanese Buddhist clergy to the practice of self-ordination (自誓受戒 Jap. *jisei jukai*, lit. 'pledging to uphold the precepts of one's own accord').⁶¹ This Chinese mahāyāna practice, was now conducted aside from the official sacerdotal examination system by priests(ses), who became known as "monastics who liberated themselves" (私度僧, Jap. *jido sō*).⁶²

This custom was justified, amongst others,⁶³ by the prescriptions expounded in the *Divination Sūtra* (占察經, Jap. *Sensatsugyō*; Chin. *Chanzhajing*),⁶⁴ presented as the Chinese translation of an Indian original by a certain Bodhidīpa during the Sui dynasty (581-618),⁶⁵ but is actually an apocryphon.⁶⁶ A crucial passage in this text starts with: "Taking [the precepts] by vowing [to uphold them] of your own accord, is also being granted the precepts [i.e. being ordained],"⁶⁷ adding that if one is unable to be ordained before the traditionally required quorum of full-fledged monastics, self-ordination before a Buddha statue is valid, even without the presence of the aforementioned masters and witnesses.

Nevertheless, by 624 –i.e. about thirty-five years after the first nuns were ordained– there is evidence that already 1,400 people who called themselves Buddhist monastics in Japan.⁶⁸ And five decades later, in 674, only the number of female monastics is said to have grown to approximately 2,400.⁶⁹

⁶⁰ Pinte 2011b: 845.

⁶¹ BGD: 556a; DCBT: 219; and Hankó 2003: 332-333 for specific evidence.

⁶² Groner 1984b: 5-6.

⁶³ For more information, see: Groner 2012: 221-222.

⁶⁴ Abbreviated title of 占察善惡業報經, Jap. *Sensatsu zen'aku gyōhō-kyō*, Chin. *Chanzha shan'e yebao jing*, lit. *Sūtra on the Divination of the Effect of Good and Bad Actions*, i.e. T. XVII, no. 839.

⁶⁵ Nanjio 1975: 110, no. 464.

⁶⁶ See: BKD VI: 329b; and Hankó 2003: 333.

⁶⁷ T. XVII, no. 839: 904c12: 自受而亦得戒.

⁶⁸ Kamstra 1967: 315, pointing out that 41% of them were nuns.

⁶⁹ Arai 1999: 33-34.

State sponsorship

In the following decades, the number of monastics further increased under the sponsorship of such renowned figures as Shōtoku Taishi (聖徳太子, 574-622), who –amongst many other things– is attributed with having built seven temples, five being convents (尼寺 Jap. *amadera*), of which the Chūgūji (中宮寺) still stands in Nara today as a part of the Hōryūji (法隆寺).⁷⁰ However, since the Taika reforms (大化改新 Jap. *Taika kaishin*) of 646, which implied an acceleration and intensification of the influx of Confucian values that promoted patriarchy, the religious organizations became increasingly male dominated. Although knowledge of Confucianism had reached the Japanese islands well over a century before the first Buddhist *sūtras* were presented to the court, it was only in the 7th century that Confucianism first became institutionalized, in many ways taking precedence over Buddhism.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the fact that women were *treated* as inferior does not mean that actually they *were* inferior.⁷²

During the early Nara 奈良 period (710-784) most of the Buddhist doctrines were introduced into Japan directly from China.⁷³ A number of empresses and imperial consorts at the Nara court profoundly shaped the contours of Buddhism, which from that time on dominated life in ancient Japan. So was it due to the urging of empress Kōmyō (光明, 701-760)⁷⁴, for example, that emperor Shōmu (聖武, 701-756, r. 724-749) issued the 741 edict to establish national temples in each province for monks (国分寺 Jap. *kokubunji*) and nuns (国分尼寺 Jap. *kokubun-niji*), with the Tōdaiji (東大寺) in Nara as the head temple.⁷⁵ Although all provincial temples were to assist in insuring the welfare of the Japanese empire, while monks prayed for protection of the nation, nuns had the distinct responsibility both for the absolution of sins for the country as well as the purification of the nation.⁷⁶ These temples received economic support from the government, so it was no longer *per se* necessary for the monastics to gather alms.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Ibid.: 35. On Shōtoku Taishi, see e.g. Bingenheimer 2001: 23-26.

⁷¹ Morris 1983: 108

⁷² Arai 1999: 35.

⁷³ Hirakawa 1992: 147.

⁷⁴ Also: Fujiwara no Asukabe-hime (藤原 安宿媛), she was tonsured at the ordination platform of Tōdaiji, Arai 1999: 35.

⁷⁵ Eliot 2005: 221. Some sources state that the nunneries were presided over by the Hokkeji. Arai 1999: 34.

⁷⁶ Ibid.: 34.

⁷⁷ Ibid.: 35.

Introduction of the vinaya

When speaking of Buddhist “precepts”, however, the first ideas that come to mind are issues related to *vinaya*.⁷⁸ A lot of scholarly work has been invested in studying the Buddhist disciplinary codes in India, China, and Tibet, but due to widespread misconceptions surrounding phenomena such as clerical marriage,⁷⁹ the question of the historical *vinaya* standards in Japan have often been disregarded by Western language scholarship.⁸⁰

Although there is very little known about the precept standards of the very early Buddhist community in Japan, the first Japanese monastics seem to have been largely dependent on the *vinaya* expertise of Korean immigrant monks. The precise conditions or textual basis for the ordination procedures and the content of the precepts that were then conferred, however, remain to be examined, ideally in an interdisciplinary project.

It remains a fact, though, that since the beginning of the 8th century,⁸¹ the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* (四分律 Jap. *Shibunritsu* further: SBR)⁸² was imposed by imperial decree as the exclusive scriptural authority for monastic ordinations in China.⁸³ Therefore, it is not surprising that it was precisely this ecclesiastic codex which in 754 was the first *vinaya* to be transmitted to Japan. The person who has been credited for this accomplishment was *vinaya master* (Jap. *risshi* 律師) Jianzhen (Jap. Ganjin 鑑真; var. 鑑真, 688-763),⁸⁴ the celebrated third patriarch of the Nanshanlü (南山律) school,⁸⁵ who accepted the request of the Japanese court asking for Chinese masters to come to Japan and perform legitimate ordinations according to the SBR.⁸⁶ He introduced the SBR interpretation of Daoxuan (道宣, 596-667), and conferred the “full precepts” (具足戒, Jap. *gusoku kai*) of the continental tradition upon Japanese priests, who renounced their previous “unorthodox” initiations (cf. *supra*), and thus became the first full-fledged formally and properly ordained monastics on Japanese soil.

⁷⁸ For an annotated bibliography on *vinaya*, see: Pinte K. 2009c.

⁷⁹ See e.g. Jaffe 2001.

⁸⁰ One of the few exceptions is Groner 1990.

⁸¹ i.e. between 705-710, cf. Heirman 2009: 2.

⁸² Chin. *Sifenlü* is the *Vinaya in Four Parts* that was translated between 410-412 in Chang'an by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian, cf. T. XXII, no. 1428.

⁸³ Heirman 2002: 422; Heirman 2007: 195; Bareau cited in McRae 2005: 70.

⁸⁴ Although 753 was the year in which Jianzhen arrived in Kagoshima, the date given here is that of his arrival in the capital, cf. Ueda T. 1939: 120; Hankó 2003: 346. He had made several previous attempts to sail to Japan, but all were unsuccessful, see: *ibid.*: 345-347. On Jianzhen, see: Hankó 2003: 341-352.

⁸⁵ 南山律宗 Jap. Nanzan Risshū, named after the Zhongnanshan 終南山 mountains in southern Shaanxi province, see: *ibid.*: 13-14, n. 39-40, and 357-358 for genealogical tables.

⁸⁶ Pinte 2011b: 845.

Ordination Platforms

In 755, the year following his arrival in Heijōkyō (平城京), as the capital of the Nara period was called, Jianzhen established the Ordination Platform Hall (戒壇院 Kaidan'in; var. 戒壇堂 Kaidan-dō) at Tōdaiji (東大寺) in Nara, over which he presided as abbot and founder of the Japanese Vinaya school (Risshū 律宗).⁸⁷ This became the center for all official ordinations, and was the first permanent ordination platform on Japanese soil, where ordinations were performed in accordance to the continental SBR tradition, implying that Japanese monks had to uphold 250 precepts, nuns abide by no less than 348 rules.⁸⁸ In the same year, about four-hundred new ordinands, including women, took tonsure and others whose previous admission as monks or nuns was considered to be invalid, were re-ordained.⁸⁹

For six years the Tōdaiji Kaidan'in remained the only permanent ordination platform on Japanese soil, but it became known as the 'central platform' (中央戒壇, Jap. *chūō kaidan*) in 761, when empress Kōken (孝謙, r. 749-758, a.k.a. Shōtoku 称徳, r. 764-770) ordered the construction of two additional precept platforms: one at Yakushiji (薬師寺) in Shimotsuke (下野, in present 栃木県 Tochigi-ken), which became the 'eastern platform' (東戒壇, Jap. *tōkaidan*), and the other at Kannonji (観音寺) in Chikuzen (筑前, nowadays in 福岡県 Fukuoka-ken on Kyūshū 九州), being the 'western platform' (西戒壇, Jap. *saikaidan*).⁹⁰

Bodhisattva vows

Just as in China, where Mahāyanists took an additional set of precepts as a supplement to the SBR,⁹¹ Jianzhen (cf. *supra*), however, also conferred as a "separate ordination" (別受 Jap. *betsuju*),⁹² the *bodhisattva-sīla* (菩薩戒 Jap. *bosatsu-kai*).⁹³ These comprised the 'ten grave and forty-eight minor commandments' as espoused in the *Brahmā Net Sūtra* (梵網經, Chin. *Fanwangjing*; Jap. *Bonmōkyō*; further: BMK), which for more than thousand years had been

⁸⁷ For a study, see: Hankó 2003. From 759 onwards, however, the Risshū headquarters were shifted to Tōshōdaiji (唐招提寺), cf. Ueda T. 1939: 120; Hankó 2003: 13-14, n. 39-40. For a brief discussion of the great temples of the state (大寺 *daiji*), see: Abe 1999: 34-35.

⁸⁸ Abe 1999: 47.

⁸⁹ Groner 1984b: 8-9.

⁹⁰ Eliot 2005: 232. On ordination platforms in India and China, see: McRae 2005: 75ff.

⁹¹ Heirman 2007: 175, n. 51.

⁹² Groner 1979: 26; Unno 1994: 29; Abe 1999: 47-49; Groner 2005: 214.

⁹³ Abe 1999: 47-49; Unno 1994: 29; Groner 1979: 26. See e.g. Nattier 2003: 147-151 for a convenient overview of the bodhisattva vows.

widely considered an authentic Chinese translation of an Indian original by Kumārajīva (344-413), but is now identified as an early 5th century Chinese forgery.⁹⁴

By the end of the 5th century, the second fascicle of the BMK circulated as a so-called *bodhisattva-prātimokṣa* (菩薩戒本, Jap. *bosatsu kaihō*; Chin. *pusa jieben*), which formed the basis for the mahāyānist code in East Asia.⁹⁵ Even though the words ‘mahāyāna’ and *bodhisattvayāna*, which are synonymous, only emerged in 6th century India, already from the 4th century onwards, practitioners of Buddhism who espoused the bodhisattva ideal had been both ordained (Skt. *śākya-bhikṣus* or *-bhikṣuṇīs*) and lay members (Skt. *paramōpāsakas* or *-upāsikās*) of the community.⁹⁶ This is not surprising, for being a mahāyānist, implies that one is a bodhisattva, and both terms denote a religious condition, instead of a social role.⁹⁷

The list of precepts making up the disciplinary code for ordained monastics, the *prātimokṣa*,⁹⁸ has also been called the “moral code of restraint” (Skt. *saṃvara-śīla*), but while this is “negative, a catalogue of things one undertakes not to do,” a bodhisattva is “not to rest content with being moral in this negative sense, but must also do positively moral things,” being called Skt. *kuśala-dharma-saṃgrāhakam śīlaṃ*, which –in the words of Richard Gombrich– is “whatever good, beyond the moral code of restraint, one accumulates with body or voice towards the great Enlightenment.” In other words, “it is what one does *in addition to*, not instead of, observing the *prātimokṣa*”.⁹⁹

This difference between a spiritual state and social status logically implies that ‘morality’ (Skt. *śīla*) is divergent from ‘discipline’ (Skt. *vinaya*), the former being rendered as 戒 (Jap. *kai*) and the latter as 律 (Jap. *ritsu*). When put together, these merge to 戒律 (Jap. *kairitsu*), the most common term used in Japanese studies when referring to the Buddhist precepts as a whole, thus both to ‘bodhisattva morality’ and ‘monastic discipline’.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Traditionally the alleged translation in 406 of the Sanskrit *Brahmajāla sūtra* or the tenth chapter of the *Bodhisattvasīla-sūtra* attributed to Kumārajīva (344-413), i.e. T. Vol. XXIV, No. 1484. For a brief discussion on the apocryphal origins of this text, see: Hankó 2003: 108-110. For an annotated German translation of the precepts expounded in the BMK, see: Ibid.:125-181, and 182-185 for an overview. A dated but complete translation of the BMK in French is De Groot 1893. For further reference, see: Groner 1990: esp. 251-27; Gombrich 1998: 52-53; Yamabe 2005.

⁹⁵ On the term *bodhisattva-prātimokṣa*, see: Malalasekera 1972: 240-246.

⁹⁶ Gombrich 1998: 47.

⁹⁷ Gombrich 1998: 48.

⁹⁸ These are recited every fortnight in the *poṣadha* ceremony. On *prātimokṣa*, see e.g. Heirman 2011: 614.

⁹⁹ Gombrich 1998: 50-51.

¹⁰⁰ For further explanation, see chapter IV below.

Threefold pure precepts

Interestingly, as the ‘full precepts’ (Skt. *upasampadā*; 具足戒 Jap. *gusoku-kai*)¹⁰¹ of the *prātimokṣa* are part of the so-called “threefold” or lit. “three embracing categories of pure precepts” (三聚淨戒 Jap. *sanju jōkai*; var. *sanshu jōkai*),¹⁰² the *Divination Sūtra* (cf. supra) also asserts that in receiving the latter, one also abides by the former set.¹⁰³

First expounded in the *Daśabhūmikāsūtra-śāstra*,¹⁰⁴ said to have been composed by Vasubandhu in the 4th century, and outlined also in the fourth chapter of the *Bodhisattvabhūmisūtra*¹⁰⁵ translated between 414-426 by Dharmakṣema (385-433),¹⁰⁶ the first class of these ‘three groups of pure precepts’ indeed encompasses the so-called “precepts on morality and disciple” (攝律儀戒 Jap. *shō ritsugi kai*).¹⁰⁷

This category, in turn, consists of two components: the *prātimokṣa* including behavioural prescriptions for all seven groups of the Buddhist community,¹⁰⁸ and the *bodhisattvaśīla* which mahāyāna practitioners were obliged to uphold, regardless of being monastic or layman (cf. infra). Aside from this, the mahāyāna Buddhists in Japan were also required to uphold the second and third categories of pure precepts, namely the “precepts for doing good deeds” (攝善法戒, Jap. *shō zenhō kai*), and the “precepts of benefiting all sentient beings” (Jap. 攝眾生戒 Jap. *shō shujō kai*).¹⁰⁹

State controlled Buddhism

Opposing demeanours toward the new ‘barbaric religion’, as Buddhism was first perceived as within court circles following its introduction, have, however, restrained Buddhism for several decades to make headway. This culminated in the promulgation of an edict by empress Suiko (推古, r. 593-628) in the spring of 624, which instituted a board of clerical

¹⁰¹ This denotes the full set of the 250 precepts of the SBR, cf. supra.

¹⁰² Cf. BGDJ: 471. For further information, see: Hankó 2003:106-107; De Groot 1893: 246-247; Abe 1999: 465, n. 120; Groner 1990: 269, and 2012: 222; Yifa 2002: 245, n. 10.

¹⁰³ T. XVII, no. 839: 904c12-20.

¹⁰⁴ 十地經論 Jap. *Jūjikyōron*. Translated into Chinese in 12 fasc. by Bodhirūci (exact date unknown) and others in the early sixth century, i.e. T. XXVI, no. 1522.

¹⁰⁵ 菩薩地持經 Jap. *Bosatsuchijikyō*, i.e. T. XXX, no. 1581. Also see chapter IV: 86.

¹⁰⁶ Hankó 2003: 106.

¹⁰⁷ See: BGD: 1419, s.v. *ritsugikai*.

¹⁰⁸ These are: *bhikṣus*, *bhikṣunīs*, *śrāmaṇeras*, *śrāmaṇerikās*, *śikṣamāṇas*, *upāsakas*, and *upāsikās*. That is, monks, nuns, male novices, female novices, aspirant-nuns, devout laymen and laywomen respectively.

¹⁰⁹ These categories are further discussed in chapter III, n. 429-432; For the esotericization of this category, also see chapter IV below.

administrators (僧剛 Jap. *sōgō*; var. 僧官 Jap. *sōkan*), lit. ‘*saṃgha* officials’, being high-ranked ‘monk-administrators’,¹¹⁰ who were entrusted with the inspection and supervision of the self-ordained Buddhist community. Originally, there were only three of these official posts: ‘Superintendent-monk’ (僧正 Jap. *sōjō*),¹¹¹ ‘Director of Monks’ (僧都 Jap. *sōzu*),¹¹² and ‘Chief of Buddhist Doctrine’ (Jap. 法頭 *hōzu*), but in the course of time these offices were widened or re-named, such as the latter post which would later be replaced by ‘Master of Discipline’ (律師 Jap. *risshi*).¹¹³

However, instead of being preoccupied with the resolution of the by then already infamous immoral standards of monks and nuns, let alone with the implementation of a solid ordination system, the *sōgō* was designed as a means of state control. It was a useful apparatus for the government to screen and measure the growing number of Buddhist practitioners amongst the populace, which is evident, for instance, from the census held in autumn of the same year.¹¹⁴ Although the order kept growing steadily, and the lavish state patronage brought prosperity to the Buddhist order, this also meant that monks and nuns came under strict state control, that is, the state no longer functioned “as a patron, but as a religious police”.¹¹⁵

Following the precedent in China, part of the court’s ‘penal codes and administrative statutes’ (律令 Jap. *ritsuryō*) was a set of regulations specifying state standards for the conduct of Buddhist monks and nuns (僧尼令 Jap. *sōniryō*). The extant version is included in the *ritsuryō* code of the Yōrō (養老) period (717-723), which was written in 718, but promulgated in 757, indeed, only three years after the introduction of the *vinaya* (cf. *supra*), and prohibited monks from staying in convents or nuns to stay in temples.¹¹⁶ Actually, quite a few of the *vinaya* regulations were issued as official regulations, the violation of which was legally punishable. In this respect, we have to point out that throughout Japanese history the temporal political powers have, with varying degrees of success, always tried to use enforcement of the precepts to assert hegemony over the Buddhist community.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰ NEBJ: 335b, 339; BGD: 874c.

¹¹¹ Abe (1999: 30) translates this term as ‘supreme priest’.

¹¹² Bogel (2011: 955, n. 25) translates this as ‘priest general’.

¹¹³ Hankō 2003: 334, n. 790. For more information on this classification, see e.g. BGD: 873b; and Abe 1999: 30ff.

¹¹⁴ Cf. p. 15 *supra*.

¹¹⁵ These are the famous words of Nakamura, quoted in Kitagawa 1966: 34.

¹¹⁶ Jaffe 2001: 10. In all likelihood the *sōniryō* was already included in the Taihō code of 683, which is now lost. Adolphson 2007:167, n. 4.

¹¹⁷ See e.g. Abe 1999: 34. A discussion of this lies, however, beyond the scope of the present volume.

Bodhisattva-monks

Aside from the difficulties regarding the establishment of Tendai and what would in later times become known as the Shingon school, and their initially difficult relation to the so-called “six Nara schools” (南都六宗 Jap. *nanto rokushū*, lit. ‘six schools of the southern capital’)¹¹⁸ that had by that time developed, the government’s approach of the Buddhist community did not change drastically. That is, soon after their institutionalization in the middle of the 8th century, ordinations –and especially the adherence to the precepts– became purely *pro forma*,¹¹⁹ for the on Chinese orthodoxy mirrored twofold ordination structure of separate SBR and BMK ordinations appears to have remained the standard system, at least until 822.

Despite the united opposition of the established monastic community, in that year, just some days after the death of Saichō (最澄, 767–822), the contemporary Tendai patriarch,¹²⁰ the court of emperor Saga (嵯峨, r. 809–823) approved the petition for Tendai (天台) priests to be legally permitted to ordain so-called ‘mahāyāna *bodhisattva* monks’ (大乘菩薩僧 Jap. *daijō bosatsu-sō*). Its procedure was exclusively based on the ‘perfect and sudden mahāyāna precepts’ (大乘圓頓戒, Jap. *daijō endonkai*) of the BMK, and was performed on a new Tendai-only precepts platform at Enryakuji (延暦寺) on Mt. Hiei (比叡).¹²¹

Thus, within a century after the introduction of the *vinaya* into Japan, Tendai priests abandoned the continental ordination procedure and rejected the Tōdaiji ordination as *conditio sine qua non* to enter the monastic order.

¹¹⁸ Given that these are not directly related to the main topic under consideration, the reader is referred to Groner 1984 and Abe 1999 for the establishment of the Tendai and Shingon schools respectively, where also the bibliographies of Saichō and Kūkai are treated *in extenso*. An interesting table on major historical events regarding the relation between Saichō and Kūkai is in Watanabe 1986: 411–418. On Kūkai and Nara Buddhism, see e.g. Abe 1999: 34ff. For a concise survey of Japanese Buddhism during the Asuka and Nara period, see: Bingenheimer 2001: 43ff. The “six schools” are Ritsu (律), Kusha (俱舍), Jōjitsu (成実), Hōssō (法相), Sanron (三論), and Kegon (華嚴). For a brief definition, see e.g. Grapard 2000: 149. On their transmission, see Bingenheimer 2001: 48–62.

¹¹⁹ Faure 1998: 173.

¹²⁰ Posthumously: Dengyō Daishi (伝教大師)). The most important study in English on Saichō and the establishment of Tendai is Groner 1984. Abe 1995 is one of the few English studies on Kūkai’s relationship to Saichō (最澄, 767–822). A useful table of their contacts is in Watanabe 1986: 411–418. Tendai is the Japanese adaptation of Chinese Tiantai, a form of Buddhism of which the philosophical paradigm is centered on the *Lotus Sūtra* (Skt. *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*; Jap. *Myōhō-rengē-kyō* 妙法蓮華經, cf. e.g. T. IX no. 262), and its esoteric line of approach is also referred to as Taimitsu (台密), whereas Shingon is called Tōmitsu (東密), the latter being a reference to Tōji (東寺), the temple where Kūkai was assigned as manager in 823, cf. Abe 1999: 37.

¹²¹ Ueda T. 1939: 119; Groner 1984: 162; Groner 2005: 214.

Abhiṣeka Halls

Also in 822, Kūkai, on the other hand, received imperial consent to erect an Abhiṣeka Hall (灌頂堂 Jap. Kanjōdō, also 真言院 Jap. Shingon'in)¹²² in a privileged position directly in front of the Great Buddha Hall (大仏殿 Jap. Daibutsuden) at the Tōdaiji precincts.¹²³ Kūkai also had a consecration hall built at Takaosanji (高雄山寺, later renamed as Jingōji 神護寺) in 824, and also made plans for the erection of one at Tōji (東寺) in Kyōto,¹²⁴ but the Tōdaiji Abhiṣeka Hall was the first state-approved Shingon initiation site.

Although Tōdaiji did not become a Shingon center, the hall's foundation strengthened Kūkai's alliance with, and induced serious interest of, the Nara *saṃgha* –this is evident, for instance, in Kūkai's appointment as junior Director of Monks in 824 – not in the least because the consecrations inferred there included a new ritual, in which the aforementioned “*samaya*”, or “esoteric precepts” were conferred. Because strict observance of the precepts was considered essential to the efficacy of ecclesiastical services for the state and, perhaps even more important, the authority of the Sōgō derived from the successful implementation of the precepts, the management of precepts was of vital importance to the clerical establishment.¹²⁵

In contrast to Saichō (cf. *supra*), Kūkai promoted the introduction of a new set of precepts into the *abhiṣeka*, designed to meet the specific requirements lined out by the contemporary Nara monastic authorities, showing that Kūkai's work of disseminating esoteric Buddhism was directly linked to issues surrounding the management of Buddhist precepts. As is apparent from the *Kōnin Era Admonishments* (弘仁の御遺誡 Jap. *Kōnin no Goyuikai*, further *Kōnin*), Kūkai instructed Shingon priests to “strictly adhere to both the exoteric and esoteric precepts (顯密二戒 Jap. *ken-mitsu ni kai*), and to purify themselves”.¹²⁶ He admonished them: “if you purposely violate [these precepts], you are not a disciple of the Buddha [...] nor are you my disciple,”¹²⁷ a watchword that will be further discussed in chapter IV below.

¹²² Its name changed over time, cf. Bogel 2011: 950, n. 9.

¹²³ Abe 1999: 53.

¹²⁴ Bogel 2011: 951-952.

¹²⁵ Abe 1999: 46.

¹²⁶ KDZ, II: 861; quoted in Ueda T. 1939: 141. Also see Abe 1999: 48, and chapter IV: 89 below.

¹²⁷ KDZ, II: 862, trans. Groner 2005: 211.

Conclusion

The first monastic ordinations with the presupposed legal base of a scripture on discipline, appeared in Japan in the form of self-ordination, and shaped the current of Japanese ordination practice at least until the arrival of Jianzhen. Even when in China there had already been previous cases of self-ordinations, the specific situation of Mahāyānist self-ordination forming mainstream practise in Japan, rather than remaining confined to a periphery phenomenon, without the presence of an underlying legitimate framework based on *vinaya* lineages, meant a radical shift away from traditional continental ordination practise, and proved self-restrictive for it indirectly triggered the institution of the Sōgō, that put Buddhism under state control.

Thus, since prior to 754 , there was no *vinaya*, and therefore no written *pratimokṣa* in Japan, it has been suggested that bodhisattvas “who were called *bhikṣus* [...] were in fact pseudo-monks who were not ordained”,¹²⁸ at least not according to the traditional *upasampadā* ordination. And yet, the historical records give evidence for the existence of a clerical community before that time. There is no other course, therefore, than to consider the self-ordained bodhisattva-monk as the keystone of the *saṃgha* in Japan, at least until the middle of the 8th century.

This changed only in 755, when the precepts platform was established at Tōdaiji, which for almost seven decades enabled monastics to be legitimately ordained in accordance with the continental SBR tradition. The erection of the Abhiṣeka Hall in 822, however, heralded the dawn of the officially sanctioned esoteric consecration rituals in Japan, being marked by the conferral of “*samaya* precepts”, the dexterous implementation of which within the already existing ordination framework, will be elucidated in the subsequent pages.

¹²⁸ Gombrich 1998: 52-53.

III. ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF THE HSBK

As pointed out in the introduction (cf. chapter I), the *samaya* precepts ritual (三昧耶戒法 Jap. *sanmaiyakai-hō*; also: 三昧耶戒式 Jap. *sanmaiyakai-shiki*) is part both of the ritual procedure for the dharma transmission consecration (傳法灌頂三昧耶戒作法, Jap. *denbō kanjō sanmaiyakai sahō*) and the ritual procedure for the karma bond consecration (結緣灌頂三昧耶戒作法 Jap. *kechien kanjō sanmaiyakai sahō*).¹²⁹

The HSBK ritual manual is commonly considered a postscript or supplement to Kūkai's doctrinal guidebook SKJ,¹³⁰ and both were compiled around 822.¹³¹ The text delineates the protocol for the ceremony of conferring the *samaya* precepts, which are usually conferred before entering the *abhiṣeka* platform. This chapter presents the first fully annotated translation of the HSBK. Before doing this, it may prove helpful to briefly call the readers' attention to the text's title, and clarify on what edition this translation is based.

Title

In the title 祕密三昧耶佛戒儀 (Jap. *himitsu sanmaiya bukkaigi*; var. *~butsu kaigi* or *~butsukai gi*), the constituent 祕密 (Jap. *himitsu*) means “secret”, “hidden”, or “esoteric”, but these connotations do not imply a certain privilege of a certain group, but –as already pointed out in the introduction– denote the teachings' universal accessibility, which is conditioned by the initiation from master to disciple.¹³²

The term 儀 (Jap. *gi*), on the other hand, denotes a ceremony or ritual protocol. Thus, 戒儀 (Jap. *kaigi*) is a precepts ritual, or a protocol for a ceremony, in which precepts are conferred,

¹²⁹ For more information, see e.g. MD: 835ff. s.v. *sanmaiyakaihō*, see also: ibid. 835 s.v. *sanmaiya-kai*; 836 s.v. *sanmaiya-kaijō*, *sanmaiya-kaidan*, *sanmaiya-kanjō*, etc.

¹³⁰ Kōda 1993: 381, where the possibility of it being an introductory discussion is also raised. The text is T. LXXVII, no. 2462, written by Kūkai, which according to White 2005: 35, “was originally written as a guidebook,” and was designed as a preface to the HSBK, expounding the “basis for the philosophy treating the various minds through which a practitioner passes as he progresses towards the highests [...] ‘Secret, Sublime Mind.’ For a translation, see White 2005: 357-372. For the relation between those texts, see a chapter IV below.

¹³¹ Takagi 1993: 347, where also the extant manuscripts of the SKJ are discussed.

¹³² Also see e.g. BGD: 1128, s.v. *himitsu*.

i.e. a form of initiation, or ordination ritual. However, 佛戒 (Jap. *butsukai/bukkai*) can also be seen as a compound, meaning “Buddhist precepts”.

In other words, the title, lit. “esoteric *samaya* Buddha precepts ritual” could alternatively be read as the “secret ritual on the Buddhist precepts of *samaya*”, or “ritual on the secret *samaya* Buddhist precepts”. The latter is analogous with the translation of 祕密三昧耶佛戒 given by White in his reading of the final paragraph of the SKJ:

He who abides in this vehicle will come to know his body-mind by means of this precept, and will teach it to other sentient beings. It is this which is called the secret *samaya* Buddhist precept.¹³³

However, the title might also be interpreted as “ritual procedure [for the conferral] of the precepts of the secret *samaya* [with the Cosmic] Buddha”,¹³⁴ for Skt. *samaya* can denote “unity”, “union”, alongside other meanings such as “pledge”, “seal”, “symbol”, or “mark”.¹³⁵ And moreover, instead of “Buddhist precept”, 佛戒 may also be translated as “morality of Buddhas”, which may result in “ritual [for conferring] the mark of Buddha morality”. Tentatively, but more explanation will be given in the next chapter, HSBK is, nevertheless, translated as *Ritual [for conferring] the esoteric precepts being the symbol of Buddhas*.

Be that as it may, it is a fact that the HSBK is also known under its abbreviated title *Samaya Precepts Ritual* (三昧耶戒儀 Jap. *Sanmai-yakaigi*).¹³⁶ The title HSBK, however, accords only to a mid-13th century manuscript preserved at Ninnaji (仁和寺)¹³⁷ in Kyōto, and also emerges in Edo period (1603-1867) prints. Earlier manuscripts of the text, however, the oldest extant of which are dated 1094 and 1196, give the title *Document for Conferring the Bodhicitta Vows* (授菩提心戒文 Jap. *Ju bodaishin-kai mon*).¹³⁸

¹³³ White 2005: 372.

¹³⁴ Also see: MD: 635b: s.v. *sammayabukkai*, indicating it is synonymous, amongst others, to ‘Buddha precepts’ (佛戒 Jap. *bukkai*) or ‘Buddha morality’, i.e. Skt. *buddha-śīla*, and ‘Buddha-nature precepts’ (佛性戒 Jap. *busshōkai*). For 戒 denoting both ‘precepts’ as ‘morality’, see chapter IV below.

¹³⁵ On the difficulty of translating the term *samaya*, see Snellgrove 1987: 165-166. A further discussion is in chapter IV below.

¹³⁶ BKD I: 116d.

¹³⁷ The head temple of the Omuro branch (Jap. Omuro-ha 御室派) of Shingon. Completed in 888, and named after the reign of emperor Kōkō (光孝, r. 884-887).

¹³⁸ This is also the case in a document in the hand of a certain abbot Prajña (般若 Jap. Hannya), who in all likelihood was Kanken (観賢, 853-925), cf. Kōda 1993: 381 refers to manuscripts nos. 2, 4-7, and 9 listed in Takagi 1993: 347 ff. The provenance of the HSBK is further discussed in chapter IV below.

Source texts

The text that we have at hand is written in *kanbun* (漢文), i.e. Classical Chinese that was the contemporary *lingua franca* of the intellectual and administrative elite. It is collated as no. 2463 in the *Continued Section on Various Schools* (續諸宗部 Jap. *Zoku-shokyō-bu*, i.e. vol. 78: pp. 6-9) of the *Revised Taishō Tripiṭaka* (大正新脩大藏經 Jap. *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*, abbreviated as T.), 100 vols., edited by Takakusu Junjirō (高楠, 順次郎) and Watanabe Kaigyoku (渡邊, 海旭), which was first printed between 1924-1934 in Tōkyō by the Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai (大正一切經刊行会). This print (cf. appendix A.1), however, is based on the edition in *Kūkai's Collected Works* (Jap. *Kōbō Daishi Zenshū* 弘法大師全集, abbreviated to KDZ), first edited in 1910 by Hase Hōshū (長谷, 宝秀) of the Sofū Sen'yō-kai (祖風宣揚会編纂) and published in Tōkyō by Yoshikawa Kōbunkan (吉川弘文館).¹³⁹

Since then, other editions have been published, the most authoritative amongst which was edited at Kōyasan between 1965-1968 by the Association for Editing Studies on Esoteric Buddhist Culture (Mikkyō Bunka Kenyūjo Kōbō Daishi chosaku kenkyūkai 密教文化研究所 弘法大師著作研究会), that published a revised edition (i.e. 定本弘法大師全集 Jap. *Teihon Kōbō Daishi Zenshū*, further TKDZ) in 1993.¹⁴⁰ The HSBK edition in the TKDZ (vol. 5: 165-176, cf. appendix A.2) is based on a Ninnaji manuscript dated 1250.¹⁴¹ It is a copy of a lost original in the hand of Hōjo (法助, 1227-1284), the fifth child of Fujiwara Michiie (藤原 道家, 1192-1252).¹⁴²

There are two Japanese versions of the *kanbun* text: the first is a very concisely annotated¹⁴³ *yomikudashi* (読下し) rendering¹⁴⁴ in literary-style Japanese (文語 Jap. *bungo*) by Okada Keishō (岡田, 契昌), which can be found in the first volume of the *Ritual Section* (Jap. *Jissō-bu* 事相部) of the *Japanese Translations of Esoteric Buddhism* (國譯密教 Jap. *Kokuyaku Mikkyō*, pp. 9-21), edited by Tsukamoto Kengyō (塚本, 賢曉) and first published in Tōkyō by the Kokuyaku Mikkyō Kankō-kai (国訳密教刊行会) in 1921, but reprinted in 1976.

¹³⁹ Cf. T. LXXXVIII, no. 2463: 6, n. 6.

¹⁴⁰ The HSBK is in vol. 5: 163-176. in Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo Kōbō Daishi chosaku kenkyūkai (ed.), 1993

¹⁴¹ Kōda 1993: 381.

¹⁴² Takagi 1993: 348-349. The dates of Michiie are based on Dykstra 2008: 142, n. 153.

¹⁴³ i.e. 9 notes on 12 pages of *bungo* text.

¹⁴⁴ Lit. 'breaking a text down for reading', is "a strategy for reading Chinese texts by mentally rearranging the word order and adding grammatical particles to fit the syntactical and grammatical patterns of the Japanese language, often with the guidance of diacritics," but as such is not considered a translation, cf. Haag 2011: 24.

The second version is written by the Taishō University professor Endō Yūjun (遠藤, 祐純) and lists his reading of the aforementioned *bungo* text, alongside an annotated translation¹⁴⁵ in modern Japanese. His translation is collated in the fourth volume of the modern Japanese edition of the *Collected Works of Kōbō Daishi Kūkai* (弘法大師空海全集 Jap. *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai Zenshū*), pp. 293-319, ed. by the Kōbō Daishi Kūkai Zenshū Henshū-i'inkai (弘法大師空海全集編集委員会), first published in Tōkyō by Chikuma Shobō (筑摩書房) in 1984, third reprint 1987.

Given that until today, the HSBK has not yet been disclosed to the non-Chinese and/or -Japanese versed reader, the paragraphs below present its first annotated translation in any Western language. This English translation is based on the aforementioned print edition in Classical Chinese, and takes into account –and revises where needed– the interpretations of the Japanese versions.

Although the annotation may appear elaborate for specialists in the field of Esoteric Buddhist Studies, who are accustomed to the broad range of technical terms, it is a philologist's duty to offer also the more general reader sufficient guidance and reference. In order to facilitate reference, the page and line references of the widely available T.-edition are presented in the left margin, instead of the TKDZ line numbers. Both editions are, however, appended below.

¹⁴⁵ i.e. 39 notes on 23 pages of modern Japanese text.

RITUAL [FOR CONFERRING] THE ESOTERIC PRECEPTS BEING THE SYMBOL OF BUDDHAS¹⁴⁶

[T. 2463: 6b12] [MASTER]¹⁴⁷

To begin with, if you arouse the intent to attain supreme awakening,¹⁴⁸ you should first of all contemplate¹⁴⁹ [the following]¹⁵⁰ in the depths of your mind,¹⁵¹ [visualizing] the ocean of the pure [enlightened] nature [of Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana within]¹⁵² all Buddhas in the ten directions¹⁵³

¹⁴⁶ On the translation of title, see page 25 above.

¹⁴⁷ The division into ‘master’ (Skt. *acārya*) –or, what Lehnert (2001: 997) calls a “hierophant”– and ‘disciples’ sections is the translator’s addition.

¹⁴⁸ 發無上菩提之心 (Jap. *hotsu mujō bodai no shin*), lit. ‘arouse the mind of 無上菩提心’, the latter referring to Skt. *annutara bodhicitta*. 發心 is defined as “mental initiation or initiative, resolve, make up the mind to; to start out for *bodhi* or perfect enlightenment; to show kindness of heart, give alms”, cf. DCBT: 384, s.v. 發. Nakamura explains it as “entering the Buddhist path, the arousal of the thought to help others, of pledging to attain enlightenment; the arousal of the mind of enlightenment”, adding that it is synonymous to 發菩提心 (Jap. *hotsu bodaishin*), cf. BGD: 1257, s.v. 發心. The term 發菩提心 denotes the arousal of the mind of enlightenment, or of the sincere intention to attain enlightenment for the benefit of all beings. From the disciple is expected that he takes the vow to continue cultivating *bodhicitta* as long as he has not attained enlightened knowledge, see e.g. BGD: 1257 and MD, p. 2059, s.v. 發菩提心. Analogous explanations are in NBJ: 659 and MD: 2057, s.v. *hosshin*. Payne (2012: 285) defines *bodhicitta* as “the intent to attain awakening”. Kūkai interprets *bodhicitta* (菩提心, Jap. *bodaishin*) in two ways: on the one hand it is the aspiration to attain enlightenment, i.e. ‘subjective *bodhicitta*’, and on the other hand is ‘objective *bodhicitta*’, which he calls ‘the potentially enlightened mind’. Both are considered as the beginning and end of the same circle, cf. Hakeda 1972: 96. For more information on *bodhicitta*, and Kūkai’s interpretation of it, see: White 2005: 57ff. For an extensive interpretation of the word *citta*, see: Bhāratī 1970: 44-47, and *ibid.* 177-178 for interesting definitions of *bodhicitta* in the light of the layered meanings in tantric terminology. Chou (1944: 327) claims that: “According to some Sanskrit texts of the Esoteric School of Buddhism, *śūnyatā* (emptiness) and *karuṇā* (compassion) together constitute what is called *bodhicitta*”. According to Kiyota (1978: 161), however, it is “the mind of enlightenment [...] expressing the aspiration to enlightenment, the Buddha-nature inherent in all sentient beings”.

¹⁴⁹ The term 觀察 (Jap. *kansatsu*) implies that this contemplation is with full awareness and concentration, cf. Swanson’s entry in DBJ, s.v. 觀察.

¹⁵⁰ Based on Endō’s reading (1987: 293) as “*tsugi no koto o kansatsu-beki de aru* つぎのことを観察すべきである”.

¹⁵¹ 深心 (Jap. *jinshin*), is “a mind deeply seeking enlightenment,” or “profoundly engrossed in the truth”, but also means the “depths of one’s mind”, cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 深心, where it is pointed out that, in addition, it is the third of the ten adamant states of mind in the BMK, cf. T. vol. XXIV, no. 1484: 997a-1010a. See also chapter II supra, s.v. *bodhisattva* vows.

¹⁵² 清淨性海 (Jap. *shōjō shōkai*). According to Endō (1987: 293 and 316, n. 1), 性海 is the “condition/stage (境地 Jap. *kyōchi*) of Dharmakāya [Mahāvairocana] Tathāgata (法身如来 Jap. *hosshin nyorai*)”, being the “truth/principle (眞理 Jap. *shinri*) of Buddha-nature”. Also Okada (1976: 9, n. 1) defines 性海 as the absolute condition (絶対境 Jap. *zettaikyō*) of the Dharmakāya Tathāgata. For more information on this “spiritual” or “doctrinal body”, cf. BGD: 1254c and DCBT: 273. All *tathāgatas* have three bodies (三身 Jap. *san shin*), i.e. Skt. *trikāya*, namely *dharmakāya*, *saṃbhogakāya* and *nirmānakāya*, or doctrinal/truth body, reward/form body, and transformation body respectively. See: BGD: 477 and DCBT: 77, s.v. 三身. For the esoteric interpretation, and its application to Mahāvairocana, see: Kiyota 1978: 57-65; MD: 1936-1937, s.v. 佛身 Jap. *butsushin*. See also: Sørensen 2011: 91; and Tinsley 2011: 705. In this context, Snodgrass (1988, vol. 1: 216) notes: “esoteric Buddhism teaches that all the Buddha Bodies are Dharma Bodies and possess and indestructible and permanent

being tranquil and perfectly bright, fundamentally free from production and annihilation.¹⁵⁴ Being vast,¹⁵⁵ unimpeded and omnipresent,¹⁵⁶ formless,¹⁵⁷ transcendental,¹⁵⁸ and constantly quiescent,¹⁵⁹ it bears the marks of extinction.¹⁶⁰

[Oh, Buddhas],¹⁶¹ pity all worldlings, [because] their pure [and originally [T. 2463: 6b15] enlightened] mind¹⁶² is misled by defilement¹⁶³ and delusion.¹⁶⁴ They are mistaking [the imagined for the real],¹⁶⁵ but are not aware of it! They are blind¹⁶⁶ and unsatisfied.¹⁶⁷ The poisons of greed, ill-will and delusion¹⁶⁸ burn

Diamond Nature: all the various manifestations and transformations the Tathāgata produces to succour and liberate beings are eternal and immutable”.

¹⁵³ 十方諸佛 (Jap. *jūhō shobutsu*), means everywhere. The ten directions are the four cardinal directions, their four intermediate directions, the zenith, and the nadir. See e.g. BGD: 595c and NEBJ: 138a, s.v. 十方.

¹⁵⁴ 生滅 (Jap. *shōmetsu*), cf. NEBJ: 296b, BGD: 710c, and DCBT: 196.

¹⁵⁵ 廣大 (Jap. *kōdai*), cf. BGD: 400b, and BCSD: 429.

¹⁵⁶ 無礙 (Jap. *muge*) is “unobstructed, unimpeded, unhindered; without obstacle, without resistance, permeating everywhere, all pervasive, dynamic omnipresence which enters everywhere without hindrance like the light of a candle,” cf. Muller in DBJ; and BGD: 1320, s.v. 無礙.

¹⁵⁷ 無相 (Jap. *musō*), cf. NEBJ: 327a, BGD: 1338a, and BCSD: 769.

¹⁵⁸ 無爲 (Jap. *mui*) means “unconditioned, uncompounded, uncreated” (cf. Skt. *asaṃskṛta*); i.e. “that which is not arisen on the basis of causes and conditions” and is “unconnected with the relationship of cause and effect.” It is the “absolutely eternal true reality which transcends arising-changing-cessation”, and in this respect, is “another name for *nirvāṇa* or *tathatā*.” Other definitions include “non-active, passive; *laissez-faire*; spontaneous, natural; uncaused, not subject to cause, condition, or dependence; transcendental, not in time, unchanging, eternal, inactive, and free from the afflictions or senses; non-phenomenal, noumenal”; also interpreted as “*nirvāṇa*, dharma-nature, reality, and *dharmadhātu*.” See: Muller in DBJ, s.v. 無爲.

¹⁵⁹ 常寂 (Jap. *jōjaku*) is an allusion on *nirvāṇa*, i.e. “to abide in thusness”, cf. DCBT: 349, and BGD: 756d.

¹⁶⁰ 滅相 (Jap. *messō*) is defined as “extinction, as when the present passes into the past. One of the four marks of conditioned existence”, cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 滅相.

¹⁶¹ Based on Endō’s addition (1987: 293) of “*shobutsu wa* 諸仏は”. In my opinion, the “contemplation” referred to above, is a mental address to, and/or invocation of the Buddhas.

¹⁶² 淨心 (Jap. *jōshin*) i.e. the original Buddha-nature in every man, cf. BGD 756b, and Muller in DBJ, s.v. 淨心.

¹⁶³ 煩惱 (Jap. *bonnō*), i.e. Skt. *kleśa*, denoting the six primary defilements of greed, hatred, ignorance, pride, doubt, and attachment to wrong views. According to Nakamura, they are often abbreviated to 貪瞋癡 (see also n. 167 below), cf. BGD: 1273, s.v. 煩惱, and are also called the ‘three poisons’ (三毒, Jap. *san doku*), cf. BGD: 1025, s.v. 貪瞋癡.

¹⁶⁴ 妄想 (Jap. *mōsō*, var. *mōzō*), Skt. *kalpita* designates incorrect thoughts, which emerge from a wrong conception of reality, cf. NEBJ: 200b and BGD: 1363d, s.v. 妄想.

¹⁶⁵ 不覺 (Jap. *fukaku*) is “the fundamental delusion that stands in opposition to the originally enlightened nature which is responsible for the inability of sentient beings to discern that the fundamental nature of the mind is thusness. They mistake the imagined for the real, and by nescience beget karma, reaping its results in the mortal round of transmigration. This is the first of the four stages of the activation of enlightenment taught in the *Awakening of [Mahāyāna] Faith* (Jap. *Kishiron* 起信論, cf. T. XXXII, no. 1666),” states Muller in DBJ, s.v. 不覺. For an English translation of the 起信論, see: Hakeda 1967.

¹⁶⁶ 昏昏 (Jap. *konkon*), lit. ‘being darkened’, cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 昏昏.

¹⁶⁷ 默默 (Jap. *mokumoku*) can also mean ‘lonely’, cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 默默.

¹⁶⁸ 貪瞋癡毒 (Jap. *ton jin chi [no] doku*), also referred to as 三毒 (Jap. *san doku*) are the source of all afflictions and delusions, cf. e.g. NEBJ: 251b, BGD 484b, DCBT: 69, s.v. 三毒. See also n. 164 above.

and drown them day and night. [The pleasures of] the six sense organs¹⁶⁹ attack and threaten them. The five desires¹⁷⁰ tie them up and restrain them. Darkness and insanity has consumed them!

[Oh, Buddhas], pity the fact that they do not perceive the truth;¹⁷¹ pity¹⁷² these fellows¹⁷³ with your great compassion!¹⁷⁴

Reveal¹⁷⁵ your various shapes,¹⁷⁶ by emerging from [the world where there is inherently] no arising,¹⁷⁷ and take shape [from] the formless [world]!¹⁷⁸

[Oh, Buddhas], may you express¹⁷⁹ [yourself in] language¹⁸⁰ and instruct¹⁸¹ [them the teachings on the way of] birth and death [that depend on cause and effect]!¹⁸²

¹⁶⁹ 六賊 (Jap. *roku soku*), lit. ‘six thieves’, refers either to “the six faculties of eyes, ears, nose, tongue, skin and mind which engender affliction,” They are “also likened to the six pleasures of the six sense organs. Prevention is by not acting with them, i.e. the eye avoiding beauty, the ear sound, nose scent, tongue flavors, body seductions, and mind uncontrolled thoughts,” cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 六賊, referring e.g. DCBT: 138. Endō (1987: 316, n. 2) follows the latter interpretation, and adds that they are called the “six thieves” because they let diffuse the workings of the six cognitions”.

¹⁷⁰ 五欲 (Jap. *go yoku*) are the five kinds of desire that arise from attachment to the first five of the aforementioned faculties (i.e. eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and body), which are also called the five objects (五境 Jap. *go kyō*) of form, sound, fragrance, flavor, and tactility, i.e. Skt. *pañca-kāma*, but can also be the five desires of wealth, sex, food, fame, and sleep, cf. Muller in DBJ; NEBJ: 91a; BDG: 376d; and DCBT: 121, s.v. 五欲. Also see: Endō 1987: 316, n. 3.

¹⁷¹ 覺知 (Jap. *kakuchi*), cf. BGD: 177a.

¹⁷² 愍念 (Jap. *minnen*), lit. ‘thoughts of pity’, cf. BGD: 1310d.

¹⁷³ 此輩 (Jap. *shihai*), with 輩 basically meaning ‘fellows’.

¹⁷⁴ 大悲 (Jap. *dai hi*) refers to Skt. *mahā-karuṇā*, see: BGD 926d.

¹⁷⁵ 流演 (Jap. *ruen*), lit. ‘to spread broadly’, cf. BGD: 1433d.

¹⁷⁶ 化身 (Jap. *keshin*), lit. ‘transformation body’, which is sometimes translated as ‘avatar’. It is the so-called ‘provisional form’ (Skt. *nirmāṇa-kāya*) of a Buddha, indicating “the transformation of the Buddha’s body into the form of a sentient being in order to teach and save them. In order to teach sentient beings, this kind of buddha-manifestation utilizes superknowledges to appropriately discern and respond to their various capacities,” cf. Muller in DBJ. See also: NEBJ: 172a; BGD: 292b; and DCBT: 142, s.v. 化身. The translation here is based on Endō’s reading (1987: 293) as: “*samazama no sugata o arawasu* さまざまの姿かたを現わし”. Also see n. 151 above.

¹⁷⁷ 不生而生 (Jap. *pushō ji shō*) is translated by Endō (1987: 293) as “*honrai seiki-suru koto no nai sekai yori aete seikishi* 本来生起することのない世界よりあえて生起し”.

¹⁷⁸ 無相現相 (Jap. *musō gensō*). 無相 is explained by Okada (1976: 9, n. 2) as “the absolute state of mind that eradicates all form”. Here, Endō’s reading (1987: 293-294) is followed: “*katachi no nai sekai yori tatte katachi o shimeshi* 相のない世界より起って相を示し”.

¹⁷⁹ 假起 Jap. *keki*. Both Okada (1976: 9) and Endō (1987: 293) read 假 as “*kari ni* 仮に”, which is an adverb, meaning “provisionally”, “for example”, and is also used as an expression “granting that” (see e.g. SWED: 739b), and discern 起 as the following verb. However, 假, can also mean “an institution or establishment”, i.e. “to establish a concept; the gathering of words and/or sentences”, cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 假, implying that 假起 may also be translated as a single compound.

¹⁸⁰ 言説 (Jap. *gonzetsu*), lit. “linguistic expression”, cf. BGD: 429b. According to Hodge in DBJ, s.v. 言説, it is also “a figurative designation (Skt. *upacāra*); the usage of language to teach the dharma (Skt. *deśanā*), which is in the final analysis, to be seen as a skillful means, and can never truly touch on reality.”

[DISCIPLES]

Because of your compassion¹⁸³ towards all sentient beings and [therefore also] towards us, [foolish commoners]¹⁸⁴, every one of you, [Buddhas, please] display your knowledge of expediens,¹⁸⁵ and bestow us with both the provisional and absolute teachings!¹⁸⁶

[MASTER]

[T. 2463: 6b20] Because you wish to guide [beings of] both sharp and dull¹⁸⁷ religious faculties¹⁸⁸ equally¹⁸⁹ [into the Buddhist path]¹⁹⁰, [we pray that you] set forth¹⁹¹ various¹⁹² sudden and gradual¹⁹³ doctrines as entry [to enlightenment]!¹⁹⁴

¹⁸¹ 示現 (Jap. *jigen*), cf. BGD: 549b.

¹⁸² 去來 (Jap. *korai*), lit. past and future. With addition of Endō's interpretation (1987: 294).

¹⁸³ 憐念 (Jap. *rennen*), cf. BGD: 1441d, and DCBT: 432, s.v. 憐念.

¹⁸⁴ Here, I follow Endō (1987: 294), reading: “ware-ra bonku no hito-bito 我ら凡愚の人びと”, i.e. unenlightened beings. This alludes to the term 凡夫 (Jap. *bonbu*), Skt. *pṛthagjana*, a simple foolish person, i.e. a normal human being, the state in which a ritual practitioner enters the practice hall, see: Payne 2012: 288.

¹⁸⁵ 方便智 (Jap. *hōben-chi*) is “the wisdom or knowledge of using skillful means (for saving others); Skt. *upāya-jñāna*.” Muller in DBJ, referring to NEBJ: 107b, DCBT: 154, and BGD: 1226c. Endō (1987: 294) explains this as “wisdom of provisional help”. For more on 智慧, cf. NEBJ: 29b and BGD: 950b, s.v. *chie*. On 方便, see e.g. Reeves's entry in DBJ; BGD: 1225; and DCBT: 154, s.v. 方便.

¹⁸⁶ 權實[二]教 (Jap. *gonjitsu [no ni]kyō*), i.e. the provisional and the absolute teaching. “Tiantai philosophy characterizes the single vehicle (Skt. *ekayāna*) teaching to be true, and the three vehicle teaching to be expedient”, Muller in DBJ. Also see: NEBJ: 86a, and BGD: 433c, s.v. 權實. While the One Vehicle (Jap. *ichijō* 一乘) teaching, offers one vehicle for all beings, the Three Vehicles (Jap. *sanjō* 三乘) teaching perceives one separate vehicle “for each of the three categories of (1) *śrāvaka* disciples, i.e. the so-called Hīnayāna, leading to arhatship; (b) *pratyekabuddha* or ‘solitary realizer’, i.e. the Madhyamayāna, leading after longer periods to a Buddhahood that is ascetically attained and for one's self; and (c) bodhisattva, called Mahāyāna, leading after countless ages of self-sacrifice in saving others and progressive enlightenment to ultimate Buddhahood.”, cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 三乘. Endō (1987: 294) explains 權實[二]教 respectively as “the teaching corresponding to one's constitutional/potential abilities/capacities” and “the teaching of ultimate reality/truth”. Okada (1976: 9, n. 3) defines 權實の教 as “the provisional teaching of the final expedient expounded for those with low capacities” and “the absolute teaching, preaching the profound truth of the One Vehicle”.

¹⁸⁷ 利鈍 (Jap. *ridon*), i.e. practitioners of sharp faculties and dull faculties (Skt. *parāpara*), cf. BCSD: 192; also see: BGD: 1411a.

¹⁸⁸ 根性 (Jap. *konjō*) is the potential for attaining liberation, i.e. one's “inborn nature”, “basic spiritual proclivities; ability to grasp religious principle”, cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 根性; also DCBT: 327; BGD: 425a.

¹⁸⁹ Endō's addition (1987: 294) of “Jap. *hitoshiku* 等しく” is followed here.

¹⁹⁰ 引導 (Jap. *indō*), cf. DCBT: 1; and BGD: 68a.

¹⁹¹ 施設 (Jap. *sesetsu*), cf. BGD: 821b; and DCBT: 303.

¹⁹² 種種 (Jap. *shuju*), see BGD: 634b.

¹⁹³ 頓漸 (Jap. *ton zen*) refers to “the two fundamentally differing explanations as to how practice”. That is, “the gradual approach (漸教, Jap. *zenkyō*) understands practice toward enlightenment as a gradual process of spiritual purification and advancement, while the sudden teaching (頓教, Jap. *tongyō*) maintains that the very idea of attainment of enlightenment as a goal of one's efforts is based on an illusory, dualistic subject/object model that cannot be sustained according to the implications of the Buddhist doctrine of emptiness,” cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 頓漸, referring to e.g. BGD: 1026c and DCBT: 419. Endō (1987: 294) translates this as “the teachings which

[DISCIPLES]

Thus, we [feel sincere]¹⁹⁵ compunction!¹⁹⁶

[MASTER]

Lest all Buddhas have mercy¹⁹⁷, offer [their thereupon based] provisional help¹⁹⁸, and sympathize with [you], wordlings, who are submerged¹⁹⁹ in limitless suffering,²⁰⁰ you must arouse a vast mind²⁰¹, [in the following manner,²⁰² saying]:

[DISCIPLES]

I vow²⁰³ to eliminate the whole of myriad evils;

I vow to master²⁰⁴ [the teachings of] the supreme doctrines;

[T. 2463: 6b25] I vow to liberate²⁰⁵ the entire realm of living beings;²⁰⁶

enable one to immediately enter the realm of enlightenment” as opposed to “those for which many years of practice is needed”.

¹⁹⁴ 法門 (Jap. *hōmon*), lit. ‘gate of the teaching (Skt. *dharma*)’, i.e. Skt. *dharmaparyāya*. According to Mahāyāna teachings, there are endless methods or ‘gates’ to gain insight, cf. BGD: 1237, s.v. 法門.

¹⁹⁵ Here, I follow Endō’s translation (1987: 294), which has “*fukaku* 深く”, lit. ‘deep’, before the insertion “*kokoro of okoshi* 心を起こし.”

¹⁹⁶ 慚愧 (Jap. *zanki*), cf. BGD: 499c. Translated as “conscience and a sense of shame”, see: Muller in DBJ, s.v. 慚愧.

¹⁹⁷ 慈悲 (Jap. *jihi*) denotes the altruistic compassion aimed at the salvation of all beings, cf. NEBJ: 135a; BGD: 573b; and Muller in DBJ, s.v. 慈悲.

¹⁹⁸ 方便 (Jap. *hōben*), lit. ‘expedient’, cf. Skt. *upāya* in n. 186 supra. Here, Endō’s translation (1987: 294) is followed: “*sore ni motodoku kari no tedate* それにもとづくかりの手だて”.

¹⁹⁹ 沈淪 (Jap. *chinrin*), lit. ‘to sink’, i.e. in the sea of *saṃsāra*. See: BGD: 968c.

²⁰⁰ 苦海 (Jap. *kukai/kugai*), lit. ‘ocean of suffering’, See: BGD: 266a and DCBT: 313.

²⁰¹ 廣大之心 (Jap. *kōdai no shin*) is ‘an excellent mind’, being “a reference to the possession of the four boundless minds,” i.e. 四無量心 (Jap. *shi muryōshin*) or the “four immeasurable states of mind”, explained both as the “four kinds of meditation to give bliss to, and to take away the suffering of sentient beings” and as the “four minds of immeasurable concern for others”, including the “immeasurable minds of (1) kindness (慈 Jap. *ji*, Skt. *maitrī*), or bestowing of joy or happiness; (2) pity (悲 Jap. *hi*, Skt. *karuṇā*), to save from suffering; (3) joy (喜 Jap. *ki*, Skt. *muditā*) on seeing others freed from suffering; and (3) impartiality (捨 Jap. *sha*, Skt. *upekṣa*), i. e. rising above these emotions, or giving up all things, e.g., distinctions of friend and enemy, love and hate, etc. They are also called the four equalities (四等 Jap. *shi dō*), cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 四無量心, referred to s.v. 廣大心.

²⁰² Here, Endō’s addition (1987: 294) is inserted: “*masa ni tsugi no yō ni* まさにつぎのように”.

²⁰³ 誓願 (Jap. *seigan*), lit. ‘to vow’, i.e. promises that bodhisattvas must keep without fail when they are aspirants to Buddhahood, cf. NEBJ: 262a, BGD: 825a, DCBT: 428, s.v. 誓願. Generally there are four so-called “broad” or “universal vows” (四弘誓願, Jap. *shi guzeigan*) for bodhisattvas: (1) saving all beings without discrimination; (2) ending all kinds of desires and defilements; (3) continuously studying all methods and expedients; and (4) realizing the supreme path to Buddhahood, cf. BGD: 511, s.v. 四弘誓願.

²⁰⁴ 修習 (Jap. *shujū*, var. *shūjū*), lit. ‘repeated practice’, or ‘to cultivate’, cf. BGD: 625a, s.v. 修習.

²⁰⁵ 度脱 (Jap. *dodatsu*), i.e. “to save, to convey (someone) to deliverance”, cf. Muller in DBJ, and BGD: 998a.

Lest all beings²⁰⁷ vow to seek prompt realization²⁰⁸ of supreme awakening,²⁰⁹
the excellent fruition²¹⁰ of all Buddhas, I arouse the intent to attain awakening!

[MASTER]

That what is called “the intent to attain awakening”, is the pure Dharmakāya²¹¹
within all Buddhas, but also is [the origin of]²¹² all beings’ mental status of
[T. 2463: 6c01] [perceiving the non-duality of] defilement and purity.²¹³

If you would look for its origin²¹⁴, because it is fundamentally²¹⁵ not arising,
nor ceasing, you may search in the ten directions, in the end you will not find it,
[because the intent to attain awakening]²¹⁶ is not expressed by²¹⁷ using
speech,²¹⁸ written terminology,²¹⁹ or mental cognition!²²⁰

²⁰⁶ 諸衆生界 (Jap. *sho shūjō-kai*), following its explanation in Endō (1987: 294) as “*subete no ikeru mono no sekai* すべての生けるものの世界”.

²⁰⁷ 有情 (Jap. *ujō*), lit. ‘[those who] have consciousness’, refers to Skt. *sattva*. According to Muller, this term replaced 衆生 (Jap. *shushō*) since the times of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), see: Muller in DBJ; and BGD: 84, s.v. 有情.

²⁰⁸ 速證 (Jap. *sokushō*), cf. BGD: 888a

²⁰⁹ 無上菩提 (Jap. *mujō bodai*), cf. BGD: 1334, s.v. 無上菩提, cf. n. 149 supra.

²¹⁰ 勝果 (Jap. *shōka*), lit. ‘excellent fruit’, refers to the attainment of Buddhahood, cf. BGD: 722a. Endō (1987: 300) interprets this term as ‘excellent fruits of Buddhahood’, i.e. 仏果 (Jap. *bukka*), denoting Skt. *buddhaphala*, which is a synonym for Skt. *bodhi*, cf. BGD: 1190c.

²¹¹ 法身 (Jap. *hosshin*) is a name for “absolute existence, the manifestation of all existences; the true body of reality, or Buddha as eternal principle; the body of essence that is pure, possesses no marks of distinction, and is the same as emptiness [...] The Buddha’s body of the universe; the body of truth that lacks form. The basis of all things”, cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 法身. See also n. 153 above.

²¹² Endō (1987: 294) has an additional “本” (Jap. *moto*) in his *bungo* edition, and “根本” (Jap. *konpon*) in the modern text.

²¹³ 染淨心 (Jap. *zenjōshin*) is the fourth of ‘the five conditions of mind produced by objective perception’, namely (1) “immediate impression; (2) attention or inquiry; (3) conclusion, or decision; (4) the effect, evil or good; and (5) the production therefrom of other causations”, Muller in DBJ, s.v. 五心 (Jap. *go shin*). According to MJ: 436a, however, 染淨 is one of the ten approaches to non-duality in Tiantai philosophy. According to Muller, they were posited by “Zhanran 湛然 (711–782), based on the *Lotus Sutra*. [...] The unifying principle is that of the identity of contraries, and the ten apparent contraries are: (1) matter and mind; (2) internal and external; (3) practice and realization; (4) cause and effect; (5) impurity and purity; (6) objective and subjective; (7) self and other; (8) action, speech, and thought; (9) provisional and real; and (10) fertilized and the fertilizer, i.e. receiver and giver”, cf. DBJ, s.v. 十不二門 (Jap. *jū funi mon*).

²¹⁴ 根源 (Jap. *kongen*), cf. BGD: 425a

²¹⁵ 本來 (Jap. *honrai*), cf. BGD: 1266d; DCBT: 189.

²¹⁶ Suggested by Endō 1987: 295.

²¹⁷ 離 (Jap. *ri*) lit. means ‘to be separate’, or ‘detached from’; also ‘to abandon’, cf. BGD: 1415a.

²¹⁸ 言說相 (Jap. *gonsetsu sō*), lit. ‘the mark of speech’, cf. BGD: 429b, s.v. 言說. Endō (1987: 295) defines it as “verbal expression” (Jap. *genko hyōgen* 言語表現).

²¹⁹ 名字相 (Jap. *myōji sō*), lit. ‘the mark of conceptualizing names’, i.e. when one applies names phenomena, one further embeds oneself in the imaginary, cf. BGD: 1300a, s.v. 名字. Endō (1987: 295) translates this as ‘name’, ‘appellation’, or ‘designation’ (名称, Jap. *meishō*).

Continuing to transmigrate²²¹ in delusion²²² is called the “defiled body²²³ of all sentient beings”, while manifesting²²⁴ enlightenment²²⁵ is precisely called “the pure Dharmakāya within all Buddhas”.²²⁶

Therefore, the *Sūtra on neither Increasing nor Decreasing*²²⁷ says:

[T. 2463: 6c05] Dharmakāya [Mahāvairocana] is not separate from the realm of worldlings; the realm of worldlings is not separate from the Dharmakāya. The realm of worldlings is precisely the Dharmakāya; and the Dharmakāya is the realm of worldlings!²²⁸

²²⁰ 心縁相 (Jap. *shin'en sō*), lit. ‘the mark of laying hold of external things by means of the mind’, cf. DCBT: 151, and also BGD: 764b, s.v. 心縁. Endō (1987: 295) translates this as “the object of cognition” (Jap. *ninshiki no taishō* 認識の対象).

²²¹ 流轉 (Jap. *ruten*) is ‘continuity’, and refers to the deluded transmigration through life and death. Synonymous to 輪廻 (Jap. *rinne*), i.e. Skt. *samsāra*, cf. NEBJ: 242b, referring to NEBJ: 234a, s.v. 輪廻. See also BGD: 1433d, s.v. 流轉.

²²² 妄心 (Jap. *mōshin*, also: *mōjin*) is a defiled mind, or deluded and attached thought; the mind incapable of apprehending the original essence of things, cf. BGD: 1363c, s.v. *mōjin*.

²²³ 染汚之身 (Jap. *zenma no shin*). 染汚 means ‘to contaminate the pure mind with defilements’, referring to “all contaminated factors that impede the attainment of *nirvāṇa*”, cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 染汚. See also BGD: 846d, s.v. 染汚; NEBJ: 335a, s.v. *zemma*, where it is explained as ‘connected with pain and suffering’, also “a term denoting evils, and deeds neither good nor bad but barring enlightenment.”

²²⁴ 開發 (Jap. *kaihotsu*) is ‘one who has been awakened’, but “in the True Word Esoteric Sect, to unfold and manifest the Buddha-nature”, cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 開發. See also BGD: 171d, s.v. 開發, which defines its meaning within Shingon Mikkyō as ‘the establishment of the Buddha nature within us, and making it public’.

²²⁵ 照悟 (Jap. *shōgo*), in which the first character means ‘illumination’, also ‘to understand completely’, but also ‘proof’, ‘verification’, cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 照, while the second denotes ‘enlightenment’, ‘realization’, as distinguished from delusion, cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 悟. See also BGD: 725a, s.v. 照, and NEBJ: 261b, s.v. 悟.

²²⁶ Endō’s modern rendering (1987: 295) of this passage is: “When the hesitating mind continues to lose control, it is ultimately called the body of the people who are wrapped in worldly desires (i.e. Skt. *kleśa*), [while] the evidently realizing the insight (leading to enlightenment) of the Buddhas who establish enlightenment (i.e. Skt. *bodhi*), is in fact called the pure and true body of all Buddhas.”

²²⁷ 不增不減經 (Jap. *Fuzō fugengyō*; Chin. *Buzeng bujian-jing*), being the *Anunatvāpurṇatvānirdeśaparivarta* (i.e. T. XVI, no. 668), translated by Bodhiruci between 519-524, who arrived in Luoyang in 508, and worked there until 534/538. See Demiéville 1978: 67, s.v. *Fuzōfugengyō*; 237, s.v. Bodairushi I; and Nanjio 1975: 121, no. 524, where the title translation is borrowed from. According to Lancaster (1979: 166, no. 490), referring to T. LV, no. 2157: 839b6, i.e. the 貞元新定釋教目錄 (Jap. *Jōgen shinjō shakkyō mokuroku*; Chin. *Zhengyuan xinding yijiao mulu*) compiled by Yuan Zhao 圓照 (fl. 778) in 800. However, the text was translated in 525 (i.e. Zhengguang 正光 6), this is confirmed by BKD IX: 192b, s.v. *Fuzō gugengyō*, where the text is discussed in more detail. On the 貞元新定釋教目錄, see BKD VI: 48c, s.v. *Jōgen shinjō shakkyō mokuroku*. The *Anunatvāpurṇatvānirdeśaparivarta* is “a short but influential *tathāgatagarbha* text that discusses the relationship between sentient beings and the *dharmakāya* (or *dharmadhātu*) as being one of equivalence within the medium of the *tathāgatagarbha*. The sermon begins with a question by Śāriputra as to whether the total number of sentient beings who transmigrate through the three realms and six destinies ever increases or decreases. The Buddha responds by explaining how views of increase and decrease are equivalent to the mistaken extremes of eternalism and nihilism. He then goes into depth (*sic*) explaining the nature of the *tathāgatagarbha* in relation to the dharma body and sentient beings,” cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 不增不減經. NEBJ: 66b, s.v. *Fuzō-fugen-gyō*, translates its title as *Sūtra on That Which Neither Increases nor Decreases*, adding that the text “proclaims the identity between the *hosshin* [i.e. Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana] and all sentient beings. It also declares that all beings will attain Buddhahood.”

²²⁸ Indeed, T. XVI, no. 668: 467b16-18 reads identically the same: 不離衆生界有法身不離法身有衆生界衆生界即法身法身即衆生界. Endō (1987: 295) renders this as: “It is not the case that there is another true body

Further, it is said [in the *Mahāyāna-dharmadhātu-nirviśeṣa-śāstra*]:²²⁹

You should know that the purity of the realm of worldlings precisely is the Dharmakāya. The Dharmakāya is *nirvāṇa*,²³⁰ and *nirvāṇa* is Tathāgata [Mahāvairocana].²³¹

When looking at it in this way, there is essentially no distinction between the body of all Buddhas and the naturally pure Dharmakāya [Mahāvairocana within] all sentient beings.

[DISCIPLES]

[T. 2463: 6c10] Thus, I [who now still may have doubts],²³² am no different from all *buddha-tathāgatas*,²³³ who –whilst once [still] residing in the stage of practice–²³⁴ [also] lost track of the[ir] original *dharmakāya* [nature].

[MASTER]

So, arousing great effort²³⁵ and vigorously endeavoring²³⁶ in correct practices,²³⁷ already is having accomplished the state of Buddhahood.²³⁸

separate from the world of humans, and further, it is also not the case that there is a world of humans separate from the true body. The human world is no other than the true body, because the true body is de human world.” For further reference on this passage, see: Guang 2005: 88.

²²⁹ Strangely, even though the text does not mention any shift in the source from which it quotes, there is no reference found in the aforementioned T. XVI no. 668. However, the following lines are an almost exact match to a passage in the 大乘法界無差別論 (Jap. *Daijō hokkai mushabetsu ron*; Chin. *Dacheng fajie wu chabie lun*), composed by Sthiramati and translated by Devaprajña et al. in 691: 衆生界得清淨時應知即是法身法身即是涅槃界涅槃即是如來, cf. T. XXXI, no. 1626: 896a20-22. Also see Nanjio 1975: 275-276, no. 1258; and Lancaster 1979: 210, no. 640, referring to the 大周刊定衆經目錄 (Jap. *Daishū kanjō shukyō mokuoku*; Chin. *Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu*) compiled by Mingquan (明詮, n.d.) in 695, i.e. T. LV, no. 2153: 408b6. For this catalogue, see: Lancaster 1979: 367, no. 1058; Nanjio 1975: 354, no. 1610; and for more information, BKD VII: 256c. On *bodhicitta* thought in T. XVI, no. 668, see: Tagami 1986.

²³⁰ 涅槃 (Jap. *nehan*), cf. NEBJ 211b; BGD: 1076b, s.v. 涅槃.

²³¹ 如來 (Jap. *nyorai*), cf. NEBJ: 224b; BGD: 1063c; DCBT: 210, where it is pointed out that this concerns “the Buddha in his *nirmāṇakāya*, i.e. his ‘transformation’ or corporeal manifestation descended on earth”. The passage under consideration is explained by Endō (1987: 295) as: “You should know that the reason why the human world is pure, exactly is because it is de body of truth. In other words, the body of truth is enlightenment; enlightenment, in other words, is Buddha.”

²³² Based on the addition of “*genzai mayotte-iru* 現在迷っている [わたし]” in Endō’s reading (1987: 296).

²³³ 諸佛如來 (Jap. *sho butsu nyorai*), cf. BGD: 690c

²³⁴ 因地 (Jap. *inchi*; var. *inji*). Okada (1976: 10, n. 2) notes that this is “the stage of practicing Buddhism”. Indeed, the term refers to “the causal stage of the practice of becoming enlightened”, the state of practicing Buddhism which leads to the stage of attainment of Buddhahood, being 果地 (Jap. *kaji*). See: BGD: 71a, s.v. 因地 and 149b, s.v. 果地; Also: DCBT: 264.

That being the case,²³⁹ [I must ask],²⁴⁰ how can you [possibly] hanker after swimming in mud,²⁴¹ and not manifest correct practice?!

[DISCIPLES]

Therefore, I arouse this intent [of attaining supreme awakening]!²⁴²

[MASTER]

Further, observe that²⁴³ the worldlings are sinking in the ocean of suffering and are submerged in the river of birth and death, ignoring the source of their own [naturally enlightened] mind²⁴⁴ and losing the life power of wisdom [that nourishes the Dharmakāya].²⁴⁵

[DISCIPLES]

When I pity them, they and the Dharmakāya in me²⁴⁶ are equal²⁴⁷ and non-dual!²⁴⁸

²³⁵ 大精進 (Jap. *dai shōjin*), i.e. Skt. *mahā-vīrya* denotes ‘inexhaustible effort’, or ‘stamina’, cf. BGD: 920c.

²³⁶ 勤修 (Jap. *gonshū*), cf. BGD: 432b.

²³⁷ 正行 (Jap. *shōgyō*), cf. DCBT: 193; BGD: 698b.

²³⁸ 正覺 (Jap. *shōgaku*), lit. ‘correct awakening’ (Skt. *sambodhi*), but also refers to a person who has awakened to reality, i.e. a Buddha or *tathāgata*, cf. BGD: 697d, s.v. 正覺.

²³⁹ The text reads 今 (Jap. *ima*), but Endō (1987: 296) interprets this as “then” (Jap. *kono toki ni oite* このときにおいて).

²⁴⁰ 云何 (Jap. *ikan [ga]*) is usually not translated, because it often implies a rhetorical question. In my opinion, though, it reinforces the ritual discourse, in which master and disciple take turns.

²⁴¹ According to Endō (1987: 296), this is “the mud of the defilements that pollute our body” (Jap. *mi o osen-suru bonnō no nukarumi* 身を汚染する煩惱のむかるみ).

²⁴² 是心 (Jap. *zeshin*), being interpreted by Endō (1987: 296) as “*kono satori o motomeru kokoro* この菩提を求め心.”

²⁴³ Note that 觀 (Jap. *kan*) in the *kanbun* text, is nowhere attested in the renderings neither of Okada (1976), nor Endō (1987).

²⁴⁴ 自心 (Jap. *jishin*), cf. BGD: 555c.

²⁴⁵ 惠命 (Jap. *emyō*) is synonymous to 慧命 (Jap. *emyō*), i.e. while the physical body lives nourished by food, the dharma-body is nourished by wisdom, cf. BGD: 106d, s.v. 慧命. Also see the additional phrase in Endō 1987: 296.

²⁴⁶ 我法身 (Jap. *waga hosshin*) is explained by Endō (1987: 296) as “*watashi no yū-suru shinri-to shite noshintai* わたしの有する真理としての身体”, lit. ‘the true body that I am endowed with’.

²⁴⁷ 平等 (Jap. *byōdō*), cf. DCBT: 187; BGD: 1146d, s.v. 平等, i.e. Skt. *sama(ya)* or *samatā*, cf. SJ: 196, no. 1601; and DCBT, p. 187, s.v. 平. This ‘equality’ means the lack of making distinctions amongst things, BGD: 488, s.v. *sanmaiya* and 1146, s.v. *byōdō*. ‘Equality’, however, also refers to the “non-duality of concrete existence and abstract principle”, “one-ness of matter and mind”, in other words, “all concrete things or phenomena are identical with the truth, or that which appears is as such the path”, cf. Toganō 1970: 105-110, and

[MASTER]

How can you have faith, and endurance,²⁴⁹ when you are not offering help?!²⁵⁰

[T. 2463: 6c15] That is why [you should]²⁵¹, vigorously²⁵² arouse great compassion, liberate²⁵³ all sentient beings, and destroy Māra,²⁵⁴ the enemy [of the dharma]!²⁵⁵

[DISCIPLES]

Therefore, I arouse the intent to attain awakening!

[MASTER]

Now, you must summon²⁵⁶ all Buddhas!

[DISCIPLES]

I, disciple X, bow my head to the ground and prostrate²⁵⁷ before the assembly of all Bodhisattva-mahāsattvas²⁵⁸ and numerous Tathāgatas, who are fully

ibid. 103-104 for the doctrinal Shingon interpretation. In short, it concerns the union of the concrete and the absolute, the union of the individual with Mahāvairocana. For a discussion of *samaya*, see chapter IV below.

²⁴⁸ 無二 (Jap. *mu ni*), cf. BGD: 1342c.

²⁴⁹ Both Okada (1976: 10) and Endō (1987: 296) take 信任 (Jap. *shinnin*) as a compound, but this is as yet not attested in any of the consulted dictionaries, neither general nor specialized. Therefore, both terms have been translated separately. On 信 (Jap. *shin*), see: e.g. BGD: 774c; and for 任 (Jap. *nin*), e.g. DCB: 200.

²⁵⁰ 救拔 (Jap. *kyūbachi*; var. *kubatsu*), see e.g. DCBT: 351.

²⁵¹ Based on the readings by Okada (1976: 10) and Endō (1987: 296), that both add the auxiliary verb Jap. *-beshi*, even though there is no 應 (Chin. *ying*) or so in the Chinese original.

²⁵² 勇猛 (Jap. *yumyō*; var. *yūmyō*), also means ‘to be courageous’, cf. BGD: 1386c.

²⁵³ 度 (Jap. *do*), cf. BGD: 997b; NEBJ: 45b.

²⁵⁴ 魔 (Jap. *ma*) is an abbreviation of 魔羅 (Jap. *mara*), i.e. Skt. *Māra*, the demon king of the realm of desire, but the term also refers to defilement, or hindrances to enlightenment. See e.g. BGD: 1282a, s.v. 魔羅 and 1280-1281, s.v. 魔.

²⁵⁵ 怨敵 (Jap. *onteki*), cf. BGD: 136c.

²⁵⁶ 啓請 (Jap. *keishō*) is requesting the attendance of buddhas and bodhisattvas, mostly prior to sūtra chanting, cf. BGD: 312a.

²⁵⁷ 稽首和南 (Jap. *keishu wanan*), i.e. Skt. *vandana*, cf. NEBJ: 328b, BGD: 1467b, s.v. 稽首; And NEBJ: 169a, BGD: 313a, s.v. 和南, which in Zen also is read as *ona*, cf. BGD: 124a, s.v. 和南. Endō 1987: 317, n. 8, points out that 稽首 is the translation of the meaning of Skt. *vandana*, while 和南 is its transliteration.

²⁵⁸ 摩訶薩 Jap. *makasatsu*, Skt. *mahāsattva*, lit. ‘great being’ especially denotes a bodhisattva who is mainly engaged in liberating sentient beings, cf. BGD: 1277, s.v. *makasatsu*. In this context, it is crucial to note that the exoteric and esoteric concepts of ‘bodhisattva’ differ. “The Sanskrit term ‘bodhisttva’ comprises the two words *bodhi* and *sattva*. *Bodhi* means ‘awakening’ and ‘path’, and ‘sattva’, according to the Buddhist perception of the term, is ‘sentient being’ and ‘hero’. The original exoteric translation of ‘bodhisattva’, therefore, was ‘a being with the mind of the great Way’ and ‘being of Awakening’; and hence ‘seeker of Awakening’ and ‘a being who heroically seeks the Way’. For exoteric Mahāyāna the ‘Bodhisattva’ is one who diligently seeks Awakening and is thus destined to become a Buddha, one who seeks Awakening not only for himself but for all other beings, and whose aspiration has a twofold modality, ascending by means of Knowledge (Awakening for self) and

endowed with the myriad virtues of the transformation body, reward body²⁵⁹, and pure Dharmakāya of [Mahā]vairocana,²⁶⁰ and of all Buddhas in the ten directions!

[T. 2463: 6c20] [Oh, may they] descend to the consecration platform²⁶¹ and rescue us by means of their great compassion, and enlighten us with their great wisdom!

Arousing the great intent to attain awakening, I now aspire to abandon [the cycle of] birth and death, destroy the multitude of hindrances,²⁶² overpower the non-Buddhist paths,²⁶³ surpass the two [Buddhist] vehicles [of *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*],²⁶⁴ and solemnly vow to practice the great compassion of all Buddhas!

descending by means of Compassion (Awakening for others). The ‘Bodhisattva’ is one who is sufficiently advanced on the Way to enter *nirvāṇa*, but remains in *samsāra* to assist and guide others. [...] Esoteric Buddhism, however, has a second interpretation. The Great Bodhisattvas (skt. *mahā-bodhisattva*) [...] are not on the way to Awakening, but have fully attained Buddhahood and now manifest themselves as bodhisattvas for the sake of sentient beings and in order to fulfill their Original Vows. They are the differentiated virtues of Mahāvairocana’s Dharma Body.” Cf. Snodgrass 1988, vol. 1: 218-219, with altered italics.

²⁵⁹ 報身 (Jap. *hōshin*), Skt. *sambhogakāya* is the “reward body”, or “ideal body of a Buddha which is produced upon entering Buddhahood as the result of vows undertaken during the practices in the bodhisattva path. The body of the Buddha with which the blissful reward of enlightenment is enjoyed,” cf. Paul Swanson in DBJ, s.v. 報身. Also see: NEBJ: 108b; BGD: 1242a.

²⁶⁰ 毘盧遮那 (Jap. Birushana) Mahāvairocana, cf. BGD 1136b. Also known as 大日如來 (Jap. Dainichi nyorai), cf. NEBJ: 41b; BGD: 926a; and more details in SJ: 477; and MD: 1522, s.v. 大日如來. For more info, see: Pinte K. 2009b.

²⁶¹ 道場 (Jap. *dōjō*) is explained as “truth-plot; *bodhimaṇḍala*; circle; or place of enlightenment [...] for attaining to Buddha-truth. An object of or place for religious offerings. A place for teaching, learning, or practicing religion”, cf. DCBT: 416, s.v. 道場, where it is also pointed out that it can also refer to the ordination platform. Originally, 道場 was a translation of the *bodhimaṇḍa*, i.e. the place where the historical Buddha attained enlightenment. Later the term was used to designate a place where Buddhist ceremonies were held. In 613, Yangdi of the Sui dynasty is accounted to have changed the name for all Chinese temples from 寺 (Chin. *sì*) to 道場 (Chin. *daochang*), cf. Chou 1945: 310. It may be interesting to note the following double meaning: “the two semantic levels of the *bodhi-maṇḍala*, the Buddha’s seat of enlightenment: first, as the eternal realm of enlightenment, the ‘assemblage of all the Tathāgatas forming the great maṇḍala’ [...], into which Śākyamuni Buddha occasionally returns by means of his own *samādhi*; and second, as the sacred site of enlightenment under the bodhi tree on the bank of the Nairāñjan in the kingdom of Magadha where the Buddha addresses his assembly”, cf. Abe 1999: 265-266. Although the word *maṇḍala* originally meant “circle”, in esoteric texts it designated pictures and symbols of groups of buddhas and bodhisattvas painted on a certain surface and in which every deity has its own space, cf. Chou 1945: 311: “Maṇḍala means a gathering place of the saints. It refers to an altar where recitation takes place. In China however, the maṇḍalas on the earthen platform came to be reproduced on cloth or paper”. In this sense, ‘entering the maṇḍala’ refers to the *abhiṣeka* ceremony in the esoteric initiation ritual. ‘Sitting in the maṇḍala’ can also be taken literally, i.e. the tantrist sits in the midst of the buddhas displayed in a drawn or visualized maṇḍala and makes offers, repents, etc. in order to ultimately participate in the illuminated state of his fellow buddhas.. Hence, its translation as “consecration platform”.

²⁶² 魔衆 (Jap. *ma shu*), lit. Māras, cf. n. 255 supra.

²⁶³ 外道 (Jap. *gedō*) is explained by Endō (1987: 297) as “*bukkyō igai no oshie* 佛教以外の教え”, i.e. Skt. *tīrthika*, cf. BGD: 305, s.v. 外道. For different categories, see: DCBT: 184, s.v. 外.

²⁶⁴ 二乘 (Jap. *ni jō*), cf. Endō (1987: 297) reading: “*shōmon engaku no futatsu no oshie* 声聞・縁覚の二つの教え”. Also see BGD: 1047, s.v. 二乗.

Therefore, I now prostrate by bowing at your feet²⁶⁵ in absolute trust!²⁶⁶

[MASTER]

[Now,] recite the mantra of universal obedience!²⁶⁷

[DISCIPLES]

[T. 2463: 6c25] *Oṃ sarva-tathāgata pāda-vandanām karomi!*²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ 頂禮 (Jap. *chōrai*), cf. NEBJ: 33a; BGD: 964c, s.v. 頂禮.

²⁶⁶ 歸依 (Jap. *kie*) generally refers to taking refuges (esp. in the three treasures), but this is doubtful in this context. For other meanings, see: NEBJ: 173b; BGD: 215, s.v. 歸依.

²⁶⁷ 普禮真言 (Jap. *furai shingon*). 普禮 means to worship all buddhas, cf. DCBT: 374; BGD: 1181d. According to Renou (1985: 565), “Tout l’enseignement tantrique se résume [...] en une mise en efficacité du mantra. Le mantra non seulement est divin, il est la divinité même, la forme matérielle du dieu à un degré bien plus haut que l’image. Chaque divinité a son mantra particulier: celui d’une divinité femelle est lui-même féminin, on l’appelle une vidhyā « science », comme les çakti dont il est l’exact représentant. Le choix et la remise du mantra à l’élève forment l’essentiel de l’initiation tantrique.” Aside from the terms *mantra* and *vidhyā*, *dhāraṇī* belong to the domain of magical formulas as well. These designations are used to refer to the different aspects of the formulas. According to Toganō (1970: 32), they can be translated as “secret spell”, “knowledge-spell” and “holding-spell” respectively. He advances that *mantras* are Hinduist and pan-Indian, that *vidhyā* is a Hindu-Buddhist term and that *dhāraṇīs* are typical of Buddhism. A historical survey of the introduction of these designations in China and Japan can be found in idem, 38 ff. In China, Skt. *mantra* was initially translated as 咒 (Chin. *zhou*), i.e. ‘spell’, 密咒 (Chin. *mizhou*), ‘secret spell’, 神咒 (Chin. *shenzhou*), ‘divine spell’, and from the second half of the 7th century onwards, it was translated as 真言 (Chin. *zhenyan*), lit. ‘true word’. While the term *mantra* had a strong influence in India given its connection with the authority of Vedas, in China, the Vedas had no power whatsoever. Therefore, Toganō (1970: 41) argues that the translated terms themselves show, to some extent, a denial of that which is Hindu. He further states that the term *dhāraṇī*, on the contrary, was translated as 陀羅尼 (Chin. *toloni*) and that the translation 總持 (Chin. *zongzhi*), lit. ‘entire support’, was used only when asking what *dhāraṇī* actually meant in Chinese. The notable fact that the Chinese translations, on one hand, expunged the term *mantra*, and on the other hand, retained the term *dhāraṇī*, he considers the reason for the term *dhāraṇī* becoming a particular Buddhist term. *Dhāraṇīs* are a kind of summarizing miniatures of the *sūtras* and as Chou (1944: 258) puts it: “the *dhāraṇīs* are used to epitomize *sūtra*, *vinaya*, and *śāstra*; they are the short-cut to enlightenment [...] A bodhisattva, having epitomized all the meditations in one string (i.e. *dhāraṇī*), would suddenly be elevated in rank and approach supreme enlightenment”. The general difference between *dhāraṇī* and *mantra* (i.e. 真言 Jap. *shingon*) is that a *dhāraṇī* is longer than a *mantra*. Moreover, a *dhāraṇī* is used as a substitute for a certain *sūtra* and is generally for exclusive use by priests, something that does not hold true for a *mantra*, cf. Toganō 1970: 50ff. where he further divides *mantras* in two main categories: (1) ‘Hinduist *shingon*’ which are exclusively used by monks and nuns; and (2) ‘Sino-Japanese *shingon*’ which are used by laity as well. The latter are of two kinds. The first are the *kōmyō-shingon* 光明真言, or ‘light-*shingon*’. They began to circulate ca. 880 and were originally described in the 不空罽索神變真言經 (Jap. *Fukū kenjaku jinpen shingongyō*, i.e. T. XX, no. 1092) by Bodhirūci (693-713) and in the 不空罽索毘盧遮那佛大灌頂光真言 (Jap. *Fukū kenjaku Birushana-butsu daikanjō kōshingon*, cf. T. XIX, no. 1002) attributed to Amoghavajra (705-774). Secondly, there are the *jūsan-butsu-shingon* (十三仏真言) or ‘the *shingon* of the thirteen Enlightened Ones’; cf. Toganō (1970: 51-54). Further information on these thirteen deities, cf. MJ: 340, s.v. *jū’ō*. Depending on the school in which they occur, *dhāraṇīs* are divided in several categories as well. Here we mention the relevant classification that has been contributed to Amoghavajra. A first category is the *varja-dhara-dhāraṇī*, which Toganō calls the “*dhāraṇī* of holding letters”, given the fact that with these ‘letters’ one refers to all *sūtras*. He argues that “holding the letters” has to be understood as holding on to what one hears, which directly explains the fact that these kinds of formulas are said to enhance memory. A second class consists of so-called *artha-dhāraṇīs*, which encompass formulas containing the essence of the practice and teachings of the *sūtras*. Thirdly, there are *dharma-dhara-dhāraṇīs*, which trigger the realization of the pure Dharmakāya. The last group consists of *samādhi-dhara-dhāraṇīs*. They are used for the perfection of concentration, as a result of which the practitioner is not disturbed during his meditation, cf. Toganō 1970: 22-29.

Hail ²⁶⁹ to Buddha Akṣobhya of the east, ²⁷⁰ [etc.] up to Buddha [Mahāvairocana], the pure Dharmakāya! ²⁷¹

[MASTER]

[T. 2463: 6c27] Next, you should make offerings!²⁷²

[DISCIPLES]

I, disciple X, with purified and exquisite incense, flowers,²⁷³ banners,²⁷⁴ ritual canopies,²⁷⁵ drinks and food, lamps and candles, I beseech to constantly bring offerings to all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, as well as all Nobles and Sages.²⁷⁶

²⁶⁸ 唵薩嚩怛他藥多跢那滿娜喃迦嚩彌 (Jap. *On saraba tatagyata hannamanna ōkyaromi*), lit. “Om, I prostrate at the feet of all Tathāgatas”, cf. Endō 1987: 297. For further information, see: SJ: 202, no. 1644, where it is pointed out that this formula is combined with the *vajra añjali* (金剛合掌 Jap. *kongō gasshō*). Interestingly this formula is also attested in T. XVIII, no. 915: 940b20. For a discussion of the formulas in the HSBK, cf. chapter IV below.

²⁶⁹ 南無 (Jap. *namo*) refers to Skt. *namas*, cf. NEBJ: 209b; BGD: 1029d; DCBT: 298.

²⁷⁰ 阿閼佛 (Jap. *Ashuku-butsu*) refers to Buddha Akṣobhya, see e.g. NEBJ: 12a. Also 阿閼婆 (Jap. *Ashukuba*), and known under the appellations ‘Immovable Buddha’ or ‘Buddha Free from Anger’. It is the buddha who learned from Mahāvairocana, and who after achieving final enlightenment created his own Pure Land called Abhirata, which is located in the eastern part of the universe (whereas Amitābha’s is in the west), and where he continues to teach. In the esoteric school, he is one of the five Buddhas of the *vajradhātu* (金剛界 Jap. *kongōkai*), and is gold in color. See: Muller in DBJ, s.v. 阿閼婆; BGD: 5c. For more details and his representation in the *vajradhātu-maṇḍala*, see: MD: 24-25, s.v. *Ashukuba*.

²⁷¹ Intended may be that the practitioner should repeat this formula for every Buddha of the *vajradhātu-maṇḍala*.

²⁷² 供養 (Jap. *kuyō*) refers to Skt. *pūjā*, denoting that one brings offers to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, lest them help the practitioner, cf. BGD: 264, s.v. *kuyō*. Renou (1985: 573) explains the origin of the Sanskrit word as “Le mot qui signifie ‘hommage’, serait [...] d’origine dravidienne; plus vraisemblablement [on] croit à la forme moyen-indienne d’un dérivé de la racine sanskrite [that means to] ‘mélanger (un liquide)’.” For an extensive discussion of the tantric offering, see: Gupta 1979: 121-162.

²⁷³ 香花 (Jap. *hōge*) can also be translated as ‘flowers and garlands’, cf. BGD: 394b, or perhaps even ‘fragrant flowers’.

²⁷⁴ T. LXXVIII, no. 2463: 6c28: has 幢 instead of 幢 in a compound that should be 幢幡 (Jap. *dōban*), see: NEBJ: 46a; BGD: 1018b, s.v. 幢幡. Endō (1987: 317, n. 10) points out that 幢 is Skt. *dhvaja*, while 幡 denotes Skt. *paṭāka*. The former may be decorated with cotton twill, or a jewel may be attached to the top of its pole (i.e. a streamer, a pennant usually display atop a pole), whereas the latter has long cloth hanging from it. For an overview of its use at different occasions, see: Griffith Foulk in DBJ, s.v. 幡. For more details and illustrations, see: BGDJ: 106, and 588, s.v. 幢幡.

²⁷⁵ 寶蓋 (Jap. *hōgai*), see e.g. BGD: 1244a, s.v. 寶蓋. Endō (1987: 317, n. 11) explains it as a baldachin (天蓋, Jap. *tengai*) decorated with various jewels and *maṇi*, i.e. precious stones used as pearls and beads. For an illustrated discussion, see: BGDJ: 72ff, s.v. 天蓋.

²⁷⁶ 賢聖 (Jap. *kenjō*). Endō (1987: 317, n. 12) notes that 聖 are people who have entered a realm that transcends our world and set out to realize the truth by means of arousing a wisdom that is free from the influence of defilement, while 賢 are ordinary people who have given up evil, but have not yet attained the realisation of the truth by establishing a wisdom that is free from defilements. This accords to Soothills’ definition as: “Those who are noted for goodness 賢, and those who are also noted for wisdom, or insight 聖; the 賢 are still of ordinary human standard, the 聖 transcend them in wisdom and character; the attainments from the path of seeing 見道 upwards are those of the 聖; the 賢 is on the moral plane, and has not eliminated illusion; the 聖 has cut off illusion and has insight into absolute reality,” cf. DCBT: 444, sv. 賢.

[T. 2463: 7a02] [Therefore, I say]:

With the power of my individual merit,²⁷⁷
With the power of the support of the Tathāgatas,²⁷⁸
And with the power of the Dharma realm,
I abide in universal worship!

[MASTER]

[Recite] the mantra of universal worship!²⁷⁹

[DISCIPLES]

*Oṃ gagana-sambhava-vajra hoḥ!*²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ 我功德力 (Jap. *ga kudoku riki*), lit. ‘the power of individual merit’ is one of the so-called three powers (三力, Jap. *san riki*) that are expounded in the MVS (cf. T. XVIII, no. 848: 19a2), alongside the ‘power of the Tathāgata’s support (如來加持力, Jap. *nyorai kaji riki*), and the ‘power of the *dharmadhātu*’ (法界力, Jap. *hōkai riki*), i.e. of innate Buddha-nature, cf. BGD: 492c, s.v. 功德 (Jap. *kudoku*), which denotes Skt. *guṇa* referring to “the merits of one’s pious acts or religious practice”, cf. NEBJ: 184a, s.v. 功德.

²⁷⁸ The term 加持 (Jap. *kaji*) rendered as ‘support’ in the second power (cf. n. 277 supra), conforms to Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*, which in precepts rituals, means to asks for the support of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in keeping the vows. According to Orzech: “The term *adhiṣṭhāna* has its roots in the Pāli scriptures, where *adhiṭṭhana iddhi* is the power of the Buddha’s self-multiplication. It is found throughout the Mahāyāna and has a range of meanings. These include decision, resolution, self-determination, to stand on or insist on, basis, to oversee, a residence or abode, and a benediction. Its basic meaning seems to be to take a stand, or position, in its metaphorical and literal senses, as well as to provide a basis for, as in benediction. This ‘basis’ is the foundation for transcendent wisdom’s existence in the world. It indicates, to borrow a convenient phrase, ‘a place on which to stand’, as well as the stand taken.” In esoteric Buddhism, “this also signifies establishing a stable link with a deity. In the meditations on the *stūpa* of the five *cakras* (五輪塔 Jap. *gorintō*), in which one initially focuses on the earth element in oneself and in the diety, and then the water element, and so on, the *adhiṣṭhāna* signifies the identification with the deity has been achieved. Kūkai’s explanation: *kaji* 加持 refers to the Great Compassion of the Tathāgata and the mind of faith of sentient beings. *Ka* means the reflection of the Buddha Sun in the water of the minds of sentient beings, and *ji* means the *sādhaka*’s mind that ‘retains’ the Buddha Sun”, cf. Snodgrass, 1988: 35. Also see: NEBJ: 157b/174; BGD: 146a, and MD: 234a, s.v. 加持.

²⁷⁹ 普供養真言 (Jap. *fu kuyō shingon*).

²⁸⁰ 唵誚誚囊三婆嚩嚩日羅斛 (Jap. *On gyagya nā sanbanbaba zara koku*), i.e. “*Oṃ*, Vajra[-like Treasures] that emerges from emptiness, *hoḥ!*”, denoting a formula for the emergence of the vastness of various treasures such as clothing, palaces, drinks, offerings, etc. from the storehouse of emptiness, but ultimately it is a formula that beseeches the arousal of infinite and true treasures that are indestructible as a *vajra* and surpass worldly treasures, cf. SJ: 35, no. 179, where the corresponding *mudrā* is found, alongside other attestations, the most interesting amongst which are (1) 受提心戒儀 (Jap. *ju bodaishin kaigi*, further: JBKG), i.e. T. XVIII, no. 915: 940b28, attributed to Amoghavajra; (2) the 十八契印 (Jap. *Jūhachikaiin*), lit. ‘Mudrās of the Eighteen Paths’, referring to two times nine deities for each of the two maṇḍalas, i.e. T. XVIII, no. 900: 782c10-11, i.e. composed by Kūkai’s teacher Huiguo (cf. introduction: 3 supra, cf. BKD V: 191b; and (3) Amoghavajra’s 阿闍如來念誦供養法 (Jap. *Akushu-nyorai nenju kuyō hō*), lit. ‘Worship and Recitation Ritual for Akṣobhya Buddha’, i.e. T. XIX, no. 921: 17c03-0017c03. For Akṣobhya, see n. 271 above. A further discussion of the JBKG is in chapter IV below.

[T. 2463: 7a05] [MASTER]

[Next, you must] sincerely²⁸¹ repent!²⁸²

[DISCIPLES]

Since the past without beginning, until this existence and up to this very day, I, disciple X, have been misled and obscured by ignorance!²⁸³

I have been disregarding and faulting²⁸⁴ my pure [i.e. originally enlightened] mind, and have been attached²⁸⁵ to false conceptualizations;²⁸⁶

[T. 2463: 7a10] I have given rise to various discriminations,²⁸⁷ uncountable [fundamental] defilements, such as greed, ill-will, and delusion, as well as subsidiary afflictions,²⁸⁸ such as anger, jealousy and avarice;

I have been self-proud²⁸⁹ and have slandered the [three jewels of] Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha;

I have disseized²⁹⁰ and stolen²⁹¹ all kinds of possessions;²⁹²

I have killed²⁹³ intentionally as well as inadvertently,²⁹⁴ and I have hurt²⁹⁵ sentient beings;

²⁸¹ 至心 (Jap. *shishin*), cf. BGD: 536, s.v. 至心.

²⁸² 懺悔 (Jap. *sange*), cf. NEBJ: 334b; BGD: 497, s.v. 懺悔.

²⁸³ 無明 (Jap. *mumyō*). Although translated as ‘ignorance’, it is a fundamental misconception which prohibits one to see the real nature of things, rather than a real shortage of knowledge, which is the basis of all defilements, cf. BGD: 1346, s.v. 無明.

²⁸⁴ 違失 (Jap. *ishitsu*), lit. ‘excess and shortcoming’. Hence, also denoting ‘mistake’.

²⁸⁵ 攀緣 (Jap. *han'en*), lit. ‘to clamber upon conditions (or objects)’. Refers to the arising of consciousness due to its contact with the external world. The mental function of cognizing objects; or, the cognized objects themselves. Here, the connotations of 緣 as ‘object’ and ‘condition’ tend to overlap, as the objects of one’s experience are also the conditions by which one is influenced, and through which one must operate, cf. Muller in DBJ, and BGD: 1116d, s.v. 攀緣.

²⁸⁶ 妄想, also translated as ‘delusion’, cf. n. 165 supra.

²⁸⁷ 分別 (Jap. *funbetsu*) is usually used with a negative connotation, referring to the mental action of partial and limiting rationality, which hinders the function of the originally enlightened mind, cf. Hodge in DBJ; NEBJ: 63b; BGD: 1199b, s.v. 分別.

²⁸⁸ 隨煩惱 (Jap. *zui bonnō*). For a detailed list, see: Muller in DBJ; NEBJ 340a; BGD: 812b, s.v. 隨煩惱.

²⁸⁹ 我慢 (Jap. *gaman*) is described as “pride in the belief that the aggregates are self and are possessed by self”, cf. NEBJ: 68b. While the term is later commonly understood in the negative sense of ‘pride’, or ‘conceit’, Schmithausen (1977: 149-150) understands the Skt. equivalent for 我慢, i.e. Skt. *asmi-māna* simply as a “feeling of identity of self”.

²⁹⁰ 侵奪 (Jap. *shindatsu*), cf. BGD: 778d.

²⁹¹ 盜竊 (Jap. *tosetsu*), cf. BGD: 1002b.

²⁹² 財物 (Jap. *zaimotsu*), cf. BGD: 450d.

Selfishly and uncaringly, I have been greedy;²⁹⁶

I have drunk wine and have eaten meat;

With the pungent vegetables²⁹⁷ I have polluted the temple grounds,²⁹⁸ and even damaged²⁹⁹ monastic items for daily use.³⁰⁰

My sins are uncountable and boundless, [for they include] lying,³⁰¹ flattery,³⁰² insulting³⁰³, and backbiting³⁰⁴, as well as transgressions of the rules on conduct³⁰⁵ and eating³⁰⁶, the five heinous crimes³⁰⁷ and the ten evils.³⁰⁸

Now, I confess them and repent³⁰⁹ in perfect sincerity,³¹⁰ only praying that my [T. 2463: 7a15] sins be extinguished!³¹¹

²⁹³ Okada 1976: 12 and Endō 1987: 298, as well as TKDZ: 167 have 煞 instead of 殺 in the T.-edition, but both characters denote ‘to kill’.

²⁹⁴ 誤殺 (Jap. *gosetsu*), cf. BGD: 385a.

²⁹⁵ 損害 (Jap. *songai*), cf. BGD: 893b.

²⁹⁶ 貪染 (Jap. *tonzen*), lit. ‘polluted by desires’, cf. BGD: 1025b.

²⁹⁷ 薰辛 (Jap. *kunshin*), lit. ‘perfumed and bitter’. Endō (1987: 298) interprets this as “vegetables with a strong smell like the five pungent roots”, i.e. 五辛 (Jap. *goshin*). Although there are many variant lists, they generally include leeks, scallions, garlic, onions, ginger, and chives. If eaten raw they are said to cause irritability of temper, and if eaten cooked, to act as an aphrodisiac; moreover, the breath of the eater, if reading the sūtras, will drive away the good spirits. Also called 五辛菜 (Jap. *go shinsai*), cf. DCBT: 128; BGD: 369d.

²⁹⁸ 伽藍 (Jap. *garan*) refers to Skt. *saṃgha-ārāma*, which originally designated a Buddhist monastery or convent, but later was used to refer to the whole precinct, cf. NEBJ: 70a; BGD: 161a. Also named 僧伽藍 (Jap. *sōgyaran*), cf. BGD: 874b. Endō (317, n. 14) defines it both as a monastery (寺院 Jap. *jiin*), and as a park or garden for enjoyment of monks (園林 Jap. *onrin*).

²⁹⁹ The T.-edition gives 浸 (Jap. *shin*), meaning e.g. ‘to moisten’, whereas Okada 1976: 12 and Endō 1987: 298, as well as TKDZ: 168 have 侵 (Jap. *shin*), i.e. ‘to violate’ as the first character in the compound 侵損 (Jap. *shinson*), ‘to damage’.

³⁰⁰ According to Endō (1987: 317, n. 15), 常住 (Jap. *jōjū*) is an abbreviation of 常住僧物 (Jap. *jōjū sōmotsu*), lit. ‘items for continual daily use’ being one of the four kinds of property of the Buddhist community (四種僧物 Jap. *shishu sōmotsu*), next to e.g. a monastic’s personal belongings such as clothing, medicine, etc. See: BGD: 518a. Endō (1987: 317, n. 15) also points out that the term refers both to the things monastics jointly use in a monastery, as well as to the buildings of the temple grounds itself, and even to the clothing and food they receive from laypeople.

³⁰¹ 妄言 (Jap. *mōgon*), cf. BGD: 1363b.

³⁰² 綺語 (Jap. *kigo*), cf. NEBJ: 173b; BGD: 212c.

³⁰³ 惡口 (Jap. *akuku*), cf. BGD: 22a; DCBT: 372.

³⁰⁴ 兩舌 (Jap. *ryōzetsu*), cf. BGD: 1426b.

³⁰⁵ 破戒 (Jap. *hakai*), cf. NEBJ: 97a; BGD: 1094a; DCBT: 334.

³⁰⁶ 破齋 (Jap. *hasai*), cf. BGD: 1094c.

³⁰⁷ 五逆 (Jap. *gogyaku*), i.e. killing one’s mother, father or teacher, causing blood to flow from the Buddha body, and destroying the harmony of the saṃgha, cf. DCBT: 128; BGD: 357a; Endō 317, n. 16.

³⁰⁸ 十惡 (Jap. *jūaku*) are the ten unwholesome activities carried out through the three modes of bodily action, speech, and thought: killing, stealing, debauchery, lying or deception, ornate speech or flattery, insult, treachery or slander, coveting, becoming angry, and delusion, cf. Endō 317, n. 17. See also: BGD: 65; NEBJ146a. Also called the 十惡業 (Jap. *jū aku gō*), cf. BGD: 651c.

³⁰⁹ 發露懺悔 (Jap. *hotsuro sange*), cf. BGD: 1257d.

³¹⁰ 至誠 (Jap. *jijō*), cf. BGD: 536c.

³¹¹ 消滅 (Jap. *shōmetsu*), lit. ‘to cause to cease’, cf. BGD: 716c.

[MASTER]

[Therefore, recite] the mantra for erasing [the karmic seeds of] crimes!³¹²

[DISCIPLES]

*Oṃ sarva-pāpa-sphuṭa dahana vajrāya svāhā!*³¹³

[MASTER]

Next, I should confer the precepts.³¹⁴

[FORMAL NOTICE]

Suppose you previously took full ordination,³¹⁵ you must again take the three refuges,³¹⁶ because this other [ordination of yours] is limited!³¹⁷

³¹² 滅罪 (Jap. *metsuzai*), cf. BGD: 1357c.

³¹³ 唵薩嚩波捺賀曩嚩囉野婆嚩 (Jap. *On saraba hanba taka nāba zaraya hanba*) is translated by Endō (1987: 299) as “Oṃ, I take refuge in the vajra that erases all sins. May it be realized!” However, SJ: 214, no. 1717 does not mention ‘taking refuge’. T.-edition has 日 instead of 曰. Interestingly, this formula is also attested in JBKG (T. XVIII, no. 915: 940c22), cf. text discussion in chapter IV below. For other attestations, see SJ: 214, no. 1717. Endō (1987: 317, n. 18) also points out that a similar formula, i.e. the 出罪方便真言 (Jap. *shutsuzai hōben shingon*), namely 唵薩婆播波薩怖吒娜訶曩伐折羅也莎訶 is attested in the MVS, i.e. T. XVIII no. 848: 46b3-4. This is called “the mantra of the expedient means for expiating sins” and is translated by Giebel (2005: 236-237) as “Oṃ, for you who like a *vajra*, burst asunder and burn all sins, *svāhā!*”

³¹⁴ 授戒 (Jap. *jukkai*) is the instruction of the precepts, which for the receiver generally is termed 受戒 (Jap. *jukai*), lit. ‘receiving the precepts’. See: NEBJ: 150; BGD: 637b; DCBT: 251, sv. 受戒; and BGD: 641a, s.v. 授戒.

³¹⁵ 具戒 (Jap. *gukai*) is synonymous to 具足戒 (Jap. *gusoku kai*), i.e. the full set of precept for full-fledged monastics, cf. BGD: 276b, s.v. 具足戒. See also chapter II, s.v. introduction of the *vinaya* supra and more information about Kūkai’s ideas on the precepts in chapter IV below.

³¹⁶ 三歸 (Jap. *sanki*). According to Endō (1987: 299) this denotes the ‘[taking] the three refuges’ in the three treasures (三寶, Jap. *sanbō*), namely, Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha. Here, however, the three treasures (Skt. *triratna*) are (1) the *trikāya* of the Tathāgata, (2) the *vaipulya-mahāyāna-dharma*, and (3) the *avaivartika-saṃgha*. For *trikāya*, see n. 153 above. The *vaipulya-mahāyāna-dharma* (方廣大乘法藏, Jap. *hōkō daijō hōzō*), lit. is the Storehouse of the Doctrine of the Universal Realm of the Great Vehicle, cf. BGD, p. 1224, s.v. 方廣 and ibid.: 922, s.v. 大乘. Soothill defines 法藏 as “the absolute, unitary storehouse of the universe, the primal source of all things”, cf. DCBT, p. 272, s.v. 法藏. Also Nakamura gives such a description, BGD: 1234, s.v. 法藏. In general, this appellation is a reference to the canonical texts of Mahāyāna: “Les *mahāyānasūtra* sont appelés *vaipulyasūtra* quand ils ont pris une grande étendue par suite d’amplification des données traditionnelles, amplification de style et d’affabulation”, cf. Renou 2001: 366. In esoteric Buddhism, this term alludes especially to the MVS and the STTS (For more on these fundamental texts, see: chapter IV below). The third treasure, i.e. the community of *avaivartikas*, refers to the *avaivartika-bodhisattva-saṃgha* (不退菩薩僧, Jap. *futai no bosatsu sō*), consisting of “never receding bodhisattvas, who aim at perfect enlightenment”, cf. DCBT: 109, s.v. 不退; BGD: 1169, s.v. *futai no bosatsu*. Interestingly, these three refuges are attested only in seven texts of the entire T.-canon, but occur merely in three texts other than the one under consideration in the same phrasing, namely: (1) T. XVIII, no. 894: 941b8-13 of the 蘇悉地羯羅供養法 (Jap. *Soshicchikara kuyō hō*), a *pūjavidhi* ritual text attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha (善無畏, Jap. Zenmui 637-735) based on the *Susiddhi-tantra* (蘇悉地羯羅經, Jap. *Soshicchikara kyō*, i.e. T. XVIII, no. 893), cf. BKD VII: 14c; (2) in JBKG (T. XVIII, no. 915: 717c24-a01); and

It is not necessary to demarcate a location [for the ordination],³¹⁸ for [the ritual space] equals the dharma realm. Do not request to transfer your attendance to someone else, because you will have no other occasion!³¹⁹

[DISCIPLES]

[T. 2463: 7a20] I, disciple X, eternally³²⁰ take refuge in all Buddhas [who partake in] the unsurpassed three bodies [of Mahāvairocana].³²¹

I take refuge in the treasury of the universal mahāyāna dharma.³²²

I take refuge in the community of all non-retrogressing bodhisattvas.³²³

(3) in the MSZ, i.e. T. XVIII, no. 917: 943a06-10. These latter texts are further discussed in chapter IV below. On Śubhākarasīṃha, see Pinte K. 2011a.

³¹⁷ 有限 (Jap. *ugen*) means “finite”, but both Okada (1976: 12) reads “limited” (Jap. *kagiri aru* 限りある), which Endō (1987: 299) interprets as “*kigen ga aru* 期限がある”, i.e. ‘limited in time’; ‘set for a due time’, implying that it expires. Here, however, 有限 could perhaps be better understood as ‘limited’, in the sense that even though one is already ordained, the full precepts for monastic ordination are excelled by precepts that are now to be conferred.

³¹⁸ 結界 (Jap. *kekkaï*) refers to Skt. *sīmābandha*, i.e. the demarcation of ritual space, cf. NEBJ: 169b; BGD: 317c. The translator has already encountered other cases, however, e.g. T. XVIII, no. 917: 942, n. 14, where the editors of the T.-edition have confused 界 (Jap. *kai*), with 戒 (Jap. *kai*). 結戒, by contrast, designates the systematization of the rules of moral conduct, to receive and observe the precepts, or to be bound by the precepts, cf. BGD, p. 317c. As Endō’s translation (1987: 299) suggests, however, this does not seem to be the case here. Snodgrass (1988 vol. 1: 60) adds that 結界 denotes the rituals for defining the boundaries of the maṇḍala and expelling “demonic influences that might hinder the performance of the ritual or harm the ritualist.” See *ibid.* for more information, and for an example of a *mudrā* and formulas used such a ritual.

³¹⁹ The at first glance strange sentence 不欲説欲無異處故 is left out by Okada (1976: 12). Endō (1987: 299) gives the following *bungo* reading: “*yoku ni arazu shite yoku o toku, idokoro naki ga yue ni* 欲にあらずして欲を説く、異処なきが故に”, and interprets this as *yokubō o toite mo towareru koto ga nai, subete shinri no sekai ni hoka-naranai kara* 欲望を説いても執われることがない、すべて真理の世界に他ならないから”, tentatively meaning something as “Even if I preach about desires, you will not be obsessed, because they are all none other than the realm of truth.” However, 不欲 (Jap. *fuyoku*) simply means ‘do not desire’ or ‘wish to’; and according to BGD: 831c, 説欲 (Jap. *setsuyoku*) is the same as 欲法 (Jap. *yokuhō*), i.e. the basic sexual attraction between male and female, but in *vinaya* texts, the term usually refers to ‘desire for the dharma’. In other words, “when various kinds of precepts-related gatherings are run, it is clearly decided who will attend at a given location. However, when one monk cannot attend due to a conflict, but wants to attend, this is called ‘desire’ (欲, Jap. *yoku*). When this wish to attend is transferred to another monk, it is called ‘offering the desire’ (與欲, Jap. *yo yoku*). When this transfer is accepted by another monk, it is called ‘accepting the desire’ (受欲, Jap. *ju yoku*). When this process is explained at the assembly, it is called the ‘explanation of the desire’ (説欲, Jap. *setsu yoku*),” cf. BGD:1398d, s.v. 欲法. The clause 無異處故 means lit. ‘it is because it is not a different location’, i.e. the location is the same as the dharma realm, but 處 (Jap. *sho*) also denotes ‘a situation’, cf. BGD: 687c. Hence the translation ‘because there will be no other occasion’.

³²⁰ 盡未來際 (Jap. *jin mirai sai*), lit. ‘to the end of all time’, cf. BGD: 799a.

³²¹ 無上三身諸佛 is read as Jap. *mujo sanjin no shobutsu*, cf. Endō 1987: 299.

³²² Cf. n. 317 above.

³²³ *Ibid.*

[MASTER]

Disciple X, you³²⁴ have [thus] taken refuge in the Buddha!

You have taken refuge in the Dharma!

You have taken refuge in the Saṃgha!³²⁵

In harmony with³²⁶ all bodhisattvas, you³²⁷ have now aroused the intent [to attain awakening].

This is eternal, permanent, and there is no turning back!³²⁸

[DISCIPLES]

[T. 2463: 7a25] Oh, may the Honourable One[s]³²⁹ acknowledge³³⁰ that I am a bodhisattva!

(Repeat this three times).³³¹

[MASTER]

Proclaim the mantra of the three refuges!

[DISCIPLES]

*Oṃ, bhūḥ kham!*³³²

³²⁴ The text reads 弟子某甲等, which usually is a first person self-address, but it is logical that the master addresses his disciples.

³²⁵ Endō (1987: 299-300) explains ‘Buddha’ as “the embodiment of the truth”, ‘Dharma’ as “the teachings of the truth”, and ‘Saṃgha’ as “the ideal community”.

³²⁶ 和合 (Jap. *wagō*) means ‘unified’, i.e. the combination of various elements in the formation of a single entity, cf. BGD: 1466a; NEBJ: 328a. Endō (1987: 300) compares this with the mixing of milk and water.

³²⁷ In contrast to Endō’s reading (1987: 300) as “I have....” (cf. Jap. *warera wa* 我々は...), again, it is more likely that the disciple is addressed. See also n. 325 above.

³²⁸ 無退轉 (Jap. *mu taiten*), cf. 不退 (Jap. *futai*) in n. 317 supra.

³²⁹ 尊 (Jap. *son*). In this case in all likelihood referring to Mahāvairocana, but it might also be the divinites to be evoked, or even the master, being ‘a venerable’ who has completed practice, cf. BGD: 892a.

³³⁰ 證知 (Jap. *shōchi*) also means ‘to prove’, ‘to witness’, cf. BGD: 737.

³³¹ It can also be that the above passage has to be repeated three times either by both the master and the disciple(s), or by both parties separately, cf. n. 325 and 328 above.

³³² 三歸眞言 (Jap. *sanki shingon*): 唵僕欠 (Jap. *On botsu ken*), which according to Endō (1987: 300 and 317, n. 19) means “Oṃ, earth and sky!”, but he gives no further explanation. Hatta (SJ: 96, no. 640), by contrast, explains Skt. *bhūḥ* as 大地 (Jap. *daiji*), which next to ‘the whole earth’ may also refer to the ‘great *bhūmi*’, i.e. the level of the bodhisattvas who are in *darśana-mārga* (見道 Jap. *kendō*) or above, cf. BGD: 322d, s.v. 見道. Hatta further equals *kham* to ‘void’ 虛空 (Jap. *kokū*), and states that this formula is contemplating the pure *maṇḍa* (道場 Jap. *dōjō*) in one’s own mind, and means “May my mind ground (心地 Jap. *shinji*) be like the void!” For 道場, see n. 262 above. 心地, on the other hand, can be interpreted according to Soothill as ‘mental stage’, in the sense of “the mental base from which all emerges”, DCBT: 150; and also BGD: 766, s.v. 心地. It may be interesting to note that in India, gods, kings and also Buddhas took earth and sky as witnesses for their oaths. Also this formula appears in JBKG (T. XVIII, no. 915: 941a3), although with 步 as the character for *bhūḥ*,

From this day forward, I, disciple X, arouse the intent to attain awakening!

I vow to destroy all evil!

I vow to cultivate the unsurpassed dharma gate!

I vow to liberate all sentient beings!

I vow to pursue the excellent fruition of all tathāgatas!

[T. 2463: 7b01] Until I reside in *bodhimaṇḍa*,³³³ I will never fall back!

Now, in harmony with all bodhisattvas, I arouse the intent to attain awakening!

Oh, may the honourable one be my witness!

(Proclaim this three times)

[MASTER]

Recite the mantra of arousing the intent to attain awakening!³³⁴

[DISCIPLES]

Oṃ bodhicittam utpādayāmi!

but denoting the same, cf. list in SJ: 68 (from right), no. 640. For a discussion of the relation of the HSBK with the JBKG, see chapter IV below.

³³³ 菩提道場 Jap. *bodai dōjō*, Skt. *bodhimaṇḍala*, cf. BGD: 1223, s.v. *bodai dōjō*. It is the place where a *bodhisattva*, in following Śākyamuni's example, attains supreme awakening, cf. DCBT: 389, s.v. 菩提道場. Macdonell describes it as "the seat of wisdom, which is said to have risen from the earth in the shadow of the tree under which Buddha obtained complete enlightenment", cf. PSD: 198. Also Monier-Williams confirms this, cf. SED: 734. For 道場 (Jap. *dōjō*), cf. n. 262 supra. The term 菩提道場 refers to the *vajradhātu*- and *garbhadhātumaṇḍala*, that are based on the MVS and STTS respectively. In the present Japanese version, the *vajradhātumaṇḍala* consists of nine spaces where 1461 reside, and the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala* comprises thirteen areas for 405 deities, see e.g. Chou 1945: 312. For an encompassing study, see: Snodgrass 1988. On the aforementioned texts, see: chapter IV infra.

³³⁴ 發菩提心真言 (Jap. *hotsu bodaishin shingon*): 唵 胃 地 嚩 多 母 怛 波 那 野 彌 (Jap. *On bōzishitta bodahadayami*), meaning "Oṃ, I arouse the mind of pursuing enlightenment!", cf. Endō 317, n. 20. This formula is also attested in the STTS (cf. Abe 1999: 143) as well as in the MVS (T. XVIII, no. 848: 46b21-22), where it is called: 發菩提心方便真言 (Jap. *hotsu bodaishin hōben shingon*), lit. 'mantra of the expedient means for generating the bodhi mind', and translated as "Oṃ, I generate the mind of awakening", cf. Giebel 2005: 237. However, it occurs also in many other texts, including both JBKG (T. XVIII, no. 915: 941a18), and in MSZ (T. XVIII, no. 917: 944b4-7), which are discussed in chapter IV below. Hatta (SJ: 93, no. 622), on the other hand, translates it as "Oṃ, I intend to arouse the Bodhi mind". This *dhāraṇī*—as it is termed in the MSZ (T. XVIII, no. 917: 944b3)—is used in various rituals, and is variously called the 'formula for receiving the precept regarding the mind of enlightenment' (發菩提心戒真言 Jap. *hotsu bodaishin kai [no] shingon*), which is e.g. the case in the JBKG (T. XVIII, no. 915: 941a17). The Skt. *utpādayāmi* is a causative praesens in the first person singular, implying that the formula can be translated more literally as "I cause the mind of enlightenment to be born", and thus as "I manifest the mind of enlightenment".

[MASTER]

[T. 2463: 7b05] The *Nirvāṇasūtra*³³⁵ says:

The initial determination to seek awakening,³³⁶ [marks you as a Buddha, who is] the master of humans and deities,³³⁷ and excels [both] *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*.

Arousing the intent to attain awakening goes beyond the three realms.³³⁸

Therefore it can be called ‘unsurpassed’.³³⁹

³³⁵ 涅槃經 (Jap. *Nehangyō*), Skt. *Nirvāṇasūtra*. According to Radich, this is “a generic name for a group of *sūtras* entitled *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, depicting events at the end of Buddha's life”. These *sūtras* can be divided into two main groups: Nikāya/Āgama texts, and the Mahāyāna version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, which “while bearing some discernible relations to the Nikāya/Āgama version and containing some similar material, is vastly expanded, and also devotes the bulk of its vast scope to the exposition of a large number of radical new doctrines. Three Chinese versions [...] have come down to us, i.e. two translations and a revision: (1) The *Dabannihuan jing* 大般泥洹經 [Jap. *Daihatsunaiongyō*], 6 fasc.; translated in 416–418 [...] by Buddhahadra and Faxian, T. XII, no. 376. This translation was based upon a manuscript obtained by Faxian in Pāṭaliputra, reportedly from the house of a lay family; (2) The *Dabanniepan jing* 大般涅槃經 [Jap. *Daihatsunehangyō*], T. XII, no. 374, 40 fasc. translated in Guzang under the Northern Liang by Dharmakṣema. [...] This translation was begun [in...] 421. This version was translated from a second Indian manuscript, obtained [...] from a descendant of the same layperson who was the source of Faxian's text. [...] Various dates are given by various scholars for the translation of this text, ranging from about 414 to 423 [...] This is also called the “Northern Edition”; (3) *Dabanniepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (same title as above), 36 fasc.; produced under the Liu Song by Huiyan, Huiguan, Xie Lingyun et al., i.e. T. XII, no. 375. This ‘translation’ was actually a revision, based upon the Dharmakṣema version. It is known as the ‘Southern’ version of the text. [...] Dharmakṣema's version of the text (T. XII, no. 374) is ostensibly the basis of the only complete English translation to date, by Yamamoto [i.e. Yamamoto K. 1974]. However, [...] Yamamoto's translation is in fact a translation from Shimaji's *Kokuyaku issai kyō* 國譯一切經 classical Japanese translation of the text, rather than a direct translation from the Chinese. [...] Shimaji translated the Southern version, i.e. the ‘revision of Dharmakṣema’ by Huiyan/Jñānabhadra et al. (T. XII, no. 375). Thus, Yamamoto's claim that he translates the Chinese of Dharmakṣema is doubly a misnomer. Readers should also be warned that Yamamoto's translation is very often inaccurate.”, cf. Radich in DBJ, s.v. 涅槃經, with altered T.-references. This inaccuracy may also be evident from the quote below, cf. n. 340 infra.

³³⁶ 初發心 (Jap. *sho hosshin*), cf. BGD: 680b.

³³⁷ 天師 (Jap. *tenshi*), is an epithet of a Buddha, cf. BGD: 981b; DCBT: 145. Okada (1976: 13), however, takes 人天師 (Jap. *ninden shi*) as one phrase, meaning ‘teacher of humans and gods’. See also BGD: 1070c, s.v. 人天. Also Endō (1987: 301) has a similar reading, namely: “the teacher of the human world and the realm of heaven”.

³³⁸ 三界 (Jap. *sangai*) generally refers to the three realms of *saṃsāra*, i.e. the desire realm (欲界 Jap. *yokukai*, Skt. *kāmadhātu*), form realm (色界 Jap. *shikikai*, Skt. *rūpadhātu*), and the formless realm (無色界 Jap. *mushikikai*, Skt. *ārūpya-dhātu*), cf. DCBT: 70; NEBJ: 252a; BGD: 456d, s.v. 三界. However, in the esoteric sense, the term may also denote lotus, Buddha, and *vajra*, cf. MD: 777, s.v. 三界.

³³⁹ This quote matches with T. XII, no. 375: 838a4–7, which Yamamoto (1974, vol. III: 942) translates as “[The mind that first aspires to and the end attained are not separate. Such minds are hard to say which comes first. The end not yet attained, one saves others first. That is why I pay homage to the first aspiration.] From the first is he the teacher of man and heaven and is he far above *śrāmanas* (sic.) and *pratyekabuddhas*. Such an aspiration goes above the three realms. That is why he is the most superior.”

The *Avataṃsakasūtra*³⁴⁰ says:

Practioner,³⁴¹ when you first arouse this wonderful jewelled intent [to attain awakening], you surpass the stage of commoners,³⁴² and enter the realm where the Buddhas practice.³⁴³

Next,³⁴⁴ I ask: Kind sirs,³⁴⁵ are you, or are you not, able to uphold the great, [T. 2463: 7b10] supreme and unsurpassed precepts³⁴⁶ of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas?

[DISCIPLES]

[Yes], I am able [to do so].³⁴⁷

³⁴⁰ 華嚴經 (Jap. *Kegongyō*, Chin. *Huayan jing*) is Skt. *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, or *Flower Adornment Sutra*, one of the most influential sūtras in East Asian Buddhism, of which three Chinese translations exist, all with the full title 大方廣佛華嚴經 (Jap. *Daihōkōbutsu kegonkyō*, Chin. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing*). This text “describes a cosmos of infinite realms upon realms which mutually contain each other. The vision expressed in this work was the foundation for the creation of Huayan (華嚴) Buddhism, which was characterized by a philosophy of interpenetration (圓融 Jap. *en'yū*). The sūtra is well known for its detailed description of the course of the bodhisattva's practice through fifty-two stages. Fragmentary translation of this text probably began in the second century, and the famous 'Ten Stages' book (十地經 Jap. *Jūji kyō*, Skt. *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*), often treated as an individual scripture, was first translated in the third century. Much of the content of the *Huayan jing*, including such portions as its *Book of the Ten Stages*, has roots in Yogācāra discourse, but the text's basic stance advocating innate enlightenment leads to a greater affinity with East Asian *tathāgatagarbha* and buddha-nature-oriented works such as the *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*, *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, *Lotus Sūtra*, etc. Thus the *Huayan jing* comes to be valued in Tiantai's doctrinal system,” cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 華嚴經. There are three major full-length translations of the sūtra: (1) Buddhahadra's translation, completed around 420 (*Avataṃsaka-sūtra*; 60 fasc.; T. IX, no. 278); (2) Śikṣānanda's translation (80 fascicles *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*; T. X, no. 279) completed around 699; and (3) the translation of Prajña dated around 798 (40 fasc.; *Gaṇḍavyūha*; T. X, no. 293). For more information, see: BKD III: 10d-11b, s.v. 華嚴經.

³⁴¹ 佛子 (Jap. *bussshi*), lit. ‘son of Buddha’ refers to a bodhisattva, or even to any practioner, for according to esoteric discourse, all possess the same Buddha-nature, cf. NEBJ: 23b; BGD: 1192.

³⁴² 凡夫位 (Jap. *bonbu i*) is the level of unenlightened beings. Syn. 異生位 (Jap. *ishō i*), cf. BGD: 36d, s.v. 異生位. See also 凡夫 in n.185 above.

³⁴³ 佛行處 (Jap. *butsugyō sho*), Skt. *buddha-gocara*, see: BKBD: 116. Skt. *gocara*, or 行處 (Jap. *gyōsho*), however, can also designate “the area within which exchange or intercourse is conducted”, cf. BGD: 243d-244a, s.v. 行處. This quotation is identical to T. X, no. 279: 184a8-9, cf. supra n. 341.

³⁴⁴ As indicated by Kōda (1993: 381-382), this point marks a shift in the contents of the HSBK. Up to this point, text is remarkably close to the JHBK, and now shifts to the KSK. For more information, see the discussion on the HSBK's authenticity in chapter IV infra.

³⁴⁵ 仁者 (Jap. *jinja*), cf. BGD: 792c.

³⁴⁶ 律儀戒 (Jap. *ritsugi kai*), Skt. *saṃvara-śīla* refers to the *pratimokṣa* of the seven groups, i.e. *bhikṣus*, *bhikṣuṇīs*, *śikṣamāṇas*, *śrāmaṇeras*, *śrāmaṇerikās*, *upāsakas*, and *upāsikās*, who each receive the precepts according to their position, cf. BGD: 1419, s.v. *ritsugi kai*. Soothill interprets 律儀 (Jap. *ritsugi*) as “rules and ceremonies”, cf. DCBT: 301, s.v. 律.

³⁴⁷ The Chinese text reads “[You should] answer” in smaller font, but for readability's sake this has been left out.

[MASTER]

Next, [you should] summon³⁴⁸ the worthies and sages!³⁴⁹

(Summon them three times)³⁵⁰

[DISCIPLES]

I, disciple X, summon all Buddhas of the ten directions to be my great reverend witnesses.³⁵¹ Most Virtuous Ones,³⁵² please³⁵³ be my clear witnesses!³⁵⁴

I, disciple X, invoke³⁵⁵ Akṣobhya,³⁵⁶ Ratnaketu,³⁵⁷ Amitāyus³⁵⁸ and Divyadundubhi-mega-nirghoṣa³⁵⁹ to be my preceptors.³⁶⁰

³⁴⁸ 請 (Jap. *shō*), lit. ‘to request’ or ‘invite’, can also be translated as ‘to summon’, cf. 招請 (Jap. *shōsei*) in Endō 1987: 301. Also see: DCBT: 443, s.v. 請.

³⁴⁹ Cf. 賢聖 in n. 277 above.

³⁵⁰ 三請 (Jap. *san shō*), cf. BGD: 475d. See also “*san tabi* 三たび” in Endō 1987: 301.

³⁵¹ 尊證 (Jap. *sonshō*) generally refers to the seven witnessing *ācāryas* or members of the clergy who are present at an ordination ceremony, and are also called 七證師 (Jap. *shichi shōshi*), or 七證 (Jap. *shichi shō*). See 三師七證 (Jap. *san shi shichi shō*) in BGD: 585a, denoting the ‘three masters’ (三師), or superior monks, and a minimum of seven witnesses (七證) required for an ordination ceremony to be valid. Also see n. 60 supra. The ‘three masters’ (Skt. *ācārya*) are: (1) the ‘preceptor’ (戒和尚 Jap. *kai ōshō*), i.e. a teacher who is responsible for instructing the postulant and granting the precepts (Skt. *upādhyācārya*, cf. BGD: 166, s.v. *kai ōshō*.); (2) the ‘professor’, or ‘master [in charge] of the act [of professing the precepts]’ (羯摩師, Jap. *kammashi*, Skt. *karmācārya*), who recites the announcement and the text of the precepts (cf. BGD: 182, s.v. *kamma ajari*); (3) and the ‘instructor’ (教授師 Jap. *kyōjushi*), who functions as judge of qualifications (Skt. *anuśāsanācārya*), but is also called ‘master of liturgy’ because he teaches ritual to the receiver of the precepts (cf. BGD: 231c, s.v. 教授師). See also NEBJ: 259a; BGD: 465a, s.v. 三師七證. In Mahāyana texts and in tantric ritual manuals however, these masters are usually (1) Śākyamuni; (2) Mañjuśrī; and (3) all *bodhisattva-mahāsattvas*, whom are invited to be the disciple’s respective *upādhyāya*, *karmācārya*, and fellow postulants (同學 Jap. *dōgaku hōryo*, cf. e.g. DCBT: 204, s.v. 同). According to Abe (1999: 50 and 465, n. 122) this originated in the *Samantabhadra-sūtra*, translated by Dharmamitra (356-442) als 觀普賢菩薩行法經 (Jap. *Kanfugenbosatsugyōbōkyō*), i.e. T. vol. IX, no. 277. On Dharmamitra, see: MD: 1692, s.v. 曇無蜜多 (Jap. Danmamitta).

³⁵² 大德 (Jap. *daitoku*), cf. NEBJ: 43a; BGD: 925c.

³⁵³ Based on “*dō ka* どうか” in Endō 1987: 301.

³⁵⁴ 證明 (Jap. *shōmyō*) is translated as ‘to have the clear witness within’, or ‘to prove clearly’, cf. DCBT: 473, s.v. 證; BGD: 738a, s.v. *shōmyō*.

³⁵⁵ 奉請 (Jap. *bujō*, var. *bushō*), cf. BGD: 1183c.

³⁵⁶ According to Shingon doctrine, of the six elements (i.e. earth, water, fire, wind or air, ether or space, and consciousness), the first five form the phenomenal world or the *garbhadhātu* (胎藏界 Jap. *taizōkai*), which is the ‘womb’ of all things, while the sixth element forms the realms of wisdom or consciousness, i.e. the *vajradhātu* (金剛界 Jap. *kongōkai*) or the Diamond Realm. The sixth element, Skt. *viññāna*, is further divided in the so-called *pañca-jñānāni* (五智 Jap. *gochi*), or the five wisdoms: (1) *dharmadhātu-svabhāva-jñāna* (法界體性智 Jap. *hokkai taishō-chi*) or the wisdom lying in the nature of the *dharmadhātu* itself (also translated as ‘Dharma World Knowledge’, and called the ‘Fundamental Knowledge’, 根本智 Jap. *konpon-chi*) which is associated with Mahāvairocana’s *samādhi* and the element of ether; (2) *adarśana-jñāna* (大圓鏡智 Jap. *daienkyō-chi*) or the wisdom of the ‘great round mirror’ that reflects all (also called ‘Diamond Knowledge’, 金剛智 Jap. *kongō-chi*), and is associated with the element of water, the east, and thus also Buddha Akṣobhya; (3) *śamatā-jñāna* (平等性智 Jap. *byōdōshōchi*) is the wisdom of equality and universality of all things, (also translated as ‘knowledge of

identity', and called Initiation Knowledge, 灌頂智 Jap. *kanjō-chi*), corresponding to the element of fire and Buddha Ratnasambhava of the south; (4) *pratyavekṣaṇā-jñāna* (妙觀察智 Jap. *myōkan-zatchi*), the wisdom of the correct and profound insight (also translated as 'Knowledge of Wondrous Perception', and called 'Lotus Knowledge', 蓮華智 Jap. *renge-chi*), associated with water and Amitābha of the west; and (5) *kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna* (成所作智 Jap. *jōshosa-chi*) or the wisdom denoting the perfection of the beneficial acts (also translated as 'Knowledge of the Perfection of Action'), and is associated with air and Amoghasiddhi of the north. These five Buddhas are also called the five *dhyāni* Buddhas. The five wisdoms are the latter four kinds that are attributed to each Buddha, to which esotericism adds a first universal and encompassing one. See: DCBT: 119-120; BGD: 372; MD: 620; MJ: 220, s.v. *gochi*; Hakeda 1972: 83-84; and Yamasaki 1988: 61-63; and MD: 633, s.v. *go butsu*. These five knowledges are discussed in Amoghavajra's translation of the *Bodhicittaśāstra*, quoted in BD: 1246, s.v. *gochi*. For an English translation of this text, cf. White 2005. See Snodgrass 1988, vol. 2: 590, and *ibid.* 589-592 for a the iconographic representation of these Buddhas in the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*. This being said, 無動 (Jap. *Mudō*), cf. BGD: 1342a; Syn. 不動 (Jap. *Fudō*), can be an abbreviation for 不動明王 (Jap. *Fudō-myōō*), i.e. Acala, the messenger of the Buddhas; and the chief of the five luminous kings (五明王 Jap. *go myōō*). See e.g. NEBJ 59b; BGD: 1170d, s.v. 不動明王. However, 不動 may also denote 不動佛 (Jap. *Fudō-butsu*), an appellation for Akṣobhya, one of the aforementioned five *dhyāni* Buddhas 五智如來 (Jap. *go chi nyorai*) depicted in the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*. Endō (1987: 302), however, states that the Buddhas evoked here are those from the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala*, but in the present iconography Akṣobhya is not part of the central lotus of this diagram. He is portrayed in the north of the so-called 'old iconography of the *garbha-maṇḍala*', cf. Yamamoto 1980: fig. 4, no. 4. Another possibility is that it may be Acala depicted in an older edition of the concerning diagram, but this maṇḍala has not been identified yet. Or, maybe, Endō is mistaking, and not the *garbhadhātu*, but the *vajradhātu* Buddhas are invoked, in which case Akṣobhya perfectly fits the picture as Buddha of the east. For the relation between Acala and Akṣobhya, also see Snodgrass 1988: 236. At this point the reader is referred to a basic sketch of the divinities' place in the maṇḍalas, i.e. appendix B *infra*.

³⁵⁷ 寶生 (Jap. *Hōshō*), syn. 寶生佛 (Jap. *Hōshō-butsu*), lit. the 'Jewel-born Buddha', is Ratnasambhava, the central figure of the south in the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, cf. BGD: 1245b; and for more details, see: MD: 2017-2018, s.v. *Hōshō butsu*. If Endō's statement (1987: 302) is correct, and the Buddhas invoked here are part of the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala*, then it is highly unlikely that Ratnasambhava is intended here. It could be that he refers to Ratnaketu, for 寶生佛 is an attested other name for Ratnaketu, who is usually called 寶幢佛 (Jap. *Hōtō-butsu*), 寶勝 (Jap. *Hōshō*), or 寶星佛 (Jap. *Hōshō-butsu*), and is the Buddha of the east in the *garbhadhātu*, while its Buddha of the south is Saṃkusumitarāja (開敷華王, Jap. *Kaifukeō*), cf. MD: 209a, s.v. *Kaifukeō-butsu*. Again, in case Endō is mistaking, it would be only logical that the text, parallel to the aforementioned Akṣobhya (cf. n. 357 above), intends to invoke Ratnasambhava of the south in the *vajradhātu*.

³⁵⁸ 阿彌陀 (Jap. *Amida*) usually denotes Amitābha, cf. NEBJ: 7a; BGD: 9c; MD: 37-39, s.v. *Amida-butsu*. However, he is normally called Amitāyus in the *garbhamāṇḍala*, and Amitābha in the *vajramāṇḍala*, cf. Snodgrass 1988: 232 and 611 respectively. When –as Endō suggests (cf. n. 357-358 *supra*)– indeed the *garbhadhātu* is intended, then 阿彌陀 would have to be a transliteration for Amitāyus (無量壽 Jap. *Muryōju*), see: MD: 2148b, s.v. *Muryōju-butsu*. Amitāyus also appears as Buddha of the west in the "Old iconography" of the *garbhadhātu*, cf. Yamamoto 1980: fig. 4, no. 5.

³⁵⁹ 天鼓雷音[佛] (Jap. *Tenkoraion[-butsu]*) translates Skt. Divyadundubhi-mega-nirghoṣa, one of the Buddhas depicted in the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala*, residing in the region to the north of the eight-petaled dais. As he energizes the people in the world to awaken to the wisdom of *nirvāṇa*, his name is 'Thunderous Sound of the Heavenly Drum', cf. BGD: 980a, DCBT: 148. For more information, see Snodgrass 1988: 236. He accords to Amoghasiddhi in the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, cf. MD: 1905, s.v. 不空成就仏 (Jap. *Fukū jōju butsu*). In contrast to Endō (1987: 302), who clearly adds that these four Buddhas are the four *tathāgatas* of the *garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*, the other Buddhas quoted here are definitely also names of Buddhas residing in the *vajradhātumaṇḍala* (cf. *supra* n. 357-359). Their respective correspondances are (listed in the order *garbhadhātu/vajradhātu*): Ratnaketu/Akṣobhya (east), Saṃkusumita-rāja/Ratnasambhava (south), Amitāyus/Amitābha (west), and Divyadundubhi-mega-nirghoṣa/Amoghasiddhi (north). In the *garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* these Buddhas embody the so-called 'five conversions,' but because these realms are non-dual, they also represent the five knowledges that are embodied in the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, cf. Snodgrass 1988, vol. 2: 590 vs. *ibid.* vol. 1: 220. On the five knowledges, see n. 257 *supra*. On the five conversions, see: Snodgrass 1988, vol. 1: 215ff. Divyadundubhi-mega-nirghoṣa is the only Buddha of the four who is addressed with a specific name that clearly indicates the realm of his manifestation. Its reason remains an object for further investigation, but it might, perhaps, be that names from the other diagram are deliberately used in order to stress the maṇḍalas' interrelation and non-duality. However, given that in the subsequent passage, the Buddhas are clearly listed in the order east, south, west, and north, and there bear names that are typical to the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, the text is probably corrupt here, or the

[T. 2463: 7b15] I am depending on you, preceptors [of the *garbhādhātumaṇḍala*] to receive the full precepts being the symbol of Bodhisattva purity.³⁶¹

Oh, please be my preceptors! Oh, may you be compassionate³⁶² towards me!

I sincerely invite Akṣobhya³⁶³ the Mighty,³⁶⁴ Ratnasambhava the Supreme Venerable,³⁶⁵ Amitābha³⁶⁶ the Great Compassionate, and Amoghasiddhi the Active One!³⁶⁷

By sincerely prostrating before them, I summon these unsurpassed Venerables [who are residing the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*]!

author/compiler confused the names of the first two Buddhas. Then, in accordance to the order in the next passage, Akṣobhya should be Ratnaketu, while Ratnaketu should be replaced with the Saṃkusumita-rāja. On these latter two Buddhas, see Snodgrass 1988: 227 and 230ff.

³⁶⁰ 和尚 (Jap. *ōshō*), Skt. *upadhyāya*, see n. 352 above.

³⁶¹ 具足菩薩清淨三昧耶戒 (Jap. *gusoku bosatsu shōjō sammaya kai*). Endō (1987: 302) translates 具足 as ‘flawless’, ‘absolute perfection’ (cf. 完全無欠 Jap. *kanzen muketsu*), an interpretation which is also found in BGD: 276a, s.v. 具足, and adds that the whole phrase denotes “the precepts on pure equality” (Jap. *kiyoraka na byōdō no kai* 清らかな平等の戒) that are expounded in the Shingon school. However, as explained under the ‘Title’ section (cf. p. 25 above), *samaya* may also be translated as ‘symbol’. For a further discussion, and for Skt. *samaya* denoting e.g. ‘equality’, see chapter IV below. On 具足 also see chapter II: 17 and 20, n. 102; p. 45, n. 316 supra.

³⁶² 慈愍 (Jap. *jimin*), NEBJ: 136a; BGD: 574a.

³⁶³ 阿閼鞞 (Jap. Ashukubi), here, in contrast to the previous passage (cf. n. 357 above), clearly indicates Akṣobhya, who resides in the east of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, cf. MD: 24b, s.v. Ashuku-butsu; Snodgrass 1988: 604ff.

³⁶⁴ 雄猛 (Jap. *yūmyō*), BGD: 1386c.

³⁶⁵ Here called 宝生尊 (Jap. Hōshō-son), residing in the south of the *vajradhātu*, cf. Snodgrass 1988: 607ff. Also see n. 358 above.

³⁶⁶ Resides in the west of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, cf. Snodgrass 1988: 611ff. For the discrepancy with Amitābha, cf. note 359 supra.

³⁶⁷ 成就不空業 (Jap. *jōjū fukū gō*), a lit. transliteration of Skt. *siddhi amogha karman*. For 成就 denoting *siddhi*, cf. MD: 1157c, s.v. *jōjū*; for 不空 being *amogha*, see: BKBD: 46, s.v. 不空; and for 業 as *karma(n)*, ibid.: 660. On the meanings of 業, see Muller in DBJ, s.v. 業. For obscure reasons the parts of the name seem to be inversed, because this Buddha is generally referred to as 不空成就仏 (Jap. Fukūjōjū-butsu), cf. MD 1905c, and also n. 360 supra. As already indicated, Endō (1987: 302) suggests that in the former passage the Buddhas of the *garbhadhātu* were invoked, while now their counterparts in the *vajradhātumaṇḍala* are intended. From a ritual point of view, this is indeed a theoretical possibility, that is further sustained by textual evidence: 業 also denotes ‘action’, which reminds of the aforementioned ‘Knowledge of the Perfection of Action’, cf. 成所作智 in n. 357 above, a designation used for Amoghasiddhi, who resides in the north of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, whilst his counterpart in the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala* is precisely called Divyadundubhi-mega-nirghoṣa, see n. 360 supra. On Amoghasiddhi, also see Snodgrass 1988: 614ff.

Reaching out to Vajrasattva³⁶⁸ Bodhisattva,³⁶⁹ who vanquishes³⁷⁰ all [demons],
the supreme Ākāśagarbha³⁷¹ Bodhisattva, who diligently confers
consecrations,³⁷² Avalokiteśvara, the World-savior,³⁷³ who manifests

³⁶⁸ 薩埵金剛 (Jap. *Satta-kongō*) is generally known as 金剛薩埵 (Jap. *Kongōsatta*). Again, the compounds of a divinity name appear to be mirrored, cf. n. 367 above. In Shingon, Vajrasattva is considered the one who received the teachings from Mahāvairocana, and is thus considered second of the eight patriarchs, cf. BGD: 419, s.v. *Kongōsatta*. For a survey of the Shingon patriarchs, see: Rambach 1978: 16-24. Vajrasattva also is the first in the series of the so-called sixteen *prajñābodhisattvas*, see: Yamasaki 1988: 90; MJ: 236, s.v. *kongōshu*. These *prajñābodhisattvas* are part of the thirty-seven important venerables of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, where in groups of four they encircle the aforementioned four Buddhas, i.e. Akṣobhya in the eastern moon, Ratnasambhava in the south, Amitābha in the west, and Amoghasiddhi in the north, cf. BGD: 663, s.v. *jūrokudaibosatsu*. For a list of their other designations, seed syllables, attributes, etc. see: MJ: 357-358, s.v. *jūrokudaibosatsu*, and Yamasaki 1988: 97. Vajrasattva is also the first of the four Bodhisattvas who attend Akṣobhya in the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, and represents the stage in which the practitioner's intent to attain enlightenment is first manifested. cf. MD: 686-688, s.v. *kongōsatta*. For a discussion of the attendant Bodhisattvas, see: Snodgrass 1988: vol. 2: 604ff. For a graphic representation of the thirty-seven Venerables, see: SJ: 292. The formula *Oṃ samayas tvam* is said to represent the realization of Vajrasattva, cf. SJ: 196, nr. 1601. Endō (1987: 302) reads that Vajrasattva is intended, as the one who accompanies Akṣobhya in the east of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, but Vajrasattva also appears as central figure of the *varjadhāra* court in the south of the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala*, cf. SJ: 295, no. 59.

³⁶⁹ On the capitalization of 'Bodhisattva', see: n. 259 supra.

³⁷⁰ 降伏 (Jap. *gōbuku*), cf. BGD: 405b.

³⁷¹ Endō 1987: 302, reads that it concerns a bodhisattva who assists Ratnasambhava in the south of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*. The assisting bodhisattva of Ratnasambhava in the south of the contemporary diagrams, however, is Vajratatna (金剛宝 Jap. *Kongōhō*), cf. SJ: 292-293; MD 724-725, s.v. *Kongōhō bosatsu*. As Snodgrass (1988: 608) points out, he is identified with 虛空藏 (Jap. *Kokūzō*), who is Ākāśagarbha, the central bodhisattva in the court of space in the west of the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala*, cf. e.g. DCBT: 390, s.v. 虛空藏; NEBJ: 177b, s.v. 虛空藏菩薩. The other bodhisattvas listed in Endō 1987: 302 (i.e. Vajradharma and Varjakarma next to the aforementioned Vajrasattva) are assisting bodhisattvas of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, but the Chinese text does not mention them. Ākāśagarbha is also called Gaganagarbha, and is the protector of wisdom, cf. DCBT: 390, s.v. 虛. He is adorned with jewels and carries a sword in his right hand, denoting his boundless wisdom. In the left hand, he holds a wishing jewel, cf. Kiyota 1978: 91.

³⁷² 灌頂 (Jap. *kanjō*), Skt. *abhiṣeka* is the esoteric consecration ceremony, cf. BGD: 192-193, s.v. *kanjō*; Wayman 1992: 222. In Shingon, there are three categories of *abhiṣeka*: (1) based on the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala*, followed by (2) *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, and (3) based on a *maṇḍala* visualized by both master and disciple, cf. Abe 1999: 124. Where Shingon focuses on the (non-)dual representation (Jap. *ryōbu* 両部) of the *Dainichikyō* and *Kongōchōgyō* (with their respective diagrams), esoteric Tendai adds a third text on the same level, i.e. 蘇悉地羯羅經 (Jap. *Shushichikarakyō*, T. vol. XVIII, no. 893), the Chinese translation of the *Susiddhikaramāhatantra-sādhanaopāyikapāṭalasūtra* attributed to Śubhākaraśiṃha, resulting in a threefold textual tradition (Jap. *sanbu* 三部), cf. Groner 1984: 55, 58-70. The 灌頂曼荼羅 (Jap. *kanjō mandara*) is based on this text, but remains hardly researched. Noteworthy also, may be that neither Kūkai, nor Saichō considered it to be an esoteric text, cf. Groner 1984: 47, n. 40. For more details, see: MD: 1416, s.v. *sushitsuji mandara*. For more on the Shingon initiation, see: Abe 1999: 122-125, 133-146. On *abhiṣeka*, also see chapter I: 3.

³⁷³ 救世觀自在 (Jap. *Kuse-Kanjizai*), lit. Avalokiteśvara, the World-Savior, cf. BGD: 196c. Avalokiteśvara as such is generally referred to as 觀世音 (Jap. *Kanzeon*), lit. '[he who observes the sounds [of suffering] in the world', being the embodiment of compassion, cf. BGD: 197, s.v. *Kanzeon bosatsu*. Avalokiteśvara resides in the so-called *padma* group of the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala*. His attribute is a lotus, and he symbolizes speech as one of the three mysteries (cf. n. 447 infra). It is one of the manifestations of Mahāvairocana, cf. Kiyota 1978: 86. Together with Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya (cf. n. 381-383 infra) Avalokiteśvara is part of the four Bodhisattvas, who surround the Buddha in the central eight-petalled lotus of the aforementioned diagram. These Bodhisattvas each represent various stages of esoteric practice: Samantabhadra represents the arousal of the intent to attain awakening, Mañjuśrī denotes the cultivation of wisdom, Avalokiteśvara stands for the realization of *bodhi*, and Maitreya is *nirvāṇa* as such, cf. Kiyota 1978: 89; and *ibid.*: 88 for a diagram of the eight-petalled lotus, a sketch of which is also in appendix B below. The appellation used here may also refer to Skt. Āryāvalokiteśvara (聖觀自在 Jap. *Shōkanjizai*), cf. SJ: 295, no. 25, who resides in the lotus section in the north

[T. 2463: 7b20] *samādhi-yoga*,³⁷⁴ and the skilled Viśvakarman³⁷⁵, who is good at doing all jobs,³⁷⁶ I only request that you, Wheel-turners³⁷⁷ [of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*], accept my invitation [to be my preceptors]!

(Say [this] three times.)

[MASTER]

Next, you should request the professors³⁷⁸ and the ritual instructors.³⁷⁹

[DISCIPLES]

May Samanthabhadra,³⁸⁰ Maitreya,³⁸¹ Mañjuśrī,³⁸² and Sarvanivāraṇa-Viṣkambhī³⁸³ [who reside in the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala*] be my professors!

of the *garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*, cf. Snodgrass 1988: 246. However, Endō (1987: 302) states that Avalokiteśvara displays the *mudrā* of Vajradharma (金剛法 Jap. Kongōhō) Bodhisattva, who is depicted in the *vajradhātumaṇḍala* as an attendant of Amitābha in the west. For their interrelation, see Snodgrass 1988: 611.

³⁷⁴ 三昧瑜伽 (Jap. *sanmai-yuga*). 三昧 corresponds to Skt. *samādhi*, cf. BGD: 489c, s.v. *sanmaji*. Skt. *samādhi* means ‘to bring together’, cf. SED: 1159, s.v. *sam-ādhi*, which is the joining together of thoughts in an intense concentration and the whole union with the object or theme of the meditation. Kiyota (1978: 172) translates this term as ‘trance of concentration’. Soothill points out that it is interpreted as an indisruptible contemplation, by which the flow of thoughts is brought to a stand-still. Thus, the practitioner brings mind and thoughts in perfect balance. The aim, according to Soothill, is *mukti* or the freedom of all hindrances, attachment to desires, and reincarnations. Skt. *dhyāna* (定 Jap. *tei/chō*) is a simplified contemplation, *samāpatti* denotes a higher stage, and *samādhi* is the highest level of Buddhist *yoga*, cf. DCBT: 66-67, s.v. 三昧(地). 瑜伽 is the transliteration of Skt. *yoga*, while 相應 (Jap. *sō’ō*), is its most commonly used translation. The term denotes unity between macro- and micro-cosmos, cf. BGD: 865, s.v. *sō’ō* and BGD: 1380b, s.v. *yuga*.

³⁷⁵ 毘首羯磨 (Jap. Bishukamma), Skt. Viśvakarman is the ‘all-doer’, or ‘maker’, the Indian Vulcan, architect of the universe and patron of artisans; interpreted as minister of Indra, and his director of work, cf. BGD: 1134c. Also see MD: 899c, s.v. *jūroku daigo*. However, in Mikkyō this is another designation for either Ākāśagarbha (cf. supra n. 372), or Vajrakarma Bodhisattva (金剛業菩薩, Jap. Kongōgō-bosatsu), cf. MD: 1854a, s.v. 毘首羯磨. The latter figure is the most central attending Bodhisattva of Amoghasiddhi in the north of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*. Suppose, it were the *garbhadhātu* figures evoked here, one would expect that Śākyamuni, head of the Śākya court in the east of the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala* is addressed at this stage (cf. SJ: 295, no. 106), following a clockwise turn from SJ: 295, no. 59, over 185, and 25 to 106. On the relation between Viśvakarman and Vajrakarma, see Snodgrass 1988: 615.

³⁷⁶ 諸事業 (Jap. *sho jigō*), cf. BKBD: 1090.

³⁷⁷ 轉輪者 (Jap. *tenrinja*), cf. BGD: 991a, s.v. *tenrin*. The aforementioned four figures are part of the sixteen great Bodhisattvas in the center of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, and occupy the most central position in the four moons that surround Mahāvairocana. Cf. diagram in appendix B below. On *tenrin*, also see e.g. Snodgrass 1988: 421, n. 11.

³⁷⁸ Here, 羯磨 (Jap. *kamma*; war. *komma*), is an abbreviation of 羯磨師 (Jap. *kommashi*), denoting Skt. *karmācāryas*, cf. n. 14 and n. 352 above.

³⁷⁹ 教授 (Jap. *kyōju*) is an abbreviation of 教授師 (Jap. *kyōjushi*), referring to *anuśāsanācāryas*, see: ibid. supra.

³⁸⁰ 普賢 (Jap. Fugen), lit. ‘Universal Virtue’, generally refers to Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, who represents the practice and meditation of all Buddhas, and in this sense is the counterpart of Mañjuśrī, who represents their wisdom and realization (cf. n. 382 below). Further see: DCBT: 374, s.v. 普; BGD: 1179, s.v. Fugen; and also n.

[MASTER]

[T. 2463: 7b25] These four Bodhisattvas are just like the auspicious jars,³⁸⁴ because when [even] one is lacking, it is impossible [to perform the *abhiṣeka* ritual].

1. Bodhisattva-mahāsattva Samantabhadra [lit. the Universal Virtuous One]: ‘universal [Skt. *samanta*]³⁸⁵ means ‘to spread everywhere’,³⁸⁶ and ‘virtue [Skt. *bhadra*]³⁸⁷ denotes ‘excellent virtuous’.³⁸⁸ In other words, [this implies that] the vow aroused from the intent to attain awakening, together with its

386 infra. Samantabhadra appears in the southeast center of the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala*, cf. SJ: 295, no. 3. For more details and his iconography, see: MD: 195ff., s.v. Fugen-bosatsu; Snodgrass 1988: 238ff.

³⁸¹ 慈氏 (Jap. Jishi), lit. ‘Merciful One’, cf. BGD: 572c, s.v. Jishi-bosatsu. Also called 弥勒 (Jap. Miroku), he is said to be the successor of the historical Buddha in the present world, and considered the protector of the Buddhist community, cf. NEBJ: 197b; BGD: 1296a; and MD: 2126ff., s.v. Miroku-bosatsu, for a detailed discussion. Maitreya is depicted in the northeast center of the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala*, cf. SJ: 295, no. 9; Kiyota 1978: 88; Snodgrass 1988: 248ff.

³⁸² 妙德 (Jap. Myōtoku), lit. ‘Sublime Virtue’, also transliterated as 文殊 (Jap. Monju), which is short for 文殊師利 (Jap. Monjushiri), cf. BGD: 1369a, s.v. Monju; DCBT: 153, s.v. 文殊. He is the ‘Bodhisattva of supreme wisdom’, cf. MD: 2167c ff., s.v. Monju-bosatsu for a detailed overview. He is depicted in the southwest of the central lotus of the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala*, cf. SJ: 295, no. 5; Kiyota 1978: 88 and 92; Snodgrass 1988: 241ff.

³⁸³ 除蓋障 (Jap. Jokaishō; var. Jogaishō), lit. ‘Hindrane Remover’, cf. DCBT: 340; MD: 1218ff., s.v. Jokaishō-bosatsu, for a detailed discussion. According to Kiyota (1978: 92), his name means ‘eliminating obstacles’, and this Bodhisattva “represents *jñāna* radiating from the Hall of Vajrapāṇi”. Given that the former three Bodhisattvas are the central figures attending the four Buddhas surrounding Mahāvairocana in the middle of the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala* (cf. Kiyota 1978: 85 and appendix B below), and the fact that this Bodhisattva was sometimes confused with Sūryaprabha (cf. Kiyota 1978: 143, n. 10), there may have also been some confusion in the present text. That is, the logical figure to be involved here would be Avalokiteśvara (cf. n. 374 supra), who would complete the circle, cf. SJ: 295, no. 7. Sarvanivāraṇa-Viṣkambhin, however, is the central venerable in the outer south section, cf. SJ: 295, no. 157. Also Mañjuśrī appears in the outer ribbon, but in the east, cf. SJ: 295, no. 138. If the latter two were intended, then also Kṣitigarbha and Akāśagarbha would have to appear here (cf. SJ: 295, nos. 166 and 185 respectively), instead of the aforementioned Maitreya and Samantabhadra. The fact there is a lot of confusion regarding this divinity is also pointed out by Snodgrass (1988: 182; 393, n. 4; 394).

³⁸⁴ 賢瓶 (Jap. *kenbyō*), lit. ‘magic bottle’ from which all can be wished, cf. BGD: 329d. It is syn. to 德瓶 (Jap. *tokubyō*), cf. BGD: 1021d, which is also interpreted as ‘a talisman of power’, cf. DCBT: 432. Also an alternative rendering of 如意瓶 (Jap. *nyoi byō*) a container in which medicinal compounds, gems, gold, silver, etc., are placed. Its neck is decorated with a net made of flower, cf. DCBT: 211, BGD: 1060a, being vases used in the consecration ceremony, which is an indispensable tool. Endō (1987: 303) points out that this vase contains the ‘vow water’ (誓水 Jap. *seisui*, cf. BGD: 825c; syn. 金剛水 Jap. *kongō sui*, cf. BGD: 420c) at the consecration that represents the four qualities (德性 Jap. *tokushō*, cf. BGD: 1021c) of Mahāvairocana. According to MD: 484a, 賢瓶 is synonymous to 宝瓶 (Jap. *hōbyō*), being Skt. *kalaśa*, cf. MD: 2029, s.v. *hōbyō*, where the procedure of drinking the water is explained. For examples, see BGDJ: 144, 290ff. s.v. 花瓶 (Jap. *kebyō*).

³⁸⁵ Also see 普 (Jap. *fu*) in n. 268 and 381 above. On its meaning as Skt. *samanta*, cf. BKBD: 602. On the meaning word *samanta*, also see: Pinte G. 2010: 438, 440-441.

³⁸⁶ 遍一切處 Jap. *hen issai sho*, lit. ‘to pervade all places’. For the translation as ‘to spread everywhere’, cf. Endō 1987: 303.

³⁸⁷ For 賢 (Jap. *ken*) as Skt. *bhadra*, cf. BKBD: 1112. Also see: BGD: 328d.

³⁸⁸ 最妙善 (Jap. *saimyō zen*), in which 最妙 denotes ‘most excellent’, cf. BKBD: 616, s.v. 最妙. For meanings of the character 善 in Buddhist contexts, on the other hand, cf. NEBJ: 335b; BGD: 847a; and BKBD: 259.

cultivation,³⁸⁹ and the three activities [of body, speech, and mind of Mahāvairocana]³⁹⁰ are completely identical³⁹¹ and all-pervasive. He is also called ‘adamantine [Skt. *vajra*]’.³⁹² *Vajra* is a metaphor for the true reality of all things,³⁹³ it transcends all verbal expression and mental operation, and has also no basis.³⁹⁴ It does not show any constituents,³⁹⁵ and is timeless.³⁹⁶ It is unperishing, indestructible, free from fault and error,³⁹⁷ and unchangeable.

[T. 2463: 7c1] Therefore it is called ‘adamantine (Skt. *vajra*)’. To general convention,³⁹⁸ *vajra* has three meanings: i. ‘indestructible’; ii. ‘king amongst jewels’³⁹⁹; and iii. ‘supreme amongst weapons’.

2. Bodhisattva Maitreya [lit. the Merciful One, is called so, because of] his four immeasurable states of mind,⁴⁰⁰ compassion⁴⁰¹ is most valued.

³⁸⁹ 願行 (Jap. *gangyō*) means “to vow and perform the discipline the vow involves. Vow 願 means the intention to attain good results and practice 行 is the cultivation by which one gets the good results.” Muller in DBJ, s.v. 願行. Also see: NEBJ: 68b; BGD: 200c, and DCBT: 476.

³⁹⁰ 三業 (Jap. *san gō*) here denotes Skt. *trikarman*, or the three kinds of actions, i.e. physical (or activities of the body, 身業 Jap. *shingō*, cf. BGD: 771, s.v. *shingō*), mental (or activities of cognition, 意業 Jap. *igō*, cf. BGD: 40, s.v. *igō*), and verbal (or activities of the mouth, 口業 Jap. *kukō*, cf. BGD: 258, s.v. *kukō*), see: BGD: 462; MJ: 264, s.v. *sangō*. Other interpretations include: (1) good merit of present life, negative *karma* from present life, and merit from the impenetrable nature; (2) the discrepancy between good, bad and neutral *karma*; (3) merit arising from a normal rebirth, from Hīnayāna awakening, and from Mahāyāna awakening; and (4) the consequences of one’s present actions on this life, the next life, and the thereupon following life, cf. DCBT: 68, s.v. 三業.

³⁹¹ 平等 (Jap. *byōdō*), cf. n. 248 and 362 supra, and also the discussion on the term *samaya* in chapter IV below.

³⁹² 金剛 (Jap. *kongō*), equivalent to Skt. *vajra*, also meaning ‘indestructible’, cf. NEBJ: 179b; BGD: 418b. The symbol of the *vajra* is essential to esoteric Buddhism. For further reference, consult e.g. Snodgrass 1988: *passim*.

³⁹³ 實相義 (Jap. *jissō gi*) is defined as ‘the principle of the true nature of things’, corresponding to Skt. *dharma-svabhāva-mudrā*, cf. BGD: 598c. The T.-edition notes that the original ms. in KDZ reads 智 instead of 義, but TKDZ V: 170 also has 義, and neither Okada (1976: 15), nor Endō (1987: 303) mention this variant. 實相智 (Jap. *jissō chi*) denotes the complete knowledge of reality, i.e. that of Mahāvairocana, cf. DCBT: 423. In both cases, 實相 refers to the true original nature, absolute fundamental reality, the ultimate, and therefore, also to the Dharmakāya, cf. NEBJ: 140b; BGD: 598a.

³⁹⁴ 無所依 (Jap. *mu sho e*) contrast the adagio that all activity is contingent on something else, or needs a ‘basis’ in order to exist or function, cf. BGD: 1329c.

³⁹⁵ 諸法 (Jap. *shohō*) are factors that comprise phenomena, beings or things, cf. BGD: 690c. In other words, it has no mass, or it is free of space.

³⁹⁶ 無初中後 (Jap. *mu shochūgo*), lit. ‘without beginning, middle or end’, cf. BKBD: 761. In other words, it is free of time.

³⁹⁷ Here we follow Endō’s interpretation (1987: 303) of 過惡 (Jap. *ka’aku*) as a compound, the first part of which is an abbreviation for 過失 (Jap. *kashitsu*), i.e. an error, or mistake, cf. BGD: 155d, s.v. 過失.

³⁹⁸ 世間 (Jap. *seken*), cf. BGD: 816b.

³⁹⁹ 寶中之王 (Jap. *hōjū no ō*), i.e. diamond. Here to be distinguished from other connotations, cf. BGD: 1243d, s.v. 宝王 (Jap. *hōō*).

⁴⁰⁰ See 四無量心 (Jap. *shi muryōshin*) discussed in the context of 廣大之心 in n. 202 supra.

⁴⁰¹ 慈 (Jap. *ji*) has also been interpreted as ‘kindness’ in the framework of the 四無量心, cf. n. 202 supra, but it is also used as an abbreviation of 慈悲 (Jap. *jihī*), denoting ‘compassion’, cf. n. 198 supra. Okada (1976: 15, n. 1)

3. Wonderful and Auspicious⁴⁰² Bodhisattva [i.e. Mañjuśrī]: ‘Wonderful’ [Skt. *mañju*] means unequalled⁴⁰³ and unsurpassed,⁴⁰⁴ while ‘Auspicious’ [Skt. *śrī*] denotes the glory⁴⁰⁵ of delight.⁴⁰⁶ He is also called Marvellous Virtuous One,⁴⁰⁷ [T. 2463: 7c5] and the One with the Marvellous Voice.⁴⁰⁸

4. Hindrance Remover [i.e. Sarvanivāraṇa-Viṣkambhī].⁴⁰⁹ The various mental defilements of sentient beings can blind awakening. This Bodhisattva is capable of removing the fog of these hindrances and reveals the light of Mahāvairocana.⁴¹⁰

Therefore, invoke these four Bodhisattvas and make them your professors!

[DISCIPLES]

I summon the four Mahābodhisattvas⁴¹¹ Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Sarvanivāraṇa-Viṣkambhī. Lest them be my professors!

[T. 2463: 7c10] Enacting as my [*karma*]-*ācāryas*, you are able to confer the precepts that are the symbol of Bodhisattva purity.⁴¹² Oh, may you be merciful!

[MASTER]

Next, you should invite the three Mahābodhisattvas, [namely] Samantabhadra-Bodhisattva, Vajrasattva and Avalokiteśvara-Bodhisattva, to be your instructors!

points out that according to the ‘*Thousand Arms Viddhi*’ (千手軌 Jap. *Senju ki*), compassion (慈) actually is the *samādhi* of Samantabhadra of the east. The title 千手軌 is an abbreviation for 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經 Jap. *Kongōchō yuga senju sengen Kanjizai-bosatsu shugyō giki kyō*, i.e. T. XX, no. 1056. For more information, see BKD III: 492c; Chandra 1988: esp. 13-15ff.; Reis-Habito 1993: 118-119.

⁴⁰² 妙吉祥 (Jap. *Myō Kichijō*) is a translation of ‘Mañjuśrī’, cf. BGD: 1302d. The transliteration is 文殊師利 (Jap. *Monjushiri*), cf. n. 383 above.

⁴⁰³ 更無等比 (Jap. *kyō mutō hi*), lit. ‘there is not another like this’, cf. BGD: 1341c, s.v. *mutō*.

⁴⁰⁴ 無過上 (Jap. *mu kajō*), cf. BKBD: 782, s.v. 無過.

⁴⁰⁵ 善譽 (Jap. *zen’yo*) also denotes ‘fame’, or ‘good reputation’, cf. BKD: 852c.

⁴⁰⁶ 嘉慶 (Jap. *kakyō*), cf. BKBD: 270

⁴⁰⁷ 妙德, see above: n. 383.

⁴⁰⁸ 妙音 (Jap. *Myō’on*), cf. BGD: 1302a; BKBD: 357.

⁴⁰⁹ 除蓋障, cf. n. 384 supra.

⁴¹⁰ Here referred to as 大日 (Jap. *Dainichi*), on Mahāvairocana, see e.g. Pinte K. 2009a.

⁴¹¹ See n. 259 above regarding the difference between a ‘regular’ and a ‘great Bodhisattva’.

⁴¹² In contrast to the previous attestation, i.e. T. 2643: 7b15, both the T. and TKDZ-edition read 三昧戒 instead of 三昧耶戒. Normally, 三昧 refers to Skt. *samādhi* (cf. NEBJ: 249b BGD: 489c; BKBD: 23), but because 三昧 is an attested abbreviation for 三昧耶戒 (see n. 17 above) the addition of 耶 in KDKZ IV: 304 is followed here.

1. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra: he is precisely the embodiment of the Dharmakāya's thusness,⁴¹³ because he thoroughly⁴¹⁴ cultivates all wholesome practices,⁴¹⁵ in correspondance to the gate of effort,⁴¹⁶ which is the expedient⁴¹⁷ [T. 2463: 7c15] for preventing calamities.⁴¹⁸

2. Bodhisattva Vajrasattva: he corresponds to the gate of adamantine wisdom,⁴¹⁹ because this is the expedient for defeating enemies.⁴²⁰

3. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara: he accords to the gate of lotus *samādhi*,⁴²¹ because this is the expedient for increasing merit.⁴²²

These three sacred ones are called 'the three [inseparable] aspects with unlimitedly mysterious and marvellous functions',⁴²³ namely: wisdom,⁴²⁴

⁴¹³ 如如法身 (Jap. *nyonyo hosshin*) is explained by Okada (1976: 16, n. 1) as "the Dharmakāya giving evidence of the absolute truth of thusness". Endō (1987: 304) similarly explains it as "the Dharmakāya being the embodiment of the true law of the absolute truth of thusness". 如如 indeed is Skt. *tathatā*, denoting 'suchness', cf. BKBD: 344; BGD: 1063a; DCBT: 210. This link with Samantabhadra is taken from the *Commentary on the MVS*, cf. MD: 1744, s.v. *nyonyo hosshin*.

⁴¹⁴ Instead of a compound such as 具修 (Jap. *gushu*), cf. BKBD: 174, 具 (Chin. *ju*) is an adverb 修 (Chin. *xiu*), and is interpreted as Jap. *tsubusa ni*, cf. Okada 1976: 16; Endō 1987: 305.

⁴¹⁵ 萬行 (Jap. *man gyō*), cf. BKD: 1285d.

⁴¹⁶ 精進門 (Jap. *shōjin mon*). 精進 denotes Skt. *vīrya*, which is the persistent effort or the diligence to benefit others and proceed on the path, cf. BGD: 731, s.v. *shōjin*. 門 here means 'teaching' or 'approach', i.e. that of the six perfections (六波羅蜜 Jap. *ropparamitsu*) or pure practices of bodhisattvas, i.e. charity (布施 Jap. *fuse*; Skt. *dāna*), morality (持戒 Jap. *jikai*; Skt. *śīla*), patience or forbearance (忍辱 Jap. *ninniku*; Skt. *kṣānti*), vigour or effort (Skt. *vīrya*), meditation (禪定 Jap. *zenjō*; Skt. *dhyāna*) and wisdom (智慧, Jap. *chie*; Skt. *prajñā*), cf. BGD: 1463, s.v. *ropparamitsu*. According to MD: 1175c, there are three kinds of *vīrya* approaches (精進門三種 Jap. *shōjinmon san shu*). Also see MD: 806c, s.v. 三種精進 Jap. *sanshu shōjin*.

⁴¹⁷ For 方便 (Jap. *hōben*), see n. 186 and 199 supra.

⁴¹⁸ 息災 (Jap. *sokusai*), cf. BGD: 887c.

⁴¹⁹ 金剛智慧門 (Jap. *kongō chie mon*) refers to the gate of Buddha wisdom, leading to the truth, cf. NEBJ: 30a; BGD: 951b, s.v. 智慧門. It is the indestructible and adamantine virtue of wisdom, that denotes the capacity to remove hindrances, cf. MD: 705, s.v. 金剛智慧門.

⁴²⁰ 降伏 (Jap. *gōbuku*), is vanquishing defilements, afflictions, hindrances, or demons through the wisdom of enlightenment; also denoting to subdue others, cf. BGD: 405b, and also note 371 supra.

⁴²¹ 蓮華三昧門 (Jap. *rengē-samai-mon*). MD: 2298b, s.v. 蓮華三昧 gives the following relevant definitions: (1) the pure *bodhicitta* sweeping away all defilements, an interpretation related to innate purity of the lotus, but this is generally associated with Amitābha; and (2) the virtue of compassion and love, which is related to the pleasing characteristics of the lotus, and also designation to bring good fortune, which in turn refers to the virtue of merit, and this is associated –according to the *Commentary on the MVS*– with Avalokiteśvara.

⁴²² 增益 (Jap. *zōyaku*), cf. BGD: 883a, which is also explained as 福德 (Jap. *fukutoku*), cf. MD: 2298b, s.v. 蓮華三昧. For 福德, see e.g. BGD: 1187d; BKBD: 897.

⁴²³ 無量不可思議妙用三點 (Jap. *muryō fukashigi myōyō san ten*). 妙用 refers to the unimpeded virtuosity of the great sage seen in his or her capacity to devise an unlimited range of skillful techniques in teaching sentient beings, cf. BGD: 1305a; 不可思議 is syn. to 不思議, cf. BGD: 1160a; for 無量, see: 四無量心 in n. 202 supra. 三點 lit. denotes 'three dots' e.g. in the graphic representation of the sound *i* (伊字三點 Jap. *iji santen*), which in Sanskrit script is written in the form of three dots in a triangle (∴). Since these three line up with each other either horizontally or vertically, it is used as a trope for 'neither the same nor different'. It is also associated with the three eyes of Śiva. At a later period the three were joined in writing, cf. NEBJ: 126b; DCBT: 200. For other

liberation,⁴²⁵ and Dharmakāya. So, the ‘three aspects’ encompass everything.⁴²⁶ Therefore, invoke these three Mahābodhisattvas and make them into your instructors!

[DISCIPLES]

[T. 2463: 7c20] Wholeheartedly, I invite the Bodhisattvas Samantabhadra, Vajrasattva, and Avalokiteśvara, to be my instructors! Oh, may you have mercy!

(Say this three times)

[MASTER]

Next, I will proclaim the proceedings.⁴²⁷

Disciples, concentrate and listen carefully! Kind Sirs, now I will bestow the proceedings and confer the precepts! It is the right time for you to obtain the precepts, so pay attention and listen carefully to the proceedings:

[T. 2463: 7c25] Buddhas and Mahābodhisattvas in the ten directions, I beseech that you be mindful of⁴²⁸ your compassion! From today onward, until they reside in the *bodhimaṇḍa*, these disciples, will accept and study the [threefold] pure and marvellous precepts⁴²⁹ of all Buddhas and Mahābodhisattvas of the past,

interpretations, cf. MD: 817b, s.v. 三點. Here, they indicate the relationship between the Dharmakāya, *prajñā* and *vimokṣa* (for the latter two, cf. n. 425-426 below) all three being necessary to complete *nirvāṇa*.

⁴²⁴ 般若 (Jap. *hannya*), Skt. *prajñā*, cf. BGD: 1115c.

⁴²⁵ 解脱 (Jap. *gedatsu*), Skt. *vimokṣa*, cf. NEBJ: 71a; BGD: 308d.

⁴²⁶ 一切法 (Jap. *issai hō*), lit. ‘all phenomena’, but could perhaps also mean ‘all’, i.e. the ‘entire teaching’ here.

⁴²⁷ 說羯磨 (Jap. *setsu kamma*; var. *konma*). Here, 羯磨 Skt. *karman* refers to the formal ordination procedure, by means of which the precepts are conferred, in order to make them legal, cf. BGD: 428, s.v. *konma*.

⁴²⁸ 憶念 (Jap. *okunen*), also means ‘to remember; recall’, cf. BGD: 134a.

⁴²⁹ 清淨妙戒 (Jap. *shōjō myōkai*) is a reference to 三聚淨戒 (Jap. *sanju jōkai*) or Skt. *trividhāni śīlāni* being the three encompassing groups of pure precepts that Mahāyāna bodhisattvas adhere to, cf. BGD, p. 471, s.v. *sanju jōkai*. These Mahāyāna precepts are taken by both the ordained as by laity, and comprise (1) 攝律儀戒 (Jap. *shō ritsugi kai*) or ‘the precepts of avoiding all evil actions’; (2) 攝善法戒 (Jap. *shō zenhō kai*) or ‘the precepts of doing all good deeds’; and (3) 攝眾生戒 (Jap. *shō shujō kai*) or ‘the precepts of benefiting all sentient beings’ (translations from Yifa 2002: 245, n. 10). The first two categories are practiced for the practitioner’s own benefit, while the third group are practiced for improving the spiritual condition of others. These three categories are said to refer to the fifty-eight precepts from the BMK (cf. chapter II: 187 supra), and encompass both the so-called ‘ten precepts’ als the two-hundred-fifty precepts of the *prātimokṣa*, cf. De Groot 1893: 251-255 for more information. Ibid.: 246-247 (with updated diacritics, transcription, and added italics) reads: “Ainsi je vous ai fait entendre les dix *prātimokṣas*. Les autres commandements sont en nombre infini et il n’est pas possible de les détailler. Pourtant je puis dire qu’aucun ne tombe en dehors des trois catégories (三聚) que voici. La première referme les *vinayas* et règles de la discipline, et met donc fin à tout mal; la seconde embrasse toutes les prescriptions pour faire le bien, et fait donc pratiquer toute vertu; la troisième comprend les commandements qui

present and future, that is, the whole gamut of disciplinary precepts,⁴³⁰ the precepts aimed at improving the situation of sentient beings,⁴³¹ and the precepts related to the cultivation of goodness.⁴³²

[DISCIPLES]

[T. 2463: 8a1] From today onward, until infinity, I will fully accept and uphold them!

(Say this three times!)

[MASTER]

Disciples, you have fully accepted the [threefold] pure precepts of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, so, uphold them accordingly!

Thus I have conferred the precepts.

procurent le bien à tout ce qui est conscient, et fait donc que tout ce qui a vie soit amené à des stades supérieurs de perfectionnement. Il n'y a point d'action, grande ou petite, qui ne soit régie par une de ces catégories. Par exemple, ne pas tuer dépend de la première catégorie, sauver quelqu'un de la mort dépend de la seconde, et exhorter les hommes à éviter l'un et à faire l'autre, dépend de la troisième [...] Vous voyez donc que les trois catégories sont comme une marmite à trois pieds, dont chacun des trois est indispensable. Celui qui n'observe que la première catégorie, prévient seulement ses propres transgressions, sans répandre le bonheur et la bénédiction; celui qui pratique la première et la seconde n'est utile qu'à lui-même et ne peut pas s'élever au dessus du Hīnayāna; mais celui qui obéit aux trois catégories peut s'élever lui-même avec les êtres vivants directement jusqu'au *bodhi* suprême". For further reference, consult Abe 1999: 465, n. 120; and Groner 1984: 214ff; Groner 1990: 269.

⁴³⁰ 攝律儀戒 (Jap. *shō ritsugi-kai*), the first group of the three sets of pure precepts, cf. 三聚淨戒 in n. 430 supra, referring to the full range of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna precepts, cf. BGD: 740b, s.v. *shō ritsugi kai*, including the five precepts (see: De Groot 1893: 251), ten precepts (see: De Groot 1893: 252), and the two-hundredfifty precepts (De Groot 1893: 253), as well as precepts that are characteristic to Mahāyāna, such as the ten important precepts (cf. De Groot 1893: 32-39) and the forty-eight minor precepts (cf. De Groot: 40-83) expounded in the BMK.

⁴³¹ 饒益有情戒 (Jap. *nyōeki ujō kai*), Skt. *sattvārtha-kriyā-śīla* are the precepts for improving the situation of sentient beings, cf. BGD: 1068, s.v. *nyōeki ujō kai*. Also attested as 攝衆生戒 (Jap. *shō shujō kai*, Skt. *sattva-anuṣṭhāpakaṃ śīlaṃ*), cf. BGD: 739a, s.v. *shō shujō kai*; and ibid.: 832b, s.v. *setsu shujō kai*. See also supra, n. 430.

⁴³² 攝善法戒 (Jap. *shō zenhō kai*), Skt. *kuśala-dharma-saṃgrāhaka-śīla* are the precepts related to the cultivation of goodness, as opposed to those that are aimed at warding off evil, cf. BGD: 739c, s.v. *shō zenhō kai*. See also supra, n. 430.

Subsequently, I will differentiate the characteristics of the precepts!⁴³³

[T. 2463: 8a5] You have already aroused the intent to attain awakening, and you are endowed with the bodhisattva precepts, but you should also practice the four methods [to approach people],⁴³⁴ and [commit neither] the four *pārajikās*,⁴³⁵ nor [break] the ten important precepts!⁴³⁶ Do not violate them!

⁴³³ 甄別戒性 (Jap. *kenbetsu kaishō*). For 甄別, cf. BGD: 328c, explaining that 甄 means ‘ritual’ (祭 Jap. *sai*), while 別 is ‘to discern’, ‘to identify’, ‘to differentiate’. 戒性 denotes the ‘essence’, ‘characteristics’ or ‘appearance of the precepts’, in other words ‘the content’ of the precepts, cf. BGD: 164b. A discussion on the ‘essence of the precepts’ in contrast to their ‘function’ is in Groner 1984: 226, n. 44.

⁴³⁴ 四攝法 (Jap. *shi shōhō*). Also written 四攝事 (Jap. *shishōji*), and sometimes abbreviated to 四攝, i.e. Skt. *caturśamgrahavastu*, the four methods that a bodhisattva uses to approach and guide sentient beings to the path, comprising of (1) 布施 (Jap. *fuse*), Skt. *dāna* or generosity, also the sixth *pāramitā* of being charitable, not only in a material sense, but also e.g. preaching the teachings, cf. BGD: 1175, s.v. *fuse*; (2) 愛語 (Jap. *aigo*), Skt. *prīyāvādītā* is using kind words, cf. BGD: 15, s.v. *aigo*; (3) 利行 (Jap. *rigyō*), Skt. *arthacaryā*, behavior or actions that benefit other beings, cf. BGD: 1409, s.v. *rigyō*; and (4) 同事 (Jap. *dōji*), Skt. *samānārthatā* is also explained as ‘to cooperate for the sake of others’, cf. DCBT: 204, s.v. 同, but in this context is better conceived as ‘to offer help’, i.e. putting oneself on the same level of other beings in order to guide them to the path, cf. BGD: 1009, s.v. *dōji*. For more information, see: Willemen 1983: 117, n. 24; DCBT: 175, s.v. 四攝法; and BGD: 524, s.v. *shishōji*.

⁴³⁵ 四波羅夷 (Jap. *shi harai*) denotes the four *pārājikas*, or grave offences, commission of which will lead to the expulsion from the Buddhist community, i.e. (1) engaging in immoral sexual behavior or bestiality; (2) stealing; (3) killing a human being; and (4) lying about one's spiritual attainments, cf. NEBJ: 277a; BGD: 529a. Some Mahāyāna works, however, offer variant interpretations, and also in esoteric Buddhism there are other connotations. According to Endō (1987: 318, n. 29), they are also called ‘capita offences’ (斷首罪 Jap. *danshu zai*, lit. offences that entail being beheaded), implying that one loses one's status as ‘world-renouncer’. He states that they are also termed 四重禁戒 (Jap. *shi jū gonkai*), and that in Mahāyāna terms, these comprise of (1) the prohibition of praising oneself and disparaging others (自讚毀他戒 Jap. *jisan kita kai*); (2) the prohibition of stinginess and abuse of others (慳惜加毀戒 Jap. *kenshaku keki kai*); (3) prohibition of holding resentments and not accepting apologies (瞋心不受悔戒 Jap. *shinshin fujuke kai*); and (4) prohibition of denigrating the three treasures of Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha (謗三寶戒, Jap. *hō sanbō kai*). In Mikkyō, however, there is another set of important prohibitions, which Endō 1987: 318, n. 29 merely lists, without any further reference. They regard doing nothing that (1) discards the correct dharma; (2) runs counter to the intent to attain awakening; (3) is avarice of all things and phenomena (lit. *dharma*s), or (4) harms sentient beings. These prohibitions are expounded, in the second chapter of the MVS on the ‘Accessories and Mantras Necessary to Approach the Maṇḍala’ (入曼荼羅具緣真言品 Jap. *Nyū mandara guen shingon bon*; often abbreviated to *Guenbon*; title translation according to Yamamoto Y. 2001: 13), i.e. in T. XVIII, no. 848: 12a29-b6: (次當於弟子 而起悲念心 行者應入中 示三昧耶偈 佛子汝從今 不惜身命故) 常不應捨法 捨離菩提心 慳惜一切法 不利衆生行, which Yamamoto (2001: 34, with added italics) translates as: “[Next the yogin should have compassion on his disciple. He will enter inside the room and should show a *samaya-gāthā*:] ‘Oh son of the Buddha, you should henceforth not spare your body and life. You should never abandon the *bodhicitta* in all the *dharma*s. You should not do anything that has no advantage for sentient beings.’”

⁴³⁶ 十重戒 (Jap. *jū jūkai*) are the ten major precepts. These are further explained in the following paragraphs, but it may be noteworthy that these are not in accordance with what De Groot (1893: 43) calls ‘les commandements capitaux’ of Mahāyāna. For further discussion, see chapter IV below.

The four methods are: generosity, kindness, helpfulness, and empathy:⁴³⁷

Be generous, because –for the benefit of all worldlings– you intend⁴³⁸ to restrain boundless greed;⁴³⁹

Use kind words, because –for the benefit of all worldlings– you intend to suppress anger,⁴⁴⁰ vanity⁴⁴¹ and [other infinite]⁴⁴² defilements;

[T. 2463: 8a10] Be helpful, because –in order to fulfil your original vow– you intend to do well for other worldlings;

Be empathic, because –in accordance to having a good attitude and a constantly benevolent mind– you seek to become acquainted⁴⁴³ with good friends;⁴⁴⁴

Thus are the four methods that should be practiced. Retain them accordingly!

Now, being about to enter this gate of [the teaching on the operation of]⁴⁴⁵ the three mysteries,⁴⁴⁶ that is to say,⁴⁴⁷ the mysteries of body, speech and mind,⁴⁴⁸ you should also cleanse yourself⁴⁴⁹ of the four hindrances.⁴⁵⁰

⁴³⁷ See n. 435 supra.

⁴³⁸ Here, 欲 (Jap. *yoku*) relates to the aforementioned vows. Hence its translation as ‘to intend’, implying that the disciple already has promised to do so.

⁴³⁹ 慳貪 (Jap. *kendon*), Skt. *mātsarya-mala*, cf. BGD: 328, s.v. *kendon*. Also see: DCBT: 423, s.v. 慳.

⁴⁴⁰ 瞋恚 (Jap. *shini*), Skt. *kruddhi*, cf. BGD: 790, s.v. *shini*. Note that the T.-edition has 瞋 instead of 瞋.

⁴⁴¹ 憍慢 (Jap. *kyōman*), Skt. *māna*, cf. BGD: 240, s.v. *kyōman*.

⁴⁴² Given that this passage is virtually identical to the MSZ (cf. chapter IV below), this addition is based on a note to the T.-edition of the MSZ, i.e. T. vol. XVIII, no. 917: 943, n. 12.

⁴⁴³ 親近 (Jap. *shingon*; var. *shinkon*). Also: ‘to encline to’, cf. BGD: 791, s.v. *shingon*.

⁴⁴⁴ 善知識 (Jap. *zenchishiki*), cf. BGD: 850, s.v. *zenchishiki*. Another meaning is ‘a good teacher’, cf. BKBD: 1061.

⁴⁴⁵ Addition based on the reading in Endō 1987: 307.

⁴⁴⁶ 三密 (Jap. *san mitsu*) Skt. *triguhyā* or *trīṇi guhyāni*, i.e. body, speech (or voice), and mind (or thought) of Mahāvairocana. These mysteries are universal, because all beings, in body, voice, and mind, are only individualized parts of the absolute reality, but their originally enlightened nature is hidden from them by illusion. By practicing (Skt. *sādhana*) physical signs and postures (Skt. *mudrā*), by voicing of formulas (mantras and *dhāraṇī*), and by meditation or contemplation (Skt. *dhyāna* and *samādhi*), one can attain perfection (Skt. *siddhi*), i.e. integration or union (Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*), i.e. 入我我入 Jap. *nyū ga ga nyū*). See: NEBJ: 249b; BGD: 490b; DCBT: 63; Wayman 1992: 306, and 274, n. 82; and Abe 1999: 129-132, where a summary is given on Kūkai’s vision on the relation between the three mysteries and the Dharmakāya.

⁴⁴⁷ Endō 1987: 307 interprets 即 (Chin. *ji*) strangely as ‘by means of’.

⁴⁴⁸ 身口意 (Jap. *shinkui*; var. *shinkōi*), cf. BKBD: 1126.

⁴⁴⁹ 淨除 (Jap. *jōjo*), lit. ‘to purify and remove’, cf. BKBD: 730.

[T. 2463: 8a15] [1.] As for that what is called the ‘four hindrances’, the first hindrance is to cause various kinds of views of inequality towards both sentient beings and phenomena.

2. Causing [those who took] the oath of equality,⁴⁵¹ [to arouse] various thoughts of restriction,⁴⁵² is the second hindrance.

3. causing beings to purchase [immediate]⁴⁵³ fame and benefit, without [having them strive for] the most important cause,⁴⁵⁴ is the third obstruction.

4. Not being able to introspect,⁴⁵⁵ because of dissipation and laziness,⁴⁵⁶ is the fourth obstruction.

Thus, even when [you allow] these four hindrances to emerge slightly, you will [T. 2463: 8a20] damage yourself and harm others. Therefore, zealously⁴⁵⁷ promise⁴⁵⁸ to eradicate them, and keep to it!

Next, you should practice the four [vows to be upheld in all daily] demeanors.⁴⁵⁹ They are called the unconditioned⁴⁶⁰ [virtues].⁴⁶¹ While virtuously practicing them, you will steadily and spontaneously develop.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁰ 四障 (Jap. *shi shō*). According to MD: 944, s.v. *shi shō*, these are the four entities that hinder the practioner, namely, evil demons (Skt. *māra*) who let the practioner do evil things, the non-Buddhist paths who make him abandon goodness, (hungry) ghosts (Skt. *preta*) who defile his body, and spirits that defile his mind. In this text, however, other definitions are given.

⁴⁵¹ 平等誓 (Jap. *byōdō sei*) is explained as ‘showing great compassion equally toward all sentient beings’, cf. Endō 1987: 308.

⁴⁵² For this interpretation of 種種限量之心 (Jap. *shushu genryō no shin*), cf. e.g. BGD: 335c, s.v. *genryō*.

⁴⁵³ Addition based on Endō’s reading (1987: 308): “目の前の... (Jap. *me no mae no*)”.

⁴⁵⁴ 大事因縁 is an abbreviation of 一大事因縁 (Jap. *ichi daiji innen*) lit. ‘the most important cause’, i.e. to become enlightened and save all sentient beings from suffering, cf. NEBJ: 123b; BGD: 50b.

⁴⁵⁵ 驚察身心 (Jap. *kyōsai shinjin*; var. ~ *shinjin*), lit. ‘to wander about and understand body and mind’.

⁴⁵⁶ 放逸懈怠 (Jap. *hōitsu kedai*) of which the first denotes ‘negligence’ (Skt. *pramāda*), and the second ‘indolence’ (Skt. *kausīdya*), both part of the six functions causing mental disturbance, cf. NEBJ: 36a; BGD: 929c, s.v. 大煩惱地法 (Jap. *dai bonnō chi hō*).

⁴⁵⁷ 精勤 (Jap. *shōgon*), cf. BGD: 731.

⁴⁵⁸ Here alternative translation of 誓願, lit. ‘to vow’, cf. n. 204 supra.

⁴⁵⁹ 四威儀 (Jap. *shi igi*), generally refers to the maintaining of correct behavior whilst being in the four postures of walking, standing, sitting, and lying down, cf. NEBJ: 277b, BGD: 574b, but in the context of esoteric ritual, it could also be an abbreviation for 四威儀用心 (Jap. *shi igi yōjin*), which involves a series of recitations of the A-syllable, cf. MD: 846. As such 威儀, however, denotes daily ‘behavior’ or ‘conduct’, cf. e.g. BGD: 33b; MD: 56, s.v. 威儀. (The latter also points out that this term can refer to a flat strap tied to a special kind of monks’ robe.) Endō (1987: 308) calls these ‘behaviors’ a ‘ritual’ (作法 Jap. *sahō*).

[These vows are:]

1. vowing to fully understand [reality] in accordance to the treasury of the correct teachings of all Tathāgatas;
2. vowing to vigorously practice in accordance to the correct practice of all bodhisattvas;
3. vowing to cultivate [yourself] in accordance to the method of all Tathāgatas who liberate people;

[T. 2463: 8a25] 4. [vowing to] rescue all sentient beings by means of the four embracing methods, free them⁴⁶³ from suffering, and bring them to⁴⁶⁴ happiness.

These are called the four unconditioned virtues. Uphold them accordingly!

Again, you who are about to enter the Gate of *Dhāraṇī*,⁴⁶⁵ must be endowed with the three categories of [precepts that are the] symbols [of Buddhas].⁴⁶⁶

This is treading in Tathāgata's footsteps.

Fully focused,⁴⁶⁷ you must vow not to break [the rules of] the four *pārājikā* offences,⁴⁶⁸ even for an instant!⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁰ Lit. 'they are called 無作' (Jap. *musu*), which regularly denotes 'being without origin or condition', cf. NEBJ: 204a; BGD: 1324a.

⁴⁶¹ T. LXXVIII, no. 2463: 8a21-22 reads: 次應修四威儀名無作於其功德運運之間自然增長, but when punctuated differently, namely: 次應修四威儀名無作於其功德運 運之間自然增長, could perhaps also be translated as: "Next you should practice the repeated [practice] in the four postures that called unconditioned in their virtue. While repeatedly [practicing] them, you will spontaneously ameliorate".

⁴⁶² 增長 (Jap. *zōjō*), lit. 'increase', cf. BGD: 882b.

⁴⁶³ 令離 (Jap. *ryōri*), lit. 'make them get rid of' or 'enable them to be free from'.

⁴⁶⁴ 獲 is an abbreviation for 獲得 (Jap. *kakutoku*), lit. 'to seize and obtain', i.e. 'to actualize'.

⁴⁶⁵ 陀羅尼門 (Jap. *darani mon*) refers to the esoteric or tantric approach, which relies on *dhāraṇī*s. Syn. to 總持門 (Jap. *sōji mon*), cf. e.g. BGD: 877b. On *dhāraṇī*, see n. 268 supra.

⁴⁶⁶ 三種三昧耶 (Jap. *sanshu sammaya*). These 'three symbols' are 'the four methods', 'the four *pārājikas*', and the 'ten important precepts' mentioned in T. 2463: 8a5ff. cf. p. 62 supra. These are further discussed in chapter IV below.

⁴⁶⁷ 專精 (Jap. *senshō*), i.e. to focus on practice toward the attainment of enlightenment, cf. BGD: 838d.

⁴⁶⁸ 四波羅夷 (Jap. *shi harai*), cf. n. 436 supra. Okada (1976: 19, n. 1) claims this term corresponds to Skt. *pāsājika* (sic.), but this must be a spelling mistake.

⁴⁶⁹ 無缺 (Jap. *muketsu*), lit. 'without interruption', cf. BKBD: 771. According to Kōda (1993: 381-382), until this sentence the HSBK ran parallel to the KSK (cf. n. 345 supra), and at this point again shifts to the JHBK. For further discussion, see chapter IV below.

[T. 2463: 8b1] As for that which is called the four *parājikās*, violating them would be like not continuing your life force⁴⁷⁰ whilst cutting of your head. Then your limbs would not have that which makes them act, and it would not take long before you fall apart. Well, the condition of the four kinds of vows regarding the intent of attaining awakening⁴⁷¹ is precisely the life force of the correct teaching of Mahāyāna. Breaking them would be like practicing various virtues whilst being a corpse, which would not take long before it failed.

[T. 2463: 8b5] First is the vow⁴⁷² of not abandoning the correct teaching or adhere to non-Buddhist practices.⁴⁷³ That is, you must practice, memorize and recite⁴⁷⁴ all correct teachings of the Tathāgatas. [Your effort should be] like the insatiable⁴⁷⁵ character⁴⁷⁶ of a great ocean consuming⁴⁷⁷ a hundred rivers. If you would follow a single doctrine amongst the explicit and partially revealed teachings⁴⁷⁸ of the various vehicles, or if you would be indifferent,⁴⁷⁹ or even if you would give rise to evil acts, then this would also be called a violation.

[T. 2463: 8b10] You must not break the first *pārājika*!

Will you be able to keep it?

[DISCIPLES]

(Yes, I am able to keep it.)

⁴⁷⁰ 命根 (Jap. *myōkon*), cf. NEBJ: 208a; BGD: 1305c.

⁴⁷¹ 菩提心戒四種戒相 (Jap. *bodaishinkai shishu kaisō*). The term 戒相 is defined as the condition of the precepts, i.e. whether they are being observed or violated, and when violated, whether heavily or lightly, etc. See: BGD: 164a, s.v. *kaisō*. Groner 1987: 209 renders this term as “precepts with form”. 菩提心戒, however, is Skt. *bodhicittaśīla*, cf. BGD: 1223a, in which 戒 (Jap. *kai*) denotes morality, or ‘vow’ rather than ‘precept’. On 戒 as vow, also see n. 135, 417, 430 and 436 supra. A further discussion is in chapter IV below.

⁴⁷² 戒 (Jap. *kai*), cf. n. 472 supra.

⁴⁷³ 起邪行 (Jap. *ki jagyō*), lit. ‘arousing evil behaviour’, cf. BGD: 611a.

⁴⁷⁴ 受持讀誦 (Jap. *juji dokushō*), cf. BGD: 638b. 受持 also denotes ‘to uphold’, ‘to keep’, and in the sense of ‘keeping in one’s mind’ refers to ‘memorize’, and ‘to hold in one’s mind’ as an object of contemplation, cf. BGD: 638a, s.v. 受持.

⁴⁷⁵ 無厭足 (Jap. *muensoku*), cf. BGD: 1315c.

⁴⁷⁶ Here, 心 (Jap. *shin*), lit. ‘mind’ is translated in the sense of ‘character’, ‘proclivity’.

⁴⁷⁷ 吞納 (Jap. *tonsō*), lit. ‘drink and obtain’.

⁴⁷⁸ 不了義 (Jap. *furyō gi*), Skt. *neyārtha* is something requiring further explanation, as opposed to Skt. *nītārtha* (了義 Jap. *ryōgi*), which is an explicit, or definitive meaning or doctrine, cf. BGD: 1174c, s.v. 不了義.

⁴⁷⁹ 棄捨 (Jap. *kisha*), lit. ‘to abandon’, but also refers to Skt. *upekṣā*, which is ‘equanimity’, cf. BGD: 211d.

[MASTER]

Second is the vow of not to abandon the intent of attaining awakening. This intent of attaining awakening regards all bodhisattva practices. It is like a general's banner. If he would give it up, then three armies would defeat, exploit, and ruin him,⁴⁸⁰ and others would take over his land.⁴⁸¹ Therefore you must not abandon your intent of attaining enlightenment. If you would abandon the intent of attaining awakening, this would be called a breach of the second *pārājika*.

You must not violate it!

Will you manage to uphold it?

[DISCIPLES]

[T. 2463: 8b15] [Yes, I am able to keep it.]

[MASTER]

Third is the vow of not being greedy⁴⁸² in all teachings.⁴⁸³ These various supreme teachings all are endeavors of the Tathāgatas, who practiced them with discarding their own lives. They obtained them after having their servants rest. They are the parental inheritance of all wordlings, which is not exclusive for one single [person]. If you are greedy, and not give the same [to everyone], this would be the equal to stealing the things appertaining to the three jewels,⁴⁸⁴

[T. 2463: 8b20] which would, therefore, be violating the third *pārājika*.

You must not break it!

Can you keep it?

[DISCIPLES]

[Yes, I am able to keep it.]

⁴⁸⁰ This sentence is dubious, and can perhaps also be translated as 'his three armies will be defeated'.

⁴⁸¹ Endō (1987: 311 and 318, n. 30) has a different interpretation, based on 他勝處 (Jap *tashōsho*), lit. 'that what is overcome by others', which is another term for *pārājika*, cf. BGD: 896b.

⁴⁸² 慳悋 (Jap. *kenrin*), lit. 'to be avaricious', cf. BGD: 328d.

⁴⁸³ 一切法 (Jap. *issai hō*) can also denote 'all phenomena'.

⁴⁸⁴ 三寶物 (Jap. *sanbō motsu*), i.e. images, banners, flowers, incense, etc. to Buddha; scripture scrolls, ink, paper, etc. to the Dharma, and cassock, bowl, monasteries, etc. to the Saṃgha, cf. DCBT: 64; BGD: 488b; Endō 1987: 318, n. 32.

[MASTER]

Fourth is the vow of not to display unbeneficial behavior towards sentient beings. This is [put forward in this way] because of [underscoring] the difference with [practice of beneficial behavior as one of] the four encompassing [methods]. Bodhisattvas cultivate the four embracing [methods] because [they wish to] completely include all sentient beings and offer them a chance⁴⁸⁵ to enter the path, but because [conversely], as the opposite of the four embracing [methods], you would now hinder the worldling's chances on the path and renounce to benefit them, this would be breaking the fourth *pārājika*. You must not violate it!

[T. 2463: 8b25] Are you able to uphold it?

[DISCIPLES]

[Yes, I am able to keep it.]

[MASTER]

Now, regarding these four vows,⁴⁸⁶ [they have the following implications:]

Because of the first vow, you must all arouse the unconditioned virtue in accordance with the treasury of all correct teachings of the three periods⁴⁸⁷ and in the ten directions;

Because of the second vow, you must all arouse the unconditioned virtue in accordance with the practice of all bodhisattvas in the ten directions;

Because of the third vow, you must all arouse the unconditioned virtue in accordance with the gate of saving all people in the three periods and the ten directions;

⁴⁸⁵ Based on the reading of 機縁 (Jap. *kien*) in Endō 1987: 312.

⁴⁸⁶ 戒 (Jap. *kai*), cf. n. 472 supra.

⁴⁸⁷ 三世 (Jap. *sanze*) commonly denotes the 'three periods' of past, present, and future (cf. BGD: 478d), which is also the interpretation followed by e.g. White (2005: 363), but MD: 813a, s.v. *sanze* gives also other, more 'esoteric' explanations. Namely, according to the 10th chapter of the *MVS-Commentary*, 三世 may also denote the three poisons (三毒 Jap. *sandoku*) of greed, hatred, and delusion (cf. n. 164 and 169 above), or the three realms (三界 Jap. *san kai*) of desire, form, and formless (cf. n. 339 supra); while according to the last scroll of Kūkai's *Treatise on Differentiation between the Exoteric and Esoteric Teachings* (for a translation, see Hakeda 1972: 151-156), it may also indicate the three mysteries (三密 Jap.) of body, speech, and mind (cf. Introduction: 2, n. 8 and n. 446 above), or even the three bodies (三身 Jap. *san shin*, cf. n. 152 supra).

[T. 2463: 8c1] Because of the fourth vow, you must all arouse the unconditioned virtue in accordance with the four embracing methods of reaching out to all sentient beings of the worlds in the ten directions!

Next I will explain the characteristics of the ten important precepts.⁴⁸⁸ What are these the ten important [precepts]?

1. You must not abandon the intent of attaining awakening, for this would hinder the realization of Buddhahood;

2. You must not reject the three jewels, nor take refuge with the external paths, for they are the heterodox teachings;

[T. 2463: 8c5] 3. You must not slander⁴⁸⁹ the scriptures of the Three Vehicles, for they are all Buddhist teachings;⁴⁹⁰

4. You should not have doubts when you cannot explain the most profound Mahāyāna texts, for this exceeds the bounds⁴⁹¹ of commoners;

5. Supposing [you encounter] someone who has already aroused the intent to attain awakening, you should not instruct these teachings in such a way that he would act counter to this intent or turn to the Two Vehicles, for in doing so you would destroy the germ of the Three Jewels;

[T. 2463: 8c10] 6. When seeing someone who has not yet aroused the intent to attain awakening, you should not instruct these teachings, in such a way that the thought of the Two Vehicles would emerge in their minds, for this would conflict with your original vow;

7. With regard to the people of the Hīnayāna, you should not talk about the profound and subtle Mahāyāna in an abrupt way,⁴⁹² for in all likelihood this would generate accusations and disaster;

⁴⁸⁸ 十重戒相 (Jap. *jū jūkai sō*). For 十重戒, see n. 437 supra; on 戒相, see n. 472 above. According to Kōda (1993: 381-382), this sentence marks the contents of the HSBK again turning to the KSK, cf. n. 345 and 470 above. For further discussion, see chapter IV below.

⁴⁸⁹ 毀謗 (Jap. *kihō*; var. *kibō*), also ‘to reject’, cf. BGD: 212a.

⁴⁹⁰ 佛法 (Jap. *buppō*), Skt. *buddha-dharma*.

⁴⁹¹ Here, 境界 (Jap. *kyōgai*) refers to ‘a sphere of cognition’, cf. NEBJ: 189b.

⁴⁹² 輒 (Jap. *chō*).

8. You should not arouse wrong views, for in doing you would cut off your good roots;⁴⁹³

9. In the presence [of people] of the non-Buddhist path, you must not spontaneously declare that you are furnished with the subtle precepts of

[T. 2463: 8c15] unsurpassed enlightenment (*bodhi*), for this would cause them to strive for these teachings with thoughts of resentment and envy, and in case you find this hard to accept, you would cut across your intent to attain awakening, which would be disadvantageous to both [sides];

10. You yourself should not do anything, which is harmful or unbeneficial to the sentient beings, or not to stimulate⁴⁹⁴ others to do so, and in case you would witness someone doing so, you must not rejoice, for this would run counter to the teaching of benefiting others and cuts across your compassionate mind.

[T. 2463: 8c20] As for these precepts, they are not the same as the Hīnayāna [precepts] that are limited to one lifespan⁴⁹⁵ and to one billion spheres.⁴⁹⁶

Moreover, the disciplinary precepts⁴⁹⁷ of the *śrāvakas* are conditioned⁴⁹⁸ and created,⁴⁹⁹ and have final *nirvāṇa*⁵⁰⁰ as their ultimate culmination.

The precepts that I have now conferred, by contrast, are born from [a Buddha's] omniscience,⁵⁰¹ and their final destination is the ocean of *sarvajñā*,⁵⁰² where there is no decay.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹³ 善根 (Jap. *zengon*) refers to positive habits that bring good retribution, with the roots of a tree used as a metaphor for goodness, cf. NEBJ: 336a; BGD: 849b.

⁴⁹⁴ 教 (Jap. *kyō*), lit. 'to instruct'.

⁴⁹⁵ 一期 (Jap. *ichigo*), cf. BGD: 47a; Endō 1987: 318, n. 33.

⁴⁹⁶ 三千世界 (Jap. *sanzen sekai*) refers to three times a thousand spheres, making up the domain of a Buddha, cf. NEBJ: 261a.

⁴⁹⁷ 律儀 (Jap. *ritsugi*) refers to Skt. *saṃvara*, i.e. the precepts of restraining evil through moral discipline, cf. NEBJ: 235b; BGD: 1419c.

⁴⁹⁸ 因緣 (Jap. *innen*), cf. NEBJ: 129b; BGD: 72b.

⁴⁹⁹ 造作 (Jap. *zōsa*), cf. BGD: 879c.

⁵⁰⁰ 無餘涅槃 (Jap. *muyo nehan*) is the state of total liberation from all physical and mental condition, in contrast to *nirvāṇa* where the body still exists, cf. BGD: 1349b; Okada 1976: 21, n. 1.

⁵⁰¹ 一切智 (Jap. *issai chi*), cf. NEBJ: 132a; BGD: 60a.

⁵⁰² 薩般若 (Jap. *satsubannya*) is the transliteration of the Skt. *sarvajñā*, while 一切智 (cf. n. 501 supra) is its translation, cf. BKBD: 9, s.v. 一切智.

⁵⁰³ 窮盡 (Jap. *gūjin*), e.g. lit. 'to dissolve', cf. BGD: 286d, in contrast to the aforementioned *nirvāṇa*, in which the afflictive hindrances in the mind are cut off and the body that is composed of the five aggregates is extinguished.

Further, in the *śrāvaka* teachings, even though there are some who are in training, and some who train no more,⁵⁰⁴ they both fully study the hindrances, but their rank is not the same. However, the arousal of the unconditioned discipline⁵⁰⁵ does not have the discrimination of inferior and superior.

Well, this is also the same for bodhisattva discipline.⁵⁰⁶ Even though from the initial arousal of the intent [to attain awakening] until the forty-second

[T. 2463: 8c25] stage⁵⁰⁷ there seems to be no equality, but [when you uphold all these precepts] at the same time they universally pervade the *dharmadhātu*, you arouse unconditioned wholesome roots, you are the same as the Tathāgata, and then there is rather no discrimination between reification and deconstruction.

Now I conclude the conferral of the precepts. I will transmit this Dharma treasure [containing the aforementioned teachings] to you, for you are no different from Buddhas who reside in the world. You are the true disciples of Buddha!⁵⁰⁸ I am investing you in the rank of Buddhahood!⁵⁰⁹ This is supreme most exalted, incomparable and unequalled precept!⁵¹⁰

[T. 2463: 9a1] This is the gate of quickly eradicate all hindrances and immediately actualizing enlightenment (*bodhi*)!

Next you can transfer your merit,⁵¹¹ cultivate your virtues, and so on.

The End

RITUAL FOR [CONFERRING] THE PRECEPTS BEING THE SYMBOL OF BUDDHAS (One scroll)

⁵⁰⁴ 學無學 is an abbreviation for 有學無學 (Jap. *ugaku mugaku*), with the former referring to a practitioner who is still in the level of training and who is not yet perfected as an *arhat*, and is in the first three stages of training, while the latter refers to someone who has attained the fourth stage of 'no more training', cf. NEBJ: 323b, s.v. *ugaku*; BGD: 81a, s.v. 有學; and for more information, cf. Muller in DBJ, s.v. 四向四果 (Jap. *shikō shika*).

⁵⁰⁵ 無作律儀 (Jap. *musa ritsugi*). On 無作, see n. 461 supra; for 律儀, cf. n. 347 and 498 above.

⁵⁰⁶ 菩薩律儀 (Jap. *bosatsu ritsugi*). According to Kōda (1993: 381-382), this point marks the end of the HSBK's accordance with the KSK, cf. n. 345, 470, and 489 above. For further discussion, see chapter IV below.

⁵⁰⁷ These are the stages in the bodhisattva path, originally established in Yogācāra, including the ten abodes (十住 Jap. *jū jū*, cf. NEBJ: 149b; BGD: 654d), ten practices (十行 Jap. *jū gyō*, NEBJ: 147a; BGD: 652a), ten dedications of merit (十廻向 Jap. *jū ekō*, cf. NEBJ: 146b), the ten stages (十地 Jap. *jū ji*, cf. NEBJ: 148b), and virtual enlightenment (等覺 Jap. *tōgaku*, cf. BGD: 1003a), to which later marvellous enlightenment (妙覺 Jap. *myōgaku*, cf. DCBT: 235; BGD: 1302b) was added.

⁵⁰⁸ 佛眞子 (Jap. *butsu no shinshi*), cf. BGD: 1195b. Note that in the previous text, 佛子 (Jap. *bussshi*) has been translated as 'disciple', whilst lit. denoting 'child of Buddha', cf. NEBJ: 23b; BGD: 1192c, s.v. 佛子.

⁵⁰⁹ 佛位 (Jap. *butsui*), cf. BGD: 1190a.

⁵¹⁰ 戒 (Jap. *kai*).

⁵¹¹ 廻向 (Jap. *ekō*), cf. NEBJ: 52b; BGD: 102c.

IV. THE HSBK AND KŪKAI'S PRECEPTS VIEW

As may be clear from the preceding chapter, the HSBK can be considered a so-called “ritualpraktisches Schrift” (儀軌 Jap. *giki*; Skt. *viddhi*; *kalpa*),⁵¹² which explains the procedure for conferring the precepts that are promulgated as the symbol (Skt. *samaya*) of Buddhas.⁵¹³ Just as is the case with other esoteric Buddhist texts, the HSBK emphasizes pragmatic aspects, i.e. what one does, visualizes, or says in a certain ritual context. Such texts have been compared to scores:

Der überlieferte Text erfüllt seine Funktion erst in einer “Aufführung”. Dazu ist jedoch ein (grösstenteils mündlich und geheim) überliefertes Wissen von der “Aufführungspraxis” notwendig. Das Textverständnis ist also nicht vom Wissen der operatorischen Überlieferung und ihrem pragmatischen Vollzug zu trennen.⁵¹⁴

However, although the translation may have shown that this kind of texts were not written as literature to be read, they can be treated as an object of scientific research in so far that they can be read in the context of other texts.⁵¹⁵ Although it has been argued that such a reading may imply a certain “hermeneutical ambiguity”,⁵¹⁶ a contextual reading is necessary if one is to address questions related to the provenance of the ritual manual’s contents, or its authenticity.

Questioning the authenticity of the HSBK

It is a historical fact that the HSBK has circled together with Kūkai’s SKJ since ancient times.⁵¹⁷ However, based on the observation that the contents of the HSBK is mainly is a composition of two other sources (namely the HSBK and KSK, cf. infra), it has been argued that the HSBK is not written by Kūkai.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹² Lehnert 2001: 996.

⁵¹³ According to Ueda T. (1933: 140), the HSBK is “the samaya precepts ritual [preceding] the dharma transmission consecration (傳法灌頂三昧耶戒作法 Jap. *denpō-kanjō sanmaya-kai sakuhō*).” On consecration, also see chapter I: 3 above, s.v. *abhiṣeka*.

⁵¹⁴ Lehnert 2001: 997.

⁵¹⁵ Lehnert 2001: 1002.

⁵¹⁶ That is, when one “looking for” meaning in a certain text, and one thinks to have “found” it, still another person can also “find” something else, cf. Lehnert 2001: 1003.

⁵¹⁷ Kōda 1993: 382.

⁵¹⁸ E.g. Tomabechi 1989.

The passages that correlate with those texts can be summarized as follows:⁵¹⁹

Table 1. General correlations of HSBK with JHBK and KSK

HSBK (T. LVII, no. 2463)	//	main subjects
6b11-7b08	JHBK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - introduction: reasons for arousing <i>bodhicitta</i> - invocation of all Buddhas - the four universal bodhisattva vows - explanation of sūtra quotes on <i>bodhicitta</i> - explanation of sūtra quotes on Dharmakāya - mantra recitation and worship of all Buddhas - repentance - formal notice on precepts conferral - three refuges - sūtra quotes on <i>bodhicitta</i>
7b09-8a29	KSK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - inquiry on ability to uphold the Buddha precepts - summoning all Buddhas as witnesses - summoning 8 Buddhas, and 4 Tenrinja as preceptors - summoning 4 Bodhisattvas as professors (+ explanation of their names) - summoning four Mahābodhisattvas as instructors (+ explanation) - proclamation of the proceedings - bestowal of the threefold pure precepts - four methods - four hindrances - four vows of demeanor
8b01-8c02	JHBK	four <i>parājikas</i>
8c03-8c24	KSK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ten important precepts - explanation on the bodhisattva precepts
8c24-9a03	/	concluding remarks

⁵¹⁹ Page references based on Kōda 1993: 381-382, where the correlations in the TKDZ-edition are given. Their counterparts in the T-edition are also indicated in n. 345, 470, 489, and 507 to chapter III above. The sections of the T-edition of the HSBK that run parallel with the JHBK are marked in bold in appendix A.1.

The first text that has been compared to the HSBK is the *Manual for Taking Vows for Arousing Bodhicitta* (Jap. *Ju hotsu bodaishin-kai mon* 受發菩提心戒文, abbreviated to JHBK).⁵²⁰ This manual is included as the 20th book in the *Thirty-volume-set of Buddhist Sūtras* (三十帖策子, Jap. *Sanjūjō sakushi*, cf. appendix D), a collection of texts that was imported by Kūkai in 806.⁵²¹ Even though both texts are, indeed, remarkably close, already from the first page of the manuscript onwards, it is clear that they are not exactly the same.

This may be illustrated in the sample of the manuscript reproduction below, in which character variants have been highlighted in blue, while green marks passages that are not attested in the HSBK. Yellow points at different phrasings, and purple marks characters that are in the HSBK, but not in the JHBK:

Figure 1. Sample of discrepancies between JHBK and HSBK

授發菩提心戒文
夫欲發无上菩提之心應先深心觀察十方諸佛清淨性
海湛寂圓明本无生滅廣大无碍无相无為常寂相
照諸眾生為諸妄想煩惱迷覆淨心不覺不知昏暗
默貪嗔毒日夜燒溺六賊攻劫五欲纏縛昏狂既盛无所
覺知慙念此輩從大悲海流演化身不生而生无相現相
假起言說示現去來皆為憐念我等眾生起方便智施權
實教為欲引導利鈍根性施設種種頓漸法門是故我等
慚愧諸佛慈悲方便慙念眾生沉淪苦海應當發起廣大
之心誓擬斷除一切眾惡誓擬修習最上法門誓願度脫等眾
生界一切有情誓求速證无上菩提諸佛勝果是故發
起菩提之心廣如菩提心義中說又菩提心者即是諸佛清
淨法身亦是眾生深淨心本尋逐根源本无生滅十方求之
終不可得離言說相離名字相離心緣相妄心流轉即名
眾生深汙之身開發照暗即名諸佛清淨法身故不增不減
經云不離眾生界有法身不離法身有眾生界眾生界
即是法身法身即是眾生界故經又言眾生界清淨
應知即法身法身即涅槃涅槃即如來以是觀之一切眾生
性淨法身與諸佛身本无差別而諸如來昔在因地迷本
法身與我无異發大精進勤修已行已成心覺我今云
何貪戀淤泥不起心行故發是心又觀眾生沉淪苦海
沒生死河迷自心源竟失惠命慙念彼等與我法身平

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⁵²⁰ BKD V: 114d, s.v. 授發菩提心戒文 only mentions that Kūkai is the author of this text, but gives no further reference to its presence in any collection. The title 授發菩提心戒文 appears to be mentioned only in one catalogue throughout the T. canon, namely in the 根本大和尚真跡策子等目錄 (Jap. *Konpon daiōshō shinshaku sakushi-tō mokuroku*, i.e. T. LV, no. 2162: 1067a14), but no information is given on the authorship or dating.

⁵²¹ For more information, see: BD: 1552b.

The second text that has been put side by side the HSBK is the *Record on the Abhiṣeka Samaya Vows* (*Kanjō sammayakai* 灌頂三昧耶戒, abbreviated to KSK, cf. appendix E) that was allegedly composed by Ennin (円仁, 794-864).⁵²² This would logically entail that the completion of the HSBK must have happened after Ennin's times, implying that it is virtually impossible that the HSBK is Kūkai's genuine compilation.⁵²³ Indeed, lining up both texts, there are –to say the least– a lot of similarities, but this does not necessarily mean that the HSBK borrowed from the KSK. It may very well be just the other way around.

To begin with, there is no incontestable evidence for the KSK actually being either Ennin's own work, or for him having imported the text.⁵²⁴ The KSK is not listed in any of Ennin's own catalogues (T. LV, nos. 2165-2167), but in two other interesting catalogues. The first is of his master's redaction, namely the *Catalogue [of Texts, Iconographies, and Ritual Instruments] collected by Saichō in Yuechou*,⁵²⁵ that lists the material Saichō collected in the Longxingsi (龍興寺), where in 805, just before his return to Japan after an eleven month trip to China, he was instructed into esoteric Buddhism.⁵²⁶ The second catalogue that mentions the KSK, is compiled by Ennin's disciple Annen,⁵²⁷ namely the *Encompassing Catalogue on the Category of the Shingon Esotericism of all Hierophants*,⁵²⁸ which –at least according to its colophon– was compiled in 885 (Gangyō 9).⁵²⁹ In this catalogue's *Section on the Three Abhiṣekas*,⁵³⁰ there is a part called *Catalogue on Samaya Precepts Manuals*,⁵³¹ in which the KSK is listed immediately following the MSZ, preceding the JBKG (cf. infra).⁵³²

⁵²² For more information, see: BKD II: 116d, s.v. *Kanjō sammayakai ki* 灌頂三昧耶戒記.

⁵²³ Kōda 1993: 382.

⁵²⁴ Kōda 1993: 382.

⁵²⁵ 傳教大師將來越州錄 Jap. *Dengō Daishi shōrai osshū* [var. *esshū*] roku, i.e. T. LV, no. 2160: 1058c6.

⁵²⁶ Abe 1995: 104-105.

⁵²⁷ For a study on Annen, see e.g. Groner 1990. Along with Ennin (圓仁, 794–864) and Enchin (圓珍, 814–891), Annen established what would later be known as Tendai esotericism (台密 Jap. Taimitsu). However, whereas Ennin and Enchin understood the esoteric teachings as “incorporated within the so-called ‘perfect teaching’ (圓教 Jap. *enkyō*) [...] by categorizing [...] Tendai doctrine as 理祕密 (Jap. *rihi mitsu*) and [the] esoteric teaching as 事理俱密 (Jap. *jiriku mitsu*), Annen [by contrast] created a separate category which he called 眞言密教 (Jap. *shingon mikkyō*).” E. Swanson in DBJ, s.v. 安然.

⁵²⁸ 諸阿闍梨眞言密教部類總錄, Jap. *Sho ajari Shingon Mikkyō burui sōroku*, i.e. T. LV, no. 2176: 1113c9-10. ‘Hierophant’ as a translation for Skt. *acārya* is borrowed from Lehnert 2001: 997.

⁵²⁹ T. LV, no. 2176: 1113c9.

⁵³⁰ 三灌頂部 Jap. *San kanjō bu*, i.e. T. LV, no. 2176: 1114a17ff. On the threefold consecration system in Tendai, see n. 373 in chapter III supra.

⁵³¹ 三摩耶戒本錄法, Jap. *Sanmaya kaihō rokuhō*, i.e. T. LV, no. 2176: 1114b11ff. This fourth part follows (1) 胎藏界灌頂本經法 (T. LV, no. 2176: 1114a18), (2) 金剛界灌頂本經法 (T. LV, no. 2176: 1114a24); and (3) 蘇悉地灌頂本經法三 (T. LV, no. 2176: 1114b09).

⁵³² T. LV, no. 2176: 1114b16-17, and b20 respectively.

Moreover, even though the HSBK undoubtedly is analogous to the KSK, it is hard to imagine that there was a direct transmission between them (in the sense, for example, of on-site copying), not in the least because there are frequent distinctions in the characters of the respective texts, and also the word order of the sentences differs significantly.⁵³³ The samples in table 2 (see p. 77 below) may illustrate this unequivocally. Character variants are highlighted in orange; the passages marked in green are parts that occur only in either of the texts; blue indicates different characters and/or theoretical copy mistakes; while purple points at variant phrasings.

Aside from the KSK and the JHBK, also two other texts have been connected to the HSBK, namely the JBKG and MSZ, which in contrast to the previous manuals are perhaps more readily available (i.e. T. XVIII, nos. 915 and 917 respectively, which are in appendices F and G below).⁵³⁴ JBKG refers to the *[Ritual on the] Conferral of the Precepts of Arousing the Intent to attain Awakening* (授発菩提心戒, Jap. *Ju hotsu bodaishin kai*), which is attributed to Amoghavajra,⁵³⁵ while MSZ stands for 無畏三藏禪要 (Jap. *Mui-sanzō Zen'yō*). This latter text has been ascribed to Śubhākarasiṃha.⁵³⁶ But also this text correlation is not unproblematic.

For instance, the HSBK quotes from other sūtras (see e.g. chapter III: 49-50), but these citations are not in any of the aforementioned texts. Also, various mantras in the HSBK have been traced back to the JBKG and MSZ (see e.g. chapter III: 45-46, n. 317 and 48, n. 335), but because they are also attested in many other texts, this cannot possibly pass as a decisive argument for their interrelation. If it would, a formula that also occurs in a text by Kūkai's master Huiguo (cf. chapter III: 42, n. 281), would then, conversely, also be an indication of the HSBK's hypothetical authentic transmission.

⁵³³ Kōda 1993: 382.

⁵³⁴ See e.g. Ueda T. 1933: 140-141; Tomabechi 2008: 467ff., and esp. 479 for a schematic overview.

⁵³⁵ For other titles, see: BKD V: 115, s.v. 授発菩提心戒. On the text's contents, see: BKD V: 103, s.v. 受菩提心戒儀.

⁵³⁶ For a study and annotated translation in Dutch, see Pinte 2004. An English edition is currently in preparation.

Table 2. Sample comparison of HSBK and KSK

HSBK (T. LXXVII, no. 2463)	KSK (ND XLI, no. 79)
<p>7b09-10: 次問言。諸仁者能受持一切諸佛菩薩最勝最上大律儀否答言能持</p> <p>7b11-22: 次請賢聖三請 弟子某甲等奉請十方一切諸佛爲大尊證 願大德爲我作證明 弟子某甲等 奉請無動寶生阿彌陀天鼓雷音爲作和尚 爲依和尚故得受具足菩薩清淨三昧耶戒 爲我作和尚慈愍故也至心奉請雄猛阿闍鞞 最勝寶生尊大悲阿彌陀成就不空業 此諸無上尊至心稽首請 及薩埵金剛降伏於一切勝上虛空藏能授諸灌頂 救世觀自在顯三昧瑜伽巧毘首羯磨善作諸事業 如是轉輪者唯願受我請 三說</p> <p>7b23-25: 次應奉請羯磨及教授 普賢慈氏妙德除蓋障爲羯磨阿闍梨 如是四菩薩猶如賢瓶闕一不可</p>	<p>176a: 次應問言諸佛子志心能受持一切菩薩最勝最上大律儀不（答言能）</p> <p>176a-176b 次請賢聖（三說） 弟子某甲等奉請十方一切諸佛爲大尊證 奉請雄猛阿闍鞞 最勝寶生佛大悲阿彌陀佛成就不空業佛 此諸無上尊至心稽首請 奉請四大菩薩及薩金剛菩薩降伏於一切勝上虛空藏菩薩能授諸灌頂 救世觀自在菩薩顯三昧瑜伽得毘首羯磨善作諸事業 如是轉輪者四菩薩唯願受我請（三說） 次請和上 弟子奉請無動如來寶生如來阿彌陀如來天鼓雷音如來爲我作和上 我依和上故得受具足菩薩清淨三昧耶戒（三說）</p> <p>次請羯磨阿闍梨 弟子某甲等奉請普賢菩薩慈氏菩薩妙德菩薩除蓋障菩薩爲我作羯磨阿闍梨 我依闍梨故得受具足菩薩清淨三昧耶戒 次請教授阿闍梨 弟子某甲等奉請普賢菩薩觀音爲我作教授阿闍梨 我依闍梨故得受具足清淨三昧耶戒</p> <p>177a: 復請四大菩薩是四菩薩猶如賢瓶闕一不可</p>

Nevertheless, some passages are remarkably alike. For instance, the HSBK section on the four methods (cf. translation in chapter III: 63) almost exactly matches the MSZ (identical phrases are marked in bold):

Table 3. Parallels between MSZ and HSBK sections on the four methods

MSZ (T. XVIII, no. 917: 943c6-c14)	HSBK (T. LXXVIII, no. 2463: 8a4-8a12)
<p>第十修四攝門</p> <p>諸佛子等如上已發菩提心具菩薩戒已</p> <p>然應修四攝法及十重戒不應虧犯</p> <p>其四攝者所謂布施愛語利行同事</p> <p>爲欲調伏無始慳貪及饒益衆生故應行布施</p> <p>爲欲調伏瞋恚憍慢煩惱及利益衆生故應行愛語</p> <p>爲欲饒益衆生及滿本願故應修利行</p> <p>爲欲親近大善知識及令善心無間斷故</p> <p>應行同事如是四法此修行處</p>	<p>次甄別戒性</p> <p>已發菩提心具菩薩戒竟</p> <p>復應修四攝法及四波羅夷及十重戒不應缺犯其四</p> <p>攝者所謂布施愛語利行同事</p> <p>爲欲調伏無始慳貪及利益有情故應行布施</p> <p>爲欲調伏瞋恚憍慢煩惱及利益有情故應行愛語爲</p> <p>欲饒益有情及滿本願故應修利行</p> <p>爲欲親近善知識及令善心無間斷故</p> <p>應修同事如是四法是修行處</p>

The same striking similarity is also found when putting the respective passages on the ten important precepts of the HSBK side by side the ten prohibitions of the MSZ (cf. translation in chapter III: 69 above):

Table 4. Parallels between MSZ and HSBK sections on the ten precepts

MSZ (T. XVIII, no. 917: 943c16-944a4)	HSBK (T. LXXVIII, no. 2463: 8c3-8c19)
<p>諸佛子受持菩薩戒所謂十重戒者</p> <p>今當宣說至心諦聽</p> <p>一者不應退菩提心妨成佛故</p> <p>二者不應捨三寶歸依外道是邪法故</p> <p>三者不應毀謗三寶及三乘教典背佛性故</p> <p>四者於甚深大乘經典不通解處不應生疑惑</p> <p>非凡夫境界故</p> <p>五者若有衆生已發菩提心者不應說如是法</p> <p>令退菩提心趣向二乘斷三寶種故</p>	<p>次說十重戒相所謂十重者</p> <p>一者不應退菩提心妨成佛故</p> <p>二者不應捨離三寶歸依外道是邪法故</p> <p>三者不應毀謗三乘教典皆佛法故</p> <p>四者於甚深大乘經典不通解處不可生疑</p> <p>非凡夫境界故</p> <p>五者若復有人已發菩提心者不應說如是法</p> <p>令彼退菩提心趣向二乘斷三寶種故</p>

<p>六者未發菩提心者亦不應說如是法 令彼發於二乘之心違本願故</p> <p>七者對小乘人及邪見人前不應輒說深妙 大乘恐彼生謗獲大殃故</p> <p>八者不應發起諸邪見等法令斷善根故</p> <p>九者於外道前不應自說我具無上菩提妙戒 令彼以瞋恨心求如是物不能辦得令退菩提心 二俱有損故</p> <p>十者但於一切衆生有所損害及無利益 皆不應作及教人作見作隨喜 於利他法及慈悲心相違背故</p>	<p>六者見未發菩提心者亦不應說如是法 令彼發於二乘之心違本願故</p> <p>七者對小乘人不應輒說深妙 大乘 恐彼生謗獲大殃故</p> <p>八者不應發起邪見斷善根故</p> <p>九者於外道前不應自說我具無上菩提妙戒 令彼以瞋害心求如是法不能辦得退菩提心 二俱損故</p> <p>十者但於有情中所損害及無利益 皆不應令自作及教他作見作隨喜 即於利他法中及以慈悲相違背故</p>
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Both instances correlate also to the KSK (cf. table 1 supra), but in case these sections of the HSBK would indeed be crafted on the latter, this might make one wonder if the MSZ could also be Ennin's work, but to date there is no historical evidence pointing in that direction. However, it would, by contrast, perhaps be more logical to accept the authenticity of both the MSZ and the HSBK, and advance that it is precisely the KSK that drew from the MSZ and/or the HSBK.

However, there are also other correspondances between the MSZ, HSBK, and JBKG, that do not correlate with the KSK parallel sections, but match to the JHBK. This is shown, for example, with regard to the HSBK passage on the three refuges, which occurs only in three other texts of the T-canon in a similar phrasing:⁵³⁷

Table 5. Similarities regarding the three refuges

MSZ (T. XVIII, no. 917: 943a6-10)	HSBK (T. LXXVIII, no. 2463: 7a21-26)	JBKG (T. XVIII, no. 915: 717c24-718a3)
<p>弟子某甲 始從今身乃至當坐菩提道場 歸依如來無上三身 歸依方廣大乘法藏 歸依一切不退菩薩僧</p>	<p>弟子某甲等盡未來際 歸依無上三身諸佛 歸依方廣大乘法藏 歸依不退諸菩薩僧 弟子某甲等歸依佛竟 歸依法竟歸依僧竟</p>	<p>次當受三歸依 弟子某甲等 從今日以往 歸依諸如來 五智三身佛 歸依金剛乘 自性真如法 歸依不退轉 大悲菩薩僧 歸依三寶竟</p>

⁵³⁷ Cf. chapter III: 45, n. 316, and ibid. 46 for the English translation. The correspondances are in table 1 supra.

Notwithstanding the above similarities, it has to be noted that the differentiation into various sections that have been identified as parallels to other texts, might not be so rigid as it may at first glance appear (cf. table 1 supra). For instance, in a passage that –according to the aforementioned scheme– runs parallel to the KSK, the HSBK states that Samantabhadra, Vajrasattva and Avalokiteśvara are called the “three inseparable aspects with unlimitedly mysterious and marvelous functions”, i.e. wisdom, liberation and Dharmakāya (T. LXXVIII, no. 2463: 7c18-19, cf. translation in chapter III: 59), and compares them to the three dots in the graphic representation of the Skt. syllable *i*.⁵³⁸

Interestingly, this simile may be drawn from the *Nirvāṇasūtra*:

As for the meaning of causality, *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas* do not understand this very profound meaning. They do not learn about the three dots of the syllable *i* of the secret treasury that is attain liberation, nirvāṇa and *mahāprajñā*.⁵³⁹

The fact that precisely this text is explicitly quoted in a HSBK section correlating with JHBK (cf. T. LXXVIII, no. 2463: 7b5ff., translated in chapter III: 49 supra) may suggest that the different “parts” that are allegedly following the lines of the KSK and JHBK are actually closer connected than suggested so far.

Moreover, in case the HSBK would indeed not have been composed by Kūkai, then no traces of its contents should be found in his uncontested writings. Or, also the other way around, one may ask what elements in the HSBK are clearly discussed in texts that have undoubtedly been written by Kūkai. As is apparent from the above samples, perhaps the most important issues in searching for coherence are related to precepts.

At the core of the following pages, therefore, lies the tracing of analogies between the precepts view expounded in the HSBK and that in Kūkai’s oeuvre. In other words, it comprises a contextual reading of the HSBK within the framework of the works in which Kūkai expounds his precepts view, as well as those texts on which this view was coined.

⁵³⁸ See chapter III: 59, n. 423.

⁵³⁹ T. XII, no. 375: 627b10-12.: 因緣義者聲聞緣覺不解如是甚深之義不聞伊字三點而成解脫涅槃摩訶般若成祕密藏. On this text, see: chapter III, n. 335 above.

Kairitsu: disentangling vinaya and śīla

When discussing “precepts views”, Japanese studies most generally use the term 戒律観 (Jap. *kairitsukan*). However, as Mark Unno has already pointed out, 戒律 (Jap. *kairitsu*), which is a core concept in East Asian Buddhology, has no consistent equivalent in Sanskrit or any of the other Indic and Central Asian languages in which Buddhism was promulgated.⁵⁴⁰

Nevertheless, in Western language publications, the conventional English translation for *kairitsu* is ‘precepts’, which blurs the fact that this term actually denotes two separate systems of Buddhist precepts. Namely, while the character 戒 (Jap. *kai*) commonly points at the Sanskrit word *śīla*, 律 (Jap. *ritsu*) most often refers to *vinaya*. Since there is no comparable term like *śīla-vinaya** in the known Indic sources, *kairitsu* thus appears to take on its own particular meanings in East Asian contexts.⁵⁴¹

When falling back on the original meanings of the Sanskrit words *śīla* and *vinaya*, it is noteworthy that the term *śīla* derives from the root *śīl.*, meaning among other things ‘to do’, ‘act’, and ‘make’. Initially it signified ‘custom’, ‘proclivity’, or ‘character’, and then became a word meaning ‘good custom’, ‘good activities’, and ‘morality’.⁵⁴² In the Indian Brahmanic cultural tradition, *śīla* was therefore first and foremost a kind of deontological code associated with a certain profession. With the social shift to a Buddhist organisation of society, *śīla* gradually became an overall term for the Buddhist virtues expressed in universal moral principles applicable both to laity and the clergy. So, according to context, there are two levels of *śīla*: (1) character and moral behaviour in general; and (2) specific rules of monastic life.⁵⁴³

The word *vinaya*, by contrast, is formed by the combination of the prefix *vi-* and the verbal root *nī.*, basically meaning ‘to lead’, ‘train’, ‘educate’. This compound originally meant ‘education’ and ‘discipline’, but then took on the sense of ‘rule’.⁵⁴⁴ And indeed, the Buddhist *vinayas* comprise of disciplinary regulations or monastic law strictly aimed at regulating the everyday conduct of priests and nuns.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴⁰ Unno 1994: 15.

⁵⁴¹ Unno 1994: 15.

⁵⁴² Abe 1999: 48.

⁵⁴³ Gombrich 1998: 50.

⁵⁴⁴ Mori Shōji, quoted in Abe 1999: 48.

⁵⁴⁵ Abe 1999: 48.

What then are the major differences between *śīla* and *vinaya*, or between *kai* and *ritsu*? Referring to the work of Mori Shōji, Unno distinguishes the six features, which may be outlined in the following manner:⁵⁴⁶

Table 6. Disentangling *kai* and *ritsu*

<i>śīla</i>	<i>vinaya</i>
1. positive cultivation of the good	1. negative prohibitions
2. autonomously maintained morals	2. externally enforced law
3. individually-orientated	3. communally-orientated
4. general moral principles	4. detailed practical transgressions
5. based on the <i>sūtra</i> literature	5. based on the <i>vinaya</i> literature
6. for all Buddhist practitioners	6. only for the monastic community

Thus, there are clearly two kinds of precepts: on the one hand, one can define *śīla* precepts as the general moral principles, which an individual Buddhist, whether ordained monastic or layperson, autonomously decides to follow in order to actively cultivate good. *Vinaya* precepts, on the other hand, comprise of an extensive series of negative prohibitions constituting the monastic penal code, used to restrain and regulate the practical daily life of novices, monks and nuns of the Buddhist community, that is, the *prātimokṣa*.⁵⁴⁷

In the words of Bruno Petzold, “the double word ‘*kai-ritsu*’ has the twofold meaning of monastic rule founded on morality, or monastic rule comprising of moral commandments”.⁵⁴⁸ Consequently, he considers *śīla* as the foundation of the *vinaya*, or in other words, he sees the concrete disciplinary *vinaya* precepts as part of the more general moral *śīla* precepts. In this way, the term *kairitsu* does not solely refer to the whole of formal articles on prohibitions (i.e. *prātimokṣa*) and practical regulations for the Buddhist community, but covers a much broader range of ethical perspectives than solely the ecclesiastical regulations.⁵⁴⁹

Before going any further, we should first explain how *vinaya* and *śīla* are related to each other on the pragmatic plain, or in other words, are these two sets of precepts complementary or mutually exclusive in the religious life of the Buddhist practitioner?

⁵⁴⁶ Unno 1994: 16.

⁵⁴⁷ The *prātimokṣa* comprises eight categories of precepts according to the *saṃgha* group one belongs to Dessein and Heirman 1999: 245-248; Tsomo 1992: 143.

⁵⁴⁸ Petzold 1995: 464.

⁵⁴⁹ Also see Ueda T. 1933: 124.

As Shingon or *mantrayāna* practice has often been presented as the ultimate form of *mahāyāna*, we might look at this question from the perspective of a Mahāyānist. In this respect, Richard Gombrich points out that it is crucial to understand that “being a Mahāyānist is the same as to be a *bodhisattva*, and both terms denote *a religious condition*, not a social role”.⁵⁵⁰ This difference between spiritual state and status or social standing logically implies that morality (*śīla*) is divergent from discipline (*vinaya*). That is, “They pertain to two separate dimensions of Buddhist life: the *śīla* precepts advise on the ideal behaviour for a swift attainment of the religious goal of salvation, while the *vinaya* precepts are the mundane rules of daily conduct by which the clergy live”.⁵⁵¹

Notwithstanding this clear distinction between the religious pragmatics of *śīla* and *vinaya*, Buddhist scholarship has blended the terms *kai* and *ritsu*. For example, in Mahāyāna texts, the oldest core of the Buddhist disciplinary code for monastics, namely the *prātimokṣa*, is also called *saṃvara-śīla* or ‘moral code of restraint’, or to explain with Gombrich:

The *prātimokṣa* is negative, a catalogue of things one undertakes not to do. The *bodhisattva* (i.e. the Mahāyānist) is not to rest content with being moral in this negative sense, but must also do positively moral things... [This is called] *kuśala-dharma-saṃgrāhakam śīlam*... [which] is whatever good, beyond the moral code of restraint, one accumulates with body or voice towards the great Enlightenment. In other words, it is what one does *in addition to*, not instead of, observing the *prātimokṣa*.⁵⁵²

It is precisely this last issue, i.e. that in the continental tradition upholding the *vinaya* precepts was the condition for entering the social state of a monastic, who could in addition take the *bodhisattvaśīla* precepts to create a distinct profile for his/her religious condition, that was turned around in early Heian Japan by Saichō. His idea was that it were the *bodhisattvaśīla* (*kai*) that classified a neophyte as a Tendai monk, who after his twelve year training retreat on Mt. Hiei could in addition take the *vinaya* precepts (*ritsu*) as a provisional and –therefore inferior– ‘Hīnayāna’ ordination.⁵⁵³

This context offers an opportunity to vanquish a wide-spread misconception regarding *vinaya*, that unfortunately still is apparent in certain Buddhological works, and might be called the ‘*mahāyāna-vinaya* delusion’. At present there still are some scholars who have done pioneering work in Buddhist Studies, but are –for some unclear reasons– evidently confused, to say the least, when it comes down to the *vinaya* in East Asia. To give only one example,

⁵⁵⁰ Gombrich 1998: 47, emphasis added.

⁵⁵¹ Gombrich 1998: 53.

⁵⁵² Gombrich 1998: 50-51.

⁵⁵³ Abe 1999: 50-52; Groner 1984: 195ff.

titles of publications such as *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine* by Jan Jakob Maria De Groot (1893) may suggest that Mahāyānists have developed a disciplinary code of their own. Other scholars, such as Bruno Petzold, for example, go even further and make such statements like “in India we also find a Mahāyāna Vinaya” or “the Mahāyāna Vinaya was more powerful in China than in India”.⁵⁵⁴

As the above paragraphs have asserted, such ideas are wrong, for there is no and has never been such a thing as a *mahāyāna-vinaya*.⁵⁵⁵ As we have seen, the term ‘Mahāyāna’ is at best referring to some alleged superior stage in the spiritual progress of a Buddhist practitioner, and has nothing to do with regulations for monastic life. What is correct, however, is that instead of producing a separate collection of *vinaya* precepts, Mahāyāna developed its own system of *śīla* precepts within the – predominantly Chinese apocryphal – *sūtra* literature which emphasized cultivation of good and helping of others.

As has been pointed out by Unno, the canonical foundation of *kai* and *ritsu* further implies that *kairitsu* at best is to be defined as consisting both of *sūtra* as well as *vinaya* precepts.⁵⁵⁶ Perhaps it is this link with literature that made Yuasa Yasuo define *kairitsu* as the “precepts and canons”, which he considers to be “the essence of the actualities of Buddhist cultivation”. Although he argues also that the compound term *kai-ritsu* itself is a “neologism not found in Indian Buddhism”, he distinguishes the following specific cultural meanings.⁵⁵⁷

The first is “*ritsu* in the sense of *vinaya*, the regulations internal to the Buddhist monastic order or *saṃgha*” and pertains to –what Yuasa considers as– “Indian Buddhism”.⁵⁵⁸ Its connection to “cultivation” is formulated as:

Leaving the secular world and entering the *saṃgha*, one renounces all secular responsibilities and submits to the constraint of the canons. The articles in the canons are called *prātimokṣa* and one will be punished for violating them, that is, one must atone for wrongdoing. [...] Consequently, the *vinaya* is a self-governing system of laws for maintaining the order’s organization. [...] The Indian religious order generally forms a sacred region with extraterritorial rights beyond the intervention of any secular power. Consequently, those who have left the secular world are free of all constraints of secular laws. [...] Freedom from secular law is a right claimed by the *saṃgha* itself, and the secular powers of Indian society have traditionally recognized this right. Therefore, the religious world and the political world are completely separate social systems. This indicates a dualism in the Indian view of the world between religion and politics, and consequently, between the sacred and the secular. In this regard, to regulate one’s everyday life in accordance with various determinations of the

⁵⁵⁴ Petzold 1995: 466 and 472 respectively.

⁵⁵⁵ Abe 1999: 48-49; Unno 1994: 19.

⁵⁵⁶ Unno 1994: 16.

⁵⁵⁷ Yuasa 1987: 87.

⁵⁵⁸ Yuasa 1987: 87.

vinaya may rightly be called “practice outside the secular world”. “Cultivation” in Buddhism begins here.⁵⁵⁹

In order to fully grasp his words, it is important to note that he insists on the fact that, contrary to such notions as a “Christian Church”, *saṃgha* only pertains to the monastic or ordained community and does not relate to the needs of the laity.⁵⁶⁰

In Yuasa’s view, the second meaning of *kairitsu* is “precepts (*kai*) or *śīla*,” the essence of which he defines as “the norms for daily life that a *lay person*, either wishing to enter the *saṃgha* or to become a devout Buddhist lay person, adopts autonomously through his or her own resolution”.⁵⁶¹ And it is precisely in this choice that lies a fundamental difference between the first and the second meaning of *kairitsu*:

The precepts (*śīla*) and the canons (*vinaya*) are, in principle, the same for anyone who leaves the secular world, for in such a case, one submits oneself to the constraints of the *vinaya*. But, although the contents of the *vinaya* are also referred to as “precepts” (*śīla*), the constraints of the *vinayas* is not autonomously like the *śīla* for lay persons, but heteronomous in that it involves externally imposed sanctions. The precepts for the lay person [i.e. the five precepts of not to kill, steal, lie, commit adultery, or drink intoxicants...] are accepted out of the believer’s own resolve. Consequently, at least theoretically, they are not prohibitive imperatives of the “Thou shalt not...” sort, but, rather, they express the positive resolution of the will, “I will not...” In this respect, the precepts essentially differ from the Judeo-Christian commandments. To accept the precepts is to impose upon oneself constraints beyond the norm of ordinary life. In spite of the fact that the content of the Five Precepts seems to resemble closely to the moral laws of our ordinary understanding, they theoretically involve something else – one’s own choice of a way of life above and beyond the social norms under which ordinary people in society are constrained.⁵⁶²

Thus, according to Yuasa, the two terms, *vinaya* and *śīla*, constitute the rudiments of *kairitsu*. However, “since they are rooted in traditional Indian society, their content changed radically as Buddhism spread to East Asia”.⁵⁶³ For instance, “with respect to *vinaya*, the Indian duality between religion and politics did not have a correlate in China, [...] where there was no tradition of recognizing extraterritorial privileges for religion [...] and by the end of the T’ang Dynasty, almost all Buddhist orders [...] were subsumed under the sovereignty of secular law”.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁵⁹ Yuasa 1987: 87-88.

⁵⁶⁰ Yuasa 1987: 87.

⁵⁶¹ Yuasa 1987: 88, with added emphasis.

⁵⁶² Yuasa 1987: 88.

⁵⁶³ Yuasa 1987: 89.

⁵⁶⁴ Yuasa 1987: 89.

In Yuasa's interpretation, such changes also implied a shift in the nature of Buddhist "cultivation":

In Indian Buddhism, a life of observing the *vinayas* meant a complete separation from the secular order and, consequently, religious cultivation can be termed an *extrasecular* practice. But China is different. There cultivation can be termed an *intrasecular* practice, having the characteristic ambiguity of going beyond the secular standards of life while still in the midst of the secular order. In this sense, the theoretical Indian distinction between the *vinaya* and the *sīla* is lost.⁵⁶⁵

It should be recalled that in the early eight century the SBR, or the Chinese translation of the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, was imposed by imperial decree on the whole of China as the only and most influential scriptural authority for monastic ordination practise.⁵⁶⁶ Its regulations were followed by monastics both of the Hīnayāna (or perhaps less pejorative: *śrāvakayāna*) and Mahāyāna. It is one of the so-called four major influential *vinaya* texts (四大律 Jap. *shi dairitsu*) that were transmitted to East Asia from early Indian Buddhism, aside from the Chinese translations of the *Sarvāstivāda*-,⁵⁶⁷ *Mahīśāsaka*-,⁵⁶⁸ and *Mahāsāṃghika-vinayas*.⁵⁶⁹

However, as a supplement to the SBR precepts, Mahāyānists generally took the *bodhisattvaśīla*, which –at least for East Asian practitioners–⁵⁷⁰ are explained in the BMK.⁵⁷¹ Although fundamentally divergent in scope, there are clearly parallels between the *vinaya* precepts of the SBR and the sūtra precepts of the BMK. The main similarities can be found in the content of the most important precepts, which –to make things even more complicated– are in both cases referred to as *kai*, or *śīla*.

The *vinaya* prescribes, for instance, that all male and female novices have to uphold 'ten commandments' (十戒 Jap. *jukkai*). The first five, or Skt. *pañcaśīla* (五戒 Jap. *gokai*), comprise of the precepts for laypeople and are supposed to ensure a rebirth in the human realm, the latter five are especially for neophytes: (1) not to kill; (2) not to steal; (3) not to commit adultery;⁵⁷² (4) not to speak falsely; (5) not to consume alcohol; (6) not to use adornments of flowers, nor perfumes; (7) not to perform as an actor, juggler, acrobat, or go to

⁵⁶⁵ Yuasa 1987: 90.

⁵⁶⁶ Heirman 2007: 7. Also see chapter II: 17 above.

⁵⁶⁷ 十誦律 Jap. *Jūjuritsu* (T. XXIII, no. 1435).

⁵⁶⁸ 五分律 Jap. *Gobunritsu* (T. XXII, no. 1421).

⁵⁶⁹ 摩訶僧祇律 Jap. *Makasōgiritsu* (T. XXII, no. 1425). On these *vinayas*, see: Pinte K. 2009c.

⁵⁷⁰ The *bodhisattvaśīla* of the Tibetan tradition are expounded in the *Bodhisattvabhūmisūtra*. This text was translated in Chinese between 414-426 by Dharmakṣema (385-433) as 菩薩地持經 (Chin. *Pusadichijing*; Jap. *Bosatsujijikyō*, cf. T. XXX, no. 1581), cf. Tsomo 1992: 145; Hankó 2003: 106. Also see: chapter II: 20.

⁵⁷¹ See chapter II: 18-19, n. 94.

⁵⁷² According to the SBR, novices have to refrain from any sexual activity whatsoever, while the BMK speaks of no sexual misconduct between husband and wife, and no adultery.

watch and hear them; (8) not to sit on elevated, broad, and large divans or beds; (9) not to eat except in regulation hours; and (10) not to possess money, gold or silver, or precious things. Although the BMK shares the first five precepts, it gives another set for the latter five: i.e. (6) not to speak of the sins of those in orders; (7) not to vaunt self and depreciate others; (8) not to be avaricious; (9) not to be angry; and (10) not to slander the ‘three jewels’ or ‘triple gem’ (Skt. *triratna*).⁵⁷³

However, table 7 below indicates that there are also other differences between these texts.⁵⁷⁴ Already from this general picture, it is clear that –even though the creation of an extra set of *sūtra* precepts of *bodhisatvaśīla* for Mahāyānists further blended the terminological distinction between *kai* and *ritsu*– both systems of precepts, at least in China, co-existed in a complementary way.⁵⁷⁵

Table 7. Comparision between SKB and BMK

	SBR	BMK
number of precepts	monks 250, nuns 348	lay and monastics 58
ordination prescriptions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> seven groups <ol style="list-style-type: none"> layman (<i>upāsaka</i>) laywoman (<i>upāsikā</i>) male novice (<i>śramaṇera</i>) female novice (<i>śramaṇerikā</i>) aspirant nun (<i>śīkṣamāṇā</i>) full fledged monk (<i>bhikṣu</i>) full fledged nun (<i>bhikṣuṇī</i>) quorum of 10 monks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> one <i>bodhisattva</i> level 3 officiants: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 candidate 1 preceptor (<i>upādhyāya</i>) 1 teacher (<i>ācārya</i>)
dealing with transgressions	special procedures of punishment and even expulsion (<i>pārājikā</i>)	status-quo by means of repentance (except 7 atrocities, e.g. patricide)
eligibility	exclusive of slaves, debtors, eunuchs, hermaphrodites, etc.	inclusive for universal salvation
community type	earthly monastic <i>saṃgha</i>	cosmic <i>bodhisattva</i> -“ <i>saṃgha</i> ”

⁵⁷³ DCBT: 101b, s.v. 戒.

⁵⁷⁴ Based on Unno 1994: 22-25.

⁵⁷⁵ For the situation in Japan before Kūkai’s time, see chapter II supra.

As is clear from the above, the Hīnayāna precepts that are said to be the foundation of ‘*kairitsu*’ are disciplinary, ascetic, formalistic, negative and individual. Given that the absolute strict and formal observance of precepts are considered the greatest obligation of monastics, it has been argued that Mahāyāna Buddhism originated as a reaction against this kind of strong observance of disciplinary rules. This is allegedly because the formalistic observance of precepts is “not the fundamental spirit of Buddhism, and that the true essence of Buddhism lies elsewhere”, implying that –seen from the perspective of a Mahāyāna-bodhisattva– Hīnayānist practice can be considered inferior.⁵⁷⁶

In the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*,⁵⁷⁷ Upāli, who was one of the principal disciples of the historical Buddha and is reputed to be the compiler of the *vinaya*, is accounted to have said:

Lotus flowers do not grow in the highlands. They grow precisely in the mud of the low and damp marshes. [...] The seeds of the Tathāgata are precisely all *kleśas* and the three poisons.⁵⁷⁸

While Indian and Chinese Hīnayāna monastics considered the acquisition of an absolute unobstructed, ascetic and formal life, in which they keep the precepts, such quotes have been used to justify the abandonment of the *vinaya* disciplinary rules in Japan, trailblazed by such figures as Saichō.⁵⁷⁹ As already seen above, Saichō established a platform for the ‘perfect and sudden Mahāyāna precepts’ (大乘圓頓戒壇 *daijō endonkaidan*) on Mt. Hiei, emphasizing that these Mahāyāna *śīla* comprise the sole code by means of which one could become a bodhisattva-monk, whilst rejecting the full precepts of the SBR.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁶ Also see: Ueda T. 1939: 118.

⁵⁷⁷ 維摩經 Jap. *Yuimagyō* is an Indian Mahāyāna sūtra expounding the deeper principle of Mahāyāna as opposed to lesser vehicle teachings, focusing on the explication of the meaning of non-duality. A significant aspect of the scripture is the fact that it is a teaching addressed to high-ranking Buddhist disciples through the mouth of the lay bodhisattva Vimalakīrti, who expounds the doctrine of emptiness. There are three extant Chinese translations: the 維摩詰所說經 (Chin. *Weimojie suoshuo jing*; Jap. *Yuimakitsu shosetsu kyō*, i.e. T. XIV, no. 475) by Kumārajīva (344-413) in 406 (cf. Lancaster 1979: 56, no. 119); 說無垢稱經 (Chin. *Shuo wugoucheng jing*; Jap. *Setsu mukushō kyō*, i.e. T. XIV, no. 476), translated in 650 (cf. Lancaster 1979: 57, no. 121) by Xuanzang (玄奘, 602-664); and 維摩詰經 (Chin. *Weimojie jing*; Jap. *Yuimakitsu kyō*, i.e. T. XIV, no. 474), trans. Zhi Qian (支謙, fl. 223-253) ca. 228 (cf. Lancaster 1979: 57, no. 120). There are several English translations, especially of the Kumārajīva version, cf. Lusthaus in DBJ, s.v. 維摩經. For more information, also see: BKD XI: 122.

⁵⁷⁸ Ueda T. 1939: 118-119.

⁵⁷⁹ Ueda T. 1939: 119.

⁵⁸⁰ See: chapter II, esp. 22. On later developments, cf. Ueda T. 1939: 119-122.

Kūkai's vinaya(s)

Kūkai, on the other hand, had a totally different approach to the *vinaya* rules. Undoubtedly the most quoted passage in this respect is from the *Kōnin*, which Kūkai wrote in 814 (Kōnin 4).⁵⁸¹

When people aspire to travel far, they have to rely on their legs. For those who pursue the way of the Buddhas, the precepts are their legs. Beware, practitioners: hold fast to both the exoteric and esoteric precepts, our two legs, and live a pure life free of transgressions.⁵⁸²

Analogous to his discrepancy between the ‘exoteric and esoteric teachings’,⁵⁸³ the above quote shows that Kūkai also speaks of the ‘exoteric precepts’ (顯戒, Jap. *kenkai*). As for what is meant by them, he adds:

The exoteric precepts consist of the three refuges, the eight prohibitions, the five admonitions, the precepts for *śrāvakas*, bodhisattvas and others. There are also separate rules for the four groups of the *saṃgha*.⁵⁸⁴

Consequently, Kūkai's ‘exoteric precepts’ comprise at least (1) the three refuges in Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha that all Buddhist followers take; (2) the eight precepts for strict lay Buddhists were meant to follow on *poṣadha* (布薩 Jap. *fusatsu*) days,⁵⁸⁵ (3) the five moral restrictions to be observed by Buddhist householder-practitioners,⁵⁸⁶ (4) the *vinaya* rules (i.e. two-hundred and fifty rules of the SBR), as well as (5) the bodhisattva vows of the BMK.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸¹ Yamasaki 1967: 252 and 256. The text is in KDZ II: 861ff. Also see chapter II: 23.

⁵⁸² KDZ II: 861, cited without reference e.g. by Ueda T. (1939: 141), Endō (1972: 7), and Yamasaki (1967: 256). Translation by Abe (2000: 53).

⁵⁸³ This is expounded especially in his *Treatise on the Differentiation of the Exoteric and Esoteric Teachings* (辨顯密二教論, Jap. *Ben kenmitsu-nikyō ron*, cf. T. no. 2427), where he argues for the supremacy of esoteric over exoteric teachings, because the former were espoused by the Dharmakāya Buddha. There is a roughly annotated translation of the introduction and last part of the text as *Treatise on the Difference between the Exoteric and Esoteric Teachings* by Hakeda (1972: 151-157), and *Distinguishing the Two Teachings of the Exoteric and Esoteric* by Abe (2000: esp. 212-219, 131-234, and 261-270). Full translations are by Giebel (2004: 15-62) and White (2005: 249-328).

⁵⁸⁴ KDZ II: 861. Translation by Abe (2000: 53).

⁵⁸⁵ I.e. the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th and 30th of the lunar calendar. These prohibitions are not to kill, not to take things not given; no ignoble (i.e. sexual) conduct; not to speak falsely; not to drink alcohol; not to use cosmetics, perfumes, jewelry, or engaging in dancing, singing, or seeing such performances; not to sleep on beds or seats that are high off the ground, wide, or ornately ordained; and not to eat out of regulation hours, i.e. after noon. See: Oroval in DBJ, s.v. 布薩.

⁵⁸⁶ They are: not killing; not stealing; no debauchery; no false speech; no consumption of alcohol. These are binding on laity, male and female, as well as on monks and nuns. The observance of these five ensures rebirth in the human realm. Muller in DBJ s.v. 五戒 (Jap. *go kai*).

⁵⁸⁷ The four groups of the community, i.e. (1) *bhikṣus/bhikṣunīs*, (2) *śikṣamāṇas*, (3) *śrāmaṇeras/śrāmaṇerikās*, (4) *upāsakas/upāsikās* each receive the precepts according to their position. Also see: p. 50, n. 346 and p. 87, table 7 supra.

As can be seen in the biographical records that are compiled by Gonzō (勤操, 754-837), Kūkai renounced secular life (出家得道 Jap. *shukke-tokudō*) and received the novice (沙彌 Jap. *shami*) precepts at the age of twenty-four. He is accounted to have received official ordination, that is according to the full precepts of the SBR, at the Tōdaiji ordination platform in 804, i.e. at thirty-one.⁵⁸⁸ Although some scholars have doubted his taking of the SBR ordination,⁵⁸⁹ at least two sources give positive evidence.

First, the *Biography posthumously honoring the High Priest and Preceptor Kūkai* (贈大僧正空海和上傳記 Jap. *Zō dai-sōjō Kūkai wajō denki*) reads:

He received the full precepts in the Kaidan'in of Tōdaiji on the 9th day of the 4th month of the 23rd year of Enryaku (延暦二十三年四月九日, i.e. 804.5.21).⁵⁹⁰

Second, there is also a Kongōji (金剛寺) manuscript that reads:

On the 9th day of the 4th month of the present year [i.e. Enryaku 23, being 804], the full precepts were conferred upon Kūkai in the Kaidan'in of Tōdaiji. His [precepts] master was Gonzō (勤操, 758-827).⁵⁹¹

Moreover, also in his *Will in Twenty-five Articles* (御遺告二十五箇條 Jap. *Go-yuigō nijūgo-kajō*, further: GYG)⁵⁹² Kūkai stressed that Shingon adepts should receive the full precepts at the Tōdaiji Kaidan'in.⁵⁹³ Thus, Kūkai appears to have followed the commonly established precepts attitude, which was centered around the customary SBR *vinaya* ordination in Nara.

It has been suggested, however, that it is quite surprising that Kūkai's writings do not contain a single trace of his opinion on Saichō's establishment of the aforementioned exclusive platform for the bodhisattva-monks ordination at Hiei, not in the least because it must have been a huge problem to the contemporary religious community.⁵⁹⁴ But perhaps even more unexpected is that also the SBR, even though undoubtedly being the general current in contemporary China and Japan, is not mentioned as such in Kūkai's oeuvre.

⁵⁸⁸ Ueda T. 1933: 127. Abe 1999: 110. Before his ordination, he lived as a self-ordained *shidōsō*, and so-called *ubasoku*. For its particular connotations see Abe 1999: 76ff. On the reliability of texts used to determine the date of his ordination, see Abe 1999: 482, n. 105. Here, and in the following, ages are given according to the Chinese traditional counting, in which at birth one is one year old.

⁵⁸⁹ Ueda T. (1933: 127, n. 1), for instance, states that there is no certainty about Kūkai's initiation being based on the SBR tradition, and suggests that it perhaps concerns rather the 攝律儀戒 (Jap. *Shōritsugikai*), i.e. the first group of the three categories of pure precepts (cf. chapter II: 20 s.v. threefold pure precepts), for which the term 'Dharmaguptaka precepts' (四分律戒, Jap. *Shibunritsu-kai*) has been representatively used.

⁵⁹⁰ Miura 1935: 87, referred to in Satō 1991: 63.

⁵⁹¹ Miura 1935: 88, quoted in Satō 1991: 63.

⁵⁹² A modern Japanese version of this text is e.g. in KDKZ VIII: 36-95.

⁵⁹³ KDKZ II: 797, cited in Ueda T. 1933: 127, n. 2.

⁵⁹⁴ Ueda T. 1933: 128.

In the *vinaya* section of the SGR,⁵⁹⁵ a catalogue of *sūtra*, *vinaya* and *śāstra* texts which Shingon adepts were required to study, for instance, Kūkai did not mention the SBR. Instead, he states that the precepts are expounded throughout the twelve divisions of the canon,⁵⁹⁶ and especially in the 50 volumes of the *Mūlasarvāstivādivinaya* (根本説一切有部毘奈耶 *Konpon-setsu-issai-ubu-binaya*; often abbreviated to 有部律, Jap. *Uburitsu*, further: UBR).⁵⁹⁷

Although the Shingon curriculum outlined in this *Catalogue* was meant to supplement the standard works of the Nara schools, and not to replace them, it may require further explanation why Kūkai's catalogue does not include the SBR, notwithstanding the fact that he received the full set of precepts in accordance to this *vinaya*. In other words, the problem is that Kūkai himself appears to have been ordained according to the SBR traditions, but adopted the UBR instead of the SBR as that which has to be studied in the Shingon school.

Ueda Tenzui (1932 and 1933) has suggested at least four reasons in this context: (1) earlier esoteric patriarchs also relied on the UBR;⁵⁹⁸ (2) the contents of the UBR has a rich esoteric colour; (3) Yijing, the translator of the UBR, was an adherent of esoteric Buddhism; (4) at that time the UBR was the most recent *vinaya* available.⁵⁹⁹

Indeed, the translation dates of the other *vinayas* range between 404-424, but Yijing began translating parts of the UBR only between 700-711, which is approximately three centuries later.⁶⁰⁰ The UBR was not only brought to China much later than the other *vinayas*, but there was also never an opportunity for the UBR to become a living tradition in China and be included amongst the prevailing codes used in monastic ordination practice, because just at that time, the influential *vinaya* master Daoxuan (596-667) who founded the Nanshan (南山) precept school (律宗, Jap. *risshū*)⁶⁰¹ recommended all monastics in China to allow only the

⁵⁹⁵ Also see: Introduction: 1, n. 3 above.

⁵⁹⁶ 十二部經 *Jūnibu-kyō*, cf. BGD: 658b.

⁵⁹⁷ Chin. *Genben shuoyiqie youbu pinaiye* (i.e. T. XXIII no. 1442). The 50 fascicles translation by Yijing (義淨, 635–713) was completed in 703 at Ximing Monastery. Although this text bears strong resemblances to the *Jūjuritsu* 十誦律 (Chin. *Shisonglü*) or *Ten Recitations Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins (T. XXIII, no. 1435) it is not the same *vinaya*. Its main difference also to SBR is its extensive usage of Mahāyāna terminology and esoteric spells. The *Mūlasarvāstivādivinaya* is often ambiguously referred to as 有部律 *Uburitsu* (Chin. *Youbulü*), but this term may also point at the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*. See: Clarke 2006: 3, n. 4. For more information on the interpretation of the term 有部律 in this context, see: Ueda T. 1932.

⁵⁹⁸ Ueda T. 1932: 5 adds that the UBR was allegedly composed in the same region as where esotericism flourished.

⁵⁹⁹ Ueda T. 1933: 128. In the following, the second and third argument are left aside.

⁶⁰⁰ Ueda T. 1932: 17.

⁶⁰¹ For a study of this school, see: Mizuno 1993.

SBR, which was officially sanctioned by an imperial decree that was promulgated to that effect.

Furthermore, as there is no Chinese translation of the *mūlasarvāstivāda-poṣadha* ceremony in the Chinese canon, how could the a *Mūlasarvāstivāda-saṃgha* have existed without it? While the other *vinaya* traditions are frequently discussed in Chinese records, there is hardly any mentioning of the UBR, and no evidence has been found that it was ever practiced in China. Neither *vinaya* sections in monks' biographies, nor historical records give any reference to a *Mūlasarvāstivādin* ordination being given in China.⁶⁰² Hence, it may be only natural that Kūkai listed the UBR instead of the SBR. Moreover, it has been speculated that “when speaking of it in the dual thought of emptiness and existence”, the SBR is “the tenet of void” (空宗 Jap. *kūshū*) and the UBR is “the tenet of existence (有宗 Jap. *ushū*)”, while Mikkyō is “the religious teaching on the original existence (Jap. 本有の宗教 *hon'u no shūkyō*)”,⁶⁰³ i.e. of Buddha nature being inherently present in all beings.

Ordination as condition for abhiṣeka

When –as Ueda suggests– Kūkai's predecessors in the Shingon traditional lineage indeed took UBR ordination, one may ask whether this ordination was considered a condition for partaking in the *samaya* precepts ritual, which is –as the reader may recall– preliminary to *abhiṣeka*. Kūkai is the last in the row of the so-called ‘traditional eight great patriarchs who expounded the doctrine’ (伝持八祖 Jap. *denji-hassō*), starting with the two legendary figures Nāgārjuna (龍樹 Jap. Ryūju, 2nd-3rd century) and Nāgabodhi (龍智 Jap. Ryūchi, 2nd-3rd century). They are followed by the three Tang masters Vajrabodhi (金剛智 Jap. Kongōchi, 671-741), Amoghavajra (不空[金剛] Jap. Fukū[kogō], 651-780), and Śubhākarasiṃha ([善]無畏 Jap. [Zen]mui, 637-735), as well as the latter's disciple Yixing (一行, Jap. Ichigyō 673-727), and Huiguo.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰² Ueda T. 1932: 4.

⁶⁰³ Ueda T. 1933: 128, referring to the work of Jiun-sonja 慈雲尊者 (1718-1804), cf. *MD*, p. 901c.

⁶⁰⁴ On the legendary figures Nāgārjuna and Nāgabodhi, see: Sundberg 2011: 179-180, n. 27-28. For Vajrabodhi, see: Orzech 2011: 345ff.; on Amoghavajra, *ibid.*: 263ff. and Lehnert 2011: 351-359. On Yixing, see: Keyworth 2011: 342-344. The other figures have been already referred to above.

Kūkai's *Record on the Dharma Transmission of the Secret Maṇḍala Teachings* (秘密曼荼羅教付法伝 Jap. *Himitsu mandarakyō fuhōden*, further: FHD) states the following on Vajrabodhi (671–741):⁶⁰⁵

When he [i.e. Vajrabodhi] was just ten years old, because of his knowledge of quiescence, he “left home” in order to study treatises on linguistics and grammar. At fifteen, he studied the treatises of Dharmakīrti.⁶⁰⁶ At the age of twenty, he received the full precepts, and he studied the discipline of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna for [a period of] six years. When he was thirty-one, he travelled to southern India [in order to] become a student of [lit. meet] a disciple of Nāgārjuna bodhisattva, whose name was Nāgabodhi. He was seven hundred years of age and is now still alive. Seven years went by [in which Vajrabodhi] honored and payed homage [to his master], who instructed him on the *Vajraśekhara-yoga-sūtra*⁶⁰⁷ and the Dharma gate [i.e. teachings] of all *dhāraṇīs* held by Vairocana, as well as all the Mahāyāna scriptures and the five fields of knowledge.⁶⁰⁸ He received the fivefold *abhiṣeka* [i.e. of the STTS]⁶⁰⁹ and amongst the secrets of all Buddhas, there was nothing he did not understand.⁶¹⁰

In other words, Vajrabodhi received the full precepts at the age of twenty, and after that, he received *abhiṣeka* from Nāgabodhi in southern India, but the text gives no details on which *vinaya* was used. Nevertheless, the FHD also contains information on Amoghavajra:

When he was just fourteen, in the country of Jāva he met the great Trepitāka Vajrabodhi, who became his teacher. The high priest first tested him by teaching him the *siddham* script and having him recite Sanskrit *sūtras*. [The number of] Sanskrit words is immense, but he listened to all of them without fail. Thus, he was permitted to enter the platform in order to receive the precepts for arousing *bodhicitta*. He was only fifteen years old when he left home! Consequently, he sailed the southern ocean on a boat with a dangerous structure. He was frightened by the waves that struck [the boat], since the waves were shaped like shadows that followed him. In the eight year of Kaiyuan (i.e. 720 CE) he arrived to the east of the Luo [river in Chang'an?]. In the twenty-fourth year (i.e. 724 CE), the year of *jiazi*, when he was a young man of about twenty years, he approached the [Mūla]sarvāstivādin

⁶⁰⁵ The text is e.g. in KDKZ II: 379ff. This text appears not to mention neither Śubhākarasimha or Yixing.

⁶⁰⁶ 法稱 Jap. Hōshō, ca. 700–800, a South Indian scholar of Yogācāra, cf. NEBJ: 118b.

⁶⁰⁷ 金剛頂瑜伽經 Jap. *Kongōchōyugakyō*. As pointed out by Sundberg (2011: 180–181, n. 29), this presumably is a version of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* (further: STTS). 金剛頂 is frequently restored to **Vajraśekhara* by other commentators, but as Giebel (1995: 109) pointed out, the Siddham characters provided by Kūkai read *Vajra-uṣṇīṣa*, i.e. *Vajroṣṇīṣa* with *sandhi*. However, there is a *Vajra-śekhara-mahā-guhyā-yoga-tantra* (an explanatory tantra of the STTS) registered in the Tibetan Tohoku catalogue, Sundberg ibid. referring to Hartzell 1997: 381.

⁶⁰⁸ 五明論 Jap. *Go myōron* refers to Skt. *pañca-vidyā*, i.e. “the five sciences or studies of India: (1) grammar and composition (*śabda-vidyā*); (2) the arts and mathematics (*śilpakarma-sthāna-vidyā*); (3) medicine (*cikitsā-vidyā*); logic-epistemology (*hetu-vidyā*); and (4) philosophy (*adhyātma-vidyā*), which Monier-Williams calls the “knowledge of the supreme spirit, or of ātman,” the basis of the four Vedas; the Buddhists regard the Tripiṭaka [...] as their inner philosophy.” Muller in DBJ, referring to JEBD: 85b. Also see: BGD: 376a and DCBT: 119.

⁶⁰⁹ According to Sundberg (2011: 181, n. 31), this refers to the five families (*kula*) of deities, i.e. Buddha or Tathāgata, Vajra, Ratna, Padma, and Karma.

⁶¹⁰ KDZ I: 10, quoted in Satō 1991: 63: 年甫十歲依寂靜智出家學聲明論十五學法稱論二十受具足戒六年學大小乘律 [...] 三十一年往南天竺於龍樹菩薩弟子名龍智年七百歲今猶見在經七年承事供養受學金剛頂瑜伽經及毘盧遮那惣持陀羅尼法門諸大乘經典并五明論受五部灌頂諸佛秘密之藏無不通達。

stone ordination platform at Jianfusi and received *upasampadā* (lit. [the ordination ritual for those] close to perfection, i.e. full ordination).⁶¹¹

Thus, following Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra entered the ordination platform in order to receive the precepts for arousing *bodhicitta*, and after that, he evidently received the full precepts in correspondence with the UBR. Moreover, it is stated that he received *abhiṣeka* from Nāgabodhi:

Then he met *ācārya* Nāgabodhi, held his elbow and kneeled while he was walking in order to question him on discipline, immediately showing him the great Tang country and entrusting him with golden utensils and similar things. Nāgabodhi said: “That which I treasure is the mind, not these valuables!” and promptly gave him the *Scripture of the One Hundred Thousand Praises of the Yoga on the Vajra Peak of the Eighteen Assemblies*, together with the *Scripture on the Ten Thousand Praises of the Womb that is the Great Assembled Compassion of Mahāvairocana*, the mantras for the fivefold *abhiṣeka*, the secret collection of *sūtras* and *śāstras*, which in Sanskrit amounted to [a collection containing] over five hundred parts. All this, for the sake of transmitting it.⁶¹²

As for Kūkai’s master, Huiguo, the FHD states that he received the *samaya* precepts from Amoghavajra, and only after that, he received the full precepts:

Therefore, it is that [he received] the Dharma transmission consecration from Amoghavajra, the One of the great Xingshansi with great and vast wisdom in the *tripiṭaka*. In the days he was still a young boy of about seven years, he listened to the great illuminated meditation master, who showed him the *tripiṭaka* [...], conferred upon him the *samaya* Buddha precepts, and allowed him to receive the stage of *abhiṣeka*.⁶¹³ [...] When reaching the age of a young man of twenty years, he advanced to the [stage of the ordination with] the full [precepts] connected to the Four Part [*vinaya* of the Dharmaguptakas, i.e. the SBR]. He studied the *tripiṭaka* and understood it.⁶¹⁴

Moreover, in the *Epigraph of Preceptor Huiguo* (惠果和尚之碑 Jap. *Keika-ōshō no ishibumi*), which is collated in the second scroll of the *Seireishū* (性靈集) Kūkai’s collection of his

⁶¹¹ KDZ I: 19-20, quoted in Satō 1991: 64: 年甫十四於闍婆國見大弘教三藏金剛智而師事之和上初試教悉曇章令誦梵經梵言賒切一聞無墜便許入壇授發菩提心戒年甫十五與出家焉隨侍南溟乘航架險驚波鼓浪如影隨形開元八年方至東洛十二年甲子年方弱冠於薦福寺依一切有部石戒壇所而受近圓。This extract is almost identical to a passage in the fifteenth scroll of Yuanzhao’s (圓照, fl. 778) 貞元新定釋教目錄 (Chin. *Chengyuan xinding shijiao mulu*) i.e. T. LV, no. 2157: 881a15-a19. On Kūkai’s treatment of this text, its relation to the FHD, and its credibility, see Sundberg 2011: 140-141, and esp. n. 62.

⁶¹² KDZ I: 20-21, quoted in Satō 1991: 64: 即奉遇龍智阿闍梨時行膝步從而問律即獻大唐國信金具等物龍智曰吾所寶者心也非此寶也尋即授以十八會金剛頂瑜伽十萬頌經并大毘盧遮那大會悲胎藏十萬頌經五部灌頂真言秘典經論梵來五百餘部僉以為得其所傳矣。

⁶¹³ KDZ I: 38, quoted in Satō 1991: 64: 故大興善寺大廣智不空三藏之付法入室也髻鬘之日隨大照禪師見三藏[...]即授三昧耶佛戒許之受職灌頂位。

⁶¹⁴ KDZ I: 39, quoted in Satō 1991: 64-65: 登弱冠進之具足四分兼學三藏該通。

master's poems, memorials, inscriptions, etc.,⁶¹⁵ it is stated that Huiguo received the full precepts according to the SBR, and afterwards received *abhiṣeka*:

He first [received ordination] according to the correct method of the Four Part [*vinaya*] and then he [received ordination] based upon the *abhiṣeka* of the Three Mysteries.⁶¹⁶

So, Kūkai asserts in his own texts that his immediate predecessors in the esoteric lineage also received the full precepts. This means that Ueda is –at least in part– correct in stating that they took full precepts, but only one of them took the UBR precepts, namely Amoghavajra, while the *vinaya* that was used for Vajrabodhi's ordination is unknown, and Huiguo was ordained in the SBR tradition.

Nevertheless, the biographical accounts in the FHD, can be checked, and supplemented with data on the Tang period patriarchs retrieved from other –and undoubtedly more reliable– sources. According to the *Zhenyuan period (785-805) Revised Catalogue of Canonical Buddhist Texts* (貞元新定釋教目錄 Chin. *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*), compiled in 800 by Yuanzhao (圓照, fl. 778), for instance, Vajrabodhi became a novice (Skt. *śramaṇera*) at Nālandā when he was ten.⁶¹⁷ And the same source confirms the FHD account that he was fully ordained at the age of twenty.⁶¹⁸ Further, the *Biography of Vajrabodhi of the Guangfu Temple in Luoyang, [Capital] of the Tang [Dynasty]* (唐洛陽廣福寺金剛智傳 Chin. *Tang Luoyang Guangfusi Jingangzhi zhuan*), collated in Zanning's (贊寧, 919-1001), *Song [Dynasty] Biographies of Great Monks* (宋高僧傳 Chin. *Song Gaoseng zhuan*), which was completed in 988, stated that Vajrabodhi became a monk at the age of sixteen:

At the age of sixteen, he was enlightened by the Buddha's doctrine [...] He cut [his hair and put on] a dyed [robe] and became a monk.⁶¹⁹

And the same source also indicates that he was initiated in the esoteric teachings when he was around thirty years:

When he was fully ordained, he heard the lectures of the *vinayas* of the eighteen schools. Again he went to West India to study the Hīnayāna treatises and the doctrine of yoga, Three

⁶¹⁵ For more information, see appendix H, s.v. poetry.

⁶¹⁶ KDZ III: 421, quoted in Satō 1991: 65: 始則四分乘法後則三密灌頂

⁶¹⁷ Chou 1945: 273, n. 6 referring to T. LV, no. 2157: 875b3-4: 年始十歲於那爛陀寺出家. On this catalogue, also see chapter III: 35, n. 227 supra.

⁶¹⁸ Chou 1945: 274, n. 9 referring to T. LV, no. 2157: 875b6: 年二十受具戒.

⁶¹⁹ T. LV, no. 2061: 711b10-11: 年十六開悟佛理 [...] 乃削染出家, referred to in Chou 1945: 273-274.

Secrets, and *dhāraṇī*. By the time ten years had passed, he had become conversant with all the three Piṭakas.⁶²⁰

Amoghavajra, on the other hand, is accounted to have become Vajrabodhi's lay disciple at the age of thirteen,⁶²¹ and according to the *Biography of Amoghavajra of Daxingshan Temple in Chang'an [who worked under the Tang]* (唐京兆大興善寺不空傳, Chin. *Tang Jingzhao Da Xingshansi Bukong zhuan*), which is collated in Zanning's aforementioned work, at the age of fifteen:

The Master [i.e. Vajrabodhi] was surprised [by his diligence] and *ordained him as a bodhisattva*. Having led [Amoghavajra] to the *Vajradhātumaṇḍala* and tested him by [observing the place where] he threw a flower [on the maṇḍala], the Master knew that he was going to advance the doctrine greatly. By the time he was fully ordained, he became an expert in expounding the *Vinaya texts of the Sarvāstivādin School*.⁶²²

However, there are at least two problems with this passage that dates from the end of the 10th century. First, what Chou translates as “ordained him as a bodhisattva” (cf. 受菩薩戒 Jap. *ju bosatsu-kai* in n. 622 below), which literally reads “conferred upon him the *bodhisattvaśīla*”, is rendered two centuries earlier by Zhao Qian (趙遷, fl. ca. 766-774), as “[conferred upon him] the precepts of the intent to attain awakening (菩提心戒 Jap. *bodaishin-kai*)”.⁶²³

However, the *Stele Inscription for the Commander Unequally in Honor, Officer of Probationary Director of the State Ceremonial, the Duke of Su, being the Acārya of Great and Vast Wisdom in the Tripiṭaka [i.e. Amoghavajra], of the Great Xingshan Temple of the Great Tang* (大唐故大德開府儀同三司 試鴻臚卿 肅國公大興善寺大廣智三藏和上之碑, Chin. *Datang-gu dade Kaifu Yidong Sansi shihong luqing Su-guogong Da Xingshansi Daguangzhi-sancang-heshang zhi bei*,⁶²⁴ composed by Amoghavajra's disciple Feixi (飛錫, fl. 742-765), dated Dali 9 (大曆九年, i.e. 774), reads that at thirteen, Amoghavajra was

⁶²⁰ Chou 1945: 274 (with added italics), translating T. LV, no. 2061: 711b12-b15: 洎登戒法遍聽十八部律又詣西印度學小乘諸論及瑜伽三密陀羅尼門十餘年全通三藏. Note that 戒法 is interpreted by Chou in the same sense as 具戒 in n. 618 supra.

⁶²¹ Chou 1945: 285 and 321, appendix M, suggesting that it may also have been fifteen.

⁶²² Chou 1945: 286 (with added italics), translating T. LV, no. 2061: 712a28-b1: 師大異之與受菩薩戒引入金剛界大曼荼羅驗以擲花知後大興教法洎登具戒善解一切有部.

⁶²³ 大唐故大德贈司空大辨正廣智不空三藏行狀 Chin. *Datang-gu dade zengsi kong Dabianzheng guangzhi Bukong-sancang xingzhuang*, cf. T. L, no. 2056: 292b25.

⁶²⁴ Dessein 2003: 334, n. 62.

“conferred the precepts of arousing the intent to attain awakening (發菩提心戒 Jap. *ju hotsu bodaishin kai*), while he “left home” at fifteen.⁶²⁵

Second, the “full precepts” (具戒 Jap. *gukai*, cf. n. 622 below) and the “*vinaya* texts of the Sarvāstivādin School” are also problematic, because –as already pointed out in chapter IV: 91 above– the term 有部 (Jap. *ubu*) does not stand for the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*, but for the UBR.

Moreover, the 10th century biographical account can be supplemented with more details on the age at which Amogavajra was fully ordained, all of which indicate that he was twenty.⁶²⁶ This may imply that he was initiated into esotericism before he was ordained as a monastic, but –just as is the case with the precepts in the HSKB– the “bodhisattva precepts” and/or the “precepts of arousing the intent to attain awakening” conferred upon Amoghavajra actually were part of a separate ritual detached from the *abhiṣeka*, in this case the initiation in the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*.⁶²⁷

In short, one reason for Kūkai’s stressing the importance of full ordination, may have been that prior to Kūkai’s times, esoteric patriarchs appear to have taken *abhiṣeka* only after being fully ordained. Before full ordination, one could take a separate ritual, detached from the one preliminary to *abhiṣeka*, in which the *bodhicitta* or *samaya* precepts (cf. *infra*) were conferred:

Table 8. Ordination and consecration ages of Kūkai’s predecessors in the esoteric lineage

	出家 (沙彌十戒)	發菩提心戒 三昧耶佛戒	具足戒	灌頂
Vajrabodhi	10 or 16		20	31-38
Amoghavajra		13 or 15 [發菩提心戒]	ca. 20 [UBR]	“later”
Huiguo		ca. 7 [三昧耶佛戒]	ca. 20 [SBR]	“later”
Kūkai	24 (797)		31 (804)	32 (805)

⁶²⁵ T. LII, no. 2120: 848b26 : 十三 [...] 授發菩提心戒年甫十五與出家焉。

⁶²⁶ Chou 1945: 286, n. 8 referring to Feixi’s stele inscription (T. LII, no. 2120: 848b26-27: 授發菩提心戒年甫十五與出家焉弱冠從有部進具成大苾芻), Zhao Qian’s biography (T. L, no. 2056: 292c1: 二十進具戒善一切有部律), and Yuan Zhao’s catalogue (T. LV, no. 2157: 881a17-19: 開元八年方至東洛十二年甲子年方弱冠於廣福寺依一切有部石戒壇所而受近圓).

⁶²⁷ Chou 1945: 286, n. 6.

The question, then, still remains if this does mean that Kūkai considered receiving the full precepts as an absolute must, or in other words, were (and are) the full precepts –in Kūkai’s view– a prerequisite for the receiving *abhiṣeka*, or its preceding *samaya* precepts ritual? Concerning this question, Satō (1991) quoted the 16th article of the GYG:

Subsequently, you should take the full precepts at the Tōdaiji precepts platform!⁶²⁸

He also recalled the *Kōnin* saying:

You should firmly adhere to the exoteric and esoteric precepts, be pure and do not run counter to them!⁶²⁹

However, although both the GYG⁶³⁰ and the *Kōnin* have been identified as a forgery,⁶³¹ Satō found it worthwhile to re-address this problem, and considered the following four perspectives: (1) full precepts ordination is a condition for consecration; (2) the *samaya* precepts suffice to partake in the consecration, without having taken the full precepts; (3) full precepts ordination is not a condition for the consecration, when ordination is added to the *samaya* precepts, it is an expedient for saving other beings; and (4) the full precepts must be taken after the *samaya* precepts.⁶³²

Amongst these positions, the first one, Satō claims, is compatible with the standpoint of Tibetan esoteric Buddhism, because the first condition for the esoteric *abhiṣeka* in Tibetan esotericism is taking the full set of three precepts, i.e. in the sequence with the Hīnayāna precepts first, followed by the *bodhisattva* precepts, and finally the *samaya* precepts.⁶³³

The second, namely the viewpoint of simply taking the *samaya* precepts, denotes the idea that Shingon followers should reject the exoteric precepts and only take the *samaya* precepts, which was manifested at the end of the Kamakura period.⁶³⁴ Also in the Edo period, this idea of simply taking the *samaya* precepts can be seen, for instance, in the first part of Donjaku’s (曇寂, 1674-1742) *Record of the Procedure for Constructing the Precepts Platform for the Dharma Transmission Abhiṣeka* (伝法灌頂戒場作法事記, Jap. *Denbō-kanjō kaijō-sahō jiki*:

⁶²⁸ KDZ II: 797, read by Satō (1991: 66) as: 即ち、東大寺の戒壇に於いて、具足戒を受けしめよ。

⁶²⁹ KDZ II: 861, read by Satō (1991: 66) as: 顕密二戒堅固に受持して、清浄にして犯莫るべし。

⁶³⁰ See e.g. Wada 1988 and Tomabechi 1990a, referred to without page reference in Satō 1991: 66.

⁶³¹ See Wada 1988 and Takeuchi 1987, referred to without page reference in Satō 1991: 66.

⁶³² Satō 1991: 66.

⁶³³ The reader’s attention is drawn to the fact that this is quite different from the threefold pure precepts, discussed in chapter II: 20 above. Also see Kanaoka 1976: 105.

⁶³⁴ Satō 1991: 67.

In case you directly take the esoteric precepts based on the doctrine of such [texts as] the *Mahāvairocanasūtra*, it is not necessary to follow the exoteric precepts. This method is explained in detail in the commentary on the 17th chapter regarding studying the expedient means.⁶³⁵

Satō's third perspective corresponds to Saichō's position, who emphasized provisionally taking the Hīnayāna precepts, while he asserts that the fourth option is a merely theoretical one.⁶³⁶ According to Satō, contemporary Shingon adepts, however, take the *abhiṣeka* ceremony only after having taken the full precepts, which is –he advocates– also the orthodox standpoint taken by Kūkai.⁶³⁷ But there is no consensus in this respect.

Tomabechi, for instance, advocates that the third position is Kūkai's standpoint. Namely, based on the description of the 14 dialogues in the *Precious Key to the Secret Treasury* (秘蔵宝鑰, Jap. *Hizō hōyaku*, further: *Precious*), which Kūkai wrote ca. 830 as an abbreviation of his *Treatise on the Ten Stages* (十住心論, Jap. *Jūjushinron*, further: *JJSR*),⁶³⁸ he concludes the following, to just cite one part:

Therefore, for a bodhisattva of the Mantra Gate that leads to a higher stage of mind, the full precepts is not the discipline that is observed, but to the utmost become expedient means for the guidance and benefit of sentient beings. Consequently, if by abandoning the Hīnayāna precepts, one causes other sentient beings to lose their *bodhicitta*, and commit the fault of slandering the true dharma, this is rather transgressing the *samaya* precepts which are the four fundamental prohibitions. In other words, because a bodhisattva, who has become a renunciant monk in order to guide sentient beings, observes the full precepts as the practice of expedient means and not [for the sake of] disciplinary restraints, [this practice] becomes the discipline of the bodhisattva. Conversely, in case that observing the Hīnayāna precepts does not benefit sentient beings, or in case one benefits sentient beings by showing features of abandoning the Hīnayāna precepts, isn't this also abandoning the Hīnayāna precepts?!⁶³⁹

Moreover, Nasu Seiryū (那須 政隆), another Kūkai specialist, on the other hand, states the following:

Furthermore, the fact that the founder [Kūkai] here and there explained that one should observe the exoteric precepts such as the five, eight, ten, and complete [precepts] and the like, does not mean that this is indispensable for Shingon practitioners, and because all precept

⁶³⁵ Satō 1991: 67 referring to the first volume of the *Rituals Section* of the *Japanese Translations of Esoteric Buddhist Texts* (国訳密教事相一, Jap. *Kokuyaku Mikkyō, Jissō ichi*): 436, reading 若し大日経等の説に依らば直に秘密戒を受けて、必ずしも顕戒を具することを用ゐず。此の義具さには疏の第十七に、方便学処の中に釈するが如し。However, it has to be noted that this chapter is no. 18 and not 17.

⁶³⁶ Satō 1991: 67.

⁶³⁷ Satō 1991: 67. On Kūkai stressing that –for clergy initiated into Esotericism– the *samaya* precepts must be upheld on the basis of the *vinaya*, see Abe 1999: 54.

⁶³⁸ Abe 1999: 335. The text of the *Precious* in KDZ I: 417-473. In 830 emperor Junna (r. 823-833) ordered the Buddhist denominations to present a treatise on the essentials of their teachings. The JJR, it appears, “was so complex and difficult that the emperor had Kūkai condense it”, cf. Hakeda 1972: 67.

⁶³⁹ Tomabechi 1990a: 51.

teachings get an esoteric meaning when one comprehends the spirit of the esoteric precepts, it is even unnecessary to strongly deny the practice of the exoteric precepts. Essential is whether one realizes the spirit of the esoteric precepts.⁶⁴⁰

Now, when returning to the main question, namely does the HSBK reflect aspects of Kūkai's precepts view, perhaps the most striking passage that hints at any opinion on *vinaya*, is the one containing the following formal notice:

Suppose you previously took full ordination, you must again take the three refuges, because this other [ordination of yours] is limited!

It is not necessary to demarcate a location [for the ordination], for [the ritual space] equals the dharma realm. Do not request to transfer your attendance to someone else, because you will have no other occasion!⁶⁴¹

Although not directly discussing *vinaya* itself, the “full ordination” in this fragment in all likelihood refers to the SBR precepts conferred at the Tōdaiji platform. In this respect, Satō (1991), acknowledging that it concerns a little later than Kūkai's period, quotes an official document of the Department of State (太政官符 Jap. *Daijōkan-pu*), issued from the central administration to the provinces, dated on the 25th day of the 3rd month of Jōgan 7 (i.e. 864):

The above is called a document of Eun (798-869), who obtained the position of *ōshō*, *hōgen* and *shō-sōzu*. He picked up an old precedent [saying that] everyone who [is about to] obtain *tokudō*, [should] first execute the *karman* [procedures] of entering priesthood. Then let him enter a temple. Particular the annual ordinands [have to stay there] for [a period of] two years. The special ordinands [have to stay] for three years. Let them train in the practice of praising *śramanas*. After this is done, begin [with having them] study and receive the precepts. [...] Fix their ordination day before the fifteenth of the fourth month. Invite the ten teachers of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, who confer the precepts and assemble them in the Precepts Platform Hall of the Tōdaiji. Conform the teachings, inquire about the thirteen difficulties and the ten restraints. Subsequently, make them climb the platform to receive the precepts. Immediately after the precepts conferral, leave them peacefully in the Precepts Platform Hall. Send the teachers who confer the teachings away during the summer months. Have [the candidates] cultivate and study the 250 *bhikṣu* precepts and the three thousand regulations.⁶⁴²

Just like Kūkai advised, the HSBK thus appears to assert that one takes (or may have taken) full ordination before partaking in the *samaya* precepts and the *abhiṣeka* ritual. At the same

⁶⁴⁰ Satō 1991: 68.

⁶⁴¹ T. LXXVIII, no. 2463: 7a17-19, cf. chapter III: 45 above.

⁶⁴² Satō 1991: 66, quoting: The source text reads: 右得少僧都法眼和尚位惠運牒偈伏檢舊例凡有得度者先與度緣次令入寺就中年分度者經二箇年臨時度者經三箇年令練沙稱之行然後初聽受戒 [...] 四月十五日以前定其受戒日請集傳戒大小十師於東大寺戒壇院依教法問十三難并十遮然後令登壇受戒即受戒畢後安置戒壇院差教授師夏月之間令脩學比丘二百五十戒三千威儀, the latter being the 250 *bhikṣu* rules multiplied by four for the conditions of walking, standing, sitting, and sleeping, and again multiplied by three for past, present, and future.

time, however, –and again just like Kūkai in many of his works– the text does not hesitate to stress the uniqueness of the concerning ritual.

In addition, although some scholars assert that it represents Kūkai’s political skillfulness,⁶⁴³ the main reason for Kūkai’s advocacy of receiving the full precepts undoubtedly is that it was precisely this ordination that was accepted as the mainstream religious policy of the state in contemporary Japan, a fact that also the HSBK appears to accept. In conclusion, Kūkai definitely stressed the importance of the monastic *vinaya* regulations, which belong to the category of ‘exoteric precepts’. Even though there is no consensus on the matter, the fact that his predecessors in the esoteric lineage took full ordination prior to their esoteric initiations, must have played an important role.

However, Kūkai’s SGR also clearly indicated that his followers should also uphold *śīla*. Although the general Sino-Japanese translation of *śīla* is 戒 (Jap. *kai*, cf. supra), the term has also been transliterated as 尸羅 (Jap. *shira*). As seen, the term *śīla* commonly denotes behavioural and/or moral discipline practiced both by lay as by ordained practitioners. Aside from the literally senses already discussed, various other interpretations have been attributed to *śīla*. Amongst the most basic are the following:

Pure and cool or 清凉, i.e. chaste; also by 戒 restraint, or keeping the commandments; also by good disposition 性善 [or: ‘wholesome quality’]. It is the second *pāramitā*, moral purity, i.e. of thought, word, and deed. The four conditions of *śīla* are chastity, calmness, quiescence, and extinction, i.e. no longer perturbed by the afflictions. Also, perhaps *śīla*, a stone, i.e. a precious stone, pearl, or coral.⁶⁴⁴

Ten important prohibitions

Indeed, as distinct schools of thought developed within the Buddhist tradition, diverse sets, and interpretations of *śīla* came into being.⁶⁴⁵ Probably the most wide-spread sets of *śīla* are the ten commandments’ (十戒 Jap. *jukkai*) which all novices have to uphold, whilst the first five are for all laymen and are supposed to ensure a rebirth in the human realm.

As shown above (cf. supra: 87), these *śīla* also appear in the BMK, where they are called “les commandements capitaux”.⁶⁴⁶ However, as is evident from the summary in table 9 below,

⁶⁴³ E.g. Ōya 1928: 326, referred to in Satō 1991: 65.

⁶⁴⁴ DCBT: 101b, s.v. 尸羅, with added italics.

⁶⁴⁵ Abe 1999: 48.

⁶⁴⁶ De Groot 1893: 43.

they are quite different from the “ten important prohibitions” (十重戒, Jap. *jūjūkai*) that are expounded in the HSKB and the MSZ (cf. supra: 78, table 4).

Table 9. Ten important prohibitions

	SBR	BMK	MSZ = HSBK ⁶⁴⁷
1.	not to kill		not to abandon your <i>bodhicitta</i>
2.	not to steal		not to reject the Three Jewels, nor take refuge with the non-Buddhist paths
3.	not to commit adultery		not to taunt the Three Jewels, or the scriptures of the three vehicles
4.	not to lie		not to have doubts when you cannot fathom the deep meaning of the Mahāyāna texts
5.	not to consume alcohol		not to instruct the teachings in such a way that people would act counter to their <i>bodhicitta</i>
6.	not to use flower adornments or perfume	not to speak of the sins of those in orders	not to instruct the teachings in a way that others might be drawn to the two vehicles
7.	not to perform as an actor, juggler, acrobat, or go to watch them	not to vaunt self and depreciate others	not to talk abruptly about the profound and subtle Mahāyāna to Hīnayānists or non-Buddhists
8.	not to sit on elevated, big divans or beds	not to be avaricious	not to arouse wrong views
9.	not to eat except in regulation hours	not to be angry	not to tell non-Buddhists you are furnished with the subtle precepts of unsurpassed <i>bodhi</i>
10.	not to possess money, gold, silver, etc.	not to slander the Three Jewels	not to do anything that harms or aggrieves living beings, nor stimulate others to do so

It may be noteworthy that in contrast to the aforementioned distinction between *kai* and *ritsu* (cf. supra 82, table 6), all *śīla* expounded here are formulated as negative prohibitions, i.e. as things “not to do”. However, as opposed to the pragmatistical *vinaya* rules in the first column, the six latter precepts of the BMK clearly are on the level of ethics, i.e. to promote positive thoughts. Even though, one may say that the same applies to those of the HSBK (and the MSZ), those *śīla* appear to be especially centered around arousing and preserving *bodhicitta*,

⁶⁴⁷ The full HSBK translation is in chapter III: 69. On parallels with the MSZ, see p. 76, and 78-79 above.

or the intent to attain awakening, while at the same time stressing the unique and exalted character of the teachings, a feature that, again, is also strongly present both in Kūkai's own works as well as in the main texts on which he built his doctrinal system.

For example, Yamasaki argues, that while the MSZ –and thus also the HSBK– “formally use[s] the ten precepts that have an old tradition, their spirit is the foundation for the *sanmaiya-kai*.”⁶⁴⁸ He refers in this context to the MVS chapter on *Receiving the Expedients and Learning the Discipline* (受方便學處品 Jap. *Ju hōben gakusho-hin*, i.e. scroll VI, chapter 18). According to him, it is said that “the *śrāvakas* also preach the path of the ten good activities (十善業道 Jap. *jūzen gōdō*), and secular people, as well as the outer (i.e. non-Buddhist) paths also practice them”, but wonders where the difference with the ten good precepts of esoteric Buddhism lies.⁶⁴⁹ It is not very surprising that in order to answer this question, Yamasaki relies on text quotes. The first is from the MVS:

Lord of Mysteries, in the case of the code of training for the *śrāvaka* vehicle, [though] I have taught it, it is divorced from wisdom and expedient means, enjoins the achievement [of morality], fosters [one-]sided knowledge, and is not the same as practicing the path of the ten wholesome actions. World[ling]s, furthermore, because they are divorced from attachment to the [petty] self, are subject to another cause (i.e., the divine self). The bodhisattva[, on the other hand,] cultivates the Great Vehicle, enters the equality of all *dharma*s, and embraces wisdom and expedient means, and his actions unfold for the sake of both himself and others. Therefore, Lord of Mysteries, the bodhisattva here takes hold of wisdom and expedient means, enters the equality of all *dharma*s, and should be diligent in his training.⁶⁵⁰

Second is the *Heizei*, in which Kūkai wrote:

As Nāgārjuna said: “There are five kinds of precepts: men-and-god precepts, *śrāvaka* precepts, *pratyekabuddha* precepts, bodhisattva precepts, and *samaya* precepts [for Buddhas]. The fifth [kind, namely] the *samaya* precepts [for Buddha] are the precepts which are bestowed today. The ten [conventional] good precepts are similar in the five classes outlined above. Furthermore, just as there are four and ten types of distinctions in the *śrāvaka* and bodhisattva precepts, there are distinctions in the *samaya* precepts. However, their meaning varies, even though their name remains the same. Thus, although the four types of precepts offered in the *śrāvaka* and *bodhisattva* categories [mentioned] here are as usual, they have a different meaning in the present case, to which we will return. [However,] let it be clear that it is not only the precepts, but also the corresponding wisdoms that change accordingly.”⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁸ Yamasaki 1967: 258.

⁶⁴⁹ Yamasaki 1967: 258.

⁶⁵⁰ Giebel 2005: 188, translating T. XVIII, no. 848: 39a26-b2, cited without clear reference in Yamasaki 1967: 258: 祕密主若聲聞乘學處我說離慧方便教令成就開發邊智非等行十善業道彼諸世間復離執著我故他因所轉菩薩修行大乘入一切法平等攝受智慧方便自他俱故諸所作轉是故祕密主菩薩於此攝智方便入一切法平等當勤修學. Other translations are in Yamamoto Y. 2001: 150, and Hodge 2003: 337.

⁶⁵¹ KDZ, II: 159-160 equalling T. LXXVII, no. 2461: 2a22-b1: 故龍猛菩薩說戒有五種云云人天聲聞緣覺菩薩三昧耶佛戒第五三昧耶佛戒今所授者也十善戒通五種隨其廣狹有淺深耳如聲聞菩薩戒有四重十重三昧耶戒亦有之然其名同義趣別何者聲聞菩薩四重如常今此戒四重者亦如後說非只戒異定慧亦別 若言乘五乘

In third instance, Yamasaki quotes the *Kōnin*:

All precepts are rooted in the ten good (ones), and the ten good (ones) are rooted in the one mind of *samaya*.⁶⁵²

A fifth, and final passage is taken from the SKJ, in which –after having explained that there are two kinds of precepts (cf. *supra*)– Kūkai states:

[The first is *vinaya*, which, interpreted, is discipline. The second is *śīla*, which, interpreted, is pure and quiescent.] Visualizing all sentient beings is as having the four obligations in one’s own body. Therefore dare not to harm or kill them!⁶⁵³

Based on these quotes, Yamasaki concludes that the esoteric explanation of ten good precepts is not the same as in Hīnayāna, but that they amount to the expedient of wisdom, even though they are expressed in the familiar phrasing of considering oneself as the four obligations. In other words, “the profound spirit of the *sanmaiya-kai* can be expressed straightforwardly based on the single observation of the equality of self and others.”⁶⁵⁴ Undoubtedly, this may need some further explanation.

Ten stages of mind

Again, in contrast to the *vinaya* precepts, *śīla* comprise ethical guidelines for approaching others, that is, a moral code that is connected to one’s state of mind. As may be clear from the above, the foremost writings in which Kūkai addresses his view on *śīla* are the *Heizei* and the SKJ.

In the *Heizei*, Kūkai writes that –just as there are differences in the teachings of the eight schools, namely the six “Nara schools”⁶⁵⁵ and the two “Heian schools” of Tendai and Shingon)– there are also differences in each school regarding the precepts.⁶⁵⁶

道別. Translation based on Grapard (2000: 156), with own changes and additions. Fragment cited only partially by Yamasaki 1967: 258 (cf. n. 22). Regarding Kūkai’s interpretation of the “five classes”, see Grapard 2000: 150-151.

⁶⁵² Yamasaki 1967: 258.

⁶⁵³ T. LVII, no. 2462: 6a4-6, cited without reference in Yamasaki 1967: 259: [二尸羅翻云清涼寂靜] 觀一切衆生猶如己身及四恩是故不敢殺害其身命. First part of the translation by White 2005: 369, where the last sentence appears to have been overlooked.

⁶⁵⁴ Yamasaki 1967: 259.

⁶⁵⁵ Cf. chapter II: 22, n. 118.

⁶⁵⁶ Endō 1972: 7 referring to KDZ II: 159-160; 164-165.

As Katsumata has pointed out, the *Heizei* is structured around four sections, of which the initial sentences that begin with “this” (夫, Jap. *so*).⁶⁵⁷ For the second and third sections, the text gives a classification of the eight schools and says:

The first three are called Hīnayāna, the next four are called Mahāyāna. The last one is the secret Vajrayāna.⁶⁵⁸

Moreover, the teachings of the first seven schools, i.e. all except Shingon, are but one of the

so many decrees from the Law (*dharma*) King, issuing from his governmental offices [...]; they are miraculous remedies applied in accordance with the occasion by Śākyamuni, the emperor of the Buddhist law (*dharma*) and king of medicine.⁶⁵⁹

The teachings of Shingon, by contrast, are:

(The code (*dharma*) that is about to be sworn to at the present moment) [being] the Secret Maṇḍala performed by Tathāgata Mahāvairocana, who resides in the mind palace of the adamantine realm of essence, and who manifests himself as the five Tathāgatas, who represent as many wisdoms in their quadruple body-form, together with their many cohorts.⁶⁶⁰

Taking the example of depending the treatment, and administration of drugs according to the disease, Kūkai states in the SKJ that there are also different kinds of Buddhist teachings depending on the people’s abilities, namely:

Medicine produced of one thousand two hundred plants and seventy-two types of non-aging concoctions is formulated into a prescription for relief of bodily sickness, the twelve sets of profound teachings and the eighty-four thousand teachings of the *sūtras* offer compassionated precepts directed at the ailments of the mind. Just as there is no panaceaic medicine for a hundred different bodily ailments, so there is no one *sūtra* teaching for the myriad ailments of the mind. For this reason, the Bhagavān offers various medicines for the cure of various maladies.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁷ Katsumata 1970: 92 referred to in Endō 1972: 7, identifying KDZ II: 154c, 158l, 163g, and 165i respectively. This corresponds to the following sections in T. LXXVIII, no. 2461: 1a6 (夫八繕深海 ff.); 2a04 (夫過此大虛廣大者 ff.); 2c29 (夫氣海雖微忽起滿界之雲 ff.); and 3b12 (若夫一千二百藥草 ff.).

⁶⁵⁸ Endō 1972: 7-8, quoting KDZ II: 165, corresponding to T. LXXVIII, no. 2461: a27-29: 初三謂之小乘次四調之大乘後一祕密金剛乘也. Translation by Grapard (2000: 156-157). See also tables 11 and 12 infra.

⁶⁵⁹ Endō 1972: 8 reading: [如上諸宗諸教] 法王之一職百官之一局 [...] 釋迦醫王他受法帝隨機之妙藥也, being a quote from T. LXXVIII, no. 2461: b22-25. Translation by Grapard (2000: 157).

⁶⁶⁰ Endō 1972: 8 giving a modern Japanese rendering of T. LXXVIII, no. 2461: 2b25-27: [今所授法者是] 大日如來住金剛法界心殿與五智如來四種法身自內眷屬所演之祕密曼荼羅之法也. Translation by Grapard (2000: 157).

⁶⁶¹ White 2005: 357-358 translating KDZ II: 132, corresponding to T. LXXVIII, no. 2462: pp. 4c26-5a1: 若夫一千二百藥草七十二種金丹 悲身病而作方一十二部妙法八萬四千經教 衰心疾而垂訓身病百種即方藥不能一途心疾萬品則經教不得一種是故我大師薄伽梵施種種藥療種種病.

Aside from the *Heizei* and the SKJ, there are also many clues for Kūkai’s precepts view in the JJSR,⁶⁶² but –in comparison to the former two– this text is more philosophical, not in the least because in this text Kūkai indicates the stages of mind (住心 Jap. *jūshin*) that accord to a beings’ capacities, and the thereupon depending teachings. The JJSR and the *Precious*, which is an abbreviation of the former text (cf. 99 supra), give the following stages:⁶⁶³

Table 10. Characteristics of the ten stages of mind

stage	mind	features
1.	the lowly man, goatish in its desires	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - uncontrolled desire - urge for food, alcohol, and sex - attachment to permanent ego and fame - striving to improve material life - not realizing one’s faults
2.	ignorant and childlike, yet abstemious	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - beginning ethical actions - egoistic observance of ethics - attachment to purification - to maintain peace of the country - to give comfort to individuals - to forsake evil and cultivate good
3.	infantlike and fearless	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - primitive deity worship - hoping for (temporary) rebirth in heaven - egoistic asceticism, yoga, and devotion - egoistic accumulation of merit - escapism/pessimistic world view - false belief in permanent individual soul - isolating one man from another
4.	recognizing existence of psychophysical constituents, denying a permanent ego	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - only recognizing the five constituents⁶⁶⁴ - four reflections⁶⁶⁵ - gaining the eightfold emancipation⁶⁶⁶ - realizing the six supernatural powers⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶² Endō 1972: 60 listing the following passages: JJSR, scroll 1, in KDZ I: 126, 133, 138, 140-141, 145-146, 158-169; scroll 2 in KDZ I: 181-190; scroll 3 in KDZ I: 220-221, 231, 232-235; scroll 9 in KDZ I: 392-393 etc.

⁶⁶³ The summary in the following tables is based on Hakeda 1972: 68-75, 158-160, and 163-164, supplemented with Endō 1972: 60, as well as Abe 1999: 326-327. On the relation of the ten stages with *abhiṣeka*, see ibid. 333ff.

⁶⁶⁴ Syn. *skhandas*, “constituents of a sentient being: form, sensation, conception, volition, and consciousness”, cf. Hakeda 1972: 127, n. 87.

⁶⁶⁵ 四念處 (Jap. *shi nenjo*), i.e. the four bases of mindfulness, which are explained by White (2005: 358, n. 699) as the four reflections, which “are those upon which one should contemplate in an effort to destroy the effects of the obstacles to enlightenment, and to induce enlightenment, [... being] (1) the realization of the impurity of the physical body, (2) of the nature of suffering impinging in all sensations of the body, (3) of the inherently impermanent nature of the mind, and (4) of the lack of a permanent individual self-nature”, i.e. 身 (Jap. *shin*-), 受 (Jap. *ju*-), 心 (Jap. *shin*-), and 法念處 (Jap. *hō-nenjo*) respectively.

⁶⁶⁶ 八背捨 (Jap. *hachi haisha*). According to Hakeda (1972: 159, n. 10), these are “the eight stages of meditation to gain mental liberation: to meditate that all things are impure; to reduce attachment to external objects; to meditate on pure forms but not to develop any attachment, on infinite space, on boundless consciousness, on the state of non-being, on the state of neither thought nor non-thought; and to attain the state of complete cessation of all mental activities.”

⁶⁶⁷ They can be obtained by the practice of yoga: supernatural action, vision, hearing; ability to read the minds of others; knowledge of former states of existence; and freedom from vexation, cf. Hakeda 1972: 159, n. 11.

5.	freed from the seed of the cause of karma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - extirpating the seed of ignorance - knowledge of emptiness - meditating on twelve links of causation⁶⁶⁸ - apathetic attitude toward others - lack of sympathy for fellow beings - obtain wisdom without instruction
6.	Mahāyāna with sympathetic concern for others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - unconditional compassion for others - all phenomena exists in the mind only - world of objects is invalid - leading to the four wisdoms⁶⁶⁹ - first instance of great compassion
7.	realizing that the mind is unborn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no useless arguments by eight negations⁶⁷⁰ - discovering unity in diversity
8.	being truly in harmony with the One way	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - mind is one, and originally pure - subject and object interpenetrate - importance of <i>Lotus sutra</i> - threefold truth⁶⁷¹ - six grades⁶⁷²
9.	profoundest exoteric Buddhist mind that is aware of its nonimmutable nature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - elements are nonimmutable of their own - the <i>dharmadhātu</i> is not yet the ultimate - need to proceed by receiving revelation - importance of <i>Avataṃsakasūtra</i>

⁶⁶⁸ These so-called twelve *nidānas* (十二因緣 Jap. *nijū innen*) that make up the wheel of life are usually listed in the way that the prior situation is the condition for the arising of the next situation. Also, in the same order, if the prior condition is extinguished, the next condition is extinguished. They are linked to their causation of rebirth: “(1) nescience, as inherited affliction from the beginningless past; (2) karma, good and evil, of past lives; (3) conception as a form of perception; (4) *nāmarūpa*, or body and mind evolving (in the womb); (5) the six organs on the verge of birth; (6) childhood whose intelligence is limited to *sparsā*, contact or touch; (7) receptivity or budding intelligence and discrimination from six or seven years; (8) thirst, desire, or love, age of puberty; (9) the urge of sensuous existence; (10) forming the substance, *bhava*, of future karma; (11) the completed karma ready for rebirth; (12) old age and death. The first two are associated with the previous life, the other ten with the present.” Muller in DBJ, s.v. 十二因緣. Also see Hakeda 1972: 70, n. 20.

⁶⁶⁹ 四智 (Jap. *shi chi*) White 2005: 359-360, n. 704: “the four wisdoms are as follows, with their accompanying deities which embody the characteristics of the particular wisdoms: (1) *adarśa-jñāna* (the great mirror wisdom of Akṣobhya); (2) *samata-jñāna* (the universal wisdom of Ratnaketu); (3) *pratyavekṣana-jñāna* (the profound visualizing wisdom of Amitābha); and (4) *kṛtya-anuṣṭāna-jñāna* (the perfecting wisdom of Amoghasiddhi).” These wisdoms, and their relation to the five wisdoms in Kūkai’s system are discussed in Hakeda 1972: 83-85.

⁶⁷⁰ According to Hakeda (1972: 160, n. 14), these are: unborn, imperishable, unceasing, non-constant, non-identical, not different, not going away, and not coming.

⁶⁷¹ 三諦俱融 (Jap. *san tai kuyū*), i.e. all things are void; all things are temporary; all things are in the middle state between these two. White (2005: 361, n. 710) explains this as consisting of: (1) the truth of emptiness: all things are essentially and fundamentally empty in nature; (2) the truth of phenomena: though all phenomenal manifestations are merely that, they serve to represent that which is real; and (3) the means, transcending the dichotomous relationship of the foregoing two, indicating that the two previous truths are essentially equivalent in that all three truths are interrelated and integrating. This scheme is based on Nāgarjuna.”

⁶⁷² 六即表位 (Jap. *roku soku hyōi*), “These constitute six levels of practice in the Tiantai philosophy, defining the transition from the initial awakening of mind to attaining the fruits of Buddhahood. They underscore the principle that ‘sentient beings are none other than Buddha’ (衆生即佛 Jap. *shūjō soku butsu*), cf. White 2005: 361, n. 711 (with altered transcription), where a classification is found.

10.	Glorious, most secret and sacred mind	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - manifesting the secret treasures - realizing all values - “body-mind” = “Body-Mind” - Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana
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In Kūkai’s system, each of these stages corresponds to a religious denomination, which is also characterized by its own precepts:⁶⁷³

Table 11. Precepts for stages 1-5

<i>stage</i>	<i>religion/philosophy</i>		<i>precepts</i>
1.	nihilism & determinism		/
2.	Confucianism & lay Buddhism		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - three human duties⁶⁷⁴ - five cardinal virtues⁶⁷⁵ - five precepts⁶⁷⁶ - ten precepts/good deeds⁶⁷⁷
3.	Hinduism & Daoism		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - six practices⁶⁷⁸ - four mental concentrations⁶⁷⁹
4.	Hīnayāna	Śrāvakayāna	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - four noble truths - 250 <i>vinaya</i> precepts
5.		Pratyekabuddhayāna	Buddhist precepts without ordination

⁶⁷³ Endō 1972: 60. This is also found in the SKJ, cf. White 2005: 358ff.

⁶⁷⁴ These are the relations between prince and minister, father and son, husband and wife, cf. Hakeda 1972: 159, n. 5.

⁶⁷⁵ Also called the five constants (五常 Jap. *go jō*): benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and sincerity, cf. Hakeda 1972: 102, n. 4, or: benevolence, rightness, etiquette, wisdom and belief, cf. White 2005: 358, n. 695.

⁶⁷⁶ 五戒 (Jap. *go kai*), i.e. not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to speak falsely, not to consume alcohol, cf. supra: 102. For the last one, an alternative is sometimes given (cf. n. 677 below). The *Precious* links the five cardinal virtues of Confucianism to the five Buddhist precepts: (1) benevolence = not to kill, meaning “to treat others as you would want others to treat you, and to practice charity”; (2) righteousness = not to steal, meaning “to save things and to share them with others”; (3) propriety = not to commit adultery, denoting “to observe the five ceremonies in good order” (these are: sacrifice to ancestors, funeral rites, ceremonial rules of hospitality, military rites, and initiation and marriage ceremonies, cf. Hakeda 1972: 168, n. 40); (4) wisdom = not to drink alcohol, for “by heeding this, one can discern and reason well”; (5) sincerity = not to lie, being “to act upon one’s words”, cf. Hakeda 1972: 168.

⁶⁷⁷ Cf. supra: 101-102. Although the first four are the same, Hakeda (1972: 167, n. 39) gives another set for the last six precepts, namely: not to use exaggerated speech, not to slander, not to evocate, not to covet, not to give way to anger, and not to hold biased views. He fails to see, though, that Kūkai maintained not to drink alcohol as the fifth precept (cf. Hakeda 1972: 168, and n. 676 above).

⁶⁷⁸ 六行 (Jap. *roku gyō*), i.e. to perceive in contemplation that the world below is painful, coarse, and full of impediments, and that the world above is pure, exquisite, and free from impediments. Hakeda 1972: 159, n. 7.

⁶⁷⁹ 四禪 (Jap. *shi zen*). According to Hakeda (1972: 159, n. 8), these denote “the four stages of meditation performed in the world of form, a world higher than that of desire, but lower than that of formlessness. The first stage is characterized by the powers of investigation, reflection, joyfulness, bliss, and *samādhi*; the second by serenity, joyfulness, and *samādhi*; the third by equanimity, remembrance, wisdom, bliss, and *samādhi*; and the fourth, by neither pain nor joy, equanimity, remembrance, and *samādhi*.”

And from the sixth stage to the ninth stage, i.e. the level of Mahāyāna, Kūkai also links the stages of mind to the *samādhi* of the four Great Bodhisattvas, it is, by the way, not surprising that precisely these figures are summed up in the HSBK:⁶⁸⁰

Table 12. Vows of stages 6-10 and corresponding *samādhi*

stage	denomination		vows	samādhi
6.	Mahāyāna	Yogācāra (Hossō)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - four boundless frames of mind⁶⁸¹ - four embracing acts⁶⁸² - four bodhisattva vows⁶⁸³ - four bodhisattva methods⁶⁸⁴ - six perfections⁶⁸⁵ - etc. 	Maitreya
7.		Mādhyamika (Sanron)		Mañjuśrī
8.		Tientai (Tendai)		Avolokiteśvara
9.		Huayan (Kegon)		Samantabhadra
10.	Vajrayāna	Shingon	<i>samaya</i> vows for Buddhas	(Mahāvairocana)

In this way, Kūkai offers the detailed circumstances of each teaching, and recognizes the value of each miraculous cure. However, at the same time, he discriminates between the teachings constituting “the nectar expounded by the *para-saṃbhogakāya*” (stages 2-9) and “the precepts of the Shingon *maṇḍala* teachings expounded by Svabhāva-dharmakāya Mahāvairocana” (stage 10).⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁰ Cf. chapter III: 55-60. One could speculate that in the HSBK ritual, actually representatives of the respective schools are invited. This link needs further investigation, for in the contemporary *bosatsukai* ceremony conducted at Kōyasan, for instance the preceptor represents Maitreya and the professor Mañjuśrī, see Suzuki 1990: 118.

⁶⁸¹ Boundless loving kindness, compassion, joy at the sight of other’s happiness, and equanimity, cf. Hakeda 1972: 197, n. 129.

⁶⁸² Charity, kind speech, beneficial acts, and adapting oneself to others, cf. Hakeda 1972: 197, n. 130.

⁶⁸³ Saving sentient beings, extinguishing defilements, study the Buddhist doctrines, realizing unsurpassed enlightenment, cf. chapter III: 33, n. 203.

⁶⁸⁴ See chapter III: 62, n. 434.

⁶⁸⁵ 六度 (Jap. *roku do*), i.e. Skt. *pāramitās*, see chapter III: 59, n. 416.

⁶⁸⁶ Endō 1972: 60; White 2005: 362. There are four *dharmakāyas* (四種法身 Jap. *shishu hosshin*), or perhaps better the “Dharmakāya in four forms” is a term that according to Hakeda (1972: 83) comes from the STTS (his references in *ibid.*, n. 16 are uncorrect, though, and should be T. XVIII, no. 867: 254a1). It denotes the particular Mikkyō classification of the *trikāya* theory (cf. chapter III: 29, n. 152 above) into: (1) *svabhāva-dharmakāya* (自性法身 Jap. *jisshō hosshin*, also abbreviated to 自性法身 Jap. *jisshō shin*, cf. BGDJ: 555a, s.v. 自性身; 554c, s.v. 自性法身), or the “Dharmakāya in absolute state”, being the self-nature or essential nature, that is ultimate truth per se. It is the absolute aspect of Mahāvairocana, “the true Body of gnosis of all Buddhas”, revealing itself to “its own emanations, that his, all beings and the universe, and engaging in a monologue which reveals the

Thus, Kūkai’s division between exoteric and esoteric teachings and their respective precepts (cf. *supra*), cannot be treated separate from his Ten stages thought. This made scholars such as Ueda argue that Kūkai’s precepts view, has to be perceived as being approachable from two perspectives: (1) “nine exoteric and one esoteric”, which he calls “the relative standpoint” (相對的立場 Jap. *sōtaiteki tachiba*), and (2) “nine exoteric and ten esoteric”, which he says, is the absolute standpoint (絶対的立場 Jap. *zettaiteki tachiba*). The first perspective differentiates the exoteric teachings from the tenth stage of Shingon Mikkyō, and considers the previous stages (1-9) are expedient teachings for the attainment of the tenth stage. The second perspective, by contrast, perceives each and every stage as a manifestation of Mahāvairocana’s virtue, and therefore, also embodiments, or expressions of Shingon Mikkyō. According to Ueda, it is exactly in this point that one finds the reason for Kūkai accepting both the exoteric and the esoteric precepts, even though he considered the latter as the most profound.⁶⁸⁷

Four types of mind

The SKJ says that those who are about to practice and board the esoteric vehicle should first of all arouse the four kinds of mind, namely, the minds of faith (信心, Jap. *shinjin*), great compassion (大悲心 Jap. *daihi shin*), supreme truth (勝義心 Jap. *shōgi shin*), and great enlightenment (大菩提心 Jap. *dai bodai shin*).⁶⁸⁸

Dharma in the state of *samādhi*”; (2) *saṃbhoga-dharmakāya* (受用法身, Jap. *juyō hosshin*, cf. MD: 1937, s.v. *butsushin*) the body received for his own enjoyment (自受用身, Jap. *ji juyōshin*), being “the aspect of Bliss in the state of absolute *samādhi*”, and/or the “Dharmakāya in Participation, which appears in the form of Buddhas to guide those who are in the advanced stages of Bodhisattvahood”, and are rewarded for their insight into the nature of the Dharmakāya, which is the “Other-orientated Body (他受用身, Jap. *tajuyōshin*); (3) *nirmāṇa-dharmakāya* (應化法身 Jap. *ōge hosshin*; var. *ōke hosshin*, cf. MD 178, s.v. *ōke hosshin*; var. *henge hosshin*, cf. Hakeda 1972: 83), the “Dharmakāya in Transformation”, or the transformation body expedient for the benefit of others, described as “the Buddha appearing in history to teach bodhisattvas who have not reached the final stages: *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, and ordinary people”; (4) *niṣyanda-dharmakāya* (等流法身, Jap. *tōru hosshin*, cf. MD: 1937, s.v. *butsushin*), a.k.a. ‘equal flow body’ or the “Dharmakāya in Emanation”, denoting the “bodies emanating or issuing forth from Mahāvairocana in a variety of forms such as non-human beings, or dwellers in hells”, being “expressions of the impartial compassion and wisdom in skillful means”, or the expedient manifestation for the purpose of enlightening sentient beings. Thus, in Shingon the three mainstream Mahāyāna Buddha bodies (in that case the latter two are normally joined) are aspects of the one (Svabhāva-) Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana, and the latter three are considered manifested attributes of the first. English definitions based on White 2005: 403, supplemented with those in quotation marks cited from Hakeda 1972: 83. For more information, see MD: 942-943, s.v. *shishu hosshin*.

⁶⁸⁷ Ueda 1933: 62.

⁶⁸⁸ Endō 1972: 9.

In this text, Kūkai gives ten meanings for the first mind, which are cited from the first scroll of the *Explanation of the Treatise on Mahāyāna*.⁶⁸⁹

Firstly, the Mind of Faith is awakened due to a desire for firm resolve, and the desire not to retreat. There are ten types of this mind. The first has the meaning of ‘Clear and Pure’, in that it causes the mind to be clear and pure. The second has the meaning of ‘Resolve’ in that it causes the mind to be steadfast. The third has the meaning of ‘Bliss’ in that it causes the mind to be relieved from various anxieties. The fourth has the meaning of ‘Tireless’ in that it rids the mind of indolence. The fifth has the meaning of ‘With Gladness’ in that it cultivates the mind that takes joy in the excellent acts of others. The sixth has the meaning of ‘Respect’ in that it neither slights nor belittles those possessed of excellent virtue. The seventh has the meaning of ‘Obedience’ in that it follows that which is seen and heard, and does not differ. The eighth has the meaning of ‘Praise’ in that it rejoices freely in the excellent acts of others. The ninth has the meaning of ‘Non-Destruction’ in that it is single-minded, never forgetting. The tenth has the meaning of ‘Love of the Virtuous’ in that it causes the fulfillment of the mind of compassion.⁶⁹⁰

However, the same passage also occurs in Kūkai’s *Heizei*,⁶⁹¹ dated 822, of which a less literal –and therefore perhaps also more clear– translation has been published:

First, the confident mind is produced so that one may be empowered to maintain strong resolve without faltering. There are ten meanings to the term “confidence”: purity, so as to purify and render the mind clear and bright; resolve, in order to fortify the nature of the mind; joy, in order to cut short all frustrations; lack of disdain, so that negligence might be abandoned; equanimity, in order to hold the same attitude in all situations; respect, in order that one not react aggressively to words or actions; praise, in order that all actions be the object thereof; indestructibility, in order that the mind may remain set; and love, in order that the great compassionate mind may appear.⁶⁹²

Here, the ‘mind of faith’ is rendered as ‘confident mind’, but there are also variant translations for other types of mind: whilst the ‘mind of great compassion’ stays the ‘great compassionate

⁶⁸⁹ 釋摩訶衍論 Jap. *Shaku makaen ron*, trans. Amoghavajra. See also p. 106 supra.

⁶⁹⁰ White 2005: 362-363, translating the *Preface* in T. LXXVIII, no. 2462: 5a23-b02: 初信心者爲欲決定堅固無退失故發此心此有十種一澄淨義能令心性清淨明白故二決定義能令心性淳至堅固故三歡喜義能令斷除諸憂惱故四無厭義能令斷除懈怠心故五隨喜義於他勝行發起同心故六尊重義於諸有德不輕賤故七隨順義隨所見聞不違逆故八讚歎義隨彼勝行至心稱歎故九不壞義專在一心不忘失故十愛樂義[能令成就慈悲心故]. This passage is based on T. XXXII, no. 1668: 597a8-17, also referred to in Endō 1972: 15, n. 40: [論曰信有十種義云何爲十] 一者澄淨義能令心性清淨明白故 二者決定義能令心性淳至堅固故 三者歡喜義能令斷除諸憂惱故 四者無厭義能令斷除懈怠心故 五者隨喜義於他勝行發起同心故 六者尊重義於諸有德不輕賤故 七者隨順義隨所見聞不違逆故 八者讚歎義隨彼勝行至心稱歎故 九者不壞義在專一心不妄失故 十者愛樂義能令成就慈悲心故 是名爲十.

⁶⁹¹ KDZ II: 117-145. Perhaps the most accessible source text of this passage is in T. LXXVIII, no. 2461 3c8-17.

⁶⁹² Grapard 2000: 161.

mind’, the aforementioned ‘mind of supreme truth’ becomes the ‘critical mind’, and the ‘mind of great enlightenment’ has been simply translated as the ‘awakened mind’.⁶⁹³

The *Bodhicitta-sāstra* (菩提心論 Jap. *Bodaishiron*, further: BDSR),⁶⁹⁴ expounding the doctrine of the three kinds of *bodhicitta*, i.e. supreme truth, vows and *samādhi*,⁶⁹⁵ around which Kūkai constructed his SKJ, reads the following:

The Buddhas and bodhisattvas, long ago when in their causal state, finished awakening this [Bodhi] Mind, taking as their precepts [Skt. *śīla*] supreme truth, [the] vow [to practice] and *samādhi*, not for a moment forgetting, even until becoming Buddhas.⁶⁹⁶

In order to understand the view on *śīla* as given in the aforementioned quote from the BDSR, however, the ‘great compassionate mind’ which is perhaps the most crucial, because “this great compassionate mind is also called the mind of the vow to practice”.⁶⁹⁷ This mind is said to be aroused only by the Mahāyāna bodhisattva, who visualizes all sentient beings as himself, and “[throughout] the three periods [of past, present, and future], he perceives all as his own four obligations”.⁶⁹⁸ In short, a great compassionate mind puts others first. It is the mind of taking away suffering and conferring peace.⁶⁹⁹

The third mind, that of ‘supreme truth’, or the ‘critical mind’ has also been called the ‘profound *prajñā* mind’.⁷⁰⁰ It concerns “the mind of attaining various differentiations between the teachings”, which are explained in accordance with the JJSR doctrine, on which Kūkai grafted his classification of successive doctrines: the Shingon bodhisattva, passes through the previous nine stages, arouses *bodhicitta*, and practices enlightened behavior with this mind.⁷⁰¹ This profound *prajñā* mind is also mentioned in the SKJ in order to analyse the various Buddhist teachings, and is also called the esoteric adorning mind (秘密莊嚴心 Jap. *himitsu*

⁶⁹³ Grapard 2000: 161.

⁶⁹⁴ Full title: 金剛頂瑜伽中發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心論 Jap. *Kongōchō-yuga-chūhotsu-anokutara-sammyaku-sambodaishin ron*) is the *Treatise on Bodhi Mind* which has been attributed to Amoghavarjra (705-774), cf. T. XXXII, no. 1665. Kūkai heavily relied on this text to espouse the *sokushin-jōbutsu* doctrine, cf. White 2005: 13, esp. n. 5.

⁶⁹⁵ For more information on these three types, see: White 2005: 211.

⁶⁹⁶ T. XXXII, no. 1665, 672c11-13: 諸佛菩薩昔在因地發是心已勝義行願三摩地爲戒乃至成佛無時暫忘. Translation by White (2005: 211, s.v. B04), with my additions in brackets. This passage is also quoted by Ueda T. (1933: 124), Yamasaki (1967: 256-257), and Endō (1972: 9).

⁶⁹⁷ Grapard 2000: 161.

⁶⁹⁸ White 2005: 363. These are the obligations to one’s parents, sentient beings, king, and three jewels of Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha.

⁶⁹⁹ Endō 1972: 9. See also White 2005: 363-364; Grapard 2000: 161-162.

⁷⁰⁰ 深般若心 (Jap. *shin hannya shin*). English term borrowed from White 2005: 364, s.v. S13.

⁷⁰¹ Endō 1972: 9.

shōgon shin).⁷⁰² Moreover, it is also what is summarized in one phrase in the MVS as “The master of mysteries asks: what is *bodhicitta-śīla*? [Answer:] It is truly knowing one’s own mind.”⁷⁰³

Finally, there is the mind of great *bodhicitta*, which comprises two types, namely actively-seeking *bodhicitta* (能求菩提心 Jap. *nōgu bodaishin*), and passively-sought *bodhicitta* (所求菩提心 Jap. *shogu bodaishin*).⁷⁰⁴ Actively-seeking *bodhicitta* is the mind of the practitioner seeking enlightenment (*bodhi*), while passively-sought *bodhicitta* denotes “that which is described as the body of the inexhaustible, sublime, *vajra* realm. In this realm, Mahāvairocana equally shares the four *dharmakāyas* and the four *maṇḍalas*⁷⁰⁵ which constitute the original nature of all sentient beings.”⁷⁰⁶ To abide in this mind is called the secret *samādhi*, which indicates that great *bodhicitta* is nothing else than *samādhi*.⁷⁰⁷

Therefore, synthesizing the above four kinds of mind, the SKJ connects them as:

The Buddha-Tathāgatas constitute the precepts through Great Compassion, Supreme Truth, and *Samādhi*, never forgetting for a moment.⁷⁰⁸

This brings us back to Kūkai’s ten stages, because –at least according to Satō– the JJSR also preaches on the stage of the supreme mind (*shōgi shin* 勝義心) that is explained in the SKJ.⁷⁰⁹

The passage reads:

The Tathāgata preaches this distinction clearly. For this reason, [the practitioner] should take up this tortoise mirror and differentiate. The ordinary man, ram-like and deluded, produces works chiefly of the ten evils, being addicted to the pleasures of the three poisons and the five desires, oblivious to the fact that in his next existence he is to fall subject to the extreme pain of the three paths. For this reason, the person possessed of the knowledge of Shingon should not rejoice. As for the teachings of the vehicle where the mind is foolish and childlike, yet capable of forbearance: though one comes, gradually, to a belief of cause and effect, and

⁷⁰² Endō (1972: 15, n. 45) refers to the tenth scroll of the JJSR in KDZ I: 397.

⁷⁰³ Endō (1972: 15, n. 46) refers to T. XVIII, no. 848: c1-2: [祕密主]云何菩提謂如實知自心.

⁷⁰⁴ English terms by White 2005: 368, s.v. S23.

⁷⁰⁵ The four *maṇḍalas* (四種曼荼羅 Jap. *shishu mandara*) are particular aspects of each of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas: (1) *mahā maṇḍala* comprise the marks of their body; (2) *samaya maṇḍala* are the marks of their attributes, such as rings, flowers, swords, etc.; (3) *dharma maṇḍala* are their seed syllables (Skt. *bīja*); (4) *karma maṇḍala* are their acts, statutes, or images, cf. White 2005: 406. For more information, see MD 943, s.v. *shishu mandara*, referring to MD: 1024 s.v. *shi mansōdai* (四曼相大), discussing the four *maṇḍalas*, the four marks, and the four great elements).

⁷⁰⁶ Endō (1972: 9) summarizing T. vol. 78, no. 2462: 5c22-24: 無盡莊嚴金剛界の身是れなり大毘盧遮那四種法身四種曼荼羅是れ一切衆生本來平等にして共に有せり. Translation with small changes cited from White (2005: 368, s.v. S25).

⁷⁰⁷ Endō 1972: 9.

⁷⁰⁸ Here, Endō (1972: 9) translates T. vol. 78, no. 2462: 6a1-3: 諸佛如來以此大悲勝義三摩地爲戒無時暫忘 English translation by White (2005: 369, s.v. S27).

⁷⁰⁹ Satō 1991: 61 ff.

performs the five constants and the five precepts, this is simply cause, and he does not gain the rejoicing of the heaven of rebirth. Therefore, [the person possessed of the knowledge of Shingon] should not rejoice. [...] Those of the Mind most aware of its ultimate nature, though they claim insight into the *dharmadhātu*, and attest to the body of the three worlds; and though they are as Indra's net and obtain the one great Dharmakāya, yet this is the causal state of becoming Buddha, the first mind of the Buddha. They fail to become possessed of the five marks of becoming a Buddha and the four maṇḍalas. For this reason, they cannot abide. They consider that not gaining is gaining, and that not attaining is attaining. In this way, by following the teachings of the Tathāgata, and by means of supreme wisdom, one effects a discrimination of the vehicles and awakens *bodhicitta*. If there is a person, and he should ride on a vehicle such as this, taking the path and the destination whither it leads, this still is not that which is called supreme, pure *bodhicitta*. For this reason, the bodhisattvas of the Shingon teaching transcend these stages, awakening *bodhicitta*, and performing *bodhicitta* practice.⁷¹⁰

In this passage, Kūkai states (1) that the differentiation in the ten stages of mind is judged upon the supreme mind; and (2) that Shingon practitioners should not be enamored by the first until the ninth stages, but should be drawn towards the secret adorned mind. In other words, Kūkai's SKJ advocates that the above stages of mind come forward by means of contemplating the non-self-nature of all phenomena in view of the wisdom of profound *prajñā*.⁷¹¹

Also, by means of the profound wisdom of the profound *prajñā*, one visualizes the foregoing nine stages of mind, that there is no self-nature. How can there be no self-nature? It is as the freezing of winter which, when it encounters the spring, melts and flows away; a nugget of gold which, when it is fired, also melts and disappears. These teachings all arise from *pratyaya* [i.e. the second cause] having no self-nature. Therefore, although those ordinary beings, 'Non-sagacious and ramlike', have evil natures, through education in good knowledge they will awaken the 'Foolish, childish mind, capable of forbearance'. [...] Because the being of the 'Mind that is in total unity with the one-way' receives of the wonderful enlightenment of the Buddhas, he awakens the 'Mind most aware of its ultimate nature'. Because the being of the 'Mind most aware of its ultimate nature' wishes after the mind of the supreme *vajra* mind, he awakens the 'Mind that is secret and sublime'. Because all of these are through the absence of self-nature, they roll forward and are perfected.⁷¹²

⁷¹⁰ White (2005: 365-367) translating KDZ II: 134-136, corresponding to T. LXXVIII, no. 2462: 5b17-c13: 如來明說其差別是故攬此龜鏡可簡得異生羝羊凡夫專造十不善等業耽三毒五欲之樂不曾知後身墮三途極苦是故真言有智人不可樂著愚童持齋人乘之法雖云漸信因果行五常五戒等猶是人中之因不得生天之樂是故不可樂著[...] 極無自性心者雖云融法界而證三世間身等帝網而得一大法身猶是成佛之因初心之佛五相成身四種曼荼羅未能具足是故不可住調未得為得未到調到如是依如來教勅以最上智惠簡乘差別發菩提心若有人等乘如是事行所行道未名最上淨菩提心是故真言門菩薩超此諸住心等發菩提心行菩提行。

⁷¹¹ Satō 1991: 62.

⁷¹² White (2005: 370-371) translating KDZ II: 138, corresponding to T. LXXVIII, no. 2462: 6a16-a29: 又以深般若妙惠觀前九種住心無自性云何無自性調如冬凍遇春即泮流金石得火即消鎔諸法皆從緣生無自性是故異生羝羊凡夫一向惡心遇善知識教誘故起愚童持齋心 [...] 一道如實心人蒙諸佛驚覺故發極無自性心極無自性人願究竟最勝金剛心故發祕密莊心是皆由無自性故展轉勝進

SKJ and BDSR

Even though the above paragraphs have clarified that Kūkai's SKJ is undoubtedly based on the BDSR, Yamasaki (1967) underlined that there are also considerable differences between these two texts:

1. There is a difference in style. Namely, the BDSR “preaches on the basis of a grandiloquent, strict and highbred style”, for example:

[The *ācārya* who possesses great and vast wisdom (i.e. Amoghavajra) said:] If there is a person of superior faculties and supreme wisdom, he does not take joy in the outer (i.e. non-Buddhist) paths or the teachings (dharma) of the two vehicles (for *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*). [By contrast], the one who possesses magnanimity, is resilient, and lacks mental disturbance is suitable to cultivate the vehicle of Buddhas.”⁷¹³

The SKJ, on the other hand, “gives the feeling of making a familiar, intimate appeal to the broader, general public”, e.g. “if there is a good man, good woman, *bhikṣu*, *bhikṣuṇī*, a man or a woman of pure faith, who wishes to enter this vehicle in order to practice...”.⁷¹⁴

2. Yamasaki points out that the BDSR explained three kinds of enlightened mind (*bodhicitta*), that is (1) the *samādhi* mind, “devoted to the meditation upon the three mysteries”, (2) the mind of practicing the vow of great compassion, “aimed at the worldly and unworldly (i.e. religious) saving of all sentient beings”, and (3) the mind of ultimate truth “that is always seeking unsurpassed *bodhi*, and discards the inferior in order to obtain the superior by means of wisdom”, while –by adding the mind of faith– the SKJ arrives at four kinds of mind: (1) the mind of faith, (2) of great compassion, (3) supreme truth, and (4) great *bodhicitta*.⁷¹⁵

According to Yamasaki, this classification is based on a passage in the tenth chapter of the *Sūtra containing Dhāraṇīs for Safeguarding the State, Realm and Ruler* (守護國界主陀羅尼經, Jap. *Shugo kokukaisu darani kyō*; further: *Safeguarding Sūtra*):

Thus, all [of you], without exception, take the mind of faith as the foundation [for your practice], take the profound *prajñā* as your guide, and make the mind of great *bodhicitta* as well as the mind of great compassion into your adornments.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹³ T. XXXII, no. 1665: 572b27-29, cited without reference in Yamasaki 1967: 257: [大廣智阿闍梨云] 若有上根上智之人不樂外道二乘法有大度量勇銳無惑者宜修佛乘。

⁷¹⁴ T. LVII, no. 2462: 5a19-21, cited without reference in Yamasaki 1967: 257: 若有善男子善女人比丘比丘尼清信男女等欲入此乘修行者。

⁷¹⁵ Yamasaki 1967: 257.

⁷¹⁶ T. IX, no. 997: 572a1-3, quoted without exact reference in Yamasaki 1967: 257: [然] 彼一切皆以信心而爲根本以深般若而爲先導大菩提心及大悲心以爲莊嚴。

Moreover, he remarks that the SKJ reveals ten kind of meanings of this mind of faith, not on the basis of the BDSR, but by using the ten meanings of faith from the first scroll of the *Explanation of the Treatise on Mahāyāna*, i.e. (1) clear and pure, (2) resolve, (3) bliss, (4) tireless, (5) with gladness, (6) respect, (7) obedience, (8) praise, (9) non-destruction, and (10) love of the virtuous.⁷¹⁷ From this, Yamasaki concludes that “keeping the *sanmaiya-kai*, means experiencing joy for being able to observe the supreme actions of others and praise them from your mind which is free of delusions (lit. mud) and is pure,” although, he adds, “surely, this is not simple”.⁷¹⁸

3. According to Yamasaki, Kūkai explains in the SKJ that the mind of great compassion “is the mind that is aroused because of perceiving the three periods as oneself”, which “concretely means that he visualizes the four obligations and makes them into the compassionate mind aimed at rescuing the four obligations that are submerged in the ocean of suffering”:

[Further], when I see through the three periods (of past, present, and future), all is perceived as my own four obligations [i.e. to one’s parents, sentient beings, ruler of state, and to the three jewels, but] the four obligations [of others] are all falling in the three evil destinies and undergo uninterrupted suffering.

I am their child, but also their resource. When I deny myself, how can I rescue them?! Therefore, I arouse this mind of great kindness and great compassion.⁷¹⁹

Yamasaki explains that the four obligations discussed here are the obligations towards one’s parents, ruler of state, three jewels and sentient beings, which are preached in the *Mahāyānasūtra on the Mind Ground Contemplation* (大乘本生心地觀經 Jap. *Daijō honshō shinjikan kyō*),⁷²⁰ and he conjectures that “because Kūkai was personally transmitted this text from *Trepiṭaka* Prajña when he was in China, he brought this new idea of the four obligations back to Japan, and used it both in the *Kōnin*, as well as in the SKJ, after which “the thought of these four obligations also widely influenced general society in later times”.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁷ Yamasaki 1967: 257. Also see p. 103 supra.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid. On the *sanmaiya-kai*, see the section on the four capital prohibitions: 118ff. infra.

⁷¹⁹ T. LXXVII, no. 2462: 5b6-9, cited without reference in Yamasaki 1967: 257-258: [又]達觀三世皆是我四恩四恩皆墮三惡趣受無量苦吾是彼之子也亦彼之資也非我誰能拔濟是故發此大慈大悲心. Also quoted in part by Endō 1972, cf. p. 104 above.

⁷²⁰ Often abbreviated to *Shinjikankyō*, trans. Prajña, i.e. T. III, no. 159: esp. 297a12ff.

⁷²¹ Yamasaki 1967: 258.

4. As we have shown above, also Yamasaki observed that the ten good precepts (十善戒 Jap. *jū zenkai*) which are explained in the SKJ –and also the HSBK– are not attested in the BDSR, but are preached in the MVS (cf. supra: 103).

5. Nevertheless, a fifth point of difference that Yamasaki perceives relates to the classification of, and taxonomy used for those destined and non-destined for bodhisattvahood.⁷²² He further observes that “the names of the various kinds of minds that occur in Kūkai’s later masterpiece, the JJSR, as well as those in its abbreviation, the *Precious*⁷²³ – are entirely the same as those in the SKJ, but asserts that “prototype of the JJSR was already completed in the SKJ.”⁷²⁴

According to Yamasaki, at the date of the compilation of the SKJ, many sentences were added and/or erased, but because the text is similar to the last half of the *Heizei*, this implies that SKJ must have been compiled after the consecration of emperor Heizei (822), and before he started compiling the JJSR (824).⁷²⁵

6. Yamasaki points out that “although the various rituals that are explained in the BDSR – such as the visualization rituals on the sun and moon disk, of the A-syllable, and the fivefold practice for achieving the body of Vairocana– are not discussed in the SKJ, the text does mention that if one practices the three mysteries by visualizing sun and moon disk, one will suddenly penetrate into the light of Mahāvairocana, as well as the honored ones of the five and three divisions.⁷²⁶ Moreover, he says that “while the rituals are transmitted elsewhere, the SKJ stresses that the cultivation of *samādhi* is of major importance.”⁷²⁷

7. Also with respect to the seventh difference, Yamasaki first turns to the SKJ:

The aforementioned teachings constitute the nectar of that what is preached by the response and transformation bodies of the Buddha. What I will confer now, [however] are the *samaya* precepts for Buddhas, that is to say, these are the precepts of the Shingon maṇḍala teachings as expounded by the Svabhāva-dharmakāya Mahāvairocana.⁷²⁸

⁷²² Yamasaki 1967: 259. For more information, also see White 2005: 216.

⁷²³ 秘藏宝鑰 Jap. *Hizō hōyaku*. Also see p. 99 supra.

⁷²⁴ Yamasaki 1967: 259.

⁷²⁵ Yamasaki (1967: 259) and Tanaka (1977: 1) only give his ages. Dates based on Abe 1999: xvi-xvii.

⁷²⁶ On these rituals, see White 2005: 229ff.

⁷²⁷ Yamasaki 1967: 260. This is also confirmed by Endō (1972: 9): “to abide in this mind is called the secret *samādhi*, which indicates the fact that great *bodhicitta* is nothing else than *samādhi*.”

⁷²⁸ T. LXXVIII, no. 2462: 5a17-19, cited without reference in Yamasaki 1967: 260: 自上諸教他受用應化佛之所說甘露今所授三昧耶佛戒者則是大毘盧遮那自性法身之所說真言曼荼羅教之戒也. Translation of the last sentence by White 2005: 362. On ‘Svabhāva-dharmakāya’, see 109-110, n. 686 above. The present passage is

According to Yamasaki, this concerns Kūkai’s original interpretation that was already expounded in the *Treatise on Differentiating the Exoteric and Esoteric Teachings*,⁷²⁹ but was unprecedented in India and China, namely: the differentiation of the exoteric and esoteric teachings according to the Buddha bodies, in which two taxonomies (i.e. exoteric and esoteric) accord with three bodies (i.e. the *nirmāṇa*- and *saṃboghakāya* are exoteric, while the *dharmakāya* is esoteric),⁷³⁰ and especially its application on the level of precepts, i.e. “that the *sanmaiya-kai*, being the esoteric precepts, are the precepts of the Dharmakāya”.⁷³¹

In sum, Yamasaki not only concludes that the SKJ is structured around the BDSR, but also, notwithstanding the fact that the SKJ is founded on the *sanmaiya-kai* that are expounded in various other ritual manuals, it argues that these precepts are the precepts of the Svabhāva-Dharmakāya. The text explains that they are the “hidden key to the path toward the realization of Buddhahood in this life,” and according to him, the SKJ “expands these precepts to the plain of concrete daily life”, in the form of the four obligations, the ten good actions, etc.⁷³²

This is precisely what is also expounded in the HSBK, in which after the threefold pure bodhisattva precepts (chapter III: 60-61), the characteristics of the *samaya* precepts (ibid.: 61) are explained in terms of the four methods (ibid.: 62), the four vows and their relation to the four hindrances, ibid.: 63-64), the four *parājikās* (ibid.: 65) and the ten important prohibitions (ibid. 68-69). When speaking of the esotericization of Buddhist precepts, perhaps the most clear example is that of the four *parājikās*, or four capital prohibitions.

Four capital prohibitions

Central to the ritual bestowal of the *samaya* precepts, is the conferral of two verses (Skt. *gāthā*). The first is called the “verse told in the ear” (耳語偈 Jap. *nigo-ge*), for during the actual ritual it is whispered in the ear of the candidate prior to entering the consecration platform. The second is the “verse on the *samaya* precepts” (三昧耶戒偈 Jap. *sanmaiya-kai-*

identical to the *Heizei* in KDZ II: 166 = T. LXXVIII, no. 2461: 3c03ff., referred to in Endō 1972: 8. For a translation, see Grapard 2000: esp. 161ff.

⁷²⁹ See supra: 89, n. 583.

⁷³⁰ On the three bodies, see chapter II: 29, n. 152; 31, n. 176; and 36, n. 231.

⁷³¹ Yamasaki 1967: 260.

⁷³² Yamasaki 1967: 260.

ge), which is normally conferred at the conclusion of the *abhiṣeka*, but sometimes both can coincide.⁷³³

The verse on *samaya* (Skt. *samaya-gāthā*) is expounded in the second chapter of the MVS, on the *Accessories and Mantras necessary to approach the Maṇḍala* (further: *Accessories*):⁷³⁴

Practitioner, you should focus, for I will now proclaim the verse on the *samaya* [precepts]: Disciple of Buddha, because from now onwards you must not spare your life to never abandon the teachings (Skt. Dharma), depart from your intent to attain awakening (Skt. *bodhicitta*), be avarice of all things and phenomena (Skt. *dharma*s), or harm sentient beings, the Buddha has preached the *samaya* [precepts]. That you [must] follow these precepts well, [means that] you [should] protect them as if you were protecting your own life. You should respect them in all serenity, and prostrate at the feet of [your master,] the wise venerable, follow his teachings and the practices that he has established, without arousing thoughts of doubts.⁷³⁵

The MVS commentary on the *Accessories* chapter reads:

You should deepen and cultivate the mind of compassion and mindfulness. Whispering you [should now] proclaim the *samaya* precepts. You must not allow all others who have not yet went to the platform hear this.⁷³⁶

⁷³³ Endō 1972: 2. See also MD: 1715a, s.v. *nigokai* 耳語戒.

⁷³⁴ 入曼荼羅具緣真言品 (Jap. *Nyū mandaraguen shingon bon*, often abbreviated to *Guenbon*). Title translation according to Yamamoto Y. 2001: 13.

⁷³⁵ T. vol. 18, no. 848: 12b1-8, cited without reference indication in Yamasaki 1967: 254: 次當於弟子而起悲念心行者應入中示三昧耶偈 佛子汝從今 不惜身命故 常不應捨法 捨離菩提心 慳慳一切法 不利衆生行 佛說三昧耶 汝善住戒者 如護自身命 護戒亦如是 應至誠恭敬 稽首聖尊足 所作隨教行 勿生疑慮心. Endō's (1972: 2) partial reading is: “仏子汝今より身命を惜まざる故に正法を捨て菩提心を捨離し一切の法を慳慳し衆生を利せざる行をなすべからず仏三昧耶を説きたまえ汝善住戒者自身の命を護るが如く戒を護ることも亦是の如くせよ.” There are –at least– three other translations of the full passage available, the one more literal than the other: “Then taking those trainees the mantrin should instil a compassionate frame of mind in them, and teach the *samaya* commitments to them: “From this day forward, you should never abandon the holy Dharma and *bodhicitta*, even for the sake of your life. You should not be parsimonious, nor do what harms beings. All the Buddhas prescribe these *samaya* commitments to you, well-disciplined one. You should guard them just as you guard your life!” With faith and devotion, the trainees should bow at the guru's feet, and then with very certain minds, they should accept all of that, cf. Hodge 2003: 147, adding Buddhaguhya's commentary. Or: “Then, arousing thoughts of compassion toward the disciple, the practitioner should take him inside [the maṇḍala] and reveal the *samaya* verses: ‘Son of Buddha, henceforth, not begrudging of life or limb, you should never abandon the Dharma, forsake the *bodhi*-mind, be miserly with any dharmas, or do anything that does not benefit beings. The Buddha has taught the *samaya* for you who abide well in the precepts, and just as you guard your life, so too you should guard the precepts.’ With utmost sincerity and reverence [the disciple] should bow at the feet of the honored [*ācārya*], and acting in conformity with the teaching, he must not engender any doubting thoughts”, cf. Giebel 2005: 59. A third reads: “Next the yogin should have compassion on his disciple. He will enter inside the room and should show a *samaya-gāthā*: ‘Oh son of the Buddha, you should henceforth not spare your body and life. You should never abandon the *bodhicitta* in all the dharmas. You should not forsake the mind of enlightenment. You should not grudge all the dharmas. You should not do anything that has no advantage for sentient beings.’ The Buddha preached the *samaya*: ‘Oh you who observe the discipline, just as you protect your body and life, you should observe the discipline. You should salute sincerely and reverentially the feet of the sacred one. Conduct in accordance with the teaching. Never conceive a doubt,” cf. Yamamoto Y. 2001: 34. On 聖尊 (Jap. *shōson*), here translated variously as ‘guru’, ‘*ācārya*’ and ‘sacred one’, see chapter III: 47, n. 329.

⁷³⁶ T. vol. XXXIX, no. 1796: 661c7-8, referred to in Ueda 1933: 144.

The same precepts, equally known as the ‘four important prohibitions’ (四重禁戒 Jap. *shi jū gonkai*, see e.g. chapter III: 62, n. 435 above), are also attested in the *Recitation Sūtra Abridged from the STTS*:

Next, you should take [the disciple] to the great platform, and preach the *samaya* [precepts]. Make him [pay] firm [attention], and address him as follows: “Good son, you should firmly protect the correct teachings, [because provided] you go against them, or are forced to display hatred and harm, you will cut off your [good] fate. You should not depart from cultivating the intent to attain awakening. Toward those people who seek *dharma*s, you should not be avarice.

Even though amongst [the behaviour of] all sentient beings there are small things that do not benefit them, you must not give rise to them. This is the meaning of the supreme phrases, it is the practice of the sages. Now I have fully explained it to you.⁷³⁷

In addition, the *MVS-Commentary* explains the following:

Now the conferral of these four precepts has been completed. Summarizing their precepts characteristics, you must surely know that they are the four capital offences (Skt. *pārājikās*) of the esoteric treasury.⁷³⁸

So, the aforementioned four fundamental prohibitions are the most fundamental precepts of esoteric Buddhism, and –just as is explained in the HSBK (cf. chapter III: 62ff.)– their precept characteristics (戒相, Jap. *kaisō*)⁷³⁹ are the four *pārājikās*.⁷⁴⁰ This is further amplified in the 17th chapter of the *MVS-Commentary*:

[Therefore], rejecting [the Gem of] Buddha, this is interrupting the fate of all bodhisattvas and cutting off the roots of their attaining Buddhahood. If you engage in sexual debauchery, stealing, killing, and lying, you will only be hindered on your path, but this is not cutting off the foundations for attaining Buddhahood. Therefore, it is only committing a serious crime (Skt. *sthūlātyaya*). Because [the Gem of] Buddha cannot be rejected, the same applies to the Dharma and Saṃgha. [This is just as in the *śrāvaka[yāna]* scriptures. Furthermore, it is said that “throwing away one scroll of the scriptures or behavioral rules [is like] rejecting the seven groups [of Buddhist disciples] and give birth to one person.” Namely, that [is meant] in the sense that one prevents somebody from not attaining the full precepts. All the more, [does this hold true] for all bodhisattvas! It is the same as boarding the one path and attain the site of enlightenment. Every Buddha is not differentiated, nor discriminated. Therefore, you must understand what you reject, namely, you cut off the fate of all Dharmas.] The intention to

⁷³⁷ T. XVIII, no. 866: 252b7/8-12: [次應引起至大壇前爲說三摩耶令其堅固告言]善男子汝應堅守正法設遭逼迫惱害乃至斷命不應捨離修菩提心於求法人不應慳悋於諸衆生有少不利益事亦不應作此是最上句義聖所行處我今具足爲汝說竟, cited in Yamasaki 1967: 254.

⁷³⁸ T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 671a9-10: 今此四戒如受具竟已略示戒相當知即是祕藏中四波羅夷也, which Endō (1972: 2) translates as: “今此の四戒は受具し竟りて略して戒相を示すが如し。当に知るべし、即ち是れ祕藏中の四波羅夷なり。”

⁷³⁹ 戒相 (Jap. *kaisō*).

⁷⁴⁰ Yamasaki 1967: 254 and Endō 1972: 3.

attain enlightenment is likewise. This is the foundation of all practice. If you discard the mind of enlightenment, then you do not possess the teaching of all bodhisattvas. Therefore, rejecting it is also a severe crime.⁷⁴¹

Thus, according to esoteric doctrine, the four *pārājikās* of sexual misconduct, stealing, killing, and lying that are expounded in Hīnayāna, are nothing but *sthūlātyayas*,⁷⁴² while breaking the four important MVS prohibitions is a capital crime (斷首罪 Jap. *danshu-zai*), implying that one cuts the foundation for attaining Buddhahood.⁷⁴³

It has been pointed out that these four prohibitions have been expanded to ten important prohibitions (十重禁戒 Jap. *jū jū gonkai*) in the 17th chapter of the *Commentary on the MVS*, that is:

- (1) not to reject Buddha,
- (2) not to reject the Dharma,
- (3) not to reject the Saṃgha,
- (4) not to depart from the mind of aspiration to enlightenment (*bodhicitta*),
- (5) not to slander/criticize the teachings and scriptures of the three vehicles,
- (6) not to be avarice of all *dharmas*,
- (7) not to obtain erroneous views,
- (8) be determined to arouse the great [compassionate] mind,
- (9) perceive the capacities [of others in order to] guide them,
- (10) always giving alms.⁷⁴⁴

As seen above (cf. 101-102, table 9 supra), both the MSZ and the HSBK also list a set of ten important prohibitions. Even though their appellations slightly differ,⁷⁴⁵ it has been pointed out that at their core lie the aforementioned four prohibitions.⁷⁴⁶ Their relation can be summarized in table 13 below.⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴¹ [故]捨佛即是斷一切菩薩之命而絕其成佛之根若行姪盜殺妄但於道有礙非是絕成佛之根本故但成偷蘭也以佛不可捨故法僧亦爾 [如聲聞經尚云捨一卷經戒捨七衆生一人即和合義斷不成具戒況一切菩薩同乘一道而至道場佛佛無異無別故當知隨有所捨即斷一切法命也] 菩提心亦爾是一切諸行之本若離菩提心則無一切菩薩法故捨之亦犯重也, i.e. T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 757c4-12, partly cited without body text note, but with endnote reference in Yamasaki 1967: 255 and 265, n. 17.

⁷⁴² The above quote speaks of 偷蘭 (Jap. *chūran*), which is an abbreviation of 偷蘭遮 (Jap. *chūransha*), of which there are four levels: (1) grave crimes in the area of *pārājika*, that is crimes which one must repent for before the entire saṃgha; (2) lesser crimes in the area of *pārājika* that one may confess to a group of four people outside the saṃgha; (3) serious crimes in the area of *saṃghāvaśeṣa*, which one may confess to a group of four people outside the saṃgha; (4) lesser crimes in the area of *saṃghāvaśeṣa*; one may confess to a single person. See Muller in DBJ, s.v. 四偷蘭遮.

⁷⁴³ Yamasaki 1967: 254.

⁷⁴⁴ Yamasaki 1967: 254-255: 不捨仏戒、不捨法戒、不捨僧戒、不捨離菩提心戒、不謗一切三乘經法戒、不慳悋一切法戒、不得邪見戒、於發大心觀察戒、觀察機根引導戒、常行布施戒。

⁷⁴⁵ Yamasaki 1967: 255.

⁷⁴⁶ Endō 1972: 3.

⁷⁴⁷ Based on Ueda 1933: 134.

Table 13. Four en ten prohibitions

CAPITAL PROHIBITIONS		1. abandon Dharma			2. abandon <i>bodhicitta</i>	3. be avaricious		4. harm others			
<i>MVS</i> <i>Commentary</i>	NOT TO	1. reject Buddha	2. reject Dharma	3. reject Saṃgha	4. abandon <i>bodhicitta</i>	5. taunt the scriptures	6. be stingy	7. arouse wrong views	8. be unwary in interaction with bodhisattvas	9. not lead beings in accordance to their capacities	10. not practice charity
<i>MSZ</i> = <i>HSBK</i>		1. abandon <i>bodhicitta</i>	2. reject three Jewels	3. taunt the scriptures	4. have doubts	5. teach bodhisattvas counter to <i>bodhicitta</i>	6. teach Hīnayānists counter to <i>bodhicitta</i>	7. instruct Hīnayānists Esoteric Teachings	8. arouse wrong views	9. speak about esoteric precepts to non-Buddhists	10. harm sentient beings

The full MSZ passage reads:

- (1) Do not abandon your enlightened mind (*bodhicitta*), for this would hinder the realization of Buddhahood;
- (2) Do not reject the Triple Gem, nor take refuge with the external paths, for they are the heretical (i.e. non-Buddhist) teachings;
- (3) Do not taunt the Three Jewels and the scriptures of the Three Vehicles, for otherwise you would turn your back on your Buddha nature;
- (4) Have no doubts when you cannot fathom the deep meaning of the texts of the Greater Vehicle, for this exceeds the bounds of the ordinary man;
- (5) Supposing [you encounter] sentient beings who have already aroused their enlightened mind, you must not instruct the [esoteric] teachings in such a way that they act counter to this enlightened mind, or turn their attention to the Two Vehicles, for in doing so you would destroy the germ of the Three Jewels;
- (6) Nor should you instruct the [esoteric] teachings to those who have not yet aroused *bodhicitta* in a way that the thought of the Two Vehicles would emerge in their minds, for this would conflict with your original vow;
- (7) With regard to the people of the Lesser Vehicle, as well as in the presence of people of the heterodox teachings (lit. who have wrong views), you must not talk about the profound and subtle Greater Vehicle in an abrupt [and revealing] way, for in all likelihood this would generate fraud and disaster;
- (8) You must not arouse wrong views, for in doing this you would cut off your “good roots”;
- (9) In the presence of [people] of the non-Buddhist path, you must not spontaneously declare that you are furnished with the subtle precepts of unsurpassed enlightenment (*bodhi*), for in doing so they would strive for thoughts of resentment and envy. In case you find this hard to accept, you would cut across your [own] intent to attain awakening (*bodhicitta*), which is disadvantageous to both [sides];
- (10) You should not do anything, which is harmful to sentient beings or aggrieves them. You also must not stimulate others to do so and in case you do witness someone doing so, you must not rejoice, for this runs counter to the teaching of benefiting others and cuts across the compassionate mind.⁷⁴⁸

The commentary on the MVS chapter on ‘Receiving the expedients and learning the discipline’ (受方便学処, Jap. *Ju hōben gaku sho*; further: *Expedients chapter*, i.e. *MVS-Commentary*, chapter 18),⁷⁴⁹ says that the four fundamental prohibitions for bodhisattvas are the so-called “precepts regarding the wisdom that is unimpeded with regard to the three periods” (cf. discussion on different designations on page 137 below).

⁷⁴⁸ T. XVIII, no. 917: 943c18-944a4: 一者不應退菩提心妨成佛故二者不應捨三寶歸依外道是邪法故三者不應毀謗三寶及三乘教典背佛性故四者於甚深大乘經典不通解處不應生疑惑非凡夫境故五者若有衆生已發菩提心者不應說如是法令退菩提心趣向二乘斷三寶種故六者未發菩提心者亦不應說如是法令彼發於二乘之心違本願故七者對小乘人及邪見人前不應輒說深妙大乘恐彼生謗獲大殃故八者不應發起諸邪見等法令斷善根故九者於外道前不應自說我具無上菩提妙戒令彼以瞋恨心求如是物不能辦得令退菩提心二俱有損故十者但於一切衆生有所損害及無利益皆不應作及教人作見作隨喜於利他法及慈悲心相違背故。

⁷⁴⁹ Title translation by Yamamoto Y. 2001: 150.

These are explained in the *Accessories* chapter (cf. supra: 119) as: not to reject the three jewels; not to reject the *bodhicitta* etc.⁷⁵⁰ It is to the aforementioned four fundamental prohibitions of the *Accessories* chapter (cf. supra: 119) that the following six are added in order to arrive at the ten fundamental prohibitions:

- (5) Do not slander the teachings [expounded] in the texts of the three vehicles;
- (6) You should not arouse avarice of all *dharmas*;
- (7) Do not obtain false views;
- (8) Do not give advice to people who have aroused the great [*bodhi*] mind which would cause them to fall back;
- (9) Do not preach the greater teachings to Hīnayānists, nor preach lesser teachings to Mahāyānists;
- (10) Do not give others tools to harm sentient beings.⁷⁵¹

In this respect, the commentary on the *Accessories chapter*, cites the *Guhyatantra* (藪呬耶經, Jap. *Suikiyakyō*):⁷⁵²

- [Next, expound the [following] *samaya* precepts to all disciples, that is: From today onwards],
- [1] you will permanently revere and make offerings to the three jewels, all bodhisattvas, and honored ones of the *mantra* [vehicle];
- [2] Constantly take confidence in the Mahāyāna sūtras;

⁷⁵⁰ 令不捨三宝、令不捨菩提心, quoted in Endō 1972: 3. This actually refers to T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 757b26-29: 如前三世無障礙戒中先令不捨三寶又令不捨菩提之心此即菩薩真四重禁也若菩薩生如是心捨離於佛即名破於重禁, which may be translated as: “Causing [the disciple] first not to reject the three jewels, and further not to reject the *bodhicitta*, which is part of the aforementioned precepts that engender the wisdom which is unimpeded with regard to the three periods; these precisely are the true four fundamental prohibitions of the bodhisattva. If a bodhisattva arouses such a mind that discards Buddhahood, then it is called breaking the fundamental prohibitions.”

⁷⁵¹ Endō 1972: 3: “(5) 不謗一切三乘經法; (6) 不應於一切法生慳悋; (7) 不得邪見; (8) 不於發大心人勸發令退; (9) 不於小乘人前說大法、不於大乘人前說小法; (10) 不得施與他人害物之具. This list is a summary of T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 757c18-758-a16: 其四如前所說更有六重并爲十也第五重禁者謂不謗一切三乘經法若謗者即是謗佛法僧謗大菩提心故犯重也以祕藏中一切方便皆是佛之方便是故毀一一法即是謗一切法也乃至世間治生產業藝術等事隨有正理相順是佛所說者亦不得謗何況三乘法耶第六不應於一切法生於慳悋若犯毀重禁也以菩薩集一切法本爲一切衆生若有所祕惜即是捨菩提故犯重也第七不得邪見謂謗無因果無佛無見道人等諸邪見皆是也若生邪見自然捨佛法僧及菩提故犯重戒而聲聞但得偷蘭是故當知方便不具足但是隨一途說也第八於發大心人從前勸發其心不令退息也若見其懈退而不勸發或阻止其心若令離無上菩提之道即是違逆一切如來所應作事故犯重也第九於小乘人前不觀彼根而爲說大法或於大乘人前不觀彼根而說小法行犯重禁此即是方便不具以違逆如來方便故差機說法爲人天怨故犯重也第十菩薩常當行施然不得施與他人害物之具謂施酒施毒藥刀杖之類一切不饒益他之具即犯重也以菩薩常行利他行今則相背故犯重也當知前不殺等是將順他人意又初入法者所持之戒今次說十事乃是一切菩薩正行之戒也若菩薩以正順後十戒故假使行前十事中而不爲犯.

⁷⁵² Full reconstructed title: *Sarva-maṇḍala-sāmānya-vidhi-guhyatantra*. Describes the procedures for creating and using *abhiṣeka-maṇḍalas*. No Sanskrit version survives, but the text exists in Tibetan and Chinese translation, the latter attributed to Amoghavajra. To date, the author is not aware of any translations and/or text studies in Western languages. The passage in question is T. XVIII, no. 897: 771 a25-b5, quoted in Endō 1972: 13, n. 13: [次爲彼等都說三摩耶戒汝等從今] 常於三寶及諸菩薩諸真言尊恭敬供養於大乘經恒勝解凡見一切三寶亦見受三摩耶戒者當生愛樂於尊者所恒恭敬於諸天神不得嗔嫌應須供養於其外教不得信學凡來求者隨有施與於諸有情恒起慈悲於諸功德勤求修習常樂大乘於明藏行恒勤精進持誦真言於經明藏所有祕密之法無三摩耶者皆不應爲說真言及印.

- [3] The mere glance at all those who have taken the *samaya* [precepts] should arouse loving delight;
- [4] That what is constantly aroused towards the honored ones is respect;
- [5] You should not cherish feelings of hatred towards the honored ones, and with utmost faith you should study the scriptures of the outer paths;
- [6] When a commoner comes to you with a request, give [help] according to your power;
- [7] For all sentient beings you will constantly arouse compassion;
- [8] Cultivate and practice the various merits wholeheartedly;
- [9] Always rejoice in Mahāyāna, and do not obtain indolence toward mantra practice;
- [10] You should not preach the teachings that are endowed with secrets to those who have not [taken] the *samaya* [precepts].⁷⁵³

In the *Abridged Record on the Matrix Consecration* (胎藏灌頂略記 Jap. *Taizō-kanjō ryakki*; further: *Abridged Record*), this has been expanded with one crucial line, as a result of which ten important prohibitions emerge that are different both from those expounded in the *MVS-Commentary*, as well as from those from the *MSZ*:

Next, preach all of the disciples the *samaya* precepts.

There are ten fundamental [prohibitions]:

- (1) [From] today [onwards] you always make offerings to the three jewels, all bodhisattvas, and all honored ones of the mantra [vehicle] with utmost respect;
- (2) towards the *mahāyāna* scriptures, you will constantly arouse confidence;
- (3) the mere sight of all those who have taken the *samaya* should arouse love and joy;
- (4) that what you arouse toward the honored ones is respect;
- (5) you must not cherish feelings of hatred toward all honored ones, and with faith you [should] study the scriptures of the outer paths;
- (6) donate according to your power to commoners who come with a request;
- (7) For all sentient beings you will constantly arouse compassion;
- (8) Cultivate and practice the various merits wholeheartedly (lit. with an utmost mind);
- (9) Always rejoice in Mahāyāna, and do not obtain indolence toward mantra practice;
- (10) You should not preach the teachings that are endowed with secrets to those who have not [taken] the *samaya* [precepts].⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵³ T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 672b18-26, referred to in Endō 1972: 3: [次爲都說三昧耶戒汝等從今日] 常於三寶及諸菩薩諸眞言[尊]恭敬供養於摩訶衍經恒生信解凡見一切受三昧耶者當生愛樂於尊者所恒起恭敬不應於諸尊所懷嫌恨心及與信學外道經書凡來求者隨力施與於諸有情恒起慈悲於諸功德慇心修習常樂大乘於眞言行勿得懈廢所有祕密之法無三昧耶者不應爲說. The numbers in the above translation, however, are based on an identical passage from the 隨要記 (Jap. *Zuiyōki*), compiled by the Tendai monk Kōgei (皇慶, 977-1049), i.e. T. LXXV, no. 2407: 817a14-26: 次爲都說三昧耶戒一汝等從今日常於三寶及諸菩薩諸眞言尊重恭敬供養二於摩訶衍經恒生信解三凡見一切受三昧耶者當生愛樂四於尊者所恒起恭敬五不應於諸尊所懷嫌恨心及與信學外道經書六凡來求者隨力施與七於諸有情恒起慈悲八於諸功德勒心修習九常樂大乘於眞言行勿得懈廢; 十所有祕密之法無三昧耶者不應爲說”. The same fragment is also attested in Annen’s (安然, 841-880) 大日經供養持誦不同 (Jap. *Dainichikyō kuyō jiju fudō*), i.e. T. LXXV, no. 2394: 320b12/17-26: “[八十五都說三昧耶戒: 瞿醯云阿闍梨如上所說作護摩已以用淨水灑諸弟子頂上廣示曼荼羅位教彼大印及明王眞言令坐一處持誦之次教以香華供養本尊及餘諸尊竟次第而坐師自誦般若經令彼聽之] 次爲都說三昧耶戒汝等從今常於三寶及諸菩薩諸眞言尊重恭敬供養於摩訶衍經恒生信解凡是見一切受三昧耶者當生愛樂於尊者處恒起恭敬不應於諸尊所而懷嫌恨及與信學外道經書凡來求者隨力施與於諸有情恒起慈悲於諸功德勤心修習常樂大乘於眞言行勿得懈廢所有祕密之法無三昧耶者不應爲說大略如此餘如供養法初品中廣明.

⁷⁵⁴ Endō 1972: 3, referring to KDZ II: 196: 次爲都說三昧耶戒有十重一汝等從今日常於三寶及諸菩薩諸眞言尊重恭敬供養二於摩訶衍經恒生信解三凡見一切受三昧耶者當生愛樂四於尊者所恒起恭敬五不應於諸尊

Aside from these ten fundamental prohibitions, the *Expedients* chapter of the MVS also discusses the so-called ‘ten good precepts’ (十善戒 Jap. *jū zenkai*):

Then Vajradhāra, the master of mysteries, told the Buddha: “Oh, Bhagavan, I pray, will you please let Bodhisattvas and Mahāsattvas have *jñāna-upāya* (wisdom-expedient) and let them explain what they have exercised to devotees, and let the devotees have no doubt of the Bodhisattvas and Mahāsattvas to be free from suspicion so that their mind is indestructible in the course of transmigration?” As soon as he said so, Bhagavan Vairocana observed all the *dharmadhātu* with the eyes of the Tathāgata and told Vajradhara, the master of mysteries: “Listen, oh Vajrapāṇi, I will now explain the way of dextrous practice. Bodhisattvas and Mahāsattvas who dwell here will be able to master Mahāyāna. Oh master of mysteries, bodhisattvas should observe the precept⁷⁵⁵ of not depriving life. This should not be done.⁷⁵⁶

That which is meant here is the first of the ‘ten good precepts’. The full set being not to:

- (1) deprive life, or not to kill;
- (2) take what is not given, or not to steal;
- (3) indulge in sexual misconduct, i.e. not to commit adultery;
- (4) speak falsely, i.e. not to lie;
- (5) speak harshly, or not to use immoral language;
- (6) backbite;
- (7) speak senselessly, or use harmful speech;
- (8) desire;
- (9) be angry, or ill-willed;
- (10) have evil views.⁷⁵⁷

On the relation between the ten ‘good precepts’ and ‘prohibitions’, the *Commentary* reads:

That which should be known about this not killing etc. [i.e. the ten good precepts] mentioned before, is that they signify the respect towards others and further that they are the precepts which those who enter the Dharma have first of all to uphold. The ten things [i.e. the ten prohibitions] just mentioned are precisely the precepts for the correct conduct of all bodhisattvas. If the bodhisattva, because he correctly upholds these ten precepts [i.e. the ten prohibitions], supposing he practices one of the former ten things [i.e. the ten good precepts], then he will not commit an offence.⁷⁵⁸

所懷嫌恨心及與信學外道經書六凡來求者隨力施與七於諸有情恒起慈悲八於諸功德勒心修習九常樂大乘於真言行勿得懈廢十所有祕密之法無三昧耶者不應爲說, with added emphasis. Note that except from the emphasized phrase, this passage is the same as in Kōgei’s manual, cf. n. 753 supra. Moreover, Endō (1972: 13, n. 14) refers to a passage in the 大日經疏妙印鈔 (Jap. *Dainichikyō shomyōinshō*) by Shingon priest Yūban (宥範, al. Ryōgen 了源, 1270-1352), i.e. T. LVIII, no. 2213: 330c10/19-24/26: [七從瞿醯下明引瞿醯說十戒中又三初總明加持教誡等次第二明都說三昧耶戒三明說十種方便戒 初文自可見云云二從次爲下明都說三昧耶戒中次者如此以般若經之意教化開導已次說三昧耶戒故云次也爲都者總爲諸應度弟子說四重三昧耶戒等也故云次爲教都說三昧耶戒也三從汝等下明十種方便戒中是即今經說四重不說十種方便戒故引瞿醯明其戒相也] 所謂一於三寶境界致恭敬二於大乘經恒生惠解三於受三昧耶人生愛樂四於尊者恒起恭敬五不應嫌恨諸尊信學外書六來求者隨力施與七於諸衆生恒起慈悲八精勤功德常習大乘九於真言勿得懈廢十向未受三昧耶者不可說祕密[已上瞿醯說之十一明結中餘如供養法初品中廣明者指行學品第一也]. These links remain the subject of future investigation.

⁷⁵⁵ Yamamoto’s translation (2001: 150) of the word 戒 in the compound 不奪生命戒 (Jap. *fudatsu shōmyō kai*) as “discipline” has been altered to “precept”.

⁷⁵⁶ Ueda 1933: 132, referring to T. XVIII, no. 848: 39a. Translation by Yamamoto (2001: 150).

⁷⁵⁷ Ueda 1933: 132. Compare other sets in table 9 above.

⁷⁵⁸ Ueda 1933: 144, n. 5, referring to T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 758a12-16, quoted supra: 124, n. 750.

In comparison to the ten fundamental prohibitions of Hīnayāna, it has been pointed out that the latter have no “wisdom-expedient” (慧方便 Jap. *e-hōben*), but are formal and undynamic rules that pertain to *vinaya* per se. The ten good precepts, on the other hand, possess “the expedient of knowledge-wisdom, based on the contemplation of the equality of all dharmas”. For example, a bodhisattva should part from the intention of killing during the whole of his life, and as a bodhisattva it is only natural that he knows that he should protect the lives of others. However, if he would kill out of compassion in order to free beings from the karmic retribution of evil deeds, this would not be violating the precepts. Also a lay bodhisattva who keeps the first five precepts not merely upholds them formally and for his own benefit, as a *śravaka* would do, but in accordance with his altruistic intention of benefitting others.⁷⁵⁹

Tracing the origins of ‘samaya precepts’

Now, the final part of the HSBK (cf. chapter III: 60ff.) expounds the ‘*samaya* precepts’ for Buddhas in terms of the aforementioned four *parāṅjikas* and ten prohibitions, but it may be surprising that although they are specified as *sanmaiya-kai* in the *MVS-Commentary*, the term is not mentioned as such in the *MVS* itself.

The *MVS-Commentary*, which is a key source for Kūkai’s *Abridged Record*, seeks the origin of the ‘*samaya* precepts’ in the following text:

The *Guhyatantra* says: “When [the disciple] is about to enter the platform, the *ācārya* should have him say the following words: ‘I, disciple X, according to the Dharma, I have constructed this maṇḍala.’ [Then] allow the disciple to enter, whatever his fortune, or social class, he has become an exquisite dharma vessel to attain fulfillment, he only aspires to enter the platform in order to display these characteristics and throw a flower. Next, the disciple should open his eyes, and make him visualize the [*bodhi*] maṇḍa. Address him with a joyful mind, and say: ‘Now you are looking at this marvelous maṇḍala. Profoundly arouse reverence and faith. You have already aroused all Buddha houses and the various radiant honored ones all together give you divine protection. All auspicious [signs], up to each one of the *siddhis* are manifested before you. Therefore, adhere firmly to the *samaya* precepts and you should continuously cultivate the dharma teachings of the mantras. [Next, make the disciple extensively make offerings to the sacred assembly of the maṇḍala.]’⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁹ Ueda 1933: 132.

⁷⁶⁰ Endō 1972: 4 quoting T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 661c19-27/28: 瞿醯云將入壇時阿闍梨應作是言我某甲如法作此漫荼羅將弟子入隨其福德種性及與成就所堪法器唯願於此漫荼羅中示現其相既散花已次應開面令瞻觀道場以歡喜心而告之曰汝今觀此妙漫荼羅深生敬信汝已生諸佛家諸明尊等同共加護一切吉祥及與悉地皆現前是故堅持三昧耶戒於真言法教應勤修習 [次令弟子以香花等普供養漫荼羅聖衆].

This passage accords to the chapter on the fire ritual (Skt. *homa*) of the *Guhyatantra*:⁷⁶¹

Next, you should open your eyes and look at the maṇḍala. With a joyful mind the master (*ācārya*) says the following to his disciple: “Now, you gaze at this exquisite maṇḍala. Profoundly arouse reverence and faith. Until now you have aroused several Duddha families, and their various brilliant mantras have already empowered you. All auspicious [omens] and every one of the *siddhis* of realization are manifested. Therefore, uphold the *samaya* precepts, and as for the *mantra* teachings, apply their recitation.”⁷⁶²

Also the eighth chapter of the *MVS-Commentary* on the *Accessories chapter* is a citation from the last scroll of the *Guhyatantra*:

[Subsequently, you should explain the verse on *samaya*. That is [the verse containing] the four kinds of important prohibitions of the secret treasury. As for this verse which is connected to the sages (Skt. *ārṣa-gāthā*),⁷⁶³ you should explain it as follows.] The *Guhyatantra* says: “Disciple, after having approached the western gate to worship [certain Buddhas], the master (*ācārya*) should address all Honored ones, saying: I, master X have bestowed consecration upon [disciple X]. Now I entrust him to all Honored ones to instruct him the *dhāraṇī* treasury”. Having said these words, [the master] should open his parasol and let [the disciple] stand [under it], and accordingly [the master should] explain him the *samaya* precepts before [approaching] the maṇḍala, [after which he tells the disciple: “Now you have attained [the position of] master of spells and diagrams (Skt. *maṇḍala-dhāraṇī-ācārya*)”].”⁷⁶⁴

The above passages of the *Guhyatantra* being cited in the *MVS-Commentary*, appear to be among the earliest instances where *sanmaiya-kai* (‘*samaya* precepts’) is mentioned. The Tibetan translations of the same passages, however, do not contain this sequence: in the first case, the Tibetan version only reads *dam-tshig*, that is ‘*samaya*’ only, without a word for ‘precepts’, and in the second case the word ‘*samaya*’ is not mentioned at all.

⁷⁶¹ 瞿醯經 (Jap. *Kugekyō*, var. *Kukeigyō*) is another name for difference with 蕤呬耶經 (Jap. *Suikiyakyō*), i.e. T. XVIII, no. 897, attributed to Amoghavajra, cf. MD: 330, s.v. 瞿醯經; BKD II: 151-152, s.v. 瞿醯壇多羅經 (Jap. *Kukeidantarakyō*).

⁷⁶² Endō 1972: 4, quoting T. XVIII, no. 897: 769c6-11: 次應開面視曼荼羅其阿闍梨以歡喜心爲彼弟子作如是言汝今觀此妙曼荼羅深生敬信汝今乃至生諸佛家中諸明眞言已加被汝一切吉祥及與成就皆悉現前是故堅持三摩耶戒於眞言法勤加念誦。Endō (1972: 4-5) also gives the Tibetan translation of this passage as included in the Beijing edition.

⁷⁶³ 阿利沙 (Jap. *arisha*) is a transliteration of a Sanskrit word, meaning “connected with the sages”. Connected with the *ṛṣis*, or holy men; especially their religious utterances in verse. It also a title of a Buddha, cf. DBJ, s.v. 阿利沙, and therefore, also a designation of the master.

⁷⁶⁴ Endō 1972: 5, also giving the Tibetan translation, quoting T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 666c17/18-23: [即當爲說三昧耶偈所謂祕藏中四種重禁此等皆是阿利沙偈下當釋之] 瞿醯云弟子至西門禮拜已阿闍梨當白諸尊云我某甲已與某甲灌頂竟今付屬諸尊令持明藏作是語已應當放傘令其起立對曼荼羅前爲說三昧耶戒汝今已成就曼荼羅持明阿闍梨竟, being taken from T. vol. 18, no. 897: 770c29-771a4[5]: 亦至西門前即數禮拜其傘隨身來去蓋頭其阿闍梨啓請諸尊作如是言我某甲與某甲灌頂畢已今付屬諸尊令持明藏作是語已應放其傘。令彼起立對曼荼羅前爲說三摩耶戒 [汝今已成曼荼羅阿闍梨持明藏者]。

Moreover, when comparing other attestations of ‘*samaya* precepts’ in the Chinese *Guhyatantra*, the Tibetan translation only reads *dam-tshig*, without the addition of ‘precepts’.⁷⁶⁵ Nevertheless, as the attentive reader may already have noticed in aforementioned samples (see e.g. citations in *supra*: 119 and 125), there are also many instances in Chinese texts, where *samaya* is attested without the addition of ‘precepts’, even though this is undoubtedly intended.⁷⁶⁶

Other examples, include, for instance, the fourth scroll of Vajrabodhi’s translation of the *Recitation Sūtra Abridged from the STTS* reads:

Explain the *samaya* [to the disciple] before approaching the great platform.⁷⁶⁷

Also Amoghavajra’s translation of the *Ritual on Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of the STTS*, mentions ‘taking *samaya*’:

Take the *samaya* in obedience to an authorized master.⁷⁶⁸

However, Amoghavajra’s translation of the *Sūtra containing the Ritual Protocol for the Dhāraṇīs [used] by Ānanda to feed Fire-spitting [Hungry Ghosts], Essential in the Collection of Yoga [Practices]* by contrast, has the sequence ‘*samaya* precepts’:

Next, bestow them the seal (*mudrā*) of the *samaya* precepts. That is, join both hands (lit. bind the two wings) and raise both middle fingers (lit. ‘patience’ and ‘vow’) so that they resemble a needle, repeating two times the following mantra: *Oṃ, samayas tvam!* Now the bestowal of the *samaya* precepts upon you is completed.⁷⁶⁹

This is also the case in his *Karmic Conditions which brought about Teaching Ānanda on Feeding Fire-spitting [Hungry Ghosts], essential in the Collection of Yoga [Practices]*:

[The Buddha spoke to Ānanda: “If you aspire to be bestowed the ritual on feeding the hungry ghosts, must confirm its authority by means of instruction by a master on yoga and profound *samādhi*.

⁷⁶⁵ Endō 1972: 6, doubting that the original form of *sanmaiya-kai* will ever be reconstructed because the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Guhyatantra* is no longer extant.

⁷⁶⁶ For sequences of *sanmaiya-kai* in the T-edition, cf. appendix C. An encompassing concordance study of the term is in preparation.

⁷⁶⁷ 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (Jap. *Kongōchō yuga-chū ryakuju nenju kyō*), i.e. T. XVIII, no. 866: 252b7: 至大壇前爲說三摩耶。This text is a collection of translations and various practices from the STTS, cf. BKD III: 494a.

⁷⁶⁸ 金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩法 (Jap. *Kongōchō yuga Monjushiri-bosatsu hō*), i.e. T. XX, no. 1171: 705c13: 應從師受三摩耶。

⁷⁶⁹ 瑜伽集要救阿難陀羅尼焰口軌儀經 (Jap. *Yuga shūyō kyū Annan darani enku giki kyō*), i.e. T. XXI, no. 1318: 471b13-16: 次爲汝等受三昧耶戒印以二羽縛忍願申如針眞言曰唵三昧耶薩但鑊二合今爲汝等受三昧耶戒竟。On the esoteric names for the indications of the fingers, see: Saunders 1985: 31-34. On the mantra cited here, cf. chapter III: 54, n. 368. For this text, cf. BKD XI: 78d.

When you are someone who takes joy in practicing, you should pursue studying with a *yogācāraya*. When you are] someone who has aroused the unsurpassed and great *bodhicitta*, took the *samaya* precepts, and has entered the great maṇḍala in order to receive *abhiṣeka*, then you are permitted to receive [instruction. When you take the *abhiṣeka* of the fivefold knowledge of Tathāgata Mahāvairocana, you will be introduced into the rank of *ācārya*, and you will be able to transmit the teachings].⁷⁷⁰

In all, it appears that –at least in the writings and translations by the Tantric masters Vajrabodhi, Śubhākarasiṃha, Amoghavarja, and the like– *samaya* and ‘*samaya* precepts’ were both used in the same sense.⁷⁷¹ This means that understanding ‘*samaya*’ equals to understand the ‘*samaya* precepts’, but what does the term ‘*samaya*’ denote?

Samaya

Regarding the problem of translating the word *samaya*, David Snellgrove notes:

[In translating the word *samaya*] I have often used the word ‘sacrament’, and this requires some explanation. The Sanskrit term is *samaya*, which means literally ‘coming together.’ In ordinary classical Sanskrit usage it means an occasion, a suitable time, a compact, a convention, etc. In Buddhist tantric usage it becomes a crucial term in that it signifies the ‘coming together’ of transcendent being and immanent being. Thus an image of any kind as prescribed by tradition, once properly consecrated (or empowered) is possessed by the divinity, and for this kind of “coming together” *samaya* is used. To call such an empowered image a “symbol” of the divinity is scarcely adequate, but sometimes one has to make do with such an interpretation. The ultimate aim of tantric yoga is the self-identification of the practicing yogin with the divinity he is invoking and whose powers he then appropriates. This form of “coming together” is also known as *samaya*, when the word “union” might suggest itself as a tolerable translation. Similarly in the ceremonies we are now reviewing [i.e. those preserved in the chapter of the *Samvarodaya Tantra* containing recipes for the making of suitable liquors] the sacrificial offering (Sanskrit *bali*, Tibetan *gtor-ma*) is consecrated to the divinity who is being invoked, and thus comes to represent the divinity. For the fierce divinities who are central to so many tantric rituals, the best offerings, as we have noted, are flesh and blood and other bodily substances. By partaking of these consecrated items, one absorbs the nature of the divinity, and for this use of *samaya*, “sacrament” suggests itself as a fit translation. [...] Thus once the sacrificial items are “consubstantiated” with the chosen divinity one partakes of his even higher qualities. The association of ideas between this meaning and the Christian understanding of sacrament scarcely requires further elaboration. In the Buddhist tantric understanding the *samaya* becomes a “pledge” of a “coming together” of the divinity with the image that represents him, the sacrificial offering that “embodies” him, or with the yogin or even the faithful worshipper who is one-pointedly intent upon him. “Pledge” is probably the best word in English to cover the whole range of interpretations, and it is thus that the

⁷⁷⁰ 瑜伽集要焰口施食起教阿難陀緣由 (Jap. *Yuga shūyō enku sejiki kiyō Ananda en'yū*), i.e. T. XXI, no. 1319: 473b17/19-21/22: [佛告阿難若欲受持施食之法須依瑜伽甚深三昧阿闍梨法若樂修行者應從瑜伽阿闍梨學] 發無上大菩提心受三昧戒入大曼拏囉得灌頂者然許受之 [受大毘盧遮那如來五智灌頂紹阿闍梨位方可傳教也], with 施食 (Jap. *sejiki*) being another name for 施餓鬼會 (Jap. *se gaki e*), cf. BD: 2907a. On this text: see BKD XI: 77d.

⁷⁷¹ Endō 1972: 7.

Tibetans translated the term (*samaya* = *dam-tshig*), but it would scarcely convey the intended meaning to an initiated reader. Using different English words to translate the same Sanskrit word has the disadvantage of giving the impressions that this word has a variety of meanings. This may be argued in certain cases, e.g., where this word means “occasion,” but in the present case *samaya* in its Buddhist tantric sense has one meaning embracing all interpretations, which I have just attempted to give. It is thus a highly mystical term, used in its own right as a powerful mantra.⁷⁷²

As is also apparent from important doctrinal texts, the word *samaya* undoubtedly has a vast range of different meanings. For instance, chapter nine of the *MVS-Commentary*, reads that *samaya* is an antonym of *kāla*:

According to Sanskrit sources, “former time” is called *kāla*, which means a long period (for example, the three parts of one year), while “latter time” is called *samaya*, which is a small to medium period, and just as amongst the six hours of day and night, [also *samaya*] has further subdivisions.⁷⁷³

Amoghavajra’s translation of the *Sūtra on the Samaya of the Reality of Great Bliss and Adamantine Non-emptiness that Transcends the Principle of Prajñāparāmitā*⁷⁷⁴ gives the following four meanings:

The word *samaya* designates “original vow”, but also “time”, as well as “duration”, and it is also a synonym for “maṇḍala”.⁷⁷⁵

According to Yamasaki, there are also many meanings and usages of the word *samaya*, ranging from a “mark” (標幟 Jap. *hyōji*) in the case of the *samaya* form (三昧耶形 Jap. *sanmaya-kei*), to such things as “consecration” (Skt. *abhiseka*).⁷⁷⁶

Kūkai explains the esoteric meaning of the word *samaya* in *siddham* script⁷⁷⁷ in the *Heizei*:

The term *sa-ma-ya* refers to the Three Treasuries, namely, to the Three Parts [of Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha]. The term *sa* refers to the various doctrinal truths. Truth is something that can be gained only through meditation in the practice of the *samādhi* of great compassion of [bodhisattva] Avalokiteśvara.

⁷⁷² Snellgrove 1987: 165-166, with added emphasis. On the etymology of *samaya*, see Takahashi 1980.

⁷⁷³ T. vol. 39, no. 1796: 673a3-6: 據梵本前時名迦羅是長時之時 (如一歲有三分等) 後時名三摩耶是時中小時如晝夜六時之中復更有小分等, cited in Yamasaki 1967: 252. Indeed, PSD: 67 defines *kāla* as a “small part, esp. one-sixteenth [...], small division of time, ranging between 8 seconds and about 2^{1/2} minutes according to different statements.

⁷⁷⁴ 大樂金剛不空眞實三昧耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣釋 (Jap. *Dairaku kongō fukū shinjitsu sanmaiya-kyō hannya-haramita rishushaku*, short title: *Rishushaku*), i.e. T. XIX, no. 1003, cf. BKD VII: 504b.

⁷⁷⁵ T. XIX, no. 1003: 609b19-21: 三昧耶者名爲本誓亦名時亦名期契亦爲曼荼羅之異名. Following this excerpt, is an explanation of the four maṇḍalas, cf. supra: 113, n. 705.

⁷⁷⁶ Yamasaki 1967: 252.

⁷⁷⁷ On *siddham*, see Van Gulik 1980.

The term *ma* refers to that which the self cannot gain, namely, emptiness. Emptiness is another name for the Tathāgata who does not promote false reasoning –[that is, the bodhisattva] Maitreya– and it is known as the practice of great wisdom. The term *ya* means vehicle, but refers to a vehicle that cannot be boarded. The Vajrasattva of primordial being is without beginning or end, and knows neither production nor destruction; its nature is constant and equal to the void. Since it neither comes nor goes, who could board it? Its course has already been run. This is why it is termed “unboardable vehicle.” The three virtues delineated above form the attributes of the Tathāgata Mahāvairocana. Mahāvairocana’s physical attributes are all subsumed under these three syllables, and it is in order to reveal this that the term *sa-ma-ya* is used.⁷⁷⁸

This explanation is accounted to be based on such comments as those related to the meanings of the *siddham* syllables in the second MVS chapter on *Accessories*,⁷⁷⁹ and the *Syllables* section of the STTS.⁷⁸⁰

Kūkai’s *Notes on the Secret Treasury* (秘藏記 Jap. *Hizōki*)⁷⁸¹ state the following:

[The word] *samaya* has many meanings. For now, [let it suffice to understand that] it expresses four meanings. The first is the meaning of ‘equality’ (平等, Jap. *byōdō*). The second is ‘vow’ (誓願, Jap. *seigan*). The third is ‘sudden awakening’ (驚覺, Jap. *kyōkaku*).⁷⁸² The fourth is ‘removing hindrances’ (除垢障, Jap. *jo kushō*).⁷⁸³

This seems to be closely related to –if not based on, or even taken from– the four meanings given in the ninth chapter of the *MVS-Commentary*:

⁷⁷⁸ KDZ II: 162j ff., translated in modern Japanese by Yamasaki (1967: 252), and Endō (1972: 8), corresponding to T. LXXVIII, no. 2461: c16-24: 又次約字義釋 𑖀𑖩𑖪 佛法僧即三部也 𑖀 諸法諦義諦則觀察不謬即觀音大悲三昧 𑖩 我不可得則大空大空無戲論如來文殊異名則大智慧門 𑖪 乘義字義乘不可得義本有金剛薩埵無始無終無生滅性相常住等虛空已無去來誰有運載運載已休故乘不可得具此三德者名大日如來大日具體只含此三字顯此義故名三昧耶. English translation by Grapard (2000: 158), with altered capitalization.

⁷⁷⁹ Endō 1972: 9 and 14, n. 38, referring without passage reference to T. vol. 18, no. 848: 10b2-20: 若字門一切諸法生不可得故社字門一切諸法戰敵不可得故吒字門一切諸法慢不可得故咤字門一切諸法長養不可得故拏字門一切諸法怨對不可得故茶重聲字門一切諸法執持不可得故多字門一切諸法如如不可得故他字門一切諸法住處不可得故娜字門一切諸法施不可得故駄重聲字門一切諸法法界不可得故波字門一切諸法第一義諦不可得故頗字門一切諸法不堅如聚沫故麼字門一切諸法縛不可得故婆字門一切諸法一切有不可得故野字門一切諸法一切乘不可得故囉字門一切諸法離一切諸塵染故邏字門一切諸法一切相不可得故縛字門一切諸法語言道斷故奢字門一切諸法本性寂故沙字門一切諸法性鈍故娑字門一切諸法一切諦不可得故訶字門一切諸法因不可得故祕密主仰若拏那麼於一切三昧自在速能成辦諸事所為義利皆悉成就

⁷⁸⁰ Endō 1972: 14, n. 39, referring to the 金剛頂經祕字母品 (Jap. *Kongōchōgyō shaku jimo hon*) of T. XVIII, no. 880.

⁷⁸¹ Title translation by Abe (2000: 124-125), where it is also indicated that this text “consists of one hundred fragmentary sections of his handwritten record of the oral instructions he received from Hui-guo.”

⁷⁸² According to DCBT: 488 this term means “arouse, stimulate”. However, according to the FGD: 6927, it means “sudden awakening”.

⁷⁸³ KDZ II: 7, cited in Endō (1972: 10), and Yamasaki (1967: 252). Endō (1972: 15, n. 42) indicates that this passage is identical to a fragment of the *Notes on Essential Sentences in the Commentary on the MVS* (大日經疏要文記 Jap. *Dainichikyō-so yōbun* [var. *yōmon*] *ki*), collated in KDZ I: 604.

Regarding “*samaya*”, it has the meaning of ‘equality’; it has the meaning of ‘original vow’ (here: 本誓, Jap. *honzei*); it has the meaning of ‘removing hindrances’; it has the meaning of ‘sudden awakening’.⁷⁸⁴

The *Heizei*, on the other hand, gives three meanings:

Samaya is a Sanskrit word. The Chinese renderings denote such meanings as ‘original vow’, ‘equality’, ‘acquisition’ (攝持, Jap. *shoji*).⁷⁸⁵

Thus, two of these meanings are identical to those given in the *Commentary*:⁷⁸⁶

Table 14. Meanings of ‘*samaya*’ in *MVS Commentary* and *Heizei*

	<i>MVS Commentary</i>	<i>Heizei</i>
1.	Equality	
2.	original vow	
3.	removing hindrances	acquisition
4.	sudden awakening	

The first of Kūkai’s three meanings of ‘equality’, ‘vow’, and ‘acquisition’ has been explained in more detail by Endō (1972):

It is said that equality denotes ‘triple equality’ (三平等, Jap. *san byōdō*) because it is the equality of the three secrets of body, speech and mind, which are also called the three divisions (三部, Jap. *san bu*).⁷⁸⁷ By means of attaining equality of the three secrets by forming *mudrās* on/with the body, reciting mantras with the mouth, and abiding in *samādhi* in the mind, one abides in equality with the three secrets of the Tathāgata. It is needless to say that the three parts are the three divisions of Buddha, *vajra* and lotus (仏金蓮 Jap. *butsu kon ren*), and that they are instrumental to the four types of *maṇḍala* and the four kinds of *dharmakāya* of every Buddha. All these Honored ones are mutually equal: neither more nor less, neither superior nor inferior.

⁷⁸⁴ This is suggested both by Endō (1972: 10), as by Yamasaki (1967: 252), but neither of them gives an exact reference. The source in question is: T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 674c3-4: 三昧耶是平等義是本誓義是除障義是驚覺義.

⁷⁸⁵ KDZ II: 161, cited in Yamasaki (1967: 252) and Endō (1972: 10), translation by Grapard 2000: 157-158. According to Muller in DBJ this term literally means: “to gather and keep”, “to collect and maintain”, or “to take and keep”. However, it is also related to Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*, cf. chapter III: 42, n. 278 and 63, n. 446. Hence its rendering as ‘acquisition’. Endō (1972: 15, n. 41) notes that while Kūkai’s *Meaning of the Syllable Hūm* (吽字義 Jap. *Unjigi*) also gives the same three meanings (i.e. KDZ I: 546, cf. translation in Hakeda 1972: 246ff. and Giebel 2004: 105ff.), his *Title Analysis of the Fanwangjing* (梵網經解題 Jap. *Bonmōkyō kaidai*, i.e. KDZ I: 817) gives the three meanings of ‘concentration’ (等持 Jap. *tōji*), ‘vow’ (誓願 Jap. *seigan*), and ‘jewel’ (宝 Jap. *hō*), while the *Letter of the Initiatory Unction of Emperor Saga* (嵯峨天皇灌頂文 *Saga tennō kanjōbun*, i.e. KDZ IV: 459) gives the three meanings of ‘vow’, ‘equality’, and ‘triple gem’ (三宝 Jap. *san bō*).

⁷⁸⁶ Endō (1972: 15, n. 44) remarks that in the variant edition of the *Meaning of Attaining [Enlightenment] in this Body* (異本即身義 Jap. *Ihon sokushingi*, i.e. KDZ IV: 43-59) only the two meanings of ‘equality’ and ‘original vow’ are attested.

⁷⁸⁷ Endō (1972: 10) does not give any further textual reference for this claim.

All these Buddhas who are vast and innumerable are nothing else than the Buddha [nature] of one sentient being. The seventh chapter of the *MVS-Commentary on Accessories* indicates that *paramārtha* (波羅麼他 Jap. *haramata*), which is rendered both as ‘supreme truth’ (第一義 Jap. *daiichi gi*) as well as ‘ultimate truth’ (勝義 Jap. *shōgi*), is not separate from the real character of all phenomena (諸法實相 Jap. *shohō jissō*), and states that because all phenomena (lit. *dharmas*) entirely and in the same way penetrate the *dharmadhātu*, they are ‘equal’, neither higher nor lower, neither stronger nor weaker.⁷⁸⁸ Therefore, ‘equality’ is nothing else than ‘supreme truth’.⁷⁸⁹

This ‘supreme truth’, reminds of the aforementioned quote from Kūkai’s SKJ (see supra: 112):

The Buddhas and bodhisattvas, long ago when in their causal state, finished awakening this mind, taking as their precepts supreme truth, vow, and *samādhi*, not for a moment forgetting, even until becoming Buddhas.

In this respect, the BDSR quotes the first chapter of the MVS:

According to the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhitāntra*, all phenomena (*dharmas*) are devoid of marks (無相 Jap. *mushō*), that is to say, they are characterized by emptiness (Jap. 虛空 *kokū*).⁷⁹⁰

Moreover, BDSR states:

Completing the performance of this visualization is called the *bodhicitta* of supreme truth. It should be known that all *dharmas* are ultimately empty. Already realizing that *dharmas* are of a non-arising nature, and that the true mind itself is *tathātā*, one does not perceive ‘body-and-mind’. Abiding in the realm of wisdom that is quiescence, equality, and truth, one is not caused to retreat. If the mind of delusion arises, it is recognized but must not be followed. When delusion ceases, the mind is quiescent. The ten thousand virtues are perfected, and their profound implementation is inexhaustible. (Therefore, the Buddhas of the ten directions take as their precepts the acts and vows of ultimate truth, and it is those beings equipped with this mind who can turn the Dharma wheel, benefiting self and others.)⁷⁹¹

⁷⁸⁸ The relevant passage is T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 654a29-b13: 梵云波羅麼他翻爲第一義或云勝義薩底也此翻爲諦諦義於娑字門說之今此波字門正明第一義相龍樹云第一義名諸法實相不破不壞故復次諸法中第一名爲涅槃如阿毘曇云云何無上法調智緣盡智緣盡即是涅槃若見波字即知一切法不離第一義第一義不離諸法實相是爲字相若字門真實義者第一義亦不可得何以故無愛無著故智論又云以衆生著涅槃音聲而作戲論若有若無以破著故說涅槃空是名第一義空不破聖人心中所得以聖人於一切法中不取相故復次一切法皆入平等法界則無高下豈欲令無生法中有勝劣相耶是故第一義不可得也頗字門一切諸法不堅如聚沫故者。

⁷⁸⁹ Endō 1972: 10-11.

⁷⁹⁰ As hinted by Endō (1972: 15, n. 48), the respective passage in the MVS is T. XVIII, no. 848: 1c5: [祕密主]諸法無相調虛空相。For unclear reasons, however, White (2005: 219, n. 330), refers for this to T. XVIII, no. 848: 9b, where the respective phrase is not found. The passage of the BDSR, on the other hand, is in T. XXXII, no. 1665: 537b9-10: 如大毘盧遮那成佛經云諸法無相調虛空相, which has been translated by White (2005: 219, s.v. B14) as follows: “As stated in the *Mahāvairocanasūtra*: ‘All dharmas are without marks, their marks are the marks of emptiness’.”

⁷⁹¹ Endō 1972: 11, citing T. XXXII, no. 1665: 573b9/10-14/16: (如大毘盧遮那成佛經云諸法無相調虛空相)作是觀已名勝義菩提心當知一切法空已悟法本無生心體自如不見身心住於寂滅平等究竟真實之智令無退

The text continues with phrasing ideas drawn from the *Ten stages* (十地品 Jap. *Jūchi hon*, Skt. *Dāśabhūmi*) chapter of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* (華嚴經 Jap. *Kegongyō*):

It is stated in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-nāma-mahāvaipulya-sūtra*, as follows:

Compassion is foremost, wisdom is primary;
 Expedient means suit them both.
 In the pure heart of Faith
 Is found the immeasurable power of the *tathātā*.
 The revelation of unobstructed wisdom
 Is through self-realization, and not others-originating.
 Being equipped as is the *tathāgata*
 One awakens this most superior mind.
 As Buddha-sons, first awakening
 A profound treasure mind such as this,
 They then transcend the state of the ordinary man,
 And enter the realm of the acts of the Buddha;
 Being born in the house of the Buddha,
 A *gotra* devoid of deficiencies,
 In equanimity with the Buddha,
 He will certainly attain the unsurpassed Bodhi.⁷⁹²

From this, it has been concluded that what is called ‘supreme mind’ in the BDSR, actually denotes the ‘realm of equality’ (平等界 Jap. *byōdō kai*).⁷⁹³

失妄心若起知而勿隨妄若息時心源空寂萬德斯具妙用無窮(所以十方諸佛以勝義行願為戒但具此心者能轉法輪自他俱利). Translation by White (2005: 219-220, s.v. B14-14).

⁷⁹² Endō 1972: 11 giving a modern Japanese reading of T. XXXII, no. 1665: 573b16: 如華嚴經云: 悲光慧為主方便共相應信解清淨心如來無量力無礙智現前自悟不由他具足同如來發此最勝心佛子始發生如是妙寶心則超凡夫位入佛所行處生在如來家種族無瑕玷與佛共平等決成無上覺. English translation by White (2005: 220-221, s.v. B16). White (2005: 220, n. 332) says that “this is taken from the *Daśabhūmi* section of the 80-*chūan* version of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*,” but Endō (1972: 15, n. 49) quotes chapter 34 of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya-sūtra* (大方廣佛華嚴經 Jap. *Daihōkō-butsu kegonkyō*), i.e. T. X, no. 279: 181a17:[佛子菩薩起如是心] 以大悲為首智慧增上善巧方便所攝最上深心所持如來力無量善觀察分別勇猛力智 [力無礙智現前隨順自然智能受一切佛法] 以智慧教化廣大如法界究竟如虛空盡未來際佛子菩薩始發如是心即得超凡夫地入菩薩位生如來家無能說其種族過失離世間趣入出世道得菩薩法住菩薩處入三世平等於如來種中決定當得無上菩提 (Phrases in square brackets omitted by Endō).

⁷⁹³ Endō 1972: 11. The term is synonymous to 真如界 (Jap. *shinnyō kai*). As already suggested in chapter III: 37, n. 247, Skt. *samaya* (三昧耶 Jap. *sanmaiya*) has also been explained as 平等 (Jap. *byōdō*) of “equality” (i.e. Skt. *sama* of *śamatā*), cf. SJ: 196, no. 1601; and DCBT: 187, s.v. 平. Also Nakamura agrees with this explanation, and argues that ‘equality’ means the absence of distinction between things, cf. BGD: 488, s.v. *sanmaiya*; 1146, s.v. *byōdō*. For other definitions of *samaya*, cf. PSD: 336, s.v. *sam-aya*; SED: 1164, s.v. *sam-aya*; Toganō 1970: 101. In Shingon, the basis of the interpretation of *samaya* lies in its etymology, i.e. *sam-* en *-aya*. Skt. *sam* is a preverb denoting “(together) with”, and when emphasized refers to “universal, full, profound”. Skt. *aya* derives from the root *i*. and means “going” or “coming”. For more on the doctrinal Shingon interpretation, see: Toganō 1970: 103-104. The aforementioned “equality” further denotes “non-duality of concrete existence and abstract principle”, “one-ness of matter and mind”, or in other words, “all concrete things or phenomena are identical with the truth or that which appears is as such the path”, cf. Toganō 1970: 105-110. In short, it concerns the union of the concrete and the absolute, the union of the individual with Mahāvairocana. Snodgrass (1988, vol. 1: 196) translates 三昧耶戒 as ‘the symbol of the precepts’, corresponding to Skt. *śīla-samaya*, which is received

As for the second meaning of *samaya*, Kūkai's *Heizei* reads that 'original vow' (*honzei*) is an alternate word for 'vow' (*seigan*):

The term 'original vow' indicates the lack of distinction that the Buddha maintains between himself and all other living beings. It is for this reason that he formulated this great vow, and that he practices compassion accordingly. This vow consists of the Four Incommensurables and the Four Acquisitions.⁷⁹⁴

More specifically, it is the 'great vow' (大誓願, Jap. *dai seigan*) that denotes vowing to practice (行願 Jap. *gyōgan*) the four immeasurable states of mind,⁷⁹⁵ the four methods of winning people over,⁷⁹⁶ etc. –that are also expounded in the HSBK– in order to benefit all sentient beings. This undoubtedly fits the vow of practice preached in the BDSR (cf. supra: 112).⁷⁹⁷

The *Heizei* also explains the third meaning of *samaya*. That is, 'acquisition' based on the *samādhi* of interpenetration as is evident from the aforementioned "[Mahāvairocana] entering me, and I entering him" (入我我入 Jap. *nyū ga, ga nyū*):⁷⁹⁸

The term 'acquisition' means entrance into the self and entrance of the self. The Buddhas of oneself, numerous as specks of dust, easily enter the self of others; while the Buddhas of another self, numerous as specks of dust, easily penetrate one's own mind's Buddhas, and thus in complete reciprocity carry out the functions of acquirable and acquired, of potential and realization. If one meditates upon this principle, one acquires the universal mind [lit. the mind of good and evil of self and others].⁷⁹⁹

In short, the *MVS Commentary* gives the four meanings for *samaya* in terms of 'equality', 'original vow', 'removing obstacles', and 'sudden awakening'. Even though Kūkai undoubtedly relied on this text, the '*samaya* precepts' of the *Heizei*, SKJ, and HSBK are drawn from the meanings expounded in the BDSR, i.e. 'supreme truth', 'vow', and '*samādhi*'.

when "the Shingon follower begins his spiritual life [...] and commences the first practices of the three Mysteries and awakens the Bodhicitta". For more on 三昧耶戒, see MD: 835ff., s.v. 三昧耶戒.

⁷⁹⁴ Based on modern Japanese rendering in Endō (1972: 11). Endō (1972: 15, n. 50) refers to the KDZ II: 162, which corresponds to T. LXXVII, no. 2461: 2c10-11: 言誓願者已知自他如是故發大誓願修大悲行願行願則四無量四攝等是也. English translation by Grapard (2000: 158).

⁷⁹⁵ Cf. chapter III: 33, n. 201.

⁷⁹⁶ Cf. chapter III: 62, n. 434.

⁷⁹⁷ Endō 1972: 11-12.

⁷⁹⁸ Cf. chapter III: 63, n. 446. Endō 1972: 12 points out that this corresponds to the *samādhi* expounded in the BDSR.

⁷⁹⁹ Based on modern Japanese rendering in Endō (1972: 12). Also here, Endō (1972: 15, n. 50) refers to KDZ II: 162, which corresponds to T. LXXVII, no. 2461: 2c14-16: 攝持者入我我入也自塵數佛能入他心佛他心塵數佛能入自心佛彼此互爲能持所持能觀此理攝持自他善惡之心.

The latter two of the meanings of the *MSV Commentary* have been substituted with ‘acquisition’, resulting in the three meanings of ‘equality’, ‘original vow’, and ‘acquisition’:⁸⁰⁰

Table 15. Doctrinal meanings of *samaya*

	<i>MVS Commentary</i>	<i>Heizei / SKJ / HSBK</i>	<i>BDSR</i>
1.	Equality		supreme truth
2.	original vow		vow [to practice]
3.	removing hindrances	Acquisition	<i>samādhi</i>
4.	sudden awakening		

Other designations

By now it has become evident that the ‘*samaya* precepts’ are not to be considered merely as ‘precepts’, but conceal special aspects of esoteric Buddhism, and also, that their essence is discussed in a variety of texts, the most important amongst which are passages on ritual contained in the MVS, its commentary, STTS recitation sūtras, the *Safeguarding Sūtra*, *Guhyatantra*, etc. as well as in the JBKG and MSZ, which –as we have seen (cf. supra: 76)– are closely connected to the HSBK. When scrutinizing these texts, especially noteworthy is the large variety of different designations that are used to denote ‘*samaya* precepts’.

For instance,⁸⁰¹ the designation attested in the first chapter of the MVS on *Performing the Deed of Mantra and Dwelling in the Mind of Bodhi*⁸⁰² is “precepts of abiding in non-action” (住無爲戒 Jap. *ju mui kai*), that is, transcendence.⁸⁰³ The *Accessories* chapter, on the other hand, includes the phrases “precepts of the wisdom that is unimpeded with regard to the three periods” (三世無障礙智戒 Jap. *sanze mushō gechi kai*),⁸⁰⁴ and “seal of abiding in the wisdom that is without conceptual proliferations (住無戲論智印, Jap. *jū mukeron-chi in*).⁸⁰⁵

⁸⁰⁰ Endō 1972: 12.

⁸⁰¹ The following examples are drawn from Yamasaki’s enumeration (1967: 251), and also that by Ueda (1933: 137-138), but it has been cross-checked, and supplemented with exact references.

⁸⁰² Short title 住心品 (Jap. *Jūshin hon*), title translation based on Yamamoto Y. 2001: 1.

⁸⁰³ T. XVIII, no. 848: 2a2-3: [捲成就] 住無爲戒, which Yamamoto (2001: 4) merely translates as: “[One who obtains this *samādhi*...] (will accomplish) the morality of the pure mind of bodhi.” (Emphasis added).

⁸⁰⁴ T. XVIII, no. 848: 6a25-26. Also translated as “discipline of the wisdom of non-hindrances in the three worlds” (Yamamoto Y. 2001: 18) and “discipline of the wisdom without obstacle in the three worlds” (Yamamoto Y. 2001: 19).

⁸⁰⁵ According to Yamasaki (1967: 251), this designation is mentioned in this chapter, but it is as yet not retrieved in the Taishō text, nor in any of the English translations. Here, Jap. *chi’in* is not translated as ‘wisdom-seal’,

Chapter eight on the *Practice of Maṇḍalas by Turning the Wheel of Syllables*⁸⁰⁶ reads “unsurpassed and correct precepts” (無上正等戒 Jap. *mujō shōtō kai*),⁸⁰⁷ while the *Expedients* chapter includes the term “the highest and auspicious non-active (i.e. transcendent) precepts of the Tathāgatas” (如來無上吉祥無爲戒, Jap. *nyorai mujō kichijō mui kai*).⁸⁰⁸

Moreover, the *MVS-Commentary* adds a number of other appellations, including “precepts on the original source of the self-nature of all sentient beings” (一切衆生自性本源之戒, Jap. *issai shūjō jishō hongen no kai*),⁸⁰⁹ “precepts of the fulfillment of the ten thousand virtues of original nature” (本性萬德具足戒, Jap. *honshō mantoku gusoku kai*)⁸¹⁰, “naturally pure and adamant precepts” (性淨金剛戒, Jap. *shōjō kongō kai*),⁸¹¹ “precepts of the undefiled inherent nature” (無漏自性之戒, Jap. *murō jishō no kai*),⁸¹² and “precepts of the original source of the inherent nature of all sentient beings” (一切衆生自性本源戒, Jap. *issai shujō jishō hongen-kai*).⁸¹³

The JBKG speaks of “precepts for the intent to attain awakening” (菩提心戒, Jap. *bodaishin-kai*),⁸¹⁴ while in the MSZ they are called “precepts regarding the undefiled and pure Dharma on the inner realization of all Buddhas” (諸佛內証無漏清淨法戒, Jap. *shobutsu naishō murō shōjō hōkai*),⁸¹⁵ and “precepts of the correct Dharma” (真法戒, Jap. *shinpō kai*).⁸¹⁶

Interestingly, not only also major doctrinal texts and ritual manuals dating from before Kūkai, but also his own texts list various other designations for ‘samaya precepts’. The *Kōnin*, for instance, includes the terms “esoteric precepts” (密戒, Jap. *mitsukai*), “precepts for Buddhas”

because in Shingon, the four symbols or ‘seals’ of wisdom (四智印 Jap. *shi chi'in*) are the same as the four maṇḍalas cf. supra: 113, n. 705.

⁸⁰⁶ 轉字輪曼荼羅行品 Jap. *Tenjirin mandara gyō hon*, i.e. MVS, scroll 3, chapter 8.

⁸⁰⁷ Yamamoto Y. 2001: 90 renders this as “*anuttara-samyak-śīla*”.

⁸⁰⁸ T. XVIII, no. 848: 40a11-12. Translation based on Yamamoto Y. 2001: 153.

⁸⁰⁹ Retrieved in T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 757a11-12.

⁸¹⁰ Cited in Yamasaki 1967: 251, but not as such retrieved in the T.-canon. What is attested, however, is 本性萬德皆具足戒 (Jap. *honshō mantoku kaigusoku kai*) in T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 766a29.

⁸¹¹ Attested e.g. in T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 757a12.

⁸¹² See e.g. T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 766b9.

⁸¹³ Quoted in Ueda 1933: 138, but not yet found in the T.-canon.

⁸¹⁴ E.g. T. XVIII, no. 915: 941a4.

⁸¹⁵ T. XVIII, no. 917: 944a22, variously cited by Ueda (1933: 138) as “uncontaminated and pure precepts of the inner realization of all Buddhas” (諸佛內証無漏清淨戒, Jap. *shobutsu naishō muro shōjō-kai*). A preparatory survey has shown that this designation was taken over in 大日經疏妙印鈔 (*Dainichikyō-sho myōin-shō*, i.e. T. vol. 58, no. 2213) by Yūban (a.k.a. Ryōgen, 1270-1352) and in 小野六帖 (*Ono rokujō*, i.e. T. LXXVIII, no. 2473) by Ninkai (a.k.a. Senshin, 955-1046).

⁸¹⁶ T. XVIII, no. 917: 944a24-25, and b25.

(佛戒, Jap. *butsu kai*; var. *bukkai*), “precepts for arousing *bodhicitta*” (發菩提心戒, Jap. *hotsu bodaishin kai*), “precepts of non-action” (無為戒, Jap. *mui kai*), etc.⁸¹⁷

It appears that in Kūkai’s works the word ‘*samaya* precepts’ only became prominent –namely in the SKJ, and in all likelihood also in the HSBK– that were written after his bestowal of *abhiṣeka* upon emperor Heizei, that is when he was 49 years old, when he started to use the designations encountered in the HSBK, namely “precepts being the esoteric symbol of Buddhas”, or “precepts being Buddha symbols”.⁸¹⁸

Although, as hinted by the concordance in appendix C below, the word ‘*sanmaiya-kai*’ is attested in many other texts, many of them dating well before Kūkai’s time. Even though this lifts only a corner of the much larger veil that forms my ongoing investigations, it is needless to say that further research is needed both to scrutinize these sources in order to establish a historical time frame of the terms’ origins, as well as to disentangle the aforementioned terminological jumble and describe its evolution within the context of the consecration rituals performed by masters of later Shingon subdenominations.

However, the following paragraphs already present an initial explanation of some of the most striking amongst the above designations, especially those expounded the MVS, the authoritative text on the subject.⁸¹⁹

Restating briefly, the passages in the MVS, in which the *samaya* precepts are specifically addressed, are the following: (1) the verses on the ‘four fundamental prohibitions’ as well as the ‘precepts concerning the wisdom that is unimpeded with regard to the three periods’ in the *Accessories* chapter in the second volume; (2) the regulations expounded in the context of the practical methods for reciting *mantras* in the explanations on the ‘instruction of spells’, or *dhāraṇī* (持明禁戒 Jap. *jimyō-gonkai*) in the fifth volume; and (3) the ‘ten good precepts’, the ‘five precepts’, and the ‘four capital offences’ in the explanations of the teachings on expedients in the 18th volume.⁸²⁰

Regarding the ‘precepts on the wisdom that is unimpeded with regard to the three periods’, the MVS reads:

⁸¹⁷ Yamasaki 1967: 252, referring to KDZ II: 861. Also listed in Ueda 1933: 144.

⁸¹⁸ Yamasaki 1967: 252, referring to KDZ II: 133. On these translations, see Chapter III: 26 *supra*.

⁸¹⁹ Yamasaki 1967: 252.

⁸²⁰ Ueda 1933: 118 and Yamasaki 1967: 253.

The practitioner who holds [i.e. has received] the mantras has thus absorbed them. Command him [i.e. the disciple] to take refuge three times of his own accord and let him repent for his previous offences. Rubbing his body with incense [as an oblation] and offering flowers and the like; [let him] worship all Bodhisattvas. You should confer upon him the ‘precepts of the wisdom that is unimpeded with regard to the three periods’ [i.e. past, present and future]. Subsequently, you should give him a toothpick⁸²¹ [...]

Question: Why are they called ‘precepts’?

[Answer:] It means that you must observe this even at the risk of losing your own life, and pay homage to all buddhas and bodhisattvas. The reason therefore is that if you would lose your own body, this would mean that you lose the ‘Three Things’.

Question: What is meant by these ‘Three [Things]’?

[Answer:] These are body, speech, and mind. Therefore, a son of a good family, by means of taking the precepts of body, speech, and mind, he attains [the position of] being called a bodhisattva. Why is it so? Because he is freed from [the erroneous deeds of] body, speech, and mind. [Oh] Bodhisattva-mahāsattvas, you should study it like this.⁸²²

In short, in accordance with devoting oneself to all Buddhas, becoming one of them, and obtaining their knowledge, it concerns the precepts of leaving all sins of the three activities⁸²³ behind, and that which expresses this concretely and altruistically are the aforementioned four capital prohibitions of a Bodhisattva.

As Ueda has shown, according to the explanatory notes in different commentaries, when forming the wisdom-seal (智印 Jap. *chi'in*, i.e. Skt. *jñāna-mudrā*)⁸²⁴ of Bodhisattva Niṣprapañcavihāri,⁸²⁵ one observes the precepts of the perfection of the pure wisdom of the Tathāgatas.⁸²⁶ He adds:

⁸²¹ 齒木 (Jap. *shimoku*; var. *shiboku*), or Skt. *danta-kāṣṭham* is a kind of toothpick, ca. 15 cm of length, used during the esoteric Buddhist initiation ceremony, in which the so-called *shimoku-kaji* (i.e. empowerment by *shimoku*) is carried out on the *samaya* precepts platform. The disciple has to hold a *shimoku* with his right fang, in order to mentally chew away all defilements, cf. MJ: 323a. For a picture, see BGDJ: 477. For more information, cf. BGDJ: 476, s.v. *shimoku*. See also Yamamoto Y. 2001: 18. Personal communication with Dr. Van der Veere has yielded that –at least in contemporary *denbō kanjō* rituals– it is more than a ‘toothpick’. The candidate brings a *shimoku* as a symbolic gift. In fact it is a piece of wood, the one side flat, the other rounded, on which one binds a flower or leaves of the *shimiki* (*Skimmia japonica*) with a *kongōsen* (colored vajra cord) . For an illustration, also see Gonda 1928: s.v. *shimoku*.

⁸²² T. XVIII, no. 848: 5c14-6b4, quoted in Ueda T. 1933: 128; and T. XVIII, no. 848: 6a27-b4, cited in Yamasaki 1967: 253: 佛子諦聽若族姓子住是戒者以身語意合爲一不作一切諸法云何爲戒所謂觀察捨於自身奉獻諸佛菩薩何以故若捨自身則爲捨彼三事云何爲三調身語意是故族姓子以受身語意戒得名菩薩所以者何離彼身語意故菩薩摩訶薩應如是學, with additions in the last sentence based on Yamamoto Y. 2001: 19.

⁸²³ Cf. chapter III: 57, n. 390.

⁸²⁴ See BGDJ: 950b.

⁸²⁵ 住無戲論金剛 Jap. *Jūmukeronkongō*, cf. MJ: 239, no. 50, s.v. *kongōjūin* 金剛手院. For *Jūmukeron*, see MD: 894c.

⁸²⁶ Ueda T. 1933: 118.

Given that every single Buddha of the three realms attains Bodhi with this path, one speaks of ‘precepts of the unimpeded wisdom of the three periods’ (i.e. Skt. *tatpuruṣa*). Moreover, because making the ‘unimpeded wisdom of the three realms’ into precepts, the Buddha wisdom of the equality of the three [secrets of Body, Speech and Mind]⁸²⁷ being innate nature, becomes pureness and is leaving behind crime, abiding in Buddha Wisdom is further precepts (i.e. Skt. *karmadhārya*). Consequently, abiding in Buddha wisdom means abiding in the great wisdom of the threefold identity of the three secrets, and is witnessing that the Body cannot be realized according to the ten kinds of illusions that arise from conditions, which further means that the five precepts and the ten good precepts are the characteristics of the precepts which come from this Body.

As for the designation ‘precepts on the instruction of spells’, it has been explained that this is the observance of the regulations (Skt. *vrata*)⁸²⁸ for the so-called “one session period”,⁸²⁹ which Shingon practitioners observe in order to attain *siddhi*. These rules are explained in the fifteenth volume of the MVS (cf. supra). Aside from the meaning of regulations which the ‘one who holds the spells (Skt. *vidhyādhārin*) has to observe, there is also the explanation of “*dhāraṇī* is *vrata*”, or “spells equal instructions”. Therefore, the practice of the six months recitation is warding off negative phenomena, stops evil action and is in itself ‘precepts on the instruction’.⁸³⁰ The MVS says:

At that time Vajrapāṇi asked the World-honoured Vairocana further in verses about the ‘precepts concerning the instruction of spells’, because it is part of the bodhisattva practice that has to be learnt by all Bodhisattvas of the Mantra school.⁸³¹

Then, Vajrapāṇi asks the following five questions to Vairocana Tathāgata: (1) How does one accomplish the ‘precepts on the instruction’; (2) How does one abide in the precepts; (3) How does one practice without attachment; (4) How long does one hold the ‘precepts on the instruction; and (5) How does one attain the same virtue and influence of Vairocana? Vairocana Tathāgata answers them, but few details are mentioned on the ‘precepts on instruction’.⁸³² However, according to Ueda, that which has to be looked at concerning the characteristics of these precepts, is the ritual of the six months recitation. In order to attain *siddhi*, the holder of the spells does the following:

⁸²⁷ 三平等 (Jap. *sanbyōdō*), i.e. “the esoteric doctrine that the three –body, mouth, and mind– are one and universal. Thus in *samādhi* the Buddha body is found everywhere and in everything (pan-Buddha), every sound becomes a mantra, and these are summed up in mind, which being “universal is my mind and my mind it,” cf. DBJ, referring to DCBT: 64; BGDJ: 486a.

⁸²⁸ 禁戒 (Jap. *gonkai*) refers to morality (i.e. *śīla*), which means abstaining from wrongdoing and avoiding evil by adhering to the regulations. It can also mean temporary discipline, specific to a certain situation, that is *vrata*.

⁸²⁹ 一定期間 (Jap. *ittei kikan*), i.e. the recitation during six months (六月念誦 Jap. *rokugatsu nenju*).

⁸³⁰ Ueda T. 1933: 118.

⁸³¹ Ueda T. 1933: 118 referring to T. XVIII, no. 848: 37b19.

⁸³² Ibid.

During the first month, he contemplates the yellow-coloured maṇḍala of the *vajra* sphere⁸³³ and pictures himself sitting in it, he himself becoming the syllable *āḥ* and forming the five-pronged *vajra* seal⁸³⁴ with his hands, while reciting the syllable *āḥ*. While visualizing this, the syllable *āḥ* is recited incessantly by means of abdominal respiration with nasal inhalation. Inducing the virtue of the syllable *āḥ* being the element Earth, he continues until it expresses one character and one taste with Vairocana, who is the principle of Truth.

In the second month, he visualizes the white-coloured circle of the element Water⁸³⁵ and the syllable *vaḥ*. In the third month it is the visualization of the red-coloured triangle of the element Fire and the syllable *ra*. In the fourth month it is the visualization of the black-coloured semicircle (or: half-moon-shape) of the element Wind and the syllable *ha*. In the fifth month, it is the compound visualization of the Water-circle and the Earth-square. In the sixth month, it is the compound visualization of Fire and Wind.

Subsequently, during the first month one does not consume anything other than milk. In the second month, one is restricted to water. In the third one does not request any food and one eats only when it is donated. During the fourth month it is provided that one consumes only the wind. During the fifth month one does not eat any food, but one consumes the inhaled and exhaled breath of reciting mantras. In the sixth month, the syllable *ha* is considered as representing all nutrition.⁸³⁶

Because “*dhāraṇī* is *vrata*”, one can say that these regulations on food are nothing else than *vrata*, or ‘precepts’. However, six months recitation is something which is provisionally explained and when also the instructions assume that format, they are the ‘three equalities of the reality of Mahāvairocana,’ the actual adamant contemplation. The *samaya* precepts are not different from this, and especially are to be observed by the esoteric practitioner during the ‘one session period’, but because this period is based on one *lakṣa* (i.e. a hundred thousand), only ending when one attains *siddhi*, it is in fact not a fixed period at all.⁸³⁷

The fifth chapter of the *MVS-Commentary*, also explains the meaning of ‘precepts of the wisdom that is unimpeded in the three periods’, and supplements this with the designations ‘adamantine seal of abiding in non-conceptual proliferation’, and ‘precepts of abiding in non-action’:

The reason why bodhisattvas aspire (lit. arouse the mind in order) to receive training in the expedient means, is because they all [want to] attain the pure wisdom and compassion of the Tathāgatas, [which enables them] to thoroughly understand all phenomena (*dharma*s) of the three periods in [just] a single thought, without [experiencing any] obstructions. The reason why there are [people] who abide by these precepts, is because from the first moment that one experiences the luminous path, that is, when there is suchness and one does not think about conjecturing, or forces [oneself] to understand, then, by means of these precepts, one will personally be able to arouse Buddha compassion, and one will also [understand] the

⁸³³ 金剛方曼荼羅 (Jap. *kongōhō mandara*), cf. MD: 651a. s.v. *gorin* 五輪.

⁸³⁴ 五股金剛印 (Jap. *goko-kongō-in*), cf. MD: 583c, s.v. 五股ノ印 *goko no in*.

⁸³⁵ 水輪 (Jap. *suirin*), cf. MD, p. 651a. s.v. *gorin* 五輪.

⁸³⁶ Ueda T. 1933: 129.

⁸³⁷ Ibid.

limitedness of the discipline of the two vehicles. Therefore, it is called the ‘*precepts of the wisdom that is unimpeded in the three periods*’.⁸³⁸

[... The *Mahāvairocanasūtra* says: “If a son of a good family abides by these precepts, then he should unite body, speech, and mind, and make it one.”] As for these precepts, the Sanskrit/Indic [text] call them *saṃvara*, which refers both to ‘cause’ as well as ‘attainment’, and bears the meaning of ‘precepts’. That what is called *the expedient of compassion, precisely is that which is assembled and attained*, while ‘*śīla*’, on the other hand, means ‘pure’. Further, *saṃvara* also bears the meaning of ‘equality’. The Buddha says unite body, speech and thought. This precisely is the *dharma* gate of the triple equality [of these mysteries], and that which is obtained is called the ‘*precepts that are undefiled in the three periods*’. (Just as the Buddha outlined the instructions [lit. teachings and discipline, or: prohibitions] on behalf of all *śrāvakas*, and spoke: “this path of the three activities is pure, and is the human rebirth of a great sage”. After twelve years passed, he slightly adapted their meaning and established the various categories of discipline. Now, as for these abridged precepts for [the holder of] spells (*dhāraṇīs*), it is likewise: if a practitioner [practices] the triple equality of the expedients of the three activities all in the correct order (or: correctly), then he should understand, and instantly possess every single discipline of all buddhas.) Moreover, splitting (or: disentangling) the network of various thoughts, this is also a meaning of *saṃvara*. Namely, it refers to the network of the various views of conceptual proliferation. The two aspects of horizontal and vertical duplicate each other and are entangled. Therefore, it is called ‘net(work)’. Now, practitioner, the activities of visualizing (i.e. mind), body, and speech) are fundamentally not separate entities, but are closely related, [because] when returning to their origin, they are nothing but one mind, and the true (or: real) characteristic of this mind is eternal, it is equal to the *dharmadhātu*. Therefore, when abiding by these precepts, the various activities of body, speech, and mind all have (or: share) the same single aspect [by means of which] the immeasurable net(work) of views are all cleansed. Hence, the meaning of ‘*adamantine seal of abiding without conceptual proliferations*’ is obtained. (The fact that the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* says: “Do not construct all phenomena (Skt. *dharmas*)” [is because] the various categories of the five aggregates (Skt. *skandhas*, i.e. matter, sensation, perception, mental formations, and consciousness) are based on defilements (Skt. *kleṣa*), and defilements are based on activities. These various activities all emerge from body, speech, and mind, which resembles reducing the division between body, speech, and mind [in order] to create the path of the ten categories of good and evil actions. Study these clues, which are countless and limitless. Therefore, the three activities are simply that what you [should] cultivate, namely it is the practice that offers advancement and has effect. If one fails to advance, then [that is because] of having distorted perceptions. Because of distorted perceptions, innumerable characteristics are created, and, all these characteristics are that what keeps you from attaining the unimpeded Buddha knowledge.) Now, practitioner, deeply contemplate the phrases on the arousal of the ten causes, and fully understand the absolute non-arising of the three activities, as well as eternal non-activity of the dharma-nature. Therefore, it is called ‘*precepts of abiding in the unconditioned*’.⁸³⁹

⁸³⁸ 菩薩所以發心攝受方便學處皆為成就如來清淨智慧於一念中了達三世諸法無罣礙故其有住斯戒者乃至初見心明道時即有如是不思議勢分以此戒親能發生佛慧又對二乘律儀有限量故以三世無障礙智為名也, i.e. T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 626b26-c2, cited in Yamasaki 1967: 253, with added emphasis.

⁸³⁹ [經云若族姓子住是戒者當以身語意合而為一者此戒梵云三嚩羅是共緣共成此戒之義所謂慧方便等之所集成若尸羅者但是清淨義也又三嚩羅是平等義佛言以身口意合為一者即是住三平等法門所以得名三世無障礙戒也(如佛為諸聲聞略說教誡則云此三業道淨是大仙人道從十二年後稍演其義成種種律儀今此持明略戒義亦如是若行人三業方便悉皆正順三平等處當知即具一切諸佛律儀也)復次裂諸想網是三嚩羅義調戲論諸見之網經緯相成重複交絡故名網今行者觀身口業自無別體統末歸本唯是一心而此心實相常是平等法界是故住此戒時種種身口意業皆同一相無量見網皆悉淨除是故得名住無戲論金剛印也(經云不作一切諸法者種種五陰依於煩惱煩惱依於業是種種業皆由身口意生如約身口意分為十種善惡業道究其條緒則無量無邊是故三業凡所修行則有進趣之行失進趣者則為倒想由倒想故有無量相生為此諸相所礙不得佛無

From this perspective, abiding by the ‘*samaya* precepts’ comes down to offering your own body, speech, and mind, that is your entire body and entire soul to the Buddhas. The word ‘*samaya*’ per se designates ‘equality’, while ‘precepts’ denotes either *saṃvara* or *śīla*. Skt. *Saṃvara* means ‘control’, ‘regulation’, etc., but in the citation above it denotes ‘the attainment of the expedient of compassion’, which also points at ‘equality’.⁸⁴⁰ It is precisely this ‘equality’ that forms the culmination of the HSBK ritual practice, in which the disciple becomes, or actually is reminded of the fact that he is Buddha.

礙智) 今行者深觀十緣生句了知三業畢竟不生法性自爾常無動作是名住無爲戒也, T. XXXIX, no. 1796: 629b12/13-2728/c4-6, cited in Yamasaki 1967: 253-254, with added emphasis.

⁸⁴⁰ Yamasaki 1967: 254.

V. CONCLUSION

As shown above (Chapter II), precepts conferred in Buddhist ordination rituals reached Japan only in the Nara period, but were further institutionalized in the course of the early Heian period. In this context, Kūkai embraced both *vinaya* and *sīla*, which have been coined together in the term *kairitsu* (Chapter IV). It has been clarified that Kūkai complied with the existing system of SBR ordinations at Tōdaiji, but –for several reasons that have been pointed out above– added the UBR as the *vinaya* to be studied in the Shingon curriculum. However, in order to stress the uniqueness of Shingon, he promoted the introduction of a third, and new set of precepts, namely the *samaya*.

Kūkai stated that one must also strictly uphold the exoteric precepts, and instructed his disciples to get full ordination on the precepts platform of Tōdaiji, for “given the absolute all-embracing principle of the maṇḍalas, upholding the Hīnayāna precepts as such is also upholding the esoteric *samaya* precepts”.⁸⁴¹ In opposition to those for *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, and mainstream Mahāyāna bodhisattvas, the HSBK (Chapter III) calls these fundamental precepts of Mikkyō ‘the symbol of Buddhas’. They are a crucial condition for being bestowed esoteric consecration,⁸⁴² for “those who are about to enter this vehicle must first of all abide by the precepts. These are named *samaya*, and the teaching is called Shingon.”⁸⁴³

Some scholars have argued that Kūkai cannot be considered the genuine author of the HSBK (Chapter IV), mostly because of its relation with principally two other texts: the first being either Kūkai’s own work, or of unknown authorship (JHBK), and the second (KSK) being allegedly composed by Ennin. When reading the HSBK within the framework of Kūkai’s precepts view, however, there are many indications that adduce arguments in support of the hypothesis that it may have been precisely the opposite.

In this respect, one may recall the discussion on the origin of the *Hizōki* that has traditionally been centered around two theories, that is, either it is the record of Amoghavajra’s instruction to Huiguo, Kūkai’s handwritten notes of oral instructions received from Huiguo. The validity

⁸⁴¹ Ueda T. 1933: 142.

⁸⁴² BKD IX: 116d, s.v. *Sanmaiyakaigi*.

⁸⁴³ Endō 1972: 8 referring to the Heizei in KDZ II: 161, which corresponds to T. LXXXVIII, no. 2461: 2b29-c1: 入此乘者先須受戒此戒名三昧耶教曰眞言. Translation by Grapard (2000: 157).

of the first interpretation is solely depending on the connection of Amoghavajra's instructions on a single ritual procedure to a colophon attached to a *Hizōki* ritual manual that is allegedly imported by Ennin. As Abe says, "because Huiguo studied with Amoghavajra, such an identity does not necessarily suggest that he is the author of the *Hizōki*. On the other hand, the *Hizōki* contains many elements that emphasize the unity of the *garbha* and *vajradhātu* maṇḍalas and highlight the distinction between the exoteric and esoteric. These elements, absent in Amoghavajra's other writings, are the hallmark of Kūkai's texts".⁸⁴⁴

In the same way, also the HSBK invocation of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of both maṇḍalas stresses their unity, and the precepts expounded clearly make the distinction between the exoteric and esoteric approaches. Even though undoubtedly more research is needed, the undeniable presence of elements in the HSBK that are consistent with Kūkai's precepts view, as distilled from his own writings, suggests that questioning the HSBK's authenticity is no longer tenable.

In my view, the JHBK and KSK can very well have been two separate texts that actually comprise Kūkai's notes of oral instructions he received from Huiguo during his stay in China between 804-806. Upon his return to Japan these were later (cf. *infra*) combined into one ritual manual, the HSBK, which has always circulated together with his SKJ, being its "preface" that contains the sprouts for the JJSR, his *magnum opus* compiled on imperial command around 830.

It has also been pointed out that the ritual procedure of the HSBK appears to be based on such texts as the JBKG and the MSZ. That is, while the mantras are borrowed from the former, the format of the precepts conferral ritual as such is taken from the latter. However, the four capital and the ten important prohibitions expounded in the HSBK are not attested in the JBKG, and while the ten important prohibitions are discussed in the MSZ, the four are not. The ten important prohibitions are an elaboration on the four capital prohibitions, but only the four major prohibitions are considered to be the esoteric *pārājikā* offences. We can therefore argue that it was precisely the HSBK that added these key elements to the established esoteric initiation procedure, and brought it to a higher level. It is exactly with the exposition of the *pārājikā* offences in esoteric terms that the HSBK gives evidence of a culmination of an esotericization process of the Buddhist precepts.

⁸⁴⁴ Abe 1999: 487-488, n. 60.

Moreover, as already suggested by e.g. Yamasaki (1967), the close relation of the HSBK with texts of which the authenticity has not been questioned, such as the SKJ, *Kōnin* and *Heizei*, may indicate that the former has been composed at the same time when Kukai wrote the latter texts, i.e. ca. 822. Of course, he incorporated the guidelines of other guidebooks (such as the MSZ and JBKG) into the HSBK ritual manual, but –as for instance Abe (1999) has shown– exactly this strategy was crucial in his construction of esoteric Buddhist discourse.

Ultimately, it was in the HSBK ritual manual that Kūkai institutionalized the *samaya* precepts as a crucial tool to officially sanction entrance into the community of esoteric practitioners. They not only “signify a dramatic transformation”⁸⁴⁵ for the disciple, who by passing through this rite –as the HSBK says– ‘marks himself as a Buddha’, and is acknowledged as such by the esoteric community, but –as later divergent interpretations exemplify– also point at a crucial transformation in the perception of Buddhist precepts in Japan.

Precepts taken by practitioners of various religious denominations exceed geographic boundaries and have been always transformed over time, but the *samaya* express the possibility to access the innermost essence of the original enlightened nature of humans,⁸⁴⁶ rather than being an ethic code administering practical regulations for all one’s daily actions.

As Kūkai said (see also chapter IV: 103-104), non-Buddhist denominations pursue an afterlife in heaven by cultivating the ‘ten good deeds’, *śrāvakas* rely on the ‘four noble truths’, and *pratyekabuddhas* cultivate vows for individual liberation, bodhisattvas practice the six *pārāmitās*, as well as the four methods, and cultivate the threefold pure precepts. However, the ‘precepts that are the mark of Buddha’ are the special precepts of esotericism,⁸⁴⁷ for indeed, with *samaya* being equality, or the universal identity with the entire cosmos as embodied in Mahāvairocana, one may conclude, perhaps with the paradox of the *samaya* code, that is, all beings are equal, but some realize it more than others...

⁸⁴⁵ Orzech 2011b: 85.

⁸⁴⁶ Yamasaki 1967: 255.

⁸⁴⁷ Endō 1972: 7.

POSTSCRIPT: RE-CONSIDERING “BUDDHIST ESOTERICISM”

As we move further into the twenty-first century, it has been pointed out that “the legitimacy of Western science and rationalism” is being challenged by two opposite, but mutually reinforcing, movements, which Arthur Melzer (professor in political science at Michigan State University) has called “the ancient force of religious orthodoxy and the ‘postmodern’ one of historicism and cultural relativism”.⁸⁴⁸ Indeed, in the age of globalized consumer capitalism, perhaps more than ever in the history of humankind, individuals feel an urge to construct ‘new’ ways to express their identity, based on a discourse of ‘difference’ and ‘uniqueness’ (see for instance, the *ganguro* or ‘black face’ alternative fashion trend of dyed hair and tanned skin amongst Japanese young female Tokyoites).

However, in a simultaneous reaction to an increasingly pluralistic world, there also appears a return to ‘traditional’ forms of *Weltanschauung*, that are highly influenced by orthodox interpretations of religion (one example of which being the activities of Europeans *jihadi*). In so far ‘historicism’ is perceived as “the theory and practice which privileges historical explanation on the grounds that *ideas, values, and practices ... are discrete products of particular cultures rather than trans-historical manifestations* of essential, universal features of human identity and society” (even though one might ask why historicism itself is repeating the same mistake by presenting yet another ‘trans-historical’ scheme, cf. ‘history’, ‘culture’, etc.), it may—as Melzer suggests—indeed be presented as a postmodern critique of absolutist conceptions of value and knowledge. Thus considered, historicism may very well relate both to cultural relativism, that is, *historicism is relativist* not only because it emphasizes an endless variety of cultures as peculiar individualizations, but also because it is ‘observer-dependent’, in the Mannheimian sense of “all historical knowledge is relational knowledge, and can only be formulated with reference to the position of the observer”.⁸⁴⁹

Writing dissertations also makes us observers, and it is precisely this observer-position that conditions our research perspectives. Ultimately, the pursuit of ‘objective’ knowledge cannot be totally free from any subjective contamination or bias, personal aims or purposes, but in accordance with contemporary standards of academic research, as an observer, one must at

⁸⁴⁸ Melzer 2006: 279.

⁸⁴⁹ Arnold 2010: 332-333, with added emphasis. The Jewish Hungarian-born sociologist Karl (a.k.a. Károly) Mannheim (1893-1947) is considered the founder of the sociology of knowledge.

least try to approach the research subject with an as high as possible degree of ‘epistemic objectiveness’ (or observer-*in*-dependence). One of the first steps, then, is to reflect on the ‘objectiveness’ not only of the methods that are at our disposal to conduct the research, but also of the categories that are available to describe its subject.

The subject of the present project pertains to the history of religions, and more precisely, focused on the emergence and development of ‘esoteric precepts’ of *samaya*, a term used as a literal translation of 密戒 (Jap. *mitsu-kai*). When asking, however, what this qualifier ‘esoteric’ in this context means, both primary sources and secondary works remain surprisingly silent. Moreover, it seems that historians of religion have used the term ‘esoteric’ to refer to a ‘special’ (and therefore ‘different’) category of ‘Buddhism’, without paying much (if any serious) attention to how they define it, nor to what its analytical utility might be when applied, for instance, in a discussion of ‘Buddhist’ phenomena in medieval Japan.⁸⁵⁰

Indeed, based on its semantic connections to the indigenous term *mikkyō*, it has been argued that the English word ‘esoteric’ is preferred over ‘tantric’ when addressing ‘Vajrayāna Buddhism’ in East Asia (including Japan).⁸⁵¹ However, the conditions of the possibility to impose derivations of the concept ‘esotericism’ on this context seem to be hardly of consideration.⁸⁵² Surely, as Griffith Foulk has insisted, even though “it is sometimes objected that historians, especially intellectual or religious historians, should not impose their own categories on the foreign countries they study,” the reality remains that “when it comes time to explain and interpret what one has learned, using one’s own language, and operating within the constraints of one’s own academic discipline, it is manifestly impossible to use only concepts borrowed from the foreign tradition that is the object of study”.⁸⁵³ In the context of this dissertation the main problem, however, is not the mere imposition of the qualifier ‘esoteric’ as such, but rather, the fact that this is often done without sufficient attention for the connotations this term may invoke to the English-versed reader who may have preconceptions about ‘esotericism’ quite different from those warranted in the East Asian Buddhist context.⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁵⁰ Exceptions are Payne 2006, Orzech 2006 and Orzech et al. 2010.

⁸⁵¹ On this preference, see e.g. Orzech 2006: 36. For “the trouble with Tantra” and the category of ‘Tantrism’, cf. *ibid.*: esp. 36-38.

⁸⁵² One, although implicit, exception to this negligence may be Orzech 2006.

⁸⁵³ T. Griffith Foulk 1992: 20, quoted in Orzech 2006: 33.

⁸⁵⁴ Although Groner 1990 in passing called for caution in the use of the term ‘esoteric’, because “in contemporary Western religious culture ‘esoteric’ can carry connotations unwarranted in the East Asian Buddhist context,” an in-depth treatment is still lacking.

Esoterism and/or esotericism: what's in a name?

According to *The MacMillan Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by the famous historian of religion Mircea Éliade (1907-1986), the English term 'esotericism' –formerly known as 'esoterism' – is borrowed from the French word '*ésotérisme*', which was first coined in 1828 by the French philosopher and historian Jacques Matter (1791-1864).⁸⁵⁵ The *Dictionnaire critique de l'ésotérisme* (1998),⁸⁵⁶ also contains an entry on the term's history. Here, the French historian of esotericism, Jean-Pierre Laurant (1935-) traces the recent use of the noun '*ésotérisme*' back to France of the 1830-40s, and simultaneously substantiates that the adjective '*ésotérique*' (English: esoteric) was already attested in documents of the end of the eighteenth century.⁸⁵⁷

Regardless of the question, whether it was the adjective or the noun that was first invented, there appears to be academic consensus over the fact that the emergence of both terms actually date back to a so-called 'epistemological rupture' that occurred already from the fifteenth century onwards.⁸⁵⁸ According to Carole Frosio, author of 'L'ésotérisme entre histoire et tradition' (published in the Brill series *Aries* I/1, 2001: 88-125), it is in this light that one may see "the creation of the more appropriate term 'esotericism' by Anglo-Saxon academics".⁸⁵⁹

Interestingly, Frosio refers to the opinion of proponents of so-called 'Western esotericism' that, generally speaking, there are two meanings of '*esotérisme*', namely "*ésotérisme comme connaissance secrète*" and "*ésotérisme comme type de connaissance ou d 'expérience renvoyant à un lieu, à un centre et partant de là, les moyens, les techniques destines à atteindre ce lieu*".⁸⁶⁰ Based on this double definition, Frosio makes a distinction between 'esoterism' and 'esotericism'. While the former in her view pertains to those two meanings, the latter, on the other hand, is limited to the history of 'Western' or 'occidental' esoteric currents that are "parfaitement circoncrits dans le temps et dans l'espace". As a consequence, she observes that "la recherché universitaire limite son accès au religieux à l'étude d'événements humains

⁸⁵⁵ Faivre 1986, referred to in Urban 1997: 31, n. 1, and also in von Stuckrad 2005: 80.

⁸⁵⁶ Edited by Jean Servier (1918-2000), an ethnologist, who was professor at the Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences in Montpellier.

⁸⁵⁷ Frosio 2001: 96; von Stuckrad 2005: 80. Laurant is the founder of *Politica hermetica*, an association for the study of the social influence of "Western" esoteric thought that publishes a journal of the same name.

⁸⁵⁸ Implied here is so-called "Renaissance Paganism", cf. von Stuckrad 2006.

⁸⁵⁹ Frosio 2001: 96, n. 4. Translated from French original.

⁸⁶⁰ Frosio 2001: 94, citing Faivre's *Accès de l'ésotérisme occidental*, vol. II: 14.

déroulés dans le temps et l'espace à partir de la conscience que des croyants ont d'une réalité "méta-empirique" exprimée de façon empirique".⁸⁶¹

Regardless of these discriminations, it has to be pointed out that both the English and the French words for 'esotericism' stem from the Greek ἐσωτερικός and refer to "what is 'inner' or hidden, what is known only to the initiated few, and closed to the majority of mankind in the exoteric world".⁸⁶² In other words, they bear a meaning of "what is interior and therefore out of sight".⁸⁶³ Indeed, just as Charles Orzech has pointed out, in its earliest usage, 'esotericism' appears in "a contrastive or binary pairing". This usage can be traced back to the early second-century claim in a satire by the Syrian rhetorician Lucian of Samosata (ca. 125-180 C.E.), that the founder of Western philosophy, Aristotle (384-322 B.C.E.), drew a distinction between his 'esoteric' and 'exoteric' works.⁸⁶⁴

Esotericism as form of thought

The first influential definition of 'esotericism' as an object of academic inquiry is in the work of Antoine Faivre (emeritus of the École Pratique des Hautes Études at the Sorbonne), who is considered the 'father' of the study of 'Western esotericism' in the European academia. Given that Faivre aspires to respect cultural 'differences',⁸⁶⁵ he restricts himself to "modern and contemporary currents of Western esotericism," and dismisses "essentialist, universalist, doctrinal and thematic criteriologies of esotericism as inadequate."⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶¹ Frosio 2001: 96-97.

⁸⁶² Urban 1997: 1. For other definitions drawn upon standard dictionary entries, see: Bagley 1992: esp. 231-232.

⁸⁶³ Orzech 2006: 39.

⁸⁶⁴ Orzech 2006: 39, where he refers to Urban 2003: 273-274. See also von Stuckrad 2005: 80, which mentions that the term 'exoteric' is older than 'esoteric'. There is also an increasing attention for the study of esotericism in the work of other philosophers. See e.g. the treatment of Heidegger by Waite 1998, of Machiavelli, Galileo, Leibniz and others in Bagley 1992: esp. 232-235, or of Diderot, Toland, and Rousseau in Melzer 2006: esp. 280.

⁸⁶⁵ Faivre 1992: 18, cited in Frosio 2001: 98: "Du mot ésotérisme, il s'agit de faire bon usage. De ne pas le considérer comme porteur d'une valeur spirituelle ou sémantique que par lui-même il ne détient pas [...] De considérer qu'il s'agit d'une forme d'esprit, d'un style d'imaginaire [...] L'approche propose ici traduit un double souci. D'une part, le respect des différences; d'autre part, la nécessité d'une recherche empirique, sans a priori idéologique, des voies transverbales ou des chemins de raccords." ⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶⁶ Faivre explains this in his definitive book *Access to Western Esotericism* (New York, State University of New York Press: 1994; which includes the first English edition of his *Accès de l'ésotérisme occidental*, Paris: Gallimard, 1986). In contrast to a typology that is clearly delimited in time and place, e.g. Faivre's restriction to 'modern' and 'Western' currents, "essentialist criteriologies define 'esotericism' as a universal and therefore trans-historical phenomenon; although its manifestations may differ, the essence of 'esotericism' is always and everywhere the same." Even though "essentialist criteriologies are universal, but not all universalist criteriologies are essentialist," Faivre nevertheless rejects non-essentialist universalist criteriologies of esotericism". His example is Pierre A. Riffard's identification of esotericism as an 'anthropological structure' (cf.

The main criterion for his approach to ‘esotericism’ is a family resemblance based on “a form of thought” (French: *forme the pensée*),⁸⁶⁷ that has six fundamental characteristics: (1) universal interdependence; (2) living nature; (3) imagination and mediations; (4) transmutation, (5) praxis of concordance; (6) transmission. The first four he calls ‘intrinsic’ or indispensable, the latter two ‘secondary’ or ‘relative’, that is, these features do often, but not always occur.⁸⁶⁸

infra). “Faivre’s objection is twofold. First he rejects the conception of an esotericism *sui generis*. Each of the component elements of the form of thought that it has been argued to call esoteric, presents itself only as a theoretical generalization starting from empirical data (concrete historical ideas). Second, in Faivre’s opinion Riffard’s model aspires to be far too global. Using his model, the field of esotericism would once more escape being made coherent, approachable and manageable.” (McCalla 2001: 440-441, referring to Faivre 2000: xxv, xxviii). It has also been observed that “religionism and a universalist or essentialist criteriology are often found together.” (McCalla 2001: 442). Doctrinal criteriologies, on the other hand, “start from sectarian presuppositions bearing on what esotericism ‘should’ be... Such criteria reproduce the various ways in which esotericists have themselves attempted to codify it, and are usually invoked for the purpose of placing their own sectarian programmes above those of others.” (McCalla 2001: 441, referring to Faivre 2000: xxviii) A thematic criteriology, which “defines esotericism on the basis of favoured themes –androgyny, sophiology, the World Soul, and so on– cannot account for the nature of esotericism, because, Faivre argues, while esotericism as he understands it has indeed favoured these themes, none of them belongs to it exclusively. As elements of mythologies, it is to the mythic in general that they refer [...or in other cases,] they refer to archetypes rather than to mental attitudes more directly connected with historical conditions.” (McCalla 2001: 441, referring to Faivre 2000: xxviii)

⁸⁶⁷ According to Faivre, the esoteric “form of thought” is just another form next to a scientific, theological or utopian one, cf. Faivre 1994: esp. 15ff. See also the critique on the vagueness of this concept in McCalla 2001: esp. 436 and 443-444.

⁸⁶⁸ According to von Stuckrad 2005: 82: “Faivre insists that only those currents are correctly labeled ‘esotericism’ that show all four ‘intrinsic’ characteristics, even if with different emphasis.” These are: (1) *Universal interdependence* or symbolic and real *correspondences* between all, i.e. both hidden and visible, parts of the universe. These are to be read and decoded because “everything is a sign; everything conceals and exudes mystery; every object hides a secret.” (Faivre 1994: 10. This feature refers to the Hermetic notion of ‘what is below is like what is above’, cf. e.g. von Stuckrad 2005: 82); (2) A perception of *living nature* based on the view of the cosmos as a manifold and hierarchic unity that is as a whole a living being. Nature is rich in potential experiences and should be read as a book. Faivre notes that since the beginning of the twentieth century there has arisen a “monistic spiritualism”, inspired by eastern mysticism, where nature is left out or even denied (Faivre 1994: 11-12); (3) *Imagination* as a visionary faculty and the use of *mediations* such as rituals, symbolic images, mandalas, intermediary spirits, etc. (Von Stuckrad 2005: 82: “Imagination is an ‘organ of the soul’ and is key to concentration in magical work [while] mediation means contact with intermediary entities that serve as informants and messengers to the absolute truth”) Where mysticism views fantasy as an obstacle, esotericism views it as a possibility. Faivre describes it colourfully: “Understood in this way fantasy (*imaginato* is related to *magnet, magia, imagio*) is a tool for those who wish to reach knowledge about the self, the world and the myth. It is the eye of fire which penetrates the shell of the outer appearance to make the true significations appear, and uncovers the ‘connections’ which makes the invisible visible to expand our mundane seeing; the ‘*mundus imaginalis*’ to which the mundane eye of flesh has no access.” (Faivre 1994: 12-13); (4) The possibility of the *experience of transmutation* (note *not* “transformation”, because in Faivre’s view, “this does not necessarily signify the passage from one plane to another, not the modification of the subject in its very nature”) or metamorphosis, “consisting in allowing no separation between knowledge (gnosis) and inner experience, or intellectual activity and active imagination” (Faivre 1994: 13) (5) A *praxis of concordance*, that is acknowledging differences and harmonies between all religions and teachings, and finding common denominators to unite or “melding them into a single crucible” (Faivre 1994: 14); and (6) Emphasis on *transmission*, that is, the “esoteric” knowledge can and must be transferred from teacher to student according to a given pattern during initiation. See: Faivre 1994: 14-15, with added italics.

Esotericism as group mentality with an internal structure

In contrast to Faivre, who historically and geographically delimits 'esotericism', Lee Irwin (professor of religious studies at the College of Charleston, and specialist in the history of Native American religions) considers 'esotericism' as a 'global' phenomenon⁸⁶⁹ that may be defined in two ways. That is, either in terms of "its external social relations and tensions with parent religious traditions, [as well as] its place within a larger cultural context often ignorant or dismissive of esoteric concerns, or [in terms of] its internal sanctioning processes by which members become fully fledged masters of their school."⁸⁷⁰

According to Irwin, 'esotericism' can be characterized as an "external group mentality" centered on three intersecting aspects, and internally as built around a fourfold structural core. The three aspects are: (1) hierarchical; (2) socially secretive, and (3) relatively unknown or marginalized by a conservative majority of a conventional religious tradition. The five key elements of the structural core comprise: (1) the unfolding spiritual teachings in a progressive, step-by-step manner; (2) the presence of a concept of 'initiatic grace'; (3) the relation to "unique and special theologies whose cosmic dimensions are highly personalized"; (4) the "incorporation of physical disciplines borrowed from various Yogic ... and Tantric ... schools; and (5) a recasting of cosmological perceptions and beliefs as impacted by theories in modern science".⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁹ He writes: "Increasingly, the structural contents of contemporary American esoteric thought are being borrowed from highly diverse sources, particularly Eastern religions which have become increasingly popular and widespread. The entire "new age" movement is largely a deconstruction of normative, exoteric Christianity through a process of gradual acceptance of Eastern teachings, many of which are highly esoteric. For example, Tibetan Buddhism has increasingly influenced both American and Europeans through the formation of various institutions, monasteries, and popular teachers, who give open seminars on Tantra, teach meditation, hold empowerment ceremonies, and instruct Westerners in various esoteric arts or practices. ... The *global future of esotericism is not and cannot be bound by its relationship to any particular religious tradition or institution*. The history of increasing religious pluralism on a global scale reflects an opening of intellectual and spiritual horizons which can only result in *an increasing complexity in future conceptualization of "esotericism"*. Scholarship in this area needs to address itself to a greater analysis of the *multi-traditional influences* that have impacted the formative history of esotericism in both Europe and America. Further, the impact of this cross-fertilization has also impacted thought and perception in the religious cultures of India, Japan, and Southeast Asia (and somewhat less, China). The influence is not only one way, but part of a greater international exchange, starting in the nineteenth century with ideas that have profoundly affected Eastern thinkers like Aurobindo or Gandhi or the Dalai Lama and certainly has affected the many Eastern teachers that have emigrated to western countries. In the process, *the very core concepts of Eastern religions are changing and evolving*, as are the esoteric teachings of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In such dynamic circumstances, the liminal group or the creative individual who is not part of a particular religious tradition has an incredible wealth of materials to draw on in formulating an esoteric view of spirituality. In such a context, the future of esotericism will surely become increasingly global, international, and pluralistic." (Irwin 2001: 33-34, emphasis added)

⁸⁷⁰ Irwin 2001: 2.

⁸⁷¹ When considered externally, the three intersecting aspects are: (1) *Hierarchical*, which in his view, is evident from the transmission of the teachings from master to disciple. This is possible only "in successive stages of

Esotericism as Janus-faced elitism

A third approach to 'esotericism' is advocated by Hugh Urban (cf. supra). He argues that "the esoteric tradition is based on a central Janus-faced identity or a clear split between the esoteric and exoteric realms." That is, "it allows the individual to live a seemingly orthodox, traditional, conservative life in the outer social world, while at the same time, leading a secret inner life, often involving powerful heterodox or even antinomian esoteric practices".⁸⁷² Based on this, Urban advocates that esotericism, contrary to many popular conceptions,⁸⁷³ is "by no means primarily a "counter-cultural" or "subversive" [nor revolutionary] phenomenon." Rather, it is very often an elitist phenomenon, the province of highly educated, affluent and powerful intellectuals, who wish, not to undermine [nor over-throw] existing social [or

initiatric training, and after sufficient preparation requiring lengthy periods of discipline and often special empowerment rituals." In other words, "the central condition for accessing esoteric knowledge is membership in a relatively small circle of usually male practitioners." (Irwin 2001: 1); (2) *Socially secretive*. This idea relates to his definition of esotericism as those "teachings or practices that resist orthodox interpretations, and are 'hidden' because of issues of political or religious persecution". (Irwin 2001: 1. For a treatment of 'forbidding knowledge' in European esoteric traditions, see Allen 1996); and (3) *Relatively unknown or marginalized by a conservative majority of a conventional religious tradition*, which as Irwin argues, "stems from an extrapolation of the tension between the 'known' or commonly accepted orthodoxy of a religious tradition and the 'unknown' (or institutionally unrecognized) teachings or practices of various esoteric groups within that religious tradition." Therefore, "the status of such groups is often marginalized by the refusal of the parent religion to recognize the legitimacy of various non-conventional interpretations or practices." (Irwin 2001: 1. Italics added)

In addition, Irwin maintains that there is a structural core inherent to esotericism, which comprises five key aspects: (1) Unfolding spiritual teachings in a *progressive, step-by-step manner* "(even where spontaneity is emphasized) that leads to new insights and awareness." According to Irwin, this phased process is further "elaborated in a series of gradual revelation, or progressive insights, leading to desired realizations of spiritual truth", and may be facilitated by employing "elaborate rituals, ceremonial initiations, moral and ethical training, physical disciplines, and inner development techniques that are taught over a sustained period of learning." (Irwin 2001: 5, emphasis added); (2) Presence of a concept of '*initiatric grace*' or "the transfer of power or special ability from a teacher to a student." This he relates to the idea that the "inner structural process of esoteric transmission of understanding" does not only occur "through the simple learning of intellectual ideas or the mastery of a certain vocabulary or external ritual behavior." On the contrary, it is the transmission itself that one is to regard as "a medium of spiritual affirmation, an 'awakening' by which the recipient comes to fully value the reality of that which is transmitted." Moreover, this empowerment is conceived "as a psychic or soulful realization of fluid currents and emanations that constitute a more illumined state of awareness or a more empowered state of being," and these currents are often "related to cosmic entities, sometimes mythicized and sometimes not, whose value is expressed in symbols of unification or harmonic wholeness." (Irwin 2001: 5-6); (3) The relationship to "*unique and special theologies whose cosmic dimensions are highly personalized*" and "involve an often radical re-personalization of the physical world." (Irwin 2001: 6); (4) The "*incorporation of physical disciplines borrowed from various Yogic ... and Tantric ... schools*, [including] meditation, recitation of sacred names, the use of ritual implements and drawings, arcane gestures, combined with visualization techniques." (Irwin 2001: 6-7); and (5) especially in contemporary globalized forms, "a *recasting of cosmological perceptions* and beliefs as impacted by theories in modern science". (Irwin 2001: 7-8. With added emphasis)

⁸⁷² For this, he draws upon the work of Gerhard (a.k.a. Gershom) Scholem (1897-1982), a specialist in Jewish mysticism who worked at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Urban 1997: 3. For more information on Jewish mysticism, see e.g. Berman 2009.

⁸⁷³ See e.g. Morrisson 2008; and also von Stuckrad 2005: esp. 81.

religious and political] structures, but subtly to reinforce them, or else bend and reshape them according to [or in order to suit] their own [private] interests”.⁸⁷⁴

In short, Urban perceives esotericism as a type of elitism that employs “three primary strategies”: (1) What one might call a *social strategy*, namely “the creation of a new social space or private sphere, which promises ‘equality’ and liberation for all classes, while at the same time constructing new and more rigid hierarchies”; (2) a *hermeneutical strategy* or “style of reading texts”, which “appropriates the authority of traditional scriptures, while at the same time asserting the superiority of esoteric exegesis”; (3) a *ritual strategy*, which in his view, is enacted especially through secret initiation, and “creates a homology between the body of the initiate, the hierarchy of the cosmos and the hierarchy of the esoteric sect, inscribing the individual in the body of the order, and inscribing the order into the human body.”⁸⁷⁵

Esotericism as gnosis

As editor-in-chief of *Esoterica*, an academic journal for the study of esotericism, Arthur Versluis wrote in his ‘Gnosis: A Modest Proposal’ (2002) that “no single methodological approach –be it empirico-historical, typological, internal, or otherwise– should dominate this field of study, for each genuinely investigative approach has something to offer in developing a broader and deeper understanding of esotericism.” A fourth definition, therefore, is his description of ‘esotericism’ as “a term referring to cosmological or metaphysical religious or spiritual knowledge that is restricted to or intended for a limited group, and not for society at large.” In other words, he perceives the word ‘esoteric’ as referring to “secret or semi-secret spiritual knowledge, including both cosmological and metaphysical gnosis ... [as well as] phenomena classed as mysticism.”

⁸⁷⁴ Urban 1997: 1; original emphasis left aside, and additions taken from *ibid.*: 3. For his conception of “elitism”, see *ibid.* 32, n. 7. In this reasoning, esotericism may be less ‘socially secretive’ than at first glance suggested in Irwin’s aforementioned external characterization. However, also Irwin acknowledges the ‘elitist’ aspect: “Another aspect of esotericism is the problem of “elitism” or the tendency for esoteric schools to emphasize adherence to core doctrines that are intellectually sophisticated but requisite for advancement into the “advanced” circles of that school. In turn, this tends to reinforce tensions between in-group and out-group members who do or do not conform to the intellectual or emotional expectations of the core membership. The authoritative structures of esotericism have revolved around the experiences of the founder, the elaboration of teachings and practices based on foundational experience presented in a “graded” advancement, the sanctioning of advanced members who have reduplicated the requisite experiences, the training of members in various types of arcane lore, and the conferring of status titles on those considered to have mastered the full teachings of the school.” (Irwin 2001: 2)

⁸⁷⁵ Urban 1997: 1, with additions taken from *ibid.* p. 4. The term ‘social strategy’ is my interpretation.

Central to his interpretation is that he considers the concept of ‘gnosis’ as the core characteristic of esotericism.⁸⁷⁶ He further advocates that the recognition of the ‘unique’ nature of ‘esotericism’ is the condition for its full development as a field of scholarly inquiry. In his view, this ‘uniqueness’ lies not in its “trans-disciplinary nature alone, but the fact that its manifold currents are each concerned with new ways of knowing, with the transcendence of the self-other dichotomy.” Thus, “while purely historical research obviously has its place in this field, the most important works will be those ... that also seek to reveal the kinds of consciousness esotericism entails, that seek to bring us into new ways of seeing and knowing.”⁸⁷⁷

⁸⁷⁶ “I choose to define esotericism primarily in terms of gnosis because gnosis, of whatever kind, is precisely what is esoteric within esotericism. ‘Esotericism’ describes the historical phenomena to be studied; ‘gnosis’ describes that which is esoteric, hidden, protected, and transmitted within these historical phenomena. Without hidden knowledge to be transmitted in one fashion or another, one does not have esotericism.” (Versluis 2002: 10) According to Versluis, there are two meanings or layers of gnosis, namely: (1) cosmological gnosis, which is “knowledge or direct perception of hidden or esoteric aspects of the cosmos” and “still entails a subtle dualism of subject-object”, but “to some extent belongs to the realm of knowledge, and reveals correspondences between subject and object, or between humanity and the natural world” upon which one draws “in order to achieve some aim”; and (2) metaphysical gnosis, which he defines as non-dualistic and “direct spiritual insight into complete transcendence.” (Versluis 2002: 2)

In his view, the word “gnosis” thus refers to “direct spiritual insight into the nature of the cosmos and of oneself” and while “cosmological gnosis... illuminates the hidden patterns of nature as expressing spiritual or magical truths... metaphysical gnosis, on the other hand, represents direct insight into the transcendent. These terms are not mutually exclusive but exist on a continuum: visionary experiences in general belong to the realm of cosmological gnosis, but they may nonetheless convey metaphysical gnosis.” (Versluis 2002: 10)

Versluis’ main argument is based on the idea that esoteric phenomena are “connected primarily by one thing: that to enter into the particular arcane discipline is to come to realize for oneself secret knowledge about the cosmos and its transcendence. This secret or hidden knowledge is not a product of reason alone, but of gnosis—according to esotericism, it derives from a supra-rational source.” Therefore, “we cannot adequately investigate, singly or comparatively, variants of esotericism without an awareness from the outset that we are entering into unfamiliar territory for the strictly rationalist or scientific mind, and that in order to understand it in any genuine way, we will have to learn at least imaginatively to enter into it.” (Versluis 2002: 11)

In other words: What we are discussing here is no simple matter. For while the conventional historian must work with rather straightforward historical data –dates, events, major figures– to this the historian of esotericism must also confront an entirely new additional dimension that we may as well describe from the outset as gnosis. This dimension cannot be addressed by conventional history alone, precisely because gnosis represents insight into that which is held to transcend history. A visionary revelation, for instance, occurs in time, but according to the visionary that which is revealed does not belong to time alone. As eighteenth-century visionary Jane Lead wrote, to enter into the visionary realm, one must cast off from the “shore of time.” So must the historian of esotericism attempt to do, at least imaginatively if not in fact, or his or her history may well devolve into mere reductionism and even denigration due to a failure of understanding. And this imaginative effort is all the more difficult if one is attempting to deal with not one but two culturally disparate forms of esotericism. (Versluis 2002: 11) For Versluis “the effort to enter into the perspective one is studying” is “the adventure the study of esotericism offers the scholar that few other fields can present”. (Versluis 2002: 12)

⁸⁷⁷ Versluis 2002: 13.

Esotericism as anthropological structure

The fifth, and perhaps most controversial, definition of ‘esotericism’ is found in the book *L’ésotérisme: Qu’est-ce que l’ésotérisme* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1990) by Pierre Riffard. He perceives esotericism as “an anthropological structure”, meaning that “it is fundamental to being, one finds it in all societies, in all periods, on various levels, more or less hidden, but always there. Where man is, there is esotericism, because mystery is the stuff of humanity and constitutes man.”⁸⁷⁸ As the title of his second *magnum opus* suggests, i.e. *Esotérismes d’ailleurs – Les ésotérismes non-occidentaux: primitifs, civilisateurs, indiens, extrême-orientaux, monotheïstes* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1997), he does not restrict his research to ‘Western’ forms of esotericism.

On the contrary, according to Riffard, esotericism can be defined as “an occult teaching, doctrine or theory, technique or procedure, of symbolic expression, metaphysic order and initiatic intention,”⁸⁷⁹ or in other words, “an esotericism is a teaching that takes the form of a secret doctrine or an initiatic organization, a spiritual practice or an occult art.”⁸⁸⁰ Subsequently, he lists “eight invariants” that characterize the anthropological structure of esotericism “wherever and whenever it manifests itself”:⁸⁸¹ (1) authorial impersonality; (2) an opposition of esoteric to exoteric; (3) the concept of the “subtle” mediating between spirit and matter; (4) a theory of correspondences; (5) the esoteric significance of numbers; (6) the ‘occult sciences’; (7) the ‘occult arts’; (8) initiation.⁸⁸²

Moreover, Riffard identifies two methods for gaining knowledge of esotericism: the external method of the scholars, which considers esotericism as a fact to be studied by means of critical-historical, comparative, phenomenological, structuralist and anthropological approaches, and the internal method of the esotericists themselves, which reveals itself as the adept’s reflection on esotericism itself, a form of self-analysis.⁸⁸³ As Riffard concludes, “while the external method is indispensable for authorial identification, dating, establishment of texts and restoration of works, and understanding of the cultural milieu, the internal method remains indispensable for all that is related to meaning rather than to facts. In short, the

⁸⁷⁸ Riffard 1990: 135, cited in Hanegraaff 1998: 22 and in McCalla 2001: 440.

⁸⁷⁹ Riffard 1983: 125, translated from French original.

⁸⁸⁰ Riffard 2008: 96, translated from French original.

⁸⁸¹ McCalla 2001: 440.

⁸⁸² Riffard 1990: 245-306, referred to in Faivre 1994: 16 and Versluis 2002: 8, esp. n. 21. For a brief discussion of Riffard’s work, see: Riffard 1998: esp. 63-74.

⁸⁸³ Riffard 1998: 63.

external method deals with what is circumstantial; the esoteric method expresses what is fundamental.”⁸⁸⁴

Thus, from the above five criteriologies, it is clear that historians of esotericism have made substantial efforts to define what they mean by the term ‘esotericism’. We can present these typologies in a table (displayed on the next page), ranging from Faivre’s ‘form of thought’ as a family resemblance of ‘modern and Western currents’ to Riffard’s universal ‘anthropological structure’. Now, as examples from our preceding study on the HSBK (marked in bold additions in table 16) suggest, these definitions are also potentially valid characterizations of ‘esoteric’ Buddhism.

Studying esotericism

According to Pierre A. Riffard (professor of philosophy, Université des Antilles et de la Guyane), when talking about those who study esotericism, whether privately or in academia, one must distinguish between the esoteric practitioner, or ‘esotericist’ (French: l’ésotériste), and the ‘esoterologist’ (French: l’ésotérologue).⁸⁸⁵ That is, at least in his view, “the esoterologist is a researcher who departs from the hidden in order to go to the known, from the invisible to the visible, and opposes himself from that moment onwards from the esoteric, a searcher of the inaccessible star in a world that is foreign to the intellectual mind”.⁸⁸⁶ Thus, the study of esotericism (again, French: ésotérisme) may be called ‘esoterology’ (French: ésotérologie) or perhaps even ‘esoteric studies’.⁸⁸⁷

That is, “synthetic and theoretical knowledge that is able to compare and interpret, search for patterns and types, and find structures and functions,” the goals of which are, amongst others, “the history of esotericism in general, the study of the idea of esotericism, and the analysis of its object, its method, its production, its language, its influence and conditions”.⁸⁸⁸

⁸⁸⁴ Riffard 1998: 73-74, cited in McCalla 2001: 442.

⁸⁸⁵ Riffard 1990: 12-13, cited in Frosio 2001: 98. A similar discussion, that is the distinction between Buddhologist, Buddhist theorist, Buddhist practitioner, and Buddhist, is Wallace 1999.

⁸⁸⁶ Frosio 2001: 98. Translated from French original.

⁸⁸⁷ The term “esoteric studies” is my interpretation, by analogy with “Buddhist studies” for “Buddhology”.

⁸⁸⁸ Riffard 1990: 54, cited in Frosio 2001: 98, translated from French original.

Table 16. Criteriologies of 'esoteric' and HSBK thought

FAIVRE “form of thought”	IRWIN		URBAN “Janus-faced elitist strategy”	VERSLUIS “gnosis”	RIFFARD “anthropological structure”	
	external “group mentality”	internal “structural core”				
universal interdependence (Svabhāva-Dharmakāya)	hierarchical (three masters)	progressive teaching (three abhiṣekas)	social equality/hierarchy (samaya/silence)	(semi-)secret knowledge (samaya code) cosmological/metaphysical (three secrets) religious/spiritual (sokushin jōbutsu)	authorial impersonality (HSBK)	
living nature (Svabhāva-Dharmakāya)	socially secretive (samaya-gāthā)	initiativ grace (kaitai)	hermeneutical authority/superiority traditional/esoteric text/exegesis (unsurpassed vs. citations)		opposition eso-/exoteric (Nikyōron)	
imagination & mediation (maṇḍala & worship)	relatively unknown/ marginalized (early Shingon)	personalized cosmos (Mahāvairocana)	Ritual homology of bodies human/cosmos (man-Buddha integration) initiate/order (bodhisattva-saṃgha)		the ‘subtle’ as mediator (subtle precepts)	
transmutation (man-Buddha integration)		physical disciplines (mantra and mudrā)			theory of correspondences (Buddhas – wisdoms – directions)	
concordance (samaya // JJSR)		influence of modern science*				significance of numbers (four, eight, ten)
transmission (samaya as condition)						‘occult sciences’
						‘occult arts’
				initiation (HSBK)		

* According to Irwin, this applies only to contemporary globalized forms.

As noted above, against the background of an increasing globalization of capitalism, since the end of the nineteenth century, European and American scholars in religious studies share an growing interest in a wide variety of doctrines, texts, rituals, artifacts, and technologies, which have been classified under the heading ‘esotericism’, and they, in turn, have been termed esoterology or esoteric studies.

Until today, however, it must be pointed out that the production of knowledge on ‘esotericism’ appears to be highly conditioned by modern academic and cultural boundaries (see also Frosio’s comment above). This has resulted in a far-reaching disciplinary segmentation that, seems all too often coined along ‘East-West’ dichotomies, which is especially apparent in the emergence of such seemingly independent subfields as ‘Western esotericism’ and ‘Buddhist esotericism’.

Western esotericism

Despite the field’s concern with tracing terminological genealogies, it was not before the last decades of the twentieth century that the history of esotericism, with its purported origins in ‘Western’ philosophy, received official sanctioning as a field of scientific research.⁸⁸⁹ This was especially marked by the assignment of the worldwide first especially endowed chair for the ‘Histoire des courants ésotériques et mystiques dans l’Europe moderne et contemporaine’ (formerly ‘Histoire de l’ésotérisme Chrétien’ established in 1965) to Antoine Faivre in the École Pratique des Hautes Études at the Sorbonne in 1979. The following year, the Hermetic Academy was founded in the United States.⁸⁹⁰

From 1986 onwards, this association has created several research projects within the American Academy of Religion (AAR), and departing in 2004 ‘Western esotericism’ became a permanent program unit.⁸⁹¹ Another important center for esoteric studies was established in 1999 at the University of Amsterdam, where a whole Bachelor and Master program is dedicated to the study of ‘Western esotericism’, and where Wouter Hanegraaff holds a

⁸⁸⁹ McCalla 2001: 440, which also includes a list of pioneers in the scholarly treatment of ‘Western’ esoteric currents. According to von Stuckrad 2005: 80-81, research into what today would be called ‘Western esotericism’ dates back to Frances Yates, 1899-1981.

⁸⁹⁰ Faivre 1999: x.

⁸⁹¹ Hanegraaff 2009: 126.

specially endowed university chair for the study of Western esotericism –in particular, for the study of Hermeticism and related currents.⁸⁹²

Following the work of Faivre, other internationally established scholars, such as Hanegraaf and Arthur Versluis (Michigan State University) launched peer-reviewed academic journals such as *Aries* and *Esoterica*. Their editorial boards, in turn, hosted international workshops and symposia on the subject, which soon culminated in the creation of new scholarly organizations, for example, the Association for the Study of Esotericism (ASE) in 2002 and the European Society for the Study of Western Esotericism (ESSWE) in 2005.

Buddhist esotericism

Historically speaking, there appears to have been a clear connection between the Western and Buddhist esotericism, also known as esoteric Buddhism (cf. *infra*). This can be perceived, for instance in the accounts given by Lee Irwin, who says: “In 1879 Olcott and Blavatsky visited India and met English esotericist A. P. Sinnett who published *Esoteric Buddhism* (1883) [...] Sinnett went on to publish many articles and books on theosophy and its connections with Eastern religions.”⁸⁹³ And also:

In 1880, Blavatsky and Olcott took five (lay) vows at a Buddhist temple in Galle, Ceylon, taking refuge in the Buddha as the first westerners and esotericists to embrace Theravāda Buddhism. In 1882, the Indian Theosophical Society was moved from Bombay to Adyar, where it is still active to the present. Olcott was invited to Japan (1888) by the Jōdo Shinshū (Pure Land) Buddhists where he gave over 75 lectures on Buddhism and Theosophy, contributing to rising interests in Japanese esotericism; in the same year the American writer Perceval Lowell published his popular *The Soul of the Far East* and in 1894, *Occult Japan*, specifically on ‘esoteric Shintō’.⁸⁹⁴

Even though this “history of connection and reference has yet to be fully researched or developed”,⁸⁹⁵ it is not very surprising that it were precisely leading representatives of the

⁸⁹² Frosio 2001: 88. For a list of ‘Academic Teaching Programs in Western Esotericism’, cf. Anonymous 2004 (*Aries*, vol. 4, no. 1: 121-124) or http://www.esswe.org/educational_programs.php, retrieved 22.12.2013.

⁸⁹³ Irwin 2001: 23, n. 97 refers to Fields 1992: 105. *Esoteric Buddhism* is also the title of an article by Charles Johnston, published in the Dublin University Review (July 1885), reprinted from Theosophical Siftings, vol. 1, no. 6 (cf. http://theosophical.ca/siftings/volume_1/Siftings_V1_A6c.pdf).

⁸⁹⁴ Irwin 2001: 23, n. 98 refers to Jackson 1981: 206-210; see also Fields 1992: 108.

⁸⁹⁵ Irwin 2001: 11.

very theosophy that became the object of studies in Western esotericism, who have introduced the term ‘esoteric Buddhism’ to the academia, even more because:

[The term] ‘esoteric Buddhism’ was first used to refer to *theosophical* doctrines passed down among supposedly initiated Buddhist masters, a theory put forward by the Theosophist A.P. Sinnett in his *Esoteric Buddhism* (1883). It is also found in the late-nineteenth-century writings of other Theosophists, notably H.P. Blavatsky. The term also appears in a pamphlet titled “Esoteric Buddhism” by Rev. W.E. Parson for the Council of the United Missions in Japan, 1886. About the same time, Edward Heneage Dering wrote two articles in “The Month” which were reprinted as *Esoteric Buddhism: The New Gospel of Atheism*, by Washbourne (1887). From there it apparently made its way into late essays of Max Müller (1901) and thence into the broader public consciousness. *This decidedly quirky and colonialist genealogy* is cause for caution in adopting the term “esoteric Buddhism,” though it appears that its origins have been largely forgotten.⁸⁹⁶

Just as is the case for ‘Western esotericism’, even though publications on ‘esoteric Buddhism’ date back to the early 1880s, over a century passed until from the 1970s onwards, esotericism as a phenomenon perceived in the Buddhist traditions of East Asia started to receive the attention of scholars working at European and American research institutes. This was partly triggered by the first translations of some basic Japanese introductions on the topic for the Anglophone public, such as Yamasaki’s *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism* (1988). The few available comprehensive English-language treatments, however, emerged only after the turn of the millennium, with the works of Ryūichi Abe (2000), Richard K. Payne (2006), and Charles D. Orzech et al. (2010).

Unlike the academic channels for scholars working on Western esotericism, however, European and American researchers of Buddhist esotericism are hardly organized in specialized institutions, and have very few academic societies and journals of their own. Many scholars are, therefore, still dependent on the goodwill of either established broad-ranged organizations (e.g. AAR and AAS), or specialized Japanese associations and scholarly journals, such as the Japanese Association for the Study of Esoteric Buddhism (Nihon Mikkyō Gakkai) at Taishō University. One noteworthy exception, perhaps, is the Society for Tantric Studies (STS), founded in 1985 by Charles Orzech (University of Glasgow, at that time in North Carolina, Greensboro), James Sanford (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), and Glen Hayes (Bloomfield College). Some aspects of “Buddhist esotericism” are also addressed in the *International Journal for Tantric Studies* (first issue August 1995).⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹⁶ Orzech 2006: 39–40, with added emphasis. See also Bogdan 2007: 14.

⁸⁹⁷ As Orzech points out, there is a close relation between “Tantric” and “Esoteric Buddhism”, for “esoteric is the term most frequently used by modern scholars to describe Tantras in East Asia,” or in other words, “of the

Approaching esotericism

Even though ‘Western’ and ‘Buddhist esotericism’ both are relatively new in the history of modern science, the approaches taken by historians of esotericism have already been criticized not only for being diverse, but also because they lack an overall methodology and precise criteria for the establishment of a global research framework.⁸⁹⁸ Or, as Hugh Urban (professor in Comparative Religions, Ohio State University) observed already over a decade ago, notwithstanding the fact that “there are, of course, many fine studies on specific [either ‘Western’ or ‘Buddhist’] esoteric traditions”, contemporary historical scholarship in esoteric studies remains largely fragmented in an array of research niches, for which “any broader cross-cultural framework” is still absent.⁸⁹⁹ This absence of dialogue and interaction is all the more surprising, when we recall that the study of ‘esoteric Buddhism’ was historically actually engaged in by the very students of what now has been termed ‘Western esotericism’.

However, this historical relation does not necessarily mean that one is to approach ‘esotericism’ solely from a ‘Western’ perspective. As Lee Irwin (professor of religious studies at the College of Charleston, and specialist in the history of Native American religions) cautioned in 2001, “a strictly “Western” approach to esotericism can only limit the perspective by which esoteric and spiritual practitioners are increasingly affected by currents quite beyond the normative history of European esotericism,” and “the very construction of “esotericism” as European is deeply problematic, even though there is without doubt a genuine history of esotericism on the European continent, particularly in its problematic rapprochement with Christianity”.⁹⁰⁰

Despite this unvarnished critique, nothing fundamental appears to have changed in the research mentality, since this urge for historical precision when dealing with “esoteric”

variety of terms replacing the term “Tantric” Buddhism, the word “Esoteric” is the most widely used”. (Orzech 2006: 30 and 39 respectively). For more information on the term ‘tantric Buddhism’, cf. *infra*.

⁸⁹⁸ Frosio 2001: 91 -92.

⁸⁹⁹ Urban 1997: 2. Four years earlier, Urban had pointed out that despite a growing interest the subject of esotericism, it remains not only “one of the most-persistent and pervasive, and yet also most poorly understood and most frequently distorted, aspects of the history of religions”, but also a subject that is “theoretically confused with in the [larger] academic community”. He simultaneously criticized the lack of “adequate attention given to the concrete social and political role of the esoteric traditions within their historical context.” (Urban 1997: 1-2) Indeed, the bulk of the analyses by historians of religions still “remain disappointingly general, universalistic, and largely divorced from the social and historical context... in which esoteric traditions emerge, and with which they are inextricably intertwined”. He therefore argues that esotericism has “by definition...very real and very direct social and political implications (i.e., the distinction between those who know and those who do not),” and that “if we ignore these dimensions, we are overlooking an extremely significant aspect of this complex phenomenon”. (Urban 1997: 2)

⁹⁰⁰ Irwin 2001: 32-33, with added emphasis.

subjects was still apparent in 2006, when regarding contemporary philological research on esoteric Buddhism, Charles Orzech saw himself compelled to warn his colleagues:

Indeed, our research must take account of the local social realities in a careful matter... the more removed one is from the setting of translation, the more local social realities and ideological systems dominate things. To deny such consideration would be, on the one hand, to obscure a remarkable pan-Asian phenomenon and, on the other hand, to obscure its local realities.⁹⁰¹

Moreover, in his introductory essay to *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia: a Handbook for Scholars* (E.J. Brill, 2011), which is the most recent and by far the only English-language comprehensive work on the subject, Orzech also expressed his concern with problems of such categories as “esoteric(-ism)” and “esoteric Buddhism”.⁹⁰² During the preparatory stages of the project, Orzech underscored not only the necessity “to disaggregate the all too often confused and confusing terminology,” but also emphasized that although “at some level all research and interpretation involves bias and teleology,” especially as historians, “we always stand in the present interpreting the past in terms of present concern”.⁹⁰³

This does not alter the fact, however, that both the perspective from which we approach the objects of our inquiry, as well as the terminologies and taxonomies we employ in order to analyze them should be clearly defined. In other words, as he wrote already in 2006:

Whatever else may be the case if we are historians, the taxonomies of later historical periods should not be applied to earlier phenomena without notice and explanation. Further, the taxonomies and hermeneutics of those we study (and their doctrinal, social, and ritual evolution) should not be conflated with our own taxonomies and hermeneutics... The construction, promulgation, and political and religious utility of such categories as “Tantric”, “esoteric” versus “exoteric,” “school” or “sect” and so on is not merely the purview of scholars – it is part of the fabric of historical and religious developments throughout history. Indeed, if we examine any of the major “sectarian” labels... we find that each is the vehicle for polemical definition and redefinition... Behind all this is the common, human penchant for seeing things in clear-cut binaries.... The metaphorical basis of such taxonomies is one of purity versus pollution and miscegenation, and it should be understood in the light of contemporary radical theories [of especially nineteenth-century Western scholars] as well as the history and development of religious taxonomies.⁹⁰⁴

⁹⁰¹ Orzech 2006: 34, with added emphasis.

⁹⁰² One exception might be the first attempt to bring a state of the field in Payne 2006.

⁹⁰³ First page of the draft, ‘Prelegomena to the Study of Esoteric Buddhism’ that was electronically distributed to the Brill project’s collaborating scholars in the course of 2010.

⁹⁰⁴ Orzech 2006: 32-35, emphasis partly in original. Ibid. 32, n. 14 refers to the introduction in Payne 2006: esp. 1-27. Among the examples given in this context is the anachronistic application of the late Edo period Japanese categories of *jun-* vs. *zōmitsu* to the Chinese canon or of the twelfth-century Tibetan four-fold taxonomy of Tantra to earlier materials in India.

In sum, even though scholars evidently use a ‘Western’ category such as ‘esoteric’ when they discuss aspects of ‘Buddhist culture’ in ‘the East’, one might ask why, then, have virtually no attempts thus far been made to, accordingly, also borrow from the methods applied in the study of ‘Western esotericism’ to approach such an ‘Eastern’ phenomenon as ‘esoteric Buddhism/Buddhist esotericism’. Of course, the main precondition for such an endeavor would be that we regard ‘esoteric Buddhism/Buddhist esotericism’, as a peculiar manifestation of a more general, perhaps universal, current of ‘esotericism’.

However, given that, as Melzer argues, contemporary scholars are “under the spell of the historicizing imperative”⁹⁰⁵, any notion that would surpass the emphasis on cultural ‘difference’ and social ‘locality’ of the historical instance, is likely to be inconceivable. But, does that necessarily have to keep us from at least try to consider its theoretical possibility, or must this withhold us from learning from the methods that our colleague-historians of religions apply to approach ‘their own’ and ‘different’, but in terminological terms quasi analogous field of ‘esotericism’? In short, without being aimed at providing a definite answer to the question of how ‘esotericism’ should or must ideally be defined or studied, the following is meant merely as an initial impetus to this dissertation’s reflections on the vows of ‘esoteric Buddhism’.

Towards a transcultural esotericism?

Let us take as a starting-point the working hypothesis that ‘esotericism’ may be considered as a ‘trans-cultural’ concept that has epistemic relevance in the historical study of religions. With ‘trans-cultural’ I mean it is free from what the Russian postmodern theorist Mikhail Epstein calls “the self-deification and fetishism of specific cultural groups”.⁹⁰⁶ In our case these ‘groups’ are the historians of religion who independently engage in the subjects of ‘Western esotericism’ and ‘Buddhist esotericism’. Departing from this premise, I will first address some of the representative contemporary approaches to ‘Western esotericism’, and subsequently turn to the question whether these may convincingly be transferred to ‘Buddhist esotericism’.

⁹⁰⁵ Melzer 2006: 279.

⁹⁰⁶ Although the notion ‘trans-cultural’ is object to academic debate and will surely be closer addressed in my future work, it is limited here to the Epsteinian notion of ‘trans-culture’. See: Epstein 1995: 10, referred to in Thurlow 2000.

Notwithstanding the evident increase in academic recognition, in her ‘Esotérisme entre Histoire et Tradition’, a review of Jean Servier’s *Dictionnaire critique de l’esotérisme*, Carole Frosio observes that a wide range of various topics are put under “the simple and unique denomination esotericism”.⁹⁰⁷ Indeed, the question is “what are the criteria for considering certain cultural phenomenon as ‘esoteric’?”⁹⁰⁸ Over the past decades, scholars working on the history of esotericism in religious traditions have tried to define their main subject’s hallmarks in matrix-like lists. While some characterizations approach esotericism as a universal, trans-historical phenomenon, and thus as a wide and inclusive field, other definitions present themselves as historical constructs that pertain only to one peculiar temporal and geographically delimited situation such as ‘modern and contemporary Western esoteric currents’.⁹⁰⁹

As for the first question, it seems that ‘esotericism’ has been defined either in terms of listing specific elements (such as esoteric exegesis and necessity of initiation), or by listing characteristics (for example, the use of special forms of yoga or the emphasis on the authority of the teacher).⁹¹⁰ Moreover, as shown above, it appears that at least some of the features also pertain to ‘esoteric’ Buddhism.

To recall a few features, as an external group mentality (Irwin), for instance, it is hierarchical in so far the several stages of initiation (or consecration) are accessible only after having trained for a certain time under a recognized master. There is clear evidence that since the ninth century, in the tradition that in later times would become known as the Shingon school, candidates are granted gradual access to the study of a twofold ritual system centered on the textual and mandalic lineages of the *garba-* and *vajradhātu*. Their progressive mastery of these systems is marked by several consecrations.⁹¹¹

In turn, also the fact that it is ‘marginalized by a conservative majority’ may apply to (certain historical instances) of ‘esoteric’ Buddhism. The bulk of the doctrinal interpretations and rituals of what in later generations would be termed as the Tachikawa-ryū that emerged in 14th century Japan, for instance, were considered heretic by the Shingon contemporaries of the Kōyasan Chūinryū. As for the internal core with personalized cosmologies, one could

⁹⁰⁷ Frosio 2001: 88, translated from French original.

⁹⁰⁸ Riffard 1990: 54, cited in Frosio 2001: 98.

⁹⁰⁹ For more perspectives, see: Hanegraaff 1998.

⁹¹⁰ Based on suggestions in Payne 2006: 9-10 regarding the category ‘Vajrayāna’.

⁹¹¹ On the problem of *-shū* as ‘school’, cf. Abe 2000 and Orzech 2006.

mention the perception of Mahāvairocana as the “cosmic Buddha”, who is identical to the entire *dharmadhātu*.

Also the social strategy (Urban) is apparent in ‘esoteric’ Buddhism/Buddhist esotericism in Japan. The writings of Kūkai (774-835), for instance, clearly indicate that all sentient beings are fundamentally equal in their potential for attaining enlightenment. However, based on the scheme of the “ten stages of mind” according to the individual’s capacities, which is coined on ‘traditional’ Mahāyānist classifications (such as *Bodhicittaśāstra*), Kūkai simultaneously draws an upward spiral of diverse teachings, culminating in the unsurpassed ‘esoteric’ approach. The ritual strategy is apparent, for instance, when prior to the initiation/consecration ceremony proper, the *samaya* precepts are conferred in order to underscore not only the identity of the individual and the (cosmic) buddha(s), but also the identity of initiate and *ācārya*.

Surely, also many other features would be applicable to (at least some form of historical instance of) ‘esoteric’ Buddhism, but the aforementioned examples may suffice for the present discussion. Thus, as things stand now, it appears that the established characterizations indeed may be transferred to ‘esoteric’ Buddhism. Would this mean, then, that in response to Urban’s aforementioned plea, these approaches have the potential to offer a larger framework for a cross- and/or trans-cultural definition of esotericism that is no longer confined to the esoteric traditions of European origin, but is also applicable to ‘non-Western’ forms of esoteric practice and thought?⁹¹²

Despite the fact that some features (e.g. mediation, hierarchy, cosmos, etc.) are reoccurring in several matrices, and may be applied to some instances of East Asian cultural phenomena that have been identified as representative of ‘esoteric’ Buddhism; the samples as such already clearly show that the existing category schemata of ‘esotericism’ are quite diverse and surely not universal.⁹¹³ Even when one would attempt to include all features of the available characterizations in one overarching ‘trans-cultural’ matrix, the problem –as Richard Payne points out– remains that the elements and/or characteristics listed (1) are not all found in every stance of the subject of interest; (2) do not exist separately from our use of them as generalizations; (3) are not all unique to the subject; (4) may reflect the self-understandings promoted by the religious tradition of the compiler of the list, rather than those of the tradition

⁹¹² See also Versluis 2002: 1-2, where he explicitly mentions the potential for the study of “Vajrayāna Buddhism”.

⁹¹³ See also Payne 2006: 2.

under consideration; (5) may be more speculative than well-grounded in historical evidence; and (6) imply a monolithic, unchanging, essentialized conception and normative vision of the subject, without attending to the differences in various bodies of literature that result from historical development.⁹¹⁴

Thus, the hypothesis of a ‘trans-cultural esotericism’ that does not take into account the ‘uniqueness’ of the historical instant seems not sustainable. However, does this imply that we have to ban all ‘esoteric’ from our studies of Vajrayāna in East Asia, or in the present case, from an inquiry on *samaya* precepts ritual in early Heian Japan?

Indeed, a core problem remains that a possible ‘trans-cultural’ characterization does not take into account the –at least in the light of the historicizing imperative of postmodernism– crucial specific historical, social and cultural contexts of concrete manifestations of one or the other ‘esoteric’ aspect, tradition, text or ritual. Moreover, as Payne points out, it is important to keep in mind what Derek Bickerton wrote on representation: “We observe reality from a point defined by our species (and cultural, and individual) makeup, our observations can only be made through representations, and *representations always both add to and subtract from what they represent*”.⁹¹⁵ In other words, “all representations are of necessity constructive and selective”.⁹¹⁶ A category such as ‘esotericism,’ therefore, is actually no more, but also no less, than “an (idealized) imaginal object”.⁹¹⁷ Thus, we have to keep in mind that, just like ‘religion’, ‘Western’, ‘modern’, ‘Christianity’, or ‘Buddhism’, also ‘esotericism’ is a constructed intellectual category.

In his call for critical reflection on the categories we use,⁹¹⁸ Payne leaves us to think about the following questions:⁹¹⁹ (1) Was the category employed by the historical figures being studied

⁹¹⁴ Based on Payne 2006: 10. Without going into much detail, or discussing all of his observations, for clarity’s sake some examples may be in place. Not all features are found in every stance of the subject of interest, may be clear, for instance, from the fact that Irwin’s second external feature of esotericism as being “socially secretive”, which largely relates to “persecution”, does not apply to the “esoteric” teachings of Amoghavajra in early 8th century Tang China. On the contrary, they were undoubtedly under the overt patronage of the state, rather than persecuted.⁹¹⁴ Further, the fact that not all aspects unique to the subject is perhaps most pertinent in the idea that access to esotericism is intrinsically bound to the condition or prerequisite of initiation, or in Frosio’s words, “un glissement entre “ésotérisme” et “initiation”, even though initiation processes are certainly not monopolized by esoteric traditions. (Frosio 2001: 93-94)

⁹¹⁵ Bickerton 1990: 233, cited in Payne 2008: 177. Emphasis added. While Payne is Dean of the Institute for Buddhist Studies at Berkeley, Bickerton is linguist and professor emeritus at the University of Hawaii, Manoa. Referred to here is his *Languages and Species* (1990)

⁹¹⁶ Payne 2008: 179.

⁹¹⁷ Payne 2008: 179.

⁹¹⁸ In his introduction to one of the only English-language collections of essays on *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006), Payne urges for critical awareness and reflection in our use of such categories: “In the study of a religious tradition, terminological considerations are more than simply definitions.

themselves (*emic*) or is it a later imaginative reconstruction (*etic*)?⁹²⁰ (2) What does the category occlude and what is its social utility? (3) What does the divergence of the category scheme from other schemata reveal about who has formulated it and about the things being categorized? (4) Which intellectual (such as doctrine, logic, and belief) and sociopolitical concerns does the history of the category scheme reflect? And (5), in how far do our own intellectual categories (e.g. religion vs. philosophy) correlate with the ‘object’ of our study?

In addition, according to Payne, the question of terminology and definition in the study of religion is currently approached from three dominant perspectives: the comparative, phenomenological, and postmodern approach. Even though he underscores that, “a fully informed study of religion considers all three as complementary and mutually corrective,”⁹²¹ the above-mentioned characterizations have shown that this is clearly not always the case.⁹²²

The ‘objects’ of our study are not natural entities, not things that can be pointed to, but rather social entities, constructions. This means that we cannot use ostensive definitions, those that simply point out an exemplary instance of a category. We need rather to recognize that the terms and categories employed are in large part our own creation, and avoid reifying them by turning them into objects existing independently of our use. As such, we are responsible for the terms we use and for using them with adequate reflection on the presumptions they bring –often covertly– into the field of study.” (Payne 2006: 3) That is to say, as he further points out, “categories ... are often simply presented as natural and unproblematic, as if the categories simply reflected some reality found out there” (Payne 2006: 2)

⁹¹⁹ Payne 2006: 2-3 drawing on the work of José Cabezón, who occupies the XIVth Dalai Lama Endowed Chair in Tibetan Buddhism and Cultural Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁹²⁰ Meant here is the anthropological distinction between *emic* and *etic* categories. “Emic categories are those used by a specific social group, while etic ones are those used by those outside that group to talk about that group.” (Payne 2006: 4) On the problematic nature of such an epistemological distinction, cf. Payne 2006: 228, n. 10.

⁹²¹ Payne 2006: 3.

⁹²² In Payne’s view, “comparative studies are interested in similarities and continuities between religious traditions, and as a consequence terms are used as a means of identifying general characteristics of religion found in various instances.” (Payne 2006: 3) Considering “esoteric Buddhism” or “Buddhist esotericism” and “Western esotericism” as part of a larger, category of “esotericism” may, I am aware, heavily depend on the argument by analogy, that is, “two things appear to be similar so there must be some significant connection between them.” Even though, as Payne pointed out, “in logic, the argument by analogy is considered to be one of the very weakest forms of argumentation,” still, “analogies are perhaps the most prevalent forms of argument” and in addition, “the argument by analogy is the core of the comparative method”. (Payne 2006: 23-24)

In his plea for a cross-cultural approach to ‘global esotericism’ as a ‘group mentality’ (cf. supra), Irwin emphasizes that esoteric traditions “sever themselves from a broader, global and international perspective of spirituality.” (Irwin 2001: 4. For the term ‘global esotericism’, see *ibid.*: esp. 30) He explains his view as follows: “Other models for understanding esoteric spirituality abound in Eastern religious traditions that are increasingly penetrating into Western social and cultural environments. Many of these “Eastern” models are being adapted to Euro-American cultural and social environments, resulting in the emergence of new forms of esotericism, neither conventionally Eastern nor Western ... [or] longer bound by ethnocentric histories of persecution or intellectual dismissal. This rich, fertile exchange of spiritual perspectives has resulted in a broadening of the concept of esotericism to increasingly embrace a multi-spiritual pluralism whose roots connect with religious traditions on a global basis. Buddhism [for example] can no longer be confined to Tibet, Japan, or Southeast Asia but is increasingly part of Euro-American religious thought ... while devotees of the Indian God Krishna can be found in major American and European cities. In this context, esotericism takes on a whole new dimension of meaning no longer connected to parent religious traditions in a local sense. The increasingly rapid exchange of views, the sharing of knowledge on a global basis (aided by electronic technologies) has increased the accessibility of esoteric texts and facilitated the formation of emergent global networks dedicated to esoteric studies. But

esoteric in what sense? In the headlong rush to communicate, much is in danger of being lost at the very same time that new horizons are opening through increased accessibility and sharing.” (Irwin 2001: 4-5) Although these networks seem to be still in an embryonic stage, also Riffard, who characterizes esotericism as an “anthropological structure” (cf. supra), argues for a comparative approach to esotericism. He even outlines some features that may form the basis criteria for a potential comparison: (1) mythical origins; (2) cosmic cycles; (3) chains of initiation; (4) secret books; (5) mystical names; (6) occult etymologies; (7) anagogic translation; (8) spiritual translation; and (9) magical uses of esoteric writings or art works. (Riffard 1998: 65-71, cited in Versluis 2002: 8.) Also Urban’s research on ‘Indian Tantra and French Freemasonry’ is clearly comparative. He phrases the goal of his work as follows: “Why do a comparison? Following J.Z. Smith, I suggest that the value of such a comparison is much the same value that we gain from a good metaphor, in Maw Black’s sense of the term: by bringing together and juxtaposing two different, previously unrelated things, we can gain new insights into both. I am by no means searching for some universal archetypes or deeper identity; rather, I am simply employing comparison as a pragmatic tool or heuristic device, which can help us to see new things that would otherwise go unnoticed.” (Urban 1997: 3) These attempts notwithstanding (another example of comparative studies of esotericism is the work of Durdjevic 2010), there appears to be still much resistance against such comparative endeavours from both scholars of ‘Western esotericism’ and of ‘esoteric Buddhism’, if not because “similarities alone ... are meaningless” and “their significance emerges only in the light of a theory, an idea about how things work,” (Payne 2006: 2) then because, especially from the phenomenological side (cf. infra), it is insisted that it is too early to engage in such studies for practical reasons: In the future, comparative esotericism will take its place as a subspecialty, but for now the field as a whole is in its infancy, with vast primary research yet to be done, whole histories yet to be written. Before we can compare European alchemy with that of South India, we must first have a firm grasp of European alchemy itself! And that is a goal as yet not attained, one that will require not only a wide range of knowledge, but the imaginative capacity to interpret it.” (Versluis 2002: 12. Other obvious reasons may include the lack of sufficient access to the material, the necessity of mobility for field research, or the need of adequate foreign language capacities).

Another approach is phenomenology. In following Payne’s view, phenomenological studies of religion may be considered as informed by two different understandings of the goal of study,” whereby “one usage ... is basically concerned with typology, that is, creating comprehensive systems of categories according to which the phenomena of religion may be understood.” The other he understands, is “informed by Husserlian phenomenology,” the goal of which is “the accurate description of experience so as to be able to characterize the objects of experience.” Both understandings, he adds, are however, “either in service of or not distinguished methodologically from the comparative understanding of the study of religion.” (Payne 2006: 3-4. For a study on the problem of the term “phenomenology of religion” and its correlation with ‘comparative religion’ and ‘typology’, see: Pye 1974) Although all five samples mentioned above, are clearly aimed at constructing matrices of characteristics for (their own analysis of) esotericism, at least two can be further included under the phenomenological approaches. First, this is clearly the case when considering the Faivrean “historicist approach”, which is largely confined to the typology of esotericism in the historical construct of “a form of thought”. On the other hand, the claim that the phenomenological approach is methodologically closely related to comparative studies may be illustrated with the aforementioned comparative work of Irwin, in which he simultaneously argues: “The *issue of experience* is crucial to many esoteric traditions, particularly those whose emphasis has been on the affirmation of mystical forms of spirituality. ... These tensions often revolve around the question of authority and who has the right to sanction or recognize the validity of any member’s religious experiences. Many esoteric traditions have embraced processes of internalization by which external religious beliefs are broken down and revalidated through *progressive experiences* often of an emotional, symbolic, and visionary nature. In turn, this has often led to new esoteric formulations critical of existing institutional beliefs or traditional doctrines. ... The *tensions between intellectual beliefs (or faith) as defined by institutionalized traditional authorities and religious experiences of the individual as a member of an esoteric group* are particularly acute when institutional religions are meshed with political authority. [...] From a “Western” historical perspective, the history of esotericism is inseparable from a history of persecution and mainstream institutional criticism by orthodox religionists ... who deny the value and importance of maintaining viable, non-orthodox *spiritual views* or alternative spiritual associations. Much of Western esotericism has been driven by a tense and often conflictual relationship with institutionalized religious authority.” (Irwin 2001: 2-3, with added emphasis) According to Versluis, who considers gnosis as being the central characteristic to esotericism, “it is wrong to valorise historical information while denigrating an esotericist’s insight into the tradition itself; in brief, an *emic* or internal approach may be much more valuable and insightful than an *etic* or external one.”⁹²² In order to substantiate this importance of research on experience, and also its validity in comparative studies, he gives the example of the work of Corbin: “If Riffard offers a framework for a methodological approach to comparative esotericism, a comparative esotericism in practice was created by Henri Corbin (1903-1978), whose many and influential books were based upon his phenomenological or internal approach to Islamic and primarily Persian

However, regardless of these three dominant methodological approaches in the study of the history of religions, there seems to be one common denominator shared not only by the contemporary scholars in the field of esotericism, but until today remains at the foundation of the scientific method, namely empiricism. Perhaps this is a helpful approach.

In the study of esotericism, there are mainly two forms, that is, ‘historiographic empiricism’ and ‘sympathetic empiricism’. The first type is especially apparent in the work of Wouter Hanegraaff.⁹²³ He argues that “an *a priori* typology might well be valid, but it should not be a

Sufi works, but with an eye to the works of such European figures as Swedenborg, Böhme, Oetinger, and Baader. Corbin is perhaps best known for bringing to the fore the concept of the *mundus imaginalis*, or imaginal realm of visionary encounters with revelatory spiritual figures. This concept of an imaginal realm had a substantial impact in the world of arts and letters as well as psychology ... Corbin revealed the spiritual worldview of figures like Sufi visionary Suhrawardi from what Corbin held to be the inside out –he saw things as much as possible from Suhrawardi’s own perspective while drawing on his own background in Western esotericism. ... Although he did not directly address methodological considerations in the rigorous way ... Corbin thus may be seen as a pioneer in the field of comparative esotericism, a pioneer who insisted on the central importance of understanding one’s esoteric subjects from within, not merely from without. Yet Corbin is in fact contemptuous of historicist emphasis on accumulating external data; for him, far more important is one’s understanding of the esoteric perspective about which one is writing. Of course, Corbin may well be charged with having gone beyond what is proper to the historian of religions precisely for this reason, but this charge he would probably wear as a badge of honor. For Corbin’s work is like that of no other scholar I know: with his open exhortation to his readers to enjoin in a “battle for the soul of the world,” to become warriors in a spiritual chivalry, to transcend what he saw as a modern imprisonment in mere history, to enter into the visionary world of Persian spirituality, his work may indeed be seen as a kind of spiritual exhortation as much as an effort in comparative esotericism.” (Versluis 2002: 9)

The third currently dominant approach is postmodern. According to Payne, it “focuses on the specific instance and its social, historical, and cultural locatedness,” a focus on the location of the specific that “arises from a self-reflective awareness of our own involvement in the creation and imposition of categories, often for reasons other than purely intellectual ones.” For postmodern studies, he further argues, “terms are in the service of making distinctions, and not with identifying similarities or establishing value-laden hierarchies.” (Payne 2006: 4) Although some aspects of the characterizations discussed above may to some extent be regarded a postmodern in their approach of esotericism, it is especially the recent work of Orzech that is exemplary in this context. In his ‘The “Great Teachings of Yoga,” the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism’ (2006), Orzech’s main focus is in fact on the “locatedness” of esoteric Buddhism: “Both Sharf and McBride credit Zanning (919-1001) as the source of the Esoteric school ... Sharf posits that a distinctive “Esoteric Buddhism” first arises as an exegetical category in the writings of Zanning at the end of the tenth century ... To sum up the findings of Sharf and McBride it would seem that, from the Six Dynasties through the Tang, the term “esoteric teaching” is used to designate what this or that writer feels is superior or best in the tradition, and it [is] only in the tenth century that we see the emergence of an exegetical category that contrasts “esoteric teaching” with “exoteric teaching” to designate a particular lineage, school, or tradition comparable to Shingon in Japan or Vajrayāna sects in Tibet.” (Orzech 2006: 42-44).

⁹²³ Hanegraaf is affiliated to the University of Amsterdam, cf. supra: 160. However, also Faivre advocates “an empirical, historical criterion of esotericism as the most conducive scholarly approach to its study.” (McCalla 2001: 441) In other words: Methodologically, it appears far more fruitful to begin with the empirical observation that esotericism is a Western concept, and that this concept derives from an ensemble of varied and sometimes problematic materials which are sufficiently challenging when studied within that context. It is a matter of studying the genesis and the various transformations of these modern Western esoteric currents in a diachronic way which highlights the differences and disruptive factors within the specific currents, as well as the affinity or antipathy evinced by these currents in their relationship to one another or in their relationship with other forms of thought. Thus, it is a matter of emphasising these things, rather than demonstrating a ‘continuity’ of what would be an overarching esotericism per se, above all traditions. (Faivre and Voss 1995: 63-64, cited in McCalla 2001: 441) According to McCalla, both Hanegraaf and Faivre argue that “empirical research must be based on methodological agnosticism with regard to religious and philosophical ‘first principles,’ and must fully recognize the historicity of religious phenomena.”⁹²³ According to McCalla (specialist in the history of the study of religion

foundation for understanding the field as a whole” and that indeed, “a fully-developed academic study of esotericism should give attention to all the dimensions which may be distinguished in religious traditions generally (social, ritual, experiential, doctrinal, mythic, ethical, and symbolic)”.⁹²⁴ Instead of applying *a priori* ideological constructs to esotericism as the subject of religious studies, he pleads for an “empiricist” and historiographic approach “with an informed, open, and, so much as possible, neutral mind”. Moreover, focussing on the distinction between the ‘religionist’ *emic* perspective “from within a particular religious viewpoint” as opposed to a more neutral historical, ‘empiricist’ *etic* approach, Hanegraaff considers “a continuing and (self-) critical dialectics of *emic* material and *etic* interpretation [...] the indispensable foundation for an empirical study of esotericism which wishes to go beyond mere description.”⁹²⁵

The second, ‘sympathetic’ form of empiricism is more specifically found in the work of Versluis (cf. *supra*), who questions Hanegraaff’s sharp division between the ‘religionist’ and ‘empiricist’ perspectives. He considers “a failure to understand and accurately convey what one is studying” as well as “ignorance of and hostility to one’s subject, even if under the guise of a studied neutrality” the great vices of an overemphasized and/or extreme *etic* position. Therefore, he follows the anthropological stance of “balancing *etic* and *emic* approaches, of

and of religious thought in Europe, Mount Saint Vincent University), this argument is a specific application of the methodological proposals put forward for the study of religion in general by Jan G. Platvoet (Senior Lecturer in the Comparative Studies of Religions at Leiden University). (McCalla 2001: 441) Platvoet “distinguishes empirical research from ‘religionist’ and ‘positivist-reductionist’ pursuits. Believers view religion from the perspective of a ‘multiple tier cosmology’: an empirically perceptible realm and one or more meta-empirical, non-perceptual realms” (Platvoet 1990: 184). “Scholars who study religion are dependent on believers expressing their awareness of a meta-empirical reality in empirical perceptible ways (words, images, behaviour, etc.).” (McCalla 2001: 441)

“As scholars, they do not themselves have direct access to the meta-empirical: ‘They can find “religion” only in the historical religions of humankind, and can analyse those religions only as events in its history, and as institutions of human societies by which definite personal and societal needs, religious as well as non-religious, are met’. (Platvoet 1990: 185). Because scholars can thus neither verify nor falsify the existence of a meta-empirical reality, or any claims made about it, methodological agnosticism is the only proper attitude. Empirical researchers, Platvoet continues, do not limit themselves to the empirical because they wish to claim that it is the only reality (privately they may believe the opposite) but because it is the only one accessible to them for investigation. They hold to their ‘one tier cosmology’ *non-axiomatically*, while positivist-reductionists hold to it axiomatically, that is, as an ideology, and religionists hold *axiomatically* to a multiple tier cosmology. Empirical research cannot accept any axiomatic beliefs about the ultimate nature of reality (see Platvoet 1990: 186-187).” (McCalla 2001: 441-442) McCalla further writes “Faivre affirms that scholars can approach the meta-empirical realm of the believer only through its historically available expressions, and with the help of methodological tools and conceptual models. The empirical method therefore rejects metaphysical premises of religionists and draws methods of interpretation that are not intrinsically those of the esotericists themselves but which are historical, sociological and psychological. The empirical method, Faivre adds, corresponds to the attitude of laicity (*laïcité*) in the technical French institutional sense, which characterizes the spirit in which one studies religious sciences in the public institutions created for this purpose (see Faivre 2000: xxvii).” (McCalla 2001: 442)

⁹²⁴ Hanegraaff 1998: 42-43, quoted in Versluis 2002: 3.

⁹²⁵ Versluis 2002: 3

on the one hand entering into a culture in order to understand it while on the other hand retaining the status of observer and analyst.” In order to balance “on the one hand the virtues of scholarship that strives to achieve a standard of objectivity, and on the other hand the virtues of an approach that seeks to sympathetically understand one’s subject, to understand it from the inside out, so to speak”, he advocates an intermediate position that incorporates both *emic* and *etic* approaches, which he calls a “sympathetic empiricist perspective.” Or, as he further phrases: “an investigator must attempt to understand the world in almost certainly unfamiliar ways, and this requires a *sympathetic approach* to various figures, writings, and works of art, open to the unexpected, yet also retaining some sense of critical distance.”⁹²⁶ In his view, this is the indispensable methodological approach to investigate esoteric subjects that ultimately are only recognizable and understandable from the *emic* perspective of the religious practitioner –or in Hanegraaff’s words, “religionist”– and are virtually inaccessible with an *etic* approach.⁹²⁷

In general, the approaches toward the study of esotericism may be delineated into three major categories, namely: the “pro-esotericist”, “anti-esotericist”, and “empirical-historical” approach.⁹²⁸ Following the standpoint of Versluis, the empirical-historical perspective covers a spectrum that ranges from: ‘internal’, meaning “writing from within the perspective of the tradition itself”, to ‘empiricist,’ or “a more or less neutral approach”, to ‘reductionist,’ that is, “an effort to reduce a given religious subject to non-religious constituent parts –i.e., power relationships, social constructs, and so forth.”⁹²⁹

At the extremities of what Versluis considers the empirical-historical approaches are two attitudes that can distort the picture of our inquiry into esotericism, namely: on the one hand Perennialism and Traditionalism,⁹³⁰ and on the other hand, (ideologically charged) reductionism.⁹³¹ This spectrum can be schematized in the following table:

⁹²⁶ Versluis 2002: 12.

⁹²⁷ Versluis 2002: 4. On ‘sympathetic detachment’ and ‘emphatic understanding’ and their relation to ‘objective observation’ in the study of religion, see: Morioka 1982 and Akaike 1982.

⁹²⁸ On anti-esoteric polemics, see e.g. Hanegraaff 1998, 1999, and esp. 2005.

⁹²⁹ Versluis 2002: 5.

⁹³⁰ Drawing from the work of Mark Sedgwick, Payne (2008: 177) explains: “Traditionalism has its roots in Romanticism, and combines Perennialism [and anti-rationality] with anti-modernism”. Moreover, he observes that Traditionalists often emphasize that there is a universal esoteric core common to all religions, which is only accessible through authentic initiation. The validity of the initiation into religious traditions is “an idea itself rooted in Romantic nostalgia for an idealized past.” Indeed, there is no doubt that, in an attempt to counter the rising emphasis on rational materialism, early nineteenth-century European authors shared a common interest in India as a source for a “primordial tradition” (*philosophia perennis*) or a “universal revelation” of “esoteric”

teachings. (Irwin 2001: 16-18, n. 16, referring to Schwab 1984: 205, 216-19, *passim*; Faivre 1994: 82 ff.; Versluis 1993: 23; Lopez 1995: 32; Batchelor 1995: 252).

According to Versluis, however, Perennialism is “the general term referring to those who see all various world religious traditions as having common features and perhaps as deriving from common origins or spiritual archetypes,” while traditionalism is “the subset of Perennialism espoused by figures like René Guénon, Ananda Coomaraswamy, and Frithjof Schuon that [as a doctrinal system] insists on the spiritual importance of religious tradition in contradistinction to a decadent modern world, [...underscoring] uncompromisingly that there is such a thing as timeless truth and that the esoterist [and not Faivre’s ‘esotericist’!] can have access to it.” (Versluis 2002: 7)

As also Hanegraaff argues, “the first necessary step towards establishing the study of esotericism as a serious academic pursuit would be to demarcate it clearly from the perennialist perspective.” He insists that because Perennialism, just like Traditionalism, “considers its own metaphysical framework to be the absolute truth about the nature of religion,” this “logically precludes the possibility of discovering anything new or unexpected.” Traditionalism is based, he holds, on the premise that “if you understood, you would agree; if you disagree, obviously you don’t understand.” (Hanegraaff 1995: 110, cited in Versluis 2002: 8) According to Versluis, “Indeed, one scarcely finds any references among the Traditionalists to Western esoteric traditions such as alchemy or Christian theosophy, and in their works the term “esoterism” replaces “esotericism” as a theoretical concept expressing a unity of all religions rather than referring to any particular form of esotericism. In short, Hanegraaff concludes: Traditionalist “esoterism” [note the different word] is a means (for the most part from outside academia), for the comparative study of all religions from a particular doctrinal basis, and thus is not relevant for the study of Western esotericism.... As Hanegraaff points out, Traditionalism does reflect a fairly radical perspective that rejects modernity as degenerate and that dismisses much of contemporary academic study. Yet it does raise questions that eventually must be answered when we turn to the comparative study of religions and in particular to the study of various forms of esotericism not only Western but also Asian. On what basis can one compare, say, Buddhist Tantric and European alchemical traditions? Is it permissible to acknowledge that the Ungrund or Nichts of Böhme corresponds in some respects and perhaps in many to the Buddhist concept of shunyata or emptiness? And if so, then does this in turn mean that these disparate traditions do indeed point toward the same experience of transcendence, as a Franklin Merrell-Wolff would certainly insist? Or are we to claim dogmatically that we must study European traditions only in relation to themselves and that there is nothing to be gained by seeing whether there are parallels or correspondences between, say, Sufi, Taoist, Hindu, or Buddhist and European forms of alchemy? If one says ‘yes’ to this last question, one has effectively cut off the possibility of any comparative study of esoteric traditions.” (Versluis 2002: 8)

According to Payne, the main rhetorical strategies employed by Traditionalists in order to create a contemporary version, or interpretation (concealed under the guise of being an explanation), of Buddhism –and by extension, to generate preconceptions regarding the nature of religion as a general category– are selective representation and overcoding. (Payne 2008: 179) Therefore, Payne calls for caution in the use of the term “esoteric”, because “in contemporary Western religious culture “esoteric” can carry connotations unwarranted in the East Asian Buddhist context. These take the form of preconceptions regarding a universal category of “the esoteric”..., which manifests through the particular forms of different religious traditions. This is the view of Perennialism, which holds that there is a mystical core to all religions, and that that core mystical experience – open to all “true” initiates– is the same in all religions. Differences in the expression of this essence are explained away as the simply unavoidable consequence of expressing an ineffable experience of the higher reality through the contingencies of a particular language and culture.” In short, he claims that he is “not concerned with “Buddhist esotericism”, not, that is, with the Buddhist form of the Perennialist conception of the universal category of the esoteric, but with “esoteric Buddhism”, the form of Buddhism that presents itself as constrained by concerns for the transmission of its powerful psycho-spiritual technologies only to those capable of using those technologies properly.” (Payne 2006: 8) Moreover, he notes that “the issue of the subsumption of Buddhism under the universalizing –hegemonic– discourse of Perennialism is not simply a matter of conflicting interpretations, nor of conflicting claims of authority, legitimacy, or authenticity. Perennialism, also called Traditionalism, is strongly authoritarian in character and has historical connections with Fascism.” (Payne 2006: 229, n. 26)

⁹³¹ In contrast to what Fitzgerald, a recent proponent of reductionism defines as “ontological reductionism”, being the fear of opponents of reductionism that “the putative transcendent” will be lost (Fitzgerald, quoted in Versluis 2002: 5), Versluis writes: “the real problem with reductionism is that it may well lead to profound misreadings or distortions of primary sources”, arguing not only that “some sympathy with the authors and works one is studying is necessary to understand them”, but also that “it is extremely important to attempt to remain faithful to the subject one is investigating”, otherwise one risks to be led astray.” (Versluis 2002: 5) In respect to the validity of reductionist discourse, Versluis argues that the subfield of (Western) esotericism is not flawed by Judeo-Christian assumptions: “In recent years, the field of religious studies has sustained a number of

Table 17. Versluis' spectrum

<i>perennialist</i> (<i>traditionalist</i>)	<i>internal</i> (<i>religionist</i>)	<i>empirical</i> (<i>empiricist</i>)	<i>reductionist</i>	<i>ideologically charged</i> <i>reductionist</i>
perspective of the tradition itself		+/- neutral (sympathetic) observation	reduction to non-religious constituent parts	

In the view of Versluis, even when one writes from an empirical perspective, “i.e. as a more or less neutral observer of historical figures, works, or events– one may still acknowledge and draw upon” a sympathetic or, in terms of Hanegraaf’s model, “an *emic* approach, drawing upon the perspective of the alchemist or theosopher [i.e. the religious practitioner] without for all that presenting oneself as [a religious practitioner, whether] an alchemist or theosopher”.⁹³² Alternatively, he describes the ‘sympathetic empiricist perspective’ as follows:

I am arguing, here, for an empirico-historical approach that does not descend to mere reductionism, but that remains open to insights that can only come from a sympathetic understanding of one’s subject. This does not necessarily entail an explicitly “believer’s” viewpoint in the sense that a scholar is seeking to “convert” his or her readers, but it does entail some *indebtedness to the insights* that can only come *from within* the perspective of that

controversies and even attacks from within concerning the nature of the field and the degree to which it is still indebted to its origins (within the Western university) in Christian theology; only one of the arguments being that the entire field of religious studies is fundamentally flawed by what critics believe are its often hidden Judeo-Christian assumptions. This argument, however, (if and when it is indeed a valid argument and not grossly overstated) applies to comparative religion and in particular to comparisons between monotheistic and non-monotheistic traditions– it does not apply to the field of Western esotericism inasmuch as the field exists largely (although by no means exclusively) in a Judeo-Christian context to begin with.” (Versluis 2002: 5) According to Versluis, “the fundamental argument of Fitzgerald and others” is “to reduce religious studies to cultural-historical studies or to eliminate religious studies entirely”. (Versluis 2002: 6)

In his journal entitled *No Souvenirs*, the famous Romanian historian of religions Mircea Eliade (1907-1986) criticized the reductionism of some historians, “that does not seek to understand the phenomena it is studying on its own terms, but instead attempts to explain a given religious phenomena away as something else” (Versluis 2002: 6) for being “a neurotic attitude” and he attacked them for having neglected, what he calls “the hermeneutic of religious creations”: “I would like to analyse the attitude of historicists of all kinds [...] all those who believe that one can understand culture only by reducing it to something lower (sexuality, economics, history, etc.) and to show that theirs is a *neurotic attitude*. The neuropath demystifies life, culture, the spiritual life [...], he can no longer grasp the deep meaning of things, and consequently, he can no longer believe in their reality. [...] I have never affirmed the insignificance of historical situations, their usefulness for understanding religious creations. If I haven’t emphasized this problem, it is precisely because it has been emphasized too much, and because what seems to me essential is thus neglected: *the hermeneutic of religious creations*.” (Eliade 1977: 144; quoted in Versluis 2002: 6. Emphasis added) Following Eliade, and having noted that “anti-esotericism and [ideologically charged] reductionism so often go hand in hand”, Versluis writes that “reductionism almost always is a function of ideological distortion: one approaches a given topic [...] with some sort of ideological axe to grind, and while one may offer some limited insight into the social manifestations [of the subject] as a result, one will almost certainly do it an injustice precisely because ‘the hermeneutic of religious creations’ has been lost along the way.” (Versluis 2002: 6)

⁹³² Versluis 2002: 5.

current or figure one is studying. [...] If we can't answer that question [namely how a particular practitioner of esotericism understands the tradition out of which he is writing] faithfully, I would suggest there is a serious danger that we are doing that subject an injustice. *A studied sympathetic neutrality* toward one's subject *allows us to enter at least imaginatively into the alternative worldview* we are studying and to faithfully convey it to others. Ideologically charged scholarship may be fashionable from time to time, but because it cannot answer faithfully this question of how a given figure understood and conveyed his or her own esoteric perspective, it is not helpful for the kind of foundational historical research necessary for us to come to understand the breadth and depth of this new field.⁹³³

In conclusion (if in this ongoing consideration, one is already to draw any that are not tentative), we can –at least for now– accept that “the combination of rigorous historical, empirical research and a critical-mindedness that recognizes the conceptual status of ‘esotericism’ as a scholarly construct is the prerequisite for the acceptance of its study as a legitimate field of academic research”.⁹³⁴ Although some have argued that “there is perhaps little to be gleaned from attempts to define esoteric Buddhism” and that “rather, discussions rooted in the examination of specific instances, and particularly of marginal cases, would seem to be productive lines of inquiry,” this does not necessarily is “to suggest that critical, self-reflective inquiries about what we mean by esoteric Buddhism, ... are not productive”.⁹³⁵ Moreover, we might also have to acknowledge that stressing the ‘unique instance’ of ‘esoteric’ phenomena might make lose us sight of ‘the bigger picture’. Indeed, as Orzech points out, our analytical construct, i.e. that of ‘esoteric Buddhism’ as working definition, obviously “fits some features and historical moments better than others, and obviously it meshes with some aspects of indigenous taxonomies better than others”.⁹³⁶ One may therefore just accept that some of the categories we employ have analytical utility as a scholarly convention, “as long as we are careful *to spell out how we are using it and why...*”⁹³⁷

⁹³³ Versluis 2002: 6, with added emphasis.

⁹³⁴ McCalla 2001: 447.

⁹³⁵ Payne 2006: 30.

⁹³⁶ Orzech 2006: 70.

⁹³⁷ Orzech 2006: 69.

APPENDIX A. SOURCE TEXTS

1. HSBK (T. LXXVIII, NO. 2463)

- 6b11: 祕密三昧耶佛戒儀一卷
- 6b12: 夫欲發無上菩提之心應先深心觀察。十
- 6b13: 方諸佛清淨性海湛寂圓明本無生滅。廣大
- 6b14: 無礙無相無爲常寂滅相。愍諸衆生爲諸妄
- 6b15: 想煩惱迷覆淨心不覺不知。昏昏默默貪
- 6b16: 瞋癡毒日夜燒溺。六賊攻劫五欲纏縛。昏狂
- 6b17: 既盛無所覺知。愍念此輩從大悲流演化
- 6b18: 身不生而生無相現相。假起言說示現去
- 6b19: 來。皆爲憐念我等衆生起方便智施權實
- 6b20: 教。爲欲引導利鈍根性施設種種頓漸法
- 6b21: 門。是故我等慚愧。諸佛慈悲方便愍念衆生
- 6b22: 沈淪苦海。應當發起廣大之心
- 6b23: 誓願斷除一切衆惡
- 6b24: 誓願修習最上法門
- 6b25: 誓願度脫諸衆生界
- 6b26: 一切有情誓求速證
- 6b27: 無上菩提諸佛勝果
- 6b28: 是故發起菩提之心
- 6b29: 所謂菩提心者。即是諸佛清淨法身。亦是衆
- 6c01: 生染淨心。尋逐根源本無生滅。十方求之
- 6c02: 終不可得。離言說相離名字相離心緣相。
- 6c03: 妄心流轉即名衆生染污之身。開發照悟即
- 6c04: 名諸佛清淨法身。故不增不減經云。不離
- 6c05: 衆生界有法身。不離法身。有衆生界。衆
- 6c06: 生界即是法身。法身即是衆生界。又言。衆
- 6c07: 生界清淨應知即法身。法身即涅槃。涅槃

6c08: 即如來。以是觀之。一切衆生性淨法身與
6c09: 諸佛身本無差別。而諸佛如來。昔在因地
6c10: 迷本法身與我無異。然發大精進勤修正
6c11: 行已成正覺。我今云何貪戀游泥不起正
6c12: 行。故發是心。又觀衆生沈淪苦海沒生死
6c13: 河。迷自心源喪失惠命。愍念彼等與我法
6c14: 身平等無二。云何信任不垂救拔。是故勇
6c15: 猛發起大悲度諸衆生破魔怨敵。是故發
6c16: 起菩提之心
6c17: 次應啓請一切諸佛
6c18: 弟子某甲等。稽首和南十方諸佛毘盧遮那
6c19: 清淨法身報身化身萬德圓滿一切如來及諸
6c20: 菩薩摩訶薩衆。降臨道場以大慈悲拔濟
6c21: 我等。以大智慧照明我等。今者爲欲發起
6c22: 大菩提心。棄捨生死破壞魔衆。摧伏外道
6c23: 超越二乘誓求諸佛大悲行願。是故我今歸
6c24: 依頂禮。普禮眞言曰
6c25: 唵薩嚩怛他藥多引跛娜滿娜喃迦虛彌
6c26: 南無東方阿閼佛乃至清淨法身毘盧遮那佛
6c27: 次應供養
6c28: 弟子某甲等。願以清淨殊勝香花幢幡寶蓋飲
6c29: 食燈燭。常願供養一切諸佛及諸菩薩一切
7a01: 賢聖
7a02: 以我功德力 如來加持力
7a03: 及以法界力 普供養而住
7a04: 普供養眞言曰。唵誚誚囊引三婆嚩嚩日羅
7a05: 二合斛
7a06: 至心懺悔
7a07: 弟子某甲等。從過去無始已來乃至今生至
7a08: 於今日。無明迷覆違失淨心。妄想攀緣起諸

7a09: 分別。貪嗔癡等無量煩惱。忿恨慳嫉諸隨煩
7a10: 惱。起諸我慢謗佛法僧。侵奪盜竊一切財
7a11: 物。故殺誤殺損害衆生。縱恣愚癡起諸貪
7a12: 染。飲酒食肉及以薰辛污穢伽藍浸損常
7a13: 住妄言綺語惡口兩舌。破戒破齋五逆十惡。
7a14: 如是等罪無量無邊。我今至誠發露懺悔。願
7a15: 罪消滅。滅罪真言曰
7a16: 唵薩嚩訶波捺賀引曩嚩日囉二合野引婆嚩次
7a17: 應授戒
7a18: 設先具戒 亦須三歸 彼有限故
7a19: 不須結界 同法界故 不欲說欲
7a20: 無異處故
7a21: 弟子某甲等。盡未來際歸依無上三身諸佛。
7a22: 歸依方廣大乘法藏。歸依不退諸菩薩僧
7a23: 弟子某甲等。歸依佛竟。歸依法竟。歸依僧竟。
7a24: 我等今者與諸菩薩和合發心竟。盡未來
7a25: 際常無退轉。願尊證知我是菩薩三說
7a26: 三歸真言曰。唵僕欠
7a27: 弟子某甲等。我從今日發菩提心。誓願斷除
7a28: 一切衆惡。誓願修習無邊法門。誓願度脫一
7a29: 切衆生。誓求如來一切勝果。乃至當坐菩
7b01: 提道場常無退轉。我等今者與諸菩薩和
7b02: 合發心。願尊證知三說
7b03: 發菩提心真言曰。唵胃地啣多母怛波那野
7b04: 引彌
7b05: 涅槃經云。初發心已爲人天師勝出聲聞及
7b06: 緣覺。如是發心出過三界。是故得名最無
7b07: 上。華嚴經云。佛子始發生如是妙寶心即
7b08: 超凡夫位入佛所行處

7b09: 次問言。諸仁者能受持一切諸佛菩薩最勝
7b10: 最上大律儀否答言 能持
7b11: 次請賢聖三請
7b12: 弟子某甲等。奉請十方一切諸佛爲大尊證。
7b13: 願大德爲我作證明
7b14: 弟子某甲等。奉請無動寶生阿彌陀天鼓雷
7b15: 音爲作和尚。爲依和尚故得受具足菩薩
7b16: 清淨三昧耶戒。爲我作和尚。慈愍故也
7b17: 至心奉請雄猛阿閼鞞。最勝寶生尊。大悲
7b18: 阿彌陀。成就不空業。此諸無上尊。至心稽首
7b19: 請。及薩埵金剛降伏於一切。勝上虛空藏能
7b20: 授諸灌頂。救世觀自在顯三昧瑜伽。巧毘首
7b21: 羯磨善作諸事業。如是轉輪者唯願受我請
7b22: 三說
7b23: 次應奉請羯磨及教授
7b24: 普賢慈氏妙德除蓋障爲羯磨阿闍梨。如是
7b25: 四菩薩。猶如賢瓶闕一不可。第一普賢菩薩
7b26: 摩訶薩。普者遍一切處。賢者最妙善義。謂菩
7b27: 提心所起願行及以三業。悉皆平等遍一切
7b28: 處。又名金剛。金剛者喻實相義過一切語
7b29: 言心行適無所依。不示諸法無初中後。不
7c01: 盡不壞離諸過惡。不可變易。故名金剛。世
7c02: 間金剛有三種義。一不可壞。二寶中之王。三
7c03: 者戰具中勝。第二慈氏菩薩於四無量心慈
7c04: 最爲稱首。第三妙吉祥菩薩。妙者更無等比
7c05: 義。無過上義。吉祥者嘉慶之善譽。亦名妙
7c06: 德。亦曰妙音。第四除蓋障菩薩。衆生種種心
7c07: 垢能翳菩提。此是菩薩能除蓋障之羅霧明
7c08: 現大日之光。是故奉請此四菩薩爲羯磨
7c09: 阿闍梨。奉請普賢慈氏妙吉祥除蓋障四大

7c10: 菩薩。爲我作羯磨阿闍梨。爲作阿闍梨故
7c11: 得授菩薩清淨三昧戒。慈愍故
7c12: 次又應奉請普賢菩薩金剛薩埵觀自在三
7c13: 大菩薩。爲教授阿闍梨
7c14: 第一普賢菩薩即如如法身。具修萬行對精
7c15: 進門。息災方便故。第二金剛薩埵菩薩對金
7c16: 剛智慧門。降伏方便故。第三觀自在菩薩對
7c17: 蓮華三昧門。增益方便故。此三聖者名曰無
7c18: 量不可思議妙用三點。即般若解脫法身。是
7c19: 故三點攝一切法。所以奉請此三大菩薩。
7c20: 應爲作教授阿闍梨。至心奉請普賢菩薩
7c21: 金剛薩埵菩薩觀自在菩薩。爲我作教授阿
7c22: 闍梨。慈愍故三說
7c23: 次說羯磨
7c24: 諸佛子至心諦聽。今與仁者羯磨授戒。正
7c25: 是得戒之時。至心諦聽羯磨。仰願十方一切
7c26: 諸佛諸大菩薩慈悲憶念。此諸佛子等。始從
7c27: 今日乃至當坐菩提道場受學過去現在未
7c28: 來一切諸佛諸大菩薩清淨妙戒。所謂攝律
7c29: 儀戒。饒益有情戒。攝善法戒。具足受持始
8a01: 從今日盡未來際三說
8a02: 諸佛子等。具足受持諸佛菩薩清淨戒竟。是
8a03: 事如是持。授戒竟
8a04: 次甄別戒性
8a05: 已發菩提心具菩薩戒竟。復應修四攝法
8a06: 及四波羅夷及十重戒。不應缺犯。其四攝者
8a07: 所謂布施愛語利行同事。爲欲調伏無始
8a08: 慳貪及利益有情故應行布施。爲欲調
8a09: 伏嗔恚憍慢煩惱及利益有情故應行愛
8a10: 語。爲欲饒益有情及滿本願故應修利

8a11: 行爲欲親近善知識及令善心無間斷故
8a12: 應修同事。如是四法是修行處。是事如是
8a13: 持。今入此三密門即身口意密復應淨除
8a14: 四障。所謂四障者。於有情中及一切法中
8a15: 作種種不平等見。是第一障。二者於平等誓
8a16: 中作種種限量之心。是第二障。三者諸有所
8a17: 作隨順名利不爲大事因緣。是第三障。四
8a18: 者放逸懈怠不能驚察身心。是第四障。如
8a19: 是四障若纔起時。即自損亦損於他。是故精
8a20: 勤誓願斷除。應如是持
8a21: 次應修四威儀。名無作。於其功德運運之
8a22: 間自然增長。一者於一切如來正法藏中誓
8a23: 願解了。二者於一切菩薩正行之中誓願勤
8a24: 行。三者於一切如來度人門中誓願修習。
8a25: 四者於一切有情中以四攝法而救濟之。
8a26: 令離苦獲安。是名四無作功德。應如是
8a27: 持
8a28: 將入陀羅尼門復具三種三昧耶。是踐如
8a29: 來所行之迹。必須專精四波羅夷誓無缺
8b01: 犯。所謂四波羅夷者。若有毀犯由如斷頭
8b02: 命根不續。則一切支分無所能爲不久散
8b03: 壞。菩提心戒四種戒相。亦是大乘法命根。
8b04: 若破壞者。由如死尸雖修種種功德不久
8b05: 敗也
8b06: 第一不應捨正法而起邪行戒。爲如來一
8b07: 切正教皆當修行受持讀誦。由如大海吞納
8b08: 百川無厭足心。右於諸乘了不了義。隨於
8b09: 一法生棄捨心及起邪行。即名毀犯。第一
8b10: 波羅夷。不得犯。能持否答。能持
8b11: 第二不應捨離菩提心戒。此菩提心菩薩

8b12: 萬行。猶如大將幢旗。若喪失幢旗即是三
8b13: 軍敗績墮他勝處。是故不應捨離菩提心。
8b14: 若離菩提心。是名犯第二波羅夷。不得犯。
8b15: 能持否
8b16: 第三於一切法不應慳悋戒。此諸勝法皆
8b17: 是如來勤苦修行損棄身命。乃至爲其僮僕
8b18: 床座然後得之。是一切衆生父母遺財。非
8b19: 獨爲一。若慳悋不與同於盜三寶物。故犯
8b20: 第三波羅夷。不得犯。能持否
8b21: 第四不得於一切衆生作不饒益行戒。此
8b22: 是四攝相違法故。菩薩修行四攝普攝一切
8b23: 衆生爲入道因緣。而今反作四攝相違起
8b24: 衆生障道因緣捨饒益。故犯第四波羅夷。不
8b25: 得犯。能持否
8b26: 今此四戒以持初戒故於十方三世一切正
8b27: 法藏中皆生無作功德。由第二戒故於十
8b28: 方一切菩薩行中皆生無作功德。由第三
8b29: 戒故於十方三世一切度人門皆生無作功
8c01: 德。由第四戒故於十方世界一切衆生及四
8c02: 攝事中皆生無作功德
8c03: 次說十重戒相。所謂十重者。一者不應退
8c04: 菩提心。妨成佛故。二者不應捨離三寶
8c05: 歸依外道。是邪法故。三者不應毀謗三乘
8c06: 教典。皆佛法故。四者於甚深大乘經典不通
8c07: 解處不可生疑。非凡夫境界故。五者若
8c08: 復有人已發菩提心者不應說如是法。
8c09: 令彼退菩提心趣向二乘斷三寶種故。六
8c10: 者見未發菩提心者亦不應說如是法。
8c11: 令彼發於二乘之心違本願故。七者對小
8c12: 乘人不應輒說深妙大乘。恐彼生謗獲大

8c13: 殃故。八者不應發起邪見。斷善根故。九
8c14: 者於外道前不應自說我具無上菩提妙
8c15: 戒。令彼以嗔害心求如是法不能辦得
8c16: 退菩提心。二俱損故。十者但於有情中所
8c17: 損害及無利益。皆不應令自作及教他作。
8c18: 見作隨喜即於利他法中及以慈悲相違背
8c19: 故。**如是戒者**不同小乘一期爲限量三千
8c20: 爲境界。又聲聞律儀因緣造作以無餘涅槃
8c21: 爲究竟。今此所授從一切智生。終趣薩般
8c22: 若海無有窮盡。又聲聞法中雖有具足煩
8c23: 惱學無學等階次不同。然所發無作律儀則
8c24: 無優劣之異。**今此菩薩律儀亦復如是。雖**
8c25: 復最初發心乃至四十二地階次不同。然一
8c26: 時普遍法界發起無作善根。則與如來更
8c27: 無增減之異。今授戒已竟。將紹法寶與佛
8c28: 在世更無異也。即是佛眞子。當補佛位。是
8c29: 則最上最尊無比無等之戒也。速滅罪障頓
9a01: 證菩提之門也
9a02: 次可有迴向。所修功德等云云
9a03: 三昧耶佛戒儀一卷終

2. HSBK (TKDZ V: 165-176)

秘密三昧耶佛戒儀一卷

夫欲發無上菩提之心。應先深心觀察。十方諸佛清淨性海湛寂圓明。本無生滅。廣大無礙。无相无為常寂滅相。愍諸衆生。為諸妄想煩惱迷覆。淨心不覺。不知昏昏默默。貪嗔癡毒。日夜燒溺。六賊改劫。五欲纏縛。昏狂既盛。無所覺知。愍念此輩。從大悲海流演化身。不生而生。无相現相。假起言說。示現去來。皆為憐念我等衆生。起方便智。施權實教。為欲引導利鈍根性。施設種種頓漸法門。是故我等慚愧。諸佛慈悲方便。愍念衆生沈淪苦海。應當發起廣大之心。

誓願斷除一切衆惡。誓願修習最上法門。誓願度脫諸衆生界。一切有情。誓求速證無上菩提諸佛勝果。是故發起菩提之心。

所謂菩提心者。即是諸佛清淨法身。亦是衆生染淨心。本尋逐根源。本無

三昧耶佛戒儀

一六五

生滅。十方求之終不可得。離言說相。離名字相。離心緣相。安心流轉即名衆生染汙之身。開發照晤即名諸佛清淨法身。故不增不減經云。不離衆生界有法身。不離法身有衆生界。衆生界即是法身。法身即是衆生界。又言。衆生界清淨應知即法身。法身即涅槃。涅槃即如來。以是觀之。一切衆生性淨法身與諸佛身本無差別。而諸佛如來昔在因地。迷本法身。與我無異。然發大精進。勤修正行。已成正覺。我今云何貪戀淤泥。不起正行。故發是心。又觀衆生沈淪苦海。沒生死河。迷自心源。喪失惠命。慙念彼等。與我法身平等無二。云何信任不垂救拔。是故勇猛發起大悲。度諸衆生。破魔怨敵。是故發起菩提之心。

次應啓請一切諸佛。弟子某甲等。稽首和南十方諸佛毗盧舍那清淨法身報身化身萬德圓滿一切如來及諸菩薩摩訶薩。降臨道場。以大慈悲拔濟我等。以大智慧照明我等。今者為欲發起大菩提心。棄捨生死。

破魔衆摧伏外道超越二乘誓求諸佛大悲行願。是故我今歸依頂禮。普禮真言曰。

唵薩嚩怛他藥多引跋娜滿娜喃迦嚧弥

南無東方阿閼佛。乃至清淨法身毗盧遮那佛。

次應供養。弟子某甲等。願以清淨殊勝香花幢幡寶蓋飲食燈燭常願供養一切諸佛及諸菩薩一切賢聖。

以我功德力。如來加持力。及以法界力。普供養而住。

普供養真言曰。

唵誒誒曩引三婆嚩嚩日羅二合斛

至心懺悔。弟子某甲等。自從過去無始已來。乃至今生。至於今日。無明迷覆。違失淨心。妄相攀緣。起諸分別。貪瞋癡等無量煩惱。忿恨慳嫉。諸隨煩惱。起諸我慢。謗佛法僧。侵奪盜竊一切財物。故殺悞殺損害衆生。縱恣

愚癡起諸貪染飲酒食肉及以薰辛汙穢伽藍侵損常住。妄言綺語惡口兩舌。破戒破齋五逆十惡。如是等罪無量無邊。我今至誠發露懺悔。願罪消滅。滅罪真言曰。

唵薩嚩跛波捺賀引曩嚩日羅合二野引婆嚩合賀

次應授戒。欲先具戒亦須三歸。彼有限故不須結界。

同法界故。不欲說欲無異處故。

弟子某甲等。盡未來際歸依無上三身諸佛。歸依方廣大乘法藏。歸依不退諸菩薩僧。

弟子某甲等。歸依佛竟。歸依法竟。歸依僧竟。

我等今者與諸菩薩和合發心竟。盡未來際常無退轉。願尊證知。我是菩薩。三說三歸真言曰。

唵僕欠

弟子某甲等。我從今日發菩提心。誓願斷除一切衆惡。誓願修習無邊法門。誓願度脫一切衆生。誓求如來一切勝果。乃至當坐菩提道場。常無退轉。我等今者與諸菩薩和合發心。願尊證知。三說發菩提心真言曰。

唵胃地唧多母怛波合二那野引弥

涅槃經云。初發心已為天人師。勝出聲聞及緣覺。如是發心出過三界。是故得名最無上。花嚴經云。佛子。始發心生如是妙寶心。即超凡夫位。入佛所行處。次問言。諸仁者。能受持一切諸佛菩薩最勝最上大律儀否。答言。

次請賢聖。三請

弟子某甲等。奉請十方一切諸佛為大尊證。願大德為我作證明。

弟子某甲等。奉請無動寶生阿彌陀天鼓雷音為作和尚。為依和尚。故得受具足薩伊和上清淨三昧耶戒。為我作和上慈愍故。至心奉請雄猛阿闍鞞最勝寶生尊大悲阿彌陀成就空業此諸無上尊。至心稽首請及薩

埵金剛降伏於一切。勝上虛空藏能授諸灌頂。救世觀自在顯三昧瑜伽。
巧毗首羯磨善作諸事業。如是轉輪者唯願受我請。^{三請}
次應奉請羯磨及教授。普賢慈氏妙德除蓋障為羯磨阿闍梨。如是四
菩薩。猶如賢瓶闕一不可。第一普賢菩薩摩訶薩。普者遍一切處。賢者
最妙善義。謂菩提心所起願行及以三業。悉皆平等遍一切處。又名金剛。
金剛者喻實相義。過一切語言心行適无所依。不示諸法无初中後。不盡
不壞離諸過惡。不可變易。故名金剛。世間金剛有三種義。一不可破壞。二
寶中之王。三者戰具中勝。第二慈氏菩薩。於四无量心慈最為稱首。
第三妙吉祥菩薩。妙者更无等比義无過上者義。吉祥者喜慶之善譽。亦
名妙德。亦曰妙音。第四除蓋障菩薩。衆生種種心垢能翳菩提。此是菩
薩能除蓋障之罪霧。明現大日之光。是故奉請此四菩薩為羯磨阿闍梨。
奉請普賢慈氏妙吉祥除蓋障四大菩薩。為我作羯磨阿闍梨。為作阿闍

梨。故得授菩薩清淨三昧戒。慈愍故。

次又應奉請普賢菩薩金剛薩埵觀世自在三大菩薩為教授阿闍梨。

第一普賢菩薩即如如法身。具修萬行對精進門。息災方便故。第二金
剛薩埵菩薩對金剛智慧門。降伏方便故。第三觀自在菩薩對蓮花三
昧門。增益方便故。故三聖者名曰无量不可思議妙用三點。即般若解脫
法身。是故三點攝一切法。所以奉請此三大菩薩。應為作教授阿闍梨。

至心奉請普賢菩薩金剛薩埵菩薩觀自在菩薩。為我作教授阿闍梨。慈
愍故。^{三說}

次說羯磨。諸佛子至心諦聽。今與仁者羯磨授戒。正是得戒之時。至心
諦聽羯磨。仰願十方一切諸佛諸大菩薩慈悲憶念。此諸佛子等。始從今
日乃至當坐菩提道場。受學過去現在未來一切諸佛諸大菩薩清淨妙
戒。所謂攝律儀戒饒益有情戒攝善法戒。具足受持始從今日盡未來際。

三說 諸佛子等。具足受持諸佛菩薩清淨戒竟。是事如是持。授戒竟。次甄別戒性。已發菩提心具菩薩戒竟。復應修四攝法及四波羅夷及十重戒。不應缺犯。其四攝者。所謂布施愛語利行同事。為欲調伏無始慳貪及利益有情。故應行布施。為調伏嗔恚憍慢煩惱及利益有情。故應行愛語。為欲饒益有情及滿本願。故應修利行。為欲親近善知識及令心無間斷。故應修同事。如是四法是修行處。是事如是持。今入此三密門。即身口意密復應淨除四障。所謂四障者。於有情中及一切法中。作種種不平等見。是第一障。二者於平等誓中。作種種限量之心。是第二障。三者諸有所作隨順名利。不為大事因緣。是第三障。四者放逸懈怠。不能警察身心。是第四障。如是四障若纔起時。即自損亦損於他。是故精勤誓願除斷。應如是持。

次應修四威儀。名無作。於其功德運運之間自然增長。一者於一切如來

正法藏中誓願解了。二者於一切菩薩正行之中誓願勤行。三者於一切如來度人心中誓願修集。四者於一切有情中以四攝法而救濟之。令離苦獲安。是名四無作功德。應如是持。將入陀羅尼門。復具三種三昧耶。是踐如來所行之迹。必須專精四波羅夷誓無缺犯。所謂四波羅夷者。若有毀犯。由如斷頭命根不續。則一切支分無所能為。不久散壞。菩提心戒四種戒相。亦是大乘正法命根。若破壞者。由如死尸雖修種種功德。不久敗也。

第一不應捨正法而起邪行戒。為如來一切正教皆當修行受持讀誦。由如大海吞納百川無厭足心。若於諸乘了不了義。隨於一法生棄捨心及起邪行。即名毀犯第一波羅夷。不得犯能持否。答。能持。第二不應捨離菩提心戒。此菩提心菩薩萬行。猶如大將幢旗。若喪失幢旗。即是三軍敗績墮他勝處。是故不應捨離菩提心。若離菩提心。是名第二波羅夷。不得

犯。能持否。第三於一切法不應慳慳戒。此諸勝法皆是如來勤苦修行損弃身命。乃至為其僮僕床坐然後得之。是一切衆生父母遺財。非獨為一。若慳慳不與同於盜三寶物。故犯第三波羅夷。不得犯。能持否。第四不得於一切衆生作不饒益行戒。此是四攝相違法故。菩薩修行四攝。普攝一切衆生為入道因緣。而今反作四攝相違起衆生障道因緣。捨饒益故犯第四波羅夷。不得犯。能持否。今此四戒以持初戒故於十方三世一切正法藏中皆生无作功德。由第二戒故於十方一切菩薩行中。生无作功德。由第三戒故十方三世一切度人門皆生无作功德。由第四戒故於十方世界一切衆生及四攝事中皆生无作功德。

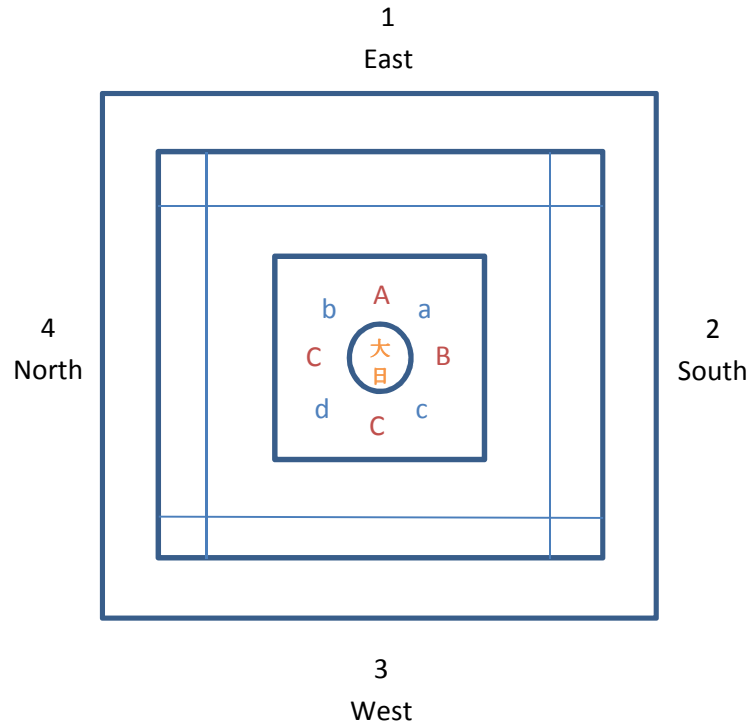
次說十重戒相。所謂十重者。一者不應退菩提心。妨成佛故。二者不應捨離三寶歸依外道。是邪法故。三者不應毀謗三乘教典。背佛法故。四者於甚深大乘經典不通解處不可生疑。非凡夫境界故。五者若復有人已

發菩提心者不應說如是法。令彼退菩提心趣向二乘斷三寶種故。六者見未發菩提心者亦不應說如是法。令彼發於二乘之心違本願故。七者對小乘人不應輒說深妙大乘。恐彼生謗獲大殃故。八者不應發起邪見斷善根故。九者於外道前不應自說我具无上菩提妙戒。令彼以嗔害心求如是法不能辨得退菩提心。二俱損故。十者但於有情中所損害及无利益皆不應作及教他作見作隨喜。即於利他法中及以慈悲相違背故。如是戒者不同小乘一期為限量三千為境界。又聲聞律儀因緣造作以无餘涅槃為究竟。今此所授從一切智生終趣薩般若海。无有窮盡。又聲聞法中雖有具足煩惱學无學等階次不同。然所發无作律儀則无優劣之異。今此菩薩律儀亦復如是。雖復最初發心乃至四十二地階次不同。然一時普遍法界發起无作善根。則与如來更无增減之異。今授戒已竟。將紹法寶与佛在世更无異也。即是佛真子。當補佛位。是則最上最尊无

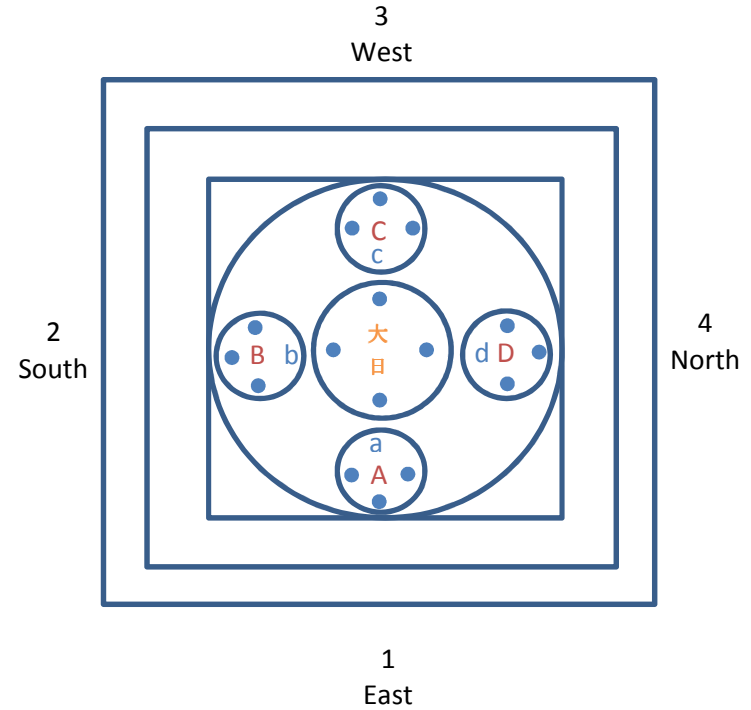
比无等之戒也。速滅罪障頓證菩提之門也。

三昧耶佛戒儀一卷

APPENDIX B. Central maṇḍala layout according to the HSBK



Garbhadhātumaṇḍala



Center of Vajradhātumaṇḍala

A: Acala/Akṣobhya [= Ratnaketu]
B: Ratnaketu [= Saṃkusumitarāja]
C: Amitāyus
D: Divyadundubhimeganirghoṣa

UPĀDYĀYĀCĀRYA

a: Samantabhadra
b: Maitreya
c: Mañjuśrī
d: Sarvanivāraṇaviśkambhī [= Avalokiteśvara]

KARMĀCĀRYA

A: Akṣobhya
B: Ratnasambhava
C: Amitābha
D: Amoghasiddhi

a: Vajrasattva
b: [Vajraratna] = Ākāśagarbha
c: [Vajradharma] = Āryāvalokiteśvara
d: [Vajrakarma] = Viśvakarman

UPĀDYĀYĀCĀRYA

ANUŚĀSANĀCĀRYA

APPENDIX C

Concordance of ‘*sanma/mai[ya]-kai*’-compounds and sequences in the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*.

T.		三昧耶戒 (339)									三摩耶戒 (181)					三昧戒 (37)
Vol	No.	X~/~X (244)	~序 (15)	~儀 (11)	~印 (10)	~真言 (7)	~偈 (4)	佛性~ (29)	耳語告彼~ (12)	灌頂~ (7)	X~/~X	~序 (7)	~真言	佛性~	~印	
8	261															1 (佛~)
10	305															3 (佛~)
12	378															1 (受~)
	387															0 ⁹³⁸
13	397															1 (佛~)
18	882															4 (3 受~)
	892	4 (1 住~)														(1 /)
	897	(3 受)														
19	922										5					
	961	1* (住~)														
	973	1 (受授大~)														
	997	1 (與~)														
20	1056	2 (破~)														
	1066										1					
	1072a										1					
	1172															1 (破汝~)
21	1222	4 (2 得)														
		(2 受)														
	1315	2 (1 ~陀羅尼)														
		(1 得具足~)														
	1318	1 (受~)			1											1 (受~)
	1319															1 (受~)
	1320	2 (受~)														

⁹³⁸ At first sight, a digital search results in 12 hits, but it regards sequences of combinations ending in *-sama(ya)*, followed by those starting with *kai*-.

♦ But: 昧 = 摩 in <甲-ed.> (T. vol. 19: p. 20, n. 26)

24	1487															2 (~具)
26	1521															1 (佛~)
28	1549															4 (2 ~不具足) (1 ~具足) (1 彼~)
31	1592															1 (~瞋恨)
39	1796	3 (1 堅持~) (2 說~)						1								
	1799															1 (知~)
40	1805															1 (諸禪~)
46	1954															
55	2160									1						
	2176	1 (授~)	2							1						
57	2204		1													
58	2213	20 (2 受~) (1 十重~ [等]) (1 十善戒及十重~) (6 說~ [2 說此~]) (1 [說] 四重~) (1 受諸佛具足~) (1 指此~說偈文) (2 [四重禁] 名~ [1 ~而名~]) (1 宗~ [者]) (1 ~作法) (2 ~廣 [1 ~有廣])		4			3	5 [1 without 彼, and 1 without 告彼]								1 (~私記)
	2214				1 (耳語一偈與~)											
	2215	1 (受~)					1									
59	2216	41 (1 住本性~) (1 ~行儀) (1 ~時) (3 受~) (5 授~) (1 授與~) (9 /) (1 /[是...之戒]) (4 說~)	1	6	1	1	1	1								1 (佛性~)

		(1 阿闍梨~) (1 堅持~) (1 指~) (1 ~ 相) (1 一切如来~) (1 義釋~[中]) (1 梵本) (1 瞿醯~文)															
	2217	5 (1 耶 omitted in 甲)						3				6					
60	2218	3 (1 無為戒~同義) (1 號~) (1 /)						2									
	2219	4 (1 得~) (1 ~名) (1 授~) (1 入~場 [入佛~場 in 甲])															
	2220	8 (1 明獲~如說行中) (1 名為住正見真實~) (1 [伝法灌頂] 受~[之時]) (1 受~[之時]) (1 授~[之時]) (1 ~私記) (1 十方三世諸佛同一本誓~) (1 /)						4									1 (勸修~)
61	2223	1 ([説密言及] ~[等])															
	2225	2 (1 [禁戒之謂] ~) (1 /)							1								
	2227	1 ([云] ~)										1					
	2241	6 (1 破~[者]) (1 指~場) (2 受~ [1 of which + ~ 位]) (1 [亦] 名~) (1 ~道場)										1					
69	2289	2 (1 嵯峨天皇~文) (1 ~信心)	1														
	2290												1				
70	2291	2 (1 菩提心~) (1 ~文)						1				1 (~ 文)					
	2292		1									2	1				
	2294	15 (5 /)	11									11					1 (/)

77	2414	3 (1 ~決) (1 ~本) (1 /)			3					1		1					
	2415	2 (1 受~) (1 ~者)					1					5					
	2416	3 (1 四波羅夷~) (2 ~持明禁戒)										1					
	2419											1					
	2434		1														
	2435	1 (~中)										5					
	2437	1 (彼~名)															
	2441		3									4	1				
	2442		2														
	2443											1					
	2444												1				
	2453												1				
	2457	1 (~壇)															
78	2461	2 (1 受持諸佛~) (1 /)	1														
	2462		2														
	2463	1 (受具足菩薩清淨~)															1 (菩薩清 淨~)
	2468	1 (授~)											1				
	2470	1 (堅持無上~)						4				1					
	2473	1 (誦此~梵本三昧耶偈)					1			1							1 (佛性~)
	2482										1						
	2483						3 (1~眞 言戒)										
	2484	1 (受菩薩~)					1										
	2487	3 (1 ~饗事) (1 ~鈴具五古) (1 佛性~眞言)					[1]			[1]			1 (~ 道場)			1	2 (1 ~時) (1 /)
	2488	4 (1 ~明) (1 五瓶并~兩壇等料) (1 半前~ノ所料也) (1 紙裏臨期置~脇机上也)											1				
	2495	4 (1 發菩提心~) (2 /) (1 受菩薩~)															
	2496	1 (~時)															

[illegible]

APPENDIX D

JHBK (SS XX: 42B-52C)

授發菩提心戒文

夫欲發无上菩提之心應先深心觀察十方諸佛清淨性海湛寂圓明本无生滅廣大无碍无為常寂滅相隱諸衆生為諸妄想煩惱迷覆淨心不覺不知昏昏默默貪嗔毒日夜燒灼六賊攻劫五欲纏縛昏狂既感无所覺知慙念此輩從大悲海流演化身不生而生无相現相假起言說示現去來皆為憐念我等衆生起方便智施權實教為欲引導利鈍根性施設種種頓漸法門是故我等慚愧諸佛慈悲方便慙念衆生沉淪苦海應當發起廣大之心誓擬斷除一切眾惡誓擬修習取上法門誓願度脫等衆生界一切有情誓求速證无上菩提諸佛勝果是故發起菩提之心廣如菩提心義中說又菩提心者即是諸佛清淨法身亦是衆生深淨心本尋逐根源本无生滅十方求之終不可得離言說相離名字相離心緣相妄心流轉即名衆生深汙之身開發照晤即名諸佛清淨法身故不增不減經云不離衆生界有法身不離法身有衆生界衆生界即是法身法身即是衆生界故經又言衆生界清淨應知即法身法身即涅槃涅槃即如來以是觀之一切衆生性淨法身與諸佛身本无差別而諸如來昔在因地迷本法身與我无異發大精進勤脩正行已成正覺我今云何貪戀淤泥不起正行故發是心又觀衆生沉淪苦海沒生死河迷自心源喪失惠命慙念彼等與我法身平等

等无二云何信任不垂救拔是故勇猛發起大悲度諸
衆生破魔怨敵是故發起菩提之心

次應略請一切諸佛

弟子某甲等稽首和南十方諸佛

毗盧遮那清淨法身報身化身萬德圓滿一切如來及諸
菩薩摩訶薩衆降臨道場以大慈悲拔濟我等以大智
惠照明我等我等今者為欲發起大菩提心并捨生死破
壞魔衆摧伏外道超越二乘誓求諸佛大悲行願是故
我今歸依頂禮教誨禮佛真言

唵薩縛怛他薩多引跋

娜滿那喃

迦盧弥

南无東方向閼佛南无南方寶生佛

南无西方向弥陀佛

南方北方不空成就佛南无清淨法身毗

盧遮那佛

次應供養

弟子某甲等願以清淨殊勝香

花幢幡寶蓋飲食燈燭常願供養一切諸佛及諸菩薩一切

賢聖

應誦普供養真言真言曰

唵識識最引三婆縛

縛日羅三合斛

次應懺悔

弟子某甲等自從過去无

始已來乃至今生至於今日无明迷覆違失淨心妄想攀
緣起諸分別貪嗔癡等无量煩惱忿恨慳疾諸隨煩惱
起諸我慢謗佛法僧侵奪盜竊一切財物故煞悞煞損害
衆生縱恣愚癡起諸貪染飲酒食肉及以薰辛汙穢伽
藍侵損常住妄言綺語惡口兩舌破戒破齋五逆十惡
如是等罪无量无边我今至誠發露懺悔願罪消滅
應誦懺悔滅罪真言真言曰

唵薩縛跋波捺賀引曩縛

日羅三合野引娑縛三合賀

次應授戒

設先具戒亦須三歸彼有限故不須結界同法界故不欲說微
无異處故三歸依真言曰 嚧步引欠

弟子某甲等盡未來際歸依无上三身諸佛歸依方廣大
乘法藏歸依不退諸菩薩僧我從今日發菩提心誓願
斷除一切衆生誓願修習无邊法門誓願度脫一切衆生
誓求如來一切勝果乃至當坐菩提道場常无退轉我等
今者与諸菩薩和合發心願尊證知三說

弟子某甲等歸依佛竟歸依法竟歸依僧竟我等今
者与諸菩薩和合發心竟盡未來際常无退轉願尊
證知我是菩薩三說 涅槃玄初發已為人天師勝出聲
聞及緣覺如是發心過三界是故得名寂無上花嚴云
仙子始發生如是妙寶心即超凡夫位入佛所行處

受菩提心戒真言曰 唵冒地即多母怛波三合 那野引 弥

次應說相

菩薩戒中說相有四所謂四波羅夷若有毀

犯由如斷頭命根不續則一切支分无所能為不久散壞菩
提心戒四種戒相亦是大乘正法命根若破壞者由如死
尸雖修種種切行不久敗也第一不應捨正法戒者為
如來一切正教皆當修行授持讀誦如由大海吞納百川
无厭足心若於諸乘了不了義隨於一法生弃捨心即名
毀犯菩提心戒如乘中對堪作法人心生口言隨捨一法亦名捨戒
不違衆數然非犯戒此中亦尔

第二不應捨離菩提心戒者此菩提心於菩薩万行猶

如大將懂旗若軍失懂旗即是三軍敗績墮他勝處故犯戒也

第三於一切法不應慳恡戒者此諸勝法皆是如來勤苦修行捐弃身命乃至為其僮僕床坐然後得之是一切衆生父母遺財非獨為一同於盜三寶物故犯戒也

若但慳財不施即十種戒中毀犯非此戒也

第四不得於一切衆生作不饒益行戒者此是四攝相違法故菩薩修行四攝普攝一切衆生為入道因緣而今反作四攝相違起衆生障道因緣捨饒益行故犯戒也

若授戒時先當開示此遮難等能奉行者方為授之

今此四戒以初戒故於三方三世一切正法藏中皆生无作功德由第二戒故於十方一切菩薩行中生無作功德由第三戒故於十方三世一切度人法門皆生無作功德由第四戒故於十方世界一切衆生及四攝事中皆生无作功德不同小乘一期為限量三千為境界又聲聞律儀因緣造作以无餘涅槃為究竟今此所授從一切智生終趣薩婆若海无有窮盡又聲聞法中雖有具足煩惱學无學等階次不同然所發无作律儀則无優劣之異今此菩薩律儀亦復如是雖復最初發心乃至卅二地階次不同然一時普遍法界發起

无作善根则与如来更无增减之異
次應發願迴向如常說

金剛頂經

毗盧遮那佛名法身契印

三藏一行和上同譯

初如來入自己身密護

唵薩埵怛他揭多 阿吽三少提 娑哩茶

堅牢

跋折羅底

嚩訶 而如來心于甘提金剛堅牢安住我心

稽首毗盧遮那佛初如來

金剛頂

南无三曼多

勃陀喃 跋折羅薩埵摩訶三昧耶莎行

金剛王

唵跋折羅阿闍鞞阿鼻說者鍍莎行

金剛峯

唵跋折羅阿闍鞞三寶顯莎行

金剛命

唵跋折羅盧計攝伐薩羅囉囉莎行

金剛產

唵跋折羅阿目佉悉地莎行

金剛首

唵跋折羅薩埵 莎行

金剛燈

唵跋折羅阿闍鞞 莎行

金剛密

唵跋折羅夜叉嚩訶 莎行

APPENDIX E

KSK

[175A] 灌頂三昧耶戒（仁之本）。

夫欲修身慎行。要先捨惡進善。捨惡者調身口意。進善者。專修戒定慧。慧者即一切陀羅尼門。定者即是一切三摩地門。欲入此二門者。要藉正戒以爲根本。而是三門如世伊字。闕一不可。自有古先大德。則有求那跋陀羅三藏達磨。師師傳授。唯詮三摩地門。又三藏瞿多。三藏留支唯集陀羅尼門。近有三藏善無畏與金剛菩提流志。即天竺高德此土傳燈。鳩此三門歸乎一揆。其定慧門者乃是滅煩惱之要津。登涅槃之正路。甚深微妙難可測度。既是速超佛地據果酬因。若不發增上心。精勤勇採者。則不合得聞勝上法門。欲入法門者先發菩提心。方進菩薩戒。然後登前佛地受法三寶所。以決定勤誠受佛正戒。次應歸命（三說）。

[175B] 弟子某甲歸命十方一切諸佛及諸菩薩。大菩提心爲大導師。能令我等離諸惡趣。能示人天及涅槃路。是故我今頂禮常住三寶（歸命已）。

次應供養。

弟子某甲等十方世界所有一切最上最妙華香

幡蓋。天廚肴膳。天樂奇音。無量莊嚴。無邊勝事。供

養諸佛及諸菩薩大菩提心（供養已）。

次應懺悔（三說）。

弟子某甲等自從無始已來乃至今日貪瞋癡等

一切煩惱。及忿恨等諸隨煩惱。惱亂身心廣造諸罪。身業不善斷衆生命。劫盜他人所有財寶。於人非人行不淨行。口業不善作虛誑語染污心語離間和合語惡口罵詈語。意業不善。起瞋及起邪見。一切煩惱無始相續纏染其心。如是三業造罪無量。或殺父殺母。殺阿羅漢。出佛身血。破和合僧。毀謗三寶。破齋破戒。飲酒啖肉。如是等罪無量無邊。今日至誠發露懺悔。一懺已後永斷相續更不復造。唯願三寶加威護念。能令我等罪障消滅。至心頂禮常住三寶（懺悔已）。

[176A]

次歸依三寶（三說）。

弟子某甲等願從今身乃至當坐菩提道場歸依如來無上三身。歸依方廣大乘法藏。歸依一切不退菩薩摩訶薩。唯願十方一切諸佛諸大菩薩證知我等。至心頂禮常住三寶（三說）。

次發菩提心（三說）。

弟子某甲等始從今日乃至當坐菩提道場誓度無量諸有情類。皆令免離生死大苦。今所發心復當遠離我法二相。我法平等無自性故。唯願十方一切諸佛諸大菩薩證知我等。至心頂禮常住三寶（三說）。

次應問言。

諸佛子志心能受持一切菩薩最勝最上大律儀不（答。言能）。

次請賢聖（三說）。

弟子某甲等奉請十方一切諸佛爲大尊證。奉請雄猛阿闍佛。最勝寶生佛。大悲阿彌陀佛。成就不空業佛。此諸無上尊至心稽首請。

[176B]

奉請四大菩薩及薩金剛菩薩。降伏於一切
勝上虛空藏菩薩能授諸灌頂。救世觀自在菩
薩顯三昧瑜伽得毘首羯磨。善作諸事業。如
是轉輪者四菩薩。唯願受我請（三說）。

次請和上。

弟子奉請無動如來寶生如來阿彌陀如來天鼓
雷音如來。爲我作和上。我依和上故得受具足菩
薩清淨三昧耶戒（三說）。

次請羯磨阿闍梨。

弟子某甲等奉請普賢菩薩慈氏菩薩妙德菩薩
除蓋障菩薩。爲我作羯磨阿闍梨。我依闍梨故得
受具足菩薩清淨三昧耶戒。

次請教授阿闍梨。

弟子某甲等奉請普賢菩薩觀音。爲我作教授阿
闍梨。我依闍梨故得受具足清淨三昧耶戒。

[177A]

復請四大菩薩。是四菩薩猶如賢瓶闕一不可。

第一奉請普賢菩薩摩訶薩。普者遍一切處。賢者
最妙善。謂菩提心所起願行及以三業悉皆平等
遍一切處。復名金剛。金剛者喻實相義。過一切語
言心行。遍無所依。不示諸法初中後。不盡不壞離
諸過患。不可變易故名金剛

（世間金剛者有三種義。一不可壞。二寶中之王。三者戰具中勝）。

第二奉請慈氏菩薩摩訶薩。於四無量。慈最爲稱首。

第三奉請妙吉祥菩薩摩訶薩。妙者更無等比無
過上者。吉祥者嘉慶之善譽。亦曰妙德。亦曰妙音。

第四奉請除一切蓋障菩薩摩訶薩。衆生種種心
垢能翳菩薩淨眼。每籍靜慮（卅有缺字歟）。猶如盲者不
覩日光。所以奉請此四大菩薩摩訶薩。爲我作羯

磨阿闍梨（三說。慈愍故）。

復請普賢菩薩摩訶薩。此菩薩即如法身。具修萬行（息災方便故）。

[177B] 復請金剛薩菩薩摩訶薩。對金剛智慧門（降伏方便故）。

復請觀音自在菩薩摩訶薩。對蓮華三昧門（增益方便故）。

此三聖者名曰無量不可思議妙用三點（即般若解脫法身）。

是故三點攝一切法。所以奉請此三大菩薩摩訶

薩。爲我作教授阿闍梨（三說。慈愍故）。

次說羯磨授戒。

諸佛子。至心諦聽。今與仁者羯磨授戒。正是得戒之時。至心諦聽羯磨。十方諸佛諸大菩薩慈悲憶（護乎）念。此諸佛子始從今日乃至當坐菩提道場。受學過去現在未來一切諸佛諸大菩薩清淨妙戒。所謂攝律儀戒。饒益有情戒。攝善法戒。此三種戒具足受持。

始從今日盡未來際諸佛子具足受持諸佛菩薩

淨戒竟。是事如是持（已上。授戒竟）。

已發菩提心具菩薩戒竟。復應修四攝法及四波羅夷及十重戒等。不應缺犯。

其四攝者。所謂布施愛語利行同事。爲欲調伏無

[178A] 始慳貪及饒益有情故應行布施。爲欲調伏瞋恚

慢煩惱及利益有情故應行愛語。爲欲饒益有

情及滿本願故應修利行。爲欲親近大善知識及

令善心無間斷故名爲同事。如是四法是修行處。

是事如是持。今入三密門即是身口意密。復應淨

除四障。四障者。一於有情中及一切法中作種種

不平等見。是第一障。二者於平等誓中作種種

限量之心。是第二障。三者諸所有所作隨名利

不爲大事因緣。是第三障。四者放逸縱意不能
警察身心。是第四障。如是四障若纔起時即爲
自損亦損於他。是故精勤誓願除斷。應如是持。
次應修四律儀。

名爲無作。於其功德運運之間自然增長。一者於
一切如來正法藏中誓願解了。二者於一切菩薩
正行之中誓願勤行。三者於如來度人門中誓願
修集。四者於一切有情中以四攝法而救濟之令
離苦獲安。是名四無作功德。應如是持。

- [178B] 將入陀羅尼門。復具四種三昧耶。是踐如來所行
之跡必須專精四波羅夷。誓無缺犯。波羅夷者。毘
尼藏中廣明四波羅夷。一者不得捨正法而起邪
見。若捨正法是第一波羅夷。不得犯。能持不。二
者不得離菩提心。若離菩提心是第二波羅夷。不
得犯。能持不。三者於一切法中不應慳慳。於一
切法中有所慳慳是第三波羅夷。不得犯。能持不。
四者於一切有情中起饒益行。若於有情之中不
起饒益行是第四波羅夷。不得犯。能持不。
既能護持如是四波羅夷。從一切智生終趣薩波
若海。本末堅固猶若金剛。於一念中恒殊勝進轉
深轉廣。常興義利。如巧色摩尼珠應念出寶。周遍
法界無有制限。今更慇懃重說十戒相。其戒相者
是謂十重。一者不應退菩提心。妨成佛故。二
者不應捨離三寶。歸依外道。邪見法故。三者不
應毀謗三乘教典。背佛法故。四者於甚深大乘
經典不通解處不應生疑。非凡失境界故。五者
若復有人已發菩提心者不應說如是法令彼退
菩提心趣向二乘。斷三寶種故。六者見未發菩
- [179A]

提心者亦不應說如是法令彼發於二乘之心。違本願故。七者對小乘人及邪見人前不應輒說深妙大乘。恐彼生謗獲大罪故。八者不應發起邪見。斷善根故。九者於外道前不應自說我具無上菩提妙戒。令彼以瞋害心求如是定法。不獨能辨退菩提心。二俱損故。十者但於有情中有所損害及無利益皆不應自作及教他作見作隨喜。即於利他法中及以慈悲相違背故。

今授戒已。將紹法寶。如佛在世無異此也。是佛真子。當補佛處。此法深奧難可信受。未可對衆委曲具陳。亦應隨機審授。種種觀察方乃具緣。必須堅信決除疑網。

[179B]

佛言。我今開甘露味門。若有信者得歡喜也。知信方爲初淨心堅固則能增長菩提。然諸有情根機不同大聖設教亦復非一。不可偏執一法互相是非。尚無得人天果報。況無上道耶。或有專行布施成無上道。或有專持戒行亦成佛道。乃至忍辱精進禪定智慧等。及八萬四千塵沙法門皆得悟入。今依金剛頂經。大日世尊順瑜伽教即是無上無等方便。速滅衆罪速具種智。何以故。所謂瑜伽即是三業相應。若無間斷速證佛果。

又應覺除五種障。一謂根本煩惱及八萬四千上中下品障蓋。二謂過去及現在造諸重罪。三謂得勝生處。不假修集以根爲障。四謂已得無障不逢善友不得聽法。五謂已遇善知識得聞正法。然有種種因緣。兩不和合。妨修般若。既離五障於自心中常見十方諸佛。猶如淨月漸漸增明至十五日。能不動潮。以身語意興種種供養雲。以無盡廣大

[180A]

觀廣修諸度。復由意想淨故得解無量語言陀羅尼門。已得陀羅尼故能知一切衆生心行。乃至視聽嗅觸亦皆互用無有障礙。能作佛事不斷如來種故。行人內具如上功德外爲諸佛護持。於生死中而無染着即是清淨尸羅。非造作法故云住無爲戒。如聲聞戒要由白四羯磨衆緣具足方始得生。又須守護如妨利刺。一其長盡戒亦隨之。此陀羅尼戒則不如是。一受已後。世世生處不相捨離。不假受持。常無缺犯。戒品之體境智增明自然朗悟。

本云。

應德三年九月二日（1086）以唐院本寫了。

預大法師 良祐。

[灌頂三昧耶戒（仁之本） 終]

APPENDIX F

JBKG (T. XVIII, No. 915)

- 940b09: 受菩提心戒儀一卷
- 940b10: 開府儀同三司特進試鴻臚卿肅國
- 940b11: 公食邑三千戶賜紫贈司空諡 大鑒
- 940b12: 正號大廣智大興善寺 三藏沙門
- 940b13: 不空奉 詔譯
- 940b14: 弟子某甲等 稽首歸命禮
- 940b15: 遍虛空法界 十方諸如來
- 940b16: 瑜伽總持教 諸大菩薩衆
- 940b17: 及禮菩提心 能滿福智聚
- 940b18: 令得無上覺 是故稽首禮
- 940b19: 禮佛真言曰
- 940b20: 唵薩嚩怛他孽多引跛娜滿那喃迦嚩彌
- 940b21: 次應運心供養
- 940b22: 弟子某甲等 十方一切刹
- 940b23: 所有諸供養 花鬘燈塗香
- 940b24: 飲食幢旛蓋 誠心我奉獻
- 940b25: 諸佛大菩薩 及諸賢聖等
- 940b26: 我今至心禮
- 940b27: 普供養虛空藏真言曰
- 940b28: 唵誝誝曩引三婆嚩嚩曰囉二合斛
- 940b29: 次應懺悔
- 940c01: 弟子某甲等 今對一切佛

940c02:	諸大菩薩衆	自從過去世
940c03:	無始流轉中	乃至於今日
940c04:	愚迷眞如性	起虛妄分別
940c05:	貪瞋癡不善	三業諸煩惱
940c06:	及以隨煩惱	違犯他勝罪
940c07:	及餘罪愆等	毀謗佛法僧
940c08:	侵奪三寶物	廣作無間罪
940c09:	無量無邊劫	不可憶知數
940c10:	自作教他作	見聞及隨喜
940c11:	復依勝義諦	眞實微妙理
940c12:	聖慧眼觀察	前後中三際
940c13:	彼皆無所得	自心造分別
940c14:	虛妄不實故	以爲慧方便
940c15:	平等如虛空	我悉皆懺悔
940c16:	誓不敢覆藏	從今懺已後
940c17:	永斷不復作	乃至成正覺
940c18:	終更不違犯	唯願十方佛
940c19:	一切菩薩衆	哀愍加護我
940c20:	令我罪障滅	是故至心禮
940c21: 懺悔滅罪眞言曰		
940c22: 唵薩嚩訶波捺賀引曩嚩曰囉二合野引娑嚩		
940c23: 二合引賀引		
940c24: 次當受三歸依		
940c25:	弟子某甲等	從今日以往
940c26:	歸依諸如來	五智三身佛
940c27:	歸依金剛乘	自性眞如法
940c28:	歸依不退轉	大悲菩薩僧

940c29: 歸依三寶竟 終不更歸依
941a01: 自利邪見道 我今至心禮
941a02: 三歸依真言曰
941a03: 唵步引欠
941a04: 次應受菩提心戒
941a05: 弟子某甲等 一切佛菩薩
941a06: 從今日＊以往 乃至成正覺
941a07: 誓發菩提心
941a08: 有情無邊誓願度 福智無邊誓願集
941a09: 佛法無邊誓願學 如來無邊誓願事
941a10: 無上菩提誓願成
941a11: 今所發覺心 遠離諸性相
941a12: 蘊界及處等 能取所取執
941a13: 諸法悉無我 平等如虛空
941a14: 自心本不生 空性圓寂故
941a15: 如諸佛菩薩 發大菩提心
941a16: 我今如是發 是故至心禮
941a17: 次誦受菩提心戒真言曰
941a18: 唵胃地唧多母怛波二合那野引彌
941a19: 最上乘教受發菩提心戒懺悔文
941a20: 弟子某甲等。歸命十方一切諸佛諸大菩薩
941a21: 大菩提心爲大導師。能令我等離諸惡趣。能
941a22: 示人天入大涅槃。是故我今至心頂禮
941a23: 弟子某甲等。十方世界所有一切最勝上妙。
941a24: 香花旛蓋種種供養。奉獻一切諸佛菩薩。至
941a25: 心頂禮
941a26: 弟子某甲等。自從過去無始已來。乃至今日。

941a27: 貪瞋癡等種種煩惱。及忿恨等諸隨煩惱。惱
941a28: 亂身心。廣作一切身業不善殺盜邪淫。口業
941a29: 不善妄言綺語惡口兩舌。意業不善貪瞋邪
941b01: 見。種種煩惱。無始相續纏染其心。令身口意
941b02: 造罪無量。或殺父母殺阿羅漢。出佛身血破
941b03: 和合僧。毀謗三寶打縛衆生。破齋破戒飲酒
941b04: 食肉。及食五辛。如是等罪無量無邊。不可憶
941b05: 知。今日誠心發露懺悔。一懺已後。永斷相續
941b06: 更不敢造。唯願十方一切諸佛諸大菩薩。加
941b07: 持護念。能令我等罪障銷滅
941b08: 弟子某甲等。自從今身乃至當坐菩提道場。
941b09: 於其中間。歸依如來無上三身。歸依方廣大
941b10: 乘法藏。歸依一切不退菩薩僧。歸依佛竟。歸
941b11: 依法竟。歸依僧竟。從今已後更不歸依二乘
941b12: 外道。唯願十方一切諸佛。證知我等。至心頂
941b13: 禮
941b14: 弟子某甲等。始從今身。乃至當坐菩提道場。
941b15: 於其中間。誓發無上菩提心
941b16: 衆生無邊誓願度 福智無邊誓願集
941b17: 法門無邊誓願學 如來無邊誓願事
941b18: 無上菩提誓願成
941b19: 今所發心。復當遠離我法二相。顯明本覺。眞
941b20: 如平等鏡智現前。得善巧智。具足圓滿普賢
941b21: 之心。唯願十方一切諸佛諸大菩薩證知我
941b22: 等。至心頂禮

941b23: 南無東方阿閼佛 南無南方寶生佛 南

941b24: 無西方阿彌陀佛 南無北方不空成就

941b25: 佛 南無清淨法身毘盧遮那佛

APPENDIX G

MSZ (T. XVIII, NO. 917)

- 942b28: 無畏三藏禪要 海仁睿
- 942b29: 中天竺摩伽陀國王舍城那爛陀竹林寺三
- 942c01: 藏沙門諱輸波迦羅。唐言善無畏。刹利種
- 942c02: 豪貴族。共嵩岳會善寺大德禪師敬賢和
- 942c03: 上。對論佛法。略敍大乘旨要。頓開衆生心
- 942c04: 地令速悟道。及受菩薩戒。羯磨儀軌。序之
- 942c05: 如左
- 942c06: 夫欲入大乘法者。先須發無上菩提心受大
- 942c07: 菩薩戒身器清淨。然後受法。略作十一門分
- 942c08: 別
- 942c09: 第一發心門 第二供養門 第三懺悔門
- 942c10: 第四歸依門 第五發菩提心門 第六問遮
- 942c11: 難門 第七請師門 第八羯磨門 第九結
- 942c12: 界門 第十修四攝門 第十一十重戒門
- 942c13: 第一發心門
- 942c14: 弟子某甲等。歸命十方一切諸佛諸大菩薩
- 942c15: 大菩提心。爲大導師。能令我等離諸惡趣。能
- 942c16: 示人天大涅槃路。是故我今至心頂禮第二供養門次應教令運心。
- 942c17: 遍想十方諸佛。及無邊世界。微塵刹海。恒沙諸佛菩薩。想自
- 942c18: 身於一一佛前。頂禮讚歎供養之
- 942c19: 弟子某甲等。十方世界所有一切最勝上妙。
- 942c20: 香華旛蓋種種勝事。供養諸佛及諸菩薩大
- 942c21: 菩提心。我今發心盡未來際。至誠供養至心
- 942c22: 頂禮

942c23: 第三懺悔門

942c24: 弟子某甲。自從過去無始已來。乃至今日。

942c25: 貪瞋癡等一切煩惱。及忿恨等諸隨煩惱。

942c26: 惱亂身心廣造一切諸罪。身業不善殺盜邪

942c27: 淫。口業不善妄言綺語惡口兩舌。意業不善

942c28: 貪瞋邪見。一切煩惱無始相續纏染身心。令

942c29: 身口意造罪無量。或殺父母。殺阿羅漢。出佛

943a01: 身血。破和合僧。毀謗三寶。打縛衆生。破齋

943a02: 破戒。飲酒噉肉。如是等罪。無量無邊不可

943a03: 憶知。今日誠心發露懺悔。一懺已後永斷相

943a04: 續更不敢作。唯願十方一切諸佛諸大菩薩

943a05: 加持護念。能令我等罪障消滅。至心頂禮

943a06: 第四歸依門

943a07: 弟子某甲。始從今身乃至當坐菩提道場。歸

943a08: 依如來無上三身。歸依方廣大乘法藏。歸依

943a09: 一切不退菩薩僧。惟願十方一切諸佛諸大

943a10: 菩薩。證知我等。至心頂禮

943a11: 第五發菩提心門

943a12: 弟子某甲。始從今身乃至當坐菩提道場。

943a13: 誓願發無上大菩提心

943a14: 衆生無邊誓願度 福智無邊誓願集

943a15: 法門無邊誓願學 如來無邊誓願仕

943a16: 無上佛道誓願成

943a17: 今所發心。復當遠離我法二相。顯明本覺眞

943a18: 如。平等正智現前得善巧智。具足圓滿普賢

943a19: 之心。唯願十方一切諸佛諸大菩薩。證知我

943a20: 等。至心懺悔

943a21: 第六問遮難門

943a22: 先問。若有犯七逆罪者。師不應與授戒。應教

943a23: 懺悔。須七日二七日乃至七七日。復至一年

943a24: 懇到懺悔須現好相。若不見好相。受戒亦不

943a25: 得戒。諸佛子汝等。從生已來。不殺父耶有輕犯者。應須首罪。

943a26: 必不隱藏。得大罪報。乃至彼等犯者亦爾。無犯者答無

943a27: 汝等不殺母耶。不出佛身血耶。不殺阿羅漢

943a28: 耶。不殺和尚耶。不殺阿闍梨耶。不破和合

943a29: 僧耶。汝等若犯如上七逆罪者。應須對衆發

943b01: 露懺悔。不得覆藏。必墮無間受無量苦。若依

943b02: 佛教發露懺悔者。必得重罪消滅得清淨身。

943b03: 入佛智慧速證無上正等菩提。若不犯者但

943b04: 自答無。諸佛子等。汝從今日乃至當坐菩

943b05: 提道場。能精勤受持一切諸佛諸大菩薩。最

943b06: 勝最上大律儀戒否。此名所謂三聚淨戒。攝

943b07: 律儀戒。攝善法戒。饒益有情戒。汝等從今身

943b08: 乃至成佛。於其中間誓不犯能持否答能

943b09: 於其中間。不捨離三聚淨戒四弘誓願能持

943b10: 否答能既發菩提心受菩薩戒。惟願十方一

943b11: 切諸佛大菩薩。證明我等加持我等。令我永

943b12: 不退轉。至心頂禮

943b13: 第七請師門

943b14: 弟子某甲等。奉請十方一切諸佛及諸菩薩。

943b15: 觀世音菩薩。彌勒菩薩。虛空藏菩薩。普賢菩

943b16: 薩。執金剛菩薩。文殊師利菩薩。金剛藏菩薩。

943b17: 除蓋障菩薩。及餘一切大菩薩衆。憶昔本願。

943b18: 來降道場。證明我等。至心頂禮。弟子某甲奉

943b19: 請釋迦牟尼佛。爲和上。奉請文殊師利。爲羯
943b20: 磨阿闍梨。奉請十方諸佛。爲證戒師。奉請一
943b21: 切菩薩摩訶薩。爲同學法侶。唯願諸佛諸大
943b22: 菩薩慈悲故。哀受我請。至心頂禮
943b23: 第八羯磨門
943b24: 諸佛子諦聽。今爲汝等羯磨授戒。正是得戒
943b25: 之時。至心諦聽羯磨文
943b26: 十方三世一切諸佛諸大菩薩。慈悲憶念。此
943b27: 諸佛子。始從今日。乃至當坐菩提道場。受學
943b28: 過去現在未來一切諸佛菩薩淨戒。所謂攝
943b29: 律儀戒。攝善法戒。饒益有情戒。此三淨戒具
943c01: 足受持如是 至三至心頂禮
943c02: 第九結戒門
943c03: 諸佛子等。始從今日。乃至當證無上菩提。當
943c04: 具足受持諸佛菩薩淨戒。今受淨戒竟。是事
943c05: 如是持如是 至三至心頂禮
943c06: 第十修四攝門
943c07: 諸佛子等。如上已發菩提心。具菩薩戒已。然
943c08: 應修四攝法及十重戒。不應虧犯。其四攝者。
943c09: 所謂布施愛語利行同事。爲欲調伏無始慳
943c10: 貪。及饒益衆生故應行布施。爲欲調伏瞋
943c11: 恚憍慢煩惱。及利益衆生故應行愛語。爲欲
943c12: 饒益衆生。及滿本願故應修利行。爲欲親近
943c13: 大善知識。及令善心無間斷故應行同事如是四法
943c14: 此修行處
943c15: 第十一十重戒門
943c16: 諸佛子受持菩薩戒。所謂十重戒者。今當宣

943c17: 說至心諦聽

943c18: 一者不應退菩提心。妨成佛故。二者不應

943c19: 捨三寶歸依外道。是邪法故。三者不應毀

943c20: 謗三寶及三乘教典。背佛性故。四者於甚

943c21: 深大乘經典不通解處。不應生疑惑。非凡夫

943c22: 境故。五者若有衆生已發菩提心者。不應

943c23: 說如是法令退菩提心趣向二乘。斷三寶種

943c24: 故。六者未發菩提心者。亦不應說如是法

943c25: 令彼發於二乘之心。違本願故。七者對小

943c26: 乘人及邪見人前。不應輒說深妙大乘。恐彼

943c27: 生謗獲大殃故。八者不應發起諸邪見等

943c28: 法。令斷善根故。九者於外道前。不應自說

943c29: 我具無上菩提妙戒。令彼以瞋恨心求如是

944a01: 物。不能辦得令退菩提心。二俱有損故。十

944a02: 者但於一切衆生。有所損害及無利益。皆不

944a03: 應作及教人作見作隨喜。於利他法及慈悲

944a04: 心相違背故

944a05: 已上是授菩薩戒竟。汝等應如是清淨受持。

944a06: 勿令虧犯

944a07: 已受三聚淨戒竟

944a08: 次應受觀智密要禪定法門大乘妙旨。夫

944a09: 欲受法。此法深奧。信者甚希。不可對衆。量

944a10: 機密授。仍須先爲說種種方便。會通聖教令

944a11: 生堅信決除疑網。然可開曉。輸波迦羅三藏

944a12: 曰。衆生根機不同。大聖設教亦復非一。不可

944a13: 偏執一法互相是非。尚不得人天報。況無上

944a14: 道。或有單行布施得成佛。或有唯脩戒亦得

944a15: 作佛。忍進禪慧。乃至八萬四千塵沙法門。
944a16: 一一門入悉得成佛。今者且依金剛頂經設
944a17: 一方便。作斯修行乃至成佛。若聞此說當自
944a18: 淨意寂然安住。於是三藏居衆會中不起于
944a19: 坐。寂然不動如入禪定可經良久。方從定起
944a20: 遍觀四衆。四衆合掌扣頭。珍重再三而已
944a21: 三藏久乃發言曰。前雖受菩薩淨戒。今須重
944a22: 受諸佛內證無漏清淨法戒。方今可入禪門。
944a23: 入禪門已。要須誦此陀羅尼。陀羅尼者。究竟
944a24: 至極同於諸佛。乘法悟入一切智海。是名眞
944a25: 法戒也。此法祕密不令輒聞。若欲聞者。先受
944a26: 一陀羅尼曰

944a27: **ॐ सम्यग्**

944a28: 唵 三 去 昧 耶 薩 怛 鑠

944a29: 此陀羅尼令誦三遍。即合聞戒及餘祕法。亦

944b01: 能具足一切菩薩清淨律儀。諸大功德不可

944b02: 具說

944b03: 又爲發心。復授一陀羅尼曰

944b04: **ॐ वरुणाय नमः**

944b05: 唵 冒 地 唧 多 母 怛 波 二 合 娜 野

944b06: **ॐ**

944b07: 弭

944b08: 此陀羅尼復誦三遍。即發菩提心乃至成佛。

944b09: 堅固不退

944b10: 又爲證入。復受一陀羅尼曰

944b11: **ॐ वीर्यं धर्मं**

944b12: 唵 啍 多鉢羅 二合 底 丁以切 吠 尾禮切 引 曇 去

944b13: **ॐ ॐ ॐ**

944b14: 迦 嚕 轉舌 迷

944b15: 此陀羅尼復誦三遍。即得一切甚深戒藏。及

944b16: 具一切種智。速證無上菩提。一切諸佛同聲

944b17: 共說

944b18: 又爲入菩薩行位。復授一陀羅尼曰

944b19: **ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ**

944b20: 唵 嚕 日羅 滿 吒 上 藍 鉢囉 二合 避

944b21: **ॐ ॐ**

944b22: 捨 迷

944b23: 此陀羅尼若誦三遍。即證一切灌頂曼荼羅

944b24: 位。於諸祕密聽無障礙。既入菩薩灌頂之位。

944b25: 堪受禪門。已上授無漏眞法戒竟

944b26: 又先爲擁護行人。授一陀羅尼曰

944b27: **ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ**

944b28: 唵 戌 馱 戌 馱

944b29: 先誦十萬遍除一切障。三業清淨。罪垢消滅。

944c01: 魔邪不燒。如淨白素易受染色行人亦爾。罪

944c02: 障滅已速證三昧

944c03: 又爲行者授一陀羅尼曰

944c04: **ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ**

944c05: 唵 薩 婆 尾 提 娑嚕 二合 賀 引

944c06: 持誦之法。或前後兩箇陀羅尼。隨意誦一

944c07: 箇。不可並。恐興心不專

944c08: 夫欲入三昧者。初學之時。事絕諸境屏除緣

944c09: 務。獨一靜處半跏而坐已。須先作手印護持。

944c10: 以檀慧並合豎。其戒忍方願。右押左正相叉

944c11: 著二背上。其進力合豎頭相拄曲。開心中

944c12: 少許。其禪智並合豎即成。作此印已。先印頂

944c13: 上。次印額上。即下印右肩。次印左肩。然後印

944c14: 心。次下印右膝。次印左膝。於一一印處。各誦

944c15: 前陀羅尼。七遍乃至七處訖。然後於頂上散

944c16: 印訖。即執數珠念誦此陀羅尼。若能多誦二

944c17: 百三百遍。乃至三千五千亦得。每於坐時。誦

944c18: 滿一洛叉。最異成就。既加持身訖。然端身

944c19: 正住如前半跏坐以右押左不須結全跏。全

944c20: 跏則多痛。若心緣痛境即難得定。若先來全

944c21: 跏坐得者最爲妙也。然可直頭平望。眼不用

944c22: 過開。又不用全合。大開則心散。合即昏沈。

944c23: 莫緣外境。安坐即訖。然可運心供養懺悔。先

944c24: 標心觀察十方一切諸佛。於人天會中爲四

944c25: 衆說法。然後自觀己身。於一一諸佛前以三

944c26: 業虔恭禮拜讚嘆。行者作此觀時。令了了分

944c27: 明如對目前。極令明見。然後運心於十方世

944c28: 界。所有一切天上人間。上妙香華幡蓋飲食

944c29: 珍寶種種供具。盡虛空遍法界。供養一切諸

945a01: 佛。諸大菩薩。法報化身。教理行果。及大會

945a02: 衆。行者作此供養已。然後運心於一一諸佛

945a03: 菩薩前。起殷重至誠心。發露懺悔。我等從

945a04: 無始來至于今日。煩惱覆心久流生死。身口

945a05: 意業難具陳。我今唯知廣懺。一懺已後。永

945a06: 斷相續。更不起作。唯願諸佛菩薩以大慈悲

945a07: 力。加威護念攝受我懺。令我罪障速得消滅
945a08: 此名內心祕密懺悔。最微妙
945a09: 次應發弘誓願。我久在有流。或於過去。曾
945a10: 行菩薩行。利樂無邊有情。或修禪定。勤行精
945a11: 進護持三業。所有恒沙功德。乃至佛果。唯願
945a12: 諸佛菩薩興慈願力。加威護念令我乘斯功
945a13: 德。速與一切三昧門相應。速與一切陀羅尼
945a14: 門相應。速得一切自性清淨。如是廣發誓願。
945a15: 令不退失速得成就
945a16: 次應學調氣。調氣者。先想出入息。從自身
945a17: 中一一支節筋脈。亦皆流注。然後從口徐徐
945a18: 而出。又想此氣。色白如雪潤澤如乳。仍須知
945a19: 其所至遠近。還復徐徐從鼻而入。還令遍身
945a20: 中。乃至筋脈悉令周遍。如是出入各令至三。
945a21: 作此調氣。令身無患冷熱風等悉皆安適。然
945a22: 後學定。輸波迦羅三藏曰。汝初學人。多懼起
945a23: 心動念罷息進求而專守無念以爲究竟者。
945a24: 即覓增長不可得也。夫念有二種。一者不善
945a25: 念。二者善念。不善妄念。一向須除。善法正
945a26: 念。不令復滅。真正修行者。要先正念增修。
945a27: 後方至於究竟清淨。如人學射久習純熟。更
945a28: 無心想行住恒與定俱。不怕不畏起心。爲患
945a29: 虧於進學
945b01: 次應修三摩地。所言三摩地者。更無別法。直
945b02: 是一切衆生自性清淨心。名爲大圓鏡智。上
945b03: 自諸佛下至蠢動。悉皆同等無有增減。但爲
945b04: 無明妄想客塵所覆。是故流轉生死不得作

945b05: 佛。行者應當安心靜住。莫緣一切諸境。假想
945b06: 一圓明猶如淨月。去身四尺。當前對面不高
945b07: 不下。量同一肘圓滿具足。其色明朗內外光
945b08: 潔。世無方比。初雖不見久久精研尋當徹見
945b09: 已。即更觀察漸引令廣。或四尺。如是倍增。
945b10: 乃至滿三千大千世界極令分明。將欲出觀。
945b11: 如是漸略還同本相。初觀之時如似於月。遍
945b12: 周之後無復方圓。作是觀已。即便證得解脫
945b13: 一切蓋障三昧。得此三昧者。名為地前三賢。
945b14: 依此漸進遍周法界者。如經所說名為初地。
945b15: 所以名初地者。為以證此法昔所未得。而今
945b16: 始得生大喜悅。是故初地名曰歡喜。亦莫作
945b17: 解了。即此自性清淨心。以三義故。猶如於月。
945b18: 一者自性清淨義。離貪欲垢故。二者清涼義。
945b19: 離瞋熱惱故。三者光明義。離愚癡闇故。又月
945b20: 是四大所成究竟壞去。是以月世人共見。取
945b21: 以為喻令其悟入。行者久久作此觀。觀習成
945b22: 就不須延促。唯見明朗更無一物。亦不見身
945b23: 之與心。萬法不可得。猶如虛空。亦莫作空解。
945b24: 以無念等故說如虛空非謂空想。久久能熟。
945b25: 行住坐臥。一切時處。作意與不作意。任運相
945b26: 應無所罣礙。一切妄想。貪瞋癡等一切煩惱。
945b27: 不假斷除。自然不起。性常清淨。依此修習。乃
945b28: 至成佛。唯是一道更無別理。此是諸佛菩薩
945b29: 內證之道。非諸二乘外道境界。作是觀已。一
945c01: 切佛法恒沙功德。不由他悟。以一貫之。自然
945c02: 通達。能開一字演說無量法。剎那悟入於諸

945c03: 法中。自在無礙。無去來起滅。一切平等。行此

945c04: 漸至昇進之相久自證知。非今預說所能究

945c05: 竟。輸波迦羅三藏曰。既能修習。觀一成就已。

945c06: 汝等今於此心中。復有五種心義。行者當知。

945c07: 一者剎那心。謂初心見道一念相應。速還忘

945c08: 失。如夜電光。暫現即滅。故云剎那。二者流

945c09: 注心。既見道已念念加功相續不絕。如流奔

945c10: 注。故云流注。三者甜美心。謂積功不已乃

945c11: 得虛然朗徹身心輕泰翫味於道。故云甜美。

945c12: 四者摧散心。爲卒起精懃。或復休廢。二俱違

945c13: 道故云摧散。五者明鏡心。既離散亂之心。

945c14: 鑒達圓明一切無著。故云明鏡。若了達五心。

945c15: 於此自驗。三乘凡夫聖位可自分別矣。汝等

945c16: 行人初學修定。應行過去諸佛祕密方便加

945c17: 持修定法。一體與一切總持門相應。是故。

945c18: 應須受此四陀羅尼。陀羅尼曰

945c19: **उंमुद्भवस्व**

945c20: 唵 速 乞叉摩 二合 嚩 日囉 二合

945c21: 別本漢注唵蘇乞叉嚩日囉

945c22: 此陀羅尼。能令所觀成就

945c23: **उंविष्टवस्व**

945c24: 唵 底 瑟吒 二合 嚩 日囉 二合

945c25: 此陀羅尼。能令所觀無失

945c26: **उंमुपवस्व**

945c27: 唵 娑 頗囉 二合 嚩 日囉 二合

945c28: 此陀羅尼。能令所觀漸廣

946a01: **उंमदाराव**

946a02: 唵 僧 賀 引 囉 嚩 日 囉 二 合

946a03: 此陀羅尼。能令所觀廣。復令漸略如故

946a04: 如是四陀羅尼者。是婆識梵。自證法中甚深

946a05: 方便。開諸學人令速證入。若欲速求此三摩

946a06: 地者。於四威儀。常誦此陀羅尼。剋念用功勿

946a07: 暫虛廢。無不速驗。汝等習定之人。復須知

946a08: 經行法則。於一靜處平治淨地。面長二十五

946a09: 肘。兩頭豎標。通頭繫索。纔與胸齊。以竹筒盛

946a10: 索。長可手執。其筒隨日右轉平直來往。融心

946a11: 普周視前六尺。乘三昧覺任持本心。諦了分

946a12: 明無令忘失。但下一足便誦一眞言。如是四

946a13: 眞言從初至後。終而復始。誦念勿住。稍覺

946a14: 疲懈。即隨所安坐。行者應知入道方便深

946a15: 助進。如脩心金剛。不遷不易。被大精進甲

946a16: 冑。作猛利之心。誓願成得爲期。終無退轉之

946a17: 異。無以雜學惑心令一生空過。然法無二相

946a18: 心言兩忘。若不方便開示無由悟入。良以梵

946a19: 漢殊隔。非譯難通。聊蒙指陳。隨憶鈔錄。以

946a20: 傳未悟。京西明寺慧警禪師。先有撰集。今

946a21: 再詳補。頗調備焉

946a22: 南無稽首十方佛 眞如海藏甘露門

946a23: 三賢十聖應眞僧 願賜威神加念力

946a24: 希有總持禪祕要 能發圓明廣大心

946a25: 我今隨分略稱揚 迴施法界諸含識

946a26: 無畏三藏受戒懺悔文及禪門要法 一卷

APPENDIX H

RECOMMENDED LITERATURE ON KŪKAI: AN ANNOTED BIBIOGRAPHY⁹³⁹

General overviews and background literature

Regardless of some exceptions, such as Katō (2006), Japanese secondary material on Kūkai is only too often characterized by a bias towards venerating Kūkai as the founding father of the Shingon School, cf. Matsunaga (1984). At present, two monographs offer a substantial English introduction to Kūkai: Hakeda (1972) and Abe (2000). Anyone interested in the subject should first take refuge in these books. Although Hakeda (1972) is the best point of departure for undergraduate students to retrieve information on Kūkai's life and read translations of his major works, so far Abe (2000) undoubtedly remains the standard academic reference. Shaner (1985) is one of the few English publications that deal extensively with Kūkai's philosophy. To absorb the cultural atmosphere of the Heian period aristocratic circles in which Kūkai flourished, Weinstein (1999) is an authoritative basis. Amongst introductions to the general background of Japanese Buddhism, Eliot (2005) is one of the best classics. English introductions to Shingon include, amongst others, Kiyota (1978), but for additional information, refer to R.K. Payne's OBO entry on *Shingon*.

Hakeda, Yoshito (羽田, 義人). 1972. *Kūkai – Major Works: Translated with an Account of his Life and a Study of his Thought*. New York: Columbia University Press.

A must for everybody interested in Kūkai, but portrays him as founder of esoteric Buddhism in Japan. Contains a selection of abridged translations, easily accessible for undergraduate students.

Kiyota, Minoru (清田, 稔). 1978. *Shingon Buddhism: Theory and Practice*. Tōkyō: Kenkyūsha.

One of the few noteworthy English introductions to Shingon, including an annotated bibliography and glossary of technical terms on pp. 148-158 and 159-178 respectively. Highly recommended for intermediate readers.

Matsunaga, Yūkei (松長, 有慶), ed. 1984. *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai* 弘法大師空海. Tōkyō: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1984.

One of the many comprehensive Japanese works on Kūkai by the 412th abbot of Kongōbuji, the Shingon headquarters on Kōyasan.

Shaner, David Edward. 1985. *The Bodymind Experience in Japanese Buddhism: A Phenomenological Study of Kūkai and Dōgen*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Interesting contribution to Japanese religion using Husserlian phenomenology, but heavily dependent on secondary sources like Hakeda (1972). On Kūkai's philosophy: pp. 67-128.

⁹³⁹ Pinte K. 2009a.

Weinstein, Stanley. 1999. "Aristocratic Buddhism." In *Cambridge History of Japan*. Edited by John Whitney Hall, Marius B. Jansen, Madoka Kanai, and Denis Twitchett, vol. 2: *Heian Japan*. Edited by Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 449-516.

Standard reference work discussing the cultural background in which Kūkai flourished. On Kūkai, esp. p. 473ff.

Abe, Ryūichi (阿部, 隆一). 2000. *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse*. New York: Columbia University Press.

The best available English study on Kūkai, including partial translations of his work and a selective bibliography for further study. Gives an unprecedented discursive analysis of Kūkai's thought and approach to Buddhism.

Eliot, Sir Charles. 2005. *Japanese Buddhism*. London: Kegan Paul.

Reprint of the 1935 standard overview of Buddhism in Japan, containing sketches of Kūkai's life and doctrine, esp. pp. 234-242 and 337-344. For esoteric Buddhism during the Heian period, 233-253. On Shingon, cf. pp. 336-359.

Katō, Seiichi (加藤, 精一). 2006. *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai ronkō – kenkyū to hyōron* 弘法大師空海論考 – 研究と評論. Tōkyō: Shunjūsha.

Critical analysis of Kūkai studies in Japan by one of the leading specialists in the field. Recommended for advanced usage only.

Bibliographies

Although there are several Japanese books offering guidance in skimming for decent publications on esoteric Buddhism, e.g. Matsunaga (1996), annotated bibliographies exclusively dealing with Kūkai are quite rare and often remain restricted to collector's items or lean towards over-specialization, cf. Takagi (1990). Thus far, Inui (1990) is the only recommendable printed bibliographical resource published in English.

Inui, Hitoshi (乾仁, 志), ed. 1990. "Bibliography of Studies on Kōbō Daishi and Shingon Buddhism in Western Languages." In *Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūsho Kiyō* 密教文化研究所紀要 (Bulletin of the Research Institute of Esoteric Buddhist Culture), special issue: "Mikkyō: Kōbō Daishi Kūkai and Shingon Buddhism". Edited by Kōyasan Daigaku Mikkyō Kenkyūsho (高野山大学密教研究所): 141-183.

One of the very few bibliographies of Western language studies on Kūkai and Shingon, incorporating a general overview of bibliographies, catalogues, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and works on Japanese Buddhism, fundamental to any layman in the field. The part on Kūkai covers translations of his major works and studies on his life and thought, esp. pp. 151-158.

Takagi, Shingen (高木, 諄元). 1990. *Kūkai shisō no shoshiteki kenkyū* 空海思想の書誌的研究. Kyōto: Hōzōkan.

Bibliographical study of Japanese secondary material published on Kūkai's thought, recommended for users with specialization in (Japanese) philosophy only.

Matsunaga, Yūkei (松長, 有慶), ed. 1996. *Mikkyō o shiru tame ni bukku gaido* 密教を知るためのブックガイド. Kyōto: Hōzokan. 2nd ed.

First printed 1995. Very useful bibliographical guide covering a broad range of subjects related to esoteric Buddhism, but mainly addressing Japanese books. On Kūkai, see pp. 153-169.

Jayarava's Raves: A collection of more than 100 short essays by Jayarava, a Western Buddhist. Reflections, commentary, and opinion on Buddhist texts, philology, ethics, psychology, and practice. [<http://jayarava.blogspot.com/2007/09/kukai-bibliography.html>]

Online bibliography covering English material on Kūkai, but at times unreliable in its biased commentaries.

Primary sources

Kūkai's collected works (*zenshū* 全集) are only available in Japanese book series, of which neither online or CD-ROM digital versions have thus far been provided. A comprehensive English version is still lacking. Kūkai wrote in a pre-modern Japanese version of literary Chinese (*kanbun* 漢文), but for those familiar with modern Japanese, the most accessible collection is the edition by Kōbō Daishi Zenshū Henshū Iinkai (1987), while *Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūsho* (1968) stays of high value for advanced research. Based on content, style, absence from early catalogs, etc. some texts have, however, been identified as spurious in pre-modern times. In most collections the order of the texts therefore reflects this traditional understanding of Kūkai's authorship, but their interpretations are too lenient by modern standards. Although some of the texts attributed to Kūkai are now understood clearly not to be his work and the authorship of others is still being contested, see e.g. Matsuda (2003) and Fröhlich (2007), an encompassing English publication on authenticating and legitimating mechanisms in Kūkai's textual oeuvre is still unavailable. Indeed, there are plenty of Japanese articles discussing individual texts, and as many conflicting opinions, but beyond the information and selection of texts in the *Teihon Kōbō Daishi Zenshū*, edited by Kōyasan Daigaku Mikkyōbunka Kenkyūjo Kōbō Daishi Chosaku Kenkyūkai (1992-1997) very little consensus on alleged authenticity is given in one place. Major texts attributed to Kūkai are also preserved in Japanese editions of the Buddhist canon and in other Japanese collections of Buddhist scriptures. Takakusu et al. (1924-1935) remains the most widely used and accessible version of the Buddhist canon. There are several online versions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, such as Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association (CBETA) [<http://www.cbeta.org>], but most comprehensive still is the searchable Saṃgaṇikīkṛtaṃ Taiśotripiṭakaṃ (SAT) Daizōkyō Text Database (1998).

Takakusu, Junjirō (高楠, 順次郎), Watanabe Kaigyoku (渡部, 海旭), and Ono Genmyō (小野, 亦妙), eds. 1924-1935. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. Tōkyō: Daizō shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 100 vols.

The Taishō canon (commonly abbreviated as T.) includes 3,360 works in total, with 28 traditionally attributed to Kūkai: nos. 2161, 2190, 2199a-b, 2200, 2203a, 2211a-g, 2221-2233, 2236a-c, 2237, 2246, 2284, 2425-2428a-g, 2429-2431, 2461-2464, 2701, and 2921.

Bussho kankōkai (佛書刊行會), ed. 1912-22. *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書, Tōkyō: Bussho kankōkai, 150 vols.

Japanese collection of Buddhist texts reprinted in 1970-1973 by the Suzuki Research Foundation (Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木學術財團) in 100 vols. and in 1981 by the Association for the Promotion of Classics (Meicho Fukyūkai 名著普及會) in 150 vols. For Kūkai's works, see e.g. vol. 2: 16-28 and vol. 106: 1-30.

Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūsho (密教文化研究所), ed. 1968. *Kōbō Daishi Zenshū* 弘法大師全集. Ōsaka: Dōhōsha, 7 vols. + introduction.

Collection of Kūkai's works in classical Chinese with the indications for Japanese readings (*kanbun no kundoku* 漢文の訓読), including an introductory volume that mainly contains biographies. For advanced philological research valuable indices are in vol. 7.

Kōbō Daishi Zenshū Henshū Iinkai (弘法大師空海編集委員会), ed. 1987. *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai Zenshū* 弘法大師空海全集. 8th edn., Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō, 8 vols.

This collection offers the pre-modern Japanese (*bungo* 文語) readings of Kūkai's entire work, parallel to their richly annotated modern Japanese translations, forming an ideal alternative for those who have not learned classical Chinese and/or its Japanese reading (*kanbun no kundoku* 漢文の訓読).

Kōyasan Daigaku Mikkyōbunka Kenkyūjo Kōbō Daishi Chosaku Kenkyūkai 高野山大学密教文化研究所弘法大師著作研究会 (ed.) 1992-1997. *Teihon Kōbō Daishi Zenshū* 定本弘法大師全集. Kōyasan: Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 10 vols. + supplement.

The best collection of "original" texts to date, including useful information on the –for large part sectarian– Kūkai authorship discussion.

The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database Committee (Daizōkyō tekisuto dētabēsu i'inkai 大藏経テキストデータベース委員会), ed. 1998. *SAT Daizōkyō Text Database (Taishō shinshū daizōkyō tekisuto dētabēsu* 大正新脩大藏経テキストデータベース). Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku daigakuin jinbun shakai-kei kenkyūka jisedai jinbungaku kaihatsu sentā (東京大学大学院人文社会系研究科次世代人文学開発センター) [http://21dtk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/database_en.html].

Covers the first 85 vols. of the Taishō canon and offers linked searches of Japanese language secondary scholarship through INBUDS (Indian and Buddhist Studies) database. [<http://www.inbuds.net/eng/index.html>] and Digital Dictionary of Buddhism (Denshi Bukkyō Jiten 電子佛教辞典) [<http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb>]

Matsuda, William J. 2003. *The Founder Re-interpreted: Kūkai and Vraisemblant Narrative*. Unpublished MA-thesis.

[http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/7110/2/uhm_ma_3075_r.pdf]

Analysis of *Sangō shiki* (cf. *Apologetic Fiction* below), *Shōrai mokuroku* (see *Catalogue of Imported Items* infra) and *Goyuigō* (cf. *Biography* infra) based on Genette's narrative ideas. Includes also references to other attributions, e.g. *Iroha* poem, see: p. 1, n. 2.

Fröhlich, Judith. 2007. *Rulers, Peasants and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Japan: Ategawa no shō 1004-1304*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Although sometimes lacking precision, this book on the significance of writing and reading includes a chapter on the economic and ritual influence of the acceptance as authentic of a forged record purportedly the work of Kūkai, *Kōya goshuin engi* 高野御手印縁起, pp. 69-119.

Biography

Kūkai's disciple Shinzei (真濟, 780-860) is believed to have been the first to compose a biography of Kūkai. Many Japanese introductions (*nyūmon* 入門) have been published on Kūkai's life, but by far the best study on Kūkai's life is Katō (1989). The most accessible overviews given in English are contained in Hakeda (1972) and Abe (2000), see: *General Overviews and Background Literature*. Hakeda gives the most accessible overview on Kūkai's life, esp. pp. 13-60 and includes a useful chronological table of Kūkai's life, 277-279. Hakeda discusses Kūkai's China experience on pp. 29-34. Abe includes very useful information on Kūkai's date of birth, cf. p. 20 and p. 454 n.1; on Kūkai's dissent, pp. 69-112. His biography is discussed on pp. 4-8, 22-23, 40-42, 46-47, 55-63, and 386-388. For his travel to China, see pp. 113-150. Abe's analysis of Kūkai's autobiographical writings is found on pp. 74-75, 84-85, and 89-90. Kūkai's autobiographical writings are also discussed in Matsuda (2003: 12-35, cf. *Primary Sources* supra). However, a book-length work incorporating full English translations of Kūkai's biographies and autobiographical writings is still lacking. Borgen (1982) gives the most detailed English account of the Japanese embassy Kūkai joined when he went to China in order to study esoteric Buddhism. Abe (1995) is one of the few English studies on Kūkai's relationship to Saichō (最澄, 767-822), and Hinonishi (2002) is the only recent source addressing the subject of Kūkai's epithets. Although as such not scholarly in scope, *Kōbō Daishi Eden* 弘法大師絵伝 or illustrated Kūkai biographies are important material for the study of popular devotional views on his life. There are several Japanese articles on the subject, but most of them are outdated. Sekiguchi (1988), however, might be representative of the few more accessible accounts.

Shinzei (真濟), comp. 1968. “Kūkai sōzuden 空海僧都伝”. In *Kōbō Daishi Zenshū* 弘法大師全集. Edited by Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūsho (密教文化研究所), introductory vol. (*shukan* 首巻), 1-5. Ōsaka: Dōhōsha.

The *Biography of Kūkai, Director of Priests* is attributed to Kūkai's direct disciple Shinzei (真濟, 780-860), and is believed to be the earliest extant and therefore most accurate biography of Kūkai. Hakeda (1972) is largely based on this text, but as yet there is no full English translation available.

Borgen, R. 1982. “The Japanese Mission to China 801-806”. *Monumenta Nipponica* 37/1: 1-28.

Kūkai's journey to China with many details not included in other accounts, including partial translations of the ambassador's report to the emperor, and Kūkai's letter to the governor of Fujian.

Sekiguchi, Masayuki (関口, 正之) et al. (eds.). 1988. “Eden ni miru Kōbō Daishi shinkō 絵伝にみる弘法大師信仰.” *Zusetsu nihon no bukkyō* 図説日本の仏教, vol. 2: *Mikkyō* 密教. Tōkyō: Shinchōsha: 290-302.

Interesting chapter on Kūkai folk belief and scenes from his life in artistic representations, part of a richly illustrated series in 6 vols. on Japanese Buddhism.

Katō, Seiichi (加藤, 精一). 1989. *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai den* 弘法大師空海伝. Tōkyō: Shunjūsha.

Regardless of its publication date, still one of the most authoritative works on Kūkai's life and aftermath. Largely based on primary sources, remains one of the best introductions both for beginners and advanced learners with an intermediate knowledge of Japanese.

Abe, Ryūichi. 1995. ‘Saichō and Kūkai: A Conflict of Interpretation’. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 22(1-2): 103-137.

Influential article offering a revisionist look at the relationship between the two pivotal figures in Heian period Japanese Buddhism history, suggesting an emphasis on policy rather than on personal affairs.

Hinonishi, Shinjō (日野西, 真定), and William Londo, trans. 2002. 'The Hōgō (Treasure Name) of Kōbō Daishi and the Development of Beliefs of Associated with It'. *Japanese Religions* 27/1: 5-18.

One of the very few English publications on this subject, tracing the origins of *namu daishi henjō kongō* 南無大師遍照金剛, the *mantra* for praising and hailing Kūkai.

Green, Ronald S. *Kūkai, Founder of Japanese Shingon Buddhism*.

[<http://ww2.coastal.edu/rgreen/kukai.htm>]

One of the few decent online English resources on Kūkai. Contains excerpts from a very accessible, though still unpublished book-length biography.

Legends and attributions

Kūkai is revered as a universal saint (cf. *Pilgrimage and Devotion* *infra*) and has been described in hagiographical writings as possessing magical powers and exceeding in his broad knowledge of Chinese culture, including literature, calligraphy and arts. Kūkai legends have brought about several series of attributions, ranging from mystical contacts with long deceased Buddhist masters, over the invention of the *kana* script to the introduction of homosexuality. Although Kūkai legends have penetrated a vast array of publications, as yet no comprehensive monograph solely dedicated to the subject is available. Some of them, however, have been treated in a revised biography by Abe (2000), *passim*, see *General Overviews and Background Literature* *supra*. Abe also discussed the attribution of the *kana* syllabary, esp. pp. 390-398. On Kūkai and male-male sexuality, Schalow (1992) is the core sources, although Faure (1998) and Pflugfelder (1999) also include further references.

Schalow, Paul Gordon. 1992. "Kūkai and the Tradition of Male Love in Japanese Buddhism." *Buddhism, Sexuality, and Gender*. Edited by José Ignacio Cabezón. Albany: State University of New York Press: 215-230.

So far the best treatment of Kūkai as the favorite legitimating figure in homo-erotic iconography.

Faure, Bernard. 1998. *The Read Thread: Buddhist Approaches to Sexuality*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Major work on sexual behavior in mostly medieval Japanese monastic traditions. On Kūkai and the origin of homosexuality in Japan: pp. 236-240.

Pflugfelder, Gregory M. 1999. *Cartographies of Desire: Male-male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse 1600-1950*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.

Leading study on homosexuality in Japan, including several references to Kūkai as legitimator and patron of male love, esp. pp. 50-85.

Shiba, Ryōtarō (司馬, 遼太郎). 2003. *Kūkai the Universal: Scenes from His Life*. New York: ICG Muse Inc.

Novel that is loosely based on Kūkai's life, recommended for entertainment's sake only.

Pilgrimage and devotion

Kūkai-worship still plays a central role in the religious experience of thousands of people in contemporary Japan. Aside from the tourist site of Kōyasan, pilgrimages in honor of Kūkai are made throughout Japan. Probably best known is the *Shikoku hachijūhakkasho* 四国八十八箇所, a pilgrimage to eighty-eight sacred places in Shikoku, treated e.g. by Moreton (2001), but has been unsurpassably discussed by Reader (1999) and (2005), together with Tanabe (e.g. 1998), one of the leading experts in this subject. Probably the first English treatment of Kūkai's more general popular allure is Casal (1959), while Kitagawa (1976) offers an introduction into devotional aspects. Although presented as non-academic travel account, Nicoloff (2008) is exemplary of publications that include references to the belief in Kūkai's eternal presence on Mt. Kōya. Tanabe (1999), on the other hand, offers the first English translation of a text legitimizing Kōyasan pilgrimage.

Casal, U.A. 1959. "The Saintly Kōbō Daishi in Popular Lore." *Folklore Studies* 18: 95-144.

One of the first English studies on Kūkai-worship. Recommended for contextualization purposes.

Kitagawa, Joseph Mitsuo (北川, ジョゼフ, 三夫). 1976. 'Kūkai as Master and Saviour'. In F.E. Reynolds and D. Capps (eds.), *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion*. Den Haag: Mouton: 319-341.

Interesting entry on Kūkai devotion in a collection of essays based on seminars held at the Divinity School, University of Chicago, from 1972 to 1973.

Tanabe, George J. Jr. and Ian Reader. 1998. *Practically Religious: Worldly Benefits and the Common Religion of Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

On 'The Benefits of a Saint: Kōbō Daishi', see pp. 166-170.

Reader, Ian. 1999. "Legends, Miracles, and Faith in Kōbō Daishi and the Shikoku Pilgrimage." In *Religions of Japan in Practice*. Edited by G.J. Tanabe. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 360- 369.

Short essay on Kūkai-worship, by one of the leading specialists in Japanese pilgrimage culture in a highly recommendable book for anyone interested in the for a long time neglected practical aspects of Japanese religion.

Tanabe, George J. Jr. 1999. "The Founding of Mt. Kōya and Kūkai's Eternal Meditation." *Religions of Japan in Practice*. Edited by G. Tanabe. Princeton: Princeton UP: 354-359.

Translation of the *Kongōbuji konryū shugyō engi* in a collection of religious texts dating from the eighth through the twentieth centuries, each preceded by useful introductory summaries and contextualizations. Also including bibliographical references and index.

Moreton, David C. 2001. *The History of Charitable Giving Along the Shikoku Pilgrimage Route*. MA-Thesis. University of British Columbia.

Although not very innovative, offers a discussion of Kūkai as the alleged founder of the Shikoku pilgrimage on pp. 7-10.

Reader, Ian. 2005. *Making Pilgrimages: Meaning and Practice in Shikoku*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Leading examination of *Shikoku hachijūhakkasho* 四国八十八箇所 practice, focusing on contemporary Japan, but also discussing historical background, esp. pp. 107-186. Includes several appendices of high practical use both for researchers as practitioners.

Nicoloff, Philip L. 2008. *Sacred Kōyasan: A Pilgrimage to the Mountain Temple of Saint Kōbō Daishi and the Great Sun Buddha*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Not presented as an in-depth scholarly work, but draws a well-written picture of present-day Mt. Kōya. Surely recommended for introductory purposes and including brief, though generally useful annotations, esp. on annual festivals and rituals. For a discussion of Kūkai's life and legend, pp. 31-74. On Kūkai's mausoleum (*gobyō* 御廟): p. 229 ff.

Material culture and visual arts

As an artist Kūkai is probably best known for his calligraphy, cf. Kimura (1973), Yamamoto (1984) and Kodama (1998). However, the statues, ritual implements, texts, scroll paintings, mandalas, etc. he brought back from China and listed in his *Catalogue of Imported Items*, see heading below, may have had a much deeper influence on Japanese culture, cf. Bogel (2007). Moreover, there are several series of painted scrolls depicting scenes from Kūkai's life, and form an interesting source for studying popular and devotional aspects surrounding the Kūkai legends and biography. Aside from the treatment in Sekiguchi (1988), cf. *biography* supra, illustrated Kūkai biographies (*Kōya Daishi gyōjō zue* 高野大師行状図絵) are also discussed in catalogues of special exhibitions, such as Izutsu (2002) and Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan (2003).

Yamamoto, Chikyō (山本, 智教). 1984. "Kōbō Daishi to Mikkyō Bijutsu 弘法大師と密教美術". *Mikkyō bijutsu daikan* 密教美術大観, vol. 4: *Ten, hōgu, soshi* 天法. 具. 祖師. Edited by Sawa, Ryūken (佐和, 隆研) and Hamada, Takashi (濱田, 隆). Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbunsha: 171-178.

Short essay in Kūkai's artistic production in a major collection of esoteric Buddhist art, including a discussion of his calligraphy.

Kodama, Masayuki (児玉, 正幸). 1998. "Kūkai no mikkyō fukyō senryaku to shite no shogei (Kūkai's use of calligraphy in missionary work for the Mikkyō sect of Buddhism)". *Kanoya Taiiku Daigaku gakujuutsu kenkyū kiyō* 鹿屋体育大学学術研究紀要 19: 73-80.

Short essay on based on a comparison of Saichō's and Kūkai's use of calligraphy.

Izutsu, Shinryū (井筒, 信隆) et al. 2002. *Sacred Treasures of Mount Kōya: The Art of Japanese Shingon Buddhism. A Commemorative Exhibition on the Occasion of the Celebration of the Centennial of the Shingon Mission of Hawaii and the 75th Anniversary of the Founding of the Honolulu Academy of Arts*. Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts/Kōyasan: Reihōkan.

Catalogue of 2002 exhibition in Honolulu, with special section on art treasures related to Kūkai and Kōyasan on pp. 33-50, including biographical scroll paintings, e.g. on p. 45, with explanation on p. 155, no. 8.

Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan (京都国立博物館) et al. (eds.) 2003. *Kūkai to Kōyasan: Kōbō Daishi nittō sen niyaku nen kinen* 空海と高野山弘法大師入唐一二〇〇年記念 (Kūkai and Mount Kōya:

Treasures of a Sacred Mountain. Special Exhibition). Ōsaka: NHK Ōsaka Hōsōkyoku/NHK Kinki Media Puran.

Including calligraphies both in Kūkai's hand (e.g. pp. 34-37, plate 2), as well as those attributed to him (e.g. p. 98, plate 46), illustrated Kūkai biographies (e.g. pp. 45-49, plate 11), early copies of Kūkai manuscripts (e.g. p. 100, plate 49)

Bogel, Cynthia J. 2007. "Situating Moving Objects: A Sino-Japanese Catalogue of Imported Items, 800 to the Present." In *What's the Use of Art? Asian Visual and Material Culture in Context*. Edited by Jan Mrázek, and Morgan Pitelka, 142-179. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Innovative study on the influence of Kūkai's catalogue on the material culture of Japan. Highly recommended for everyone interested in this subject.

Catalogue of Imported Items

In 806 Kūkai completed his *Catalogue of Imported Items* (*Go-shōrai mokuroku* 御請來目錄), see: Takakusu et al. (1924-1935, cf. *Primary Sources* supra, T. no. 2161: 1060b13-1066a05) that he collected during his two years of study in China. After having been presented to the court, this catalogue became very important in the development not only of the Shingon monastic curriculum, cf. Abe (2000), but also for Japanese material culture, cf. Bogel (2007), cited above under *Material Culture and Visual Arts*. Kūkai's catalogue has been partially translated in English as *A Memorial Presenting a List of Newly Imported Sutras and Other Items* in Hakeda (1972): 140-157, cf. *General Overviews and Background Literature*. On the contents and importance of what Abe (2000) translated as *Catalogue of Imported Items*, 179ff, cf. *General Overviews and Background Literature* cited above.

Keene, Donald, ed. 1955. *Anthology of Japanese Literature from the Earliest Era to the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. New York: Grove Press.

Basic reference work on classics in the literature of Japan, containing a chapter on 'Kūkai and his master', which gives a partial translation of the catalogue, 63-66.

Bary, Theodore W. de, Donald Keene, George Tanabe, and Paul Varley, eds. 2001. *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 1: *From the Earliest Times to 1600*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2nd edition.

Partial translations of Kūkai's popular works mainly adapted from Hakeda (1972). On Kūkai and esoteric Buddhism, 153-174. For the translation of the *Goshōrai-mokuroku*, esp. 162-165.

Commentaries on Buddhist scriptures

As a Buddhist scholar-monk, Kūkai wrote several commentaries on Buddhist scriptures, including texts from the *sūtra*, *tantra* and *vinaya* literature, e.g. on the *Principle Transcending Sūtra* (*Rishukyō* 理趣經) and the Japanese selection from the Chinese version of the *Mahāvairocanaśambodhitantra* (*Dainichikyō* 大日經). These commentaries most often took the form of 'title-analyses' (*kaidai* 開題), which comprise a particular form of textual exegesis that analyze titles of scriptures and explicate their importance. One of the leading experts in the study of this genre is Murakami 2000 and Murakami 2004. One of the exceptions to this format was his composition of the *Hannya shingyō hiken* 般若心經秘鍵 or *Secret Key to the Heart Sūtra*, a commentary that has often been included amongst his major works. Even

though there are no English studies and/or translations of the majority of his commentaries, the *Secret Key* has been translated into English by Hakeda (1972): 262-275 and in German by Kawahara (1992).

Kūkai. “*Rishukyō kaidai* 理趣經開題.” In *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, vol. 61, no. 2236a-c. Edited by Takakusu, Junjirō (高楠, 順次郎) et al., 611a4-612c10. Tōkyō: Daizō shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1924-1935.

Title-analysis of the Principle Transcending Sūtra, i.e. Amoghavajra (705-770/4), trans., *Dairaku kongō fukū shinjitsu sanmaiya-kyō* 大樂金剛不空眞實三昧耶經 (T. vol. 8, no. 243: 784a8-786b15)

Kūkai. “*Dainichikyō kaidai* 大日經開題.” In *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, vol. 58, no. 2211a-g. Edited by Takakusu, Junjirō (高楠, 順次郎) et al., 1a3-12a17. Tōkyō: Daizō shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1924-1935.

Kūkai’s *Title-Analysis of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra* refers to Śubhākarasiṃha (637-735) and Yixing 一行 (683-727), trans. *Daibirushana jōbutsu jinben kaji-kyō* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 (T. vol. 18, no. 848: 1a2- 55a4).

Kūkai. “*Hannya shingyō hiken* 般若心經秘鍵.” In *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, vol. 57, no. 2203a. Edited by Takakusu, Junjirō (高楠, 順次郎) et al., 11a02-12c25. Tōkyō: Daizō shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1924-1935.

The Secret Key to the Heart Sutra is a highly influential exegesis of Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 600-664), trans. *Hannya haramitta shingyō* 般若波羅蜜多心經 (T. vol. 8, no. 251: 848a2- c23). Translated into English by Hakeda (1972) and in German by Kawahara (1992).

Gelfman, Wayne Thomas. 1979. 'The Rishukyō and Its influence on Kūkai: The Identity of the Sentient Being with the Buddha.' PhD-Thesis. University of Wisconsin, Madison.

For the first time in any Western language addressing Kūkai’s relation to this scripture, giving background information for a better understanding of his *Rishukyō kaidai*.

Kawahara, Eihō (川原, 榮峰), and Jobst, Yūhō, trans. 1992. *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai: Ausgewählte Schriften – Sokushin-jōbutsu-gi, shōjijissō-gi, Unji-gi, Hannya-shingyō-hiken*. München: Iudicium.

The first fully annotated German translations of four of Kūkai’s major works, including *Geheimschlüssel des Herzsūtra der zur Vollendung gebrachten Weisheit (Hannya-shingyō-hiken)* on pp. 125-151, already published in 1983 in *Mikkyō Bunka* 密教文化 (Journal of Esoteric Buddhism) 141: 28-54.

Murakami, Yasutoshi (村上, 保壽). 2000. “Kūkai no ‘kaidai’ o yomu (2): ‘kaidai’ ni miru Shingon-shūgaku no ishiki 空海の『開題』を読む (二) – 『開題』に見る真言宗学の意識 (Reading Kūkai's Kaidai (2): The Consciousness of the Shingon Sectarian Dogma Found in the Kaidai)”. *Mikkyō Bunka* 密教文化 (*The Journal of Esoteric Buddhism*) 204: 1-24.

Example out of a series of articles published from 1999 onwards by the leading expert on Kūkai’s *kaidai*, giving an unprecedented objective academic perspective the proselytizing scope of Kūkai’s apologetic works.

Murakami, Yasutoshi (村上, 保壽). 2004. “Kūkai no shisō to ‘kaidai’ 空海の思想と『開題』 (A Few Problems in Kūkai's ‘Kaidai’).” In *Onozuka Kichō hakase koki kinen ronbun-shū: Kūkai no shisō to bunka* 小野塚幾澄博士古稀記念論文集：空海の思想と文化 (Kōbō Daishi Kūkai's Thought and

Culture: In Honor of Litt. D. Kichō Onozuka on his seventieth birthday), vol. 1. Edited by Taishō Daigaku Shingongaku Buzan kenkyū-shitsu 大正大学真言学豊山研究室 and Onozuka Kichō-hakase koki kinen ronbunshū kankōkai 小野塚幾澄博士古稀記念論文集刊行会: 151-164.

Part of a series of articles published from 1999 onwards by the leading expert on Kūkai's *kaidai*, for the first time addressing the problem of Kūkai's interpretative strategies he used in his commentaries.

Major doctrinal treatises

For scholars the most appealing amongst Kūkai's works have proven to be his treatises, in which he promulgated his vision on esoteric Buddhist doctrine and praxis. Because they form the basis for understanding Kūkai's thought, these treatises have been widely studied by (mostly Japanese) scholars in Buddhist philosophy and religious studies. Four of them are of major importance, and are included in the standard Japanese edition of the Buddhist canon, i.e. Takakusu et al. (1924-1935), cf. *Primary Sources* supra.

In the *Himitsu mandara jū jūshin ron* (秘密曼荼羅十住心論, T. no. 2425: 303a2-362c20) or *Treatise on the Ten Abiding Stages of Mind According to the Secret Maṇḍala*, cf. Abe (2000: esp. 327-329, see *Basic Overviews and Background Literature* supra), Kūkai argues for the supremacy of Shingon over all other religious systems. As yet, this text has not been entirely translated in English, but Todaro (1984) gives an annotated translation of the last chapter, and some excerpts are included in de Bary et al. (2001): 168-170, cf. *Catalogue of Imported Items* above.

The second work, *The Precious Key to the Hidden Treasury* (*Hizō hōyaku* 祕藏寶鑰, T. no. 2426: 363a4-374c19) is Kūkai's summary of the *Ten Abiding Stages of Mind* (Abe 2000: 220). An introduction and partial translation of the last chapter can be found in Kiyota (1961; 1967). Full English translations are provided by Hakeda (1972): 157-224, cf. *General Overviews and Background Literature* supra, but Giebel (2004) offers the most updated version. Abe's (2000: 334-336) *Jeweled Key to the Secret Treasury* analyzes this text in the broader framework of Kūkai's thought.

The third work is the *Treatise on [the Difference between] Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism* (*Ben kenmitsu-nikkyō ron* 辨顯密二教論, T. no. 2427: 374c22-381b15) and argues for the supremacy of esoteric over exoteric teachings, because the former were espoused by the Dharmakāya Buddha. There is a roughly annotated translation of the introduction and last part of *Treatise on the Difference between the Exoteric and Esoteric Teachings* in Hakeda (1972: 151-157), and *Distinguishing the Two Teachings of the Exoteric and Esoteric*, in Abe (2000: esp. 212-219, 131-234, and 261-270). Full translations by Giebel (2004: 15-62) and White (2005).

The fourth treatise, *The Meaning of Becoming Buddha in this Life* (*Sokushin jōbutsu-gi* 真言宗即身成佛義, T. 2428a-f: 381b18-401b26), also known as *Questions and Answers concerning the Meaning of Attaining Buddhahood in this Very Body according to the Mantra School* (*Shingonshū sokushin jōbutsu gi mondō* 真言宗即身成佛義問答) discusses the ability to attain Buddhahood in one's very existence, being a major theme that characterizes liberation according to Shingon doctrine, and having exerted major influence on other denominations of Japanese Buddhism. The text has been studied in Gardiner (1986), and is partially translated in English by de Bary (2001: esp. pp. 165-168, see: *Catalogue of Imported

Items* supra), and Hakeda's (1972: esp. 225-234) *Attaining Enlightenment in this very Existence*. Full English translations are included in Giebel's (2004: 63-82) *The Meaning of Becoming a Buddha in This Very Body* and Inagaki (2006). Kawahara's (1992: 19-52, see: *Commentaries on Buddhist Scriptures* supra) *Wie erlangt man Buddha-Werdung in der gegenwärtigen Existenz (Sokushin-jōbutsu-gi)*, gives a full translation into German. Abe's (2000: esp. 298-302) *Transforming One's Body into the Realm of Enlightenment* gives the best reading of this work.

Kiyota, Minoru (清田, 稔). 1961. "Introduction to the *Hizō-Hōyaku*: a classical Text on Japanese Buddhist Esoterism." *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan*, vol. 6: 75-87.

The first English introduction to the *Precious Key*, but difficult to retrieve.

Kiyota, Minoru (清田, 稔). 1967. "A Translation of the Introduction and the Tenth Chapter of the *Hizō Hōyaku*." *Mikkyō Bunka* 密教文化 (Journal of Esoteric Buddhism) 81: 79-96.

Seminal work on the *Precious Key*, included in the leading journal for esoteric Buddhist scholarship in Japan.

Todaro, Dale A. 1984. "An Annotated Translation of the Tenth Stage of Kūkai's *Jūjūshinron*." *Mikkyō Bunka* 密教文化 (Journal of Esoteric Buddhism) 147: 71-101.

Partial annotated translation of this major treatise by one of the specialists in the field, completed in the framework of a translation program for Kūkai's text by Kōyasan University.

Gardiner, David. 1986. *Kūkai's the Meaning of Realization of Buddhahood in This Very Body*. MA-thesis, University of Virginia.

One of the first academic inquiries into the question of realizing Buddhahood in this life as expounded by the Shingon creed. Regardless of its troublesome availability, still recommended for complementary study.

Gardiner, David L. 1992. "Benkenmitsu nikyōron ni miru Kūkai no kengyōkan 弁顯密二教論にみる空海の顕教観 (Kūkai's View of Exoteric Buddhism in the *Benkenmitsu nikyōron*)". *Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūsho Kiyō* 密教文化研究所紀要 (Bulletin of the Research Institute of Esoteric Buddhist Culture) 5: 161-202.

Seminal work that refutes long-accepted misinterpretations on the category of exoteric Buddhism.

Giebel, R. W., trans. 2004. *Shingon Texts*. BDK English Tripitaka Series 98/I-VII. Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research.

Gives annotated translations of five major works by Kūkai. Although already included in Hakeda (1972), Giebel has made a successful effort to update some of Hakeda's outdated terminology. For *The Precious Key to the Secret Treasury*, 133-216.

White, Kenneth R. 2005. *The Role of Bodhicitta in Buddhist Enlightenment, Including a Translation into English of Bodhicitta-śāstra, Benkemmitsu-nikyōron, and Sammaya-kaijo*.

The first encompassing English study on Kūkai's interpretation of *bodhicitta*. Because of the technicality of the subject, recommended for advanced students and scholars only. For a fully annotated translation of the *Benkemmitsu-nikyōron*, 249-328.

Inagaki, Hisao (稲垣, 久雄). 2006. "Kūkai's 'Principle of Attaining Buddhahood with the Present Body'". In Richard K. Payne (ed), *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*. Boston, Wisdom Publications: 99-118.

Annotated translation of Kūkai's *Sokushin jōbutsu gi*, with a short introduction. Reprint of Inagaki's 1975 publication in the Ryūkoku Translation Pamphlet Series no. 4 (Kyōto: Ryūkoku Daigaku butten honyakubu).

Linguistic and semiotic works

One could argue with a good degree of confidence that Kūkai was a linguist *avant-la-lettre*: he is not only thought to have intensively studied classical Chinese, Sanskrit and Siddham script, but was particularly fascinated by writing and sound as signs, the power of mantras, and their representation of reality, see esp. Abe (2000), cf. *General Overviews and Background Literature*, cited above. In general three treatises have been regarded as crucial, and their primary classical Chinese texts are included in the standard Japanese edition of the Buddhist canon, i.e. Takakusu et al. (1924-1935), cf. *Primary Sources* supra.

The first, *The Meaning of Sound, Word, and Reality* (*Shōji jissō-gi* 聲字實相義, T. no. 2429: 401c4-404b10), postulates that Mahāvairocana's teachings are heard through every aspect and all kinds of phenomenal existence. The most recent standard discussion on the subject of all sensory objects as letters of the world texts, as well as Kūkai's theory of language and the semiotics of mantras is found in Abe's (2000) *Voice, Letter, Reality*, esp. 283-288. For Kūkai on the general theory of language, 275-280; on the semiotics of mantra, 279-304. Kasulis (1982), however, was one of the first Western scholars to address Kūkai's language philosophy in English, together with Paul (1987) who publishes in German. Hare (1990) deals with the problems of language and meaning in Kūkai's work. The first translation of this text in English is Hakeda (1972): 234-246, cf. *General Overviews and Background Literature*, cited above, in German Kawahara's *Die Bedeutung von Urlaut und Zeichen sowie ihr Verhältnis zur Wirklichkeit* (1992): 53-80, which was already published in 1974 in *Mikkyō Bunka* (Journal of Esoteric Buddhism) 108: 56-64 and 110: 94-97, see: *Commentaries on Buddhist Scriptures* supra, but Giebel's (2004) *The Meanings of Sound, Sign, and Reality*: 83-104, cf. *The Precious Key to the Hidden Treasury* cited above, is probably the most accurate English translation.

The second work is *The Meaning of the Hūṃ Syllable* (*Unji-gi* 吽字義, T. no. 2430: 404b14-408a29). As Abe's (2000: 289) *On the Sanskrit Letter Hūṃ*, cited above under *General Overviews and Background Literature* points out, this text solves the problem of Kūkai's seemingly contradictory claim for the non-origination of letters at the same time of them all deriving from the A-syllable. The *Unji-gi*, of which the primary text is included in the T.-canon, has been translated in English by Hakeda (1972): 246-262, cf. *General Overviews and Background Literature*, cited supra, but the most recent and accessible translation is Giebel's (2004) *The Meanings of the Word Hūṃ*: 105-132, cf. *The Precious Key to the Hidden Treasury* cited above. For a German translation, consult Kawahara's (1992) *Die Bedeutung des Zeichens HŪM*: 81-124, refer to *Commentaries on Buddhist Scriptures* supra.

While he was residing at Ximingsi in Chang'an, Kūkai is accounted to have studied Sanskrit and *siddham* (J. *shittan* 悉曇), the latter being a calligraphic script used for the representation of mantras and seed syllables (S. *bījas*). This is illustrated by the third text of this category, *The Meaning of the Sanskrit Siddham Letters* (*Bonji Shittanji moshaku-gi* 梵字悉曇字母釋義, T. no. 2701: 361a3-364a15). Abe (2000) is by far the best treatment of the text. Abe transcribes the title as *Bonji Shittan jimo narabi ni shakugi*, which he translated as *Essential Characters of the Sanskrit Siddham Script and their Interpretations*, esp. 291-293. On *bījas* in Japan, see Vira (1965). The best study on *siddham* is van Gulik (1980), one of the few Western language studies on the subject.

Vira, Raghu and Lokesh Chandra. 1965. *Sanskrit Bījas and Mantras in Japan*. Śata-piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, vol. 39. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.

Collection of calligraphies by famous Japanese priests, including a short introduction. For specialized reference only.

Gulik, Van, R.H. 1980. *Siddham: An Essay on the History of Sanskrit Studies in China and Japan*. Śata-piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, vol. 247. Delhi: Jayyed Press.

One of the best introductions to *siddham*, recommended for all students in the field.

Kasulis, T.P. 1982. "Reference and Symbol in Plato's Cratylus and Kūkai's *Shōji jissōgi*." *Philosophy East and West* 32/4: 393-405. [<http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-PHIL/kasulis3.htm>]

Short semiotic essay for the first time addressing the importance of Kūkai's language philosophy.

Paul, Gregor. 1987. "Zur Sprachphilosophie Kūkais" and "Die Bedeutung von Laut, Wort und Wirklichkeit, Shō ji jissō gi, annotierte Übersetzung der ersten Hälfte." *Klishee und Wirklichkeit japanischer Kultur, Beitrag zur Literatur und Philosophie in Japan und zum Japanbild in der deutschsprachigen Literatur. Festschrift für Toshinori Kanokogi*. Frankfurt/Bern/New York: Peter Lang: 187-198 and 199-213 resp.

Critical analysis of Kūkai's language philosophy by one of the leading experts on Japanese philosophy, together with a richly annotated translation of the first part of Kūkai's *Shōji jissō-gi*. As yet there is no English edition available.

Hare, Thomas Blenman. 1990. 'Reading, Writing and Cooking: Kūkai's Interpretative Strategies'. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 49/2: 253-273.

Discusses the problems of language and meaning, including a detailed description of the esoteric Buddhist meditation practice centered on bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha (J. *Kokūzō* 虚空藏).

Ritual manuals

At least four ritual manuals attributed to Kūkai have been canonized. Just as is characteristic of most ritual texts of the Buddhist tradition, however, Kūkai's manuals have been largely ignored by European and American scholarship in the fields of religion and Buddhist studies. One exception is the *Abhiṣeka of the Abdicated Emperor Heizei*, which has been partially treated by Abe (2000): 193-204 *passim*, cf. *General Overviews and Background Literature* cited above, and translated by Grapard (2000). As far as the other manuals are concerned, only the *Sanmaiya-kai jo*, which is a preface to the ritual for conferring the esoteric Buddhist precepts, has been addressed in English by White (2005).

Kūkai. "Dai wajō hōi Heianjō daijō tennō kanjō mon 大和尚奉爲平安城太上天皇灌頂文." In *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, vol. 78, no. T. 2461. Edited by Takakusu, Junjirō (高楠, 順次郎) et al., 1a4-4c21. Tōkyō: Daizō shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1924-1935.

Primary classical Chinese text, included in the standard Japanese edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon. Translated by Grapard (2000).

Kūkai. “*Sanmaiya-kai jo* 三昧耶戒序.” In *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, vol. 78, no. T. 2462. Edited by Takakusu, Junjirō (高楠, 順次郎) et al., 4c24-6b6. Tōkyō: Daizō shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1924-1935.

Primary classical Chinese text, included in the standard Japanese edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon, tentative English title: *Preface to the Samaya Precepts*. For an annotated translation, see White (2005).

Kūkai. “*Himitsu sanmaiabutsu-kai gi* 秘密三昧耶佛戒儀.” In *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, vol. 77, no. T. 2463. Edited by Takakusu, Junjirō (高楠, 順次郎) et al., 6b10- 9a3. Tōkyō: Daizō shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1924-1935.

Primary classical Chinese text, included in the standard Japanese edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon, tentative English title: *Ritual Protocol on the Precepts of the Hidden Samaya Buddha*. Annotated translation by K. Pinte, forthcoming as publication of PhD-thesis.

Kūkai. “*Gobu darani mondō gesanshū hiron* 五部陀羅尼問答偈讚宗秘論.” In *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, vol. 78, no. T. 2464. Edited by Takakusu, Junjirō (高楠, 順次郎) et al., 9a7- 23b25. Tōkyō: Daizō shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1924-1935.

Primary classical Chinese text, included in the standard Japanese edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon, tentative English title: *Secret Treatise on the Doctrine of Chanting Praise Verses as well as Questions and Answers regarding the Dhāraṇī of the Five Groups [of the Diamond World Maṇḍala]*.

Grapard, Allan G. 2000. ‘Precepts for an Emperor’. In David Gordon White (ed.) *Tantra in Practice*. University of Princeton Press: 147-164.

A translation of the *Heizei tennō kanjōmon*. Useful in relation to the commentary on this text in Abe (2000).

White, Kenneth R. 2005. *The Role of Bodhicitta in Buddhist Enlightenment, Including a Translation into English of Bodhicitta-śāstra, Benkemitsu-nikyōron, and Sammaya-kaijo*.

The first encompassing English study on Kūkai’s interpretation of *bodhicitta*. Because of the technicality of the subject, recommended for advanced students and scholars only. On the *Sammaya-kaijo*, 357-372.

Apologetic fiction

Already in 797, Kūkai wrote his first masterpiece, *Sangō shi’iki* 三教指帰 (also: *Sangyō-shiiki*), a “religious novel” (Hakeda 1965) avant-la-lettre, “quasi-autobiographic fiction and Buddhist apologetic” (Abe 2000: 74, cited above under *General Overviews and Background Literature*) or “fictional autobiography” (Matsuda 2003: 13, cf. *Primary Sources* supra), in which he evaluates Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. The title has been translated as *Indications to the Three Teachings* by Hakeda (1972), cf. *General Overviews and Background Literature* supra, and by Abe (2000) as *Demonstrating the Goals of the Three Teachings*, the latter being the best reading. English translations are in Hakeda (1972: 101-139), Yamamoto (1985), and Bary (2001: 157-162, cf. *Catalogue of Imported Items* supra). On Kūkai’s early ideas on Confucianism, see Kinoshita (1968) and Abe (2000: 102-104); on Daoism, see Abe (2000: 86-88). The fictional, apologetic and autobiographical qualities of the *Sangō shiiki* are discussed in Matsuda (2003: 12-22) and Abe (2000: 102-107).

Hakeda, Yoshito (羽毛田, 義人). 1965. "The Religious Novel of Kūkai." *Monumenta Nipponica* 20/3-4: 283-297.

Classic work, discusses the *Sangō shiiki* as a literary text.

Kinoshita, Jissho. 1968. *The Problem of Filial Piety in Japan Centering on the Sangōshiki of Kūkai*. MA-thesis, University of Hawaii.

Interesting discussion of the Kūkai's early thoughts on Confucian values, but copy can be difficult to access.

Grapard, Allen. G. 1985. *Kūkai: La vérité finale des trois enseignements, traduction et commentaire*. Paris: Editions Poiesis.

Outdated, but still the only French translation of the *Sangō shi'iki*.

Yamamoto, Chikyō (山本, 智教). 1985. "An English Translation of the Refuge for the Deaf and Blind." *Mikkyō Bunka* 密教文化 151: 72-86.

Partial translation of Kūkai's *Sangō shiiki*.

Poetry

Probably the best known collection of works ascribed to Kūkai, is the *Seireishū* 性靈集 (also: *Shōryōshū*; full title: *Henjō hakki seireishū* 遍照發揮性靈集, tentative English title: *Collection in Which the All-Illuminator Displays His Spiritual Nature*), but aside from the brief discussions in e.g. Matsuda (2003: 35-44, cf. *Primary Sources* supra) an English study and complete translation is still lacking. This collection of prose and poetry in 113 chapters was allegedly compiled by one of Kūkai's direct disciples, and is believed to have marked the transition from anthologies compiled upon imperial decree to those made on an individual basis. For introductions to Kūkai's poetry, Ibson (1987) and Ury (1999) are the best places to start. Aside from the poetry found in the *Seireishū*, Kūkai wrote a treatise on the rules of poetic composition, i.e. *Bunkyo hifuron* 文鏡秘府論. For a study, see Bodman (1978).

Bodman, Richard W. 1978. *Poetics and Prosody in Early Mediaeval China: a Study and Translation of Kūkai's Bunkyo hifuron*. PhD-thesis, Cornell University.

Ibson, Morgan and Murakami, Hiroshi (村上, 伸). 1987. *Tantric Poetry of Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi), Japan's Buddhist Saint: With Excerpts from the Mahāvairocana-sūtra and I-Hsing's Commentary of the Sūtra*. Fredonia, N.Y.: White Pine Press, 1987.

Popular approach to Kūkai's poetry, but of low interest to the specialized public.

Vries, De L. 1998. *Een selectie uit de Seirei-shū van Kūkai (774-835)*. MA-thesis, Ghent University.

Gives an annotated Dutch translation of fourteen texts from the *Seireishū*. For general introductory purposes only.

Ury, Marian. 1999. "Chinese Learning and Intellectual Life." In *Cambridge History of Japan*. Edited by John Whitney Hall, Marius B. Jansen, Madoka Kanai, and Denis Twitchett, vol. 2: *Heian Japan*. Edited by Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough, 341-389. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

One of the basic encyclopedic entries dealing with Kūkai's Chinese learning and poetry. On Kūkai, see 376ff.

Miyasaka, Yūshō (宮坂, 宥勝), ed. 2001. *Seireishū* 性靈集. Tōkyō: Shikisha, 3 vols.

Fully annotated translation of the *Seireishū* into Modern Japanese, including prints of the classical Chinese original texts.

Green, Ronald S. *The Mysterious Mirror of Writing: Kūkai's Poetry and Literary Theory*.
[<http://ww2.coastal.edu/rgreen/kukaipoetry.htm>]

English translations with short introduction to Kūkai's poetry, including: (1) *Contemplation of the Nine Appearances*; (2) *Autumn day viewing Shinsen'en Garden*; (3) *Climb the Mountain to Contemplate the Hermit*, and (4) *Thesis on The Mysterious District of the Mirror of Writing*.

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Takakusu 1924-35 Takakusu, Junjirō (高楠, 順次郎), Watanabe Kaigyoku (渡部, 海旭), and Ono Genmyō (小野, 亦妙), eds. 1924-1935. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. Tōkyō: Daizō shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 100 vols.

III

no. 159 大乘本生心地觀經 (Jap. *Daijō honshō shinjikan kyō*), trans. Prajña (744-ca. 810)

VIII

no. 243 大樂金剛不空眞實三昧耶經 (Jap. *Dairaku kongō fukū shinjitsu sanmaiya-kyō*), attr. Amoghavajra (651-780).

no. 251 般若波羅蜜多心經 (Jap. *Hannya haramitta shingyō*), trans. Xuanzang (玄奘, ca. 600-664) .

IX

no. 262 妙法蓮華經 (Jap. *Myōhō-rengē-kyō*), trans. Kumārajīva (344-413).

no. 278 大方廣佛華嚴經 (Jap. *Daihō kōbutsu kegongyō*), trans. Buddhābhadda (359-429).

X

no. 279 大方廣佛華嚴經 (Jap. *Daihō kōbutsu kegongyō*), trans. Śikṣānanda (652-710).

no. 293 大方廣佛華嚴經 (Jap. *Daihō kōbutsu kegongyō*), trans. Prajña.

XII

no. 374 大般涅槃經 (Jap. *Daihatsunehangyō*), trans. Dharmakṣema (385-433/436).

no. 375 大般涅槃經 (Jap. *Daihatsunehangyō*), comp. Huiyan (慧嚴, 363-443) et al.

no. 376 大般泥洹經 (Jap. *Daihatysunaiongyō*), trans. Buddhābhadda and Faxian (法顯, ca. 337-422).

XIV

- no. 474 維摩詰經 (Jap. *Yuimakitsu kyō*), trans. Zhi Qian (支謙, fl. 223-253).
no. 475 維摩詰所說經 (Jap. *Yuimakitsu shosetsu kyō*), trans. Kumārajīva.
no. 476 說無垢稱經 (Jap. *Setsu mukushō kyō*), trans. Xuanzang.

XVI

- no. 668 不增不減經 (Jap. *Fuzō fugengyō*), trans. Bodhiruci (fl. 508-537).

XVII

- no. 839 占察善惡業報經 (Jap. *Sensatsu zen'aku gyōhō-kyō*), attr. Bodhidīpa (fl. ca. 600).

XVIII

- no. 848 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 (Jap. *Daibirushana jōbutsu jinben kajikyō*), comp. Śubhākarasiṃha (637-735) and Yixing (一行, 683-727).
no. 865 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經 (Jap. *Kongōchō issai nyorai shinjitsushō daijō genshō daikyō ōkyō*), trans. Amoghavajra.
no. 866 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (Jap. *Kongōchō yuga-chū ryakuju nenju kyō*), attr. Vajrabodhi (671-741).
no. 880 瑜伽金剛頂經釋字母品 (Jap. *Yuga kongōchōgyō shaku jimo hon*), trans. Amoghavajra.
no. 882 一切如來真實攝大乘現證三昧大教王經 (Jap. *Issai nyorai shinjitsu shō daijō genshō sanma dai kyōō kyō*), attr. Dānapāla (fl. 980-1017).
no. 892 佛說大悲空智金剛大教王儀軌 (Jap. *Bussetsu daihi kūchi kongō daikyōō giki*), attr. Dharmapāla (963-1058).
no. 893 蘇悉地羯羅經 (Jap. *Soshitchikara kyō*), attr. Śubhākarasiṃha.
no. 894 蘇悉地羯羅供養法 (Jap. *Soshicchikara kuyō hō*), attr. Śubhakarasiṃha.
no. 895 蘇婆呼童子請問經 (Jap. *Zobako-dōshi shōmongyō*), trans. Śubhakarasiṃha.
no. 896 妙臂菩薩所問經 (Jap. *Myōhi-bosatsu shomongyō*), trans. Dharmadeva (fl. 973-1001).
no. 897 蕤呬耶經 (Jap. *Suikiyakyō*), attr. Amoghavajra.
no. 900 十八契印 (Jap. *Jūhachikaiin*), comp. Huiguo (惠果, 746-806).
no. 915 受菩提心戒儀 (Jap. *ju bodaishin kaigi*), attr. Amoghavajra.

no. 917 無畏三藏禪要 (Jap. *Mui-sanzō Zen'yō*), attr. Śubhākarasiṃha.

XIX

no. 921 阿閼如來念誦供養法 (Jap. *Akushu-nyorai nenju kuyō hō*), attr. Amoghavajra.

no. 997 守護國界主陀羅尼經 (Jap. *Shugo kokukaisu darani kyō*), attr. Prajña and Muniśrī (fl. 793-806).

no. 1002 不空罽索毘盧遮那佛大灌頂光真言 (Jap. *Fukū kenjaku Birushana-butsu daikanjō kōshingon*), attr. Amoghavajra.

no. 1003 大樂金剛不空真實三昧耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣釋 (Jap. *Dairaku kongō fukū shinjitsu sanmaya-kyō hannya-haramita rishushaku*), attr. Amoghavajra.

XX

no. 1056 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經 (Jap. *Kongōchō yuga senju sengen Kanjizai-bosatsu shugyō giki kyō*), attr. Amoghavajra.

no. 1092 不空罽索神變真言經 (Jap. *Fukū kenjaku jinpen shingongyō*), attr. Bodhiruci.

no. 1171 金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩法 (Jap. *Kongōchō yuga Monjushiri-bosatsu hō*), attr. Amoghavajra.

XXI

no. 1211 甘露軍荼利菩薩供養念誦成就儀軌 (Jap. *Kanro Gundari-bosatsu kuyō nenju jōju giki*), attr. Amoghavajra.

no. 1318 瑜伽集要救阿難陀羅尼焰口軌儀經 (Jap. *Yuga shūyō kyū Annan darani enku giki kyō*), attr. Amoghavajra.

no. 1319 瑜伽集要焰口施食起教阿難陀緣由 (Jap. *Yuga shūyō enku sejiki kijyō Ananda en'yū*), attr. Amoghavajra.

XXII

no. 1421 五分律 (Jap. *Gobunritsu*), trans. Buddhajīva (fl. ca. 423) and Zhu Daosheng (竺道生, fl. 397-434/445).

no. 1425 摩訶僧祇律 (Jap. *Makasōgiritsu*), trans. Buddhābhadda and Faxian.

no. 1428 四分律 (Jap. *Shibunritsu*), trans. Buddhayaśas (fl. 408-412) and Zhu Fonian (竺佛念, fl. ca. 365).

XXIII

- no. 1435 十誦律 (Jap. *Jūjuritsu*), trans. Puṇyātara (fl. 399-404), Dharmaruci (fl. ca. 405) et al.
- no. 1442 根本說一切有部毘奈耶 (Jap. *Konpon setsu issai ubu binaya*), trans. Yijing.

XXIV

- no. 1484 梵網經 (Jap. *Bommōkyō*), attr. Kumārajīva.

XXVI

- no. 1521 十住毘婆沙論 (Jap. *Jūjū bibasharon*), attr. Kumārajīva.
- no. 1522 十地經論 (Jap. *Jūjikyōron*), trans. Bodhiruci.

XXX

- no. 1581 菩薩地持經 (Jap. *Bosatsuchijikyō*), trans. Dharmakṣema.

XXXI

- no. 1626 大乘法界無差別論 (Jap. *Daijō hokkai mushabetsu ron*) comp. Sāramati (n.d.); trans. Devaprajña (fl. 689-691).

XXXII

- no. 1665 金剛頂瑜伽中發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心論 (Jap. *Kongōchō-yuga-chūhotsu-anokutara-sammyaku-sambodaishinron*), attr. Amoghavajra.
- no. 1666 大乘起信論 (Jap. *Daijō kishiron*), attr. Aśvaghōṣa (1st -2nd century) and Paramārtha (500-569).
- no. 1668 釈摩訶衍論 (Jap. *Shaku makaen ron*), trans. Amoghavajra.

XXXIX

- no. 1796 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 (Jap. *Daibirushana jōbutsu kyōsho*), comp. Yixing.

L

- no. 2056 大唐故大德贈司空大辨正廣智不空三藏行狀 (Jap. *Datōko daitoku zōshi kū daiben shōkōchi Fukū-sanzō gyōjō*, comp. Zhao Qian (趙遷, fl. ca. 766-774)
- no. 2061 宋高僧傳 (Jap. *Sōkōsōden*), comp. Zanning (贊寧, 919-1001).

LII

- no. 2120 代宗朝贈司空大辨正廣智三藏和上表制集 (Jap. *Daisōchō zōshi kūdai benshō kōchi sanzō wajō hyōsei shū*), comp. Yuan Zhao (圓照 fl. ca. 778).

LV

- no. 2153 大周刊定衆經目錄 (Jap. *Daishū kanjō shukyō mokuroku*), comp. Mingquan (明詮 fl. 659).
- no. 2157 貞元新定釋教目錄 (Jap. *Jōgen shinjō shakkyō mokuroku*) comp. Yuan Zhao.

LVII

- no. 2203a 般若心經秘鍵 (Jap. *Hannya shingyō hiken*), comp. Kūkai.

LVIII

- no. 2211 大日經開題 (Jap. *Dainichikyō kaidai*), comp. Kūkai.
- no. 2213 大日經疏妙印鈔 (Jap. *Dainichikyō-sho myōin-shō*), comp. Yūban (宥範, 1270-1352).

LXI

- no. 2236 理趣經開題 (Jap. *Rishukyō kaidai*), comp. Kūkai.

LXIV

- no. 2244. 孔雀經音義 (Jap. *Kujakukyō ongi*), comp. Kanjō (觀靜, fl. 956).

LXXIV

- no. 2348 律宗綱要 (Jap. *Risshū kōyō*), comp. Gyōnen (凝然, 1240-1321).

LXXV

- no. 2394 大日經供養持誦不同 (Jap. *Dainichikyō kuyō jiju fudō*), comp. Annen (安然, 841-889).
- no. 2407 隨要記 (Jap. *Zuiyōki*), comp. Kōgei (皇慶, 977-1049).

LXXVII

- no. 2425 秘密曼荼羅十住心論 (Jap. *Himitsu mandara jū jūshin ron*), comp. Kūkai.
- no. 2426 祕藏寶鑰 (Jap. *Hizō hōyaku*), comp. Kūkai.
- no. 2427 辨顯密二教論 (Jap. *Ben kenmitsu-nikkyō ron*), comp. Kūkai.
- no. 2428 真言宗即身成佛義 (Jap. *Sokushin jōbutsu-gi*), comp. Kūkai.
- no. 2429 聲字實相義 (Jap. *Shōji jissō-gi*), comp. Kūkai.
- no. 2430 吽字義 (Jap. *Unji-gi*), comp. Kūkai.

LXXVIII

- no. 2461 大和尚奉爲平安城太上天皇灌頂文 (Jap. *Dai wajō hōi Heianjō daijō tennō kanjō mon*), comp. Kūkai.
- no. 2462 三昧耶戒序 (Jap. *Sanmaiyakai-jo*), comp. Kūkai.
- no. 2463 秘密三昧耶佛戒儀 (Jap. *Himitsu sammaya bukkai gi*), attr. Kūkai
- no. 2464 五部陀羅尼問答偈讚宗秘論 (Jap. *Gobu darani mondō gesanshū hiron*), comp. Kūkai.
- no. 2473 小野六帖 (Jap. *Ono rokujō*), comp. Ninkai (仁海, 955-1046).

LXXIX

- no. 2514 五輪九字明秘密釈 (Jap. *Gorin kujimyō himitsu shaku*), comp. Kakuban (覺鑊, 1095-1143).

LXXXIV

- no. 2701 梵字悉曇字母釋義 (Jap. *Bonji Shittanji moshaku-gi*), comp. Kūkai.

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ND XLI: 175-180 灌頂三昧耶戒 (Jap. *Kanjō sanmaiya-kai*), attr. Ennin (圓仁, 794 – 864).

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