

An Example of Vajrasattva in the Sino-Japanese Tantric Buddhist Tradition.

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Introductory

The present article is a thematic description of the contents of a ritual text centred on Vajrasattva (Kongōsatta^a), the *Dairaku-kongōsatta-shugyō-jōju-giki*^b, translated by Amoghavajra.¹ This text, extant only in Chinese, is regarded in the Japanese esoteric Buddhist tradition as one of a set of rituals which focus on this central Bodhisattva. Collectively these are known as either “The Six Types of Vajrasattva Ritual [*Roku-kongōsatta-gikirui*”]² or “The *Naya* Rituals [*Rishu-hō*”]^d, *naya* being a reference to a corpus of teachings found within the Sino-Japanese *mikkyō*^e tradition.³

In the Sino-Japanese version of the *Prajñāparamitā* in 150 Lines,⁴ a text which has characteristics in common with both the literature of the *Prajñāparamitā* and that of the Tantras, the climax of the Sūtra is a passage

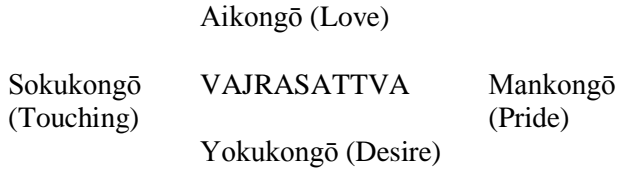
¹ *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* (hereafter abbr. T.) XX/1119: 509a–513b. The texts immediately following in Taishō (T/1120A+B) are verse summaries of this ritual. On a point of convention: since this corpus of rituals is apparently preserved only in the Japanese tradition, I have only given the Japanese transcription below. The relevant characters are, however, given in the endnotes.

² Cf MDJT/VI: *Mikkyō-Kyōten Kanyaku-Nenpyō*, p. 100. (Cf. note 11.)

³ The term *mikkyō* is used in our sources to indicate the esoteric Buddhist tradition generally, but most typically its Sino-Japanese manifestations. The nature and compass of the materials covered by the term *rishu/naya* is not wholly clear yet, but includes at least the seventh sub-*maṇḍala* of the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala*, along with the *Prajñāparamitā* in 150 Śloka and its related ritual cycles. On the basic problems connected with this set of rituals, see: *Fukuda Ryōsei: “Kongōsatta-gikirui no kōsatsu”, *Mikkyō-gaku Kenkyū*, No. 8 (Mar. 1976), pp. 1–14; Fukuda Ryōsei: “*Rishukyō* to *Rishukyō-hō*”, *Chizan Gakuhō*, No. 28 (cum. no. 42; Mar. 1979), pp. 1–12. These have been reprinted with additions in his recent *Rishukyō no Ketikyū—Sono Seiritsu to Tenkai*, Tokyo: Kokusho Kangyō-kai, 1987, pp. 54–80. Chapter 2 of *Rishukyō no Kenkyū* (pp. 83–133) contains material relevant to our topic, but is centred on the Tibetan sources. *Note: Japanese names are given in the Japanese manner, i.e. surname first.

⁴ Tr. Amoghavajra (Bugong, Fukū), *Dairaku-kongō-fukū-shinjitsu-sanmaya-kyō*, T. VIII/243: 784a–786b. There are also versions in Sanskrit (actually a Sanskrit-Khotanese fragment) and Tibetan, but these do not exhibit the clear ritual structure of Amoghavajra’s Chinese translation. The other five Chinese texts are: T.VII/220(10) [Xuanzang], T.VIII/240 [Bodhiruci], T.VIII/241 [Vajrabodhi], T.VIII/242 [Dānapāla], T.VIII/244 [Faxian]. The Tibetan texts are to be found in Peking 119, 120, 121, and there is an edition of the Sanskrit (along with Peking 121) in the appendix of: Toganoo Shōun, *Rishukyō no Kenkyū*, Kōyasan: Kōyasan Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1930. I shall not repeat the full references here, they can be found in my article, “The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva: A Tantric Buddhist View of the Passions and Enlightenment”, *Temenos*, Vol. 24 (1988, forthcoming), and in my doctoral thesis: “The *Rishukyō*: A Translation and Commentary in the Light of Modern Japanese (post-Meiji) Scholarship”, University of Leeds (U.K.), Oct. 1987, pp. 4–24. E. Conze translated the Sanskrit, making extensive use of the Tibetan where the former is incomplete. This translation, unfortunately doubtful in many places, is most readily available in his: *The Short Prajñāparamitā Texts*, London: Luzac, 1973, pp. 185–95.

describing and extolling the virtues of what are called “The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva”.^f This term refers to a pentad of divinities, centred upon Vajrasattva and forming a unified expression of the virtues of one enlightened to *Buddhadharma*. The pentad is as follows:⁵



The key term here is “unified”. The *Rishukyō*^g to give this Sūtra its common Japanese title) has a corresponding passage towards the beginning of the text,⁶ where the state of enlightenment is set forth. The Five Mysteries, described at the end of that text, are presented as a single unit and are an expression of the result of mastery of the philosophical and practical stages given in the body of the Sūtra. This unity is expressed iconographically by depicting the divinities seated upon a common lotus dais and within a common lunar disc in the following relative positions:⁷



⁵ This is the standard configuration and is derived from the Kongōchō [*Vajraśekhara]–type cycles. The term *Kongōchōkyō* is used in the Japanese Shingon tradition to indicate ceremonial material-textual and ritual-relating to the Vajradhātu aspect of the Vajrayana teachings. Information on the *Sarva-tathāgata-tattvasaṅgraha*, the main source for this aspect of the Tantric Buddhist tradition, may be found in the introduction to: Lokeshchandra and D.L. Snellgrove (eds.), *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha* facsimile reproduction of a tenth century Sanskrit manuscript from Nepal, Śata-Piṭaka Series, no. 269, New Delhi*. Sharada Rani, 1981. The best edition of the text is by Yamada Isshi: *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha-nāma Mahāyāna-sūtra*, New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1981. A translation, with good commentary culled from Japanese and Chinese sources, is to be found in: D. A. Todaro, “An Annotated Translation of the Tattvasaṅgraha, (Part 1) with an explanation of the Role of the ‘Tattvasaṅgraha’ in the Teachings of Kūkai”, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University (New York), 1985. The configuration which is of special interest to us here—a variation of the standard *Kongōchōkyō* form—is given below. It should be noted that the divinities surrounding Vajrasattva are interpreted as different forms of *samādhi* and regarded as female. See figure 1, p. 69.

⁶ See note 9, below.

⁷ This reformulation can be traced to Amoghavajra’s commentary on the *Rishukyō*, *Dairaku-kongō-fukū-shinjitsu-sanmaya-kyō-hannya-haramitta-rishushaku* [abbr.: *Rishu-shaku*], T.XIX/1003: 607a–617b. The specific reference to this configuration is found on p. 617a1ff. See figure 2, p. 72.

⁸ This Bodhisattva (Touching) is depicted holding Vajrasattva around the waist. Illustrations can be found in Hatta Yukio: *Himitsu-kyōten: Rishukyō*, Tokyo: Hiraakawa Shuppansha, 1982, pp. 310f.



Figure 1

The Five Mysteries Of Vajrasattva, arranged in the basic pattern of the Vajradhātu-Manḍala. Vajrasattva is in the centre, Iṣṭa-vajriṇī in the east (below Vajrasattva in this depiction); next, moving clockwise, is Kelikilā-vajriṇī, then Kāma-vajriṇī and finally Māna-vajriṇī in the north. (TZ.5)

The lotus relates to the compassionate aspects of the Bodhisattva's practice, whilst the lunar disc is a pervasive symbol of wisdom. Depicting Vajrasattva surrounded by these four female divinities thus indicates that the enlightened one has integrated all the basic elements of his suffering nature into a single unified force of wisdom and compassion. This can be regarded as an archetypal model of the Bodhisattva, for it is on the basis of this profound harmony that he works for the benefit of sentient beings.

Furthermore, it is this ideal which can serve as a paradigm for the individual Buddhist's daily life. Togano, for example, writes that this passage in the *Rishukyō*: "... radically shows the essential truth as to how one expresses this in everyday life, how one comes to strive for the benefit of others, freely and purely, through selfless love and whilst immersed in limitless bliss."⁹ This configuration as a single unit becomes clearer when we remember that such yogic endeavour aims at gathering together the disparate and debilitating forces within the human psyche, in an effort to break the bonds to *samsāra*, the root cause of that debilitation.

We may, then, summarize the main structure of this *mikkyō* text as a description of the state of enlightenment, followed by the steps to realizing this state and concluded by a description of one who has attained this state: one who possesses and expresses it fully and spontaneously. It will be seen below that these ideas carry over into an examination of the text chosen for this article.

Some Notes On Method

In the Shingon tradition, groups of *mantra* and *mūdra* are regarded as having traditionally determined meanings and ritual purposes. Understanding these is often difficult, not least because much of the material is historically and culturally so far removed from us. It is, nevertheless, possible to gain access to the purport of many texts—among them the ritual selected for description below—by (1) deciphering the transliterated text of the *mantra*, (2) looking at both their semantic significance and their symbolic referents and finally (3) arranging them into sub-groups which make sense both ideologically and ritually. Perhaps a few words on these steps would be in order:

(1) For the first step I have made most use of two reference works: Hatta Yukio's *Shingon Jiten* and R. Heinemann's dictionary of Buddhist *dhāraṇī*.¹⁰

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 386. "Limitless bliss" is a reference to *dairaku* (*mahāsukha*), as set out at the beginning of the Sūtra (T/243: 784b1–24).

¹⁰ Hatta Yukio: *Shingon-jiten*, Tokyo: Hiraikawa Shuppansha, 1985 (hereafter abbr. SJT:); Heinemann, Robert: *Chinese-Sanskrit/Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary of Words and Phrases As Used In Buddhist Dhāraṇī* (*Kan-bon/Bon-kan Darani-yōgo-yōku Jiten*), Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1985. I have reviewed these works in: "Two Sino-Japanese Dhāraṇī Dictionaries", *Temenos*, Vol. 23 (1987), pp. 131–4.

Additional help is to be had from the *Mikkyō Daijiten*¹¹ and the *Mikkyō Jiten*.¹² Using these reference works it has been possible to decipher all the items essential for our purposes here.

(2) Some will perhaps be surprised at the notion of the semantic content of a *mantra*, since detractors often hold them to be thoroughly nonsensical. Whilst this is often the case, it is equally true that in many instances—our present materials among them—there is a clearly perceptible concern on the part of the authors to relate the content of the *mantra* to a specific point of Buddhist doctrine or practice. Whilst the significance of many *mantra*—most typically the so-called *bīja* (“seed [syllables]”)—does rest in their applications in yogic practice, the more mundane aspect should not be ignored when it can clearly be discerned to be present.

The symbolic referents of a *mantra* are equally important, since they can give us clear indications of which Buddha, Bodhisattva or group of divinities a particular item refers to. By applying our knowledge of the corpus of ideas and practices connected with the respective figure(s), we can come to a better understanding both of the particular item and of that item’s place in the whole context.¹³

The arrangement of the text into sub-groups according to their referents follows on naturally from the foregoing steps: the various phases of the thinking embedded in the text become easily recognizable, as do the implicit divisions into the preliminary, main and concluding portions of the ritual.

Once these steps have been completed, we shall find that our present text

¹¹ Mikkyō Daijiten Hensankai: *Mikkyō Daijiten*. Rev. and enlarged edition in 6 vols., Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1970 (orig. publ. in 3 vols., 1931; photographically reduced edition in 1 vol., 1983), hereafter abbr. MDJT; the standard reference work in Mikkyō studies.

¹² Sawa Ryūken et al.: *Mikkyō Jiten*, Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1975 (hereafter abbr. MJT:). Complete in one volume, a very useful supplement to the previous work. Other works referred to in this article are: Nakamura Hajime: *Bukkyōgo-daijiten*, 3 vols., Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 1974 (repr. in 1 vol., 1981; hereafter abbr. N:), a general dictionary of Buddhism and one of the most widely-used reference works in Japan; Sakauchi Tatsuo: *Shingon Darani*, Tokyo: Hirakawa, 1981, a compendium of many of the *dhāraṇī* in Buddhist writings in use in Japan.

¹³ Important here is the notion of “Families”, (*bu, kula*), into which the various Tathāgatas are divided. In the Kongōchō lineage teachings, there are five: Tathāgata, Vajra, Ratna, Padma and Karma. They are presided over by the following Buddhas: Mahāvairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, in that order. Information on the basic thinking behind the idea of Buddha-Families may be had from: G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (3 vols.), Rome, 1949, Vol. I, pp. 221–45, and D. L. Snellgrove’s introduction to Lokeshchandra & Snellgrove, *op. cit.* Though these are written from the Tibetan standpoint, the thinking behind them is the same as that in the Sino-Japanese tradition. A table with correspondences to a variety of Buddhist topics may be consulted in MJT: 220. Interestingly, the divinities in our present maṇḍala are also assigned to the Five Families: Vajrasattva-Tathāgata, Yokukongō-Vajra, Sokukongō-Ratna, Aikongō-Padma, Mankongō-Karma. This attribution—found *passim* in modern secondary literature—is first found in Amoghavajra’s *Rishushaku*, T/1003: 617a24–26.



Figure 2

The Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva, abiding in a common lunar disc, on a common lotus dais. Vajrasattva is in the centre, Iṣṭa-vajriṇī to the far left, Kelikilā-vajriṇī is embracing the central figure; to the immediate right of Vajrasattva is Kāma-vajriṇī, finally there is Māna-vajriṇī on the far right. (TZ.5)

(T/1119) deserves serious attention as a statement of the Tantric view of samsara and enlightenment.

Further Materials

In addition to the texts mentioned above, there is also a ten-line verse which occurs in the various versions of the *Rishukyō*, as well as in T/1125.¹⁴ This verse is known in the Shingon tradition under the title, “The Hundred Character Verse”, (*hyaku-ji no ge*^h), being composed as it is in ten lines of two five-character phrases each. It is basically a verse summary of the ideas put forward here, though the divinities are dealt with in the standard *Kongō-chōkyō* manner.¹⁵

Faxian’s version of the *Rishukyō*¹⁶ also contains passages dealing with the Five Mysteries. These are enumerated below. Since parts of Faxian’s text have clear antecedents in Amoghavajra’s material, it would appear that this lengthy version was under composition for a long period. Since the Five Mysteries belong to what Fukuda has identified as the *Śrīparamādyā* (*dpal mchog doñ po*) tradition,¹⁷ it is clear that this is one point where further research will yield conclusions which have a direct bearing on our understanding of Vajrayana history. Finally, it should be mentioned that the Tibetan material in Peking 119 & 120 contains a great deal of extra material, not directly relevant to the Five Mysteries, but possibly of historical value.¹⁸

We may now summarize the foregoing and give a complete picture of the basic materials upon which the Five Mysteries strand of the tradition is founded:

- (1) The texts known as the Six Vajrasattva Rituals: T/1119, 1120A, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125

¹⁴ Found at T.XX/1125: 539a4–14, i.e. likewise towards the end of the text. The passage is identical with the verse in T/243 (Amoghavajra), though not actually printed in verse format in Taishō.

¹⁵ I have dealt with this in my doctoral thesis, *op. cit.*, pp. 305–8, though it is difficult to draw any conclusions as yet. (It may transpire that it is possible to make statements of a historical nature, if for example it can be shown when or why the different formulation we are dealing with here came about.) On the Verse itself, see Nagasawa Jitsudō, “Rishukyō-ge no indo-mikkyō-teki kyōgi”, *Chizan Gakuhō*, No. 12/13 (Joint issue, Festschrift for Prof. Nasu Seiryū, Nov. 1964), pp. 27–43. This gives useful textual comparisons, while Tajima Ryūjun, “Hyaku-ji no ge ni tsuite”, *Buzan Gakuhō*, No. 2 (Nov. 1954), pp. 68–77, gives the Skt. and Tib. texts of the *Prajñāparamitā in 150-sloka* with a Japanese translation, and also sets out the relationship with the Five Mysteries in the form of mandalic representations.

¹⁶ T/244, designated an “Extended Version [*kōkyō*] because of its length.

¹⁷ Cf. Fukuda, *Rishukyō no Kenkyū*, p. 103.

¹⁸ Fukuda Ryōsei’s work on these materials is the only extensive research available as yet: *Rishukyō no Kenkyū*, pp. 33–53, and chs. 2 (pp. 83–133) and 3 (pp. 137–306) contain the most relevant information. Cf. also Matsunaga Yūkei’s conclusions in his *Mikkyō-kyōten Seiritsushi-ron*, Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1980, p. 218, where he conjectures that while the *Kōkyō* was not extant at the time of Amoghavajra, a ritual cycle centred on the Five Mysteries was. The Extended Version was gradually formed as the result of the accretion of consecrations, oral teachings and various rituals related to the *Rishukyō*.

(2) T/1121 (translator unknown)¹⁹

(3) The most important passages in the *Rishukyō* literature: T/243: 786a5–b4; T/244, §1 (787a20–b22), §XIV (799b3–c17), §XXI (812a20–b4).

(4) Amoghavajra’s commentary on his own translation of the *Rishukyō* (T/1003.)

Description of T/1119, The Ritual for the Perfection of the Practice of the Thunderbolt Being of Great Bliss

(**Mahāsukha-vajrasattva-bhāvana-siddhi-kalpa*)²⁰

The first ritual task is the arousing of the “mind where all is yoked/united”, by the formula, “*om sarva-yoga-cittam utpādayāmi*” (T/1119: 509a12, SJT: 1735). An explanation of the name of this mantra, “*jishō-jōju-shingon*ⁱ (**sva-bhāva-siddhi-mantra*)” will hopefully make this clear: when one perfects one’s vision of things—*dharma*—as they really are, namely the insight into their *svabhāva* (*jishō*), and accordingly sees them as empty (*kū*,^k *śūnya*), signless (*musō*,^l) *animitta*) and wishless (*mugan*,^m *apraṇihita*), then one has gone beyond discrimination and division and can be said to be in a state of union (*yoga*) with everything (*sarva*). By generating this state of mind (*citta*) through the contemplative methods given in the course of one’s training under a qualified teacher, one is able—the text continues—to eliminate the various hindrances and attain to all peaceful, blissful and rapturous states of mind (*issai-anraku-etsu-i*,ⁿ T/1119, 509a13). Also made possible are the attainment of the highest enlightenment, and worship, the latter encompassing the full vastness of both human and heavenly aspects of worship. All in all, this is cultivation of the mind of enlightenment (*shu-bodaishin*,^o 509a17ff). Next (509a17ff) comes a manifestation of Vajrasattva, who arises from a pure lunar disc, first in the form of a five-pronged ritual Thunderbolt, and then—from the rays of light emanating from this—as Vajrasattva himself. He is adorned with jewelry and wears the familiar diadem with the Five Buddhas. Red flames girth his body and he is seated upon a white lotus, right leg on the left in the half lotus posture, each hand forming the so-called Thunderbolt Fist (*kongō-ken*,^p *vajra-muṣṭi*). The left fist is resting on the thigh, the right is raised and held in front of the chest. With his three functions in the Thunderbolt state (*shin-gu-i-kongō*^q), he utters the *mantra hūṃ*, to seal as it were this first phase in the ritual (509a9–4).

Let us summarize the most important ideas implicit in this opening scene: (1) the point at which the ritual starts—and to which it shall return—is a state

¹⁹ The six texts named under the first heading here were all translated by Amoghavajra.

²⁰ The use of the asterisk before Sanskrit terms indicates that the given term is a reconstruction from the Chinese. Such terms do not therefore lay claim to any textual or other form of traditional validity. I have merely used this device to help give Sanskritists a rough idea of the meaning of the given Sino-Japanese term.

of union whose nature is absolute; (2) this realization is simultaneously the overcoming of hindrances to enlightenment, and the impetus for worship; the pure lunar disc is the basis for the manifestation of the deity, who by appearing first as a five-pronged ritual Thunderbolt shows the origin of his name: he is Vajrasattva because the Thunderbolt is the first perceptible differentiation which relates to him. (5) The figure five is significant insofar as it places the ritual in the Vajradhātu scheme of enlightenment, with its background in the Five Families/Divisions. (6) This of course is emphasized by the presence of the Five Buddhas in Vajrasattva's diadem (*gobutsu-hokan*,^r 509a20). (7) There is some ambiguity as to the perspective given in this passage, which is typical of esoteric Buddhist rituals in general. This is quite deliberate, and the background is of course to be found in the technique of identifying oneself with the divinity concerned. The most typical formulations in the Japanese Shingon tradition are Kūkai's (774–835) doctrines of *sokushin-jobutsu*^s (the perfection of Buddhahood in this very body) and *nyū-ga / ga-nyū*^t ([the Buddha] enters me/I enter [the Buddha]). These may be regarded respectively as the theoretical and the practical expressions of the theme of attainment by ritual identification. (8) Finally, the use of the syllable *hūm* at the close of this section indicates a certain completeness at this point in the ritual. That is, the reality which is both the inspiration and the aim of the practice of the ritual—indeed of the Tantric Buddhist Path in general—has been revealed in an immediate, dynamic way, and the *bīja hūm* seals this dynamism, making it into a firm basis for the remainder of the ritual action.²¹

There now follows (509a25–b21) another ritual unit, beginning with *vajrāñjali* (*kongō-gasshō*^u; SJT: 1430), the Seal of the Adamantine Joined Palms, then to that of the Adamantine Bond (*kongō-baku*,^v *vajrabandha*; SJT: 1146), which an explanatory verse tells us is the basis of the Pledge Seals: “The Pledge Seals/Are all concomitant with the arising of this bond” (509b5). The next step is to open one's heart with the appropriate *mūdra*, in which one emulates the violent shock of Tantric methods of spiritual awakening by physically striking oneself on the chest (509b6; SJT: 1147).²² The opening of the heart creates an experience of the adamantine nature of one's body, speech and mind, and stresses the attainment of *jizai*,^w literally: “naturally/spontaneously existing,” abiding without any kind of hindrance, any barrier between oneself and the enjoyment of reality. (Hence *jizai* also has con-

²¹ *Hūm* functions in this way in countless instances in these and other rituals of the tradition we are dealing with; for more detail on the interpretations given to *hūm*, see Kūkai's *Unji-gi* (translation by Y.S. Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works*, Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1979, pp. 246–51) and Amoghavajra's *Rishushaku*, p. 609c10–19.

²² SJT: 1147 explains things as follows: “In the *mūdra* of the Vajradhātu rituals one forms the Outward Bond (*gebaku* (-in)), places it on the chest and pulls it in three times. Then when one recites this *mantra*, one contemplates the destruction of the passions through the *vajrabandha*, which makes manifest the lunar disc of the mind of enlightenment (*bodai-shin no gachirin*).”

notations of sovereignty, a theme we shall see again in due course, though in a slightly different context.) Having thus been made fit to receive the Holy Assembly and one's heart having been opened, one draws the Holy Assembly of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other Divinities into oneself.²³

The connotations of *samaya* just dealt with²⁴ will make the name of the next *mūdra* no surprise either: *sanmaya-kongōken-in*^x (**samaya-vajra-muṣṭi-mūdra*). According to Hatta (SJT: 1186), this *mūdra*'s function is to harden the Buddha-wisdom which has been drawn into oneself and to unite and harmonize it within one's mind. The final step in this unit is to revert to the typical pose of Vajrasattva—left hand on the thigh, right hand in front of the chest—and pronounce again the *bīja hūṃ*.

To summarize this process, we might say that it begins with a simple joining of the hands—*añjali*—which represents the joining of the two basic aspects of reality,²⁵ followed by a sealing of the Bond (*bandha*) which thereby arises. On the basis of this Bond one opens one's heart and draws in the myriad Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Divinities, which we might express more prosaically as setting oneself in communion with the deeper levels of one's consciousness. The composite wisdom which the Buddhas and the rest of the entourage represent is thus set, before the yogin seals the whole of this second sub-section by reverting to the *mūdra* from which this phase in the ritual began—i.e. the typical pose of Vajrasattva—and utters the same, conclusive *mantra*, *hūṃ*.²⁶

²³ Hatta (SJT: 1466) states that one draws the “untainted, tranquil wisdom (*muro-jakujō-chū* [cf N: 618a]) of the Tathāgatas into one's own store consciousness (*zo-shiki-chū*)”. The point here is that these rituals are performed with the whole of one's psycho-physical organism, and since the Tathāgatas respond to the deepest recesses of this complex, they must abide in the *ālaya-vijñāna*. The Sino-Japanese term for the *mūdra* which accomplishes this stage of the process is *kongō-hen'nyū-sanmaya-in*. *Kongō* is of course Thunderbolt/Adamantine; *hen'nyū* refers to the fact that the Tathāgatas (and the other deities of the Holy Assembly) enter (*nyū*) and pervade (*hen/amaneku*) the entire space within the open heart. (Presumably the various types of divinity will occupy that stratum of the acolyte's consciousness to which its function or character is relevant, though I have not been able to find any information as to how the divine hierarchy might correspond to the Yogācāra analysis of consciousness.) A further point in this connection is the next component of the *mūdra*'s title, *sanmaya* (Skt. *samaya*). Taken from the Skt. *sam* + *√i*, “to go/come together”, the implications in this context become clear: not only are the various deities in the Holy Assembly “come together” in the acolyte, they also—through their very presence in body and mind—represent the possibility for the yogin to attain to the profound reality that they represent. It is at this point that the soteriologically more important implications of the term *samaya* come to the fore: *samaya* as Pledge or Vow, the implicit guarantee for which is the transcendent nature of the Tathāgatas.

²⁴ See preceding note.

²⁵ The right and left hands represent respectively the male and the female, active and passive, the wisdom which penetrates and the principle which is penetrated. These last are respectively *chi* and *ri*, and when combined they are the non-duality of wisdom and principle (*ri'chi-fu'ni*, MDJT/V: 2269a).

²⁶ It may be possible to see the first step in this ritual as the paradigm and the section we have just described as the means adopted by the yogin to attain this paradigm.

The next part of the ritual begins with the *kongō-himitsu-samaya-in*^y (*vajra-guhyā-samaya-mūdra*), which is described as: “The *mūdra* which manifests the marvellous realm of a great blissful rapture beyond words, in the union of sentient beings and the Buddha” (MDJT/II: 719b). MDJT further gives the meaning of this *mūdra* as *myōteki*,^z “exquisite rapture”, which is the first of the seventeen epithets in the first chapter of the *Rishukyō*, and which corresponds to Vajrasattva as the representative of the absolute aspect. The significance of the principle of the union between sentient beings and the Buddha comes out again, when MDJT refers (*loc. cit.*) to the dictum, *nyū’ga / ga’nyū*, which we noted above. The precise connection here is in the *mantra* which belongs to this *mūdra* of the Adamantine Pledge, namely *suratastvam* (509b25). *Surata* is of course the experience of absolute bliss, *stvam* indicates the union of sentient being and Buddha—*nyū’ga / ga’nyū*.²⁷

Having introduced Vajrasattva again as the main object of reverence, the text goes on to confirm the background whence Vajrasattva springs: this is of course the pentad of Buddhas, Vairocana-Akṣobhya-Ratnasambhava- Amoghasiddhi, represented here by the Mudrā of the Consecration of the Five Buddhas (*gobutsu-kanjō-in*,^{aa} **pañcabuddhābhiṣeka-mūdra*).²⁸ Whilst performing the *mūdra* relevant to each Tathāgata, the yogin is also instructed to recite the *mantra* pertaining to each (509b26–c10). The section is rounded off with *mantra* connected with the Wig and with Joy; then an exhortation to do anything,²⁹ for such is bliss (*sarvaṃ kuru, yathā sukham*, 509c23, SJT: 1621).

The yogin is now instructed to visualize all the Buddhas, residing on Vajrasattva’s crown,³⁰ each according to the relevant, set pattern (509c24–510a4). Vairocana resides at the top and is white; Akṣobhya is in front and of the colour blue; Ratnasambhava to the left and yellow; Amitabha resides to

²⁷ A distinction must be made here between the overt, grammatically determined meaning of the *mantra*, and the ritual meaning of the individual syllables. Because of the structure of the Brahmī-derived writing systems, which regard consonants as having an inherent (i.e. following) vowel, mundane grammar and ritual usage can come to exhibit quite significant differences. Strictly speaking, of course, the *mantra* should be read: “*suratas tvam*”, which translates quite straightforwardly as: “You are exquisite bliss”. However, the individual syllables assume the greater significance when one takes the *mantra* as an aid to contemplation, and it is in this respect that the syllable *stvam* assumes here—as elsewhere—a ritual and philosophical meaning apart from the *mantra* as a semantic unit. (See my doctoral thesis, *op. cit.*, p. 189f.) In this reading of the *mantra*, *surata* comes to be regarded as a vocative, referring to Vajrasattva.

²⁸ This recalls the ornamental diadem containing representations of the Five Buddhas, which Vajrasattva wears on his head.

²⁹ I.e. act without moral restraint. More traditionally, it could be taken to mean, “Do all things,” i.e. complete the infinite task of the Bodhisattva.

³⁰ There is some ambiguity here, since in the various iconographic depictions, the Five Tathāgatas are generally arranged on the front of Vajrasattva’s headgear, whereas the directions in the text refer to the crown of his head (*chō/itadaki*) and not to an item of headgear (**kan/kanmuri*). In many instances, the latter is more correctly translated as *diadem*, rather than *crown*.

the rear and is red, whilst Amoghasiddhi is green and seated to the right. Through the grace of the Tathagatas, which operates through the performance of the ritual, one's body attains to the essence of Vajrasattva (510a3f).

The last preparatory step before the ritual of the Five Mysteries itself is explained is concerned primarily with the method whereby the deities are drawn into the *maṇḍala*, that is the method by which the yogin calls up and works with the forces latent within himself in his attempt to transform his passionate nature into the nature of enlightenment. The deities are gathered by means of the *saṅgraha* technique, which is fourfold: first, the *Hook* performs the primary task of stopping and subjugating the deities, the *Rope* then brings them in, the *Chain* finally stops them and the *Bell* gives rise to joy.

If we regard this pattern merely on the level of the coercion of deities, then it makes little more than rather mundane sense. However, in the light of the idea which underlies the attainment of Great Bliss, the pattern takes on another meaning, and also explains why the *bīja* sequence *jaḥ-hūṃ-vam-hoḥ*—the *bīja* of the *saṅgraha* deities—is so pervasive in the rituals which are connected with the Five Mysteries cycle.³¹ That is, the preoccupation of the Tantric with man's passionate nature, and the resolve to transform such passion into the stuff of enlightenment: to take one's passionate, suffering nature, arrest its downward tendency and then to re-direct one's energies upward towards the goal of enlightenment. We might say, then, that the central concern of the Five Mysteries cycle is anticipated in the preliminary stages of the ritual.

The Central Ritual in T/1119 (510b6–26; b27–c10; c11–25; c26–511a13)

The description begins of course with Vajrasattva, who is enthroned on a white lotus pedestal, wonderfully adorned. In front of him is the Adamantine Arrow (*Kongō-sen*^{bb}), who is red in colour and holds a bow and arrow. Next, seated to the right of Vajrasattva, is Adamantine Blissful Rapture (*Kongō-kietsu*^{cc}), who is white and “found embracing the *samaya*-body/essence” (510b11). In the various depictions of this configuration, this bodhisattva is to be seen holding Vajrasattva around the waist.³² This directness of contact may well be the explanation for the identity of colour between this Bodhisattva and the central deity. To the rear is the Bodhisattva of Adamantine Love (*Kongō-ai*^{dd}), who is blue in colour and holds the *makara* staff (Skt. *makara-dhvajaḥ*, cf MDJT/V: 1076c). The significance of this is

³¹ See SJT: 234 for references.

³² The Skt. equivalent of this Bodhisattva's name is Kelikilā, which has to do with touching, sporting, playing. An alternative name in the various texts and commentaries is Sokukongō-bosatsu, the Bodhisattva of Touching. See also Figure 2, p. YY.

that the Bodhisattva has just as little regard for his own tastes and predilections in the task of working for the salvation of others as one who would deal with the *makara-leviathan*.³³ The final deity in the set is Adamantine Sovereignty of Desire (*Kongō-yoku-jizai*^{ee}). This Bodhisattva is also known as the Bodhisattva of Pride (*Kongō-man*^{ff}), a simpler designation, but with the same connotations.

Kongō-yoku-jizai is yellow in colour and seated to the left of Vajrasattva, with both fists in the *mūdra* of the Adamantine Fist (*kongō-ken-in*,^{gg} *vajramuṣṭi-mudrā*) and gazing slightly away from the Assembly.

The *mantra* which pertain to these deities yield some useful insights into the nature of the ritual we are dealing with here, and possibly also its origins.⁷

20) *jaḥ vajra-drṣṭi-sāyake maṭ*³⁴

The *bīja jaḥ* is as we have seen the first in the series of *saṅgraha-bīja*, which is repeated frequently in the Five Mysteries cycles. Its connection to the deity Kongō-sen—the Bodhisattva of the Adamantine Arrow—comes out clearly in the word *sayake*, voc. sing, of *sāyaka*, meaning “arrow, projectile”. Being linked in the compound with *drṣṭi* (“vision, sight”) recalls the descriptions of the process of visual perception throughout Buddhist writings as akin to an arrow’s strike. This is further emphasised on examining the *bīja mat*, which is given by MDJT/V: 2080a as a two-component *mantra* referring respectively to the right (*mā*) and left (*t*) eyes. Since the two eyes commonly refer to the sun and the moon in Tantric symbolism, it will come as no surprise to learn that this is Hatta’s comment on the *bīja* (SJT: 233, *nichi/gatsu*^{hh}).

21) *hūṃ vajra-kelikilī hūṃ*

The *bīja hūṃ* in this context identifies the Bodhisattva Kelikilī (Adamantine Blissful Rapture, Kongō-kietsu,ⁱⁱ or the Bodhisattva of Touching, Kongō-soku^{jj35}) even before the name is announced. The term *kelikilā*, from the root *kel*, is a clear reference to the instant of contact: on the level of the analysis of sense-perceptions, this refers to the instant when the sense-organ is struck by the sensory stimulus. The reader will recall that in the iconographic depiction this Bodhisattva is found embracing the *samaya*-body,³⁶ Vajrasattva himself.

³³ The staff itself stands for the mind of enlightenment (*bodai-shin, bodhicitta*).

³⁴ Hatta, SJT: 233, gives the *bīja* as *maṭa*, disregarding the instruction to reduce *ta* to a “half sound” (*han'on*). Heinemann, pp. 13, 116, gives *mat* as a *bīja*, but with no further explanation.

³⁵ That this refers to the concrete act of touching rather than the latent faculty of touching is borne out by the Tibetan terms used for the relevant stages in the Epithets of Purity (*shōjō-ku*) in the first chapter of the *Rishukyō*: *reg-pa* is used in the case of Kelikilā in the central *temenos*, whereas simply *reg* is used in the outermost circle, which refers to the sense faculties; cf. my doctoral thesis, op. cit, p. 125, n. 1.

³⁶ Or, the Essence of the Pledge (*sanmaya-tai, *samaya-kāya*), 510b11.

22) *vaṃ vajrinī-smara-rata*

In the various versions of the Epithets of Purity, and the commentarial literature surrounding it,³⁷ there are several points where the correspondence is between Love (*ai^{kk}*) and Recollection (*nen^{ll}*, *smṛti*). That this correspondence is genuine, and not merely whimsical or arbitrary comes out in this *mantra*. The term *smara* is derived from the root *smṛ*, and is defined as: “recollecting; sexual love”,³⁸ thus bringing out the connection with *rati*, which is more obvious. On the level of the senses this refers to the enjoyment of the sense impression once the bare data have become mingled with the affective base within the perceptor’s make-up (*saṃkhāra-skandha*). On more lofty planes it refers to the affective aspect of the Bodhisattva’s task, namely the necessity for compassion, love towards sentient beings. We have now come to the point in the ritual where the basic data and the internal, affective response are turned outward again.

23) *hoḥ vajra-kāmeśvari taṃ/traṃ*

The descriptors of this phase of the ritual include: pride, spontaneous abiding, *karma* (in the sense of works for the benefit of sentient beings) and sovereignty (i.e. *īśvara*). The inclusion of the element *kāma* indicates the sexually coloured symbolism chosen by the authors and translators of the Five Mysteries cycles. A further element which comes out in the commentarial and modern secondary literature is that of subjugation, the overcoming of all hindrances to enlightenment. How do these various, apparently disparate, elements fit together?

The basic process under consideration is Desire–Touching–Love (or Enjoyment)–Pride. Cosmically this implies the desire for enlightenment and to save sentient beings, which leads one to generate the energy, the vigour, required for this task. When this is accomplished, one touches upon the underlying principle of bliss, and although one is still required to perform the requisite practices and contemplations, one has already touched upon the essence of the experience of the goal. When one finally attains bliss in its full depth, one has gone as far as possible on the introverted path: no further experience is either necessary or possible. Just as the Buddha Śākyamuni on the night of his enlightenment found himself at precisely this point, the yogin

³⁷ T/243: 784b1–24 with *Rishushaku*, T/1003: 608b18–610b2; for more modern—though scattered—treatments, see also Togano, *Rishukyō no Kenkyū*, pp. 103–40; Fukui Iro: “‘Rishukyō’ ni okeru shōjō no chi to shōjō no gyō”, *Mikkyō Ronsō*, No. 4 (Dec. 1934), pp. 31–42; *idem.*, “Kū no igi oyobi Rishukyō no konpon-teki tachiba”, *Mikkyō Ronsō*, No. 6 (July 1935), pp. 65–74; Fuyō Ryōjun: “Jūshichi- shōjō-ku no kusū ni taisuru shaken”, *Chizan Gakuhō*, Shin (New Series), No. 3 (1932), pp. 14–20; Kanaoka Shūyu: “The Lineage of Vīśuddhi-pada Thought in the *Prajñāpāramitā-naya-śatapañcasatikā*”, *IBK*, 16/2, No. 32 (March 1968), pp. 982–76 (rev. pag.); Komine Michihiko: “Rishubun no kugi ni tsuite”, *IBK*, 23/1, No. 45 (Dec. 1974), p. 160f.

³⁸ Monier-Williams, M.: *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1899, p. 1272a.

now makes manifest the implications of his experience for the demons which besiege the practitioner at every turn: by dint of its transcendent nature, there is nothing in the essence of demons or any other form of hindrance which can withstand the force of the enlightenment experience. Hence the aspect of subjugation.

Now, if one has overcome all possible hindrances, what can stand in one's way? One traverses the whole cosmos—desire, form and the formless—and there is nothing which can obstruct one. The nearest approximation which can be found in ordinary human experience is pride, and hence this is the characteristic which becomes personified in the ritual. It is naturally or spontaneously (*onozukara*^{mm}) abiding or existing (*zai*^{mn}), because there is nothing that one is dependent upon; it is sovereignty because there is no one and no thing who or which is equal or superior to this Bodhisattva. Finally, it is at this point that one has the fullest and most real opportunity to practise the Bodhisattva Vow which was taken at the beginning of the process. Hence one's actions at this point become actions for the benefit of all sentient beings, a task which by its very nature is infinite and eternal, since the Bodhisattva is beyond time and space. And it is at this point too that we are reminded that however far history may have gone in the development of Tantric thought, we still find ourselves on the firm ground of the Perfection of Wisdom:

“Countless beings should I lead to Nirvana and yet there are none who lead to Nirvana, nor any who should be led to it.” However many beings he may lead to Nirvana, yet there is not any being that has been led to Nirvana, nor that has led others to it. For such is the true nature of dharmas, seeing that their nature is illusory.

(*AstaPrajñāpāramitā*, I.20)³⁹

Thus much for the core of this phase of the ritual. The text now goes on to describe the deities who surround the central Assembly.

1. 510b27–c10: the Inner Worshipping Deities, who occupy the four corners, are explained. These are:

Kongō-myōtekietsu: Flower (pure/white/worship[?])

(24) *he vajra-rati* (SJT: 1937)

Kongō-tekietsushō: Burning Incense (black)

(25) *mahā-rata-vajri hoḥ* (SJT: 765)

Kongō-gen: Lamp (red)

(26) *vajra-locane* (SJT: 1273)

Kongō-daikichijō: Smearing Unguent (yellow)

³⁹ E. Conze's translation. *The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines and Its Verse Summary*, Bolinas: Four Seasons Foundation, 1973, p. 90.

(27) *mahā-śrī-vajri he* (SJT: 778)⁴⁰

2. 510c1 1–25: the Outer Worshipping Deities, who occupy the corners of the outer circle, are all pure gold in colour. They are:
 - Kongō-kike* (*Vajra-lāsī*): Joy.⁴¹
 - (28) *he rati-vajra-vilāsini traṭ* (SJT: 1934)
 - Kongō-shō*: Smile/Laugh
 - (29) *he rati-vajra-hāse ha ha* (SJT: 1935)
 - Kongō-ka*: Song
 - (30) *he rati-vajra-gūte te te* (SJT: 1932)
 - Kongō-bu*: Dance
 - (31) *he rati-vajra-ṅṅṅte bepa bepa* (SJT: 1933)
3. 510c26–511a10: this section deals with the Four Portal Deities:
 - Kongō-kō*: to the front; blue
 - (32) *vajrāṅkuśa jaḥ* (SJT: 1425)
 - Kongō-saku*: to the right; yellow
 - (33) *vajra-pāśa hūṃ* (SJT: 1134)
 - Kongō-sa*: to the rear; red
 - (34) *vajra-śṅṅkhale vaṃ* (SJT: 1312)
 - Kongō-kin*: to the left; green
 - (35) *vajra-ghaṅṅte hoḥ* (SJT: 996)
4. The text now (511a11–13) describes these sixteen deities—from 510b15 onwards—as reverently gazing upon Vajrasattva with the Eye of Rapture (*tekietsu-moku*^{oo}), each has the diadem of the Five Buddhas to show its basic affiliation and resides on a lunar disc, the various adornments and attire in accordance with the relevant colour as described in the preceding sections. This ritual unit is then rounded off with the Seal of the Adamantine Esoteric/Mysterious Pledge (*kongō-himitsu-sanmaya-in*^{pp}), and the familiar *mantra* in praise of Vajrasattva: (36) *suratastvam* (SJT: 1776).

511a17–b20 describes the Pledge Seals (*sanmaya-in*) which relate to Vajrasattva and the sixteen deities just described, giving instructions on the formation of the various clasps. When the process of setting up this Assembly has been completed, one is enjoined to contemplate Vajrasattva with the sixteen deities as his entourage, and finally to contemplate oneself as such, in consonance with the Tantric theme of identification of practitioner and the object of worship. There then follows a eulogy of the King (i.e. Vajrasattva),⁴²

⁴⁰ Hatta gives °-*hoḥ*, which in fact only appears in T/1120B, though in the same relative position.

⁴¹ Cf. MDJT/II: 671b.

⁴² 511b8–12; *mantra* no. 37 in the text, but Hatta gives no transcription. If we disregard minor differences in the phonetic characters used, then the *mantra* is the same as no. 19 in T/1125.



Figure 3

Aizen Myōō (Rāga-vidyārāja), the guardian of the Five Mystenes, and of the *Rishukyō*.

which is split into four parts, representing each of the Seals in turn, and another eulogy consisting of six descriptors of Vajrasattva and a supplication to him to perfect the practitioner.⁴³ With the frequently-found assurance that the performance of this *mantra* will lead to rapid attainment, the text moves on to the next part of this final phase of the ritual.

511b21–c8 gives an explanation of the Eye Seals (*gen-in*,⁴⁴ **locana-mūdra*), 511c9–13 explains the *aizen*^r Seal of Body and Mind Extinguished (*jin-shinjin-aizen-in*)⁴⁴ and 511c14–19 gives the Pledge Seal of the Effulgent Adamantine Light (*kongō-shijōnichi-sanmaya-in*)^{ss}. This last is the *samaya-mūdra* of the Bodhisattva of Adamantine Light, Kongō-ko Bosatsu,^{tt} and emulates a single-pronged *vajra* on the background of a solar disc.⁴⁵ The *mūdra* represents a force which unifies the various realms of the ten directions. There is thus an element of subjugation here, brought out by the *bīja hūṃ* (511c19, SJT: 1882), which MDJT describes in this context as a subjugatory (*sai-ha*^{uu}) *hūṃ*.⁴⁶

By dint of the awareness of one's own (or natural) excellent liberation (*ji-shōge-i*^{vv}), one now visualizes a palace (*guden*^{ww}) filled with all the ritual and other symbolic paraphernalia one commonly finds in these texts,⁴⁷ and brings benefits and peaceful bliss to sentient beings (*riyaku-anraku issai-shujō*,^{xx} 511c20ff). The ritual transformation is now complete, and the practitioner is now in a position where he is able to offer full worship, to be blessed with a manifestation of Vajrasattva and to attain the essence of Vajrasattva (511c22–512a3).

512a6–b17 is a verse eulogy, consisting of 108 names of Vajrasattva, in the manner typical of the laudatory sections of a wide variety of texts, and it is followed by a verse describing the benefits of regular recitation.

Next follows an *arḡha* offering (512b23f), then a repetition of the Pledge Seal of Effulgent Adamantine Light, described above.

Finally (512b28–c12), the deities are returned to their places of origin, using the *buzō-in*^{yy} and the appropriate *mantra*,⁴⁸ and the practitioner leaves

⁴³ 511b17–19: “Mahā-sukha mahā-rāga mahā-vajra mahā-dāna mahā-jñāna mahā-kāma vajrasattva! sidhya me!” (SJT: 784).

⁴⁴ I have been unable to locate this Seal in the standard reference works. *Aizen* refers to Rāga-vidyārāja, cf. *Hōbōgirin*, fasc. I, pp. 15bff, s.v. *Aizen Myōō*. Cf. figure 3, p. 83.

⁴⁵ The solar disc is represented by the *naibaku* seals (literally: “inward-joining”), in contrast to the *gebaku* seals (“outward-joining”), which represent the lunar disc.

⁴⁶ See MDJT/II: 692b for this information. This occurrence in T/1119 is the only one MDJT refers to.

⁴⁷ Incense, food, drink, banners, etc. The descriptions found are almost stereotyped, and are often the same regardless of where in the cosmology the drama of a given Sūtra takes place. Thus, for example, the description in the opening scene of the first Assembly in the *Kongōchōkyō* (i.e. the *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha*) is roughly the same as that in the *Rishukyō*, though the former supposedly takes place in the *Akaniṣṭha*- and the latter in the *Paranirmitavaśavartin-deva*.

⁴⁸ *Buzō* means to “offer thanksgiving and send off.” The *mantra* appears to differ slightly according to the Family being dealt with. MDJT/IV:1926a gives that for the Lotus Family, whereas our text has *vajra* where the former has *padma*. Otherwise there are no essential differences.

the hall. This major section of T/1119 finishes with an exhortation to practise the ritual daily at the four times,⁴⁹ even to practise incessantly, thus to perfect the body of the Adamantine Being of Great Bliss.⁵⁰

The remaining section of the text (512c13–513b22) gives an essential resume of the whole ritual, and as such need not detain us here.⁵¹

Concluding Remarks

My main hope for the above exposition is that it will have made some sense of what is at first sight a rather haphazard and incomprehensible set of data. If the reader has gained some idea of systematic intent, related to known themes in Buddhist literature, I shall be more than satisfied.

Our text in fact incorporates both general and particular themes in the esoteric Buddhist tradition of China and Japan. The idea of identification with the object of worship through the ritual enactment of the themes implicit in the relevant divinity comes through very strongly, and this is of course a theme which is quite clearly present in the Tantric traditions in Tibet and in Buddhism's mother country, India. The *sādhana* technique is of course also known in the Hindu Tantric tradition, for all the other differences there are between the Buddhist and Hindu types of Tantric thought and practice.

Also of general import and readily accessible to the understanding is that the Five Mysteries centre on the most basic elements of man's passionate nature, the most basic processes in the human psyche. That the Tantric chooses this as the focus for his practice—a choice which is responsible for both the radicality of Tantric practice and expression, and for the perils of that Path—is in turn one of the particular points of his religion.

Again, the qualities represented by the Bodhisattvas surrounding Vajrasattva in this ritual text are to be found everywhere in Buddhist literature, though the idea of them being interpreted as different aspects of Vajrasattva's *samādhi* is definitely a Tantric reformulation. In fact, as we have seen, it can be traced back to a specific point in Amoghavajra's writings, to his commentary on the *Rishukyō*.⁵² This could be an instance of Amoghavajra's creativity, though I doubt it. To determine this question, however, would entail an examination of the Tibetan materials and this is well outside the limits of the present article. One thing is certain, though, and that is that this formulation of Tantric thinking is preserved as a living tradition only in Japan. Although there are texts extant in Tibetan, it does not seem that there has ever been any appreciable practical tradition in Tibet connected

⁴⁹ I.e. dawn, midday, sunset and midnight.

⁵⁰ *Dairaku-kongōsatta no shin* (*mahāsukha-vajrasattva-kāya).

⁵¹ The sequence of *mantras* is that of the first part of the ritual, though it omits the cardinal sequence, SJT: 1430–1146–1147–1466–1186.

⁵² See above, note 7.

with such a cycle. In Japan, however, the concept of the Five Mysteries of Vajrasattva is integral to the *Rishukyō*, one of the central texts in the Shingon tradition. As such it enters the daily life and practice of that sect's temples and of course the academic and practical training of its priests. Just how conscious individual believers are of the various aspects implicit in the thought and practice surrounding the Five Mysteries does of course vary, but this does not detract from its relevance as a part of contemporary Shingon Buddhism in Japan.

Historical conclusions as to the development of the esoteric tradition in China and Japan also await us, once the stages through which this aspect of Vajrasattva progressed have been researched and documented fully. This is particularly relevant in connection with research on the *Rishukyō*, which should be able to cast important light on the history of the Buddhist Tantric tradition. The ten versions of the *Rishukyō* span approximately four centuries of Tantric thought and practice in Central, South and East Asia,⁵³ and a detailed knowledge of these versions and the various ritual cycles they contain will doubtless afford us a clearer view of where these elements fit into the whole picture of Buddhism in Asia.

Characters Cited in the Text

- a. 金剛薩埵
- b. 大樂金剛薩埵修行成就儀軌類
- c. 六金剛薩埵儀軌類
- d. 理趣法
- e. 密教
- f. 金剛薩埵五秘密
- g. 理趣經
- h. 百字之偈
- i. 廣經
- j. 自性成就真言

⁵³ Xuanzang translated his version of the *Rishukyō*—which displays the least Tantric influence of the ten—between 660 and 664, whilst the latest Chinese version, that by Faxian, comes at the end of the tenth century. It should also be noted that whilst most of the versions reached China via the northern route, Amoghavajra acquired his copy in Sri Lanka in the period 744–6 (cf. Matsunaga Yūkai, *Mikkyō no Rekishi*, Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1969, pp. 140–2). The Tibetan versions are of course late, but the dates are not certain.

- k. 自性
- l. 空
- m. 無相
- n. 無願
- o. 一切安樂
- p. 修菩提心
- q. 金剛拳
- r. 心口意金剛
- s. 五佛寶冠
- t. 即身成佛
- u. 入我我入
- v. 金剛合掌
- w. 金剛縛
- x. 自在
- y. 三摩耶金剛拳印
- z. 金剛秘密三摩耶印
- aa. 妙適
- bb. 五佛觀頂印
- cc. 金剛箭
- dd. 金剛喜悅
- ee. 金剛愛
- ff. 金剛欲自在
- gg. 金剛慢
- hh. 金剛拳印
- ii. 日 / 月
- jj. 金剛觸
- kk. 愛
- ll. 念
- mm. 自
- nn. 在
- oo. 適悅
- pp. 金剛秘密三摩耶印
- qq. 眼印
- rr. 愛染
- ss. 金剛熾盛日三昧耶印
- tt. 金剛光菩薩
- uu. 摧破
- vv. 自勝
- ww. 宮殿
- xx. 利益安樂一切眾生
- yy. 奉送印